



memento

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Front cover: Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce, at Parliament House in 1926. The National Archives' latest exhibition highlights the achievements of this forgotten prime minister.

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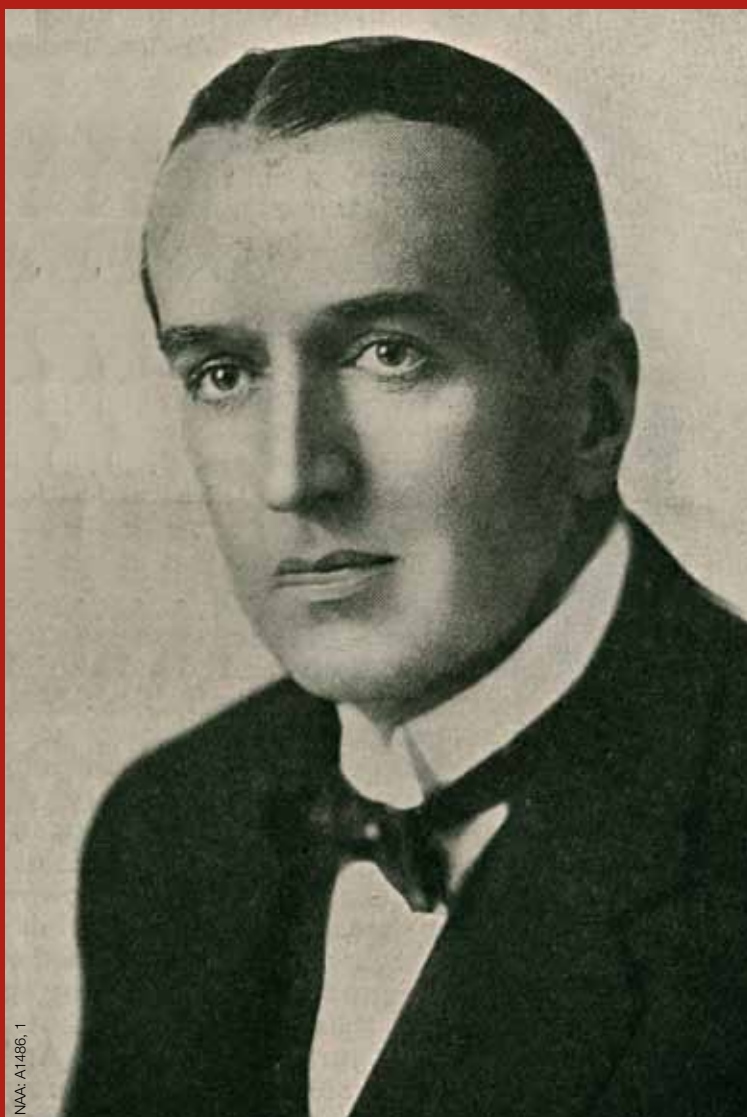
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Australia's forgotten Prime Minister

Dr David Lee goes behind the enigma of Stanley Melbourne Bruce to look at some of his visionary contributions to Australia and the international scene.

Stanley Melbourne Bruce has a greater claim than most to a place in the history books. He was Australia's Prime Minister from 1923 to 1929 and High Commissioner in London from 1933 to 1945. He received a hereditary British peerage in 1947 and was appointed as the first Chancellor of the Australian National University in 1951, a position he held until 1961. But what has survived in popular memory is largely a caricature of the man. Despite three

memoirs written about aspects of his life, Bruce remains Australia's forgotten prime minister. Over the years, some have seen him as an Anglophile who wanted to turn back the clock, a wearer of spats, and one of only two of Australia's national leaders to have lost his seat at a general election. Others have viewed him as a prime minister of no great distinction and little imagination, in the way some Americans look on Calvin Coolidge, who served as president from 1923 to 1929.

What is generally known about Bruce's career after he lost office is also vague – that he lived as an expatriate in London with little influence on Australian affairs and severed his connection with Australia by joining the House of Lords. The Melbourne Age commented after his death in 1967 that 'for most Australians he is little more than a shadow.'

Yet Bruce had as great an impact as any Australian prime minister on national, imperial and international affairs for more than half a century. Behind the Bruce enigma is a complex and fascinating man: a sportsman, soldier, prime minister, anti-union politician, diplomat, progressive and visionary.

From war to politics

Bruce was born in the bayside suburb of St Kilda in Melbourne in 1883 and educated at Melbourne Church of England Grammar School. Following the death of his businessman father in Paris in 1901, he travelled to England to take a degree at Cambridge University. From 1905 to 1915,

[above right] Stanley Melbourne Bruce.

[above left] Bruce's passport shows the extent of his travels.



[left] The family company, Paterson, Laing & Bruce, imported and sold soft goods such as corsets.

[right] Bruce and his wife Ethel were the first couple to live in The Lodge in Canberra. Ethel played a key role in its decoration.



he practised law as a commercial barrister in London and chaired the London board of the family company, Paterson, Laing & Bruce, an importer and retailer of soft goods such as corsets. Bruce showed his cosmopolitan outlook at an early age when, in 1912, he travelled to Colombia – one of the first to reach Bogota by car – to help gather evidence for a legal dispute in London.

Bruce would probably have remained in England, but for the outbreak of World War I. He was involved in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915, not as a member of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF), but as captain in a British regiment. Because he was a resident in England in 1914, he was commissioned in the British Army and posted to the 2nd Battalion Royal Fusiliers. His battalion saw service in 1915, not on the Western Front with most other British soldiers, but on the Gallipoli peninsula, where his countrymen in the Australian

Imperial Force were also fighting. Bruce's bravery in this campaign was recognised with the Military Cross and Croix de Guerre avec palme.

Shot through the knee, Bruce eventually returned to Australia in 1917 to see to the affairs of Paterson, Laing & Bruce, after his older brother Ernest enlisted in the Royal Artillery. In 1918, the young businessman was persuaded to stand for the Nationalist Party in a by-election for the Victorian seat of Flinders. He won and became a backbencher in the Nationalist government led by WM (Billy) Hughes. In 1921 Hughes nominated Bruce as Australia's delegate to the General Assembly of the newly established League of Nations. He so impressed in this role that Hughes enticed him to join his ministry with the words: 'Will you come to my room says the spider to the fly?' After the 1922 election, when Bruce had served as Treasurer for little more than a year, the newly-formed Country Party

gained the balance of power in the House of Representatives. Its leader, Earle Page, ousted Hughes and helped Bruce, not yet 40, to become the youngest Australian prime minister after Chris Watson. Bruce and Page agreed on the arrangements for the new Nationalist–Country Party Coalition Government on 9 February 1923.

The legacies of Bruce's prime ministership are considerable. The political pact between the urban and rural conservative parties has endured in Australia ever since, with only short interruptions. National policies, achieved through cooperation between the Commonwealth and the States, included federal road aid, Commonwealth-directed premiers' conferences and the Loan Council established in 1927. Bruce also oversaw more inclusive political arrangements which embraced the rural sector as well as the manufacturing industry and labour, and provided significant support for the application of scientific principles

to industry and agriculture. This resulted in the establishment of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (now the CSIRO) and the Development and Migration Commission.

After serving as Prime Minister for six and a half years, Bruce was tired and dejected by the oncoming Depression and by a series of bitter industrial disputes which had made him a deeply despised figure in some quarters. In 1929 he sought to remedy Australia's overlapping Commonwealth-State arbitration system with the dramatic step of trying to surrender most of the Commonwealth's industrial powers to the States.

Dispatched to London

He lost office – and his own seat – in the 1929 election but regained his seat in 1931 and served as a minister in the government of Prime Minister Joseph Lyons until 1933 when he resigned. Following his

resignation, he was dispatched by Lyons to become Australia's longest-serving High Commissioner in London, from 1933 to 1945. The Australian journalist Trevor Smith observed that, as High Commissioner, Bruce enjoyed:

a status which knows no precedent and one which is not likely to be followed. For Mr Bruce has created for himself the unique status and prestige of an ambassador-at-large par excellence. He has risen (and remains) far above his official post.

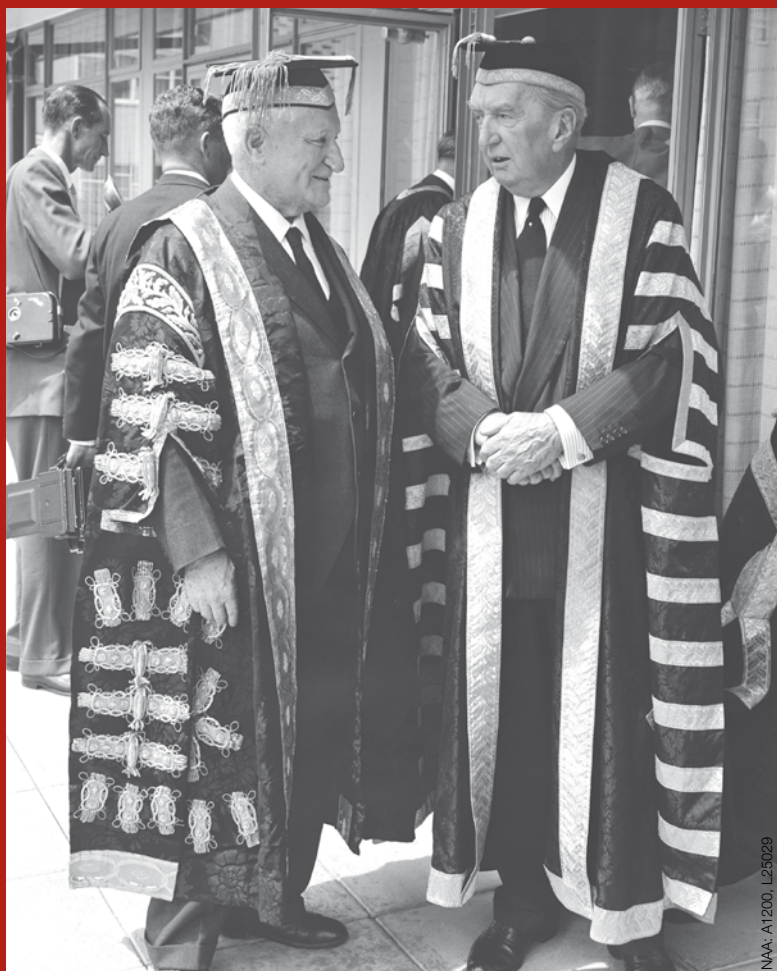
The qualities which had made him almost a figure of fun in Australia – the fine clothes, the spats, the conspicuous wealth, the polished accent and the fluency in French – made him an ideal diplomat. Indeed, he became one of the most influential Australian diplomats in the twentieth century, his role including a distinguished career at

the League of Nations in the 1930s. He was described by FP Walters in *A History of the League of Nations* as 'the best, perhaps, of the many first-rate chairmen who presided over the Council, Conferences, or Committees of the League.'

During the 1930s, Bruce's attitude swung from a protectionist stance towards a more liberal trading view. While serving in the Lyons Government, he led the Australian delegation to the 1932 Ottawa Conference where new Empire trade agreements were negotiated. This protectionist experiment in British Commonwealth economic cooperation sought to set high tariffs on foreign goods. But at the World Monetary and Economic Conference in 1933, and at the League of Nations in Geneva, he urged all countries to cooperate in international

[below] Bruce was given the honorary Freedom of the City of London, the highest honour the city can bestow, in 1923 and presented with this gold casket and parchment.





