On 11 November 1918 the guns fell silent on the Western Front. Four hundred thousand Australian men and women, and several thousand British and French wives and children, now had to be brought back to Australia.

1. Look at the quotation above. What is it saying about the nation, and the returning servicemen and women of the AIF and the Royal Australian Navy?

Now look at these two cartoons about returned servicemen:

From this — 1919                                    To this — 1921

2. What does each cartoon show?
3. What is the meaning or message of each cartoon?
4. Put together, what do the cartoons suggest happened with returned soldiers during the 1920s?
5. Do you think the nation owed anything to these men and women? Why?
5. Is the idea suggested in the two cartoons accurate and fair?
It is these questions that you will be able to explore in this unit: what happened to the men and women who fought for Australia in the Great War? And how were they looked after, not only by the nation, but also by the new organisation that later became known as the Returned Services League (RSL)?

This issue of a nation’s responsibility for its warriors is not only a question from the remote past — it is one that must be asked and answered whenever the nation’s men and women engage in war or peace, whether in World War 1, World War 2, Korea, Vietnam, Iraq today, or our peacekeeping involvement over the last 60 years. It is a question for which you need to develop your own answer.

**CURRICULUM GUIDE**

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<th>ACT</th>
<th>NSW</th>
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<th>QLD</th>
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<th>WA</th>
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<td>Skills development — evidence, critical thinking, empathy, communication</td>
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2006

2006 is the 90th anniversary of the formation of what is today the Returned & Services League of Australia (RSL).

It began in 1916 as the Returned Sailors’ & Soldiers’ Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA), out of a meeting of digger organisations in each of the states. Its aim was to provide support for a group of men and women who had shared a special experience, but right from the start part of its activities were for the good of the community, as well as the good of the servicemen and women and their families.

**During 2006 a major curriculum program will be developed for secondary schools, so that students:**

- Have the opportunity to study the history and contribution of the League in appropriate areas of the secondary school curriculum e.g. SOSE, History, English and Civics and Citizenship
- Understand and appreciate the history and impact of the League
- Draw inspiration from the League and its community leaders through the years
- Have the opportunity to acknowledge and showcase in appropriate ways the contribution and impact of the League across many areas of society.

**The program will comprise three main elements:**

- **Curriculum units** published in the STUDIES education magazine in March, June and September.
- **A national education website** — *Serving the Nation in War and Peace*, which will be an enduring resource for many years to come
- **A special anniversary CD-ROM** — *Serving the Nation in War and Peace*, which will contain key sections and activities from the website providing a more classroom-friendly medium. This will be sent to schools with STUDIES 2/2006 in June.

The sequence of investigation is:

**Investigation 1** Using evidence to explore what happened to the returned soldiers in the 1920s:
- Jobs
- National identity and image
- Health and well-being
- Soldier settlement
- Social harmony and divisions

**Investigation 2** Creating a returned servicemen’s organisation

**Investigation 3** Observing and analysing ANZAC Day
Imagine that a war has just finished, and that several hundred thousand young men and some women will soon return to Australia. Brainstorm to suggest some of the issues that will have to be addressed.

This is in fact what happened in Australia after 1918 — the return of about 400,000 soldiers, and some nurses, to start to live normal lives after years of war.

**Your task** is to look at the evidence on the following pages of what happened to these people in the 1920s, and to make a judgement about how well this major task was achieved. You should summarise the evidence about each of the aspects listed in this table. You might look at all the evidence individually, or you might allocate specific headings and associated evidence to class groups, with each group reporting back to the whole class so that every class member can complete the whole table.

When you have reported to the class and received other groups' reports, use your summary of evidence to decide your answers to these questions:

- Did Australia pay its ‘debt of honour’ to the returned servicemen and women in the 1920s?
- Did returned servicemen and women fit back into society?
- Did they contribute to a positive national identity?
- Did they see themselves as separate and special?
- Did they create unity, or division in society?

Use an Evidence Summary Grid like the one below to bring together your findings.

