Putting the Digger on a pedestal

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Horner in *The Age* some years back ended a series of cartoons of Myths and Monsters of Down Under with 'the Anzac: a brave youth who fought the enemies of his master, and was turned into stone on his return'.(1) Most Australians think of war memorials as still stone soldiers; no doubt because these are the most recognisable of war memorials. In Queensland, stone soldiers are a very potent reminder of the Great War. A student of their American counterparts has noted: 'The meaning of monuments can change over time as they are viewed anew by each generation'.(2) Some of today's generation might wish that the statues were not there. Is this why students of Australian history have not been eager to address such an exceptional demonstration of public art? We in Queensland have been slow to study our sculptural heritage generally, both high art and low art. This paper attempts to make amends by describing the phenomenon of the stone digger, and seeing what he reveals about the society which erected him.

The Great War left Australia to mourn the loss of 60,000 from a population of four million - a loss which represented one in five of those who had served in our first international venture. Unlike any other army on either side, the First AIF was composed entirely of volunteers. The dead were buried where they fell beside the battlefields of Europe and the Middle East, and eventually in cemeteries made by the Imperial War Graves Commission. These cemeteries were too far away for most Australians to join in the pilgrimages to the war graves which became popular in Europe. So for Australians, public mourning was expressed in stone. The newly current word 'cenotaph' was much used for war memorials, for an empty tomb is what many people felt a war memorial to be.

Probably Queensland's first monument to the Great War was a broken column erected at Nobby in late 1915 in memory of a soldier killed at Gallipoli. Like Queensland's earliest monuments of the Boer War, it was located in a cemetery. Mass death of the following years called for commemoration in more conspicuous sites than sylvan cemeteries: in main streets; at intersections; in public parks; occasionally in school yards or outside churches.(3) Concurrent with this urge for conspicuous memorials was a definite preference for the stone soldier type. Two thirds of our 60 World War I soldier statues were unveiled in the years from 1917 to 1921.(4) From 1922 they were outnumbered by other types of monuments. The last of the stone soldiers was unveiled in 1926. By then the race to monumentalise the war had almost ended, apart from the grand 'national' memorial planned for Brisbane.

My recent survey has identified the soldier as Queensland's most popular type of war memorial, far outnumbering the obelisk which was more favoured in New South Wales and possibly elsewhere.(5) This finding was not surprising, given Queensland's official attitude to war memorials at the time.

From 1918 New South Wales and Victoria set up War Memorials Advisory Boards, after the example of Britain's committee appointed by the Royal Academy of Art. These boards gave advice to local authorities and fund-raising committees. They also attempted - not always successfully - to approve the designs. The New South Wales board even issued approved designs. The establishment of regulatory boards was prompted by concern among architects that 'inaesthetic' memorials were debasing public taste. To the professional designers on these boards the stock or 'manufactured' stone soldiers were not in good taste. They wanted simple abstract memorials with underlying symbolic
Figure 1: Goombungee has a pedestal designed by an architect.
content to fire the imagination. The austere monuments designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens for the Imperial War Graves Commission were the epitome of informed taste.

By contrast Queensland had no official control. To Governor Sir Matthew Nathan the 'undirected choice' of the state's war memorials was a source of pride. In 1925 he wrote: 'There is in them no suggestion of their having been erected at the instance of any general organisation or under the influence of any official inspiration'.(6) This hands-off policy was in contrast to the official promotion of Anzac observance, for Queensland took the lead in organising the national observance of Anzac Day. A public meeting in Brisbane in January 1916 resolved that the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing would be 'suitably commemorated' throughout the state, and that the other states would be invited to follow suit.(7) Queensland's Anzac Day Commemoration Committee then drew up the liturgy which has become standard for Anzac commemoration throughout Australia from 1916. This committee still maintains an interest in the care of war memorials, but it has never attempted to regulate their design.

The Queensland Institute of Architects was concerned about the lack of regulation. In January 1918 it carried the following resolution unanimously:

'This Institute has observed with regret the deplorable artistic character (sometimes apparently of inordinate cost) of many war memorials erected in Queensland and would welcome any method by which better results would be obtained...'(8)

In lieu of local direction, two Queensland communities asked the New South Wales Advisory Board for help. Goombungee's request was passed to the Queensland Institute of Architects; with the result that its memorial was designed by the eminent Toowoomba architect Harry Marks (Figure 1). However, this pedestal was crowned by what was so dear to the hearts of Queenslanders: a stone soldier, but a more pretentious one imported from Italy.

