

The Echo of an ANZAC'S Cooee: The Creation, Dissemination and Impact of Digger Culture

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INTRODUCTION

The soldiers of the First AIF - who would eventually become known as 'diggers' - constructed a self-consciously 'Australian' folk culture. That culture came to play a significant role in the creation of the central national-military myth. Within the processes involved in the creation of this myth, the diggers viewed themselves as a distinctively Australian social group, both at war and at peace, projecting that self-image outside the digger group to 'others', especially to the British.

During and after the war of 1914-1918 selected aspects of the digger self-image were appropriated into the institutionalised tradition of Anzac, the resulting amalgam of folkloric and formal traditions being the nation's central mythology which we celebrate and commemorate each April 25.

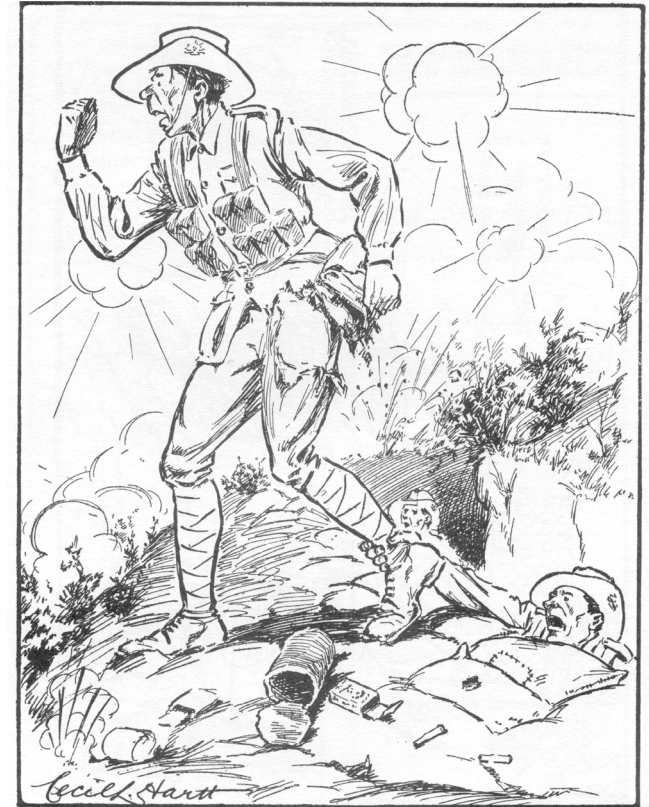
The Self-Image of the Digger

The image that the First AIF created for themselves was an amalgam of existing and new elements. The existing elements were those that had developed from the pioneering frontier experience, mainly of the nineteenth century. These revolved around the bushman as a tough, anti-authoritarian and egalitarian mate. Overlaid on this image of the bushman as hero was the mainly urban influence of

the latter part of the nineteenth century in the form of the larrikin. Again, the larrikin sported a tough, anti-authoritarian and powerfully masculine image. These existing cultural elements were the basis of the digger self-image, reflected in the expressions and practices of their folk culture.

The new elements of military service and wartime experience - included the experience of 'others', together with the problem of defining Australianism within a cultural and geographic space dominated by the British, at once progenitors and colonial metropolitan power. Also important among the unprecedented aspects of the experience was masculinism in the context of war. This involved simply coming face to face with large numbers of other (male) Australians for the first time within the First AIF, essentially a civilian militia.

From these existing and new cultural elements came the digger, a new figure born in a quandary of incipient nationalism and destined to become an icon of Australianness in his own right as well as a component of the official tradition of Anzac. The diggers celebrated their self-image in the production of an extensive corpus of song, anecdotes, verse, short stories and art. These self-identified them as a distinctive cultural group with the



"Damn yer explosive bullets! You've gone & bust the pocket I 'ad me cigarettes in!"

essential digger qualities of larrikinism, anti-authoritarianism, irreverence, and a casual attitude to dangers of battle.

