

## **In search of Lone Pine: the battle for the diorama**

by Shaun Mawdsley

For many people, the First World War conjures images of suffering, death, and wastage, often of soldiers rushing the enemy front line only to die in their hundreds for gains measured in metres. For Australians, few battles have left their mark so indelibly as Lone Pine during the Gallipoli campaign of 1915. At 5 pm on 6 August 1915, three infantry battalions of New South Welshmen rushed the Turkish front-line atop Plateau 400. The battle lasted a mere four days but resulted in 2,277 Australian and around 6,000 Turkish casualties strewn over an area about two football fields in size. No less than seven Victoria Crosses were awarded for actions at Lone Pine. Never before had Australia suffered such a large number of casualties over so short a period of time.

The battle of Lone Pine was eventually memorialised in a diorama created by the artists Wallace W. Anderson and Louis McCubbin. First displayed to the public in 1927, the diorama remains a unique depiction of events from the battle. Since the opening of the Australian War Memorial in November 1941, the Lone Pine diorama has never been removed from the galleries. But it has never been examined in any depth. Over the last few years new light has been shed on the Memorial's Great War dioramas and its Gallipoli collection in particular.<sup>1</sup> But questions remain over the selection and depiction of Lone Pine as a diorama. Why and how was it selected as the subject of a diorama? What is the relationship between the narratives of the battle and what is depicted? And, as the memory of the Great War has evolved over the years, how have public responses to the Lone Pine diorama changed? This paper seeks to answer those questions. It will identify the process behind the construction of the diorama in the years following the end of hostilities, as well as the difficulties facing the Memorial at that time. The historical memory of the Great War, as

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<sup>1</sup> In particular, Laura Back and Laura Webster, *Moments in time: dioramas at the Australian War Memorial* (Canberra: New Holland Publishers, 2008); and Peter Pedersen, *Anzac treasures: the Gallipoli collection of the Australian War Memorial* (Crowns Nest: Murdoch Books, 2014).

perceived by veterans and the public, will be examined as they came to terms with selecting, creating, and then displaying such a traumatic piece of Australian history.

### **Historical context of the battle of Lone Pine**

On 25 April 1915 British, French, Australian, and New Zealand troops conducted an amphibious landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula in the Dardanelles. The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) landed at Ari Burnu (later named Anzac Cove), while British and French forces landed further south at Cape Helles and Kum Kale. This was the first phase in an operation intended to lead to the forcing of the Dardanelles and the besieging of Constantinople, and hopefully the exit of the Ottoman Empire from the war. Unfortunately for the allies, they failed. A quick breakout was prevented when the Turks, along with their German advisers, managed to halt the invaders soon after landing. What was hoped to be a campaign of movement soon deteriorated into positional warfare, similar to that on the Western Front.<sup>2</sup>

In late April and early May, the allies attempted to break this stalemate but met with failure. In turn, the Turks launched a counter-offensive, but they too ran into difficulty and were beaten off without much effort. Both sides then settled in and awaited reinforcements and supplies. During this period of relative inactivity General Sir Ian Hamilton, commanding the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force (MEF), planned one last offensive to break the stalemate in an attempt to resume manoeuvre operations. Set for August 1915, and hence known as the August Offensive, Hamilton intended to capture the high ground around Anzac Cove and force a breakout, while a simultaneous landing by two fresh British divisions 10 kilometres to the north at Suvla Bay would exploit undefended territory.<sup>3</sup> It was the

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<sup>2</sup> *The Oxford companion to military history*, ed. Richard Holmes (Oxfordshire: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 343; Charles E. W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. I, *The story of ANZAC from the outbreak of the war to the end of the first phase of the Gallipoli campaign, May 4, 1915*, 11th ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1941).

<sup>3</sup> David W. Cameron, *The August Offensive at ANZAC, 1915*, Australian Army Campaign Series 10 (Melbourne: Big Sky Publishing, 2011), p. 7.

last opportunity Hamilton had of rescuing the campaign, as the evacuation of the MEF from Gallipoli had already been considered.<sup>4</sup>

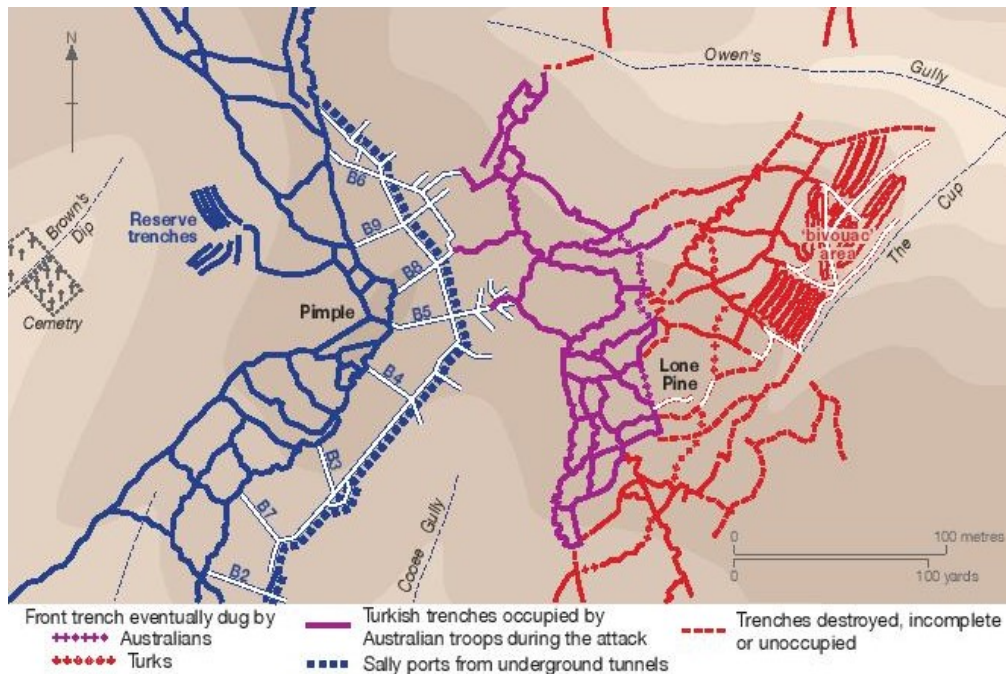
The 1st Australian Division's 1st Infantry Brigade, under Colonel Nevill Maskelyne Smyth VC, was to play a key role in the coming offensive. On 6 August the brigade, positioned along one of the few level terrain features on the peninsula, was to launch a feint against Turkish positions in the sector known as Lone Pine atop Plateau 400. The Brigade's attack was to assist the point of main effort, further to the north, by drawing Turkish reserves away from that sector of the line with a future possibility of further dislocating the main enemy positions on either side of the plateau. All four of the brigade's infantry battalions would be involved. From north to south, the 4th Battalion, 3rd Battalion, and 2nd Battalion were slated for the attack, while the 1st Battalion was held in brigade reserve. One infantry battalion from each of the 1st Australian Division's 2nd and 3rd Brigades would form an additional reserve if needed.<sup>5</sup> Two battered and weary Turkish battalions of the 47th Regiment opposed the Australians. The frontage of attack would be around 200 metres [see map 1].<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen Badsey, "The August Offensive in British Imperial Strategy", in *Gallipoli: a ridge too far*, Ashley Ekins ed. (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2013), p. 57; Cecil Faber Aspinall-Oglander, *Military operations: Gallipoli*, vol. 2 (London: William Heinemann, 1932), pp. 56-57.

