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Remembrance: Victoria's commemorative stained-glass windows of World War I

As silence descended over the European battlefields in 1918, Australia's military leaders turned towards commemorating the hard-fought victory on French and Belgian ground. The commanders of the five Australian divisions chose places of victory as sites for monuments; places that were allied with decisive and triumphant battles – Pozieres, Mont St Quentin, Sailly-le-Sec (near Amiens), Bellenglise and Polygon Wood – rather than those associated with failure or great loss of life, such as Gallipoli, Fromelles, Passchendaele or Bullecourt.¹

At home, however, Australians began the process of commemoration only months after August 1914, when the British Empire entered war with Germany. As casualty lists grew relentlessly after the landing at Gallipoli, so the 'war memorial movement' also grew, gathering pace as the death toll rose in the following years.² By November 1918, Australians at home and on the battlefield were dispirited and relieved when the armistice was declared, but victory was not the major focus of commemoration.³ As Ken Inglis recorded in great detail in *Sacred Places*, the public monument provided a place to pay tribute to and honour the memory of those 'fallen' in their service to King, country and Empire in towns and settlements across the Australian landscape.⁴ And, at least twice a year, on Anzac Day and Armistice Day, the monument, whether a soldier statue, avenue of honour, obelisk or memorial arch, became a gathering place for collective mourning and remembrance.



Left: William Wheildon and George H Dancey, Brooks, Robinson & Co., *St George* (1917), Geoffrey McCrae memorial, Christ Church Anglican, Hawthorn, Victoria. Photograph by Ray Brown

Right: William 'Jock' Frater, EL Yencken & Co., *St George* (n.d.), Harold Parker memorial, St John's Uniting Church, Essendon, Victoria. Photograph by the author

The stained-glass window, a different form of monument, was less visible, being situated in churches, schools, hospitals and civic and private buildings – but no less important as a symbol for remembrance. In 2008, with the support and assistance of the Department of Defence's Army History Unit, I undertook *Lights Everlasting*, an inventory of Victoria's stained-glass windows from the Boer War to the Vietnam War. Of the 450 or more records, more than 280 commemorate World War I, installed by grieving families, church congregations and communities.⁵

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century, stained glass was an accepted religious commemorative form, usually in preference to the marble tablets or stone effigies of the past. Thus, it was logical to extend this widespread

practice as a way of marking the deaths of Australian soldiers.⁶ World War I stained-glass memorials were commissioned by all denominations although, of those recorded in the survey, 142 were commissioned for the Anglican Church, which at that time was still part of the Church of England and its adherents decidedly Anglophile in outlook. Similarly, Presbyterians and some Methodist churches honoured their adherents, with 36 and 39 stained-glass windows respectively; a few Baptist and Independent churches added to their plain interiors and installed a smattering of World War I windows.⁷ Interestingly, given the proportion of Catholics in Victoria's population, the significant numbers of Catholic enlisted men and the Catholic chaplains committed to the forces, only eight Catholic memorials have been identified to date in Victoria, just one less than Baptist memorials.⁸

The first memorials in stained glass

The first memorials in stained glass were erected concurrently with secular public monuments but, by contrast, they were semi private and generally in a religious context.⁹ Most often located in churches, these memorials overlaid the concept of sacrifice for King, country and Empire with the added symbolic reference of sacrifice for God, the rightness (or righteousness?) of the cause and belief in a better life thereafter. Grieving families erected memorials to fathers, brothers and sons at a time when abstract ideals, such as 'courage', 'sacrifice', 'duty' and ultimate 'victory over death' masked (or at least softened) the realities of loss. Dedications and unveilings simulated the rituals of graveside service, and the windows themselves became a form of headstone. The absence of a gravesite (or its effective inaccessibility) guaranteed that the stained-glass commemorative window would become a place for regular pilgrimage and private prayer.¹⁰

The earliest stained-glass commissions were for individual soldiers and were more often raised to commemorate young men who had travelled 'home' to Britain, ensuring that they did not miss the action in a war that was expected to be over by Christmas. Many, with exemplary connections, were commissioned as officers in units connected with their British forebears. Sadly they were among Australia's first casualties, lost in France well before the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) set foot on the Gallipoli peninsula.