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[left] Bruce was appointed as the first Chancellor of the Australian National University in 1951. He is pictured with Sir Earle Page (left).

[right] Gavel from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Preparatory Commission, 1947.

trade, particularly in social and economic areas such as agriculture and nutrition. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for this effort. Although he felt that the League of Nations, with its limited membership and inadequate military power, was unfit to act as a collective security organisation, he championed its activist policies in the economic and social fields. His Bruce Committee of 1939 laid the foundations for the economic and social work of the United Nations today.

After World War II he worked hard to re-establish the League of Nations as a political, economic and social organisation. It was unfortunate for him that his basic economic ideas in the 1930s – though they were not unique and fed off the works of economists like John Maynard Keynes (whom he got to know in the 1930s) and other like-minded theorists – were not capable of being implemented in that ‘age of extremes’.

But Bruce was something of a visionary when he contemplated a postwar world in which the old European empires were decolonised and international economic

collaboration was institutionalised through such bodies as the United Nations, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (which he helped found), the International Monetary Fund, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Indeed, his postwar vision of international order has been realised to a greater extent than that of Winston Churchill, with whom he sparred during the war.

Conventional wisdom is that world affairs in the half-century after the 1940s – the high point of Bruce’s internationalism – were dominated by the Cold War. But it can plausibly be argued that this era will be better known for the expanding web of international activities which was woven over that time. Both governmental and non-governmental international organisations have established the global community that Bruce had envisioned from the 1920s, which we take for granted today.

An ‘outstanding Australian’

Bruce was an all-round sportsman: a rower, footballer, golfer and cricketer. Like his father, who had helped introduce golf to Australia from Scotland, he proudly declared there were no finer golf courses in the world

(outside Scotland) than those in Melbourne. In 1954 he became the first Australian to captain the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews in Scotland, the home of golf. At the age of 71, in a ceremonial golf drive, he demonstrated a flawless swing to the traditional accompaniment of the boom of a cannon. He wrote to Sir John Latham: ‘It is as you surmise an honour which I value greatly and I think few things ... have given me greater pleasure.’

In 1962, Prime Minister Menzies paid a gracious tribute to Bruce, referring to him as ‘probably the outstanding Australian of our time.’

Dr David Lee is Director, Historical Publications and Information Section, in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. His biography *Stanley Melbourne Bruce: Australian Internationalist* will be published by Continuum in May 2010.

The exhibition *Stanley Melbourne Bruce: Prime Minister & Statesman* is on display at the National Archives of Australia in Canberra until 30 May 2010.

British decision shocks Australia

'Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know' was the Australian response to Britain's efforts to join the European Economic Community in the early 1960s.

Dr Andrea Benvenuti uncovers the strong feelings of the time and the rift they caused in Anglo-Australian relations.

Today, we take Britain's membership of the European Union (EU) for granted but it wasn't always so. In the 1950s, Britain was Australia's closest ally and largest trading partner, and its possible alliance with Europe in the European Economic Community (forerunner of the EU) posed a major threat.

In March 1957 the prime ministers and foreign ministers of France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands gathered in Rome to sign a treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC). Despite concerns that such a bold scheme would not survive the ratification process in each of the six national parliaments, it was a historical moment. The stage was set for the emergence of an influential political and economic bloc in the midst of Europe. In time, the EEC would not only lead to greater political and economic Western European

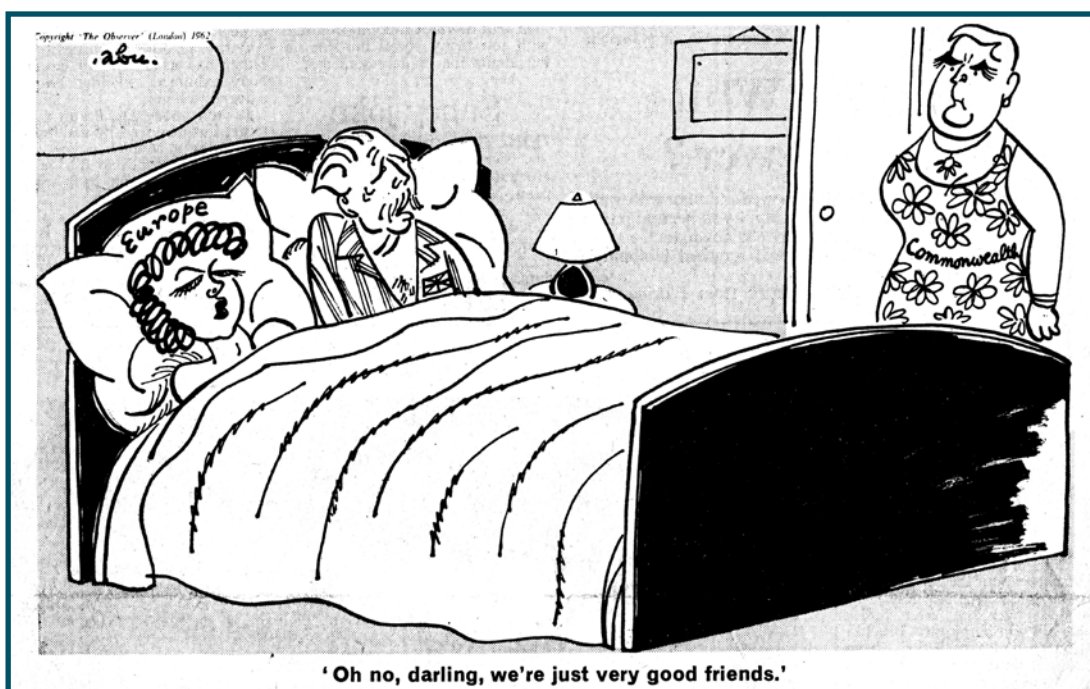
integration, but would also make a crucial contribution to the stability and prosperity of a traditionally troubled continent. In a nutshell, the EEC would become one of the most, if not the most, innovative political experiments in twentieth century history.

The only notable absentee from the proceedings in Rome was the British Government. Throughout the 1950s British leaders of both Labour and Conservative persuasion had repeatedly expressed their opposition to British participation in Western European integration schemes. Policymakers in London feared that membership of a tightly-knit continental group would restrict Britain's freedom in international affairs and weaken its traditionally close ties with the British Commonwealth. In 1955 the Conservative government of Anthony Eden rebuffed attempts by the 'Six' to get London

involved in the negotiations that would result in the Treaty of Rome.

Yet the ink was barely dry on the EEC treaty when Eden's successor, Harold Macmillan, began to have second thoughts about Britain's self-imposed exclusion. In 1959 he initiated a thorough reappraisal of British policy towards the Six and, in July 1960, his Cabinet acknowledged that a new approach to the EEC question was needed. By late July 1961, Britain agreed to open negotiations with the Six with a view to securing entry into the EEC. Macmillan and his ministers were not only stunned at the

[below] Australia looked on Britain's relationship with Europe with suspicious eyes. This cartoon by Abu Abraham, published in the British newspaper, *The Observer*, on 10 June 1962, portrays Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies as the outraged wife.



[right] British Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys (second from left) with Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies (left), Minister for Trade Jack McEwen and Treasurer Harold Holt (right), when he visited Canberra in 1961.

[far right] Discussions with Duncan Sandys about Britain's possible entry into the EEC were classified as secret.



EEC's success in fostering rapid economic growth among its member states, but were also increasingly nervous that too influential a continental bloc would jeopardise Britain's leadership in Europe.

The British decision came as a shock to the Australian Liberal-Country Party Coalition Government led by Sir Robert Menzies. The Australian attitude towards Western European integration had hitherto rested upon the assumption that London would not join its continental neighbours in bold supranational ventures. Both Eden and Macmillan had repeatedly reassured Menzies that London would not sacrifice its ties with the Commonwealth on the altar of a closer partnership with Western Europe. Inevitably, Menzies and his ministers saw London's U-turn as a betrayal of previous assurances and complained that Britain's membership of the EEC threatened important Australian political and economic interests.

A gloomy economic picture

In May 1961 Australia's influential Minister for Trade, John McEwen, painted a gloomy economic picture. He argued that if Britain entered the EEC without adequate safeguards for Commonwealth exports, the economic consequences for Australian trade would be disastrous. Around A£140 to £150 million, or 55 to 60 per cent of

Australia's exports to the British market, would be affected, according to the nature of the Anglo-European agreement. Australia's farm exports in particular stood to suffer significant damage given the level of protection the EEC accorded its farmers. Yet, while it is undeniable that British entry would force painful readjustments on Australia's farming sector, McEwen tended to over-emphasise the potential damage of entry to the Australian economy as a whole.

The political consequences of British entry to the EEC were examined by the Australian Department of External Affairs in a submission to Cabinet at the end of June 1961. The Department asserted that 'if the United Kingdom joins the Community it may not escape the trend towards progressive European integration.' This, in turn, could curtail Britain's freedom of action as a world power and leader of the Commonwealth. External Affairs was particularly apprehensive that Macmillan's turn to the EEC could have far-reaching implications for Britain's defence posture east of Suez. Entry would inevitably weaken London's resolve to play a political and military role in Southeast Asia where Australia's main strategic interests lay.

While strategic questions were uppermost in their minds, officials in External Affairs also acknowledged that British membership of the EEC would have wider political

ramifications. In their view, it threatened not only to disturb 'the whole complex of relationships, including the Commonwealth, on which Australia's traditional outlook and politics rests.' It also risked undermining the strong ties of empire, which had traditionally bound the old dominions to Britain. The Department of External Affairs believed that the countries which were likely to be hardest hit economically if the United Kingdom joined the EEC were 'those which have traditionally placed most importance on their attachment of sentiment to the United Kingdom.' Officials wondered: 'How would these attachments be affected by a decision which resulted in serious hardship?'

Anglo-Australian relations at risk

Australia's concerns were forcefully conveyed to Duncan Sandys, the British Commonwealth Secretary, when he visited Canberra and other Commonwealth capitals in July 1961. They would be repeated over and over during the course of Britain's negotiations with the Six. In April 1962, for instance, McEwen reminded the British authorities that, unless Australian concerns were addressed, the British application put the very continuation of close Anglo-Australian relations at risk. He warned: 'Trade relations and political relations go hand in hand. A weakening in the one cannot but help weaken the other



Ladies and bagpipes: the 'world's greatest novelty'

Everyone said they couldn't do it but in 1925 the Australian Scottish Ladies Pipe Band overcame the prejudices of the day – and a series of tragic setbacks – to embark on a successful two-year world tour. Julia Church explores their journey.

'This band will be without any doubt one of the greatest advertisements that Australia has ever had, as it is a fully equipped ladies' Band, and there is no other of its kind in the World.'

So wrote the band's honorary manager, Drum Major William Darwin – a celebrated songwriter, Gallipoli veteran, adventurer and master of hyperbole – in a letter to Prime Minister Stanley Bruce on 3 June 1924. Darwin was seeking government funding for the first world tour of a women's bagpipe band, an idea first mooted in 1923. The Australian Scottish Ladies Pipe Band proposed to play venues on Australia's eastern seaboard before sailing to New Zealand, Africa, Honolulu, the United States, Canada and Britain. The women also planned to visit the Empire Exhibition at Wembley and the former battlefields of France, where they would pay their respects to fallen friends and relatives.