Australia in 1914 had no symbolic figure fit to be taken seriously. War gave us one. A wounded AIF soldier introduced himself to the Bulletin the week after Australians were known to be fighting in Turkey, and soon displaced his more comic predecessor, the Little Boy from Manly. The Digger, as he came to be called, became a national hero. He inherited all the qualities of the ideal Australian defined by the Anzac tradition, largely the creation of C.W. Bean, official war correspondent and later war historian. The cult figure dominated the popular imagery of the day; even turning up in needlework and in Royal Doulton. In marble and sandstone, rarely bronze, the Digger surmounted pedestals, columns, obelisks and clock towers throughout Queensland, from Wyandra to Port Douglas. At Cairns he cost a massive 2,074 pounds sterling about $70,000 in today's figures.

Soldier statues were condemned by arbiters of taste throughout the Allied World. In May 1919 the American Magazine of Art reproduced a 'stock' soldier - familiar to Americans through hundreds of monuments to the Civil War and not unlike the stone soldiers already appearing in Queensland - and captioned it 'Ferritioner of an invading army to be feared'. Confronted by the Royal Artillery Memorial in London, with its grimly realistic soldiers, art critic Roger Fry recoiled. He had never seen 'anything approaching the commonness, the effective, the brutal, catch-penny vulgarity of this work'.(15) Nearer home Bruce Dellit, architect of the Sydney war memorial, declared that there would be nothing so 'dull and prosaic' on his edifice as 'men in uniform ...adjoining ...some massacred masonry'.(16) Queensland sculptor Daphne Mayo later wrote that 'we would be classed as a very backward race' if judged by 'the crop of stone and bronze soldiers that sprang up after the last war'.(17)(Figure 2)

Thanks to Queensland's defiance of these custodians of high art we can now boast a rich variety of war memorials, including possibly the best 'crop' of stone soldiers in Australia. They had already invaded before the professionals voiced their condemnation. They reveal a lot about
contemporary values and perceptions of the war.

Who commissioned them? The first were unveiled before many returned soldiers could take the lead. In fact, soldier settlements tended to opt for more practical memorials, like Diggers' halls. The more disillusioned veterans felt that the money would have been better spent on the families of the fallen or on 'distressed Diggers' themselves. 'Pray for the dead - and stand by the living' was heard more often as the depression approached. Usually the proposal to erect a local memorial originated with a public meeting at which a patriotic committee was formed. Busy women helpers then did most of the fund-raising. During the war the federal government tried to discourage communities from diverting funds from the war effort. At Beaudesert, funds far in excess of the 500 pounds sterling limit approved by the Attorney General were collected within nine months of the original proposal. Responding later to a questionnaire on its memorial, unveiled in 1921 free of debt at a cost of 1,340 pounds (Figure 3) Beaudesert stated that 'the whole proposal simply came from the hearts of the people'. One stone soldier was commissioned privately, by a widow who lost three sons in the war. He stands, a cenotaph, behind the family plot in the Anglican graveyard at Ma Ma Creek, a chilling reminder of the suffering borne by many households. (Figure 4)

The next question must be: who did not commission war memorials? When unveiling Booval's memorial (Figure 2) in 1919, Governor Goold-Adams congratulated the locals on their fine monument and added: 'We felt perfectly certain that in years to come the people would call into question any community that had not done as they had done'. He was right, it seems. There were always enough patriots to see that the right thing was done, even in communities with large numbers of aliens or marked by 'disloyal' disturbances during the war. Those who could not afford a monument - or some other substantial tribute - had an honour board in addition to their 'War Trophy' (as the captured German guns issued throughout the land were called).

Figure 2: The statue at Booval may have been carved by Daphne Mayo (photo: Australian War Memorial).
Figure 3: Beaudesert - a digger off-duty, funded 'from the hearts of the people'.

Figure 4: The Andrews family monument and the 'cenotaph' in honour of three sons, at Ma Ma Creek.
What do the monuments themselves say? More than half Queensland's stone soldiers bear the names of all who enlisted from the area, not only of the dead. Though honouring the returned was obviously an important concern, the names of the dead were given precedence on the front face of most of the pedestals surveyed. The memorial at Brooweena added a macabre verse about 'the bivouac of the dead'. Here is an account of the unveiling in 1923 of Mareeba's memorial, an occasion not unlike a funeral:

"...as the released flags fluttered from the pile of masonry, the figure of a Digger...was disclosed...As the flags descended to the ground, the "Last Post" was heard in the distance, and as the crowd stood with bared heads and solemn demeanour, the Mareeba Town Band broke the silence with "Abide With Me"." (21)

Often there followed a recitation of the names of the fallen and wreath-laying by relatives. The earliest memorials were essentially an expression of grief, even if to some they came to symbolise Establishment values.