This was well larded with an almost religious devotion to drinking and gambling, frequently allied with foul language, seen as a badge of

We can still hear these processes at work in the large repertoire of digger yarns and their themes. Anti-authoritarianism and egalitarianism were coded into a considerable number of yarns about 'General' (actually Lt-Gen) Birdwood - 'Birdie':

He [Birdwood] was nearing a dangerous gap in a sap on Gallipoli when the sentry called out: "Duck, Birdie; you'd better --- - well duck." "What did you do?" asked the outraged generals to whom Birdwood told the story. "Do?" Why, I --- - well ducked!"¹

In other versions of this yarn, the outraged officers are specified as being British.

Whilst General Birdwood was chatting in the Strand (London) with two or three Tommy officers, an Aussie strolled by, characteristically omitting the salute.

"Notice that Digger go by, Birdwood?" asked a Tommy officer.

"Yes, why?"

"Well, he didn't salute. Why didn't you pull him up for it?"

"Look here", said Birdie, "if you want to be told off in the Strand, I don't."²

Other significant groups of digger yarning involve the toughness and nonchalance of digger under fire, as in this example:

Four Aussies had settled down to a game of cards in a quiet corner of the trenches. Suddenly a great commotion was heard and one of the players jumped up to the look-out step.

"Hi, you fellows!" he shouted. "A whole enemy division coming over!"

Another Aussie got up with a bored look on his face.

"All right," he said. "You get on with the game. I'm dummy this hand; I'll go."³

A similar story is told of the diggers who are so little worried by enemy fire that they play two-up by the light of the barrage-flares.⁴

Related to this yarn are those that have Australian troops playing two-up during enemy attack so fervently and oblivious to the danger that they are mistaken for believers at prayer.⁵

Other examples include the one about the Diggers shooting and bombing an enemy position from whence no resistance comes, only to discover another digger inside nonchalantly cooking a meal and wondering what all the noise is about⁶, the VC-winning digger who cannot understand what all the fuss is about and says "you'd have thought I'd won a medal in the Olympic Games",⁷ and one titled 'Price of Glory':

A wounded soldier was being carried across No Man's land on the back of a perspiring comrade. Rifle and machine gun fire was heavy.

"'Ere," suddenly exclaimed the wounded soldier, "what about turning round and walking backwards for a spell. You're getting the V.C., but I'm getting all the blinkin' bullets."⁸

The digger's casual iconoclasm also features in some yarns, such as the one where digger is taken by a local, usually Arab, guide to see the sacred flame (usually of Bethlehem) that has burned for two thousand years. Digger looks at it for a moment and blows out the flame, saying that it's about time someone put it out.⁹

Another group of yarns provides an indication of the linkage between digger culture and the bush traditions of manual labour, masculinity, toughness and its sardonic humour. The figure of the bush cook was, and is, a staple of Australian (and other) rural traditions.

The cook was generally referred to as the 'babbler', a contraction of the rhyming slang term 'babbling brook', as such, features in a number of digger yarns. Probably the best-known of these yarns is 'Who called the cook a bastard?' This yarn is known in numerous variants, though the following is the most usually encountered:

I came out of my dugout one morning attracted by a terrible outburst of Aussie slanguage in the trench. The company dag was standing in about three feet of mud, holding his mess tin in front of him and gazing contemptuously at a piece of badly cooked bacon, while he made a few heated remarks concerning one known as Bolo, the babbling brook. He concluded an earnest and powerful address thus:

"An if the _____ that cooked this bacon ever gets hung for bein' a cook, the poor _____ will be innocent."^{10 11}

THE PROJECTED IMAGE OF THE DIGGER

The diggers also projected a version of their self-image outwards to 'others' not digger, including officers, (with some exceptions), the British and the Americans. There was certain arrogance in these projections, an inferred or assumed superiority of difference, expressed in language yarns. These expressions served a definite demarcation function as the Australians sought to assert their national identity within a geographical and cultural space that was largely controlled by others, especially the problematic pommies.

Closely connected to such assertions were yarns that emphasised the identifying crudity of Australian vernacular speech. The vulgarity - so-called - of everyday Australian discourse had frequently been commented on - usually unfavourably - by nineteenth and early

twentieth century visitors from Britain.¹² This topic therefore became a popular theme of digger yarns, allowing the simultaneous articulation of a unique, therefore authentic, Australian vernacular, as well as a tilt at perceived British pretensions.