Stained glass was a comparatively labour-intensive and expensive¹¹ memorial art form and it is, therefore, hardly surprising that more affluent citizens were in a better position to commemorate lost family members. Few local firms and artists in 1915 had the necessary skills to undertake such complex commissions. One who was well placed, however, was Melbourne

stained-glass artist, William Montgomery (1850–1927), who retained his reputation and patrons throughout the testing period of the 1890s economic depression and, not without some difficulties, maintained his British suppliers during the early stages of the war.¹² As a British-born Australian who was fiercely loyal to King and Empire, and with his elder son William serving with the AIF, he was keenly interested and attuned to the progress of the struggle and ready to devote his energies to the commemoration of Australia's heroes.

As early as April 1915, Montgomery was retained by the warden of Trinity College, Dr Alexander Leeper, to design a window to the memory of Captain Osborne O'Hara (1886–1915) on behalf of his father, Dr HM O'Hara, a prominent Melbourne doctor. Osborne O'Hara was not one of the enthusiastic schoolboys, but a man with experience in the Australian militia before taking up a career as an officer in the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers.¹³ Posted at Quetta in India when war broke out, the battalion was recalled to France, ill-prepared for the change in military tactics and climate. Osborne O'Hara died in France on 13 February 1915, the first of more than 20 former Trinity scholars to be killed in action over the next four years.¹⁴ Montgomery recommended St Alban, England's first martyr, as the subject for the proposed window on the grounds that it emphatically linked Osborne O'Hara's 'martyrdom' and the essential morality of the fight, with his British heritage.¹⁵ This visual representation proffered the idea of a 'baptism of blood' and the dead soldier as saint, which gave bereaved families and communities a means to cope with a devastating reality.¹⁶ The O'Hara window was the first war memorial of more than 90 war commemorative commissions that Montgomery completed before his death in 1927. The window was an exemplar of many other memorials that interwove concepts of military might and religious righteousness through a small range of warrior saints enlisted as subjects for hundreds of windows. Prominent among them were St Alban, the archangels St Michael and St Gabriel and, most popular of all, St George.

St George, chivalrous protector of the weak, had a long and illustrious history as patron saint of England, of the Order of the Garter and, from the late nineteenth century, as a symbol of British Imperialism.¹⁷ He embodied a concept of medieval chivalry that reached beyond the aristocracy to all ranks of nineteenth-century British society as a code of conduct for every gentleman. Thus St George symbolised the contemporary fighter for a just cause, a powerful figure of Christian allegory. For Australians, he embodied the Anzac spirit and symbolised the conjunction of God, King and Empire. Artists might have interpreted St George in different ways, but an attuned audience immediately recognised the warrior saint by his armour, shield with

its red cross and, most of all, by the dragon slain at his feet, a powerful symbol of defeat over the enemy.

