Inner Sydney at war – the home front from Sudan to Vietnam

John W. Ross

Cover photograph:

World War II recruitment poster depicting women's work (from left to right):

WRAN (Women's Royal Australian Naval Service)
AWAS (Australian Women's Army Service)
WAAAF (Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force)
AWLA (Australian Women's Land Army)
AAMWS (Australian Army Medical Women's Service
A munitions worker

(Source: Australian War Memorial website).

Contents

Foreword

When a country commits itself to a war overseas in aid of an ally or in its own defence, the support of those at home is vitally important in maintaining the morale of troops at the front, assisting the families of soldiers, and funding the huge expense incurred by the nation. This history of the home front during wartime draws examples from inner Sydney and suburbs such as Surry Hills, Darlinghurst and Moore Park, where the mixture of residences, industries and the proximity to places of strategic importance make it fairly representative of an urban environment in times of war.

The first time an Australian colony sent a contingent of troops overseas to fight for the British Empire was to Sudan in 1885. New South Wales sent a contingent of about 700 troops, but on arrival found that the conflict was almost over. The soldiers saw little action and returned two months later, but were feted as popular heroes. Despite the insignificance of the contribution, it marked an important stage in the development of a colony growing in self-confidence. The Sudan campaign also heralded the tradition of establishing a Patriotic Fund to support wives and families of the troops, and of volunteer groups forming to send a variety of useful goods to the front.

Australian involvement in the Boer War in South Africa and the Boxer Rebellion in China overlapped. The former was initially a popular war but eventually lost popularity at home as reports of bad behaviour by both sides made the news. Support for the troops was more organised by the time of the Boer War, with several volunteer groups making comforts to send overseas. The Boxer Rebellion involved only a Naval Brigade, because the bulk of the armed forces were already in South Africa. The only impact of the latter conflict at home was with departure and welcome home marches.

World War I marked a major increase in the involvement of the home front in an overseas conflict. Many funds were established to raise money and to send useful goods to more than 300,000 troops in the Dardanelles and later in France. The war was the first that had a widespread impact on Australian society, and voluntary organisations proliferated to assist the war effort from home. Other major impacts of the war were the Spanish influenza pandemic, brought home by the returning troops in 1919, and the establishment of the Repatriation Department to cope with the large-scale medical and employment needs of the returning veterans.

World War II saw Australia under attack for the first time, and introduced the need for local defence preparedness. Air raid precautions were taken, essential goods and resources were rationed, austerity was practised and fund-raising was widely promoted to meet the huge cost of supporting and equipping an armed force of a million, as well a similar number of American troops passing though.

Possibly the most notable feature of the home front during the two world wars was the major increase in the involvement of women in the workforce, both in paid and voluntary roles. The absence of hundreds of thousands of working men on overseas duty forced authorities to strongly encourage women to take their place in the factories, offices and farms, which they did with great success. In World War II, all three armed forces established women's auxiliary services to replace men in military occupations at home so they could be posted overseas. By 1940, there were so many women's groups that the Women's Australian National Services was formed to better train and organise their activities.

After the widespread patriotic fervour of the two World Wars, the Korean War in the 1950s and the Vietnam War in the 1960s were less well supported by the Australian public. Korea was a long way away and there was little real interest in the conflict, so there was a general indifference at home to a war that was very difficult and ended in stalemate. Even worse, Australian involvement in the Vietnam War was subject to open hostility by the public, especially after National Servicemen were sent to fight and when neutral Cambodia was invaded. The veterans were viewed negatively on their return and even denied membership of the RSL. It was not until the late 1980s that the public attitude softened sufficiently to formally welcome the Vietnam veterans home.

John W. Ross
Surry Hills, Sydney
February, 2024
email: rossjw@ozemail.com.au

Colonial Australia at war

Defending the colonies

British regiments 1810-1870

Four companies of the Marine Corps arrived with the First Fleet in January 1788. When they returned to England in 1790, the British Government decided to create a special force to form a garrison for the new colony, called the New South Wales Corps. But squabbles with successive Governors culminated in the overthrow of Governor William Bligh in January 1808, masterminded by former and serving members of the Corps such as John Macarthur and Major George Johnston.

In response, the British Government sent out army Colonel Lachlan Macquarie in 1810 with his own regiment, the 73rd Regiment of Foot, to become the first non-Naval Governor. Thus began a succession of 24 British infantry regiments, as well as a number of smaller artillery and engineering regiments. Each regiment usually remained in the Australian colonies for five to seven years, and was then posted to another part of the British Empire as part of its ongoing duties, often to India. Until the end of convict transportation (1840 in NSW, 1853 in Tasmania and 1868 in Western Australia), many of the soldiers arrived as guards on the convict transport ships from England.

Because of the shortage of security and other administrative personnel, the duties of the regiments were wide-ranging and often burdensome. Apart from activities connected with the convicts, they established a Mounted Police in New South Wales that operated between 1825 and 1850. The soldiers also constructed fortifications, fought fires and attended executions. They assisted police in keeping the peace between rioting sailors, rival political parties and various squabbling sectarians. Officers also sat on the early courts, effectively making them military tribunals, much to the dislike of civilian litigants (who did not want to be judged by soldiers) and the military (who did not think court duty was part of what they signed up for, in any case).

They guarded anything and everything: shipwrecks, goldfields, colonial treasuries, quarantine stations, major government activities, and provided mounted escorts for gold transport. They manned coastal defences and fired artillery salutes on ceremonial occasions. They also saw action against Aboriginal resistance in most of the colonies, and some of the regiments served in New Zealand during the Maori Wars. In the late 1840s, Victoria Barracks was opened on South Head Road in Paddington as the headquarters and principal training ground of the British military[1].

From the 1860s, the increasing cost of maintaining forces in Australia became a topic of debate in the House of Commons. As a result, it was resolved in 1862 that those colonies that had achieved responsible government would have to bear the cost of their own internal defences. Although the British Parliament continued to provide another fifteen companies of infantry, these were paid for by the colonial governments by raising a poll tax, or a tax per head of liable citizens.

Volunteer Corps from 1854

In the 1850s, the advent of responsible government in the Australian colonies led to increased responsibility and self-reliance. In 1853, the outbreak of the Crimean War and the French annexation of New Caledonia prompted the Australian colonies to supplement the British regiments with local volunteer forces, as it was feared that the troops would be redeployed to these conflicts. The Sydney Battalion Volunteer Rifle Corps was formed in 1854 by the *Volunteers Act*[2]. These Volunteers, who

were mainly drawn from the upper class, were unpaid and required to provide their own uniforms, although the government supplied them with arms and ammunition.

But with the termination of the Crimean War in 1856, much of the momentum for establishing the force died out, and the Volunteer Corps practically ceased to exist. It was reformed in 1860 following the escalation of the New Zealand Wars, consisting of one troop of mounted rifles, three batteries of artillery, and twenty companies of infantry, with a total strength of 1,700. Some of the British troops (and many volunteers) were sent from Australia to fight in the war[3]. By 1861, several companies of Volunteer Rifles were active in Sydney. Those mentioned in the press were based in Sydney (city), St Leonards (North Sydney), Newtown, Paddington, Surry Hills and Balmain[4].

Figure 1 Members of Sydney Volunteer Rifles, 1870 (*Illustrated Sydney News*)

In 1862, the Mounted Rifles gave way to more artillery. But through the 1860s, colonial forces were plagued with problems of discipline, a lack of purpose, old equipment, poor training and a lack of command and control. In 1868, the military force was reorganised under the *Volunteer Regulation Act* of 1867 and a grant of fifty acres was given for five years' efficient service[5]. Under this arrangement, a large force was maintained.

The Volunteer units had certain privileges compared to the professional militia. They could choose their own officers and the length of their own service, and were exempt from military discipline. The Volunteer units were not so much competent military forces as glorified rifle clubs, but they were enthusiastic. Drill was not too onerous, and shooting competitions were always popular. The Volunteers also sponsored a range of sporting teams to compete against civilian clubs[6].

The Volunteers were sometimes called upon in times of crisis: the Lambing Flat riots in 1861, the shooting of Prince Alfred in 1868 and the Sudan campaign in 1885[7]. Self-government was granted to New South Wales in 1855, and from 1862 the British government decided that the colonies with self-

government would have to bear the cost of their own internal defence. The Volunteer movement faded in the 1870s, but was revived in 1885 by the war in Sudan.

The Waikato War 1863-64

The first Anglo-Maori war in 1845-46 was prompted by continuing expansion of European settlers onto Maori land and the colonial government's determination to crush native independence. The wars, which occurred on and off from the 1840s to the 1860s, included the participation of some British soldiers who had been based in Australia. The 58th Regiment of Foot was dispatched to New Zealand in February 1845, followed by further troops.

By 1863, hostilities had reignited, and the New Zealand colonial authorities sent military agents to Australian cities and towns to recruit volunteers. They included the Victorian goldfields, where gold was becoming harder to find by this time. Some 2,500 volunteers offered their services on the promise of payment by grants of confiscated Maori land. Most joined the Waikato Militia regiments, while others became scouts or bush guerrillas. Few of them were involved in major battles, and fewer than 20 were killed (Reference: Colonial period, 1788-1901, Australians at war, Australian War Memorial website).

While this was the first time colonial Australians went overseas to fight, they were not sent in contingents by Australian colonial governments. As such, they are not treated in this history as officially representing their home colonies, as was the case from the Sudan Campaign onwards.

Self-reliance from 1870

British troops withdrew by September 1870, leaving a small force of Royal Marines until 1913. Each of the colonies began to raise its own military and naval forces. Units were organised into standard formations such as battalions, with annual training camps.

Over time, the distinction between professional militia and the Volunteers became less clear, as some Volunteer units became paid or partly paid, and land grants were abolished in 1874. They lost the right to elect their officers, and were increasingly regulated. The militia was also essentially a volunteer force, as compulsory service was sometimes threatened but never enacted, so they voluntarily enlisted. After this, the military expanded and was reorganised into a more complex set of units, including Commissariat and Transport Corps, Torpedo and Signalling Corps.

The colonial military forces expanded rapidly in the early 1880s: between 1883 and 1886 the force rose from 8,000 to 22,000, although only about 1,000 were permanent soldiers[8]. After Federation, the *Defence Act of 1903* was enacted to establish the structure of the Australian Army.

The Sudan War

In 1883, the British-backed government of Egypt sent an army south to crush an indigenous rebellion led by Muhammed Ahmed, also known as the Mahdi. However, the Egyptian army was soundly defeated, leading the British to call on General Charles Gordon to evacuate the Egyptian troops. But Gordon was himself besieged in Khartoum, and was killed in January 1885. He was a heroic figure in the British Empire, and the news of his death was greeted in Canada with an offer to send troops to the Sudan. The New South Wales government made the same offer, and would cover the contingent's expenses. Other colonies also offered troops, but only New South Wales's offer was accepted by the British Government[9].

In February 1885, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Exhibition Building at Prince Alfred Park in Surry Hills to express sympathy with the Government's offer of troops and to initiate a Patriotic Fund to provide funds to assist the families of those who went[10]. It was one of the largest meetings ever held in the colony, with an estimated 12,000 people in attendance. The convener of the meeting, the Sydney Lord Mayor Alderman Thomas Playfair, pointed out that it was the first time Australian troops had been sent (by an Australian colonial government) to fight in another country for the Empire[11]. The offer was of a contingent of some 700 troops, including infantry and artillery, fully equipped with horses, guns and means of subsistence. There was no trouble finding volunteers to join the contingent[12].

Special religious services for the departure of the troops for Sudan were held in the Bourke Street Wesleyan Church, Surry Hills. About fifteen local members of the Contingent attended in uniform. The sermon was on the topic of "a good soldier of Jesus Christ", quoting from II Timothy ii, 3 and 4. The clergyman pointed out that the apostle Paul was a soldier and that military illustrations were found in his epistles[13]. The contingent left Sydney in March 1885 amid much public fanfare on a day declared a public holiday to farewell the troops.

The Attorney-General, William Dalley, received from Mr James Ward of the Allington Stove Works in Surry Hills a cheque for £5 being the amount subscribed by the men in his factory towards the Patriotic Fund. In Addition, the pupils of the Crown Street Superior Public School in Surry Hills presented a subscription of over £21 donated by the pupils of the school and £14 donated by the teachers of the school[14].

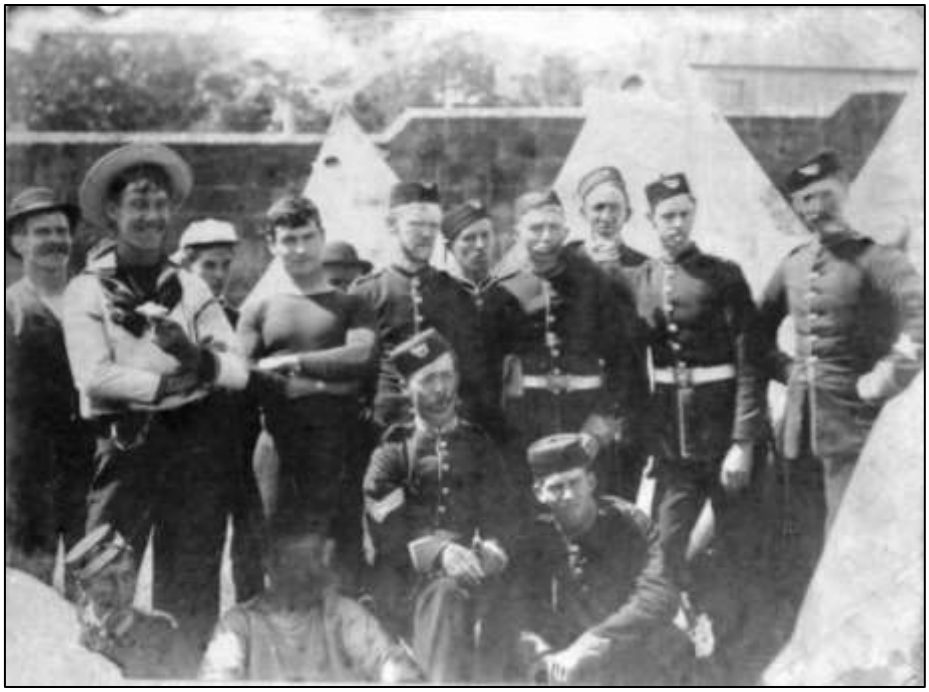

Figure 2 NSW Sudan Contingent, 1885 (Australian War Memorial)

After involvement in a minor skirmish while supporting British troops, most of the contingent worked on the railway line being laid across the desert. This was not the exciting time they had imagined, and the Australians suffered from the enforced idleness of guard duty. After two months, and not having taken part in any battles, the few Australian deaths were from disease. The only report of useful goods being sent to the troops from the home front was of fly nets that were made by women in Sydney, and which were much appreciated by the troops when the weather became hotter towards the end of the campaign[15].

By May 1885, the British Government decided to abandon the campaign and the Australian contingent sailed home, arriving in Sydney in June 1885. It was generally agreed that no matter how small the military significance of the colonial contribution, it marked an important stage in the development of a self-confident colony and reiterated the enduring link with Britain[16].

The campaign was over so quickly that there had not been time to distribute the Patriotic Fund before the troops returned[17]. Presumably the sudden arrival of the contingent in June focused the minds of the Fund's trustees towards this end. The *Protestant Standard* reported that the fund had collected some £34,424, but that only £10 has been distributed towards the immediate relief of Mrs Lewis, the mother of Gunner Lewis who died in the hospital ship at Suakin. Nobody seemed to know what to do with the rest of it[18].

The members of the Sudan Contingent were entertained at a large banquet, again in the Exhibition Building, which was for the entire contingent and not just for the officers as originally planned. The returning troops were the popular heroes of the day, and the men from country towns were feasted on their arrival home[19].

The Boer War

An economic conflict

The Second Boer War ran from October 1899 to May 1902 and was fought between the British Empire and the two Boer Republics (the South African Republic and the Orange Free State) over the influence of the British in Southern Africa. The Dutch East India Company built the first Cape settlement in 1652, bringing Southern Africa into the Dutch Empire. In 1795, revolutionary France invaded and occupied the Dutch Republic and established a puppet allied-state there known as the Batavian Republic.

All the former Dutch colonies then came under the control of the Batavian Republic, which was allied to France, the enemy of Britain in the French Revolutionary Wars. Realising its strategic importance in the control of the seas and access to India and the Far East, Britain attacked the outpost at the Cape of Good Hope in 1795. Its victory created the Cape Colony, and further battles established permanent British rule over the Cape by 1806.

The Southern African Dutch, known as the Boers, moved further north and established the South African Republic, Natal and the Orange Free State. But the British increasingly impinged in the Boer republics, eventually leading the Boers to hit back in the First Boer War from December 1880 to Mar 1881, which was a humiliating reversal for the British.

Gold was discovered in the Republic in 1886 and a large influx of British prospectors led to increasing confrontations with the Boers. Britain sought to gain control over the gold and diamond mining industries in Boer territory, and when negotiations broke down and Britain would not withdraw its troops from the borders, the President declared war on Britain. The Boers were initially successful, with more modern rifles than the British, and a more mobile mounted infantry that outmaneuvered the British foot soldiers. The Boers avoided set battles with the larger British army, and adopted commando guerrilla tactics, sniping and disrupting supply lines.

The Australian colonies join the war

Australian troops were initially detachments from the six colonies and Australians who were already working in the gold mines. After Federation in January 1901, the men of the six separate colonial contingents were reorganised into new Commonwealth contingents. The British realised the value of Australian soldiers who came from a similar terrain and were trained as mounted rifles and had the natural horsemanship and bushcraft from their upbringing, unlike the British soldiers who were mostly from urban environments.