Neither the observers who rated Australian vernacular as worse than that of their own working classes, nor the Australians who considered their vernacular to be unique, were correct. But the belief that these things were so impelled yarns like this:

An officer, inspecting first line of resistance:
'What soldiers are in this trench, my man?'
'First Sussex Regiment, sir.'

After going along a little further, he questions again: 'What soldiers are in this trench, my man?'

'What the _____ has it got to do with you?'

'Oh, this is the Australian trench,' the officer said, quite surprised.¹³

This theme persists in many other yarns:

(Sentry) "Halt! Who goes there?"

"Ceylon Planters [sic] Rifle Club".

Sentry - "Pass, friend".

A little later - "Halt, who goes there?"

Answer - "Auckland Mounted Rifles".

[Pass, friend'.]

As the next person arrives - "Halt, Who goes there?"

Answer - "What the----- has that got to do with you?"

Sentry - "Pass, Australian".¹⁴

Another well-known example involves Lord Kitchener at Anzac telling the diggers how proud they should be of their accomplishment, only to have a digger call out 'My oath we are, Steve'.¹⁵

In these ways the folk culture of the digger mediated the problem of national/racial/tribal identity through the creation and projection of the digger self image. This had its effects and consequences in the taking up of this image by the official tradition of Anzac and its consequent projection for political and militaristic purposes.

DIGGER INTO ANZAC

The digger image as projected through the Anzac tradition derives from the folk tradition of the diggers but combines, colludes and sometimes collides with the imperatives of an official construct. That construct acknowledges the iconicism of the digger but also transmutes this into a mythology that can function in a national-military context.

Elements of the digger tradition were therefore incorporated - or not - in a process that involved a number of manipulations, elisions and overlookings.

One element simply ignored in the incorporation of the folkloric self-image of the digger into the formal erection of Anzac was his irreverence - both towards formal religion and authority. Another was the racism of the digger, expressed most sharply in his contempt for 'gyppos' (Egyptians), but also in attitudes to other races and nationalities.

A number of the components of digger culture were received into the institutional tradition of Anzac in unchanged form. The independence of the Australian foot soldier, expressed in his ability to get on with the job with a minimum of leadership was made much of. Similarly, the digger's ability to 'make do', his inventiveness in finding such solutions as the periscope rifle and jam tin bomb. A casual attitude to the dangers of armed combat was

another unalloyed incorporation from digger culture.

Other elements were incorporated in sanitised form. The darker and critical aspects of digger humour expressed in some of their songs and poems were not included. Digger favourites like 'One For His Nob', later known as 'Horseferry Road' and, from World War 2 as 'Dinki-Di', was still being sung in World War 2, Korea and Vietnam:

He landed in London and straight away strode

Direct to Headquarters in Horseferry Road.

A Buckshee Corporal said 'Pardon me, please,

But there's dust on your tunic and dirt on your knees.

You look so disgraceful that people will laugh',

Said the cold-footed coward that works on the staff.

The Aussie just gave him a murderous glance,

And said, 'I've just come from the trenches in France,

Where shrapnel is falling and comforts are few,

And Aussies are fighting for cowards like you.

I wonder, old shirker, if your mother e'er knew,

That her son is a waster and afraid of the strafe,

But holds a soft snap on the Horseferry staff?'¹⁶

'The Purple Platoon', sometimes found attached to later versions of 'Horseferry Road', also circulated autonomously as a piece of verse:

Our officer's out on his favourite stunt,
Taking us out for a souvenir hunt.'
Taking us out in front of the wire,
Getting us killed by our own rifle fire.
We used to be fifty odd non-coms and
men,
We used to be fifty but now we are ten,
And if this cross-eyed war doesn't end
ruddy soon,
There'll be no Aussies left in our purple
platoon.¹⁷

Instead of these sombre aspects of digger humour it was the stoic, knockabout jesting of the digger, much of it related to bush humour, that became part of the Anzac version of the digger. Such things as the high incidence of VD, the Wazzir riot in Cairo and the numbers sent home in disgrace were ignored. Also, the sending up and pranking of toffee-nosed British officers (as depicted in the film *Gallipoli*, for instance) was acceptable in moderation.