Contrary to Darwin's claim, the Melbourne-based band was one of several women's pipe groups founded at the end of World War I to raise money for returned soldiers and charities. Although popular with the public, women's bands were not permitted to compete in Australia, nor to join all-male piping associations until the late 1940s. Recognition for these bands was only possible overseas.

On 11 June 1924, the Government announced that it had received an 'astonishing number of requests ... from instrumentalists who want to go to London during the Exhibition.' All were rejected in favour of the Australian Imperial Band, an all-male outfit deemed more representative of the nation. In a further setback, the Caledonian Society, citing lack of financial viability, refused patronage of the ladies' tour.

Undaunted, band members spent the next six months lobbying potential sponsors, performing in the southern states and selling promotional photographs, mirrors and badges.

'My father was an optimist,' says Darwin's daughter, Jean McLean. 'He always seemed to have contacts and was unafraid to approach people for help.'

Darwin used those contacts to secure regular newspaper coverage and live performances on the relatively new medium of radio. The band's promotional activities fuelled rivalries within Victoria's Scottish settler community. Supporters and critics exchanged blows through letters, articles and poems in the state's newspapers. Typical of the tone is an excerpt from the anonymously-penned Wully's Band, which appeared in the Victorian Scottish Union journal, *The Scot at Hame an' Abroad*, on 15 July 1924:

Sae roond th' country side he gaes
Collection boxes rattlin',
For stil' he's short o' many poonds;
An' still he's brawly battlin'.

Sometimes th' lassies, short o' wind
Can't keep th' music goin',
That's just th' time that Wully shines,
He's awfu' guid at "blowin"!

Some parents were also becoming alarmed. In August 1924 the band came to the notice of the Prime Minister's Department, when Mr PJC Wallace, the father of two band members, warned the Officer-in-Charge of Passports the trip was 'a risky undertaking, both financially and morally.' Another setback occurred the week before their planned departure, when popular 19-year-old piper Marjory Cook died in a fall.

Nonetheless, on 7 January 1925, the ladies were sufficiently buoyant and solvent to board a train for Queensland. Among the 14 pipers and four drummers who toured the eastern states were respected bagpipe, elocution and highland dance teacher, Pipe Major Jessie Young and 15-year-old dance champion Jean Madsen. *The Argus* – no doubt alerted by Darwin – duly reported the inclusion in the party of two chaperones.

In June 1925, the ladies were welcomed to New Zealand at a haka in Whakarewarawa on the North Island, where they in turn treated the locals to a program of song, dance, recitations and pipe music. For the next six months, billed as the 'World's greatest novelty', they played radio stations, town halls and theatres from 'Auckland to Bluff', often returning for repeat performances that included a novel kangaroo dance and a recitation of *Australia's Kilted Men*. As one local paper reported, 'the bonny-faced Scottish Australian lassies' everywhere received 'the plaudits and the honours, from civic receptions to private hospitality, their merits deserved.'

In December 1925, New Zealand officials cabled their Australian counterparts asking whether there were any objections to

granting passports to the band members so they could proceed to Canada and elsewhere. Australia responded that passports should not be issued unless there was evidence of parental permission for the under-age members of the band. Furthermore, each musician would have to pay a £50 repatriation bond (over \$3000 in today's money) as surety in case the tour proved financially unviable. Seven ladies, including Pipe Major Jessie Young, Jean Madsen and three other minors, returned to Australia.

Two months later – determined to fulfill their engagements – 10 band members set sail for England under a newly-appointed Pipe Major, Dolly McPherson. Ever their champion, Darwin boldly notified the Australian High Commissioner in London of the band's impending arrival on 8 April, requesting support and an audience with Their Majesties King George and Queen Mary. The High Commissioner, anxiously

[left] A promotional photograph of the Australian [Scottish] Ladies Pipe Band taken in October 1926 during their tour of Scotland. Pipe Major Dolly McPherson (far left) and Drum Major William Darwin would later marry in 1933.

[below] Fundraising buttons sold by the Australian Scottish Ladies Pipe Band, c1924.



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requesting advice from Canberra, was told to do nothing to help what was seen as an ill-advised venture.

Contrary to expectation, the ladies caused a sensation wherever they went. They attracted the patronage of famed Scottish performer Sir Harry Lauder and reputedly inspired Glasgow bagpipe composer William Fergusson to create the now classic *Australian Ladies* march in their honour. On 26 August 1926 the Australians stepped off

the train in Glasgow to a rousing welcome by the Clan Macrae Pipe Band and, if Darwin's concert program notes are to be believed, a crowd of 42,000. However, the Glasgow tour was marred by a serious car crash in which two musicians were seriously injured and three of their hosts died.

On 28 August they became the first ladies band to compete at the Cowal Championship at Dunoon, scooping the Murray Trophy, the Cowal Gold Medal

and nine individual silver medals. Then, on 9 September at the Braemar Highland Gathering, Darwin's dreams of a Royal audience were realised when the Australians became the first women's band to play before the British King and Queen.

Flushed with success, Darwin wrote to Prime Minister Bruce in November 1926, asking that Parliament give the band an official welcome on their return to Melbourne the following year. He pointed out, 'They met with many setbacks but bravely faced them all and have now proved their worth. They have done a lot in advertising Australia ... and are known in Scotland as "Ambassadors of the Empire".' The request was refused, as was permission for the band to use the word 'Royal' in its name.

The Australian Scottish Ladies Pipe Band steamed into Melbourne on the *Orsova* on 18 February 1927. The following day, in the absence of an official welcome, Darwin – with baton twirling – led the ladies in a triumphant march through the streets of Melbourne, preceded by 'a detachment of mounted police.' The same day, *The Argus* published a photograph of the band, 'arrayed up to the last tick of the clock in Highland sartorial appointment.' Darwin proudly informed the paper that, in the opinion of Australia House officials in London, 'the band had had a great influence in attracting the attention of prospective migrants to Australia.' One-time detractors begged the ladies to play at fundraisers. Radio 3LO secured the band for a week of live broadcasts, and the ladies were booked for a season at the Tivoli Theatre. Six years later, in a romantic postscript, Drum Major William Darwin and Pipe Major Dolly McPherson were joined in matrimony.

Julia Church is a researcher at the National Archives of Australia.



[left] The Murray Trophy and medals won by the Australian [Scottish] Ladies Pipe Band at Cowal, Scotland in August 1926.



During World War I, 60,000 Australian soldiers were killed and a further 90,000 were physically or mentally disabled. War disability transformed the lives of thousands of Australian families who welcomed home changed men. Although the Commonwealth Repatriation Department provided pensions, hospitals and medical treatment for ex-servicemen, in many instances much of the practical and emotional burden of care fell to family members – particularly wives and mothers. Families played a vital role in caring for the nation's shattered Anzacs in the aftermath of the 1914–18 war. As Mrs Violet Aiken reflected in 1940: 'My husband [was] a long sufferer from his war injuries ... & was nursed ... day and night in our own little home here by myself.'

Despite the load on ex-servicemen's families in the 1920s and 1930s, their stories have not yet been fully integrated into mainstream histories of World War I. In part, this arises from a lack of archival sources. The National Archives of Australia, however, holds World War I veterans' repatriation medical files which shed light on families' experiences of care in the domestic sphere. Although the records primarily document hospital treatment, they also contain correspondence and observations about family life. Along with primary sources from other national and state archives, they help us understand how families were the unsung healers of a generation of soldiers scarred by war.

For thousands of Australian families, the 1918 Armistice marked the end of the war but signalled the start of many years of caring for their war-damaged soldiers. During the 1920s and 1930s, wives and mothers nursed ailing ex-servicemen, children learnt to cope with the disturbing behaviours of shell-shocked fathers, and households were forced to survive on meagre pensions. Some relatives spent years visiting veterans in repatriation hospitals, while others witnessed the lingering deaths of those who finally succumbed to their war wounds. The letters that families wrote to the repatriation authorities demonstrate powerfully that although disabled soldiers sustained and bore the wounds of war their families also

Unsung healers: Anzacs and their family carers

In the decades after World War I, many families were left to care for their own sons, brothers and husbands who came home damaged, either physically or mentally, by war. Dr Marina Larsson has discovered the personal stories that many history books ignore.

[above] A wounded Australian soldier, who lost both hands, writes a letter by using the stumps of his wrists.



[left] Patient in a cane wheelchair at the No. 1 Australian Auxiliary Hospital, Harefield, England, about 1916.

[right] Simpson and his donkey played a major role in rescuing wounded Anzacs at Gallipoli. Even so, many disabled soldiers never recovered and were repatriated to Australia after the campaign.

shouldered a considerable burden as a consequence of their loved one's disability.

The first disabled soldiers returned to Australia after the Gallipoli campaign in mid-1915 and were followed by thousands more throughout the war. While some men required permanent institutionalisation, most were cared for in the home by their kin after medical treatment had ceased. Parents were the most common caregivers as 80 per cent of the First Australian Imperial Force soldiers were unmarried and 52 per cent were aged between 18 and 24. In the postwar years, many disabled soldiers married and their wives took on the responsibility of caregiving. This often involved negotiating a schedule of medical appointments with the 'Repat', as war bride Edie Hyslop declared in 1919: 'Practically ever since my arrival [in Melbourne] my husband has had to have medical aid & advice.' Some men, however, were unable to marry because of their disabilities and lived with their parents or in Anzac hostels well into the 1930s and beyond.

Within the home, wives, mothers and sisters most commonly looked after the day-to-day needs of ex-servicemen, reflecting women's social role in the early twentieth century. Women carers ensured that medicines were correctly administered, and prepared special remedies and health-giving foods. In some instances, the nursing care women provided was intimate and confronting. In mid-1917, Mrs Louisa Hogan began a regimen of



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hand-feeding her son with liquid meals. Frederick Hogan had returned home with his 'lower jaw shot away' and was unable to use his right arm. Fathers offered practical assistance, such as transporting their sons to hospital or on excursions and dealing with the repatriation bureaucracy. Other relatives were called upon to provide company for bedridden men who, as one Repatriation Department official observed, had 'nothing to do' and relied upon them for entertainment.

Confronting behaviours

Within the home, shell-shocked soldiers were one of the most challenging groups for whom families cared. The repatriation medical records of Albert Brown reveal that by the late 1920s his wife was struggling as his primary carer. Albert had returned from Gallipoli with physical wounds, and upon arriving home his mental outlook began to decline. He became subject to 'moody turns' and 'would sometimes sit for hours without speaking.' Mrs Brown tried to be supportive, but when he developed paranoid thoughts, she asked Albert's sister May to move into the household. By that stage Albert required around-the-clock monitoring which could only be achieved by two live-in carers. While many families were willing to care for a shell-shocked man and manage his confronting behaviours, relatives sometimes requested short or long-term institutional care because they 'could not control him.'

Like Mrs Brown, the carers of physically and mentally disabled soldiers often called upon relatives to help ease the load. Sisters, aunts and resident grandmothers all undertook various domestic responsibilities to provide respite to primary carers. Families were networks of survival for disabled soldiers, and the willingness of a greater number of family members to help was an advantage. Conversely, smaller families or people in strained relationships had fewer opportunities to share the burden. In some instances, the absence of family carers meant that the responsibilities of care fell to friends, rather than kin. After the death of his mother in 1919, Charles Berg, a paralysed soldier from Sydney, was taken in by close friends of the family, Mr and Mrs Semple, who subsequently showed him 17 years of 'unremitting kindness.'