The most common inscriptions were invocations to remember. Words chosen from the Apocrypha by Rudyard Kipling to be carved in every battlefield cemetery of the British empire proved the most popular dedication for Queensland's stone soldiers: 'Their name liveth for evermore'. (22) But words like 'appreciation', 'homage', 'tribute' and 'gratitude' were almost as common as the invocations to remember. Other pedestals spelt out 'sacrifice'. About six (23) had a Christian statement about vicarious death: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends'. (24) Indeed Australians felt a keen sense of obligation to pay tribute to their fallen, and the late appearance of Queensland's state memorial was repeatedly referred to as 'duty neglected'. And justly so, for in the rhetoric of C.E.W. Bean the nation had 'come of age' in the eyes of the world through its 'baptism by fire' on the shores of Gallipoli - the AIF, all volunteers and some mere boys, had put Australia on the stage of history. In The Moods of Ginger Mick (1916) C J Dennis, our most popular poet and one who can be relied on to capture the feeling of the time, had the Bloke writing to his mate at Gallipoli:

'There's bin a lot o' tork, old mate, uv wot we owe to you,
An' wot yeh've braved an' done for us,
an' wot we mean to do.
We've 'ailed you boys as 'eroes, Mick,
an' torked uv just reward
When you 'ave done the job yer at an' slung aside the sword.' (25)

Given, then, that they had to erect memorials, how did Queenslanders characterise the locals who had fought for them? East Brisbane's stone soldier was described as 'a stalwart Anzac'; (26) Ipswich western suburbs' and Elbow Vale's as 'a typical Australian soldier'. (27) Judging by the statues, Queenslanders saw their hero as an Infantryman, precisely five feet or five feet six inches tall, rarely larger than life, (28) in full marching kit. Very rarely he carried a back pack; (29) more often he was under-equipped for a proper soldier. It is interesting to observe that the typical Infantryman rather than that glamorous cavalier, the Light Horseman, was chosen for all but about nine of Queensland's statues, (30) for it was the foot-soldier who became the cannon-fodder of the Western Front while the Light Horse rode on victoriously in Palestine. Equally interesting is the virtual absence of the cap which, in reality, the Infantryman wore as much as the slouch hat. So the stone Digger was more accessible if he was distinctively Australian. Sometimes he was a sweet-faced youth, (31) an image which Australia's first official war artist, Will Dyson, called an injustice. The horror of the Western Front had transformed his subjects into grim and serious men - 'breathed on by Death itself' wrote the London Herald's art critic. (32) By contrast, our statues were more often as 'expressionless of feature' as their critics said they were. (33)

It is clear that the stone soldier had to be, above all, like the 'one common soljer' who had caused the light to go out for poor Rose in C.J. Dennis' poem. (34) Only one of Queensland's statues wore any mark of rank:
a humble corporal, not an officer. Names were arranged by rank on only one pedestal, and on only about one eighth of the pedestals surveyed were military rank and decorations added beside the names. So the monuments conformed to Bean's ideal of the AIF as a singularly democratic army - comrades in arms - an essential ingredient of the Anzac tradition. Later in this role as founder of the Australian War Memorial, Bean insisted that rank and decorations should not be recorded on the national Roll of Honour.(35) Not only was the fallen Digger commemorated as a comrade in our national shrine, he was buried as an equal, officers and men alike, in the cemeteries of the Imperial War Graves Commission. Likewise the stone Digger had to be without class, even if some of his living comrades promptly remembered what class they belonged to when they returned to a land fit for heroes.