The First New South Wales Lancers arrived in November 1899 to join the British. The Western Australian mounted infantry contingent arrived later that month. Mounted troops from the other Australian colonies arrived soon afterwards, and despite their separate origins, were all known as the 1st Australian Regiment. Some of the Australians were involved in the relief of the siege of Mafeking in May 1900, which was widely celebrated in Britain and Australia. After many battles, the Boers were overwhelmed by a 20,000 strong British force in the Battle of Bergendal in August 1900 in the last set-piece battle of the war.

After this, the Boers moved to the guerrilla phase of the war in which small bands of commandos picked off the enemy with sniping, disrupted troop movements and supply lines and launched small-

and larger-scale ambushes. A small force of Australians successfully defended the Elands River outpost against 3,000 Boers with artillery in August 1900. The Boer commander later said it was the first time in the war the Boers fought men who used their own tactics against them, scouting the Boer lines at night and killing their sentries or capturing their scouts. He admitted the Australians were far more formidable opponents than the British troops[20].

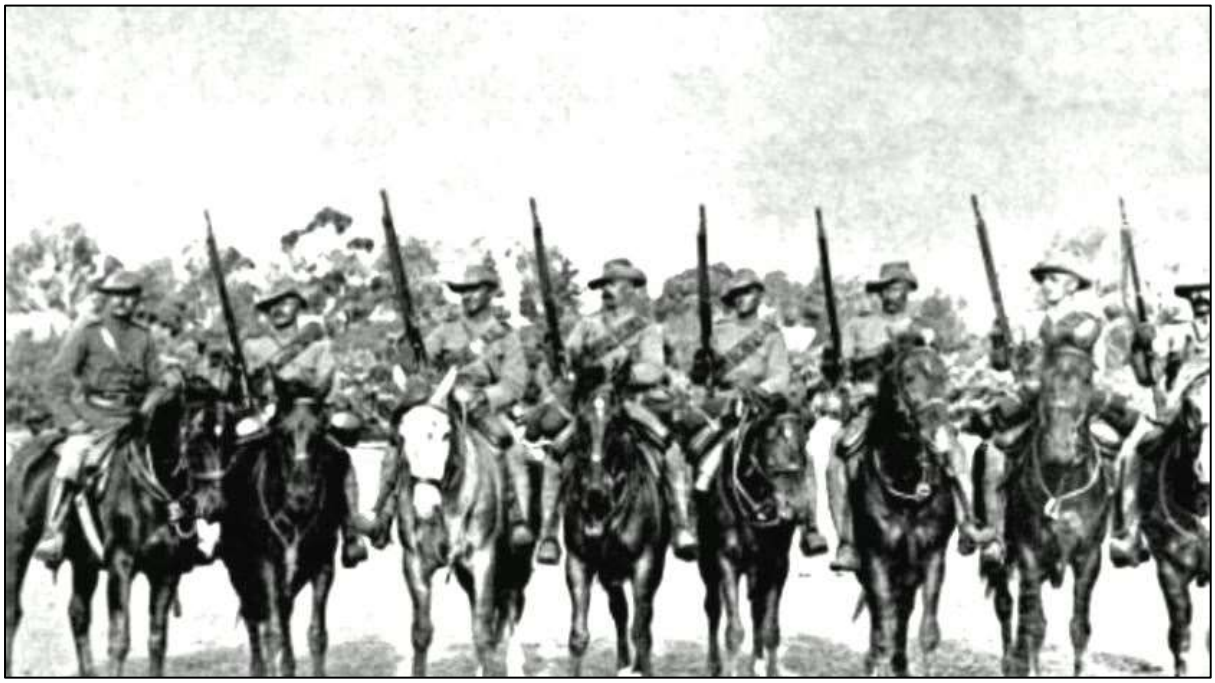

Figure 3 2nd South Australian Contingent (Australian War Memorial)

The British responded by adopting a counter-insurgency approach by using a scorched-earth policy of burning houses and crops, and interning Boers in concentration camps. This dramatically raised the cost of the campaign and negatively impacted the popularity of the campaign in Australia, even generating some sympathy for the Boers[21].

The Commonwealth of Australia was created on 1 January 1901, bringing about the formation of the Australian Army in March, to which all existing units of the six colonies were transferred. In South Africa, the individual contingents continued to be administered under the various colonial Acts until the *Defence Act* 1903 brought all of the units under one piece of legislation[22].

By the start of 1901, British forces were in control of almost all Boer territory, except parts of northern Transvaal. By mid-1901, the bulk of fighting was over. By March 1902, all significant Boer opposition had ended. The last Boers surrendered in May, peace negotiations took place, and a peace treaty was agreed. The Boer republics swore allegiance to the British crown in exchange for a general amnesty. The Dutch and Afrikaans languages would be permitted in schools and courts.

Australian troops on the British side were widely thought to be very effective, well able to match the Boer tactics of high mobility warfare due to similar upbringings and working lives. Overall, more than 16,000 Australians served in South Africa and possibly another 10,000 who enlisted in Imperial units. 251 were killed in action, 267 died of disease and 43 were missing in action. This was the third largest number of war fatalities behind the two World Wars.

The local impact of the Boer War

The Boer War is seemingly forgotten in Australia, as there are no living veterans or days of remembrance to remind us of it. Its military contribution is insignificant compared with the two World Wars that followed it. But it was a major conflict to which Britain sent nearly 450,000 troops. The Australian commitment of 16,500 troops made up over half the troops from the outer colonies in a war that was particularly bitter and bloody. The Boer War was a time when the Australian "Bushman Soldier" achieved mythical status for his bushcraft, fighting skills and representation of the supposedly real Australian spirit, in a forerunner of the brave and noble "Digger" of World War I.

Back in Australia, the initial wave of patriotic fervour began to evaporate and turned into a more critical focus. While the Australian resolve to continue the fight remained, some commentators criticised the morality of the war and the manner it was being run by the British Imperial General staff. The outcry over the executions of Lieutenants Harry "Breaker" Morant and Peter Handcock in 1902 symbolised the disillusionment with the war[23].

A Patriotic Fund was formed in November 1899 when the New South Wales Contingent was being planned, to assist members who were injured and the families of those who lost their lives[24]. A quaint feature of the contingent's departure in the troopship *Kent* was a message received in Sydney by pigeon post giving the weather conditions in the early part of the trip[25].

Arrangements were soon underway for comforts to be made and sent to the soldiers, including a meeting in St David's Church Hall in Surry Hills in January 1900[26]. Contributions poured in to the New South Wales Patriotic Fund and the Bushmen's Fund[27]. Girls from the Darlington Superior Public School were reportedly busy making caps, cholera belts (a piece of flannel of knitted wool that soldiers wrapped around the bare abdomen, as it was believed that cholera was associated with a chilling of the abdomen) and pyjamas for the wounded soldiers[28].

In February 1900, the Waverley Women's Sewing Club forwarded a large parcel to South Africa for the use of the troops. The parcel contained 468 garments, 2 large packages of tobacco, 4 dozen pipes and 1300 blocks of writing paper (and pencils), each sheet of which can be folded into a sealed envelope. The paper and pencils were donated by John Sands Ltd of George Street. Other fund-raising activities for the Patriotic Fund were being conducted throughout the State[29].

In May 1900, celebrations were held all around Sydney on the ending of the siege of Mafeking, including the playing of the National Anthem on the bells of St John's Church Darlinghurst and a victory salute by troops in Centennial Park[30]. Prisoners in Darlinghurst Gaol reportedly gave an impressive rendering of the National Anthem in celebration after the church service[31]. A public holiday was proclaimed to celebrate the relief of Mafeking, but was washed out by heavy rain and celebrations were postposed to the following Saturday[32].

In October 1900, a number of the New South Wales soldiers were invalided home, including two from Surry Hills who received a warm welcome. Many of the invalids were suffering from enteric fever (typhoid fever) and others had rheumatism[33]. Rheumatism is often caused by dampness and wet clothing and historically follows the train of war[34].

In February 1901, the Federal Contingent of new recruits camped at the Royal Agricultural Society's Ground in Moore Park and undertook testing followed by training in riding and firing[35]. By March

1901, the Sydney Hat Manufacturing Company in Surry Hills had supplied nearly 2,000 hats for the South African Contingents just before a fire destroyed their Ann Street factory[36].

Figure 4 Boer War Memorial, Millers Point (Karen Standen)

In June 1940, the first New South Wales memorial to the Boer War was opened at Miller's Point. The Government never gave the war veterans a monument, and they had to collect funds for thirty years before being able to construct their own. The memorial lists the units of the 6,000 men from New South Wales who went to the war. The stones in the memorial were from the demolished Governor Macquarie stores building in Circular Quay and date from around 1807. At the opening ceremony, the daughter of a veteran said they were the fathers of the Anzacs[37].

This is the only recorded monument to the Boer War in central Sydney. Apart from this, there are war memorial plaques and a memorial window in a few city churches. A National Boer War Memorial was finally opened in Canberra in May 2017. The memorial, on Anzac Parade, was dedicated by the Governor-General of Australia General Sir Peter Cosgrove[38].

Figure 5 Boer War Memorial, Canberra (ABC website)

The Boxer Rebellion

This was an anti-foreign, anti-imperialist and anti-Christian uprising in North China between 1899 and 1901. The rebellion was led by the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, known in English as Boxers because many of its members practised Chinese martial arts, called Chinese Boxing at the time. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, villages in North China feared the expansion of foreign powers and resented the privileges afforded to Christian missionaries. Several natural disasters occurred in 1898, such as floods and drought, which Boxers blamed on foreign and Christian influence.

From 1899, the movement spread across North Chine, destroying foreign property such as railroads and attacking Christian missions. An eight-nation Alliance of American, European, Japanese and Russian troops moved into China to lift the siege of the Peking Legation Quarter in Jun 1900. The Empress Dowager Cixi of China took the Boxers' side and declared war on the invading powers.

At the time, Australian colonies were keen to offer material support to Britain, but the bulk of their forces were engaged in the Boer War. So Naval contingents from three Australian states (New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia) were sent to offer support through coastal defence. The first Australian contingents, mainly from New South Wales and Victoria, sailed in August 1900. On arrival, they were immediately ordered to provide 300 men to help capture Chinese forts overlooking the inland rail route. But they travelled separately to the main body of troops, and when they arrived the battle was over. Another contingent from Victoria marched to another fort for ten days, only to find the town had already surrendered[39]. The six deaths that occurred were from sickness and injury, but not from enemy action[40].

As they entered the twentieth century, the Australian naval forces consisted of small numbers of reservists manning small and obsolete ships. The deployment of the South Australian gunboat *Protector* to China showed that Australian seamen were capable of when given the opportunity, and the Australian contingent commander Captain William Creswell ensured that the opportunity was not wasted[41].

Their good record in the conflict was used by Creswell to convince British Imperial and Naval authorities that Australians could train, maintain and sustain an efficient navy of their own. Although largely forgotten today, the deployment of Australian Naval Forces to the Boxer Uprising was an important step in the eventual formation of the Australian Navy in 1911.

Figure 6 NSW Naval Brigade, 1900 (Gun Plot website)

Because the much larger and more difficult Boer War occupied the attention of the press and public during this time, the short conflict in China had no recorded impact in the home front apart from publicity for the departure of the Naval Brigade in August 1900 and its return in May 1901. The men from the Naval Brigade attended divine service at St Andrew's Cathedral prior to departure in August 1900. About 300 were mustered at Fort Macquarie (formerly located on Bennelong Point), including some 110 from Victoria, and marched to the cathedral, headed by the band of the Naval forces playing patriotic marches. The route was thronged by spectators[42].

Two messages were received in Sydney by Mr Wright, Secretary of the Sydney Homing Pigeon Society from the troopship *Salamis* on its way to China with the Naval Brigade. The first was from birds liberated on the evening of departure to say the wind was blowing very hard at the Heads. The second message was received the following morning when the *Salamis* was 100 miles out to say all was well on board but the weather was rough. Mr Fleesby of Rookwood had put the birds on board just before departing Sydney, and the liberated birds returned to him[43].

On their return from China, 220 members of the Naval Brigade were placed in quarantine due to a smallpox case on board, and the apparent failure of many of the smallpox vaccinations to take hold on their departure the previous year. Those 146 servicemen who were successfully vaccinated (after examination of the marks on their arms) were brought to the town, where they were received by senior Naval personnel and marched through the town past cheering crowds to Macquarie Point where they were paid out and dismissed[44].

There were no more newspaper references to this short conflict, and in fact the point of departure was dismantled in 1903 to make way for a tram terminus at Bennelong Point. Fort Macquarie had been constructed by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in 1817 on the site of the fledgling colony's first fortification[45]. Leading up to Federation, the New South Wales Colonial Government decided to relocate these forces to Rushcutter's Bay in February 1901 while the majority of the force, the New South Wales Naval Brigade, was still serving in China during the Boxer Uprising.

There are apparently no dedicated public memorials to the Boxer Uprising, apart from its mention in the Rushcutter Naval Memorial, which was dedicated in Rushcutters' Bay in 2009[46].

Figure 7 Rushcutter Naval Memorial (War Memorials Register)

World War I

The first global war

For much of the nineteenth century, the major European powers maintained a tenuous balance of power, known as the Concert of Europe[47]. After 1848, this was challenged by Britain's withdrawal into isolation, the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of Prussia under Otto von Bismarck. Wars in the 1860s and 1870s allowed Bismarck to consolidate the German Empire under Prussian leadership.

A series of shifting alliances between European powers continued throughout the nineteenth century, mainly involving Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The early twentieth century also saw a series of crises in the Balkans as different powers sought to benefit from the Ottoman decline. A complex mix of resentment, nationalism and insecurity largely explains why the pre-1914 Balkans was known as the "powder leg of Europe"[48].

By the middle of 1914, the rulers of Europe were woven together by a web of treaties, alliances and secret agreements. One of these was the Triple Alliance of 1882 between the German Empire, Austria and Italy[49]. The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in Sarajevo in June 1914 set off a crisis in July, which became a month of diplomatic maneuvering between Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, France and Britain. By early August, Germany and Russia were at war, followed by Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France and Britain[50].

The war was not confined to Europe, but involved all of Germany's overseas colonial interests. The response in the Pacific began with New Zealand's occupation of German Samoa in August 1914, followed in September with an Australian Expeditionary Force landing in German New Guinea. Japan declared war on Germany prior to seizing territories in the Pacific and German Treaty ports in China. Japan then declared war on Austria-Hungary and promptly sank one of its ships at Tsingtao[51]. Within a few months, Allied forces had seized all the German territories in the Pacific[52].

In August 1914, French and British troops invaded various German protectorates in Africa, including Togoland, German South-West Africa and German East Africa. Thus began the world's first global conflict that lasted until 1918, and resulted in nine million soldiers dead and 23 million wounded, plus another five million civilian deaths. The war was also a major factor in the worldwide spread of the 1918 Spanish flu pandemic.

Australia joins the fight

Australia's involvement in World War began almost as soon as Britain and Germany went to war in early 1914. Liberal Prime Minister Joseph Cook and Labor opposition leader Andrew Fisher, then in the midst of an election campaign (which was won by Labor), pledged full support for Britain. The outbreak of war was greeted in Australia with great enthusiasm, as it was in many other places.

The first significant action of the war by Australians was the Australian Naval and Expeditionary Force's landing on Rabaul in September 1914. The force took possession of German New Guinea and the neighbouring islands of the Bismarck Archipelago in October 1914. The Royal Australian Navy made a major contribution when *HMAS Sydney* sank the German raider *SMS Emden*.

On 25 April 1915, members of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) landed on Gallipoli in Turkey alongside troops from New Zealand, Britain and France. This was the start of a difficult campaign that ended with the evacuation of troops from December 1915. In 1916, Australians fought campaigns on the Western front and in the Middle East. Throughout 1916 and 1917, the losses were heavy and the gains were small.

Figure 8 Preparing for Fromelles, 1916 (Australian War Memorial)

In July 1918, the Australians reached the peak of their military performance in the battle of Hamel, and from August they took part in a series of decisive advances until being relieved in October, a month before Germany's surrender on November 11. The Middle East campaign began in 1916 with Australian troops defending the Suez Canal and taking part in the allied re-conquest of the Sinai Desert. In 1917, Australian and other allied troops advanced into Palestine and by 1918 they had occupied Lebanon and Syria. At the end of October 1918, Turkey surrendered.

The First World War remains for Australia the costliest conflict in terms of deaths and injuries. Out of a population of fewer than five million, over 416,000 men enlisted, and of these 62,000 were killed and another 156,000 were wounded, gassed or taken prisoner[53].

The home front

Local defence

As soon as war broke out in Europe, little time was wasted by military authorities in making preparations for the safety of Sydney and its approaches. Five detachments of the 26th Infantry promptly left for the Hawkesbury River to take measures to secure the neighbourhood. The lack of fortifications at the mouth of the Hawkesbury was seen as a weakness in the general defence strategy around Sydney. A register of all boats and motor cars, which could be useful in an emergency, was also compiled by the defence authorities[54].

Trainees from the Surry Hills and Redfern artillery batteries were ordered to report to Victoria Barracks immediately. It was assumed they were required for coastal defence work. The Royal Australian Engineers were to provide the necessary manning for the searchlights[55]. There were no other reported defence measures during this war, as the only likely attack on the Australian mainland was from German warships. So local defence was limited to early coastal surveillance.

Supporting the troops at the Front

The Australian Red Cross Society (ARCS) performed sterling work throughout the war, providing humanitarian relief for the troops, including care parcels for sick and wounded soldiers serving overseas, and funds for hospital services. Women occupied senior positions in the ARCS, enabling them to take on jobs and a level of responsibility not available to them in peacetime. Red Cross volunteers also took part in repatriation of soldiers and helped families trace those who were missing or had been taken prisoner[56].

Women were actively encouraged to join voluntary organisations to raise money for the war and provide comforts to the troops. Many of these organisations were initiated by the Australian Red Cross and included the Citizens' War Chest Fund, Voluntary Aid Detachments, Australian Comforts Fund and the Cheer-up Society[57].