Digger anti-authoritarianism was carefully restructured. Reluctance to salute officers, the need for officers to earn the respect of their men, discomfort with and frequent subversion of military discipline, hierarchy and etiquette were acceptable. But more serious infractions, such as refusal to take orders, mutiny, desertion, killing of prisoners and the 'ratting' of enemy soldiers from their dugouts were not included.¹⁸

Yet other elements of digger folklore were incorporated in greatly amplified form. In digger folk expressions from the period of the war itself there is little mention of mateship. It seems, as Thomson and others working on post-war collective memory have shown,¹⁹ mateship may be a largely retrospective process. As such, it involves interpretation

of the not uniquely Australian emotions of wartime comradeship in terms of the existing codes of mateship within Australian culture. Regardless of this, the ultimate criterion of the digger and Anzac is mateship.

Again, in digger tradition, duty and sacrifice are totally absent or actively satirised. Duty to one's country, the military, etc. is implicitly or explicitly called into question at every opportunity through the large number of songs and ditties that insist on wanting to be 'out of it', 'cop a blighty', or 'at home'.

'I Want to Go Home' was a parody popular with the Australians. At the battle of Pozieres during the Somme offensive an Australian Private Barwick wrote in his diary:

The shellfire was now hellish and the noise deafening, but just to show you how cool the boys were, why, some of them were walking up [toward the German lines] with rifles at the slope and singing 'I Want To Go Home'.²⁰

I want to go home, I want to go home,
I don't want to go to the trenches no more,
Where the Minnies and Whizz-bangs they
whistle and roar;
Take me over the sea,
Where the Germans can't snipe at me;
Oh my, I'm too young to die,
I want to go home.²¹

After the war, the image of the digger was maintained and confirmed through returned soldiers' organizations, unit reunions, and publications like *Aussie* and *Smith's Weekly*. From its first issue in 1919, '*Smith's*' as it was widely known, bristled with fervent declarations of gratitude to the diggers and a bellicose nationalistic pride in their wartime achievements.²² *Smith's* also took an enthusiastic, even belligerent interest in

the affairs of the returned soldier. Long-time employee and historian of the paper, George Blaikie, wrote that the publication created 'what was generally called 'The *Smith's Weekly* Soldier.' And there was a very curious phenomenon associated with this figure. It looked completely different when viewed from different angles.' One of these angles provided a view of the digger as:

... an undisciplined larrikin who would not button his tunic, delighted in insulting his officers and dodging his proper duties, and made a virtue out of going AWL and resisting Military Police.

This was a concise view of the diggers' own self-image, that which was consistently projected to the outside world. The other view of the digger, of course, was that of the institutionalised tradition of Anzac.

BRINGING THE TWO TRADITIONS TOGETHER

The Anzac tradition can be shorthand in the symbolism of the designs of the East and West windows of The Hall of Memory in the AWM. These encode the essence of the official Anzac ethos. Both windows are dedicated to the AIF (men and women), with the West window embodying the social qualities of Australian service men and women - 'comradeship', 'ancestry', 'patriotism', 'chivalry' (to the defeated) and 'loyalty'. The east window represents AIF fighting qualities - 'coolness' (in action), 'control' (of self and others), 'audacity' and 'decision'.²³

From the beginning, official Anzac rhetoric has been heavy with such signifiers of sacrifice for country, duty done. Under the heading AIF - QUIET PASSING AWAY, the souvenir programme of the 1921 Anzac Day Commemoration Concert of the NSW RSSIL (it was still an Imperial rather than an Australian Imperial

League at this point) carried this message:

The following resolution was recently carried by the New South Wales Branch of the League:- 'That, in view of the official demobilisation of the AIF, effected as from today, this council places on record its hope that the traditions of the AIF will never be allowed to die, and that all ex-members of the AIF will, as the years roll on, stand together in civilian life as they did in time of war, all imbued with a desire to serve Australia with that spirit of self-sacrifice and loyalty with which, as sailors and soldiers, they served Australia and the Empire, inculcating loyalty and securing patriotic service in the interests of both as is laid down in the constitution of this League.'²⁴

The invention of Anzac Day in Queensland was also accompanied by the usual rhetoric:

Queensland has taken the lead in the celebration of this day, on which Australia, by the valour of her sons, became entitled through an ordeal of blood, fire, and suffering to take her place among the great nations of the world, and to stand on equal terms with those peoples, both past and present, who have given of their best that humanity might benefit ...