Who, then, were entrusted to make our national heroes? Preferably not our sculptors (by which I mean creative artists as distinct from artisans), for they could not be trusted to do as they were told; and preferably not our architects who did not approve of soldier statues anyway. Of Queensland's 60 World War One soldier statues, only two were the work of sculptors - not local sculptors, but a British firm tried and tested: John Whitehead and Sons of London. Their figures for Ipswich Railway Workshops (1919) and Dalby (1922) were Queensland's only Diggers cast in bronze. The Booval statue (1919) may have been the work of Daphne Mayo (Figure 2), but it was carved before she made her name as a sculptor, while she was apprenticed to a monumental mason (and given her later outburst, not a work to enhance a sculptor's reputation). Only one of Queensland's stone soldiers, at Beaudesert (1921), originated in a design competition (Figure 3) - always a risky business - and architects were entrusted to design the pedestals of a mere five.(36) The remainder were direct commissions to monumental masons, the same artisans who also supplied our cemeteries with gravestones. They widely advertised their competence in memorial work, and, using catalogues and photographs, could show prospective clients exactly what the finished product would be. If a committee liked a monument elsewhere, it could approach the firm responsible and order a duplicate with its own minor variations. The records of the Brisbane firm of Andrew L Petrie, now in the Fryer Memorial Library, bear testimony to this unimaginative ordering process.(37)

In overlooking their best sculptors, Queenslanders were at least consistent. They had passed over Harold Parker when he made a triumphant return visit to Brisbane in 1911 and submitted a design for the proposed Boer War Memorial. In 1908 Parker had caused a sensation in London when his Ariadne was purchased by London's Tate Gallery for an unprecedented 1,000 pounds sterling - a feat unmatched by a Queensland artist since. Another notable sculptor neglected by his home state was Leslie Bowles, who in 1924 became head sculptor at the Australian War Memorial (then Museum) where modelling little Diggers for dioramas and bigger Diggers for pedestals became his stock-in-trade.(38)

So what was an acceptable soldier statue? We tend to think that they all stand in an attitude of mourning: to attention; head bowed; rifle reversed and resting on the left boot - the 'Rest on Arms Reverse' position prescribed in drill manuals for catafalque parties standing vigil at funerals and at Anzac Days. Not so. An equal number of Queensland's statues stand in relaxed - and quite unsoldierly - poses: feet apart; head erect; and rifle pointing upwards. One statue is relaxed to a degree which might have deserved the criticism levelled at Sir Bertram Mackennal's figures guarding the Sydney Cenotaph: they were not standing in a 'correct attitude of reverence'.(39) The Digger at Beaudesert (Figure 3) was described as 'just released from duty, with the throat of his tunic unloosed, pipe in hand, and rifle carelessly slung from his left shoulder'.(40) This nonchalant veteran was carved by the Brisbane mason W E Parsons, who also provided his services for the only anti-war memorial I know of in Queensland, the 'Temple of Peace' at Toowong Cemetery(41) - a coincidence, I wonder?

Another statue which is outside the norm is
Figure 5: The statue on a clock tower at Bowen, a victim of the 1958 cyclone (photo: John Oxley Library, Brisbane).
Queensland's only stone soldier in action. He advances aggressively on a pedestal at Atherton (1924); rifle in hand (originally), wearing tin helmet and gas mask - a man from the trenches, not off duty. There is a technical reason why none of the stone statues would be more athletic than Atherton's - that is, even if committee wanted them to be: the limitations of stone. That is why most of the soldiers were attached at the base to a tree stump support, like the free-standing statues of classical antiquity. To portray active movement required bronze casting, and that meant commissioning a professional sculptor. The bronze soldiers by Australian sculptors are quite unlike their stone comrades - they stride in violent action with expressions of grim determination, quite heroic. Webb Gilbert's Mont St. Quentin Memorial had a Digger caught in the act of slaying the German eagle.

To Queensland's main supplier of war memorials, the firm of Andrew L Petrie of Toowong, there was a correct way of presenting the statue. In response to a local query about the propriety of his Pimpama monument (1919), Mr Petrie, MLA and member of one of Brisbane's oldest families, delivered a lesson:

'The figure with reversed arms denotes that the monument is for those who have fallen. If the names of those who enlisted are on the monument the figure should be made "standing at ease".

Unfortunately everyone does not know why the rifle is put on at the reverse, and so are apt to criticise the actions of the better informed than themselves.'(42)

Through their network of country agents, Petrie's erected no less than 20 stone soldiers all over the state. They ranged from the cheapest at Wyandra (1920-2) to the costly Digger on a clock tower at Bowen (1926). (Figure 5) The firm offered three main types of pedestals: the 'Coomera' with urns (cover illustration), named after Upper Coomera's (1918); the type first used at Elbow Vale (1918); and another type first supplied to Ma Ma Creek (c1920) and also familiar in New South Wales.