In November 1914, the *Daily Telegraph* published a letter from the Red Cross Society thanking different people and organisations for sending cases of donations to Red Cross hospitals at the front. The Surry Hills Red Cross and Local Relief Fund thanked Mr F. A. Ogden of the Crown Picture Theatre in Crown Street for donating £16, being the proceeds of the entertainment held on October 9. The Surry Hills branch was kept busy making comforts for the soldiers, and many caps, mufflers and flannel shirts had already been sent to the depot[58].

Many functions were organised for enlisted men who were departing for the front. Lieutenant Albert Oliver of the Public Works Department was farewelled by his friends and family at his home in Richards Avenue, Surry Hills. He was presented with field glasses, gold ring and a silver hunting lever. He was also given a jewel of the Masonic Order subscribed by his Masonic friends[59]. Sadly, Lieutenant Oliver did not survive the war, having died in action in August 1918[60].

Many companies encouraged their staff to donate to the various relief funds, for example in February 1916 the hat manufacturer Charles Anderson and Coy Ltd of Surry Hills contributed £3/16/7 as the fortieth weekly contribution to the National Belgian Relief Fund, along with several other companies[61]. It was reported in March 1916 that total contributions to this fund were £383,628.

There was also a Citizens' War Chest Fund, with collections of £47,775 by March 1916. A War Chest worker offered to give knitting lessons at the Pitt Street depot to enable volunteers to make comforts for the troops. Other funds that were reported at the time were the Allies Day Fund, Serbian and Montenegrin Relief Fund, and the Chamber of Commerce Far Food Fund (established to send foodstuffs to England)[62].

Figure 9 Volunteers sewing shirts for the Front, 1916 (*The Argus*, August, 1915)

During World War I, comforts funds were established for specific regiments, such as the Australian Mining Corps' Comforts Fund, the 17th Battalion Comforts Fund and the 5th Artillery Brigade Comforts Fund. In World War II, this was seen as an inefficient way to send goods to the troops, and they were directed to the Australian Comforts Fund who distributed them to all military units. Some funds were quite specialised, such as the Tanned Sheepskin Fund, administered by the Tanned Sheepskin Clothing Committee, which accepted gifts of wool and sheepskins[63].

Sometimes the transfer of goods went both ways: in April 1916, Mrs Brooks of Surry Hills took a war memento to the *Sunday Times* office. She had made a flag for the 12th Reinforcements of the 1st Battalion and gave it to her son before his departure. The flag was in the battalion colours of green and black with "1st BATT" sewn on it in large white letters. It was sent back home with every letter filled with the autographs of the comrades who Private Brooks met on the campaign. Some are from Surry Hills and the rest from other parts of Sydney[64].

Back in an era when smoking was not thought of as such a health hazard as today, funds were raised for the men at the front. In December 1916, the Southern Cross Tobacco Fund collected some £15,000 in eleven months which was spent on cigarettes and tobacco. These were packaged and sent to the troops. Each parcel contained a postcard with the name and address of the donor, to allow the recipient to send a short message back to the donor expressing his thanks for their kindness. The parcels were distributed by the Australian Comforts Fund Commissioner, working in conjunction with the English Headquarters of the Overseas Club.

Sometimes the lack of return acknowledgements were due to the challenging conditions at the front: Second Lieutenant H. Gould of the 5th Battalion AIF explained in a postcard that the packages

were distributed under heavy shell-fire, and it was impossible to gather all the acknowledgement post cards to return to the senders, but the gifts were received and were greatly appreciated. But sometimes the returning postcards came with tragic news: a card was brought into the *Sunday Times* office by a woman in tears, who handed it to the secretary, saying "I thought you would like to see that, which was sent back from my boy". It was a very dirty postcard, crumpled and torn. On it was written "Thank you for the cigarettes, they saved my life". The mother said "they didn't, though, because they took this card from his pocket when they buried him"[65].

Post-war support for the troops

When returning troops from World War I disembarked at docks across Australia, they carried the effects of their experiences in a terrible and destructive war. New high-power warfare technology and chemical weapons led to shocking injuries, and many veterans suffered physical and mental damage. In late 1914, the Federal Government established a war pension scheme to help wounded veterans and the families of those who were killed.

Figure 10 WWI welcome home parade, Sydney (Australian War Memorial)

But the growing number of casualties prompted the need for a comprehensive and centralised repatriation scheme. In 1918, the Government established the Repatriation Department to help returned veterans resettle in the Australian community. The department introduced programs to assist veterans develop their vocational skills and find jobs, and supported their independence through pensions and loans.

The department also provided medical services to meet the extensive and varied needs of veterans and their dependents. It was an enormous undertaking, and the Government had no model to work from. The long-term costs of ongoing medical care and welfare benefits after the war were on a scale unprecedented in this country[66].

This selective trial run of the welfare state proved as unaffordable as the wartime decision to sustain a huge Australian Imperial Force. But any attempt to restrict benefits to the most deserving was shouted down by veterans and their supporters in parliament and the press. The loss of so many

men and the channelling of so much money into healing the pain of war delayed political reform and economic advance for some years[67].

In the lead-up to Christmas 1916, the Red Cross Society entertained about 1000 children of soldiers at the roller skating rink in the Hall of Industries, Moore Park. A Fruit and Vegetable Fund organised by the Society reportedly had enough supplies to add 200 to 300 additional families of the wives of soldiers with three children to receive regular weekly supplies. Christmas puddings were being collected for soldiers' families[68].

In May 1919, *The Sun* reported on a factory in Reservoir Street Surry Hills that made toys for the Red Cross and where sick and wounded returned soldiers were employed to bridge the gap between convalescence and normal working efficiency. Nearly a hundred returned soldiers had passed though the factory, and of these very few had to be rejected as unsuitable and returned to hospital. The lady in charge said that they didn't pretend to teach the men a trade, but allowed them to employ their time profitably until they were ready to go back to their pre-war jobs or take up better employment[69].

Figure 11 Post-WWI vocational training (National Archives of Australia)

In August 1919, the Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park was leased to the Repatriation Department as a training school for ex-servicemen[70]. Training was concentrated on those men who enlisted for active service while under age (and so had not completed a useful education) or were incapacitated (and had obvious special needs). Bricklaying, tile laying, building construction, basket making, tailoring and other trades were taught. The aim was to reach 40% efficiency, at which point they could be sent out to civil employment as industrial trainees. By May 1920, 180 men were attending classes[71].

Daceyville (originally Dacey Garden Suburb) was one of the three "model" suburbs established in the early twentieth century (the others were Haberfield and Rosebery) in response to appalling living conditions experienced by the working class in late nineteenth-century. Daceyville was an initiative

of the New South Wales Department of Housing, and was the nation's first public housing scheme. The original grand vision was for a sprawling suburb fanning out from the corner of Gardeners Road and Anzac Parade in Kingsford, extending all the way to Botany Bay.

Begun in June 1912, Daceyville was a hive of activity until construction almost stalled with the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, when labour and materials were carefully marshalled by the Government. In 1916 it was decided to make the completed houses available to fifty war widows, and the scheme slowly changed from a workers' suburb to one associated with returned servicemen. This association grew once the suburb's newly completed streets were being named after senior officers from World War I.

By 1919, the need to house thousands of returned soldiers became more important than the original working-class rental scheme. In the end, only 315 of the intended 1473 cottages were completed when construction ceased in June 1920. Though Daceyville fell well short of its original plans, the early residents were unanimously grateful for their new homes. It contained services that were new for their time, such as a sewerage connection, curbed streets, electricity and large verandahs[72].

In May 1922, the Sydney Lord Mayor recommended that the Council authorise the Town Clerk to employ twenty to thirty unemployed returned soldiers over the winter to level off various sections of Moore Park, as requested by the City Surveyor. This was in preparation for works such as a new playing area in the park for cricket and other sports[73].

Restrictions

Anti-German feeling was widespread throughout Australian society from early in the war, and this increased markedly after the controversial sinking of the Cunard passenger liner *Lusitania* by a German submarine in May 1915. In September 1915, a large gathering of the residents of Surry Hills held at the Addison Hall in Crown Street resolved unanimously to form an Anti-German League in the suburb[74]. A week later, a meeting of the League in Surry Hills passed a resolution indignantly protesting the retention of Germans in Government service in paid positions of trust and demanded their dismissal, and that all Germans should be interned. The meeting's opinion was that no man of Hun blood in his veins was to be trusted[75].

The following month, it was reported that Captain Wilfred Gottlieb Nordmann, who had a brother in the Germany Navy and another in the German Army, would be relieved of his position as an Area Officer with the Australian Forces in Surry Hills. He was awarded a commission in the AIF, but owing to feeling aroused among the men at the Liverpool Camp, he was not permitted to accompany the unit to the front. Most resentment was caused at his retention in the Commonwealth Military forces by his appointment at Surry Hills. But local residents were more conciliatory and wanted to know if the Captain might be able to resume his position after the war[76].

Enemy nationals were required to report regularly to police, but in March 1916 three Germans were prosecuted at the Paddington Police Court for not presenting themselves as ordered, two of them not since 1914. Two were sentenced to a month's gaol, but Kurt Bear of Commonwealth Street Surry Hills was sentenced to three months' gaol. The magistrate was told the defendants would be interned on their release[77].

Figure 12 Anti-German League button, 1917

In October 1914, the Commonwealth Government enacted the *Trading with the Enemy Act*, which gave the Government the power to take over companies owned by enemy aliens[78]. The first proceedings under this Act were undertaken before the High Court in November 1914 when the Customs Department applied for permission to put a comptroller into the offices of the Continental Rubber Company in Melbourne, on the grounds that the Crown believed that the company would send revenue to Germany[79].

Continental operated a city office in Clarence Street in early 1914[80]. In October that year, the Managing Director announced the construction of a large works in Marrickville, despite supply difficulties caused by the war[81]. But in March 1916, the Federal Court ordered that all the company's stock be moved to Melbourne to give the Government control over how its products were distributed[82].

After the war, the General Rubber Company bought Continental's stock from the Commonwealth Government and advertised it for sale in 1919[83]. Despite being on the losing side in two World Wars, Continental has survived as a successful multinational automotive parts manufacturer specialising in tyres and other components for cars, motorcycles and bicycles[84].

There were few Germans in New South Wales in the early colony, as the assisted migration scheme from 1828 attracted predominately British settlers. But by 1856, there were 5,245 Germans in the colony and almost double that by 1891. German settlers generally absorbed well into their local communities, but they maintained strong cultural ties with their German heritage[85].

The German Concordia Club, one of the city's oldest community clubs, began life in 1883 in Elizabeth Street, Sydney[86]. But, in a move that was repeated in World War II, the club was forced to close in May 1915 when the government reacted to anti-German hysteria by interning over sixty of its members as enemy aliens[87]. The German Club in Phillip Street was also closed, along with the other German clubs throughout the State[88].

Restrictions were also placed on sporting activities during the war. As the high number of casualties from the Gallipoli campaign became known, the middle and upper classes saw sport as frivolous, and sports associated with these classes were suspended during the war, such as rugby, tennis, cricket

and hockey. But working class sports such as rugby league continued, and the Victorian Football League (Australian Rules) maintained a reduced competition from 1915[89].

Despite the wartime restrictions, cricket was played on special occasions: in August 1917 the Moore Park Cricket Association was urged to arrange a match "for patriotic purposes" between old Moore Park players and those currently ineligible for the war (presumably because of age or working in essential occupations). The former Australian Test cricketers Sydney Gregory and Frank Iredale and the NSW cricketer James Searle were mentioned as possible players[90]. The Royal Agricultural Show in Moore Park continued to be held every Easter through World War I, with troops billeted in the Showground oval for the duration of the war, and was only cancelled in 1919 due to the Spanish Influenza outbreak in Sydney[91].

Possibly the greatest restriction imposed on the Australian public during World War I was the introduction of early closing in hotels and bars. At a time when there were calls for wartime austerity, temperance campaigners seized on a drunken riot among soldiers training for the front and persuaded the New South Wales Government to hold a referendum on closing hours in June 1916. Electors were invited to select a closing time of six, seven, eight or nine o'clock. The majority voted for six o'clock, and nine o'clock was second with around half as many votes. The inner city suburbs of Redfern and Surry Hills voted for the nine o'clock option[92]. Following the referendum, six o'clock closing commenced in New South Wales with the passing of the *Early Closing Act 1916*[93].

But the real impact of early closing only became clear after the war ended, when the troops returned and went back to work. Most workers finished work at five o'clock, giving them one hour to consume as much alcohol as possible before six o'clock closing. The frenzied nature of this one-hour binge every working day became known as the six o'clock swill[94].

The temperance movement had long campaigned for a reduction in the number of hotels and bars, and eventually persuaded the New South Wales Government to hold Local Option polls during the State elections of 1907, 1910 and 1913. In these polls, the voters were asked if they wanted the same number of pubs in their electorate, or fewer, or none at all. No electorate ever voted for complete abolition, but many voted for a reduction, and a handful of pubs were closed down in each of those electorates through the State. However, the Sydney electorates thought to have far too many pubs, such as Surry Hills, The Rocks, Ultimo and Woolloomooloo, stubbornly voted to retain all of their pubs, much to the frustration of the temperance advocates[95].

But in 1920, the New South Wales Government established a Licences Reduction Board with the authority to close down the dodgiest pubs in all electorates that exceeded a statuary number based on population. As a result, the axe was finally taken to the overcrowded inner city suburbs, closing 24 pubs in Surry Hills alone by 1923[96].

Recruitment

On the declaration of war in August 1914, Australians responded with enthusiasm. Many men rushed to enlist, keen to share in the action and adventure, many believing it would be over by Christmas. Military training for Australian men over 18 had been compulsory since 1911 (but only for service within Australia), but there was no compulsion to enlist when World War I broke out. At the start, the rush to volunteer was so intense that recruitment officers were forced to turn people

away. However, as the war dragged on, casualty rates increased and the number of volunteers declined[97].

Figure 13 WWI recruiting poster (America Fine Art)

By 1916, the AIF faced a shortage of men, but extensive advertising campaigns failed to change the trend. In April 1916, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that the previous year saw a big falling off in new recruits at Victoria Barracks, Paddington. There was an even poorer return of recruits so far in 1916, and the previous week's total of only 351 recruits was the lowest since recruiting began at the Barracks[98].

Prime Minister Billy Hughes was convinced that conscription was the answer. Despite opposition in his own Labor Party and furious debate in the Australian community, he took the issue to a national vote in October 1916[99]. The voters would be asked if they were in favour of the Government having the compulsory power over citizens requiring their military services for the terms of the war outside the Commonwealth of Australia as it then had for military service within the Commonwealth[100].

Campaigning for and against conscription was intense on both sides. On one occasion, an organiser from the National Referendum Campaign went to the corner of Foveaux and Bourke Streets in Surry Hills with a case for a platform and bundles of literature. But anti-conscription supporters commandeered his box and a bundle of his pamphlets. He was then obliged to make a strategic retreat after being threatened with broken bottles, stones and a "baptism" in a nearby horse trough[101].

The referendum was narrowly defeated. War enlistment continued to decline and Hughes held another referendum in December 1917. It was again defeated, this time with a slightly larger majority. Australia and South Africa were the only participating countries not to introduce conscription during the war[102].

Some new recruits were reportedly having difficulty coming to terms with the autocratic nature of military life. In March 1916, following the riots at Liverpool and the Casula army training camp

(which prompted the early closing referendum in June), senior officers complained that there was a lack of appreciation of the gravity of the offence of mutiny in the ranks.

Many recruits were of the opinion that when a number of them combined together in refusing to obey orders, it was merely a "strike", which in civilian life was not a criminal offence. The troops had to be reminded that a combined refusal to obey orders constituted mutiny and as such was a very grave military offence, punishable under the *Army Act*. Section 7 of the Act was read out and explained to each monthly batch of recruits[103].

Army recruiting was conducted in Prince Alfred Park in Surry Hills from 1915, sometimes inside the Exhibition Building[104] and at other times from tents erected in the park. Senior community figures often spoke at the meetings[105]. By November 1915 (near the end of the Gallipoli campaign) the newspapers were reporting that recruiting for the Army was disappointing, with the numbers well short of the 9,600 men per month required for reinforcements.

Figure 14 Recruitment poster, 1917 (David Souter)

In May 1917, a large recruiting tent was again erected in Prince Alfred Park, where returned ANZACs spoke at the rallies. On one occasion, a Redfern man named Sydney Williams offered to enlist to take the place of a workmate who had been killed at the Western Front. When his mate was about to leave on active service, Williams offered to take his place if he was "knocked out". When he learned of his mate's fate, Williams turned up at the Prince Alfred Park recruiting tent to enlist[106]. Recruitment meetings were held in workplaces right up to the last year of the war. In February 1918, Lieutenant Thomson and Warrant Officer Blake addressed a recruiting meeting at Newland's Bedstead Factory in Riley Street, Surry Hills[107].

The wartime experience of Arthur Stace (1885-1967), known throughout Sydney as the "Eternity Man", illustrates the changes in recruitment standards as new volunteers became harder to find. In August 1914, the acceptable ages for recruits were 19-38, with a minimum height of 5ft 6in and

chest measurement of 34 inches. In June 1915, these were changed to 18-45 years and 5ft 2in, and in April 1917 the minimum height was reduced to 5ft. During the first year, about 33% of volunteers were rejected[108].

Arthur Stace, who was 5ft 3in, was initially rejected because of his height, but was finally accepted in 1916, and served as a stretcher bearer in France from February 1917. These bearers did not win Victoria Crosses, but they witnessed appalling scenes as they recovered the shattered bodies of their mates, sometimes under enemy fire. Much of the carnage they saw and the fear they felt was internalised and they were traumatised for the rest of their lives. After a few months In France, Stace became seriously ill with pleurisy and after recovering was wounded when a poison gas shell exploded next to him. He returned to Australia in February 1919 and was discharged as medically unfit, with a weakened chest and "disordered action of the heart", according to his war record[109] - generally known at the time as shell-shock.