<sup>5</sup> Cameron, *The August Offensive at ANZAC*, 1915, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> David W. Cameron, *The battle for Lone Pine: four days of hell at the heart of Gallipoli* (Melbourne: Viking, 2012), pp. 46-47; Stephen Chambers, *Gallipoli: ANZAC - Sari Bair*, Battleground Europe (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2014), p. 29.



**Map 1: Dispositions of Australian and Turkish trenches on 6 August 1915 atop Plateau 400. From top to bottom, the Australian units were as follows: 4th Battalion, 3rd Battalion, and 2nd Battalion, with the 1st Battalion located in Brown's Dip. (Source, Ekins, "Bloody Ridge", *Wartime* 47, p.28).**

The attack was to be launched from a heavily fortified salient called The Pimple.<sup>7</sup> Any assault against entrenched enemy positions was expected to be costly, so an "extravagant preliminary artillery bombardment" was advised.<sup>8</sup> The bombardment began on 4 August and steadily increased over the next two days in an attempt to destroy the enemy wire and overhead cover. This must have brought some relief to the Australian soldiers at the front, as reports had come in that the Turks had been strengthening their lines opposite The Pimple.<sup>9</sup> Preparations were nearing completion and on 5 August copies of the divisional operation and organisation orders were issued to each battalion. This ensured that commanders were informed of the scope and intent of their mission, and the available resources. More importantly, it gave officers a timetable to prepare their troops for movement

<sup>7</sup> In some places distances between the two opposing forces was as little as 55 metres. Charles E. W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918, vol. II, The story of Anzac from 4 May, 1915, to the evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula*, 11th ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1941), p. 497.

<sup>8</sup> War Diary, Appendix: Appreciation of the Situation at ANZAC, 9 July 1915, General Staff, Headquarters 1st Australian Division, AWM4 1/42/7 Part 5. Higher headquarters also believed (incorrectly) that one brigade was sufficient to attack the Turkish positions at Lone Pine.

<sup>9</sup> War Diary, Appendix 1: 1st Australian Division Summary - 6am 1 August to 6am 2 August, General Staff, Headquarters 1st Australian Division, AWM4 1/42/7 Part 3.

up to the front trenches, which was to be completed by 5 pm the next day.<sup>10</sup> In order to provide the infantry with the best chance of success, the assaulting waves were accompanied by engineers, pioneers, machine-gun teams, and stretcher-bearers. The infantry of the assault detachments were lightly equipped, carrying minimal equipment but maximum ammunition (200 rounds per man).<sup>11</sup> On 6 August the troops readied their weapons and attached white pieces of cloth to their arms and back to help observers monitor the advance. At 2.30 pm the artillery increased its fire on the Turkish trenches before lifting at 5.30 pm, when men of the 1st Infantry Brigade went over the top.<sup>12</sup> Most troops had around 95 metres to cross before reaching the Turkish positions, yet this was of no consolation and casualties occurred almost from the moment the Australians left their trenches.<sup>13</sup> Many soldiers hoped to use the cover afforded by the Turkish trenches, but when they reached the first Turkish firing line they discovered that in many instances their way was barred by heavy pine logs arrayed across parts of the trench.

At least one eye-witness account has it that a few foolhardy troops attempted to lift, or smash their way through, the logs to the trenches below.<sup>14</sup> The majority of Australians, however, advanced past the first firing line and entered the Turkish positions further to the rear, where there was no overhead cover to impede their entry. While fighting was brutal, and often hand-to-hand, many of the Turkish defenders were caught unawares by the attack and were left stranded in underground galleries. The Australians were content to defend the exits with

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<sup>10</sup> War Diary, Operation Order No. 3, 5 August 1915, 1st Infantry Brigade, AWM4 23/1/8 Part 2.

<sup>11</sup> Every man in the assault groups, excepting officers, carried rifle, bayonet, 1 day's ration, full water bottle, respirator, entrenching tool (minus its carrier), and two empty sandbags. War Diary, Operation Order No. 3, 5 August 1915, 1st Infantry Brigade, AWM4 23/1/8 Part 2.

<sup>12</sup> War Diary, entry 6 August 1915, General Staff, Headquarters 1st Australian Division, AWM4 1/42/7 Part 1. The opening of the barrage proper at 2.30pm also helped to mask the movement of the infantry battalions as they made their way to their attack positions.

<sup>13</sup> In some areas, tunnelling parties had secretly extended the main firing line to within 37 metres of the Turkish front line. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. II, *The story of Anzac*, p. 499.

<sup>14</sup> Lance-Corporal Walter Hugh Anderson's account of Lone Pine found at [www.australiansatwar.gov.au](http://www.australiansatwar.gov.au). Bean dismisses this view by stating that the logs were "far too heavy to remove (by hand)". Though Bean does state that a few men made their way into the Turkish trench through holes in the overhead cover. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. II, *The story of Anzac*, pp. 505-506.

reinforcements and await Turkish capitulation, while other assault groups advanced further into the enemy's defensive network. By 6 pm, the 1st Brigade had reached the limit of advance (generally in line with the attack's objectives) and the men proceeded to barricade their isolated positions from the inevitable Turkish counter-attacks.<sup>15</sup> Pioneers carrying picks and shovels were sent forward and assisted in modifying the Turks' old communication trenches into main lines of resistance. By nightfall on 6 August, all of the 1st Brigade's infantry battalions were committed to defending the Australians' precarious gains at Lone Pine, which centred on a series of 13 outposts.<sup>16</sup>

No respite was had for either side as the Turks launched counter-attacks during the night and early morning, forcing the commitment of half the Australian's divisional reserve (12th Battalion).<sup>17</sup> The battle was costly, and the fighting took its toll on the units, with all three of the assault battalions suffering grievous casualties. For example, the 2nd Battalion (after sustaining casualties nearing 74 per cent of its attacking strength) was relieved on 8 August by the 7th Battalion.<sup>18</sup> Small-scale engagements continued until 12 August, but for the most part the battle was over, as attention turned towards the main allied efforts further north. Despite heavy losses, the attack had been a success; Hamilton described it as "a glory to Australia".<sup>19</sup> Lone Pine was a hollow victory, but a victory nonetheless.

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<sup>15</sup> Ashley Ekins, "Bloody Ridge: The Assault on Lone Pine", *Wartime*, Issue 47, November 2009, pp. 26-27.

<sup>16</sup> At 6.20 pm the 1st Battalion was committed to the line and tasked with consolidating the 1st Brigade's gains. See - 1st Battalion History Committee, *The history of the First Battalion A.I.F. 1914-1919* (Sydney: James J. Lee, 1931), p. 38; Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. II, *The story of Anzac*, p. 563.