Though Petrie's usually - but not always - observed the rule on reversed arms, other local masons seems to have been uninformed. Two firms devised poses which are quite incorrect from a symbolic or military viewpoint, and distinguish their statues as 'made in Queensland'. Those of the firm of Frank Williams and Co. of Ipswich (43) stood in the relaxed 'contra-posto' of a classical god and held their rifles by the end of the barrel - as no soldier would dare. (Figure 6) Neither would the Williams soldiers pass a Regimental Sergeant-Major's inspection in matters of dress. The earliest soldiers for Ipswich western suburbs (1917) and Mount Alford (1918), wore their bayonets at the front, but this was corrected in the most opulent of the firm's memorials at Boonah (1920). The stone soldiers of the firm of P.J. Lowther and Son of Brisbane were more correctly dressed, for Charles Lowther who carved them had the highest credentials for the task: he could add 'Late 11th Australian Light Horse' to his advertisements. The Lowther figures were comrades of youthful innocence and swaggering ease, all four were Infantrymen, and all, from the earliest at Blackbutt (1920) (Figure 7) - to the most costly at Forest Hill (1921), stood with the left hand resting on the tree trunk support - this is how a veteran saw his slouching countrymen whose wartime visits to London had inspired a cartoonist to draw the Strand with all the posts leaning sideways.

Not all the local masonry firms engaged to erect memorials had the competence or equipment needed to carve statuary, a fact confirmed by the successor of R C Ziegler and Son of Toowoomba (44) suppliers of memorials throughout the Darling Downs. Instead they were able to import statues from large southern suppliers like Ansell Oiling of Sydney. This firm had a branch at Carrara, Italy and some of their figures were made in Italian studios(45) like those supplied for the Maryborough war memorial (1922). On second glance Maryborough's nurse wears a rosary and the soldier has the hat of an Italian Alpino soldier (which differs from the Australian slouch hat in that the front and back are turned up as well as the left side - just like the one in an Ansell Oiling advertisement for Australian Diggers).
Figure 9: Bundaberg has a Digger with a backpack and an alien hat (photo: Australian War Memorial).
Figure 6: Design by Frank Williams of Ipswich, with up-ended rifle.

(Figure 8) The firm also supplied Bundaberg (1921) with a Digger with an alien hat (Figure 9). Petrie's imported some statues from Anselm Odling, but were aware of their defects. In 1919 Petrie complained when he received a soldier who was missing his chip strap. (47)

In 1921 the people of Howard (just north of Maryborough) unveiled what the local paper described as 'an Australian soldier in Italian marble'. At the unveiling a member of the memorial committee declared it 'a memorial worthy of the district. He had not seen one to surpass that on which they gazed that afternoon'. (48) Indeed. He cannot have known that the Howard figure is an Alpino from hat to boot, complete with the chevrons and badge of the Italian army. (Figure 10) This is ironic, given that Italians on our northern canefields were threatened with deportation during the war and were included in the general anti-alien alarm which struck Queensland immediately after the war. (50)

What did returned soldiers think of such clumsy attempts to honour them? The Digger, whose ability to laugh at himself is immortalised in the Anzac Book, must have been at least amused; even if he did not want to be so ungrateful as to say anything publicly. Did he see this as further evidence of the gulf between the war experience and the understanding of the folks at home? I know of only one instance where veterans expressed disgust at a soldier statue. This was erected in the outer Sydney suburb of Sutherland - a squat little monster who was ridiculed in the press.
We model and sculpture figures in marble and stone at
our Works in Sydney, and also can undertake all kinds
of Architectural work in Marble, Granite and Trachyte

**Figure 8:** How to order an Italian hat - an advertisement in 1919.

**Figure 10:** Howard - an alien in Queensland.
But returned soldiers in Queensland had definite views on how Queenslanders should commemorate the next war. The journal of the RSL, the *Queensland Digger*, wanted functional memorials like buildings, parks and pools, instead of 'monuments computed in terms of so many tons of masonry to so many pounds spent' (52) of the Great War. Few new monuments were built. More often a new generation of names was added to the old monuments. So until the recent invasion of big cows, race horses, pineapples, and so on, the stone Diggers had no real rivals in our country towns as a focus of public sentiment.