Stace's early life was about as hard as it gets: born in Redfern and raised in poverty, he claimed that his youth was divided between gaol time for drunkenness, unstable employment and theft. He also claimed that his sisters were prostitutes and his brothers died as derelict drunks. He said that his usual employment was as a grog-runner from a Surry Hills hotel to the local two-up schools and brothels.

Despite his wartime experiences and against all the odds, after the war Arthur Stace gave up crime and alcohol and found relatively stable employment. One day in 1930, he heard a sermon at the Burton Street Baptist Church in Darlinghurst in which the ex-army chaplain declared that he "wished he could write Eternity on all the streets of Sydney". Somehow this resonated with Stace, and he was inspired to take a piece of chalk and anonymously write "Eternity" on Sydney's streets thousands of times until he died.

Wartime production

By May 1916, ten Australian hat manufacturers were busy making over 450,000 slouch hats for the AIF (one for each member of the Force). Four Sydney companies were contracted by the Government, the largest being Charles Anderson's Federal Hat Mills (Albion Street, Surry Hills), followed by the Union Hat Mills (Phillip Street, Waterloo), Dunkerley Hat Mills (Crown Street, Surry Hills) and John Bardsley and Sons (Moore Street, Leichhardt) were the other companies[110].

Charles Anderson started making hats as the Sydney Hat Manufacturing Co for the New South Wales Contingent of the Boer War in 1901. After moving to a new factory behind Durham Hall in Albion Street (and changing the name to the Federal Hat Mills), Anderson was awarded the largest contract to make slouch hats for the AIF in World War I.

Dunkerley Hat Mills, makers of the famous Akubra hats, had a small factory in Crown Street when the firm was awarded a Government contract to modify their machines to make 23,040 slouch hats for the AIF[111]. This forged a relationship with the armed forces that continues to this day. With the increased business generated during World War I, new owner Stephen Keir decided to construct a much larger factory in Bourke Street, Waterloo, which was opened in 1919[112].

Figure 15 Dunkerley Hat Mills, Surry Hills (Akubra website)

William Joseph Amor (c1861-1955) arrived in Sydney from England on a recuperative holiday in 1886. He had been trained in the art of die engraving in England, Paris, Berlin and Vienna. An engraver at the Sydney Mint suggested he remain in the colony and work here. He did, and in 1888 set himself up as a die engraver at 321 George Street. He prospered and moved to various larger premises, at each phase contributing medallion mementos of major events in Australian history[113]. From 1915[114], the company operated from a factory that William Amor designed and built at 24 Wentworth Avenue[115].

In May 1919, Amor Pty Ltd was busy making about one million Peace Medals which the Government wanted to distribute to every school child under fifteen. Amor was the only New South Wales firm making the medals, and the sixty workers on the job were turning out some 25,000 per day for delivery to the Defence Department in time for distribution in the month after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles (which occurred on 28 June 1919 and marked the official return of peace in Europe).

Figure 16 Australian Peace Medal, 1919 (Gumnut Antiques)

Tenders to manufacture the medals had been called for in all States and several contracts were awarded, but Amor Pty Ltd was awarded twice as many as the number allocated to any other factory. It was testimony to the Australian production industry that it produced over 1,500,000 medals in only a few months. The Peace Medal was a significant marker of both global and local

events that shaped Australia's identity, and a physical symbol of the relief felt throughout the world when World War I ended in 1918[116].

Apart from headwear and medals, several other well-known Sydney firms provided supplies to the military during the war, as published in the *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* from 1915 to 1918. The following is a small sample of the vast range of clothing, equipment, food, medical supplies and everything else provided to keep the Anzacs equipped, fed and reasonably healthy in the field:

- David Jones and Co – 4,200 housewives (sewing kits)
- Anthony Hordern and Sons Ltd – service dress jackets, Bengal razors, towels, cutlery, woollen singlets
- Grace Bros, Broadway, Glebe – woollen socks, singlets, drawers, Bengal razors, towels
- Metters Page Stove Coy, Richmond – 120 ovens
- Larke Hoskins and Co – motor van
- Nock and Kirby Ltd – razors
- Parke Davis and Co – chloroform, morphine sulphate tablets, adrenalin chloride[117].

Spanish Flu pandemic

An extremely virulent strain of influenza appeared in Europe early in 1918 and rapidly spread around almost the whole world, including remote Pacific islands and the Arctic. Eventually some 500 million people were infected, of which between 50 and 100 million died (3 to 5 per cent of the world's population). It became known as Spanish Flu, not because it arose in Spain, but because Spain was a neutral country during World War I and had uncensored newspapers (which meant that only the Spanish press would report bad news like an influenza pandemic). The 1918 strain of the H1N1 virus was unusual in that it had a high rate of conversion to deadly pneumonia, and because it largely affected young fit people and pregnant women.

The virus arrived in Australia early in 1919, most probably carried by troops returning from the Western Front. Public health measures were instigated to minimise the spread of the contagion: many indoor entertainments such as concerts and film screenings were banned, and masks were made compulsory in trains, trams, the cabins of ferries and lifts[118].

The Red Cross Emergency Committee established Emergency Depots across Sydney in the spring of 1918 when it was feared the pandemic might break quarantine and be brought to the city from the harbour. The strict quarantine regulations managed to prevent this until thousands of troops began to return home from the Western Front in early 1919. The depots were brought into active service following the first outbreak in Melbourne in January 1919. The Surry Hills depots were at the Crown Street School, the Riley Street School, and the Bourke Street School[119].

At the emergency depot established by the Red Cross at the Bourke Street School, part of the building was converted into an emergency kitchen with two gas stoves and the required utensils to turn out hundreds of meals at short notice, both for staff and for flu sufferers who were isolated at home. Much of the house-to-house visitation and the assistance at the emergency depots were being done by members of the Voluntary Aid Detachments (VAD)[120].

Due to the strained resources of the Coast Hospital for infectious diseases, in March 1919 the State Government decided to cancel the Easter Show for the year and convert the Hall of Industries into

the Moore Park Emergency Hospital. A large staff of doctors, nurses and orderlies worked day and night to fight the fearsome epidemic. A *Daily Telegraph* reporter observed that inside the Hall of Industries the rows of convalescents in deck chairs indicated where the fight was being won, but those swathed in white in the temporary morgue showed where the fight had been lost[121].

By May 1919, the initial wave of the epidemic began to wane and most restrictions were lifted[122]. But a second wave began in June, and the Government reopened 58 emergency depots for giving medical attention, including the Crown Street School, Riley Street Public School and Bourke Street School[123]. The biggest problem was reportedly the shortage of doctors and nurses, great numbers of whom were ill with or had succumbed to the disease[124].

The second wave was more severe than the first one[125], but it began to decline in July[126]. The last death at the Moore Park temporary hospital occurred in September 1919[127] and the pandemic was over by the end of 1919.

Across the globe, the influenza pandemic was devastating to countries only starting to recover from years of war. Many more people died of the Spanish Flu (50-100 million) than died in World War I (18 million). In Australia, the 15,000 deaths was a quarter of the 62,000 death toll from the war. Up to 40% of the population was infected, and some Aboriginal communities experienced a mortality rate of 50%[128].

Memorials

Almost one in five of the Australians who served overseas in World War were killed, and nearly half of those who returned were either wounded, gassed or had been taken prisoner. In addition, an unknown number were traumatised by their experience. Hardly a family or community did not lose a relative or acquaintance. This bereavement was different because, by the early twentieth century, improved life expectancy meant that death was usually through old age. But from April 1915, the older generation was unexpectedly mourning the younger generation.

The other unusual aspect of this grieving was that the dead lay on foreign soil half a world away, because Australian government policy (as in Britain) prevented the return of soldiers who had died overseas. As a result, families were deprived of the traditional burial rituals and a physical grave as a focus of mourning. Consequently, communities began to erect monuments and memorials. Some memorials were utilitarian, usually in the form of halls such as town halls or returned services' association meeting rooms.

But more commonly, monuments were erected. No single design dominated, but the obelisk was the most popular. It was easy to make and supply, it was non-sectarian (as opposed to a cross), recognisable as a symbol of death and glory, and provided several surfaces to inscribe names and messages. Memorials began to spring up well before the War ended, and the first anniversary of Anzac Day was a catalyst for building many memorials[129].

Anzac Obelisk, Moore Park

The Anzac Obelisk was constructed in 1917 in memory of those from New South Wales who served in the War, and to mark the widening and renaming of Randwick Road to Anzac Parade. It was originally located on the median strip at the northern end of Anzac Parade near Moore Park Road. It was moved some hundred metres south in 1998 when the works commenced for the Eastern

Distributor. The obelisk was then removed in 2014 because of its proximity to the new Albert (Tibby) Cotter Walkway over Anzac Parade. It was relocated in March 2017 in Moore Park East, not far from its original location. Electric lanterns have replaced the original gas lanterns in the same style[130].

Figure 17 Anzac Obelisk Moore Park, 1917 (Centennial Parklands website)

Moore Park Cricketers' Memorial fountain, Moore Park

This fountain was erected in 1921 by members of the Moore Park Cricket Association in memory of their comrades who died in World War I. It is located on the corner of Cleveland and South Dowling Streets, diagonally opposite the Bat and Ball Hotel[131]. The memorial is constructed in sandstone on a trachyte foundation with a bronze panel containing the names of the 32 players who died. Altogether 375 players from the Association enlisted in the War[132]. The memorial was restored in 2004 to repair the effects of weather and pollution.

Figure 18 Cricketers' Memorial Fountain, Moore Park

Albert Tibby Cotter Walkway, Moore Park

The shared pedestrian and cycle pathway over Anzac Parade was built in time for the Cricket World Cup in February 2015, at a cost of $38 million. As it is located some hundred metres away from the two most popular walking routes from the city to the sports grounds (Moore Park Road and Cleveland Street), it is greatly underused[133].

Because the walkway's construction coincided with the centenary of the Gallipoli landing by Australian troops in April 1915, the State Government decided to link the walkway with this event by naming it after Albert "Tibby" Cotter (1883-1917), an Australian Test cricketer who also served at Gallipoli. While not as well-known today as local cricket greats of the time such as Victor Trumper, Cotter took 89 wickets in 21 Tests and scored 2,450 first-class runs.

Figure 19 Albert "Tibby" Cotter Walkway, Moore Park

He enlisted in the AIF in April 1915 and served in Gallipoli with the 1st Light Horse. While acting as a stretcher bearer in October 1917 he was killed in the third Battle of Gaza. He had just taken part in the most famous mounted action in the war, the charge of the Light Horse to capture the wells at Beersheba, when he was shot at close range while dismounting[134].

Crown Street Public School War Memorial, Surry Hills

The War Memorial commemorates ex-pupils of the school who served in World War I, and shows an Australian soldier on a stone plinth. At the end of the war, the Crown Street Public School formed a committee and applied unsuccessfully for funds from the NSW Government and the NSW Department of Education.

Functions were held to raise money and children were given cards with which to collect pennies. Sufficient funds were raised by early 1919 to erect the monument which is inscribed with 300 names of former pupils of the school who served in the war[135].

Figure 20 Crown Street School War Memorial (Virtual War Memorial)

The monument was unveiled in July 1919 in front of almost 3000 people. At the ceremony, the pupils were presented with their Peace Medals[136]. The monument was restored by the NSW RSL in 1983.

New South Wales Police Force Honour Roll

The honour roll commemorates members of the New South Wales Police Force who served in World War I. It is a white marble slab with names in five columns, mounted on a black marble plinth, and is located in the main entrance foyer of the Sydney Police Centre in Goulburn Street, Surry Hills[137].

Figure 21 NSW Police Force Honour Roll WWI (War Memorial Register)

The memorial was unveiled in May 1919 at a ceremony outside police headquarters in Phillip Street, where about 200 police attended. The Chief Secretary, George Fuller, said that so many of them enlisted for active service that it became necessary to prohibit further enlistments. Of the 220 men who had fought, many had won honours, while 46 lost their lives[138].

Paddington War Memorial

The Paddington War Memorial was dedicated in November 1922. It is a column of polished trachyte on a massive block of trachyte inscribed on the four sides with the names of the men who died in action or from wounds in World War I.

It was originally located at the corner of Newcombe and Oxford Streets on land donated by the trustees of the Paddington Methodist Church[139]. In February 1940, the monument was moved to its present position in the Barrack Reserve near the Paddington Town Hall, in anticipation of the widening of Oxford Street[140].

Figure 22 Paddington War Memorial (City Art Sydney)

World War II

The origins of World War II

By the time World War I ended in late 1918, many of Europe's economies had been devastated, including those of the victorious Allies. The French economy was in a desperate state, and Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau aimed to improve French security via the Treaty of Versailles. French demands such as reparations on Germany and a demilitarised Rhineland were included in the Treaty[141]. The Allies blamed Germany entirely for starting the war. A greatly weakened France feared a resurgent Germany and sought to isolate and punish it.

The excessive amount of reparations, coal payments and the principle of a demilitarised Rhineland were largely viewed by Germans as insulting and unreasonable. The resultant Treaty of Versailles formally ended the war, but was not lenient enough to appease Germany, nor strong enough to prevent it from becoming a dominant power again[142]. The German people largely viewed the Treaty as punishment for them and not an assurance of long-term peace. It imposed a harsh monetary penalty, demilitarisation requirements and dismemberment of German territory, causing mass ethnic resettlement and separation of ethnic Germans into neighbouring countries.

By the Great Depression in the early 1930s, militaristic and nationalistic ideologies prevailed in Germany, Japan and Italy. Under the Nazi regime from 1933, Germany began a program of expansion that sought to restore what it saw as its rightful boundaries. The Rhineland was remilitarised in 1936, and in 1938 Germany was allowed to take over the Sudetenland, a predominantly German region in Czechoslovakia. But Hitler wanted Poland to be part of Germany, and in September 1939 the German armed forces invaded Poland, activating a series of alliances between the major powers of Europe that plunged the continent into war.

Australia in World War II

On the day in September 1939 the Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies learned that Britain was at war, he announced the beginning of Australia's involvement in the war on every national and commercial radio station in Australia. The Royal Australian Navy (RAN) participated in operations against Italy after its entry into the war in June 1940.

A few Australians fought in the Battle of Britain in August and September, but the Australian army was not engaged in combat until 1941, when three divisions joined Allied operations in the Mediterranean and North Africa. After being relieved at Tobruk at the end of 1941, two divisions departed the Mediterranean for the war against Japan. The last remaining division played an important role in the victory at El Alamein in October 1942 before it also left for the Pacific.

Figure 23 The Rats of Tobruk, 1941 (Australian War Memorial)

Japan entered the war in December 1941 and rapidly achieved a series of victories, occupying most of South East Asia and large areas of the Pacific. Singapore fell in February 1942 with the capture of an entire Australian division. After the bombing of Darwin began in the same month, all Australian ships and army divisions returned to defend Australia.

In response to the increased threat, the Australian Government expanded the army and air force and overhauled the economic, domestic and industrial policies to put the country on a total war footing at home. But from March 1942, Japan's southward push began to falter, easing fears of an imminent invasion of Australia. More relief came when the first army veterans returned from the Mediterranean campaigns and when the United States assumed responsibility for the country's defence with resources and equipment.

The Allies then won a series of decisive victories in the Coral Sea, at Midway, the Kokoda Trail and at Milne Bay. In 1943, Australian troops were mainly engaged in land battles in New Guinea. This was Australia's largest and most complex offensive of the war and was not completed until April 1944. The final series of campaigns were fought in Borneo in 1945, many of questionable necessity, right up to the end of the war in August 1945.

Almost a million Australians fought in World War II. 39,000 lost their lives and over 30,000 were taken prisoner, two-thirds of them taken in the first weeks of 1942. While most German prisoners of war had a strong chance of returning home, 36% of prisoners of the Japanese died in captivity.

Labour shortages forced the Government to allow women to take a more active role in war work. In February 1941, the RAAF established the Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force (WAAAF) and the navy established the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS) in 1942. In October 1941 the Australian Women's Army Service (AWAS) was established with the aim of releasing men from some military duties in Australia for assignment to fighting units overseas.

Outside the armed forces, the Australian Women's Land Army (AWLA) was established to encourage women to work in rural industries. Other women in urban areas took up work in industries such as munitions production[143].

The home front

Despite, or perhaps because of, their vivid memories of the horrors of World War I, many Australians continued their day-to-day lives during the early years of World War II. They battled with rising prices and unemployment, but unless they had relatives serving overseas they did not sense any real danger. However, the war started to hit home by the middle of 1941: the failure of the campaign in Greece, the battle casualties and the indications that Japan might enter the war increased Australian feelings of vulnerability[144].

Public safety

Few Australian cities had the level of air-raid defences that protected London during the Blitz in 1940-41, but Australians prepared for attack with whatever resources they had available. Volunteer air observers were constantly vigilant and civilians of all ages practised concealment. Air Raid Precautions (ARP) was one of the most-remembered aspects of the home front. Wardens carried gas masks, helmets and rattles or whistles.

Figure 24 Crown Street Women's Hospital air raid drill, 1941 (City of Sydney)

School children were issued identity tags in case they had to be evacuated to somewhere safer and told to carry something to bite on to limit the shock of a bomb blast. People often found it difficult to take ARP drill seriously, but there was a serious purpose behind it[145]. Men, women and children were called upon by John Curtin, Prime Minister from October 1941, to protect their homes from the enemy. Anticipating Japanese air raid and submarine attacks, blackout restrictions were introduced in February 1942 and air raid warning instructions issued. Families dug air raid shelters in their backyards and barbed wire was strung across beaches.

Many men who couldn't enlist because of their age or essential war occupation joined home defence organisations. Members of the Volunteer Defence Corps (VDC) and Volunteer Air Observers Corps (VAOC) helped erect and patrol coastal defences or spot aircraft and shipping. The National Emergency Services (NES) appointed air raid wardens whose job was to monitor both air raid

security and breaches of blackout regulations. In cities and in the country, evacuation procedures were planned and practised[146].