Regimen of home therapies

Some families cared for their soldier for years, even decades. In March 1929, Miss Edwina Leonard wrote to the Department describing how her mother had 'done little else but treat' her brother Jim in the 12 years since his discharge. Jim Leonard had been invalided home in 1917 with shell-shock, trench foot (which can result in gangrene) and gassed lungs, and a few weeks later suffered a 'general breakdown.' After his return, Mrs Leonard developed a regimen of home therapies for Jim, including 'mustard feet baths & eucalyptus massage', and prepared 'the most nourishing & fattening foods' to build up his strength. For the Leonard family, the demands of caregiving were significant and ongoing, but somehow they managed to pull together and cope as the years passed.

Other families, however, broke apart under the strain of living with a 'changed' man. In May 1918, the distraught mother of a severely disabled Rutherglen soldier committed suicide, unable to deal with her son's extensive physical wounds and psychological scars. After many years of caregiving, some women relinquished their sons and husbands to institutions. In 1930, Mrs Dorothy Clements asked the authorities whether she could 'go into the country with her children' because she felt that she could no longer 'do anything' for her husband, a shell-shocked veteran. Although we think of the 1920s as an era which provided unaccustomed freedoms to the 'new

woman', the wives and mothers of disabled soldiers experienced unprecedented demands on their time and labours within the home.

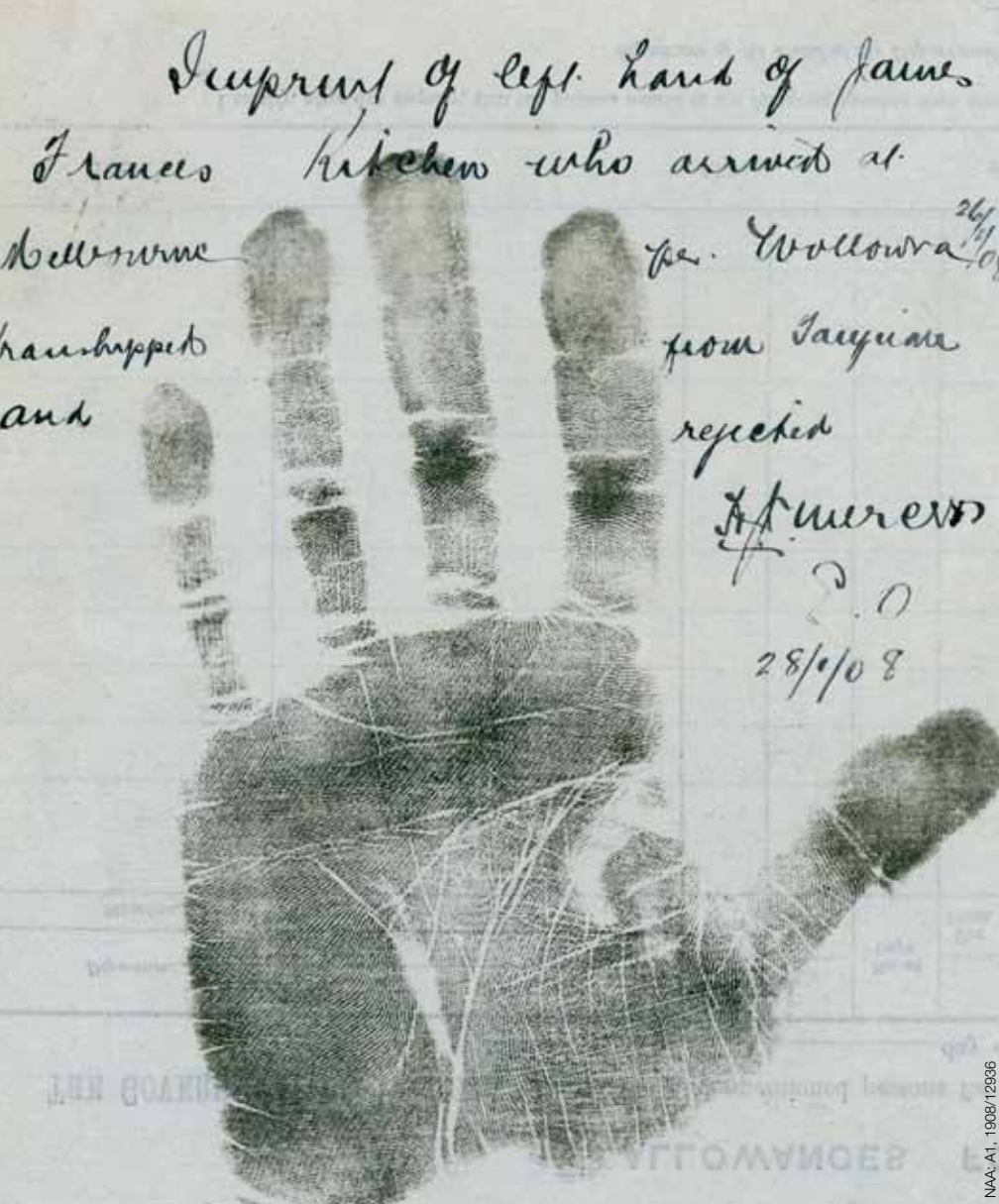
Little public acknowledgement

During the 1920s and '30s, the family was a key care provider for ex-servicemen disabled by the war. Family care sometimes came at a high personal cost for kin; however, they received little public acknowledgement or support from the Repatriation Department. The primary focus of the Department was shoring up the formal repatriation hospital system, not the invisible familial worlds of care that underpinned it. Australia's World War I repatriation medical files reveal the important work of families in 'healing the nation' in the aftermath of that conflict. They also remind us that war does not just wound soldiers – it wounds their entire families. As Mrs Clara Stephen wrote in 1927, reflecting on a decade of caring for her shell-shocked son, 'it has been a long war to us.'

Note: In some instances, names have been changed to conceal the identity of ex-servicemen and their families. World War I case files are generally available to the public, but with some exceptions. The National Archives' *Fact Sheet 54* provides further information about access conditions. Case files for veterans of World War II and subsequent conflicts are *not* available for general public release.

Dr Marina Larsson is an Honorary Research Associate in the History Program at La Trobe University. She is also the author of *Shattered Anzacs: Living with the Scars of War* (UNSW Press, 2009) which was shortlisted for the NSW Premier's Awards for Australian History 2009. Her PhD thesis won the Australian Historical Association's biennial Serle Award in 2008, for the Best Postgraduate Thesis in Australian History, and was the basis for her book. Much of the research for that project was undertaken at the National Archives of Australia.

For more insights into the effects of World War I on service personnel and their families, see *Shell-shocked: Australia after Armistice*. This National Archives exhibition has begun a national tour – see page 31 for details.



A researcher's journey through the archives can lead to unexpected discoveries and unknown places. But what happens when a tantalising archival trail arrives at a dead end? Dr Kate Bagnall shares an unsolved archival mystery she uncovered while researching Australia's historical connections to China.

Aussie lad or Chinese scholar?

In the winter of 1882, the parents of five-year-old Jimmie Minahan packed up their home in the small mining settlement of Indigo in northern Victoria and made their way south to Melbourne. Jimmie had been born at the lying-in hospital in Melbourne to 17-year-old Winifred Minahan in October 1876. Winifred was also Melbourne-born, the eldest daughter of immigrant Irish parents. Jimmie's birth registration made no record of his father's name, for his parents weren't married, but he did not grow up fatherless. Soon after Jimmie's birth, his father, Chinese storekeeper Cheong Ming, took Winifred and the baby back to their home in Indigo. Until the age of five this was the only home Jimmie knew.

The family's return to Melbourne in 1882 was the first part of a journey that would see members of the small family separated forever. Cheong Ming had become ill and

wished to return to China to recuperate, taking young Jimmie with him to receive a Chinese education. Winifred was not to accompany them, and spent her final weeks with Jimmie in Melbourne as Cheong Ming made preparations for the longer journey ahead. Having lost a baby daughter to severe bronchitis only months earlier, Winifred would likely have been saddened by the departure of her little boy – perhaps comforted by the thought that he would return to Australia once his father had recovered.

The father and son's destination was Cheong Ming's home village in the southern Chinese province of Guangdong. From Melbourne, the pair travelled to Hong Kong, then by boat to the district capital of Jiangmen, and from there to the village itself. The village name as recorded in Australian court records was Shek Quey

Lee. It was the first time that Cheong Ming had returned home since he left for Australia in the early 1860s, but he quickly settled back to village life, taking on the role of local schoolmaster. The process of adjustment was more difficult for young Jimmie, who later described his tears as his father shaved his head according to Chinese fashion and as he encountered the 'foreign devil boy' taunts of his schoolmates.

From gum trees to Confucian classics

As time passed, Cheong Ming's health did not improve and he and Jimmie remained living in Shek Quey Lee. They lost touch with Winifred, and Jimmie's memories of his mother gradually faded. The little Australian lad, raised in the bush with red dirt and gum trees, became a Chinese boy, schooled in Confucian classics and fluent only in his father's native tongue.

The Australian part of the story of Cheong Ming and Jimmie could well have ended there, as it did for many Chinese who chose to return to China after trying their luck in the Australian colonies during the second half of the nineteenth century. But when Cheong Ming left Australia, he had maintained a share in the business he owned at Indigo, and his partner Chin Shing regularly remitted a share of the profits to China. Cheong Ming had also instilled in his son the belief that one day he should return to Australia, indeed that it was his birthright, to take up his father's business and to become a teacher of Chinese children in the colonies. After Cheong Ming's death in about 1896, young Jimmie, now aged 20 and known by the Chinese name of Ying Coon, decided to honour his father's wishes. He continued to study and attempted the gruelling imperial examinations in the provincial capital of Guangzhou three times – all unsuccessfully. After his third failure, he made the decision to return to his country of birth. He later said that he 'always wanted to return to Australia.'

The National Archives holds two files which document the story of James Minahan's return to Australia in January 1908 and the events which followed. In the time between his departure as a five-year-old boy and his return as a man of 31, the Australian colonies had federated and the attitude towards non-white immigrants, particularly Chinese, had hardened. The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* and its infamous dictation test set the tone with which Chinese arrivals to Australia were met – even those of long-term Australian residence, of Australian birth or those with part-white heritage. When he landed in Australia, James Minahan's identity was questioned by Customs officials and he was made to sit the dictation test, which he failed, resulting in his arrest and prosecution as a prohibited immigrant.

Landmark court case

After a decision in his favour was granted in the Victorian lower courts, the Commonwealth appealed to the High Court. There, in a landmark decision, the High Court again ruled in Minahan's favour. The case *Potter v. Minahan* continues to be cited in court judgements 100 years later.

Two files in the National Archives – one created by the Department of External Affairs (which administered the Immigration Restriction Act) and one created by the High Court – provide a fascinating background to the complex legal discussions found in the judgements of the five justices of the High Court. The case before the High Court centred around the idea of who exactly was an immigrant, and who could be considered a member of the Australian community. What did the framers of the Australian Constitution envisage when they gave the new Commonwealth powers over immigration? Did immigration simply mean the process of entering the country,

or were there subtleties to its meaning and if so, what were they? Could a man, both a British subject by birth and the son of a British subject, be considered an immigrant (and, therefore a prohibited immigrant) when returning to Australia, the land of his birth?