<sup>17</sup> Cameron, *The battle for Lone Pine*, pp. 189-90.

<sup>18</sup> Casualties of the other five Australian infantry battalions committed to Lone Pine were as follows: the 1st Battalion suffered 42.2 per cent of its attacking strength; the 3rd Battalion 54.2 per cent; the 4th Battalion 63.9 per cent; the 7th Battalion 51 per cent; and the 12th Battalion 16.4 per cent. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. II, *The story of Anzac*, p. 566. The 2nd Battalion lost upwards of 70 per cent of its officers within the first 24 hours of the attack. Cameron, *The battle For Lone Pine*, p. 321; Ron Austin, *Our dear old battalion: the story of the 7th Battalion, AIF 1914-1919* (Mcrae: Slouch Hat Publications, 2004), pp. 91-93.

<sup>19</sup> General Sir Ian Hamilton's third Gallipoli Despatch, 11 December 1915, in *Gallipoli and the Dardanelles 1915-1916*, eds. John Grehan, and Martin Mace, *Despatches from the front: the commanding officers' reports from the field and at sea* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2014), p. 104

## **The selection of Lone Pine as the subject of a diorama**

Some may be inclined to believe that Lone Pine was selected to be the subject of a diorama as the “best known of the ANZAC August battles, largely because it was successful and seven Victoria Crosses were won there.”<sup>20</sup> However, this does not always correspond to archival evidence. Any investigation of the Lone Pine diorama requires researching the Memorial’s broader Great War modelling scheme, as the Lone Pine model was unique within it, and examining the influence of three key men – Captain (later Major) Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean [image 1], Captain (later Major) John Linton Treloar [image 2], and Lieutenant Wallace William Anderson [image 3] – and their work in the Australian War Records Section (AWRS) and at the Australian War Museum.<sup>21</sup>



**Image 1: Charles Bean, 8 December 1917. (AWM E01430)**

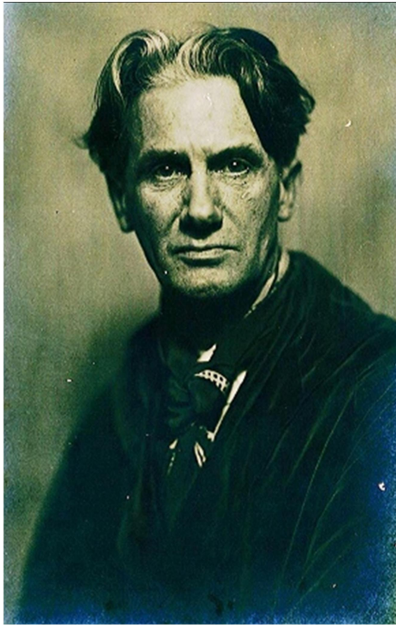
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<sup>20</sup> Peter Burness, “A chain of disasters: the battle of Lone Pine was only part of a series of attacks in August 1915”, *Wartime*, Issue 47, November 2009, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> AWRS and the Australian War Museum were established under Bean’s instigation in 1917, the latter changing its name to the Australian War Memorial in 1923. AWRS was tasked with collecting war records (such as reports, documents, and orders), war trophies, and relics for the future war museum. Michael McKernan, *Here is their spirit: a history of the Australian War Memorial 1917–1990* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1991).



**Image 2: John L. Treloar, circa 1922. (AWM P05149.001)**



**Image 3: Wallace W. Anderson, circa 1930. (Source, Anderson, *Real life portrait*)**

The opening of the new First World War gallery at the Australian War Memorial in 2015 elevated the dioramas (or models, as they were originally called) into centrepieces of the museum section. Somewhat surprisingly, therefore, models were not part of the original plan for a future Australian War Museum (later renamed the Australian War Memorial). Indeed, in an early report to the Minister of Defence, Senator George Pearce, in March 1918, outlining the work and role of



AWRS for the future war museum, the topic of models never arose.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, it was not long before the idea of creating models for the purpose of conveying the conditions of the war to the public was discussed among senior members of the AWRS and Bean, in an attempt to “explain it to your sensibility”.<sup>23</sup> In May 1918, Bean wrote to Treloar (Officer in Charge of the AWRS) and related how he and war artist Bill Dyson had discussed the idea of models. Bean suggested that the construction of models be part of the AWRS’s ongoing historical work. Indeed, he envisaged that the models would become the first of their type, “elevating them into a sort of true art”, as well as an educational instrument.<sup>24</sup> They were to display historical accuracy alongside artistic impression – something which had never been attempted. In reply, Treloar stated that he, too, had discussed the idea with a colleague. However, Bean had clearly “dealt with the subject in greater detail”, Treloar conceded.<sup>25</sup> In the meantime, Bean approached Brigadier General Thomas Henry Dodds, Deputy Adjutant General of the AIF (then attached to 5th Army Headquarters in France), who supported the idea and asked Treloar to submit an official proposal to him.<sup>26</sup>

Treloar promptly informed Sidney Wolton Gullett<sup>27</sup>, Officer in Charge British Expeditionary Force (BEF) Sub-section AWRS in France, of the potential modelling scheme, and requested he ask a Lieutenant Benson to produce a proposal of subjects and staff [image 4].<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately Benson could not be found, and when he was

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<sup>22</sup> Letter from C.E.W. Bean to Senator George Pearce, March 1918 (copy to Cyril Brudenell Bingham White), AWM16 4353/2/13 D.O.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from C.E.W. Bean to J.L. Treloar, 14 May 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3, Proposal re scheme of models required for Australian War Museum. According to Bean’s service records, he had no official role within the AWRS, as he was attached to Australian Corps Headquarters at this time. However, his influence upon the unit, and within the AIF in general, was without question. National Archives of Australia, hereafter NAA, B2455, BEAN C E W, Bean Charles Edwin Woodrow.

<sup>24</sup> Anne-Marie Condé, “A marriage of sculpture and art: dioramas at the Memorial”, *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No. 19, November 1991, p.57.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from C.E.W. Bean to J.L. Treloar, 14 May, 1918, and letter from J.L. Treloar to Sidney W. Gullett, Officer in Charge B.E.F Sub-Section, AWRS, Attached HQ Australian Corps, 28 May 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3.

<sup>26</sup> Various correspondences in AWM16 4372/21/3.

<sup>27</sup> Sidney’s cousin, Henry Somer Gullett, was Officer in Charge of the Australian War Records Egyptian Sub-section at this time.

<sup>28</sup> Bean had suggested that Benson would be a good candidate to lead the project. Letter from J.L. Treloar to S.W. Gullett, 28 May 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3.

located he showed “no details or originality” for the scheme.<sup>29</sup> Gullett then nominated Wallace Anderson, who had been an artist before the war and at that time was a Museum Officer in the AWRS BEF Sub-section, to formulate a modelling scheme. Anderson spent many hours drafting a proposal before handing it to Gullett. Regrettably for researchers, Anderson and others involved in the modelling scheme favoured conferences over correspondence when it came to discussing their work. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find phrases such as that used by Anderson to Treloar in which the former claimed that “I [Anderson] can do better [explaining the models] by seeing you than by discussing them in a letter.”<sup>30</sup> It is therefore difficult to ascertain which subjects were originally intended to be modelled and which were added after initial discussions among Treloar in London, and the rest of the AWRS in France. “Most surviving lists of models are undated and their placement within archival files [is]often problematic.”<sup>31</sup>



**Image 4: Sidney W. Gullett, 20 April 1918. (AWM E02043)**

Another reason there are so few records surrounding the selection of Lone Pine is that construction was started with urgency, as it was felt that the scheme

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<sup>29</sup> Letter from S.W. Gullett to J.L. Treloar, “Scheme for Models”, 22 July 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3.