The war reached Australian shores soon after the Japanese captured the important base of Singapore in February 1942. Days later, they launched an air raid on Darwin, killing 243 people. Japanese midget submarines entered Sydney Harbour in May 1942, firing torpedoes and sinking one ship, killing 21 sailors[147].

The National Emergency Services (NES) was established in New South Wales in January 1939 in response to the Victorian Black Friday bushfires, which claimed 71 lives. The NES aimed to deal with major catastrophes like floods or fires, as well as air raid precautions. The organisation would coordinate existing emergency organisations such as the Ambulance, Fire Brigades, the Red Cross and Police Department to manage national emergencies[148]. In September 1939, a week after the war started, the New South Wales Governor Lord Wakehurst addressed a meeting of emergency service volunteers and noted that the gathering was of people from a generation who had hoped twenty years ago that they had put aside war for the rest of their lives. But they were determined to see this thing through, as they had done in 1914-18[149].

Figure 25 Sydney GPO air raid protection (National Archives of Australia)

In June 1941, the Minister for National Emergency Services announced that regular air raid drill would commence soon for staff of all Government offices. The Minister was also arranging test blackouts in some Sydney suburbs[150]. Then in August, a test blackout of the whole metropolitan area was conducted. This gave Sydneysiders their first experience of the conditions of an air raid. But there were cases of carelessness or indifference when people failed to co-operate, either by switching their lights back on before the drill ended or not obscuring their windows properly[151].

There were fines for not switching off lights during a blackout. The owner of a Greek refreshment room at Maroubra Junction was one of ten people prosecuted after a test in September. He blamed his cat, claiming that he switched off his lights before going out during the evening and they were still out when he returned. He said the cat must have pulled the light on after he left and pulled it off before he arrived home. But the acrobatic feline did not impress the magistrate, who fined the owner £10. Six companies were also fined £20 each, including the local firm Morgan Crucible Co Pty Ltd of Hutchinson Street Surry Hills[152].

In December 1941, plans were made to evacuate the 600 children who attended Sydney Day Nurseries if an emergency occurred. They were mainly in congested suburbs such as Surry Hills, Woolloomooloo, Redfern, Newtown and Paddington[153].

The same month, the Premier William McKell announced that parents who were able to do so should transfer their children from Sydney, Port Kembla and Newcastle to country districts as part of the Government's evacuation policy. Centres for enrolment were opened in Prince Alfred Park and in Moore Park, and the Government was working to obtain contact details of country people willing to accommodate the city children[154].

A range of protective measures were instigated for large buildings in Sydney. In January 1942, workers at the Australian Cellucotton Products factory in 111-115 Albion Street Surry Hills were shown in the *Daily Mirror* filling and sewing sandbags to guard the windows of the factory's air raid shelter[155]. In 1942, the ground floor level of the General Post Office was covered with timber beams to reduce air raid damage[156]. Slit trenches were dug in many of parks and schoolyards, especially those close to expected targets such as Central Station. The 1943 aerial map of Sydney shows zig-zag trenches in several inner city locations: the John J. Carroll Preschool and Shannon Reserve in Surry Hills, Moore Park and Belmore Park[157].

Figure 26 Zig zag slit trenches in Surry Hills, 1943 (SIX maps)

The *Daily Telegraph* reported in June 1942 that the Bourke Street Public School was being taken over by parents at the weekends when the fathers and the schoolmaster put on their oldest clothes and dug air raid shelters in the school grounds, while the mothers cooked hot meals for them. Many of the men were doing manual labour for the first time, but were sustained by steak and kidney pie followed by steamed pudding and custard. The women on the rosters were members of the Women's Wardens' Auxiliary of the Flinders Ward. To pay for the food, school children took a penny or 3d to school each week[158].

All air raid trenches shared the same problem of filling with water when it rained. Others proved to be hazardous in other ways: a shelter dug in Robertson Park at Watsons Bay ran alongside the local hotel in Military Road, and a number of patrons leaving the pub after dark forgot it was there and ended up at the bottom of the trench. It was a relief to the local drinking community when it was eventually filled in[159].

The Flinders Ward National Emergency Service in Surry Hills and the Redfern Amateur Cycling Club together organised a fifty mile National Emergency Services bicycle test from Springwood to the Sydney Sports Ground in Moore Park. This was a relay ride, in which each participating cyclist carried a despatch and full warden's equipment. The first relay started at Springwood and changes of rider were effected at Penrith, Prospect and Parramatta[160].

Local defence consisted of the 355 Heavy Anti-Aircraft Gun Station, installed in Moore Park, assisted by the Moore Park Searchlight Battery which was located on top of Mount Steele[161].

Production and employment

Labour controls were introduced during World War II to meet a crisis in manpower and to provide administration across the often competing needs of the armed services and industry. Manpower regulations possibly affected individual liberties and also the day-to-day activities of Australians more than any other executive decisions of Government during the war.

The first significant regulation in the first two years of war was to reserve certain occupations from military service, those deemed essential for the production of equipment and supplies for the war effort. In 1940, a list of reserved occupations was published to ensure maximum manpower for the war effort. The list was devised to prevent the voluntary enlistment in the military of skilled workers from essential services such as munitions production.

But in early 1942, during the crisis caused by the Japanese advance in the Pacific, more than 100,000 men were called up for full-time military service. The regulations covering reserved occupations were not strong enough to overrule the demands of the services, and a labour crisis developed. So a Manpower Directorate was established in January 1942, taking over responsibility for administering the list of reserved occupations. The Director General of Manpower could exempt any person from military service, declare certain industries to be protected and require that a permit be obtained for any change of employment.


TOOLMAKERS.
ACORN PRESSED METAL PTY., LTD., requires for its toolroom First-class Toolmakers for dies, jigs, and gauges, etc. Good prospects and conditions. Applications will not be considered from any person who is engaged in the production, repair, or overhaul of munitions of war, war equipment, or war supplies, unless such person is not actually employed in his usual trade or occupation. Apply
ACORN PRESSED METAL PTY., LTD.,
1-15 Marshall Street, Surry Hills.

Figure 27 Ad for a reserved occupation, 1941 (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 November 1941)

By April 1942, the government had the power to say what every man could do, whether in the armed services, war industry or civilian industry. Employees were not permitted to engage in the employment of their choice and were prevented from leaving their employment. The right of employers to dismiss employees was also restricted[162].

In Surry Hills, Philips Radio Works (Australia) Pty Ltd took over the Acorn Pressed Metal factory in late 1941, in order to combine complementary industries (Acorn could make the metal chassis and cases for Philips radio receivers, for example)[163]. By February 1942, the company was advertising for extra toolmakers for Defence work[164] and a few months later the company's tender was accepted by the Department of Supply and Development to make spindles for the Army[165]. In March 1942, Acorn Pressed Metal was declared a protected undertaking[166].

One of the initiatives of the National Emergency Services was to encourage women to take on men's occupations. To prepare for this, in January 1940 more than 400 women sat a written exam in Motor Mechanics run by the NRMA and 94% passed (this compared with 50% for male mechanics). These women were given big trucks to drive, some of them very old, and although they had no previous experience, the instructors were very impressed with them. The exam was meant to be difficult because if women were required for national service they would have to adapt quickly to adverse conditions[167].

By 1942, many men had been conscripted into the military, leaving workplaces short of staff. The result was a major change in employment so that women and girls went to work in factories that were previously the domain of men and boys. But the primitive working conditions that had been tolerated by the blokes did not go down well with the newly-employed women, who voiced their complaints to authorities.

At the end of 1942, representatives of the Women's Employment Board inspected the Philips Radio/Acorn Pressed Metal Coy in Surry Hills and found that almost nothing had been done for several months to meet the conditions required for the employment of women in the factory. The personnel manager of Philips claimed that the recommendations of the Factory Welfare Board could not be carried out due to lack of room, and because permission to build could not be obtained. These included very basic things such as hot water for wash basins[168].

Slouch hats were still used by the Australian Army in World War II, and three of the largest hat manufacturers in Sydney were contracted to manufacture them. The amounts of their contracts, totalled from the individual contracts in the *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* throughout the war (followed by the approximate amounts in todays' money) were:

- Dunkerley Hat Mills £158,057 ($26 million).
- Bardsley and Sons £133,319 ($22 million).
- R. C. Henderson £83,123 ($14 million)[169].

The Dunkerley Hat Mills moved from Surry Hills to a large factory in Waterloo in 1919. The company continued its association with the military and by 2015 had produced two million hats for the armed forces[170]. The company moved to Kempsey in the 1970s and changed its name to Akubra Hats Pty Ltd. Akubra and B. Mountcastle & Sons (now located in Brisbane) remain the two manufacturers of army slouch hats[171].

Daylight saving was introduced in World War I in all States to save fuel and increase productivity. It was repealed after the war but introduced again in World War II for the same reasons. After the war, the Australian States and Territories were given the responsibility of implementing daylight saving if they decided to. New South Wales reintroduced it under the *Standard Time Act 1971* (NSW).

Rationing

Petrol

During the war, there were shortages of almost everything Australians needed in daily life. At the time, most people drank tea rather than coffee, and when the Japanese captured many of the countries producing this tea, there were severe shortages. Enemy action in the Pacific also disrupted the normal supply of goods by ship to Australia. Australian troops abroad had to be supplied with food produced in Australia, and when thousands of American troops arrived in Australia, they also had to be fed[172].

The first resource to be rationed was petrol, which was announced by the Minister of Supply (Sir Frederick Stewart) in June 1940. Rationing would apply to petrol and diesel as well as the use of power kerosene in road vehicles. The Government was aiming for a 33% reduction in petrol consumption, about 20% of this by a rationing scheme and the rest by substantial price increases. Ration cards were issued to motorists setting out the monthly ration, based on forms submitted by the vehicle owners to the Supply Department.

The Government set up a Central Liquid Fuel Control Board headed by a Controller of Liquid Fuels to administer the rationing scheme. To reduce the demand for liquid fuels, it was planned to greatly increase the production of producer gas units suitable for trucks and long haulage country trips[173] (producer gas is generated from the burning of solid fuels such as wood, charcoal, coal and peat). Private cars were limited to 8 to 18 gallons a month based on registered horsepower and goods vehicles restricted to 20 gallons a month for every half-ton of registered weight[174].

Sometimes the limited amount of petrol ran out sooner than expected. At Christmas 1941, a three-ton truck was on its way to a party in Surry Hills when it ran out of petrol in the city. The party goers were notified of the stranded truck and went into town where they held an impromptu beer party around the nine-gallon keg they had ordered. So the party was brought to the keg rather than the other way round as intended[175].

Shortages and rationing also led to hoarding: someone who had access to some rare commodity such as petrol would store as much as they could for their own use in future. But this only made shortages worse and led to a black market: items in demand were sold privately at very high prices outside the rationing system[176].

Food and clothing

Rationing regulations for food and clothing were gazetted in May 1942 to manage shortages and control civilian consumption. The aims were to curb inflation, reduce total consumer spending and limit shortages of essential goods. It was also hoped that it would lead to an increase in savings, which could be invested in war loans. Despite these privations, Australians were never as short of food or rationed as heavily as civilians in Britain.

Rationing was enforced by the use of coupons and was limited to clothing, tea, sugar, butter and meat. Occasionally, eggs and milk were also rationed under a priority system for vulnerable groups during times of shortage. Breaches of rationing regulations were punishable under the National Security Regulations by fines of up to £100 or six months imprisonment. Following complaints that

these penalties were inadequate, the Government passed the *Black Marketing Act* at the end of 1942 for more serious cases which could carry a minimum penalty of £1,000.

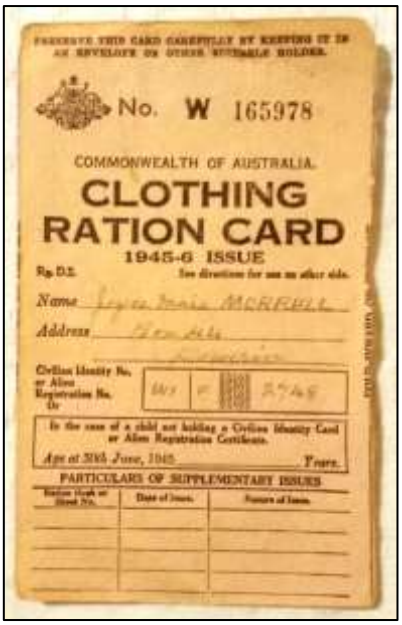

Figure 28 Clothing ration card, 1945-6 (Collections WA)

The rationing amounts initially gazetted were:

- Clothing, gazetted 12 June 1942 and abolished 24 June 1948, 112 coupons per year.
- Tea, 3 July 1942 to July 1950, 1/2 pound per 5 weeks.
- Sugar, 29 August 1942 to 3 July 1947: 2 pounds per fortnight.
- Butter, 7 June 1943 – June 1950, 1 pound per fortnight.
- Meat, 14 January 1944 – 24 June 1948, 2.25, pounds per week[177].

Warehouses storing rationed goods soon became targets for burglars. In June 1942, the Super Transport Service Pty Ltd in Bourke Street Surry Hills was broken into and a quantity of heavily rationed goods were stolen, including children's wear, silk stockings, cosmetics and perfumes[178]. Two days later, about £200 worth of newly-rationed towels were stolen from the Albany Laundry of Surry Hills[179]. The Super Transport Service warehouse was again targeted in November 1943 when clothing valued at more than £500 was stolen from the premises. The goods were later found in an air raid shelter (probably in the nearby John J. Carroll Pre-School in Phelps Street) where the police believed they were hidden until they could be taken away in a truck[180].

Rationing remained in force until the year after the war ended, when production and international supply lines began to return to normal. In January 1946, newspapers reported that a large proportion of the restrictions and shortages would gradually end during the year. The first change was a reduction in personal taxation by 12.5%, followed by further substantial cuts in direct and indirect tax. There was a reasonable chance the restrictions on beer, wine and spirit production would be removed within three months, and tobacco rationing would probably end by March or April.

Stocks of cotton goods were not expected to improve before 1947, but all other goods would become increasingly plentiful. However, men needing suits would have to wait until demobilisation was complete in three or four months. American and English cars were not expected to be more readily available for some time. The remaining controls on the employment and movement of manpower were expected to disappear within two months and with them all but a limited number of National Security Regulations[181].

Also in January 1946, the Minister for Local Government (Joseph Cahill) announced that he expected the removal of all gas and electricity restrictions in a week's time. That would mean an end to all restrictions on cooking and entertainment, and would permit the full restoration of power to industry[182].

The new Sydney Lord Mayor, Reg Bartley, then announced a big city clean up, including removal of military structures, placards and air raid shelters in city parks, filling in of air raid trenches in parks, and a £3 million scheme for the remodelling of Surry Hills (the latter grand plan did not eventuate). Amateur radio operators would get back the licences taken away under the wartime security regulations, so messages could be sent to servicemen homeward bound on ships. All restrictions on gas and electricity usage by the public and industry would be lifted soon. But stock feed for dairy cattle, pigs and poultry would be rationed for another year[183].

Petrol rationing was gradually eased from January 1946, and motor vehicles previously allowed 8 gallons per month would be allowed 12 gallons[184]. In June 1946, the Minister for Shipping and Supply (Senator Bill Ashley) announced that private motorists would receive a 33% increase in petrol ration from July[185]. In July 1947, Prime Minister John Chifley announced the end of sugar rationing, although he warned that grocers may have to limit sales due to a continuing shortage of supplies. The manager of the Colonial Sugar Refinery Ltd pointed out that the supply was still limited by the amount of coal available for processing and the availability of sea transport to ship the sugar from north Queensland[186].

Petrol rationing was increased again at the end of 1947 to try and save over four million gallons per month nationally. The government was trying to keep the country's dollar purchases to a minimum, due to the serious deterioration of the dollar in British countries recently. The implementation of international plans such as the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe and the Geneva trade agreements were expected to improve this situation[187].

Prime Minister Chifley announced in June 1948 that meat and clothing rationing would finally end[188]. Rationing of meat was introduced because increased meat deliveries to the Australian and American forces and exports to Britain reduced the quantity available for civilian consumption. The original ration was an average of 2.25 pounds a week, but in February 1945 it was reduced by 8.5% because of drought conditions and the need to maintain supplies to Britain. A further 12.5% cut was imposed in May 1945.

By 1946 the adult meat ration averaged 1.84 pounds a week. Sausages, edible offal, canned meats, poultry, rabbit, fish, bacon and ham were never rationed and meat served at cafes was also exempt. As a result of meat rationing, the annual consumption of meat in the heavily meat-eating Australia fell from 760,000 tons in 1939 to 589,000 tons in 1945[189].

Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced the end of petrol rationing in February 1950, asking motorists not to panic buy petrol. This announcement had been delayed by Britain's stubborn refusal to end its own petrol rationing and not allocating more petrol to Australia[190]. Rationing in Great Britain did not finally end until 1954[191].

Beer

Possibly the most unpopular rationing during World War II was of beer. The *Sydney Morning Herald* first reported beer quotas for hotels in January 1942[192]. By June 1943, supplies of bottled beer had reportedly been reduced by 50% since beer quotas began[193], although beer supplies to defence establishments had not been reduced[194]. By late 1943, beer production was badly affected by the lack of manpower in the malting industry[195].

Not only beer was being rationed but glassware as well. In June 1944 the President of the United Licensed Victuallers' Association estimated that Sydney's 600 hotels were losing an incredible 180,000 glasses a week due to theft and breakage. The average weekly loss per hotel was about 300 glasses, many of them broken during the frantic six o'clock swill, but more than 75% were stolen by drinkers (and then sold on the black market to other pubs that had run out of glasses)[196].

Beer shortages led to an increase in the sly grog market (which had been growing since early closing was introduced in 1916), where bottled beer which was officially priced at 19/- a dozen could sell for £5 a dozen[197]. In February 1945, the Bondi grocer Keith Carter solved his local beer quota problem by conducting a weekly draw for tickets which entitled the winners to buy any available bottles of beer: 182 people entered the draw one week to win 41 dozen bottles of beer[198].