To explore these issues within Minahan's case, the courts heard evidence from James Minahan himself, as well as from a range

[left] James Minahan's handprint was taken when he arrived in Melbourne on 26 January 1908.

[below] The doorway of a village house in Shiquli village.



Photographer: Kate Bagnall

of witnesses, many of whom were Chinese and who had known Cheong Ming, Winifred and their son in Victoria or had contact with father and son in China. Their testimony painted a picture of their lives, first in Indigo and then in Shek Quey Lee, detailing the ongoing connections maintained by many Chinese living in Australia, both with kin in Australia and at home in China. There was Deung Garng, a French polisher and kinsman working in Melbourne, whom father and son first met on their return to the village; and Ah Chew, a cabinetmaker from Carlton, who had been at the village school with Minahan and had attended Cheong Ming's funeral. Dern Hoy, another Melbourne French polisher, had met father and son before they left for China in 1882 and had also seen Minahan in the village two years earlier and spoken with him at length about what life was like in Australia.

James Minahan vanishes

Then there were those whose testimony told of the family's early life in Victoria, when Minahan was still a small boy. Cheong Ming's business partner at Indigo, Chin Shing, told what he knew of the 'English woman' who lived with Cheong Ming and had his child. Chan Num, a Melbourne tobacco dealer, who employed Winifred Minahan's younger sister as a nursemaid, said Winifred and her son had once stayed with him at Beechworth, Victoria. Ching Kay, formerly of Hang Yick & Co. in Melbourne, had done business with Cheong Ming and recalled the small boy who called Cheong Ming 'papa' and 'Minnie' Minahan 'ma'.

Among all the detail in the court records and the departmental file on Minahan's case, however, there is no clue to suggest what James Minahan did after the High Court ruled in his favour. After working all those years to gain an education, so that he could teach Chinese children in Australia, is that what he ended up doing? Or did he return to Indigo to work in the business he had inherited? Or did he decide, given the unhappy reception he had received in Australia, that he would return once again to build a life in China?

With the archives proving silent on Minahan's fate, perhaps his hometowns of Indigo and Shek Quey Lee might provide some clues. A visit to Chiltern in northern Victoria revealed that the old mining

settlements at Indigo no longer existed, but led eventually to contact with a descendent of Cheong Ming's business partner, Chin Shing. She revealed that Chin Shing had continued to run the business at Indigo with his Anglo-Chinese wife into the early decades of the twentieth century. From what she knew, it seems that Minahan had not returned to make a life for himself there. What then of the village Shek Quey Lee, described as being 20 *li* (Chinese miles) from the district capital of Jiangmen? Had Minahan returned to that home? A preliminary research trip to the area in the northern spring of 2009 provided some tantalising clues – a village now written as Shiquli, whose name in the local dialect is consistent with the earlier anglicised name Shek Quey Lee, and the revelation that

the same village has had a long history of migration to Australia. What remains now is to continue following the leads in the archival trail, using details from Australian records about the village and its men, together with Chinese village records and the memories of local people, to establish the fate of James Minahan, the young man who had said he 'always wanted to return to Australia'.

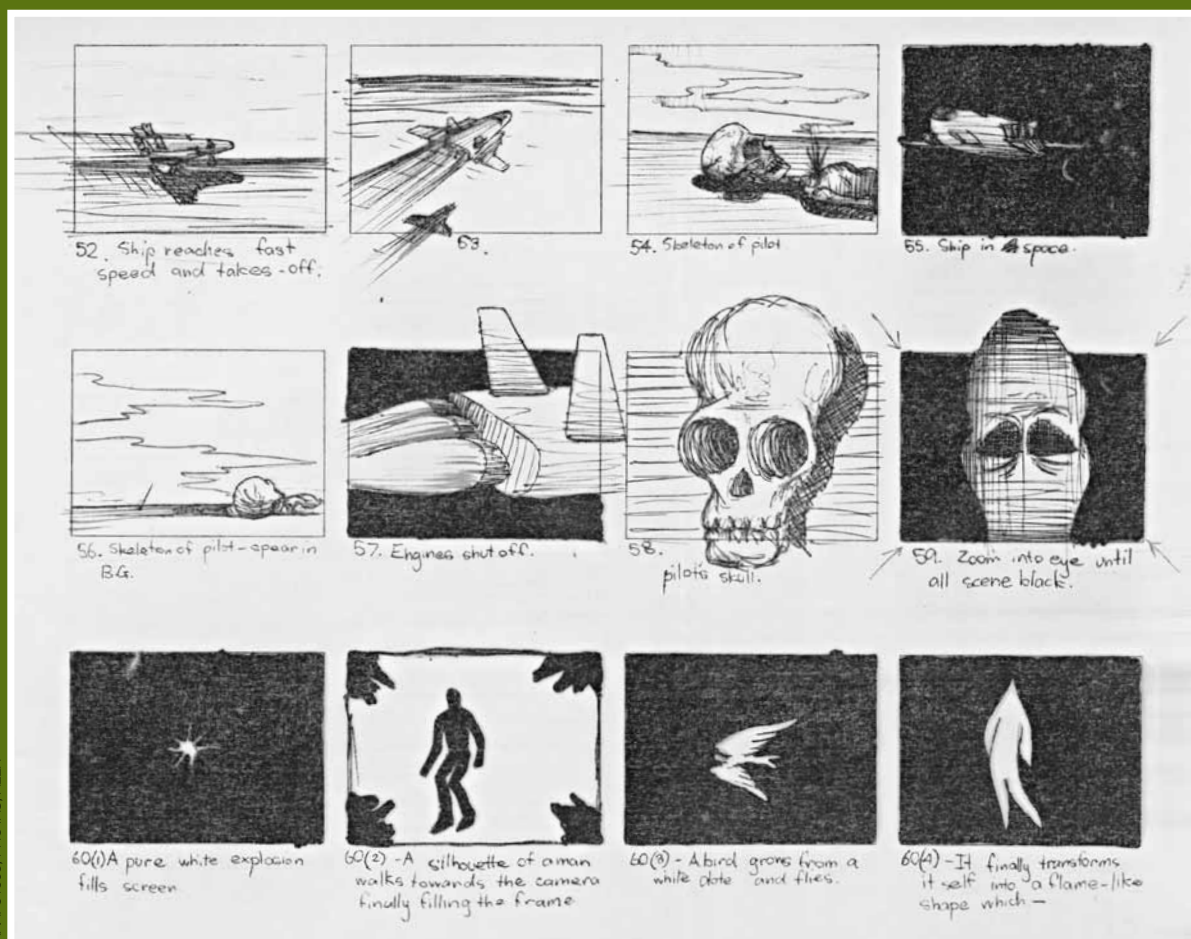
Historian Dr Kate Bagnall made extensive use of National Archives records in her doctoral research into Chinese-Australian families in south-eastern Australia. She has a particular interest in Anglo-Australian women with Chinese partners, and their children.

[below] The countryside near Shiquli village.



Photographer: Kate Bagnall

Nurturing Australian film talents



NAA: C1368, PROYAS, ALEX

Some of Australia's best known film talents got their start in the 1970s with help from the federal government's Experimental Film and Television Fund. Dr Alex Gerbaz takes a look at some of the bureaucratic hurdles they faced.

At the end of the 1960s, there was an urgently felt need in the Australian community to see our own stories and visions depicted on screen. With no film industry to speak of in Australia, it became necessary to foster and develop film-making talent. Recognising these needs, in 1969 the Australian Council for the Arts recommended the formation of a film and television school (which would become the Australian Film Television and Radio School), a film development corporation (now known

as Screen Australia) and an experimental film fund. As part of a three-pronged initiative by the Gorton Government to build a film industry, the Experimental Film and Television Fund (EFTF) was thus created.

Funding for projects initially came in the form of small loans, which were to be repaid by income generated by the films. The first completed project *Or Forever Hold Your Peace* (Kit Guyatt, 1970) received a loan of \$2000. In 1971 loans were converted

into grants, with film-makers required to requisition goods and services rather than receiving payment themselves – despite advertisements that depicted applicants receiving bags of money. By 1974, the upper limit for grants had risen to \$6000 and, by 1977, to \$7000.

Among the principle aims of the EFTF were 'to encourage creative development by professionals in the media' and 'to discover new creative talent.' This focus on developing and discovering talent reflected the hope that film-makers who went through the EFTF process would go on to bigger and better things. Indeed some, such as

[above] Storyboard panels for Alex Proyas's animated film *Ditto*.



OR FOREVER HOLD YOUR PEACE

a feature documentary film on the May Moratorium

Tuesday 15th

Astor Theatre, Glebe

6pm and 8.30pm

with *The War Game*

Wednesday 16th

Wallace Theatre, Sydney University, 1pm

Macquarie University, E7 T4, 5pm

Astor Theatre, Glebe, 6pm and 8.30pm

with *The War Game*

Friday 18th

Wallace Theatre, Sydney University

1pm

Saturday 19th

Astor Theatre, Glebe

8pm

with *Wonderwall*

Sunday 20th

Astor Theatre, Glebe

6pm

with *Wonderwall*

plus *Rock Group* for 6 hours

Tuesday 29th

Union Theatre, University of Sydney

1pm

Printed by Comment Publishing Company, 22 Steam Mill Street, Sydney.

Peter Weir, Jan Chapman, Phillip Noyce and Scott Hicks, made the leap into Hollywood feature film-making.

One of the most prominent to have applied for funding was the young Phillip Noyce. In 1970 the 21-year-old hastily prepared an application for an ambitious project called *Expanded Cinema*. His aim for the project was to overcome problems relating to the separate presentation of films and stage performances. It would therefore fuse the two forms together, the stage becoming a screen and the screen becoming a stage, with actors frequently stepping from one to the other. *Expanded Cinema* was never made, although Noyce initiated and helped on several other projects.

A stepping stone

The subsequent trajectory of Noyce's career suggests that experimental film-making was a stepping-stone along the way to commercial cinema. In Australia he made *Newsfront* (1978), *Heatwave* (1982), *Dead Calm* (1989), *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002) and, in the United States, *Patriot Games* (1992), *Sliver* (1993), *The Saint* (1997) and *The Bone Collector* (1999) among others. For many up-and-coming Australian directors in the 1970s, however, making films was in itself an experimental process. The EFTF allowed Noyce and others to practice their craft along the way to becoming professional directors of mainstream narrative films.

In 1978, a 16-year-old high school student named Alex Proyas received \$350 to make the short animated film *Ditto*. EFTF assessors saw 'a promising animation talent' and were concerned that he was 'not definite about a career in animation' stating that, if he were, 'it would help the industry'. In his storyboard sketches, the eventual director of such science-fiction and fantasy films as *The Crow* (1994), *Dark City* (1998), *I Robot* (2004) and *Knowing* (2009) already demonstrated a remarkable visual sense.

Among other notable figures who approached the EFTF, the actor Bryan Brown unsuccessfully applied to direct *June Twenty-Three*, 1976, a 30-minute drama about a young married couple who 'react violently to a corporation's attempt to take away their home.' Painter Garry Shead was allowed to make *Initiation* in 1970 and *A Propos de Paris*, shot in France in 1973,

NAA: C1368, GUYATT, KIT

[left] Screenings for the first completed EFTF film *Or Forever Hold Your Peace*.