One of William Montgomery's larger war memorial commissions was from the headmaster of the Geelong Church of England Grammar School, the Rev Francis E Brown, who planned a window cycle for the school's Chapel of All Saints, which was being redesigned by Alexander North in 1917–18. Prohibitive building costs meant that only the east end was constructed at that time, which included seven two-light windows, with individual and intricate tracery for the head of each window.¹⁸ Montgomery forwarded a long list of possible subjects, 'showing the source from which Christianity is derived' and 'its application to our own Homeland in the shape of Christianity in Britain and its continuation through the centuries to practically our own times'. Brown selected New Testament figures alongside warrior saints and martyrs that he considered befitting the Chapel.¹⁹ Although not originally conceived as a memorial chapel, the scheme evolved into an appropriate tribute to ex-students killed in the Great War and, by implication, commemorated all former students of the school who had been lost in war.²⁰ In accordance with Brown's plan, Montgomery's designs for the first two-light window, fittingly of St George and St Alban, 'both soldiers & both Martyrs', were accepted with some amendments.²¹ Angels held a ribbon inscription at the base: 'AMDG in loving memory of Kenneth McGeorge Ronald Killed in Action Gallipoli 12th July 1915'. Trooper Ronald, a former Geelong boarder from Hay in country New South Wales, was barely 19 when he enlisted in the 6th Light Horse Regiment AIF on 26 September 1914.²² Less than three months later he embarked for Egypt and died at Anzac Cove when hit by an enemy barrage. The finished memorial met with the high expectations of family and headmaster alike, the latter writing to congratulate Montgomery immediately following the unveiling by the bishop of Ballarat on 3 December 1917, noting that 'it will set a good example for those [windows] which are to follow'.²³ Ten days later Brown was able to report interest from other bereaved families to donate three more two-light windows.²⁴

Over the following four years, Montgomery was commissioned to design and produce *St Luke* and *St Mark* (1918), *St John* and *St Matthew* (1918), *St Stephen* and *St James* (1918), *St Andrew* and *St Patrick* (1920), and the highly ornamental *St Michael* and *St Gabriel* (1919), the latter being erected in memory of George Pollard Kay who was killed in France on 29 June 1917.²⁵ Captain Kay, of 46 Squadron Royal Flying Corps, was a gifted scholar and athlete who captained Geelong Grammar's football 18, played in the cricket 11 and rowed number four of the winning eight in the 1914 Public Schools' Head of the



William Montgomery, *St Michael* (1921), George Pollard Kay memorial, Holy Trinity Anglican, Kew, Victoria. Photograph by Vlad Bunyevich

River.²⁶ Kay was one of many Geelong and other grammar schoolboys who travelled to Britain in order to enlist. He obtained his commission in May 1916, but had only been in France five months when he was killed, aged 21 years. Kay's parents were sufficiently impressed by Montgomery's memorial to their only son that they commissioned a second window of St Michael, a rose window, for their parish church, Holy Trinity Anglican, Kew, which was based on the Geelong Grammar version. It was unveiled by Kay's old headmaster, the Rev Dr Brown, on 25 June 1921, almost exactly four years after the young man's death.²⁷

If Geelong Grammar's windows exemplified the highly ornamental art and craft of stained glass, many other windows were more modest in size and expense. One such commission was a small, well-designed two-light window installed in 1919 at St Bernard's Catholic Church, Bacchus Marsh.²⁸ Catholic saints adorned windows throughout the church and this later installation



William Montgomery, *St George* and *St Alban* (1917) (left, photograph by the author), and *St Michael* and *St Gabriel* (1919) (right, photograph by Vlad Bunyevich), All Saints' Chapel, Geelong Grammar School, Corio, Victoria

did not depart from the preferred format. Two soldier saints, *St Camillus* and *St Ignatius*, were set as busts against a leadlight background with a ribbon inscription that read simply: 'Erected by the Soldiers in memory of their Fallen Comrades Frank Ward Frank Dodemaide Thomas Murphy William Buckley James Johansen Thomas Telford Thomas O'Leary'. As the inscription spelled out, this was not a memorial from families or from the congregation, but placed by comrades in memory of other comrades who did not come home.²⁹

Postwar memorials

Although images of saints were extremely popular in stained-glass memorials, especially to remember an individual soldier, other expressions emerged when a congregation sought to memorialise all their soldier sons. Unlike the private benefaction of a single soldier's memorial, the decision on the form and placement of a communal commemoration was usually taken collectively. The majority of these parish or community memorials were not installed until the 1920s, as time was needed to establish a comprehensive list of men and

women to be commemorated and to raise the necessary funds. A high level of public interest encouraged donations within and beyond the church that paralleled the publicly funded obelisks and stone soldiers, thus ensuring a worthy memorial for the district.