### Evidence summary grid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect:</th>
<th>What the evidence tells us about this experience</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jobs</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Did the returning soldiers find jobs?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Did the returning soldiers influence Australian identity?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Health and well-being</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Did the returning soldiers suffer continuing poor health?</td>
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<td><strong>Soldier Settlement</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Did the soldier settlement scheme work?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Social harmony and divisions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did the returning soldiers fit in well into society?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Look at this set of evidence on returning servicemen and jobs in the 1920s, answer the questions, then prepare your presentation to the class.

**Source 1**

**Cartoon – That Promise**

‘Melbourne women have been invited to enter the hitherto exclusive Chamber of Finance as bank clerks.’

News item.

‘Many returned soldiers complain that the promise of employers to keep their jobs open has been broken.’

News item.

1. Who are the three people shown?
2. What do you think is the significance of the wage being paid to the female clerk?
3. Who does the cartoonist want you to sympathise with? How can you tell?
4. What is the meaning or message of the cartoon?
5. This cartoon was produced during the war. How could you test whether this prediction did come true? (Hint – think about some statistics that you might be able to find.)
6. Is this cartoon a good piece of evidence for what happened to diggers? Explain your reasons.

BANKER (to returned soldier): ‘Yes, yes, possibly I DID say something about keeping your position vacant, but it has lately been capably filled by a charming young woman (to whom wages are no object); and I feel sure that you, as a soldier, will not be so unchivalrous as to ask me to discharge her to reinstate YOU!’

*The Worker, 10 February 1916*

**Source 2**

We still have a few men with empty sleeves and a leg missing, who have been trained as a lift attendant … Yet twelve lifts in our city are being worked by female attendants. Firms who could — and should — employ the broken man who fought for them.


1. What is the point being made here?
2. This evidence is from the Limbless Soldiers’ Association newsletter. Is it good and reliable evidence to use?
3. Do you think the soldiers should have been given preference in this way? Explain your ideas.
Why did soldiers want their jobs back?

Why would employers not want to give them to returned servicemen?

How might ‘Jack Smith’ reply to Bill Langham?

Is this source good evidence of what happened during the 1920s? Explain your reasons.

[It] was easy for a potential employer to claim, sometimes with justification, that a soldier applicant could not do the job as well as another candidate … Some [employers] respected their wartime promises about returned heroes and were sympathetic about the special needs of the returned men. Others took advantage of the government subsidy for ex-servicemen trainees. But the requirements of business usually came first, and employers were loathe to demote or replace men and women who had proved to be good workers during the war. Bill Langham recalls: ‘… fellows, that I knew, I said, “Did you get your old job back?” They said “No … Jack Smith’s got my job”. [The boss said], “He’s been there since you went away. He didn’t go away to war, he stayed there. But he’s done such a good job, well I can’t very well sack him now”.’

Alistair Thomson, **ANZAC Memories**, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994 page 114

What job is being compared then and now?

What is the message of this illustration?

How has the artist conveyed that message in the illustration?

**Aussie** 15 January 1921

Complete the JOBS part of the table and prepare your presentation to the class on this aspect of the returned soldiers in the 1920s.
This set of evidence looks at image and identity. You should use the evidence to work out your answer to these main questions:

- What image of the Diggers did society have?
- What image did the Diggers have of themselves?
- Did the Diggers influence Australian national identity?
- Is the image of the Diggers a fair one that reflects reality?

**Source 1**

**A speech for Peace Day 1919 by General White**

Australia rides safely in harbor to-day, a new nation.
Five years ago the world barely knew her.
To-day, the men who went to fight for her have placed her high in the world’s regard ... She has been given a place in the conference of nations; the great world has recognised her right to mould her future as she pleases.


1. What have the Diggers done for Australia during the war?
2. How might the Diggers feel about this?
3. What will be needed for this image or identity to continue after the war?

**Source 2**

In his study of a battalion Dale Blair says that there was a public image of the digger – as Crusader, Knight, Warrior. Key qualities were individualism, courage and self-help.