[right] An image from *The Mystical Rose* directed by Michael Lee, a well known film funded by the Experimental Film and Television Fund.



National Film & Sound Archive: 665692

but his application for *Roots of Australian Art* was rejected. Peter Weir was 26 when he made the AFI award-winning *Homesdale* (1971) and political cartoonist Bruce Petty also had success with *Australian History* (1971) with EFTF support.

Genuinely experimental film-makers, committed to the idea of cinema as an art form, applied to the fund, but assessors were ambivalent towards their work and sometimes reluctant to provide support. Aggy Read, a founding member of Sydney's celebrated late-60s underground film group Ubu, submitted five simultaneous applications for funding within months of the EFTF's formation. He audaciously requested a grant of \$8000, including living costs and other work expenses, plus a further \$2000 to help him promote and screen experimental films around Australia. After permitting Read to make two films, the EFTF rejected subsequent applications because he was neither a 'new' nor a 'proven' talent.

There was mutual scepticism between experimental film-makers and the EFTF. On one hand, the fund was bureaucratic and lacked the flexibility to admit some of the spontaneity of experimentation. For example, often by the time Paul Winkler's applications were approved, he had completed the projects of his own accord.

In 1972 he was considered both a 'new' and a 'proven' talent, although assessors remained unconvinced he should receive funding, commenting: 'As one of Australia's foremost film experimentalists, Paul is worthy of support...but for how long?' Winkler continued his work as a dedicated experimental film-maker for decades, with films such as *Ayers Rock* (1981), *Elevated Shores* (1993) and *Turmoil* (2000).

EFTF narrow-minded

Some film-makers considered the EFTF to be narrow-minded about what constituted 'cinema'. A case in point is the structuralist film-maker John Dunkley-Smith, whose heyday was the 1970s and early '80s. His work left assessors cold. Comments included: 'I want to read about people not technique' and 'the applicant has deliberately chosen to work outside all the known guidelines of "film"...divorced from any connection with society...inward looking and, in its extreme form, decadent.' Dunkley-Smith reluctantly re-applied for funding and the assessors agreed to support him because his style of film-making was 'unlikely to be supported by anybody else.'

The fund was itself a bold experiment in government-sponsored film-making.

It was the first attempt by an Australian federal government to subsidise small, independently-made films, and from 1970 to 1978 it was the best opportunity available for film-makers to have their work financed on a low budget. Of its 521 completed films, less than a quarter were considered experimental or avant-garde. Many more were described as dramas, documentaries or animation. What was seen as underground film in the mid to late 1960s was in competition for funding and recognition with more mainstream work in the 1970s.

By 1978, the Australian Film Commission's Creative Development Branch had amalgamated the EFTF, the Film Production Fund (for more experienced film-makers), and the Script Development Fund into a single Creative Development Fund. The new fund's focus was on bigger budgets and narrative drama. The days of government-funded experimental films were coming to an end.

Dr Alex Gerbaz is a lecturer in Film and Television at Curtin University in Western Australia. He was a joint recipient of the National Archives' Margaret George Award in 2008.



NAA: B341, CULTURE/BALLET/4

Orchestras spur demand for culture

When live broadcasts commonly featured on Australian radio, the ABC sponsored and nurtured symphony orchestras across the nation. Dr Kenneth Morgan sifted through the archives to trace the orchestras' transformation to independent ensembles.

When the Australian Broadcasting Commission first went to air on 1 July 1932, the National Broadcasting Symphony Orchestra performed before a small, invited audience at the New South Wales Conservatorium of Music in Sydney. Ernest J Roberts and W Arundel Orchard conducted, and the South African-born virtuoso Isador Goodman was the soloist in Liszt's Piano Concerto no. 1. The concert was broadcast throughout Australia over the A-class radio stations intended for serious listening. It was the ABC's first live music broadcast – a gala occasion heralding the beginnings of the national broadcaster's long association with symphony orchestras.

In the following 75 years, professional orchestras under the ABC's auspices made an important contribution to Australia's cultural advance. But, from the 1990s onwards, the ABC gradually was divested of its orchestras. The last concert fully controlled by the ABC featured light classical music by the Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra under Guy Noble at Federation Hall, Hobart, on 29 December 2006. Three days later, on 1 January 2007, Australia's main symphony orchestras became independent entities.

Tracing the evolution of these orchestras, placing them in their social and cultural

context, and accounting for their changing organisation over time, was the focus of my research as the National Archives' 2008 Frederick Watson Fellow. To carry out the task, I had the extensive resources of the ABC Archives at the National Archives of Australia's New South Wales office at Chester Hill in Sydney. Like the British Broadcasting Corporation, the ABC kept comprehensive files on its activities. This means the National Archives holds extensive documentation and sound recordings on Australia's symphony orchestras, including correspondence, memoranda, artists' files, minutes of meetings, press coverage, commercial recordings, speeches and radio talks – a cornucopia of material for the researcher to sift through and analyse. From these materials, and with additional foraging in other Australian libraries and archives, I was able to piece together the main lines of development of Australia's six major professional orchestras, each based in their respective state capital.

Celebrity concerts

The orchestras developed in three main phases. The first phase was one of great enthusiasm for the formation of orchestras when Australia lacked a permanent professional ensemble of this kind. The second Chairman of the ABC, W J Cleary, worked closely with his General Manager, Charles Moses, and the Commission's Music Adviser Bernard Heinze – Melbourne University's Ormond Professor of Music – to create small studio orchestras for broadcasting in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Hobart. This was accomplished by the mid-1930s. Before the outbreak of World War II, the same team oversaw the augmentation of these orchestras for public concerts and hired internationally famous conductors and soloists for celebrity concerts. Audience numbers at concerts and radio listeners both increased rapidly. By the early 1940s concert audiences in Australia reached five figures annually, over half of the ABC's air time involved music, and there were more than half a million radio licences in Australia. By broadcasting orchestras regularly and sponsoring public concerts, the ABC took the lead in stimulating Australian cultural demand for serious music.

Momentum continued during World War II. The ABC arranged concerts for

troops, sponsored orchestral festivals of Beethoven and Russian music, and made plans for fully-staffed orchestras on a permanent basis. Restrictions on international artists coming to Australia during wartime led to Heinze's appointment as the Commission's main organiser and orchestral conductor. After the end of hostilities in 1945, Moses led a drive for the creation of permanent state orchestras in each capital city through partnerships between the ABC, civic authorities and state governments. This involved complex negotiations over finance and artistic control, but resulted in the completion of the first phase of orchestral development in Australia. Between 1946 and 1951, the Sydney Symphony, the Queensland Symphony, the Tasmanian Symphony, the Victorian Symphony, the South Australian Symphony and the West Australian Symphony orchestras were established, in that order.

Regular broadcasts

The second phase of professional orchestral development in Australia came with the consolidation and expansion of the six state orchestras in the three decades after World War II. The ABC spent considerable time and money on these ensembles. Cleary was no longer the guiding hand at the helm,

but Moses continued as General Manager and oversaw the orchestras' progression until his retirement in 1965. Each state orchestra gave regular broadcasts and public concerts, while the ABC coordinated the programs and hired soloists and conductors. The ABC had a Federal Controller of Music and a Federal Music Library to support these activities. It also liaised with EMI to produce records of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, including a pioneering 1950 recording of John Antill's ballet suite *Corroboree*, based on Aboriginal themes. The ABC encouraged the orchestras to play children's and youth concerts, largely under the direction of Heinze, who specialised in presenting classical music to younger audiences. Renowned conductor Eugene Goossens was appointed as chief conductor of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra and the ABC also arranged interstate and overseas tours for its orchestras.

[left] An ABC publicity photo of John Freeland, flautist with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra by Max Dupain.

[below] The ABC worked with EMI to produce records of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, which included a pioneering 1950 recording of John Antill's ballet suite *Corroboree*, based on Aboriginal themes.



Australian Broadcasting Corporation Library Sales, NAA: SP1011/1 - 2007



NAA: SP10111_3062

[left] Australian Broadcasting Commission member Dame Enid Lyons with the resident conductor of the Queensland Symphony Orchestra Rudolf Pekarek about 1950.

These positive features were accompanied, however, by some problems. Although the ABC sought to treat all six orchestras equally, it allocated most of its musical attention and resources to the largest Australian cities, Sydney and Melbourne. The Sydney Symphony, and the Victorian Symphony to a lesser extent, received the lion's share of finance and attracted the most prestigious international conductors. The other orchestras were bracketed together, in internal ABC parlance, as the BAPH states – Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Hobart – and were regarded as more modest outlets for music.

The drive and enthusiasm for running orchestras as an ABC priority waned as the initial leaders of the cause grew older and as the birth of television in Australia in the 1950s took the cultural focus away from radio and live orchestral broadcasts. By the 1960s, critics and cultural commentators complained that the ABC had become a bureaucratic behemoth, with too much control over the direction, policies and programming of the orchestras, and with too little attention to Australian and contemporary music. The arrival in 1963 of John Hopkins as the ABC's Federal Director of Music revived the fortunes of the orchestras by presenting a broader repertoire to wider audiences but, by the 1970s, the ABC still had artistic and financial problems to overcome in its orchestral provision.

The third phase of professional orchestral development in Australia covers the

past 30 years. By the late 1970s the six permanent state orchestras had become established fixtures in the cultural calendars of the state capitals. But new challenges had emerged. Artistically, orchestras had to contend with greater competition from other, more popular types of music; and they needed to expand their repertoire, reach new audiences and demonstrate their worth through recordings and international tours. Financially, the ABC's support was more constrained through limitations on the money it could legitimately spend on orchestras out of licence-holders' revenue. Rising salaries and other costs also impinged on budgets. Politically, orchestras were subject to various federal government reports that recommended major changes in their structure and organisation and, in some cases, questioned their very existence.

Controversial reports

Australian orchestras have largely met these challenges over the past three decades, but it has sometimes been a bumpy ride. Over the past decade, the orchestras have divested themselves of their formal relationship with the ABC. Although still a mainstay of ABC Classic FM radio, they are now independent organisations with full responsibility for making their own decisions, but subject to a competitive marketplace for arts provision and support. The process of divestment was encouraged by various government reports, principally the committees chaired by Alex Dix (1981), Kenneth Tribe (1985) and James Strong (2005). Each made recommendations that

had controversial implications, attracting much spirited commentary in the media from musicians, administrators and the public. The release of each report attracted extensive newspaper coverage and brought to the surface anxieties about what might be implemented. Many recommendations by Dix and Tribe were stalled or set aside, but the Strong report led to action on divestment.

New challenges

Few could have envisaged, when they heard the first broadcast of a symphony orchestra, that such growth would have occurred in three-quarters of a century. We do not know how accomplished that first orchestra was. What we do know is that today each state orchestra is a professionally polished body, responsive to different audiences and repertoire, attuned to playing Australian and contemporary music, and able to demonstrate its cultural worth. The artistic standard of Australian orchestras can be appreciated by anyone who attends their concerts or listens to their radio broadcasts. Australian orchestras face new challenges in the twenty-first century. Their repertoire will need to diversify further into world music, popular music and crossover music. The orchestras will also require more generous private business sponsorship. Political backing, at federal, state and civic level, will remain essential for orchestras to thrive as cultural ambassadors. Although the main Australian symphony orchestras are now independent bodies, their growth under ABC auspices enabled them to develop as part of a federal music policy for the benefit of people throughout Australia.