<sup>30</sup> Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar, 28 February 1919, AWM93 13/1/38; See also letters between Acting-Director Albert George Pretty and C.B.B. White in AWM315 566/005/018, Lone Pine diorama – amalgamated with 13-1-20.

<sup>31</sup> Letter from S.W. Gullett to J.L. Treloar, “Scheme for Models”, 22 July 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3.

should exploit the availability of Australian service personnel while they still remained in France before being demobilised.<sup>32</sup> Despite the urgency, a report from Anderson to Treloar in May 1919 did set out the process by which the models were proposed and selected. According to this, it was Anderson, in coordination with Bean, who largely compiled a report on the models and their requirements. The subjects for models were selected on the basis of three characteristics. The two most important were permanency – as befitting a memorial and something worthy of being remembered; and comprehensiveness – the work of all units should be represented.<sup>33</sup> The third characteristic was originally transportability, but this was discarded.

After a period of a few weeks, during which Anderson consulted with Bean, the draft proposal was delivered to Gullett. The initial proposal provided for up to six different types of models, ranging from topographical tables to full-scale replicas of bunkers. Gullett, continuing a trend of failing to record their deliberations, felt that exact details for the subjects to be modelled “[could] be arranged by conference when we are prepared to commence.”<sup>34</sup> Gullett examined and then submitted the recommendations to Treloar. Treloar, satisfied by the scheme, on 29 October 1918 officially submitted a proposal to Brigadier General Dodds, who was now Commandant, Administrative Headquarters AIF, London.<sup>35</sup> Among the suggested subjects was Lone Pine, which was readily accepted. However, Anderson’s initial idea of six different types of models was decreased to three, the original idea being far too ambitious. These types, in descending order of importance, were labelled “Inset Picture Models”, “Picture Plan Models”, and lastly “Plan Models”. It is of note that Lone Pine was one of those models *not* listed among those representing Australia’s more important battles, such as Mont St Quentin; Lone Pine was placed

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<sup>32</sup> Letter from S.W. Gullett to J.L. Treloar, “Scheme for Models”, 22 July 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3.

<sup>33</sup> The third being the ability to transport the models from England to Australia, however, as it eventuated this characteristic was not retained. Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar, with attached report, 15 May 1919, AWM16 4372/21/4 Exhibits for Model Museum.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from S.W. Gullett to J.L. Treloar, 16 October 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from J.L. Treloar to T.H. Dodds, 29 October 1918, AWM16 4372/21/3.

within the second-tier Picture Plan Models.<sup>36</sup> This is the best evidence that has been found to explain the process of selecting the subjects to be modelled. The role of the war artist Bill Dyson is decidedly unclear, and his name is noticeably absent from nearly all contemporary documents.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, in 1922 it was stated that Bean had consulted Major General Cyril Brudenell White for a list of battles to be modelled, but no correspondence during the time in which it would have been discussed has been found.<sup>38</sup> It seems probable, then, that Dyson and White played little, if any, formulating role in the modelling scheme.

With an official list of models in hand, the AWRS Modelling Sub-Section started work on subjects from the French Western Front. As per Anderson's proposal, the Sub-section had a detailed scheme from which to begin data collection. This included obtaining sketches and photographs of the battlefields to assist with the integration of each battle's conceptual and practical features into model form. The artist Louis McCubbin and sculptor Web Gilbert were added to the Sub-section to assist Anderson in this process. Soon after the team had established itself in France, the construction of Western and Eastern battlefield subjects was divided between the AWRS Modelling Sub-section in France and the Egyptian Expeditionary Force AWRS Sub-section in Cairo. The Egyptian Sub-section was tasked with the construction of the Gallipoli models, which included the picture plan model of Lone Pine.<sup>39</sup> Anderson, therefore, had no responsibility for the data collection of Lone

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<sup>36</sup> One of the earliest lists of models has Mont St. Quentin among the so-called "inset picture models", while Lone Pine is under the "picture plans" models. Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar, with list of models attached, 22 March 1919, AWM16 4372/21/4.

<sup>37</sup> Anderson, in his unpublished memoirs, stated that he raised the idea of battlefield models when he met Bean and Bill Dyson after the armistice. However, documentary evidence makes it clear that these discussions took place before the armistice. See Wallace Anderson's memoirs, p. 60, AWM PR01006 Papers of Anderson, Wallace W. In addition, Anderson's biography has a somewhat different account, whereby Anderson met Bean and Dyson in a pub in Soho and talked about the modelling scheme. Roderic Anderson, *Real life portrait: the life of Wallace Anderson, Australian war artist* (Big Sky Publishing: Melbourne, 2010), pp. 183–84. This may have indeed occurred as Anderson was in London for a few days towards the end of 1918, however, documents state that the modelling scheme had already been accepted by that date. See Employment Referee letter for W.W. Anderson from J.L. Treloar, 12 January 1932, AWM93 22/2/20 Staff - Personal files: Mr W.W. Anderson, modelling staff.

<sup>38</sup> Minutes, Agenda item 5, Meeting of the Australian War Museum Committee, 14 June 1922, AWM170 1/1 Part 1, Minutes of the Australian War Memorial Committee, June 1918 - January 1925.

<sup>39</sup> Letter from J.L. Treloar to Lt H. Dinning, 2 March 1919, AWM93 13/1/38.

Pine, and he left most of this work to the Egyptian Sub-section. This probably accounted for the Egyptian Sub-section's change of approach to the scheme, as it sought guidance from Australian divisional headquarters as to "the most significant parts of the [battle]field for modelling purposes".<sup>40</sup> Anderson was notified of this initiative but it is uncertain whether he embraced the idea, as no evidence exists in the war diaries of the General Staff Headquarters 1st Australian Division to suggest he did.<sup>41</sup>

By July 1919 there were not enough staff available for two modelling teams because of demobilisation. Treloar therefore ordered Anderson's Modelling Sub-section to take on the work of the Egyptian Sub-section. It was decided that Anderson would go to Egypt and then Gallipoli to gather data on those battles to be modelled, before returning to Australia by mid-1920.<sup>42</sup> This plan produced new difficulties for Anderson, as his permanent staff was reduced from 19 to three, and they had to begin collecting data on subjects about which they had little knowledge, or hitherto had little reason to collect.<sup>43</sup> To make matters worse, issues arose even before Anderson reached Egypt as there was uncertainty over which battles should be included in the scheme.<sup>44</sup> Such concerns reflected the ambiguous position of the modelling scheme, generally, within the new Australian War Museum at the time: models were not included in the original plans for the museum. Indeed, no member of Bean's Australian Historical Mission to Gallipoli in 1919 was a modeller, further evidence that the place of models in the plan for the Memorial was unclear.<sup>45</sup> Only once Bean returned to Australia in April 1919 was mention made of dioramas, or

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<sup>40</sup> Letter from Lt H. Dinning to J.L. Treloar, 24 January 1919, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>41</sup> Anderson had little functional control over the Egyptian Sub-section as it was not a "Modelling Sub-section", rather a general AWRS Sub-section for that theatre under command of Henry Somer Gullett, and his superior in London, Treloar. This may account for the differing approaches to data collection.