1. What does a ‘public’ image mean?
2. Why might people of a nation want a public image?

**Source 3**

Some commercial images of the Digger:


1. What are the elements of these images — for example are they critical? Do they create positive reactions in the viewer?
2. Why would a commercial manufacturer use images of the Digger?
3. How might such images be part of the ‘public’ image of the Digger?
The qualities of egalitarianism, initiative and resourcefulness underpinned much of the immediate post-war ... portrayals of the ‘digger’ ... However, the personal post-war struggles of returned soldiers ... are at odds with the warrior image of the past and present; ... ill-health, permanent incapacity, alcoholism, unemployment and severe depression — sometimes culminating in suicide — were conditions that characterised some of the lives of returned ... men. ... Many men and their families would endure the mental and physical debilities that invaded their lives — silently and stoically. In presenting an uncomplaining face to the world they, perhaps unconsciously, supported the quality of endurance advanced through the emerging ‘digger’ stereotype. It was ironic that the ceremonial tradition of the ANZAC legend, through its powerful and symbolic celebration of the ‘digger’ and Empire loyalty, effectively muted the voices of dissent and veiled the many individual sufferings and unpleasant memories of returned ... soldiers and their families.


1. What does Blair say are the ‘private’ realities of the Diggers?
2. In what way do these not fit the public image?
3. Why would people generally not emphasise these private realities when considering the Digger image?
4. Do you think they should? Explain your reasons.

The comradeship of war, was lost in peace. Men who lived together as brothers, sharing every danger and privation, drifted apart in peace. Those two factors, ‘women’ and ‘possessions’, which only occupy the background in war, came in between friends. Men took wives ... [or] accumulated possessions, and in the end, though they would have shared their last crust in war, they mentally ranged themselves, like all others with some prize, against the rest of the world, lest someone should rob them of it.

The Peace following a War is worse than the War.


1. What elements of the ANZAC image does this evidence challenge?
2. It is only one person’s view. How do you decide if it is good evidence or not? Explain your approach.

1. List words that describe the images.
2. Are these positive words?
3. In one sentence summarise how you think the Diggers see themselves.
Read the sources and then answer the questions that follow.

**Source 1**

Oh well, the dreams I had were dreams of being shelled, you know, lying in a trench ... and being shot at with shells. And being frightened, scared stiff ... you don’t know when the next shell that is coming is going to blow you to pieces or leave you crippled in such a way that it’d be better if you had been blown to pieces ... I didn’t realise it at the time ... but I had neurosis, that was not recognised in those days, so we just had it. You put up with it. And that developed an inferiority complex ... Well, I had reached a stage with it where ... when I wanted to speak I’d get that way that I couldn’t talk. I would stammer and stutter and it seemed that inside me everything had got into a knot, and that went on for years and years and years.

Interview with Fred Farrall in ANZAC Memories, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994 page 168

**Source 2**

After return from Active Service I had 12 months’ holiday because I felt unable to work, really a general depression after 4½ years’ continual strain; I have hardly had a good night’s sound sleep since my return.

Sister Ella Tucker, application for a war pension in 1920 in Jan Bassett, Guns and Brooches, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992 page 99

**Source 3**

I have not been well since demobilization, having contracted Pneumonic Influenza whilst nursing troops (voluntarily) ... & have been in indifferent health since ... My Husband is an Anzac ... He is partially incapacitated receiving a small pension ... Returning to Australia we found things very changed & the continual ill health of my Husband & myself has drained our slender resources.

Sister Winifred Smith, applying for a pension in 1924, in Jan Bassett, Guns and Brooches, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992 page 153

**Source 4**

[A] hidden in homes all over Australia were men who had gone to World War 1 and who were never the same again. For most the disabilities were physical, but there were plenty who were by turn remote or morose or who shouted all the time. For the worst affected, family life became punctuated by sudden rages, drinking bouts and black depressions, but even for the most stable, there was always a shadow: ‘My father was in both wars. I didn’t think they had any effect on him until I sat with him in his last illness. He cried for his friends in the trenches at Gallipoli and told of his fears. I realized as children we had only been told the funny bits.’

Janet McCalman, Journeyings, Melbourne University Press, 1993 pages 80-81

**Source 5**

A survey in 1990 of elderly people from four private schools in Melbourne in the 1920s and 1930s asked if their fathers had suffered any lasting disabilities from the war. The answers were that more than 50 per cent had done so.