So began the author of the history of Queensland's Anzac Day movement in 1921.²⁵ In a period notable for what now read as near hysterical expressions of imperialistic vainglory, this overlong sentence stands out through its combination of state parochialism, nationalism, militarism, masculinism and incipient racism. The writer touches on each of the crucial elements of the Anzac tradition, entwining them in a metaphor that

encapsulates the dominant meaning that Anzac had for the members of the RSSILA and, it is reasonable to assume, of many diggers who were not affiliated. Anzac - and hence its annual observance - is a 'celebration' of the valour, sacrifice and duty of Australia's fighting men. Those qualities, proven to all the world, or at least those nations of it deemed to be 'great', are those that entitle Australia to nationhood on equal terms to others who have also 'given of their best' for the good of all 'humanity'. Significantly, the past is linked directly to the present with the consequent implication of a continuity of virtues that reside in Australia's 'sons'. As usual with such rhetoric, the role of women as nurses, as family support and on the home front is ignored. Also avoided are the less salubrious activities and characteristics of Australia's valiant sons - their incidence of venereal disease, desertion, mutiny, murder of prisoners, brawling, irreverence, swearing, drinking, gambling, refusal to obey orders and general disdain for almost anything that did not fit comfortably into their narrow view of how the world should be.²⁶

It was still necessary for Anzac Day speakers to emphasise the traditions and 'spirit' of the British 'race', fusing these with Australian nationhood and with the imagery of blood and sacrifice:

Red with their blood is our new charter of national life and of liberty, the expression of sacrifice which alone can make us a nation worthy of the noblest Commonwealth of Nations. British to the core, they lived and fought and died.²⁷

These central themes of the Anzac tradition were echoed throughout the subsequent twenty-five sermons and speeches delivered by clergy and local dignitaries in Queensland on Anzac Day, 1921, and published in *Anzac*

Commemoration. Nor, of course, were they unique to the Queensland view of the significance and appropriate observance of Anzac Day. These were very much the grist of all the official expostulations of the national-military myth. The capturing of Anzac Day by the forces of officialdom in Queensland was replicated throughout the country.

The mediation of these many elements and imperatives rapidly established and continually developed Australia's national-military mythology. It was, and is, a fusion of the folk traditions of the digger and the formal and official tradition of Anzac. Each side of this process was powered by its own imperatives. In the case of the digger tradition it was the demotic, territorial and wartime survival imperatives. In the case of Anzac it was the need for a national image of military virtues that could be called upon and invoked in time of war.

TREADING ON THE MYTH

The cultural elements variously invented and invoked into the creation and diffusion of this mythology were derived from the Australian experience of the bush, the city and the battlefield. In this sense they were 'authentically' Australian (and were seen in those terms by the diggers²⁸) and have been so projected as markers of our distinctiveness and character ever since, with updates in WW2, Korea and Vietnam.

We continue to cleave to this image in the popular understanding and articulation of national identity, especially on Anzac Day, with increasing numbers attending the Dawn Service, with the notable development of Australians - many of them young - travelling Gallipoli to be part of the experience on the sacred site itself. In October 2004 the

commemorations for the victims of the Bali bombings took on a distinctively Anzac tone, with a 'dawn service' being held near the site of the event. Politicians have the image conveniently at their disposal to invoke patriotism, duty and sacrifice in time of war, mobilising the mythology in relation to Australia's participation in the 'Coalition of the Willing' that invaded Iraq from 2003. We also continue to project this image of ourselves to the rest of the world in our film, TV and other popular media confections in a line stretching back at least to Charles Chauvel's *Rats of Tobruk* (1944) and including Peter Weir's and David Williamson's *Gallipoli* (1981) and the TV mini-series, *Anzacs* (1985). Les Carlyon's well-regarded *Gallipoli* has been a best-seller since its publication in 2001. And so Anzac and its essential, if institutionally inflected corollary of the digger will continue to lie at the centre of the Australian consciousness, transforming itself to suit new circumstances and imperatives, as it has always done since we began to construct it in 1915.