In January 1946, the New South Wales Government announced a 25% lifting of the beer quota to try and put an end to profiteering, but it was feared that the breweries could not provide the extra quantity of beer[199]. The beer quota went up again by 25% in September 1949 as supplies became more readily available[200], and were not removed completely until the mid-1950s.

Even after the war ended, beer quotas frequently caused pubs to run out of beer during opening hours, much to the frustration of drinkers who found the taps suddenly turned off. In January 1948, the Lakes Hotel in suburban Rosebery was picketed by more than a hundred disgruntled patrons because they claimed the beer was turned off at 5:40pm (depriving them of a whole twenty minutes of the frenzied speed drinking they had been accustomed to) and who demanded more regular bar service[201].

The 1957 song *A Pub With No Beer* by the country singer Slim Dusty contains the line "the publican's anxious for the quota to come", and was based on a 1943 poem written by the North Queensland farmer Dan Sheahan. One day Sheahan rode 32 km from his property to the Day Dawn Hotel in Ingham only to find the pub had used up its ration of beer. The publican told him a group of American servicemen drank the pub dry the night before and she was still awaiting delivery of more supplies[202].

Figure 29 Day Dawn Hotel, Ingham (Time Gents website)

Restrictions

The new levels of security caused many overseas-born Australians to be interned for the duration of the war, mainly enemy aliens from the Axis powers (Germans, Italians and Japanese). The largest group was Italians, and thousands were sent to internment camps when Italy entered the war in June 1940[203]. Later, when Italian involvement in the Axis forces diminished, many internees (and prisoners of war) were released to work on farms and other civilian areas[204].

People from many countries other than the Axis powers were also restricted in what they could do, what they could own and where they could live. Landlords were required to register any foreigners with the authorities or face a fine. In September 1941, several cases were brought before a magistrate and fines levied. The licensee of the Mayfair Hotel in Kings Cross was fined £5 for failing to register the Brazilian wrestler Pedro Bessil who was staying at the hotel. Estonian Alexander Tubli was fined £5 for failing to notify his change of address to Ann Street in Surry Hills.

In September 1941, a German enemy alien named Frederick Muller, who said he had lived in Australia for 29 years, was fined £5 for travelling from Collector to Bourke Street in Surry Hills without permission. An Italian named Joseph Costagnola was fined £5 for moving from West Sydney to Hunters Hill without permission[205]. In January 1942, a German alien named Bertha Fischer was fined £10 for having a camera in her possession without official permission. The magistrate said the defendant had a duty to become familiar with National Security regulations. A number of other enemy aliens were prosecuted for the same offence[206].

An Italian fruit merchant in Mascot was fined £22 for possessing a radio in May 1942. The magistrate claimed in court that aliens could get a wireless licence at the Post Office without being challenged, and they thought that meant they could own a wireless set. However, the Postmaster-General (Senator Bill Ashley) denied this, and said many applications by aliens were refused[207].

Even having an unusual name could cause a problem. A German named Eric Glowatsky was charged under National Security Regulations with assuming a different name. He stated that he did not change his name, but his employers Coote and Jorgensen had incorrectly spelled his name as Glowsky on a reference they made out for him[208]. Aliens were not even able to drive a car whenever

they wanted: in June 1942, two Italians and a German were each fined for using a car without permission[209].

Even before the outbreak of war, in August 1939 wide-ranging precautionary powers to protect national interests were taken in a series of national security regulations and announced in Canberra. The Government was empowered to apply at any time a complete censorship on telephones, telegraphs, wireless communications, postal services, newspapers and other publications, broadcasting programmes and cinematograph films[210]. Strict censorship of the media was also introduced. Information that could assist the enemy such as details of Allied troop movements or of politicians was carefully controlled.

Also any information that might damage public morale such as explicit details of enemy attacks, Australian losses or even unexploded bombs on Australian soil was censured on the instruction of the Chief Publicity Censor in Canberra[211]. An example of wartime censorship of bad news was the Government's reporting of the bombing of Darwin in February 1942. The death toll given by the authorities was 17, whereas the real number was closer to 250[212].

The early closing of hotels at 6pm on working days, introduced in 1916, was maintained through World War II, and not eased in New South Wales until 1955. In August 1942, the New South Wales Cabinet reduced hotel hours by a further hour a day by changing the opening time from 10am to 11am[213]. Also in August 1942, a draft order under the *National Security Act* further restricted people's activities, including a ban on women drinking in public bars, covering all of metropolitan Sydney[214]. Until then, women had never been prohibited from public bars by law, only by widespread custom.

This ban was lifted in New South Wales in September 1946. But when *Daily Telegraph* journalist Philippa Day tested the new legal freedom in a number of pubs in inner Sydney, she was refused service in four pubs until the licensee of the Hero of Waterloo was persuaded by the boisterous wharfies drinking in the bar to serve her a beer. He told her she had made history as the first woman to be served in the front bar[215].

Supporting the troops and others overseas

As in World War I, a nationwide campaign was initiated early in the war to collect and despatch a range of comforts donated to the troops overseas. In the previous war, comfort funds were established for individual military units, which resulted in some units receiving more than they needed while others did not receive enough urgent requirements. Sydney Lord Mayor Stanley Crick announced in January 1940 that this time the Australian Comforts Fund would collect all donations from the many comforts funds around the State and then distribute all gifts to the AIF, except those addressed to individuals through the post. The Australian Red Cross was the only other organisation authorised to collect donations for comforts[216].

Figure 30 ACF comforts in Tobruk, 1941 (Australian War Memorial)

In December 1943, pupils of the Bourke Street Public School in Surry Hills made some 400 toys during their hobby lessons, to be sold before Christmas to aid the Australian Comforts Fund[217]. Donors of comforts were encouraged to include their name and address so that the recipients at the front could express their gratitude for the sender's kindness. In May 1944, a letter arrived at the Martin Place Depot of the ACF from Corporal Les J. Marks, who had received a pair of socks knitted by Miss Ivy Martin. There was no address included, only ACF, Surry Hills. He wrote to the ACF headquarters in Sydney asking for her address so he could write directly to her[218].

The Bundles for Britain organisation was started in New York by the socialite and philanthropist Natalie Wales Latham (1909-2013) in 1940 to make and ship knitted goods to Britain, mainly socks, gloves, hats, sweaters and scarves. Within months, the organisation expanded to 1,900 branches and 1.5 million contributors[219]. The organisation expanded to Australia, and in June 1941 Philips Lamps (Australasia) Ltd advertised that goods to be donated to the Bundles for Britain campaign could be left at the Acorn Pressed Metal Co in Marshall Street, Surry Hills[220].

In January 1942, the colourful brothel madam and sly grog queen, Kate Leigh of Surry Hills, loaned the Commonwealth Government £1,000 interest-free for the duration of the war and for twelve months afterwards. She had already donated £150 worth of cigarettes for soldiers in camp, as well as other comforts. "At a time like this, it is up to everyone to do all they can to help Australia. If my little bit helps, I will be more than satisfied", declared the patriotic and altruistic Ms Leigh[221]. But the Government officials must have felt uncomfortable accepting money they would have known was the proceeds of crime.

Prince Alfred Park is a large area in Surry Hills whose size and location on the city's fringe made it a popular place for the start or finish of military marches during the war. As early as December 1940, tens of thousands of people watched the march of 2,500 members of the AIF and the Royal Australian Air Force through the city streets, starting at the park, proceeding into the city, past the saluting base at the Town Hall, then out to the AIF camp at the Moore Park Showground[222].

In late November 1941, 1,200 men of the newly-formed 1st Armoured Division paraded through Sydney's streets, starting at Prince Alfred Park, marching to Martin Place then returning to the park, accompanied by four brass bands[223]. This unit was caught up in the changing fortunes of the war: it was originally intended to be deployed in North Africa, but after the outbreak of the Pacific War in early December the division was kept in Australia to defend the nation against the feared Japanese landings.

In September 1942, almost 3,500 veterans of the 16th Infantry Brigade marched from Prince Alfred Park. They were part of the 6th Division that fought in the first Libyan campaign, in Greece, in the invasion of Crete and the conquest of Syria. The brigade, who left home in early 1940, was famously associated with the storming of Tobruk in January 1941[224]. In March 1943, the returning troops of the 9th Division repeated the same march. The division had won fame for their seven-month defence of Tobruk from April to November 1941, and the rout of German forces at El Alamein in October 1942.

Supporting the home front

By the second year of World War II, many voluntary women's groups had been formed for a variety of specialist defence training, in addition to the existing Australian Red Cross Society, Comforts Funds and Canteens. It was realised that there was a need for better training and co-ordination of these voluntary groups of war workers, so the Women's Australian National Services (WANS) was formed in June 1940. At the inaugural meeting at the Sydney Town Hall, Lady Wakehurst, the wife of the New South Wales Governor, outlined the aims of the WANS: to be a training scheme and not an employment bureau, to better organise the existing groups, and to form a Women's Land Army for essential farming work[225].

Figure 31 WANS in a War Loans march (Australian War Memorial)

Membership would be voluntary and members would have their own uniform. Volunteers would be grouped into two sections: Civil units and quasi-defence units, and duties would include evacuation, local transport, canteen cooking, signalling, physical fitness and drill, emergency first-aid and rifle shooting[226]. The Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park Surry Hills, which until then was being used as a roller skating rink, was handed over to the WANS in July as a women's physical training centre. Other training to be conducted would be Air Raid Precautions and Canteen Cookery[227].

From August 1940, women were also trained in home nursing at the Exhibition Building. This benefitted the District Nursing Association of Sydney, which had always been eager to have a reserve of women trained in home nursing in case of epidemic or other national emergencies, to aid nurses in their work. The formation of the WANS provided an excellent opportunity for this need to be addressed. Volunteers would have a chance to do practical home nursing and the association would be able to build up its reserve of semi-trained women. Typical of these were cases currently being treated in the Eastern Suburbs and Surry Hills by a district nurse assisted by a WANS member[228].

In November 1940, a successful function was held at the Exhibition Building to mark the official opening of the Centre, including a parade of 2,500 WANS marching past, mostly in uniform. This display probably helped prepare the public mind for the part women were destined to play in the Armed Services during the war. Members attaining rank were appointed to various Metropolitan and Suburban Centres where they assisted in the Area Training programme[229].

In February 1941, a request went out for women aged 30 to 45 to join the Women's Auxiliary Fire Brigade Corps, to report to the Exhibition Building for initial training by the WANS. They had to be prepared to undertake fire-fighting duties during any period of national emergency, and would learn first aid followed by a special course of instruction at the Fire Brigade headquarters[230]. In April 1942, the training area for WANS moved from Prince Alfred Park to Army House in Mary Street, Surry Hills[231].

The Australian Service Movement (ASM) was established in May 1940 to assist wives and dependents of members of the armed forces. Its membership grew to about a thousand volunteers, with headquarters in Bligh Street. Twelve auxiliary groups worked at depots in congested areas, including Surry Hills and Erskineville, to supply clothes when necessary and give advice and assistance. Major problems, such as legal advice, medical assistance, housing accommodation were dealt with by headquarters. The ASM's Younger Set raised money through dances, concerts and other fundraising events during the Christmas season to purchase toys for distribution to soldiers' families[232].

The new employment opportunities for women in World War II were not always legal. A member of the Sydney police betting squad complained in September 1941 that hundreds of women had replaced men as "runners" for illegal SP (starting price) bookies since the war began. He said that when the police made an arrest, the women often became hysterical and younger policemen were embarrassed. Women usually concealed betting slips in their clothing, and a policewoman had to be called to search them. He grumbled that one troublesome woman was worse than fifty men. But (in better news for the police) the principals of the SP betting rings were all men[233].

Many thousands of American servicemen passed though Sydney during World War II, about 10% them African Americans who had their own units. The African Americans needed entertainment when on leave, but they were not allowed to go to the pubs, clubs or bars between Oxford Street and Woolloomooloo, so the United States military authorities opened a recreation club for then at Durham Hall in Surry Hills at the beginning of 1943, known as the Booker T. Washington Club.

Figure 32 American Red Cross staff, Christmas 1944

The club was controversial and not popular with Surry Hills locals. The police Vice Squad closed it down in October 1943 due to white women consorting with the servicemen[234]. But it was reopened in December as an activity of the American Red Cross. This transformed the place, both in appearance and in the style of recreation offered[235]. Dances were held Wednesday and Saturday nights, and the big hall was packed with GIs and their dance partners. The girls invited to the Club were mostly Aboriginal or Pacific Islanders, because of the colour bar in operation[236].

Figure 33 Dizzy Gillespie, 1947

A new style of jazz called bebop was introduced to Australia at the Booker T. Washington Club and other clubs in Sydney. The style emerged as a counter to the popularity of swing – jazz musicians wanted a style of fast and exciting music that demanded attention. Many Australian jazz musicians performed at the club for free, just to play for the appreciative audiences, or for the chance to appear with GIs who were jazz musicians before the war.

But it wasn't all dancing and bebop at the Booker T: in April 1943 a group of soldiers from the Club organised an Easter egg hunt in the grounds of St Michael's Anglican Church across the road. Fifty children from Surry Hills successfully hunted down 200 hard-boiled eggs[237]. The American Red Cross clubs in Sydney closed down by May 1945 when the war moved further north and fewer American servicemen were coming to Sydney[238].

In February 1945, a canvas hostel containing 200 beds was opened inside six large marquees beside the Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park, as part of a plan to solve the accommodation shortage for British sailors on leave in Sydney. National Emergency Service canteens would serve pies, fruit and tea at 5:30 every morning. Four church halls in Surry Hills and Woolloomooloo were also being converted to dormitories for British sailors[239]. The British Centre was set up in September 1944 as a self-governing branch of the Australian Comforts Fund to cater for British naval servicemen who were part of the British Pacific Fleet based in Sydney[240].

Fund raising

The Government introduced the National Savings Campaign early in 1942 to raise the enormous sums of money necessary to fund the war. Intensive publicity campaigns encouraged Australians to donate to the new war loan funds[241]. Large amounts of money were also needed to pay for weapons, aeroplanes, ships, tanks, ammunition and soldiers' wages. Citizens were encouraged to lend money to the Government by purchasing war bonds. To have more money to buy bonds, the Government discouraged spending on themselves for things such as cigarettes, beer, movies and gambling[242].

Figure 34 WWII austerity poster (Australian War memorial)

The sale of war bonds was a major aspect of the home front during World War II. Administered by the Commonwealth War Loan Office, the scheme encouraged Australians to buy war bonds which would mature with interest after the war. Twelve major Government war loans were offered, variously called Liberty, Austerity, Special or Victory loans[243].

Fundraising for the war loans was often undertaken at workplaces. In April 1943, when the subscriptions to fill the Third Liberty Loan were way behind (only £60 million of the required £100 million had been contributed a couple of weeks before it closed), the director of the Chief Clothing Company in Surry Hills invested £100 for one son in the AIF and £50 for another son who was an

employee. A Government official addressed the staff of Newlands Brothers Ltd in Surry Hills as part of a widespread series of loan drive meetings[244].

Figure 35 Peace Bonds poster (State Library of NSW)

In the same month, a small clothing factory in Surry Hills that was working at high pressure to make tunics for the AIF contributed £1020 to the Liberty Loan. The majority of girls earned £3/15/- a week and had already subscribed £500 to the Austerity Loan and most of them were buying War Savings Certificates by weekly instalments. Sapper Jack Fahey, a War Loan organiser, addressed the factory staff for fifteen minutes at lunch time. Two girls applied for £20 in loans as the sapper was leaving, having decided that they could just afford it. They were Merle Rogers, a 17-year-old apprentice machinist, who earned 35/- a week and Joyce Bloomfield, an 18-year-old machinist. The sapper took cheques totalling $2020 away with the loan application forms[245].

Recruitment

Australia was completely unprepared to enter World War II in September 1939 when Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced our involvement on the first day of the conflict. The country had not maintained substantial armed forces during the years of peace. In 1939, conscripted troops could not be sent to fight overseas, so the Government created a separate armed force of men who had enlisted as volunteers and would be free to fight abroad. This was the Australian Imperial Force (AIF), also called the 2nd AIF to differentiate it from the World War I volunteer army.

At the beginning of World War II, direct attacks on Australia were expected, and the Government had no trouble recruiting young men to join the armed forces. But the sense that Australia was directly threatened was difficult to keep in people's minds for long, and the Government had to work harder to recruit soldiers. Everywhere they went, young men and women in Australian cities saw posters and signs encouraging them to enlist. Some of this propaganda, such as window displays in large department stores, took a light-hearted approach.

Figure 36 Recruiting poster, 1943 (Museums Victoria)

In World War I, recruitment propaganda emphasised loyalty to Britain as the reason to fight, but in World War II, the Government's message emphasised the defence of Australia itself. Recruits were told that by enlisting they would be defending their homes and families. Even after the outbreak of war, politicians disagreed about the need for conscription[246].

Recruiting campaigns were frequently conducted. One such campaign commenced in April 1941, with central recruiting depot in Martin Place, while others were opened in every town in the State. New recruits were driven to the drill hall in Paddington for a preliminary medical examination. They then went to the Engineers' Depot in Moore Park Road for a complete medical examination, an X-Ray and to be sworn in. They were then blood-typed, vaccinated, photographed and issued with a pay book.

They were sent to the Moore Park Showgrounds and 24 hours later (when the results of their X-rays were known) they were issued with uniforms and posted to AIF units. The age limit for the AIF was 20 to 40, or 45 for some technical units. Youths of 19 could enlist with their parents' consent. Married men with up to three children were accepted, and employed men had to obtain a permit from their employers allowing them to enlist[247].

In October 1941, Robert Menzies lost office to John Curtin of the Australian Labor Party (ALP). Many in the ALP were strongly opposed to conscription for overseas service, and it was only in 1943 that the ALP agreed that Australian conscripts could be sent to fight overseas[248].