One of the simplest and most popular forms of memorial was the honour roll. In a mark of respect to the parishioners who enlisted, many parish churches unfurled temporary rolls of honour early in the war, which were updated as more men joined the fight. Permanent honour rolls were sometimes marble, or simulated marble, or carved from timber, to which additional names could be added reasonably easily.³⁰ A small number of churches chose a stained-glass memorial honour roll, which ranged from modest lists of servicemen to multi-light windows with figures, scenes and emblems. Christian emblems and symbols were acceptable inclusions, often placed in conjunction with those ubiquitous patriotic symbols of Empire, the Union Jack and Australian flag. The format of a simple, non-figurative scroll of names suited the Nonconformist churches, particularly the Methodists, where figurative windows were rarely seen prior to World War II. Four-light windows for the narthex of the Lydiard Street, Ballarat, Wesleyan Church incorporated more than 250 names of men from the Sunday school and congregation in an egalitarian expression of the church's (and city's) loss and determination to remember.³¹ In the nave, another four-light window, *Peace, Honour and Victory*, designed by local artist Amalie Field, paid tribute to the same men, listing the principal battle sites of the war but naming only those who died.³²

Some remote localities were especially hard hit by loss of their young men. Broughton, a rural centre on the edge of the Big Desert in Western Victoria, was a patriotic stronghold that proudly farewelled its few dozen enlisted men, and worked throughout the war to support their troops, the Belgian Relief Fund, the Red Cross, the 'Yes' vote for conscription and, later, for repatriated soldiers. Five who did not return were commemorated in the tiny timber Methodist church with a modest honour roll window above the west door. Despite its small size it was filled with meaningful symbolism – the crossed flags of Britain and Australia, the Crown of Victory, and the text, 'Faithful Unto Death' – with the men's names listed above the text.³³

As the most significant liturgical position, the east window in the Catholic and Anglo-Catholic tradition was commonly reserved for images of the pivotal event of Christ's earthly life, the Crucifixion, or the Ascension. At St Columb's Anglican Church, Hawthorn, the important east window was purposely chosen as the position for their soldiers' memorial.³⁴ Montgomery's interpretation of the Crucifixion was selected as the principal scene, flanked by



Left: Brooks, Robinson & Co. (attributed), *Faithful unto death* (n.d.), former Methodist Church, Broughton, Victoria.

Right: William Montgomery, *Sir Galahad* (1920), Clarence D Wells Daly memorial, Adamson Hall, Wesley College, Prahran, Victoria. Photographs by the author

other events from the life of Christ to symbolically express the characteristics of the ideal soldier – duty, service, sacrifice and victory.³⁵ The selection of the Crucifixion, a previously unacceptable ‘low church’ subject, was indicative of a loosening of the tightly bound divisions within Anglican liturgical practice.³⁶ Montgomery’s design represented ‘duty’ in the scene *Christ found in the temple by His parents*, who express their wonder at his remark ‘I must be about my Father’s business’; ‘service’ was depicted by the scene *Christ washing the feet of His disciples*; and, not surprisingly, ‘sacrifice’ and ‘victory’, were depicted by Christ’s *Crucifixion* and *Ascension*. Therefore, in the context of the Anglican Church, ‘victory’ promised triumph over death and a life in the hereafter, rather than referring to any ‘victory’ at the scene of battle as envisaged by the grand monuments in France. The life of Christ was faithfully represented through traditional iconography, however, by focusing on the bereaved through the prominent placement of grieving figures, those whom Christ left behind were acknowledged and, by design, this also implied and acknowledged the families and friends left mourning for their departed fighting men, without any overt reference to the military.