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The extent to which the two traditions discussed here interact - and the ongoing power of that interaction - can be gauged in the response to *Inventing Anzac* by a reviewer in the RSL newspaper *Stand To*. The reviewer claimed that the book was scornful and disapproving and that the tradition was 'fraudulent'. It went on:

For Graham Seal the ANZAC tradition does not exist and those who believe in it are guilty of an undiscerning ignorance, oblivious to the manipulation of the truth by people with an interest in distortion and misrepresentation ...²⁹

Despite the fact that *Inventing Anzac* says

no such thing (in fact it argues almost the exact opposite), the outrage of the reviewer highlights the dangers of suggesting that powerful national myths might be invented.

ENDOTES

1. Fair, 1965, p.12, also in Kennedy, J.J., *The Whale Oil Guards*, Dublin, 1918. See Atkinson, C., 'The Whale Oil Guards. A Plain Tale from France', in *The Anzac Bulletin*, 64, March 29, 1918, p. 13; Davies, C., *Ethnic Humour Around the World*, Bloomington, Ind., 1990. p. 266; *Smith's Weekly*, Aug. 15, 1925. (Without the motif of Birdwood telling the story after the war to amazed British officers. In this version, then, the dominant aim is to establish Birdwood's egalitarianism and common sense, or 'nous', while in the later versions, there is the additional fillip of rubbing the noses of the British officer class in Australian egalitarianism).

2. In Fair, R., *A Treasury of Anzac Humour*, p. 11, and also occurs in other versions, see Wannan, 1970, p.184.

3. Anon., *Lest We Forget ...*, op. cit. np. Also in Wannan, *Dictionary*, op. cit., 1970 p. 183, Field, M. *Dinkum Aussie Yarns*, Melbourne, nd (1990), p.19, Fair, p. 12, and Nally, E., (comp.?) *Digger Tales 1914-1918, 1939-1942*, nd (1942?), titled 'He Could Tackle It'. Accounts of digger nonchalance and humour under fire typically spice unofficial and semi-official unit histories, see for example Belford, W., (Capt.), *'Legs-Eleven': Being the Story of the 11th Battalion (AIF) in the Great War of 1914-1918*, Perth, 1940, pp. 321-2.

4. Cooper, *Character Glimpses*, p. 13. (For

photographic evidence of Australians playing two-up under fire at Gallipoli, see Robertson, J., *Anzac and Empire*, p. 175).

5. *Herald* (Melbourne), Feb 27 1956. (Quoted in Wannan, *Dictionary*, p. 33. Also in Beatty, B., op. cit., pp. 118-119.

6. *Australian Corps News Sheet*, Nov. 6, 1918, p.2.

7. Wannan, *Come in Spinner*, p.188. Field, ibid., p. 42. See also Cutriss, *Over the Top with the 3rd Australian Division*, pp.97-8 for the Digger smashed into a dugout wall by shell-blast - "Are you hurt?", asks the NCO. "Only my feelings", comes the reply.

8. Nally, *Lest We Forget*, np.

9. Cartoon version *Port Hacking Cough*, produced aboard homeward bound troopship, *Port Hacking*, Dec. 1918 - Jan. 1919. Reprinted *Aussie*, June 15, 1920, p. 21.

10. Cooper, Albert Horace, *Character Glimpses: Australians on the Somme*, nd (1919?); Nally, *Lest We Forget: Digger Tales 1914-18, 1939-42*, Melbourne., nd (1942?), np. (Copy in La Trobe Library, Melbourne.) titled 'The Poor Cook'. Variant involving bag-piper in *Lest We Forget: Digger Tales 1914-18, 1939-41*, Melbourne, nd (1941?), np. (Copy in La Trobe Library, Melbourne.). 'Digger's Diary', *Western Mail*, Jan 2, 1930 and October 30, 1930. *Smith's Weekly*, June 6, 1925. (Variant involving digger being questioned by officer in charge of his court-martial: 'Did you call the cook a ____?' 'No', the digger answers, 'but I could kiss the ____ who did!')

11. Bean provides an insight into the dual role of the cook in digger culture. This individual was both a provider of sustenance and the

(mostly) willing butt of humour within the military group with which he was affiliated, bearing the 'oaths and good-natured sarcasm' of those who had no option but to consume his offerings, with equanimity and humorous forbearance, Bean, *Official History*, vol. 6, p.10.