Janet McCalman, Journeyings, Melbourne University Press, 1993 page 80

1. There are several war-related injuries and illnesses mentioned in the documents. List these.
2. There are some effects of the war that are described as ‘hidden’. What does this mean?
3. All the evidence above emphasises damage to people — yet one document says that only 50% of returned soldiers were ill or injured. Should we accept this figure? Explain your reasons.
4. Why would history books stress the damage rather than those who were apparently undamaged?

Complete the HEALTH AND WELLBEING part of the table and prepare your presentation to the class on this aspect of the returned soldiers in the 1920s.
By 1929 many of these farms had failed. Justice Pike led a government inquiry, and came up with several reasons for these failures. Look at them, and explain why each would contribute to a farm’s failure:

**Soldier settlement**

During the 1920s a system of ‘soldier settlement’ was set up. Land was set aside in every state specifically for returned soldiers to farm. They were provided with low-interest loans to buy the land, building supplies for the farmhouse, shed and fences, and to buy stock and farming equipment. They were to pay off the loans after they had become established and started selling their produce.

**Source 1**

Location of soldier settlement areas

JCR Camm and John McQuilton (eds), Australians. A Historical Atlas, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987 page 84

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1. By 1929 many of these farms had failed. Justice Pike led a government inquiry, and came up with several reasons for these failures. Look at them, and explain why each would contribute to a farm’s failure:
Some reasons given by Justice Pike for the failure of soldier settlements | Why these would contribute to failure
--- | ---
Not enough capital | 
Prices paid for land and equipment were too high | 
Soldiers were allowed to borrow too much to get started: 100% of the costs | 
Some soldiers had a bad attitude to farming | 
Some soldiers were too war-damaged | 
Many farms had higher debt repayments than income | 
Many soldiers were not trained farmers | 
During the decade the price for primary products dropped | 
Many farms were too small | 
Many of the crops grown were unsuitable, or had no market for them |
**Social harmony and divisions**

In this set of evidence you investigate how well returned soldiers fitted back into society. Could they easily resume their normal pre-war lives? How did people who did not go to the war respond to them? Would the returned soldiers show leadership and make contributions to their society? Would their return cause harmony or disruption?

**Source 1**

*The Wounded Man Speaks*

I left an ear in a dug-out  
When a shell hit made us dance  
And at Belleau Wood where mixing was good  
I gave up a mitt for France …  
They certainly spoiled my beauty  
And my leg is a twisted curse  
They bust me up like a mangled pup  
But — THEY DID NOT BUST MY NERVE  
And no pussy-footing sissy  
Shall grab my one good hand …  
Just to make himself feel grand  
For I’m damned if I’ll be a hero  
And I ain’t a helpless slob  
After what I’ve stood, what is left is good  
And all I want is — A JOB.


1. What is the attitude of this man?  
2. What attitude does he not want people to have towards him?  
3. Do you think this man is likely to be successful in post-war society? Explain your reasons.

**Source 2**

*A young man remembers*

I was born in 1913 and some of my boy and girl friends are thoroughly sick of war pictures, and especially sick of anything relating to Australian soldiers … We see nothing to interest us in these plays and talkies. What we actually see every day till they have got on our nerves are crippled, blind and battered wrecks, with brass badges on, begging in the streets, howling about pension reductions, while their women and children are in dire straits, so if there was ever any honor and glory in the wretched business, it vanished before I grew up … the general opinion among fellows like myself is that Australians were very foolish to let themselves be lured into going … none of my friends like returned soldiers.


1. What is this person’s attitude?  
2. Why does he have this attitude to returned soldiers?

**Source 3**

*Community action in Footscray, Victoria*

There had been a period of initial uncertainty about returning soldiers. Open embarrassment and even disgust was expressed with drunken and dissolute returned soldiers whose street and domestic behaviour brought them before the courts. In Footscray, as elsewhere, ‘the soldier problem’ was answered by repatriation committees which developed under middle class leadership from citizens’ war-time Patriotic, Red Cross and Wounded Soldiers’ organisations … By 1922 [in Footscray] there were ‘not a very large number of local diggers out of work’.