Conscription came with its own set of problems. Clarence Rowe of Crown Street in Surry Hills was sentenced to a month's hard labour for refusing the take the oath in the Army, and fined £4 for failing to notify his change of address. He testified in court that he had been a Jehovah's Witness

since 1928[249]. Jehovah's Witness members had a history of imprisonment in many countries for their refusal of compulsory military service[250].

Peter Miller of Day Street in Sydney was fined £10 on each of two changes of failing to notify change of employment and address. Lieutenant Swallow (appearing for the Army) said Miller had changed his address nine times in an elaborate attempt to avoid military service. Edward Christiansen was fined £3 for failure to enrol for service. He said someone told him it was not necessary for someone with five children to register[251]. Men of Mr Christiansen's fecundity would in fact be exempt from service, but had to register first so that the military could grant an exemption.

Memorials

New South Wales Police Force Roll of Honour 1939-1945, Surry Hills

This is a white marble slab showing the names of NSW police officers who served in World War II. It hangs in the font foyer of the Sydney Police Centre, Surry Hills[252].

Figure 37 NSW Police Force Roll of Honour (War Memorials Register)

The Aleppo Pine Tree, Paddington

This is a descendant of the original Lone Pine of Gallipoli. It was planted in 1995 by the Land Commander, Australian Army, and Paddington schoolchildren to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II[253].

Figure 38 Aleppo Pine Tree, Paddington (Monument Australia)

The Gay and Lesbian Holocaust Memorial, Darlinghurst

This memorial commemorates all gay men and lesbian women killed or persecuted during World War II because of their sexuality. The memorial was opened by the City of Sydney Council in 2001[254].

Figure 39 Gay and Lesbian Holocaust Memorial (Memorial Australia)

There are a number of other plaques and honour rolls in churches and other buildings in Sydney city commemorating World War II. Some of the medals awarded to those who served in the Australian armed forces during the war were manufactured by Amor Ltd of Surry Hills[255].

Figure 40 WWII medals, Amor Ltd 1945 (Bendigo Military Museum)

Peace and post-war recovery

After the surrender of Japan in August 1945, thousands of people swarmed through Sydney's streets in wild peace celebrations. Among the 40,000 crowd, a riot broke out in Martin Place between local youths and servicemen, but the police policy was to give the crowd its head as long as no serious damage or injuries were threatened. After the celebratory carnage subsided, the only arrests were a man caught stealing from inside a shop and a woman on a language charge[256].

The Department of Post-War Construction was established in December 1942, and was responsible for planning and coordinating Australia's transition to a peacetime economy after the war. Administrative functions were moved from the Department of Labour and National Service to the new department. One goal was to achieve full employment. This reflected the ALP Government's strong desire to ensure that Australia's standard of living was greater after the war than it was before it, as well as avoiding a repetition of the poor living conditions experienced by many returned soldiers after World War I.

The Department oversaw the establishment of initiatives such as social welfare payments, the Commonwealth Employment Service, and worked with State Governments to provide housing and hospitals. Over time, the department's responsibilities changed as they were handed to other agencies after being completed, and the department was disbanded in 1950[257].

During World War I, gross Australian Government debt increased from around 2.2% of GDP to around 50% of GDP. By comparison, during World War II the national debt increased from around 40% of GDP to 120% of GDP (in 1950, Britain had a debt to GDP ratio of 200%[258]. During both wars, War Savings Certificates, which were targeted at retail investors, were the primary method of raising funds.

Australian Government debt was progressively reduced after World War II and largely eliminated by the beginning of the 1970s. Tight fiscal policy halted the growth of the debt and high inflation underpinned the sharp reduction in gross debt as a percentage of GDP[259]. Essentially, the post-war growth in the Australian economy gradually outgrew the wartime debt.

World War II was clearly an extremely expensive six years for the Australian economy, and many of the participating countries required the help of the newly-established International Monetary Fund

to aid their recovery. Australia's economic recovery in the post-war era was successfully achieved thanks to a combination of careful economic planning, large-scale immigration and an abundance of natural resources.

Korean War

The Cold War erupts in Korea

The Korean peninsula had been occupied by the Japanese since 1910, and after they were defeated in 1945, the country was divided at the 38th Parallel. The division created a northern zone backed by the Soviet Union and a southern zone backed by the United States. This was one of the effects of the Cold War that developed after World War II between Western Bloc and Eastern Bloc countries. With no agreement on how to unify, the zones became separate countries in 1948: the Republic of Korea in the south and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north.

The relationship between the two Koreas was never stable, and in June 1950 the North Korean People's Army crossed the 38th parallel to invade the Republic of Korea. 22 countries joined the United Nations multinational force to defend South Korea. The Korean War came to a halt in July 1953 when an armistice was signed on the 38th parallel, close to where it had begun, although Australian forces remained in Korea in a peacekeeping role until 1957. Thus the war ended in a stalemate which exists today, after causing the death of four million people[260]. The Korean War was notable for the first large-scale deployment of helicopters for medical evacuation, as the rough terrain reduced the effectiveness of the Jeep.

Figure 41 Medevac helicopter, Korea (Reddit website)

One political and security benefit of the war was the signing of ANZUS, the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty in 1951. This binds the three countries (at least Australia and New Zealand, and separately Australia and the United States) to cooperate on military matters in the Pacific Ocean region. New Zealand was suspended from, and then readmitted to ANZUS after initiating a non-nuclear zone in its territorial waters in 1986. Currently only Australia and the United States hold bilateral meetings of ANZUS.

The home front

Supporting the troops overseas

In November 1950, the New South Wales branch of the Returned Services League (RSL) requested the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Alderman Ernest O'Dea, to set up a comforts fund for the troops in Korea, as in previous wars[261]. But in December, Clarence McKerihan, the Federal administrator of the

Australian Comforts Fund, was told by the Commander of the British Commonwealth Forces that the troops were adequately catered for with comforts and did not need another fund run by the RSL[262].

There were other signs of a lack of interest in the war by those at home. In September 1951, Flight-Sergeant Kevin Foster of Port Pirie said on his return from Korea that while the RSL Comforts Fund and the Red Cross were alive to the interests of the Australian airmen, this did not seem to reflect the attitude of the nation as a whole. He said his Australian No. 77 Squadron in Korea had been given much publicity in England and America and was televised for both countries, but aroused little press interest at home[263].

After the soprano Gladys Moncrieff returned to Sydney after a six-week tour of Korea and Japan in October 1951, she said the Australian soldiers in Korea felt they had been forgotten. She said morale among the United Nations forces was high, but the troops were not looking forward to another bitterly cold winter, and needed more entertainment from home[264].

The Scottish novelist and history writer Eric Linklater painted a bleak picture of the state of the war for the *Sydney Morning Herald* in October 1951. He wrote that Korea was a long way off and very few people had any knowledge of it or interest in it. Besides that, most people throughout the world felt they had heard enough about war to last the rest of their lives, and didn't want to hear about a rather involved campaign that had no immediate concern to them.

But that attitude did not do justice to the soldiers who in extremely difficult and unpleasant conditions were fighting for a general peace. Korea was an unfriendly, difficult country to fight in: the climate in winter was abominable and in summer it was enervating. There was no Rome or Cairo for the soldiers to spend a few days and relax, and the general spectacle of ruin and a distracted populace was depressing for them. In addition, the troops of the Commonwealth Division had failed to win a decisive battle after twelve months of arduous campaigning. Linklater concluded that despite these challenges the Australian soldiers were in good spirits[265].

By January 1952, Clarence McKerihan announced that the Australian Comforts Fund would be revived after all, and that Lord Mayors of the six Australian capital cities would meet to discuss the re-establishment of the fund[266]. Local Sydney councils began to take individual initiatives soon after this: in February 1952, the Mayor of Randwick announced the formation of the A. F. Bates Korean Comforts Fund, which was formed as a memorial to the former Deputy Town clerk of Randwick[267].

In April 1952, Lieutenant-General Sir Horace Robertson, the Director-General of Recruiting, said that it was opportune to re-establish an Australian Comforts Fund in case it became necessary to send large numbers of men overseas at short notice. He pointed to the five-million strong Chinese army being faced by the United Nations forces in Korea, and suggested that if the red peril turned its attention southward, Australia would be in the gravest danger[268].

The implication was that a comforts fund was not really needed for the 16,000 Australian troops already in Korea, as it was an insignificant number compared to well over a million United States troops. Other news reports at the time suggested that if Australia sent comforts to Korea, we should also send them to the British troops, as lingering post-war shortages in Britain meant that it was extremely difficult for the British people to find spare goods to send to their own troops.

Support at home

While the Australian public was generally in favour of our armed forces' involvement in the Korean War to prevent the possible spread of communism southwards, the returning troops did not always receive the heroes' welcome that greeted the veterans of the two World Wars. Early in the war in September 1950, men from *HMAS Shoalhaven* who marched through Sydney on returning from Korea were reportedly met by a largely silent crowd[269]. On the other hand, in February 1952, tens of thousands of people lined Sydney's streets to watch the march of 900 sailors from three troopships which had just returned from Korea. Thousands of people poured ticker tape and streamers on the marchers[270].

Many of the marches began in Prince Alfred Park in Surry Hills when troops were on their way to Korea, such as the 1st Battalion RAR in March 1952[271]. Otherwise they often marched through the city to Prince Alfred Park on their return. 600 troops from the returning 1st Battalion RAR were given a tumultuous welcome when they marched through the city to the park in April 1953 after 12 months service in Korea[272]. In April 1954, 20,000 people lined the city streets to welcome home over 500 men from the 2nd Battalion when they marched to Belmore Park before being dismissed to commence leave[273].

In the post-armistice period, repatriated servicemen found that their efforts and achievements in the Korean peninsula were treated with indifference. It was to be a glimpse of the future when many returning veterans from the Vietnam War were greeted not so much with indifference but open hostility.

Memorials

Korean War Memorial, Moore Park

A design competition was held in 2007 for a memorial to the Korean War. It was won by Jane Cavanough of Artlandish Art and Design and Pod Landscape Architecture, and was officially dedicated in July 2009. It is located in the north-west corner of Moore Park, next to the Rotunda. It was funded jointly by the New South Wales Government, the Korean Government, Veterans' groups and the Korean community[274].

Figure 42 Korean War Memorial, Moore Park

The overall shape of the memorial, which is circular with a curving path running through it, is inspired by the Taoist concept of Yin and Yang, a balancing of opposed principles that are part of a greater whole, as displayed in the centre of the South Korean flag. Bronze and steel hibiscus flowers, the national flower of Korea, represent the 136 troops from New South Wales who died during the war. Eleven granite stones contain the names of the significant battles in which Australians won honours.

Vietnam War

Australia and the Vietnam War

Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War began with the arrival of the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV) in July and August 1962, and ended when the last Australian embassy staff were air-lifted out of Saigon in April 1975. A platoon guarding the Australian embassy in Saigon withdrew in June 1973. Over 60,000 Australian servicemen, including ground troops, air force and navy personnel, served in Vietnam. 523 died during the war and 2,400 were wounded.

Australian support for South Vietnam was in line with the policies of other nations in the early 1960s, particularly the United States, to stem the spread of communism in Europe and Asia. By early 1965, when it was clear that South Vietnam could not stave off the communist insurgents and their North Vietnamese comrades for much longer, the United States (US) commenced a major escalation of the war. It had committed 200,000 troops to the conflict by the end of the year. As part of this build-up, the US Government requested further support from friendly countries in the region, including Australia. The Australian Government dispatched 1RAR in June 1965 to Bien Hoa province.

Figure 43 7 RAR, Vietnam War, 167 (Australian War Memorial)

By 1966, the Australian taskforce included conscripts called up under the National Service Scheme in 1964. At one time or another, all nine infantry battalions served in Vietnam before they were withdrawn in 1971. At its height, Australian involvement numbered some 8,500 troops. In August 1966, a company of 6RAR was engaged in the heaviest action of the war in a rubber plantation in Long Tan. For four hours, 108 soldiers held off an enemy force estimated at over 2,000 during a tropical downpour, assisted by artillery and reinforcements. When the Viet Cong withdrew, they left behind 245 dead, but carried away many more. 17 Australians were killed and 25 wounded.

1968 began with a major North Vietnamese offensive launched during the Vietnamese New Year period known as the Tet. The timing and scale of the offensive completely surprised the US and its allies, covering cities, towns and military installations throughout South Vietnam. From this point, US planners began to question if they could ever win the war and the offensive stimulated US public opposition to the war.

In 1969, the US Government began a policy of gradual withdrawal of its forces to leave the war in the hands of the South Vietnamese, and the emphasis of the Australians in Phuc Tuy province shifted to the training of the South Vietnamese forces. At the end of 1970, US and Vietnamese troops crossed the border into Cambodia where large quantities of North Vietnamese arms were stored in bunkers. But the invasion of Cambodia was ultimately disastrous when many people were driven to join the Cambodian underground opposition known as the Khmer Rouge, who eventually came to power in 1975, instigating an oppressive regime that killed several million Cambodians.

The last Australian battalion left Nui Dat in November 1971, while a handful of advisers remained in the country until December 1972. In early 1975, the Viet Cong launched a major offensive in the north of South Vietnam, resulting in the fall of Saigon in April 1975. During that month, eight Hercules transport aircraft flew humanitarian missions to aid displaced civilian refugees and evacuate Vietnamese orphans before finally taking out embassy staff[275].

The home front

Supporting the troops

In January 1965, Sydney Lord Mayor Harry Jensen established the Lord Mayor's Sydney Waratah Comforts Fund to provide "comforts, equipment and entertainment" for Australian servicemen and women serving in Vietnam[276]. A year later, the RSL decided to put together Christmas parcels to show the troops serving there how much they appreciated their work. The earlier fund established by the NSW RSL and the Lord Mayor's Fund were amalgamated in January 1966 to form the Australian Forces Overseas Fund (AFOF).

Following the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, the RSL resolved to continue to support Australian troops on missions abroad. Twice a year, RSL Australia with the assistance of volunteers from RSL sub-branches prepares hundreds of care packages for members of the Australian Defence Force and the Australian Federal Police who are deployed overseas on military operations. The package contains various items to remind personnel of home[277].

Figure 44 Lorrae Desmond, Nui Dat, 1967 (Australian War Memorial)

One battalion history from Nui Dat base recorded that few moments in camp could compare with receiving mail, which might be a traditional letter, a cassette tape and sometimes care packages from the AFOF. These were valued both for their contents and for suggesting that support for the

troops back in Australia outweighed protests against fighting the war. One soldier wrote back to the fund that their efforts more than neutralised those of the "noisy minority" at home[278].

As well as care packages, hundreds of famous and not so famous Australian entertainers volunteered their services to perform in South Vietnam, making a great contribution to lifting the morale of men and women facing a difficult year in a war zone. Some, like Little Pattie and Col Joye, brushed up against significant military events when they found themselves performing at Nui Dat on the day of the battle of Long Tan.

The singer Lorrae Desmond travelled to Vietnam five times to perform. She later said that more morale-boosting than the shows were occasions when she visited men in hospital or shared meals or chatted with the troops[279]. Johnny O'Keefe and Normie Rowe (who was already serving in Vietnam as a National Serviceman in 3 Cavalry Regiment) also performed for the troops[280].

A growing opposition

At first, resistance to the war in Australia was very limited. Public opinion strongly supported Government policy in Vietnam and when Arthur Calwell, the Labor opposition leader, announced that the 1966 election would be fought specifically on the war, the party suffered its biggest defeat in decades[281]. Anti-war sentiment escalated rapidly from 1967, although it never gained majority support[282].

Figure 45 Vietnam Moratorium poster, 1971 (Australian War Memorial)

The introduction of conscription in 1964 in response to the worsening regional strategic outlook during the war was consistently opposed by the ALP and many sections of society. Opposition to conscription mounted as many people believed the war could not be won, and some protests became violent. Anti-war sentiment escalated rapidly from 1967, although it never gained majority support[283]. Growing public uneasiness about the death toll was exacerbated by arrests of conscientious objectors and reports of atrocities against Vietnamese civilians.

From May 1970, Moratorium marches attracted an estimated 200,000 people nationwide[284]. The extension of the war into the neutral sovereign state of Cambodia in 1970 inflamed anti-war sentiment in the US and gave an impetus to further anti-war demonstrations in Australia.

The Vietnam War was the greatest cause of social and political dissent in Australia since the conscription referendums in World War I. Many draft resisters, conscientious objectors, and protestors were fined and jailed, while soldiers frequently met a hostile reception on their return home[285].

A hostile homecoming

Initially there was considerable support for Australia's involvement in Vietnam, and all battalions returning from Vietnam participated in well-attended welcome home parades through the capital cities, even during the early 1970s[286]. Nevertheless, as opposition to the war increased, service in Vietnam came to be seen in a less sympathetic light and opposition to it generated negative attitudes to veterans in some quarters.

In the years after the war, some Vietnam veterans experienced social exclusion and problems readjusting to society. Also, some Second World War veterans held a negative view of the Vietnam campaign, resulting in many Vietnam veterans being excluded from joining the Returned Services League (RSL) during the 1960s and 1970s. But some branches remained supportive, especially in rural areas. Many Vietnam veterans were also excluded from marching on Anzac Day as being unworthy of the Anzac tradition, a view that hurt many of them.

Figure 46 Welcome Home parade, 1987 (Australian War Memorial)

Eventually, in 1987 the Australian Vietnam vets were finally honoured with a "Welcome Home" parade in Sydney, and the campaign for a Vietnam War Memorial began. This was established in Canberra in October 1992. In time, Australians came to acknowledge that the thousands of men who had been sent to fight and face death in a regional civil war in the jungles of Vietnam did not deserve to be demonised for the misguided policies of conservative Governments that sent them there.

Memorials

Australian Vietnam Forces National Memorial, Canberra.