<sup>42</sup> There were some delays to this plan such that by 31 December 1919 Anderson, McCubbin, and Gilbert were still in France. See in particular J.L. Treloar's letter to W.W. Anderson, 12 January 1920, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>43</sup> The total strength of the AWRS had been reduced to less than 100 by October 1919 from its peak of more than 500 at the end of 1918. Letter from Lt William Frederick Longstaff on behalf of J.L. Treloar to W.W. Anderson, 7 October 1919, AWM16 4372/21/33, Reports from Modelling Sub-section, France. See also Weekly Field Returns for the AWRS BEF Modelling Sub-section in the same file.

<sup>44</sup> See in particular letter from Lt. H. Dinning to J.L. Treloar, 31 March 1919, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>45</sup> AWM38 3DRL606/229/1, C.E.W Bean Diary, December 1918 – February 1919, p. 13.

“models”, at the Museum’s Committee meetings.<sup>46</sup> By that date the decision to include models in the collection had been agreed, in principle at least. However, the Ministry of Defence still had no definite policy regarding the models and it was assumed that the Modelling Sub-section would continue their work under the guidelines laid down by Treloar in October 1918 – flying under the radar as it were.<sup>47</sup> This left the modellers’ future projects up in the air.

Time was not on Anderson’s side and when his small team finally arrived in Egypt in 1920, demobilisation, security and shrinking defence budgets (not to mention the spiralling cost of the model scheme) meant that the Modelling Sub-section would no longer be accorded a visit to Gallipoli. Brudenell White voiced his concern to Treloar, as he thought the scheme had run its course and that consequently Anderson should not proceed further than Egypt.<sup>48</sup> Far from Lone Pine being a key feature of the future War Museum’s collection, Treloar notified Anderson that, in agreement with Gullett and in accordance with White’s opinion, “One regrets exceedingly that Gallipoli will not be represented in the model section of the Museum.”<sup>49</sup> Treloar did, however, hope that a future trip to Gallipoli might be possible. Thus it was *hoped* that Lone Pine would be depicted by a diorama, but it was by no means officially intended.

After collecting data for only one eastern battle, the battle of Romani, Anderson boarded a ship for the long journey back to Australia. Unfortunately, delays were only added when he was told that he was to be held in quarantine before being allowed back into Australia.<sup>50</sup> In addition, Anderson’s head sculptor, Web Gilbert, had disappeared. Anderson and Treloar made frantic efforts to find any information on Gilbert. As a last resort they turned to the Defence Department,

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<sup>46</sup> AWM170 1/2 Part 1, Agenda for Meeting of the Australian War Museum Committee, Thursday 31 July 1919.

<sup>47</sup> Letter from Lt W.F. Longstaff on behalf of J.L. Treloar to W.W. Anderson, 1 October 1919, AWM16 4372/21/33.

<sup>48</sup> Letter from J.L. Treloar to W.W. Anderson, 13 January 1920, AWM93 13/1/38. It has been said that White felt a deep sense of personal guilt and responsibility for the loss of so many troops at the Battle of Lone Pine. This makes his statements to Treloar the more surprising. Dale Blair, *Dinkum diggers: an Australian battalion at war* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001), p. 93.

<sup>49</sup> Letter from J.L. Treloar to W.W. Anderson, 13 January 1920, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>50</sup> Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar, 27 April 1920, AWM93 13/1/38.

which could only state that he had disembarked in England some weeks before.<sup>51</sup> In the event, Gilbert had independently decided to take some time off from his duties to visit friends in that country. One can only speculate what his actions might have been labelled.

Once Anderson returned to Australia, he and his modelling staff spent the next two years completing the subjects for which they had data.<sup>52</sup> In 1921, it was announced that the scheme would require upwards of nine years to complete. Some members of the Australian War Memorial (as it was now called) became uneasy about the resources which this would have required. In response, the Finance Sub-committee put forward a proposal to the Memorial Committee concerning whether the modelling scheme, as originally envisaged, should continue. Any future Lone Pine or Gallipoli model would have to wait until a decision could be made. The issue was serious enough for a Modelling Sub-committee to be formed. It included, among others, the Inspector General of the Army and the Chief of the General Staff, which served to illustrate the importance with which the scheme was regarded.<sup>53</sup> After careful persuasion and coordinated diplomacy by Treloar, Bean, and Henry Somer Gullett, the modelling scheme was secured by February 1923.<sup>54</sup>

Despite this success, the Lone Pine model still remained uncertain and no provision was made for a Gallipoli model, "as the artists were not given facilities to collect data there."<sup>55</sup> Though Treloar and Anderson both agreed that no Lone Pine model would be completed, they still had it placed on the list of models that the Modelling Sub-committee accepted. Perhaps they hoped that an opportunity might present itself in the future – reiterating Treloar's original thought that a future expedition to Gallipoli might be possible. For a while all seemed to be going well,

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<sup>51</sup> Letter from J.L. Treloar to Warrant Officer Stan Cobby, Base Records Office, Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, 5 May 1920, and the latter's reply to J.L. Treloar on 21 May 1920, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>52</sup> There remains a two year gap in the Australian War Memorial's records pertaining to the models, generally lasting from mid-1920 until mid-1922. Thanks to Laura Webster, of the Australian War Memorial's Art Section, for her reassurances on this matter.

<sup>53</sup> Minutes, extract of Australian War Memorial Committee Meeting, 14 June 1922, AWM170 1/1.

<sup>54</sup> Though the modelling scheme had been approved, the Sub-committee had seen fit to reduce the total number of models to be completed. Back and Webster, *Moments in time*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from J.L. Treloar to Henry Somer Gullett, 5 October 1922, AWM93 13/1/38.

but Web Gilbert had grown impatient with the modelling scheme and submitted his resignation in August 1923 after having been unhappy with the scheme for some time.<sup>56</sup> Anderson was now faced with the difficult task of continuing the scheme without his most experienced and artistically respected member. He therefore reassigned the models among the remaining artists, allocating himself the subject of Lone Pine. Conceivably, Anderson chose Lone Pine as he expected it to be one of the more difficult to approach, given that little information was then available on which to base the model, and since he was now the most experienced modeller in the Memorial's employ.<sup>57</sup>

Soon after these changes Treloar was temporarily replaced at the Memorial by Acting Director Albert George Pretty in mid-1923. Pretty, formerly the Memorial's chief librarian, took a laissez-faire approach to Anderson and the modelling scheme – a reversal of Treloar's management style. Anderson took advantage of this and managed to persuade Pretty that he should start work on a Lone Pine model before Bean could return and voice his opinion.<sup>58</sup> The fact that Treloar, and now Bean, were absent for this stage of the model's construction indicates that Anderson took on Lone Pine with greater independence than had hitherto been accorded to him. A good example of Anderson's new-found independence was his apparent decision to change the Lone Pine model from a "picture plan model" into a grander "inset picture model". A few months after his resignation, Gilbert and Bean discussed the possibility of reorganising the Memorial's modelling scheme.<sup>59</sup> No minutes have been found on what was actually discussed, but the outcome of the meeting may have influenced the adapting of Lone Pine into a picture model proper. Nonetheless, it appears that the final decision was Anderson's.