Kenneth Morgan is Professor of History at Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex, England. He held the 2008 Frederick Watson Fellowship at the National Archives of Australia for a book project on the history of Australia's symphony orchestras, primarily while they were under the aegis of the ABC. He is also the author of a forthcoming book *Australia: A Very Short Introduction* from Oxford University Press.

What happened to our airmen?

Former Royal Australian Air Force navigator Alan Storr of Canberra has spent more than seven years searching for the fate of airmen who didn't return from World War II.

Half blinded and with part of his face shot away, 26-year-old RAAF pilot Ron Middleton refused to land his plane in enemy territory. Instead, he sacrificed his own chances of survival and coaxed his damaged aircraft back to England, where five of his crew parachuted to safety. With only minutes of fuel left, he then turned the plane out to sea and sank with the wreckage, too injured to bale out himself. Two of the crew who stayed with him also lost their lives in the crash.

The story of Rawdon Hume Middleton, the first RAAF officer to receive the Victoria Cross in World War II, is just one of the thousands that Alan Storr, now 88, has discovered in the National Archives.

For more than seven years he has been trawling through RAAF casualty files to discover details of the last missions of airmen who didn't return and the circumstances of their deaths. He has now published his findings to date – 7000 deaths – in a set of 23 volumes which he has donated to the National Archives and other cultural institutions. Each book records the mission details, the names, ranks and mustering of crews and the known circumstances of the aircraft's failure to return.

The labour of love was prompted when he chanced upon a letter from a woman in England, who was two years old when her Australian father went missing over the Italian Alps during World War II. Desperate to know more, she wrote to the RAAF newsletter, *Wings*. Mr Storr, who was a

RAAF navigator in the Pacific during World War II, looked up her father's casualty file in the National Archives and was able to send her further details.

He decided to take the project further and committed himself to finding details of the 1423 RAAF men who had no known grave. When he completed that task, he continued the project, recording the details of every RAAF serviceman who didn't return from World War II.

'Their stories were there on the files waiting to be told,' he said. 'The airforce had a very good system. They created two files. The first was a service record file and the other was the casualty file – preserved in the National Archives as series A705. Without these casualty files there wouldn't be any story.'

He has also given one set of his books to the Imperial War Museum in London because the tragedies stretched across nations.

'There were other nationalities involved,' he said. 'In Middleton's crew he was the only RAAF man. The seven others served in the British Royal Air Force. Flight crews also included men from New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.'

Since publishing this series of books, Mr Storr has been continuing to work through the remaining 4000 RAAF casualties of World War II.

by Elizabeth Masters, editor of *Memento*



Australian War Memorial: 100641

[above top] The National Archives holds Rawdon Hume Middleton's service file which provides accounts of his last mission.

[above] Pilot Officer Rawdon Hume Middleton was the first RAAF officer to receive the Victoria Cross in World War II for unsurpassed 'devotion to duty in the face of overwhelming odds'.

[below] Alan Storr has recently published a series of 23 books, detailing the last missions of airmen who went missing during World War II.



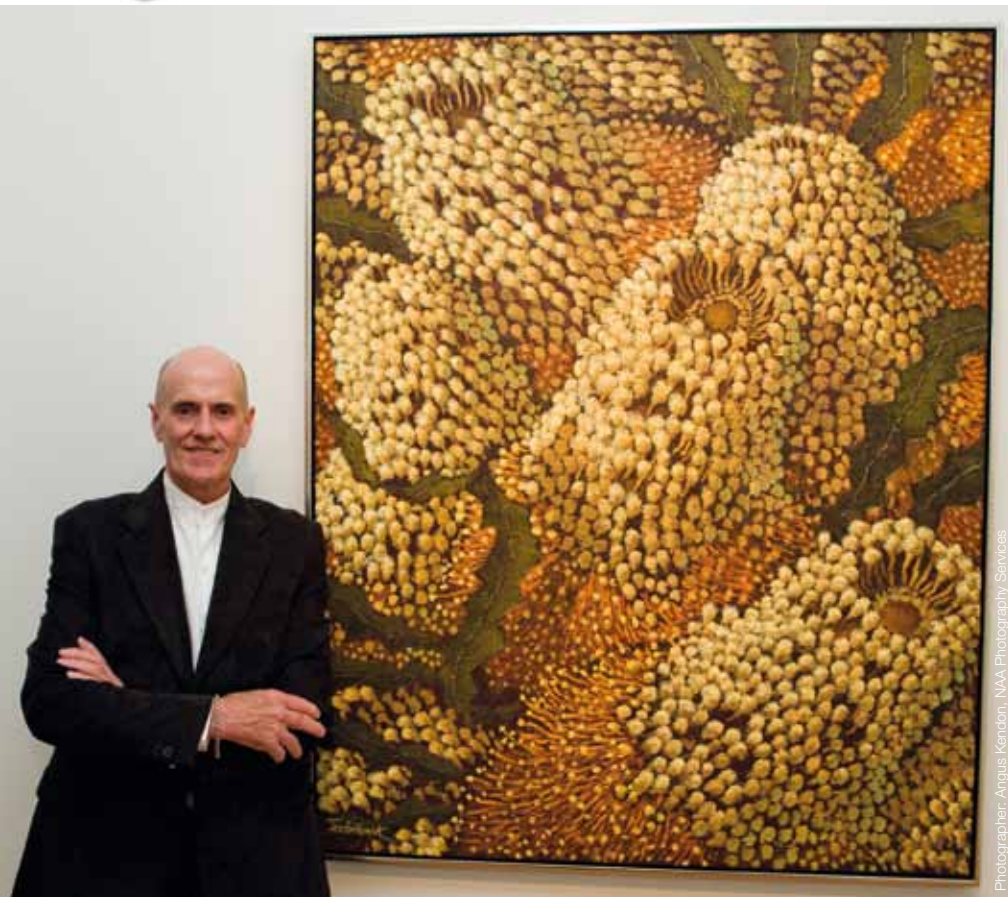
Photography: Angus Kendon, NAA Photography Services



Faces at the Archives



Photographer: Anna Bishop, NAA Photographic Services



Photographer: Angus Kendon, NAA Photography Services

[above] Artist **Steven Trebilcock** with his award-winning painting, *Banksias*, at the launch of the 2009 Waterhouse Natural History Art Prize exhibition at the National Archives in September.

[top right] **Siobhan McHugh**, award-winning author of *The Snowy – The People Behind the Power*, spoke at the National Archives in August 2009 to mark the 60th anniversary of the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme.

[centre right] Emeritus Professor **Donald Denoon** gave the 2009 RG Neale lecture 'The Hundred Fathers of the Torres Strait Treaty' on 5 November.

[bottom right] **Tom Pauling**, Administrator of the Northern Territory, with **Lysa Wang** at the 2009 Constitution Day citizenship ceremony in Darwin on 9 July.



Photographer: Angus Kendon, NAA Photographic Services



Photographer: Joanne Wood, National Archives, Darwin



Photographer: Angus Kendon, NAA Photographic Services

[above] Senator Kate Lundy with Archives conservator **Ian Batterham** at her talk, 'Creation of a new nation's capital', at the National Archives in September 2009.

[above right] Governor-General **Her Excellency Quentin Bryce** presided over the Constitution Day citizenship ceremony at Government House in Canberra on 9 July 2009.

[centre right] **Hon Dr John Bannon AO** gave the National Archives' Constitution Founders' Lecture at the South Australian Parliament House on 3 September 2009.



Photographer: Anna Bishop, NAA Photographic Services

[bottom right] Minister **Joe Ludwig** (left) visited the National Archives office in Brisbane in October 2009. He is pictured with State Director **David Swift**, looking at items in the collection.

[bottom left] Author **Hilary Golder** with **Paul Santamaria**, Chairman of the National Archives Advisory Council, at the launch of the Council history, *A Necessary Safeguard*, in June 2009.



Photographer: Anna Bishop, NAA Photographic Services



Photographer: Angus Kendon, NAA Photographic Services



Photographer: Dante Sell, NAA Brisbane

News in brief

ARCHIVAL SOLIDARITY



Photograph courtesy of Christian Wermert.

Archival documents dating back to the thirteenth century were at risk of being lost forever when a building that held the City of Cologne Historical Archive in Germany collapsed on 3 March 2009.

The many thousands of charters, files, documents, maps and books buried under the rubble constituted the memory of the city and were also recognised as a significant resource for north-western Europe.

The Association of National Committees of Blue Shield – the cultural equivalent of the Red Cross – and the German national committee called for volunteers from around the world to help with the disaster recovery effort.

The International Committee of Blue Shield was set up in 1996 to advise UNESCO how best to protect the world's cultural heritage threatened by wars and natural disasters. The National Archives is a supporting agency for Blue Shield Australia which was established in 2005.

With support from the National Archives, Canberra staff member Shirley Sullivan responded to the call and travelled to Cologne as a volunteer archivist for four weeks in May and June 2009.

She worked side by side and in solidarity with archivists, restorers, scientists, academics, students and other dedicated volunteers from many countries, including Germany, France, the Netherlands, Britain, Spain and the Czech Republic.

Shirley has been happy to share the experience she gained on salvaging records after a disaster by giving talks to fellow archivists about the recovery effort and what can be learnt from the disaster to help protect Australia's documentary heritage. She also discussed her experience at the Australian Society of Archivists' conference in Brisbane in October 2009.

Blue Shield Australia runs an annual May Day campaign to remind the cultural heritage sector to reduce risks and prepare for potential disasters which may affect their collections. Further details can be seen at blueshieldaustralia.org.au.

[top] Solidarity among archivists (from left): Christian Wermert, Nottuln Community Archivist; Joseph Wermert, City Archivist in Olpe; Shirley Sullivan, National Archives of Australia; and Dieter Tops, District Archives Olpe.

KEEPING FAMILY TREASURES

The National Archives' latest book, *Keeping Family Treasures*, has been produced to help members of the public preserve letters, photographs, documents and other items of special significance to their family.

With interest in family history research at an all-time high, more people now recognise the importance of preserving their family's special records for future generations – but many aren't too sure how to go about it.

Conservators at the National Archives of Australia have shared their expertise and provided easy-to-learn preservation tips. They are in an ideal position to offer advice on preserving family treasures because they use their skills every day to preserve the treasures of the nation – Commonwealth Government records that tell the story of Australia and its people.

Several Australians have offered their family items for advice in the book, including cookbook author Margaret Fulton, television presenter Andy Muirhead from ABC's *Collectors*, and actor and historian Alice Garner. We thank them all.

The launch of *Keeping Family Treasures* coincides with the National Archives' annual *Shake Your Family Tree* day on 23 February 2010. The book will then be available from the National Archives' online shop eshop.naa.gov.au and all offices of the Archives.



Photographer: Flomena Morelli, NAA Photography Services

[above] Margaret Fulton is among the well-known Australians who have offered family items for conservation advice in *Keeping Family Treasures*.



[above] Malcolm Fraser and Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath ('Sonny') Ramphal at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Lusaka (Zambia).