An emerging conjunction of religious and military symbolism was confirmed with the unveiling of the window by Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Chauvel on 14 November 1920, the Sunday after Armistice Day’s second

anniversary. Chauvel was a highly respected soldier who had taken a decisive role at Gallipoli and commanded the Australian Light Horse in Egypt. At the time of the unveiling, he was chief of the general staff and in great demand for public memorial unveilings across Victoria.³⁷ Chauvel's military suitability was accompanied by a devout Anglicanism, making him an ideal choice for the role. The service began with the national anthem ('God save the King') and included several hymns, an address by the Rev DM Deasey, a former chaplain to the AIF, and another by Chauvel before he performed the unveiling of the window 'to ... the Soldiers of this Church who died in The Great War'.³⁸ After the dedication, the ceremony finished with a rendition of Handel's 'Hallelujah chorus', the Benediction and the last post, completing the interweaving of religion and military interests in a common cause, in the same way as did the window itself.

At Holy Advent Anglican Church, Armadale, the east window was the chosen location for another significant soldiers' memorial. Here, however, greater attention was paid to the military aspects of commemoration. First mooted in 1920, the five-light memorial was not unveiled until March 1923, after extensive fundraising and alterations to the building to accommodate the large window.³⁹ After a lengthy period of discussion and deliberation, the three central lights were to be filled with *The second Advent*; the outer lights, *Abraham sacrificing Isaac* and *St John rebuking King Herod*, formed appropriate support through Old and New Testament precursors of the coming of the Lord. Joshua with warrior saints St Michael, St George and St Alban, were set into the complex tracery above, as well as the monogram for Christ, IHS, and Alpha and Omega, symbols of the beginning and the end. Carefully placed side by side above the figure of Christ in the central tracery were the earthly and heavenly motifs of sacrifice and victory; the cross and crown of thorns and the sword and laurel wreath. Universally recognised as a symbol of the heroic Australian soldier, the badge of the Australian Commonwealth Military Forces was incorporated into church windows from 1919, usually towards the base of the window, close to an appropriate inscription. At Holy Advent, the importance of the military aspect of the memorial was emphasised by its insertion at the apex of the arch, above the warrior saints and the Christian message of the main design. It also argues an increasing acceptance of non-Christian symbolism for commemorative purposes throughout the 1920s.

Images of Christian warrior saints were now being joined by legendary knights and heroes. Sir Galahad, the chivalrous knight of the Round Table who was destined to see the Holy Grail, was rejected as unsuitable for the chapel at Geelong Grammar when first suggested in 1918. The appeal of Sir Galahad

as a role model for the boys was apparent, but strayed further than any other acceptable subject into the legendary and secular domain, departing entirely from the cycle of religious subjects that had been planned by Rev Brown. Ultimately, the window was installed in a vestry in 1922, a memorial to John Webster, killed in Palestine in September 1918.⁴⁰ William Montgomery closely based his design on GF Watts's well-known painting, *Sir Galahad* (1862), capturing the same shining face of the youthful knight in his glass painting.

Watts's *Sir Galahad* became a moderately popular figure for stained glass, and Montgomery completed two other windows on the Galahad theme that were commissioned by LA Adamson, headmaster of Wesley College, Prahran, on behalf of families who, like Mrs Webster at Geelong, lost sons in the latter stages of the war.⁴¹ At St John's Anglican Church, Camperdown, the kneeling figure of Sir Galahad was interpreted from John Pettie's painting *The vigil* (1884).⁴²

The secularisation of church stained glass was a gradual transition and, while orders continued for St Michael and St George, there was also a shift from the hero, embodied in religious or even the legendary form of Sir Galahad, to representations of the Australian soldier, an image that had been accepted as appropriate for public monuments since the Boer War and accepted in stone from 1915 onwards.⁴³