The memorial on Anzac Parade commemorates those Australians who served, suffered and died in the Vietnam War from 1962 to 1973. It was built largely through contributions raised by the Australian Vietnam Forces Memorial Committee. It was dedicated in October 1992 on the fifth anniversary of the Australian Vietnam Forces Welcome Home Parade.

Figure 47 Vietnam War Memorial, Canberra (Monument Australia)

Three concrete stelae, rising from a shallow moat, form the dramatic centre of the memorial and enclose a space for quiet contemplation. Fixed to one wall are 33 inscriptions, a series of quotations intended to recall events of political or military importance[287].

7th Battalion Royal Australian Regiment plaque, Sydney

The plaque is attached to the top rear of the Royal Australian Regiment memorial in Regimental Square on the corner of George and Wynyard Streets, Sydney. It commemorates members of the 7th Battalion who died in service or were killed in action during the Vietnam War. There is also a plaque commemorating members of the 9th Battalion RAR who died during the Vietnam War[288].

Figure 48 7 RAR Vietnam plaque (Monument Australia)

Notes

[1] British Army in Australia, Digger History website.
[2] New South Wales Legislation, NSW Government website.
[3] Military system in Australia, Australian Bureau of Statistics website.
[4] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 May 1861.
[5] Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia*.
[6] Kilsby, *The Rifle Club Movement and Australian Defence.*
[7] Citizen Soldiers, Sydney Living Museums.
[8] Mordike, *The Origins of Australia's Army*.
[9] Sudan (New South Wales Contingent) March-June 1885, Australian War Memorial website.
[10] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 February 1885.
[11] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 February 1885.
[12] *Evening News*, 23 June 1885.
[13] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 March 1885.
[14] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March 1885, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 March 1885.
[15] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1885.
[16] Sudan (New South Wales Contingent) March-June 1885, Australian War Memorial website.
[17] *Evening News*, 23 June 1885.
[18] *The Protestant Standard*, 6 June 1885.
[19] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1885.
[20] P. L. Murray, *Official records of the Australian Military Contingents to the War in South Africa*.
[21] R L Wallace, *Australians at the Boer War*.
[22] Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia*.
[23] Adam Henry, Australian nationalism and the lost lessons of the Boer War, Australian War Memorial website.
[24] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1899.
[25] *The Riverine Grazier*, 31 October 1899.
[26] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 1900.
[27] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1900.
[28] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 January 1900.
[29] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 February 1900.
[30] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1900.
[31] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 May 1900.
[32] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 May 1900.
[33] *The Australian Star*, 22 October 1900.
[34] J Alison Glover, Acute Rheumatism in Military History, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 5 December 1945.
[35] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 February 1901.
[36] *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 March 1901.
[37] South African (Boer) War memorial, Monuments Australia website.
[38] Kofi Bonsu, Boer War Memorial marking Australia's first foreign conflict unveiled in Canberra, ABC News website, 31 May 2017.
[39] China 1900-1901 (Boxer Uprising), Australian War Memorial website.
[40] Boxer Rebellion (1900-1901), Search and Discover, State Library of Victoria website.
[41] Australia and the Boxer Rebellion 1900 – the South Australian Contingent, *Journal of Military and Veterans' Health*, Volume 9 No 1, April 2000.
[42] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 August 1900.
[43] *Evening News*, 9 August 1900.
[44] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 May 1901.
[45] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 January 1935.
[46] Rushcutter Naval Memorial, NSW War Memorials Register website.
[47] Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*.
[48] John Keegan, *The First World War*, 1998.
[49] Roger L Ransom, *Gambling on War: Confidence, Fear and the Tragedy of the First World War*.
[50] Christopher Clark, T*he Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*.
[51] Wilhelm Donko, *A Brief History of the Austrian Navy*.

[52] John Keegan, *The First World War*.
[53] First World War 1914-18, Australians at war, Australian War Memorial website.
[54] *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 August 1914.
[55] The *Farmer and Settler (Sydney),* 4 August 1914.
[56] Life on the Home Front, National Film and Sound Archive website.
[57] Homefront, World War I and Australia, State Library of New South Wales website.
[58] *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 November 1914.
[59] *The Daily Telegraph*, 13 May 1915.
[60] Nominal Roll of Australian Imperial Force who left Australia for service abroad, World War I, Australian War memorial website.
[61] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 February 1916.
[62] *The Daily Telegraph*, 7 March 1916.
[63] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 April 1916.
[64] *Sunday Times (Sydney*), 23 April 1916.
[65] *Sunday Times (Sydney*), 10December 1916.
[66] World War I: Repatriation of veterans. National Archives of Australia website.
[67] Craig Wilcox, *Home Front – Australians in World War I*, Department of Veterans' Affairs, 2011.
[68] *Sunday Times (Sydney*), 10December 1916.
[69] *The Sun (Sydney*), 19 May 1919.
[70] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 August 1919.
[71] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1920.
[72] Daceyville, Dictionary of Sydney website.
[73] Returned Soldiers Employment at Moore Park, May – December 1922, City of Sydney Archives.
[74] *The Daily Telegraph*, 18 September 1915.
[75] *The Farmer and Settler (Sydney),* 24 September 1915.
[76] *The Mirror of Australia (Sydney*), 10 October 1915.
[77] *The Sun (Sydney*), 13 March 1916.
[78] *Trading with the Enemy Act 1914*, Australian Legal Information Institute website.
[79] *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 14November 1914.
[80] *The Daily Telegraph*, 13 January 1914.
[81] *The Daily Telegraph*, 8 October 1914.
[82] *The Sun (Sydney),* 15 March 1916.
[83] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1919.
[84] Continental.com website.
[85] *Archives in Brief 50 – German migration and settlement in New South Wales*, New South Wales State Archives.
[86] *100 Jahre Concordia Club Ltd: deutsche Verein.*
[87] Terry Irving, *Radical Sydney: Places, Portraits and Unruly Episodes*.
[88] *The Maitland Daily Mercury*, 14 May 1915.
[89] Life on the Home Front, National Film and Sound Archive website.
[90] *Referee*, 15 August 1917.
[91] Royal Agricultural Society website.
[92] *Tweed Daily*, 19 June 1916.
[93] Allen, Curfews and lockouts, *The Conversation*, 2016.
[94] Ibid.
[95] John Ross, *Taking the Local Option – inner Sydney pub closures*, 1908.
[96] John Ross, *Last Drinks in Surry Hills – the Licences Reduction Board*, 1920-23.
[97] Life on the Home Front, National Film and Sound Archive website.
[98] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1916.
[99] Life on the Home Front, National Film and Sound Archive website.
[100] *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 October 1916.
[101] *The Sun (Sydney),* 13 October 1916.
[102] Life on the Home Front, National Film and Sound Archive website.
[103] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March 1916.
[104] *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 24 July 1915.
[105] Ibid.

[106] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1917.
[107] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 February 1918.
[108] Enlistment standards, Australian War Memorial website.
[109] World War I discharge record of Arthur Malcolm Stace, National Archives of Australia).
[110] *Border Morning Mail*, 16 May 1916.
[111] The story of the hat that makes headlines, Akubra website.
[112] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 March 1919.
[113] The Amor centenary 1888-1988, *Australiana*, February 1989.
[114] Wentworth Ave (24) (Lot 52) W J Amor building, Jan – Dec 1915, Building application, City of Sydney Archives.
[115] *The Land (Sydney*), 7 December 1917.
[116] Australian Children's peace medal from WW1, Powerhouse Museum website.
[117] *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, 1915-1917.
[118] *Evening News*, 26 March 1919.
[119] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1919.
[120] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 February 1919.
[121] *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 1919.
[122] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May 1919.
[123] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1919.
[124] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1919.
[125] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 June 1919.
[126] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 July 1919.
[127] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 September 1919.
[128] Influenza pandemic, Defining Moments, National Museum of Australia website.
[129] *Centenary of the Anzac Obelisk, Anzac Parade Moore Park, Sydney 15 March 2017*, Roads and Maritime Services, New South Wales Government.
[130] ANZAC Obelisk on Anzac Parade reinstatement, Roads & Maritime Services, New South Wales Government.
[131] Cricketers' Memorial, History and Heritage, Centennial Parklands website.
[132] *Sunday Times*, 11 September 1921.
[133] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 July 2015.
[134] Albert (Tibby) Cotter, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.
[135] Crown Street Public School War Memorial, Monument Australia website.
[136] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1919.
[137] New South Wales Police Force Honour Roll, Monument Australia website.
[138] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1919.
[139] *Methodist (Sydney*), 2 December 1922.
[140] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 February 1940.
[141] Robert O. Paxton*, Europe in the Twentieth Century.*
[142] The Great War, Making Peace, Reaction to the Treaty of Versailles*,* British National Archives website.
[143] Second World War, 1939-45, Australian War Memorial website.
[144] All in – the Australian home front 1939-1945, Anzac Portal, Department of Veterans' Affairs website.
[145] Australia under attack: Air Raid Precautions, Australian War Memorial website.
[146] Emergency: home defence, Anzac Portal, Department of Veterans' Affairs website.
[147] Home WWII, State Library of Victoria website.
[148] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 January 1939.
[149] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 September 1939.
[150] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 June 1941.
[151] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 August 1941.
[152] *Daily Mirror*, 29 September 1941.
[153] *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 December 1941.
[154] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 December 1941.
[155] *Daily Mirror*, 5 January 1942.
[156] Sydney GPO photo 1942, City of Sydney Archives.
[157] 1943 Aerial map of Sydney, SIX maps, NSW Spatial Services website.
[158] *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 June 1942.
[159] At war again, Local history, Woollahra Municipal Council website.

[160] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 July 1942.
[161] Anti-Aircraft artillery defences in Australia during WW2, Australia At War website.
[162] Reserved occupations, Second World War, Australian War Memorial website.
[163] *Daily Mirror (Sydney),* 2 December 1942).
[164] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 1942
[165] *Construction*, 15 April 1942.
[166] National Security Act – National Security (Man Power) Regulations – Protected Undertakings, Australian Parliament House website.
[167] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 January 1940.
[168] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 December 1942.
[169] How much is it worth?, Calculators, Thom Blake Historian website.
[170] The story of the hat that makes headlines, Akubra website.
[171] Slouch Hats continue to be made in Australia, Press Release, Minister for Defence Materiel, Australian Parliament House, 12 October 2012.
[172] Home WWII, State Library of Victoria website.
[173] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June 1940.
[174] *The Sun (Sydney*), 12 June 1940.
[175] *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 December 1941.
[176] Home WWII, State Library of Victoria website.
[177] Rationing of food and clothing during the Second World War, Australian War Memorial website.
[178] *Daily Mirror (Sydney),* 22 June 1942.
[179] *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 24 June 1942.
[180] *Singleton Argus*, 17November 1943.
[181] *The Sun (Sydney*), 1 January 1946.
[182] ibid.
[183] *The Sun (Sydney*), 5 January 1946.
[184] *Daily Mirror,* 21 January 1946.
[185] *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 June 1946.
[186] *The Daily Telegraph*, 3 July 1947.
[187] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1947.
[188] *National Advocate (Bathurst*), 22 June 1948.
[189] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June 1948.
[190] *Daily Mirror*, 8 February 1950.
[191] Rationing in Britain during WWII, Faculty of History, University of Oxford website.
[192] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 January 1942.
[193] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 June 1943.
[194] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 October 1943.
[195] ibid.
[196] *The Daily Telegraph*, 13 June 1944.
[197] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November 1944.
[198] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 February 1945.
[199] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 May 1945.
[200] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September 1949.
[201] *The Sun*, 6 January 1948.
[202] Mick Roberts, "Terrible place, a pub with no beer", 2016, Time Gents website.
[203] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June 1940.
[204] Emergency: home defence, Anzac Portal, Department of Veterans' Affairs website.
[205] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 September 1941.
[206] *The Sun (Sydney*), 12 January 1942.
[207] *The Daily Telegraph*, 26 May 1942.
[208] Ibid.
[209] *The Sun (Sydney*), 22 June 1942.
[210] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August 1939.
[211] Emergency: home defence, Anzac Portal, Department of Veterans' Affairs website.
[212] Censorship during Wartime, Western Australian Museum website.
[213] *The Daily Telegraph*, 18 August 1942.

[214] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1942.
[215] *Daily Telegraph*, 16 September 1946.
[216] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 January 1940.
[217] *Daily Mirror*, 2 December 1943.
[218] *The Sun (Sydney*), 30 May 1944.
[219] Douglas Martin, New York socialite bundled for Britain, Obituaries, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 February 2013.
[220] *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 June 1941.
[221] *The Sun (Sydney*), 5 January 1942.
[222] *National Advocate (Bathurst),* 7 December 1940.
[223] *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 November 1941.
[224] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1942.
[225] *History of the Women's Australian National Services 1940-1946*, Luxton and Hooper, Sydney.
[226] *The Sun (Sydney*), 18 June 1940.
[227] *The Daily Telegraph*, 7 July 1940.
[228] *The Sun (Sydney*), 22 August 1940.
[229] *History of the Women's Australian National Services 1940-1946*, Luxton and Hooper.
[230] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 February 1941.
[231] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 April 1942.
[232] *The Sun (Sydney*), 4 January 1942.
[233] *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 September 1941.
[234] *Barrier Daily Truth*, 1 October 1943.
[235] *Barrier Daily Truth*, 5 April 1943.
[236] Joan Clarke, *All on One Good Dancing Leg*.
[237] *Army News*, 27 April, 1943.
[238] *The Daily Telegraph*, 26 May 1945.
[239] *The Sun (Sydney*), 16 February 1945.
[240] *There's a War On!*.
[241] Living with war, Anzac Portal, Department of Veterans' Affairs website.
[242] Home WWII, State Library of Victoria website.
[243] Wear it with pride and back the attack!, 4th Liberty Loan badge, Australian War Memorial website.
[244] *Daily Mirror*, 9 April 1943.
[245] *The Sun*, 11 April 1943.
[246] Home WWII, State Library of Victoria website.
[247] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 April 1941.
[248] Home WWII, State Library of Victoria website.
[249] *Daily Mirror*, 10 July 1943.
[250] Jason Morton et al, The Global Persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses, US Commission on International Religious Freedom.
[251] *Daily Mirror*, 10 July 1943.
[252] Surry Hills NSW Police Force Roll of Honour 1939-1945, NSW War memorials Register website.
[253] Australia Remembers 1945-1995, Monument Australia website.
[254] Gay and Lesbian Holocaust Memorial, Monument Australia website.
[255] Amor WII medals 1945, Bendigo Military Museum.
[256] *The Daily Telegraph*, 13 August 1945.
[257] Peter Dennis et al, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, Melbourne, 2008.
[258] Ashley Seager, *The Guardian*, 29 December 2006.
[259] Katrina de Marco et al, A history of public debt in Australia, The Australian Government Treasury website.
[260] Korean War 1950-53, Articles, Australian War Memorial website.
[261] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 1950.
[262] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1950.
[263] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 September 1951.
[264] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 October 1951.
[265] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1951.
[266] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 January 1952.
[267] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 February 1952.

[268] *The Sun*, 8 April 1952.
[269] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September 1950
[270] *Goulburn Evening Post*, 6 February 1952.
[271] *The Sun*, 2 March 1952.
[272] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 April 1953.
[273] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 April 1954.
[274] Korean War Memorial, History and Heritage, Centennial Parklands website.
[275] Vietnam War 1962-75, Australian War Memorial website.
[276] Lord Mayor's Sydney Waratah Comforts Fund Minutes, Jan 1965 – Jan 1966, City of Sydney Archives.
[277] Australian Forces Overseas Fund care packages, RSL Australia website.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Entertaining the troops, Anzac Portal, Department of Veterans' Affairs website.
[280] Craig Wilcox, Life at the Dat, Australian War Memorial website.
[281] Peter Dennis et al, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military His*tory, Melbourne.
[282] Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia*.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Vietnam War 1962-1972, Encyclopaedia, Australian War Memorial website.
[285] Vietnam War 1962-75, Australian War Memorial website.
[286] Mark Woodruff, *Unheralded Victory: Who Won the Vietnam War*?.
[287] Australian Vietnam Forces National Memorial, Monument Australia website.
[288] 7th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, Monument Australia website.

Table of Figures

References

National Library of Australia – Trove digitised newspaper archive, 1803 to 1955.

Diane Kirkby, "Maxwell's Silver Hammer…": Licensing Laws, Liquor Trading and the Maxwell Royal Commission 1951-54, Australia & New Zealand Law & History E-Journal 118, 2005.

There's a War On! – WWI and WWII collections and sites on the NSW Home Front. website: http://www.tawo.org.au/wiki/index.php/British_Centre,

Andrew Kilsby, *The Rifle Club Movement and Australian Defence 1860-1941*, UNSW, Sydney, 2014.

Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, Melbourne, 2008.

John Mordike, The Origins of Australia's Army: the Imperial and National Priorities, *Australian Defence Force Journal*, March/April 1991.

P. L. Murray, *Official records of the Australian Military Contingents to the War in South Africa,* Melbourne, 1911.

R L Wallace, *Australians at the Boer War*, Canberra, 1976.

Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, 2013.

John Keegan, *The First World War*, 1998.

Roger L Ransom, *Gambling on War: Confidence, Fear and the Tragedy of the First World War*, 2018.

Wilhelm Donko, *A Brief History of the Austrian Navy*, 2012.

Terry Irving, *Radical Sydney: Places, Portraits and Unruly Episodes*, 2010.

Australian Dictionary of Biography.

Robert O. Paxton*, Europe in the Twentieth Century, 2011.*

History of the Women's Australian National Services 1940-1946, Luxton and Hooper, Sydney, 1947.

Joan Clarke, *All on One Good Dancing Leg*, 1994, Sydney.

Jason Morton et al, The Global Persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2020.

Peter Dennis et al, The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History, Melbourne, 2008.

Mark Woodruff, *Unheralded Victory: Who Won the Vietnam War*?, London, 1999.

Index