THE SINKING OF HMAS SYDNEY

With continuing public interest in the loss of HMAS *Sydney*, the National Archives is publishing a new edition of its research guide on this topic. The loss of the ship and its entire

company of 645 in November

1941, following an encounter with the German raider *Kormoran*, is one of the most intriguing mysteries of Australia's wartime history. In March 2008, after extensive searches, *Sydney* was found 12.2 nautical miles from the wreck of the *Kormoran*.

The Sinking of HMAS Sydney provides a guide to Commonwealth Government records covering the last voyage of the ship, search and rescue operations, War Cabinet and Advisory War Cabinet discussions, interrogation of *Kormoran* survivors, and personnel records of the casualties. In a new foreword, historian Dr Tom Frame reviews key findings in the 15 years leading up to the ship's discovery, as well as the results of a commission of inquiry headed by Justice Terence Cole in 2009.

The new publication will be available in early 2010 and can be purchased for \$24.95 from the online shop at eshop.naa.gov.au

CABINET HIGHLIGHTS OF 1979

On 1 January this year the National Archives released records of behind-doors decisions made by the Cabinet of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's Government in 1979. A month before the public release, journalists were invited to attend an embargoed briefing where they heard Professor Patrick Weller AO give an insider's view of the period. Now Director of the Centre for Governance and Public Policy at Griffith University, Professor Weller has been a prolific researcher, writer and commentator on Australian government and politics since the 1970s. At the briefing, historian Dr Jim Stokes from the National Archives provided background on the people and events of the time.

'In 1979 inflation was on the rise and unemployment was uncomfortably high,' said Dr Stokes. 'Most worrying for the government was the near collapse of the wage indexation system, which had been central to its attack on inflation. In Cabinet there were tensions between

those who wanted more rapid progress towards economic reform, in particular by reducing industry protection and welfare spending, and those who feared the political consequences of such changes.

'In relation to foreign policy, Australia's concerns in 1979 were dominated by events in Indo-China, Zimbabwe and Iran, while Indonesia remained sensitive about East Timor. On 24 December 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in support of its Marxist government. It was also a year of major upheavals in the Middle East. Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Iran, and Iranians voted on 1 April to become an Islamic republic. At the same time, Iran was emerging as a major market for Australian wheat, meat and steel.'

Despite the Fraser Government's convincing win in the 1977 election, opinion polls and the imminent arrival of Bob Hawke in federal politics suggested that victory in the 1980 election could not be assumed. To view selected Cabinet papers and learn more about the events of 1979, visit naa.gov.au.

LATEST RESEARCH GRANTS

A 3-D animated simulation of the Australian submarine HMAS AE2 and its role in the 1915 Gallipoli campaign was one of the topics funded in the 2009 National Archives grants. A reappraisal of prisoner-of-war deaths in Sandakan, Borneo also received an award.

The Ian Maclean Award went to a team from Edith Cowan University in Western Australia headed by Dr Martin Masek. The team is developing a 3-D animated simulation of the submarine HMAS AE2 for the National Archives' website.

The Margaret George Award was granted to Dr Michele Cunningham from the University of Adelaide for her research into the loss of more than 2000 Australian and British prisoners of war in Sandakan between 1942 and 1945.

The National Archives awards three major grants each year. The \$15,000 Ian Maclean Award is for archivists and other professionals interested in archival issues. The \$10,000 Margaret George Award is for talented, emerging scholars. The \$15,000 Frederick Watson Fellowship, which is yet to be announced, goes to scholars established in their field.

The grants are designed to help scholars complete a research project that is significant for Australian audiences and which makes substantial use of the National Archives collection. Projects are expected to result in articles, books, websites, exhibitions, films or events.

Further information on applying for the grants can be found on the National Archives website naa.gov.au.

News in brief

2009 CHALLENGE WINNER

The National History Challenge encourages school students to discover more about Australia and its past.

As budding historians, students use primary and secondary sources to investigate their community, explore their own and their family's past, and examine major events in Australian history.

The 2009 winner of the Archives category was Alix Biggs from Canberra Girls' Grammar School.

Alix's essay, 'Triumph over adversity: The obstacles overcome by Australia's Japanese war brides', clearly demonstrated the tensions that existed between the government, the public and the families of the Japanese women after 1945. She wove material from the National Archives into the analysis, creating an empathetic work.

The National Archives of Australia has been involved in the National History Challenge as a sponsor since it began in 1995.

Selected winning entries can be read online at naa.gov.au/learning.



Photographer: Alanna Bishop, NAA Photography Services

[above] Alex Biggs, winner of the National History Challenge, with the Hon Alan Griffin MP.

KIRBY'S PERSONAL RECORDS SAVED



Photo courtesy of Michael Kirby.

Before his retirement as a justice of the High Court on 2 February 2009, Michael Kirby AC CMG invited the National Archives of Australia to remove 250 boxes of personal records from his Sydney Chambers for ongoing preservation.

These latest records, which now occupy 50 metres of archival shelf space, joined the comprehensive Kirby collection of more than 100 shelf metres which was already in the Archives.

The first of his personal records arrived at the National Archives' Sydney office on 26 November 1982. He was then the inaugural Chairman of the Australian Law Reform Commission – to which he was appointed in 1975 – and Deputy President of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission. With the latter appointment in 1974, Kirby became the youngest man appointed to federal judicial office in Australia.

Michael Kirby became a Federal Court judge in 1983, President of the New South Wales Court of Appeal in 1984 and, in February 1996, was appointed one of the seven justices of the High Court of Australia.

In one of his many speeches, Michael Kirby observed that 'law is a vocation committed to justice.' His extensive records are tangible proof of his commitment to such a view. They also explain why his *Who's Who in Australia* entry nominates Michael Kirby's work as his recreation. The thousands of documents given by him to the National Archives, dating from 1959 to 2009, provide a detailed record of a life dedicated in full to social and legal reform.

The records range from his 1959 Law School lecture notes at the University of Sydney to the latest High Court notebooks and court decisions. They include numerous speeches, articles and addresses written since 1973 and files on human rights, privacy, discrimination and the rights of same-sex couples. As well as court correspondence, the records also contain private correspondence with his family, friends and colleagues.

Such a rich source of information will provide abundant research material for scholars and interested members of the public.

[above] Michael Kirby with Dick Smith (left) and Fred Hollows (right) in 1991.

EXHIBITIONS



**Stanley Melbourne Bruce:
Prime Minister & Statesman**
National Archives, Canberra
Until 30 May 2010



**Femme Fatale
– The Female Criminal**
From Historic Houses Trust of
New South Wales
National Archives, Canberra
17 Jun to 5 Sept 2010



**Summers Past
– Golden Days in the Sun 1950–1970**
Grafton Regional Gallery, NSW
Until 31 Jan 2010

Gold Coast City Art Gallery, Surfers
Paradise, QLD
11 Feb to 28 Mar 2010



Max Dupain on Assignment
Cairns Regional Gallery, QLD
5 Mar to 23 May 2010

Tamworth Regional Gallery, NSW
4 Jun to 24 Jul 2010



Strike a Pose...with Lee Lin Chin
Wollongong City Art Gallery, NSW
Until 28 Feb 2010

Noosa Regional Gallery, Tewantin, QLD
12 Mar to 12 Apr 2010



**Shell-shocked
– Australia after Armistice**
Drill Hall, Torrens Parade Ground,
Adelaide, SA
5 Mar to 23 May 2010

Western Australian Museum, Perth, WA
4 June to 8 August 2010



Australian Government Visions of Australia

National Archives' touring exhibitions are supported by Visions of Australia, an Australian Government Program supporting touring exhibitions by providing funding assistance for the development and touring of cultural material across Australia.

EVENTS



SHAKE YOUR FAMILY TREE DAY 23 Feb, 9.30 am – 4 pm
A nation-wide National Archives event, featuring talks, seminars, conservation advice and competitions. All offices of the National Archives. See naa.gov.au for more details.

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

Talks and seminars at National Archives, Canberra:

- **Stanley Melbourne Bruce**, curator talks, 13, 20, 27 Jan, 14, 21 Apr, 11 am
- **Fade to grey... or yellow, red or blue**, photographic workshop, 19 Jan, 2 pm
- **Out of the Cabinet Room 1979**, 7 Feb, 11.30 am and 2 pm
- **Designing The Lodge**, Dr Susan-Mary Withycombe, 7 Mar, 2 pm
- **RecordSearch for beginners**, 16 Mar, 4 pm
- **S M Bruce: The forgotten Prime Minister**, Dr David Lee, 11 Apr, 2 pm
- **Prime Ministers' records: official and personal records**, 11 May, 4 pm

Free, but bookings essential: (02) 6212 3956 or events@naa.gov.au

NEW SOUTH WALES

- **The making of our nation: The Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme – Records in the National Archives**, 12 Apr, 6 – 7 pm. A seminar hosted at Royal Australian Historical Society, 133 Macquarie Street, Sydney, inquiries (02) 9247 8001 or email outreach@rahs.org.au

NORTHERN TERRITORY

Seminars at National Archives, Darwin:

- **War in the North: Defending Australia 1939–45**, 17 Mar, 12.30 – 1.30 pm
 - **The pastoral industry in the Northern Territory**, 19 May, 12.30 – 1.30 pm
- Free. Inquiries to (08) 8985 0300 or duncan.mackenzie@naa.gov.au

QUEENSLAND

Seminars at National Archives, Brisbane:

- **Populate or perish: Post-war migration schemes and agreements**, 16, 20 Jan, 10 – 11 am
- **Aircraft, airports and aviators**, 17, 20 Feb, 10 – 11 am
- **Lives less ordinary: Records of women**, 17, 20 Mar, 10 – 11 am
- **The home front: World War II**, 17 and 21 Apr, 10 – 11 am
- **Our favourite records: A display of treasure from the National Archives**, 15, 19 May, 10 am – 1 pm
- **Anglo-Celtic migration: Tracing British, Scottish, Irish and Welsh migrants**, 16, 19 Jun, 10 – 11 am

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Seminars at National Archives, Adelaide:

- **Home and away: Defence records**, 9 Mar, 10 – 11 am
- **Tasty treasures: Records of food**, 27 Apr, 10 – 11 am
- **Job hunting: Records of occupations**, 8 Jun, 10 – 11 am

Free, bookings essential (08) 8409 8400 or adelaideevents@naa.gov.au

TASMANIA

Seminars and events at National Archives, Hobart:

- **How to use the National Archives, Adult Education class**, 17 Apr, bookings (03) 6233 7237 or www.adulteducation.tas.gov.au
- **Antarctic Midwinter Festival activities**, 21 – 25 Jun

Inquiries (03) 6230 6111

VICTORIA

Seminar at National Archives, Melbourne:

- **Contributing to the war effort: Civilian service, inventions and rationing during World War II**, Victorian Archives Centre, 22 Apr, 10 – 11 am

Free, for bookings and more information (03) 9348 5765

The Melbourne reading room will be closed on Mondays and Saturdays until at least 9 February 2010 due to building renovations.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Seminars at National Archives, Perth:

- **Defence records for family historians**, 24 Mar, 10.30 am – 12 pm
- **Making Australia home: Immigration records for family historians**, 12 May, 10.30 am – 12 pm

Bookings essential: (08) 9470 7500



In 1923 Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce was presented the honorary Freedom of the City of London, the highest honour the city can bestow, and this gold casket. Bruce donated this item and a large collection of objects and personal papers to the people of Australia.

NAA: M4254, 40 Part 1

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