The soldier in stained glass did not appear until 1920, more frequently in non-religious settings such as returned servicemen's clubs, council chambers and public halls, where the association of stained glass with religious settings, imparted a certain gravitas to the memorial. In Melbourne, Brooks, Robinson & Co. was commissioned for a three-light soldiers' memorial window for the examination hall of the Melbourne Teachers' College, Carlton.⁴⁴ In emulation of the public monument and church honour roll, the names of the college men who volunteered, and those who made the 'supreme sacrifice', were incorporated in the two outer lights.⁴⁵ Between them was the imposing figure of the tanned, robust Anzac standing before the Australian flag, (although at first glance it appears to be the Union Jack) and, with the AIF insignia of the rising sun behind, which suggested his status as a secular saint.⁴⁶ Initially the window's designer, William Wheildon, thought that the central figure should follow a conventional representation, possibly in the form of a medieval knight or a Roman soldier, but he was finally convinced that the Australian soldier could equally express the ideal of courage.⁴⁷ The cartoon for the figure was drawn by George H Dancey who captured, according to one in the audience at the dedication, 'a wonderful combination of tenderness and strength, of repugnance for war and heroism in it'.⁴⁸ Unfettered by the constraints of

a church setting, the image was conceived as the heroic Anzac, representing the debacle of Gallipoli as a great event in our nationhood.

In the same year, the Australian digger appeared in a religious setting for the first time when Barkly Street Methodist Church, Ballarat, commissioned *The call, victory and the peace*, which depicted a mourning 'digger'. For figurative stained glass to appear in a country Methodist church was highly unusual; for the congregation to choose a uniformed soldier, head bowed at the grave's cross, with crossed swords placed on the turned earth argues a parish that was powerfully aware of war's human sacrifice.⁴⁹ Unlike the figure of a saint, this, the human face of war embodied in a sorrowing soldier, was an acceptable image that portrayed the grief of the congregation. Thus the Methodist experience had parallels with the changing climate of Anglican church commemoration, and reflected, also, a gradual move towards secularisation of Australian society.

William Montgomery took up a similar theme for a new Soldier's Memorial Chapel at St George's Anglican Church, Malvern.⁵⁰ At the ceremony of dedication in 1923, Melbourne's Archbishop Harrington Lees spoke to the text, 'We passed through fire, and through water', which he applied to the ordeal of war, and the ultimate triumph over death, 'thanks to God'.⁵¹ Over the next few years, the Rev Josiah Tyssen, who was continuing an iconographical cycle based on the history of the church in Britain, would commission three windows for the new memorial chapel. Predictably, the first chapel window continued the conjunction of God and Empire through a representation of the church's patron saint *St George* (1924), pictured with the text 'Fight the good fight'. Nearly two years later, in a radical departure from Tyssen's established iconography at St George's, Montgomery was commissioned to create an Anzac window for the central opening above the altar.⁵²

The design was based on an academic painting *The great sacrifice* by James Clark, which appeared in the special 1914 Christmas supplement of the London illustrated journal, *The Graphic*. The image of a British soldier lying in a French field beneath a vision of the crucified Christ found a responsive audience and *The Graphic* immediately reproduced the image in full colour and in variously priced offprint editions for its readers.⁵³ By July 1915, as yet another edition was arranged to meet demand, *The Graphic* was moved to say that '[n]o picture of modern times has so stirred the imagination and aroused the conscience of the Empire' and reported with pride that Her Majesty Queen Mary was so impressed by the picture that she had purchased the original, while Queen Alexandra had bought a replica.⁵⁴ *The great sacrifice* was also reproduced locally in the Anglican and Catholic church press. St Peter's Anglican Church,

East Melbourne, included a full page reproduction of the painting in the parish paper, *Ecclesia*, and, in the Catholic *Advocate*, the same image was used to illustrate a sermon by the Very Rev WJ Lockington SJ, which he delivered to an estimated 10,000 people gathered for a requiem mass for fallen soldiers at St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, in May 1916.⁵⁵ The Empire was no less backward than Britain in acquiring copies and a facsimile composition in oils, was presented to St George's Church, Malvern in 1920.⁵⁶