1. How did this community respond to the situation?

**Source 4**

During the decade several Australian ex-soldiers, who had been in the Royal Flying Corps during the war, set international air records. In 1919 Captain Ross Smith was the first man to fly direct from London to Darwin; in 1928 Captain Charles Kingsford Smith made the first flight from San Francisco to Brisbane.

The greatest achievement of the decade, the development of Victoria’s coal resources, was driven by Australia’s foremost wartime General, John Monash.

Returned nurses who held senior positions in training and other hospitals influenced many of the young nurses who put their names down for World War 2.

1. How have these returned soldiers and nurses contributed to Australian society?
**Source 5**

**The death of Rollo Somerset**

Rollo Somerset ended his life when he climbed on top of a pile of brushwood, set it alight, and then shot himself. A friend wrote:

‘Rollo’s death by suicide was the fifth of a series of tragic similar endings which had occurred to men of whom I had grown fond of as fellow officers … In all cases they had been unable to adjust themselves to a normal existence and a normal married life after the extraordinary mixture of stress, despondency, boredom and licence which had become part of their lives for four or five years of their early manhood. No one who has passed through that same experience could blame them. They were good fellows and fine men, some of whom had shown themselves to have tremendous character; yet life in the humdrum pattern of daily affairs was just too much for them to tackle for long, and at five, ten, fifteen, twenty years the tendons of tolerance had snapped, and they had sought what is oft called the coward’s way out. But is it? What right has anyone to make such an accusation unless he has had an exactly parallel experience of life?’

Quoted in Dale Blair, *Dinkum Diggers*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001 pages 180-1

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1. Why do you think Rollo struggled to fit back into society?

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**Source 6**

If we take a random sample of [World War 1 veterans’ files] … it is clear that they suffered higher rates of employment disruption, suicide, vagrancy and marital instability than ordinary Australians … It is only to be expected that men with chronic injuries, ill health, and, sometimes, mental instability should also suffer social and psychological problems. Moreover, these afflictions placed a disproportionate burden on families, leading in some instances to divorce and separation … But [this] also needs to be seen in context. If [the sample] represented about one-fifth of returned men … what of the majority? They … for all intents and purposes did merge ‘quickly and quietly’ into the population. Some, even those who witnessed combat, saw their experience in a positive light. For them, war meant a rapid transition to manhood … and a growing confidence in their skills and abilities.

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1. How well does this suggest returned men fitted back into society?

**Source 7**

**A veteran remembers**

I am a soldier teacher who spent four years on active service, and now suffer from an eye injury, received ‘over there’. I receive a pension, which is gradually being cut down … Must I compete with slackers, &c, who are sound in body and limb? If so, then there is little hope for me, as my injury prevents me from studying for further scholarship which is necessary for promotion. I have a wife and two children to support, and hope that our country will not forget the promises made to the diggers, whose motto was at all times—‘Country first, self last’.

Quoted in Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1974, page 274

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1. How well did this man fit back into society? Why?
One of the main developments affecting returned soldiers after World War 1 was the development of a soldiers’ organisation — known today as the Returned & Services League, or RSL.

Imagine that it is 1916 and you have been asked to advise the newly-formed RSL what it should concentrate its activities on.

Here is a list of possible emphases. You may add more to it if you wish. Look at each aspect, discuss it and then briefly summarise arguments for and against focusing the activities of the new organisation on this aspect. At the end, make your choices, and then look at what this organisation actually did.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects that you might focus on or try to influence</th>
<th>Possible reasons for</th>
<th>Possible reasons against</th>
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<tr>
<td>Providing comradeship</td>
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<td>Health benefits</td>
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<td>Welfare benefits</td>
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<td>Job creation and preference</td>
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<td>Influencing political parties</td>
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<td>National commemoration</td>
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<td>Helping widows and families</td>
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<td>Australian defence policy</td>
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<td>Australian immigration policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other —</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Give your organisation a name:

Devise a logo or badge for it, incorporating key symbols and words:

Who can be a member?