12. See Seal, G., *The Lingo: Listening to Australian English*, UNSW Press, 1999.

13. Wells, E., *An Anzac's Experiences in Gallipoli*, France and Belgium, Sydney, 1919 (np); Longmore, C. (ed), *Carry On! The Traditions of the AIF*, Perth, 1940, pp. 81-2. In this version it is a German officer at Beersheba who recognises the Australians by their language. Also a Boer War version in Robson.

14. Quoted in Robertson, J., *Anzac and Empire*, Port Melbourne, 1990, pp. 43-4, from letter of a New Zealand soldier, W. Fairbairn, March 1915. Robertson, *ibid.*, p. 280, notes variant in Godley correspondence, August, 1915. Variants (using Australian place-names instead of swearing) in 'Digger's Diary, *Western Mail*, Sept 25, 1930, *Smith's Weekly*, Nov 21, 1925 (names of Sydney suburbs), *Smith's Weekly*, Aug 29, 1925. ("a pot of Carlton"). See also 1. *Honk*, 11, Dec 7, 1915, p.2 for a digger who 'wastes' bad language on a Belgian. See also chapter 6.

15. *Aussie*, Oct. 15, 1920, p. 22. Reprinted from *The Karoolian*, written aboard homeward bound *Karoola*, April 1919. Robson, *op. cit.*, p.320 for a similar story about Kitchener during the Boer War, when an Australian asked "Mr Kitchener, when are you going to let us blokes go home? You know we only signed on

for twelve months".

16. *Remnants from Randwick*, No. 2, 1919, p. 27. Credited to 'N.D.M.C.' and titled 'One for His Nob', this World War 1 item was also well-known in the 1939-45 war. The earliest text of this song seems to be in *Aussie* no. 7, September, 1918, p.10.

17. *Re-Union Songs*, Adelaide, nd. [1920s], np. (*non-coms* - Non-commissioned officers). These verses are also sometimes found attached to versions of 'One For His Knob' ('Horseferry Road').

18. On the murder of prisoners by Australian troops see Hawken, D., 'Letters and Diaries from Gallipoli', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 16, April, 1990, pp. 74-5.

19. Thomson, A., *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, Melbourne, 1994, Thomson, A., 'A Past You Can Live With: Digger Memories and the Anzac Legend', in Nile, R. & Seymour, A. (eds), *Anzac: Meaning, Memory and Myth*, London, 1991, Thomson, A., 'Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia', *Oral History*, 18:1, Spring 1990, Thomson, A., 'Steadfast until Death? C.E.W. Bean and the Representation of Australian Military Manhood', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23:93, Oct. 1989; Barrett, J., *We Were There: Australian Soldiers of World War II*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1987, Blair, D., *Dinkum Diggers: An Australian Battalion at War*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001; Luckins, T., *The Gates of Memory*, Curtin University Books, Fremantle, 2004.

20. Gammage, Bill, *A Broken Song*, p.163

21. See Seal, G., *Digger Folksong and Verse of World War 1: An Annotated Anthology*, Perth,

1992 for this and numerous similar expressions.

22. *Smith's Weekly* (SW), April 26, 1921, p. 9.

23. From AWM, *The Hall of Memory*, Canberra (1961), 1984 and see McKernan, M., *Here is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial, 1917-1990*, St Lucia, Qld., 1991.

24. RSSIL, *Anzac Day Commemoration Concert Souvenir Programme*, Sydney, 1921.

25. *Ibid.* p. 7.

26. For specific information on the role of women see McKernan, M., *The Australian People and the Great War*, West Melbourne, 1980, especially chpt. 4 'To Wait and Weep': Australian Women at War', and chpt. 6, 'From Hero to Criminal: the AIF in Britain, 1915-19'. Rates of venereal infection among Australian soldiers were well-known, see for instance, McKernan, p. 92; Gammage, *The Broken Years*, pp. 36, 37, 120, 123.

27. Diddams, *op. cit.*, p.3.

28. Seal, G., *Inventing Anzac*, especially chapter 6 'The Echo of an Anzac's Cooee: Perpetuating a Tradition'.

29. *Stand To* 117, June-July 2004, p. 6.