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<sup>56</sup> Letter from A.G.P. Pretty to C.E.W. Bean, 23 August 1923, and letter from A.G. Pretty to C.W. Gilbert, 29 August 1923, AWM38 3DRL 6673/327. Though Gilbert only resigned in August, it was acknowledged by the acting director that he had "made up his mind to sever his connection with the War Museum" some time before. See for example, the letter from C.W. Gilbert to J.L. Treloar, 13 February 1923, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>57</sup> Anderson specifically requested that McCubbin be retained to assist in the scheme. Letter from W.W. Anderson to A.G. Pretty, 30 March 1926, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>58</sup> Letter from A.G. Pretty to C.B.B. White, 14 October 1924, AWM315 566/005/018.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from A.G.P. Pretty to C.E.W. Bean, 6 June 1924, AWM38 3DRL 6673/327.



## **The relationship between the battle narrative and the model**

Anderson began research for the Lone Pine model in August 1924, but before actual construction could begin, he and McCubbin required access to a detailed narrative of the battle. This included the dispositions of friendly and enemy troops at the time of the attack, where casualties had been sustained, the mode of advance, and the points of resistance.<sup>60</sup> This established a basic framework around which could be based the historical events and the image to be created. Anderson asked Pretty to enquire on his behalf as to the possibility of being lent a manuscript of Bean's, as yet unpublished, history of the Gallipoli campaign.<sup>61</sup> Pretty was able to borrow the chapter on Lone Pine from Bean's Official History, which provided Anderson with essential detail, including terrain, defensive works, and atmosphere.

Anderson believed further details were required, and to this end he tried to get information from others who were at the battle. However, this proved more troublesome because it was difficult actually to locate reliable sources. Fortunately, he was able to persuade Brudenell White to visit his studio in Melbourne, so that Anderson could ask his opinion of the "proposed method of treatment."<sup>62</sup> Anderson was particularly interested in learning the correct look of the officers' uniforms and arms. Through the help of Treloar, Anderson gained an idea of the officers' appearance, which was generally similar to that of the men, dressed in "digger" tunics.<sup>63</sup> Further assistance from Treloar, Pretty, and Bean enabled Anderson to establish contact with a Major Harold Jacobs.<sup>64</sup> At the time of Lone Pine, the then Captain Jacobs commanded the lead company of the 1st Battalion, which was the

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<sup>60</sup> McCubbin would paint the diorama's background, figures and terrain. Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar with attached list of model details, 22 March 1919, AWM16 4372/21/4.

<sup>61</sup> Letter from A.G. Pretty to A.W. Bazley, 15 August 1924, AWM315 566/005/018. Anderson would often have Treloar or Pretty write letters to third parties, instead of doing it himself. Evidently, Anderson's dislike of writing played a part in this arrangement.

<sup>62</sup> It is questionable of what value White would have been since he did not take part in the actual attack. Letter from A.G. Pretty to C.B.B. White, 14 October 1924, AWM315 566/005/018.

<sup>63</sup> Letter from A.W. Bazley to J.L. Treloar, 27 January 1927, AWM315 566/005/018.

<sup>64</sup> Jacobs had landed at Gallipoli on 25 April, and had been mentioned in Corps Orders for gallantry and valuable service during the days after the initial landing. Jacobs, like many of his contemporaries, and unfortunately for an officer who had pre-war service, found himself released from service after the war and struggled to adapt to civilian life. NAA, B2455, Jacobs Harold (service record); AWM93 7/4/234, Major H. Jacobs Donation of Uniform by: loan of Lantern Slides to.

first to reinforce the newly captured Turkish positions – in the process having to cross the fire-swept former Turkish front line, for which he was later Mentioned in Despatches.<sup>65</sup> Jacobs was able to provide Anderson with a very detailed description of the troops' uniforms on 6 August, in particular the officers' uniforms. Jacobs told him that officers were to carry rifles, yet no "special instructions were issued re revolvers", and so he had carried two.<sup>66</sup> Evidently Anderson incorporated this detail into the model, as officer figures carry revolvers and not rifles. No evidence has been found to suggest that Anderson consulted veterans from the lower ranks.

As Anderson often discussed details of his subjects in person, and not through correspondence, it is worthwhile examining the model's final features against available photographic records. The largest feature of the model is the base [image 5]. Available photographs taken at Lone Pine on or around the date of the attack clearly show that the ground over which the Australians attacked was covered with low shrubs and grass, which is very different from the image that Anderson presents to his audience [image 6]. The model creates an impression closer to that of a desert with only a dirt covering, desolate and barren. While this assists in making the figures the central focus of the diorama, it does so at the expense of historical accuracy.

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<sup>65</sup> 1st Battalion History Committee, *The history of the First Battalion A.I.F. 1914-1919*, pp. 23, 32, 40. Jacobs is misidentified as "W. Jacobs" on page 23 of the 1st Battalion's history.

<sup>66</sup> Letter from H. Jacobs to C.E.W. Bean, 9 April 1927, AWM315 566/005/018.



**Image 5: A close-up of the model's base, showing a lack of vegetation. (Author's collection)**



**Image 6: View towards Lone Pine, 6 pm, 6 August 1915. Note the grass and shrubs in the foreground. (AWM G01125)**

Anderson's depiction of the Lone Pine terrain corresponds to his earlier unsuccessful attempt to create a snow-covered image for his Somme model. In that case, he had argued that snow provided a better picture for the audience, giving the Memorial's visitors a different palette of colour from the other models. At that time Bean had argued strongly against such an idea, saying that the historical memory of the Somme was mud and therefore any model should represent this form of

remembrance.<sup>67</sup> In the case of Lone Pine, Bean was unavailable and his relationship with Pretty was less developed. Anderson therefore had both incentive and an opportunity to produce a more artistic image. This did not mean that Anderson always favoured artistic imperative over historical accuracy, as he did incorporate even small details into the model. One example was the design of the barbed-wire obstacles [image 7]. One photograph, taken sometime after 6 August, shows the perpendicular ends of the barbed wire, which Anderson replicated in the model [image 8]. This demonstrates that while Anderson was keen to create a more artistic image, he was also careful to incorporate specific historical details, even though laymen might have considered them erroneous.