Create a motto:
2. Now look at the RSL’s original aims taken from its charter, and decide from the evidence you have looked at if they seem to have achieved these during the 1920s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original aims of the RSL</th>
<th>Were these achieved?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Original name:</strong> The Returned Sailors’ &amp; Soldiers’ Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA)</td>
<td>(Quote evidence to support your answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To perpetuate the close and kindly ties of friendship created by mutual service in the Great War, and the recollections associated with that experience, to maintain a proper standard of dignity and honor among all sailors and soldiers, and to set an example of public spirit and noble-hearted endeavour.</td>
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<tr>
<td>To preserve the memory and records of those who suffered and died for the Nation — to erect monuments to their valor — to provide them with suitable burial places, and establish in their honor an annual commemoration day.</td>
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<tr>
<td>To provide for the sick and wounded and needy among those who have served, and their dependants, including pensions, medical attention, homes and suitable employment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>To inculcate loyalty to Australia and the Empire and secure patriotic service in the interest of both.</td>
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<td>To guard the good name and preserve the interests and standing of returned sailors and soldiers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>To induce members as citizens to serve Australia with that spirit of self-sacrifice and loyalty with which, as sailors and soldiers, they served Australia and the Empire, and to maintain an association non-sectarian and non-partisan, in relation to party politics.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To establish, maintain, furnish, and equip clubs, club rooms, information bureaux, libraries, literary, social, educational and benevolent institutions for the benefit and advancement of members, books, magazines and circulars, and carry on such other literary and journalistic undertakings as may be conducive to these objects.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3. Do you think the RSSILA was a successful organisation in the 1920s? Explain your reasons.

4. Identify each of these elements and explain their symbolism or meaning:
   - The crown
   - The two figures
   - The name
   - The flower on each side of the top of the shield
   - The shield shape.

5. The motto of the RSSILA was ‘The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.’ What does that mean?

6. Why would a returned services organisation have such a motto?

7. What does this motto suggest about the organisation’s attitude towards its role in Australian civic life?

**Conclusion**

Taking into account all the evidence you have looked at, complete this statement:

*During the 1920s the returned servicemen and women:*
Investigation 3
Observing and analysing ANZAC Day

The Returned & Services League of Australia

One of the key policies of the RSSILA was to have 25 April accepted as a national day. This was achieved in 1925.

Look at this information from an RSSILA history:

**ANZAC Day, 1915, was ... in reality, the birthday of the Australian nation ...**

The League ... came to the definite conclusion that, from the point of view of national development, the day and the circumstances surrounding it was too valuable an asset to be treated other than in an arresting and comprehensive manner.

It further took the view that Armistice Day is the one day of the year on which all those who lost their lives are publicly remembered and mourned.

It contended that, although ANZAC Day is undoubtedly associated with loss of life and sacrifice, yet it also connotes the irresistible entry of Australia among the nations of the world — an entrance welcomed with admiration by other great nations, and sanctified by the lives of those who made the great sacrifice.

The League, therefore, felt sure that the women of Australia, who, it had been stated, would wish to spend the day in mourning, would, in fact, prefer it to be looked upon as a national day of remembrance and pride, as they had already shown by their attitude and accomplishments in the past that their pride would rise superior to their grief.


1. Why would the RSSILA want to have ANZAC Day accepted as a national day for Australia?
2. What sort of activities would be appropriate on that day?

**What is the meaning and ‘shape’ of a modern ANZAC Day?**

3. A research task is to observe what happens on ANZAC Day nationally and/or at a state or territory level in your local area. Record your information on a page like the one on the next page, and decide on your answers to the next questions.
5. Are there changes that you think could be made to ANZAC Day? Explain your answer.
6. What does ANZAC Day mean to you?
### Investigating ANZAC Day

You can find excellent resources for creating an ANZAC Day ceremony at [www.anzacday.org.au](http://www.anzacday.org.au)

Look out for more curriculum resources about the place of the RSL in Australian history and society being sent free of charge to your school in this the 90th anniversary year.

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<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Your Observations</th>
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<td>People’s attitudes</td>
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