A plain lonely figure, the work of an artisan not an artist, a typical man from the ranks, not a toff, masculine but not grim or heroic, not awfully correct in stance or dress, sometimes even slovenly, but he'll do - and he's hard to miss. This is how Queensland wanted to remember the 'stuff of heroes'. In his novel *Kangaroo*, D H Lawrence defined the species when he noticed the war memorial at Thirroul:

'A real township monument... Wonderfully in keeping with the place and its people, naive but quite attractive, with the stiff, pallid, delicate fawn-coloured soldier standing forever stiff and pathetic.' (53)

Photographs are by courtesy of: the Australian War Memorial, Canberra; John Oxley Library, Brisbane; and Richard Stringer. Professor K S Inglis kindly read the draft.

REFERENCES


3. The intersection was the most favoured site for Queensland's World War One soldier statues; closely followed by sites in or beside the main street, and in public parks, in that order. Many of the monuments in intersections have been moved from the 1960s.

4. Queensland also has two soldier statues erected as memorials to the Boer War: at Allora (1904); and Gatton (1908).

5. A national war memorials survey, presently being undertaken by Professor K S Inglis of the Australian National University, will make further interstate comparisons possible.


8. Institute minutes, 31 January 1918, Royal Australian Institute of Architects, Queensland Chapter, Brisbane.


10. The word Digger was first generally applied to the AIF in 1917.

11. In 1915 the popular Australian needlework designer Mary Card invented 'The Anzac and the Wattle Border' in filet crochet, and counselled her readers to work the pattern in khaki thread and to use it as a cover for a wartime scrap-book.

12. A 'Doulton Digger' produced by Charles Noke for Royal Doulton (and modelled for by the soldier-son of the firm's Australian agent while on leave in England) was advertised in *Aussie*, 15 December 1920.
13. The Cairns Digger was still only the state's third most costly war monument. The towering obelisk at Rockhampton cost 2,654 pounds sterling.


18. Summary provided by B W Nickel of the minute book of the Beaudesert and District Soldiers' Memorial Fund, now held by the Beaudesert Historical Society.

19. Australian War Memorials Survey for Queensland 1920, originally undertaken by the State War Trophy Committee and now held by the Australian War Memorial, Canberra.


22. 'Lest We Forget', taken from Kipling's Recessional, proved a more popular dedication for memorials erected after World War Two.

23. Exact numbers cannot be cited due to loss of some original inscription plates.


25. A letter to the Front.


27. Queensland Times, 17 December 1917 and 13 May 1918.

28. Dalby and Ipswich Railway Workshops have the only statues larger than lifesized: eight feet and seven feet respectively.

29. The Bundaberg and Howard statues have back packs.

30. Again, exact numbers are not possible due to loss of some original statues. There seems to be no particular concentration of Light Horse statues in country areas of Queensland.

31. The Gin Gin and Dulacca statues have particularly young and innocent faces.


34. 'A Gallant Gentleman', also from The Moods of Ginger Mick (1916).


36. Architects designed the war memorials at: Beaudesert, Bundaberg, Goombungee, Ipswich Railway Workshops, and Maryborough.

37. For example, the account for the Miriam Vale soldier quoted it as 'No. 8 design' (account book, 6 December 1921); after Gin Gin decided on his 'Coomera' design, Petrie presumed the requirement would be similar but to advise him of 'any alterations' (letter book, 1 April 1920), Andrew L Petrie Papers, Coll. 101, Fryer Memorial Library, University of Queensland.

38. Bowles was eventually commissioned for a bronze honour roll, the 9th Battalion Memorial unveiled in 1937.


40. Brisbane Courier, 29 September 1921.
41. This is a mausoleum erected in 1924 by a private citizen, Richard Ramo, who lost three sons in the war. It was unveiled with a pacifist demonstration and has pacifist inscriptions.


43. Williams was the mason for whom Daphne Mayo worked in c1918-19.

44. John J Ziegler of Bundaberg, pers. comm.

45. The Soldier, 20 December 1922, p.12.

46. Building, 12 February 1919, p.111.

47. Letter book, 24 November 1919, Petrie Papers. Petrie's memorial at Nanango has a soldier statue signed by A Casagrande, who also carved the Thirroul soldier and was possibly an employee of Amedeo Odling in Sydney.


49. The Howard statue also has Italian facial features.


51. 'War memorials - past and future', Queensland Digger, September 1944, p.10.

52. 'What should memorials of this war be?' Queensland Digger, June 1945, p.10.

53. D H Lawrence, Kangaroo (1923), chapter 10: Diggers.