**Image 7: Anderson's depiction of the barbed-wire obstacles faced by the attacking Australians.  
(Author's collection)**

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<sup>67</sup> Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar, 31 January 1923; Letter from J.L. Treloar to C.E.W. Bean, 27 February 1923, and the latter's reply, 2 March 1923; Letter from J.L. Treloar to C.E.W. Bean, 6 March 1923, all in AWM93 13/1/38.



**Image 8: A period photograph of the perpendicular-shaped barbed-wire obstacles set before the Turkish front line at Lone Pine. Anderson accurately replicated their dimensions. (AWM C01685)**

This dialectic work ethic was also shown in Anderson's Turkish trench line and its defensive works, which were constructed in a way that provided viewers with a better image while altering a few historical details. Few photographs of the Turkish front line exist; however, the extant photographs provide some interesting points of comparison. One photograph taken during Bean's expedition to Gallipoli in February 1919 shows that, at least in some places, the Turks had created firing loopholes extending above ground level about waist high. These required the Australian soldiers to jump or climb over them in order to progress rearward. Had Anderson replicated this feature it would have obscured those figures closer to the Turkish front. To avoid this issue, Anderson raised the foreground and created an artificial depression immediately in front of the trench (yet *in front* of the infantry) so that the charging figures remained visible. In addition, the depression allowed him to replicate the trench construction by placing the firing loopholes further down into the ground. The figures could thus be shown approaching the trench without having their lower halves obscured to the viewer.

Further, photographic evidence shows that the overhead pine logs were raised towards the front (facing the Australians). This makes sense, as the placement of the firing-step necessitated a corresponding adjustment to the ceiling height [ image 9]. The model meanwhile creates the opposite effect, with the logs generally rising

towards the rear [image 10]. Again, had Anderson incorporated the historically accurate design it would have obscured some figures. The model also suggests that a continuous line of logs existed across the entire Turkish front trench, which is incorrect. As popular memory has it that the Australians were confronted by pine logs, constructing gaps overhead would have probably distracted the viewer from the popular narrative as well as from the figures.



**Image 9: Australians resting in a section of the Turkish front-line trench at Lone Pine.  
Note the overhead logs rising towards the front. (AWM G01126)**



**Image 10: A similar view from the left side of the diorama. (Author's collection)**

The aspect that chiefly guided construction of these features was the decision to have the Australians charging towards the viewer. Early guidelines stated that the model should depict “the men attacking the final objective.”<sup>68</sup> Taken literally, this would have been a scene of the 13 outposts that the Australians established deep inside the Turkish trench system at Lone Pine. To depict such a scene in the style of an “inset picture model” would have been impractical. The scene depicting the attack on the front trench was therefore the only viable option, as selecting an individual outpost would have eliminated one of the three characteristics of the model scheme – comprehensiveness. While the way the attack was shown was not strictly comprehensive, as it depicted only the three assaulting battalions, it was nonetheless better than focusing on an individual platoon. According to Pretty, it was Anderson who chose to take a point of view from behind the Turkish trench.<sup>69</sup> No exact reason could be found for the decision, however, some likely reasons can be examined. All the other dioramas showing Australians in attack have the viewer peering over the Australians’ shoulders. Such a perspective transforms the diorama’s objective – usually a terrain feature such as a pillbox or hill – into a critical aspect of the diorama and provides the viewers with the visual impression that Bean

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<sup>68</sup> Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar with attached list of model details, 22 March 1919, AWM16, 4372/21/4.

<sup>69</sup> Extract of a letter from A.G. Pretty to C.E.W. Bean, 13 January 1925, AWM315 566/005/018.

had envisaged. Such features convey the physical dominance of a pillbox or hill to the viewer and create an obvious sense of empowerment by the defenders over the attackers, yet in those cases the Australians advanced in spite of this. At Lone Pine, the attack occurred over relatively level ground. The Turkish defences were not as imposing, at least from the perspective of the onlooker. A different impression could, however, be gained from exploiting the personal aspects of the event rather than the size of the objective to be captured. This could be attained by making the Australian soldier the central focus of the model, which Anderson was able to achieve through a combination of artistic skill and historical design.

### **Changes in public opinion about the model**

By August 1927 Anderson and his assistant McCubbin had finished the Lone Pine diorama – just in time for the Memorial’s exhibitions in Melbourne and Sydney. The model had taken around three years to complete, and although it contained a few historical inaccuracies, for the public, they were of little concern.<sup>70</sup> Judging how public opinion of the model has changed over the years remains difficult.<sup>71</sup> No visitor comments book for the Australian War Memorial’s Melbourne and Sydney exhibits of 1927–28 has been found. Further, visitor comments for the period in which the Memorial has been in Canberra are incomplete, and unless a direct letter was sent to the Memorial, few records of visitor opinions are available in the Research Centre.<sup>72</sup> This has required the examination of peripheral evidence in order to draw conclusions about public opinion about the Lone Pine diorama.

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<sup>70</sup> The entire modelling scheme was completed by the end of 1930. Letter from J.L. Treloar to the Secretary, Department of Home Affairs, 23 December 1930, AWM93 22/2/22, Staff – Personal files: Mr L.F. McCubbin, modelling staff, AWM Melbourne.

<sup>71</sup> Examined examples of analysis of visitor trends to the Memorial focussed on broader market research imperatives and as such did not ask opinions as to particular displays. See for example, “Trends in visitors over the last two years: a marketing research presentation,” (Canberra: Frank Small and Associates, 1990), AWM057675, V 355.0074094 A938 + V; “1990 visitor study: a marketing research report prepared for the Australian War Memorial,” (Canberra: Frank Small and Associates, 1990), AWM057681, V 069.109947 V831 1990.

<sup>72</sup> Such sources are not readily available to the public and any inquiry must be made by arranging a meeting with the Australian War Memorial head curator. Access to letters sent by visitors to the Memorial are limited to the years before the 1990s. See Comments by visitors to AWM, AWM315, 864/001/019.



The foundation of the Memorial's modelling scheme rested on the novelty of the idea and the uniqueness of the collection. Archival evidence indicates that on these grounds Lone Pine and the other models were successful. Even in 1922, it was acknowledged that "the models [were] proving the most interesting and instructive feature of the War Museum."<sup>73</sup> By the time of the model's unveiling in 1927, the Memorial's flyers advertised the various models on display, which would suggest that they were the exhibitions' main drawcard and that visitors were interested in the subjects and the manner in which they were displayed. At least one party of veterans to the Melbourne Exhibition were "greatly interested in the collection".<sup>74</sup> Anderson was convinced that the models remained a serious "money raising proposition" for the Memorial.<sup>75</sup> If the models were not going to be popular there was little reason for the scheme to be canvassed to the extent that it was when the Modelling Sub-committee was contemplating their future, and Bean acknowledged as much.<sup>76</sup> However, this does not suggest that Lone Pine proved *more* popular than other subjects on display. To be sure, press coverage in the 1920s indicates that Western Front subjects received far more public attention than Gallipoli, and Lone Pine in particular. If Gallipoli did make a headline, the focus was almost always on the landing to the exclusion of the campaign's other events. Likewise, the Lone Pine model was only reported in its relation to the collection in general.<sup>77</sup>

This is not a difficult conclusion to draw, as the Western Front was the main theatre of war, and dominated public perception and memory. Further, veteran periodicals from the late 1920s would appear to sustain this argument. For example,

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<sup>73</sup> Minutes of the Australian War Memorial Committee, 14 June 1922, AWM170 1/2, Part 1.