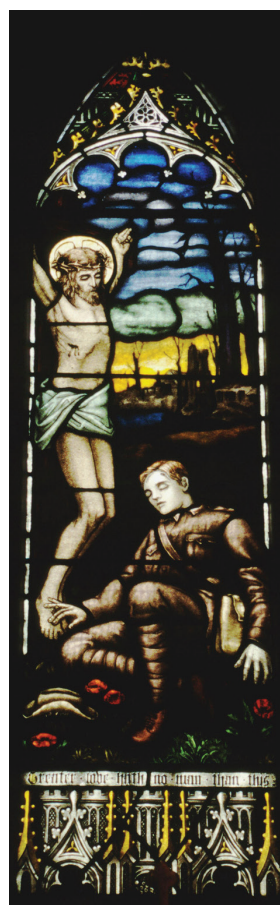
It was from this model that William Montgomery prepared his design, adapting the iconography, size and shape to suit an Australian audience. Notes in the margin of an early sketch show clearly a decision to replace the English uniform in the painting with that of the AIF, and to leave the Australian's head bare, with the battered 'Aussie' slouch hat on the ground beneath the cross.⁵⁷ The words of *The Graphic's* original caption – 'Greater love hath no man ...' – were replaced with the single acronym, 'ANZAC', although this decision was later reversed and the Biblical text reinstated.

The window was not a wholly resolved conversion from easel painting into glass painting, but Montgomery transformed it into an empathetic image for the congregation while retaining the essential 'sacrifice' message of the original; as *The Graphic* expounded dramatically: 'Saviour and soldier alike laid life on the altar of sacrifice'.⁵⁸ Despite the plain Christian message, this is the solemn human face of war, quite removed from the heroic figures of St George, St Michael or Sir Galahad.

Conclusion

The earliest World War I commemorative stained glass continued the accepted iconography of the church and precedent set by nineteenth-century commemoration. Families, friends and communities were, to some extent, able to cope with their losses through images of heroic warrior saints, selfless martyrs and familiar Biblical allegories. By the early 1920s, the myth of Anzac began to replace the raw personal memory of bereavement and the appearance of the Australian soldier in early 1920s stained glass coincided with a growing consciousness of Gallipoli as Australia's defining moment of nationhood; the formal introduction of Anzac Day as a national day of commemoration (and a public holiday), state by state, after 1923; and a gradual loosening of denominational traditions. Stained glass inevitably took human shape and the Anzac digger joined the lexicon of acceptable memorial subjects.

Fewer public memorials were erected after 1925 and, by 1930, time and the looming Depression slowed the commissioning of private memorials in stained glass to a mere trickle.⁵⁹ As the Australian 'victory' monument at



William Montgomery, *Anzac/Greater love hath no man* (1926), St George's Anglican, Malvern, Victoria, and preparatory sketch (c. 1926). Sketch from William Montgomery Collection State Library of Victoria. Photograph (right) by Vlad Bunyevich

Villers-Bretonneux was at last nearing completion in the late 1930s, a new war loomed and a new generation of young men and women was soon to be commemorated. The religious subjects of the past continued, however the soldier was joined by the sailor, the army nurse and increasingly, by the airman.

The Australian War Memorial too, conceived during World War I, was nearing completion as Australians again went to war in 1939. At its spiritual heart is the Hall of Memory, a non-religious space in which stained glass provides the ultimate commemoration of World War I. The artist, Mervyn Napier Waller incorporated 15 larger-than-life figures to represent the finest attributes of the Australian servicemen, such as chivalry, loyalty, audacity and endurance – and the one nurse, with the appropriate attribute devotion. Duty, service and sacrifice, attributes of the past were not included but simply implied and there is no suggestion of 'victory' in this space, just an understanding of the cost in human life and a never-diminishing need for remembrance.