<sup>74</sup> Handwritten note addressed to J.L. Treloar, 26 January 1928, and attached to a letter to F.W. Taylor, 17 January 1928, AWM93 6/1/24A, 1927-1928 Opening of Exhibition of Pictures, Models, Cinema etc. Invitations of Acceptance, also Press Notices.

<sup>75</sup> Letter from W.W. Anderson to J.L. Treloar, 26 November 1931, AWM93 6/1/36, Proposal for Special Exhibition of latest Battlefield Models.

<sup>76</sup> Letter from C.E.W. Bean to J.L. Treloar, 28 June 1922, AWM93 13/1/38.

<sup>77</sup> See for example, "War Model," *The Argus* (Melbourne), Saturday 8 October 1927, p. 22; "The Studio," *The Australasian* (Melbourne), Saturday 15 October 1927, p. 6; "Australian War Memorial - Plans for Museum," *The Argus*, Saturday 24 March 1928, p. 29; "War Museum - Battlefield Models," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 22 December 1928, p. 14; "War Museum - Many New Exhibits," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 27 December 1928, p. 11; "Battlefield Models," *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Queensland), Tuesday 1 January 1929, p. 6. See also the Memorial's collection of newspaper clippings for Anzac Day 1927-1928 in AWM, PWY 000038.

in the August 1928 issue of the veteran magazine *The Reveille*, no article covers Lone Pine or the model, while Western Front subjects are discussed in detail.<sup>78</sup> This may not be surprising, considering it was the 10th anniversary of the August 1918 battles; but given that August 1928 was the first anniversary of the Lone Pine model being on display, the lack of response to it is informative. *The Reveille* was a New South Wales publication, and the 1st Brigade comprised men from that state, so the lack of coverage of Lone Pine indicates the focus of the editorial staff, who were mostly veterans themselves, as well as the interests of their readers. Likewise, the 1st Brigade's battalion histories did not accord Lone Pine extensive coverage, suggesting that Lone Pine was not deemed more worthy than the other battles which they fought.<sup>79</sup>

As the 1930s began, however, Lone Pine and Gallipoli started to receive greater attention. While the model continued to be covered in a general manner in the press, with articles careful to maintain focus on the Memorial's collection as a whole, the battle garnered increasing attention. A likely cause of this was the increasing popularity of battlefield pilgrimages to Gallipoli. In addition, the placement of the Gallipoli memorial on the site of the battle was all the more reason to promote the events of the campaign and the story: the Lone Pine model was a good medium in which to do so. Despite its increased popularity, the Memorial did not focus on that diorama at the expense of other displays, as shown by its 1941 guide book, which did not devote much detail to the diorama.<sup>80</sup> This situation did not last, and as the years passed, the ANZAC myth grew and alongside it, the events of Lone Pine. By the 1960s the reputation of Lone Pine and the deeds performed there had begun to stir interest in veteran publications from around Australia. This

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<sup>78</sup> Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (New South Wales Branch), *The Reveille*, vol. 1 no. 12, 31 August 1928.

<sup>79</sup> 1st Battalion History Committee, *The history of the First Battalion A.I.F. 1914-1919*; F.W. Taylor, and T.A. Cusack, *Nulli Secundus: a history of the Second Battalion, A.I.F. 1914-1919*, 1992 ed. (Sydney: New Century Press, 1942); Eric Wren, *Randwick to Hargicourt: history of the 3rd Battalion, A.I.F.* (Sydney: Ronald G. McDonald, 1935); the 4th Battalion had no published history, but there is a manuscript within the Memorial's holding. 4th Australian Infantry Battalion: Unit History, 1919-1940, AWM24 MSS132 Part 2.

<sup>80</sup> Australian War Memorial, *Guide to the Australian War Memorial*, 1st ed. (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1941), pp. 29-30.

showed a marked increase in the battle's standing in the eyes of the veterans, and indirectly with the public as well.<sup>81</sup> Eventually, even the renovation of the model in the 1980s created attention, something which the model did not receive when it was unveiled in 1927.<sup>82</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The battle of Lone Pine has captured the imaginations of many subsequent generations of Australians, and its popularity shows no signs of abating. The diorama continues to be the main instrument through which the public visualises the events atop Plateau 400 on the late afternoon of 6 August 1915. The emphasis which is now placed on the diorama's preservation, in both its narrative and its physical form, contrasts with the modelling scheme's early years, and the support (or lack thereof) for the lone Pine model from the Memorial's establishment. The selection of Lone Pine was decided by a small group of officers which included Anderson, Bean, Treloar, Gullett, and ultimately Dodds. The process of the decision displayed the importance for them of social networking, both informally and through official channels. It is evident that the units whose actions were depicted in the dioramas, Lone Pine included, were not notified until after the decision to commence the scheme had been taken. This shows the independence of the AWRS, and in particular, Anderson's Modelling Sub-section. Moreover, the project can be seen as an extension of Bean's own relative freedom in deciding the approach to "collecting" Australia's memory of the war.

The differing approaches to the modelling scheme adopted by the historians (or civil servants) and by the artists is evident through their attempts to reconcile historical accuracy and artistic imperative. This was most recognisable in the use of written communication, by Bean and Treloar, for subjects which the artists claimed could not be done justice through letters. Such a dialectic approach contributed to a

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<sup>81</sup> Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (Victoria Branch), *Mufti*, vol. 8 no. 4, October – December 1966, pp. 8-12.

<sup>82</sup> "Lone Pine diorama artist works on special effect on the sun," *The Canberra Times*, Saturday 18 September 1982, p. 7; "New gallery at War Memorial," *The Canberra Times*, Tuesday 13 November 1984, p. 21.

lack of records and to the general confusion surrounding the modelling scheme, and the Lone Pine model in particular. Nonetheless, the documents which do exist show that the efforts of Anderson and Treloar in the modelling scheme were far more extensive than previously thought: they directed the scheme from start to finish. Correspondingly, Bean's role in the scheme is much less than previously thought, though his influence still remains important, since his opinions often guided Treloar's decisions. Evidence suggests that Anderson constructed the model largely without direction from Treloar and Bean, though this did not prevent him from using them to obtain historical information – a process which required correspondence and military connections, neither of which Anderson relished. Perhaps this method permitted Anderson to concentrate on artistic matters rather than historical worries.

The delay and temporary abandonment of the Lone Pine diorama until 1923 demonstrated that Lone Pine was not seen as a defining or especially memorable event in the war. While this was partly an effect of the Memorial's finances, it was also an indication of the committee members' perception of the battle and its role in Australia's memory of the war. This accords with both the public's and veterans' coverage of the battle in newspapers and magazines in the 1920s, which favoured the memorialisation of the Gallipoli landings and Western Front battles. The attention now heaped on the battle, as well as the diorama, further indicates the evolutionary process of popular memory and conflicts, and in particular the perception of the Great War and what it means to Australia.