Queensland Community Thinkers and their Social-Political Formations during World War I: Passion and Reason for War and Peace 1914-1919

Under the Skin: Human Passion & Reason in the Experience of World War I from Queensland

A Paper for the Q ANZAC 100 Fellows Event

Tuesday 8 September 2015

History ought to get "Under the Skin". The phrase evokes the thought of the human experience in all of its wonder and meanings. As goes the song of the great Cole Porter:

"I said to myself: this affair never will go so well.

But why should I try to resist when, baby, I know so well

I've got you under my skin?"[1]

The affair of War and Peace gets under people's skin. World War I in Australian history has two great socio-political narratives. Ray Evans described them as 'loyalty and disloyalty', during and immediately after the conflict.[2] Another way of viewing the bipolarity in Australia is contrasting what emerged from the Great War – the ANZAC tradition, which plays the role of Australia's war justification theory, and the post-war international peace movement along with its anti-war paradigms.[3] Ray Evans and John Moses are the two Queensland historians who have established contrasting positions on what Queenslanders thought and felt about war and peace during and after World War I.[4]

We have here two large socio-political movements, described as loyalist and dissenter, pro-conscriptionist and anti-conscriptionist, and the very difficult reconciliation between war

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[1] "I've Got You Under My Skin". Writers: Cole Porter, Erroll Garner. Copyright: Octave Music Publishing Corp., Chappell & Co. Inc. Lyrics found at http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/franksinatra/ivegotyouundermyskin.html , sighted 12 September 2015.

[2] Evans, Ray. *Loyalty and Disloyalty: Social Conflict on the Queensland Homefront, 1914-18*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin. 1987.

[3] Phillip Deery, and Frank Bongiorno,. "Labor, Loyalty and Peace: Two Anzac Controversies of the 1920s." *Labour History*. no. 106 (2014), pp. 205-28; Judith McKay. "Brisbane's Temple of Peace: War and Myth-making", in Martin Crotty, (Editor). *When the Soldiers Return*: November 2007 Conference Proceedings. Brisbane: University of Queensland, School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics, 2009, pp. 255-260; Craig Melrose. "Triumphalism and Sacrificialism: Tradition in the Public Memory of the First World War in Australia, 1919-39", in Martin Crotty, (Editor). *When the Soldiers Return*: November 2007 Conference Proceedings. Brisbane: University of Queensland, School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics, 2009, pp. 236-247; Heather Sharp. Representing Australia's Involvement in the First World War: Discrepancies between Public Discourses and School History Textbooks from 1916 to 1936. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory & Society*. Vol. 6, No. 1 Spring 2014. pp. 1-23.

[4] Evans, Ray. *The Red Flag Riots: A Study of Intolerance*. St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press. 1988; John A Moses. "The Theological Component of World Conflict: The Example of the Anglo- German Antagonism 1914-18." *St Mark's Review*, no. 209 (2009): 39-57.

memorialisation and the campaign for a permanent order of international peace. The argument in this paper is that these positions did speak to what many Queenslanders thought of War and Peace, *but* that those thoughts and emotions *alone* do not get under the skin of many Queenslanders. There is much more thought and emotion from both ordinary Queenslanders and those who influence them. Without denying the systemic political or ideological perspective, the human experience of war and peace was more personal, and more reflective of the many identities to which individuals held to: gender, sexuality, family, friendship, ethnicity, culture, and existential meaning according to different religious or philosophical ideas.

The challenge here is not to accept the unsatisfying fragmentation of radical postmodern scholars; without returning to the monist grand narratives of the old ideologues.[5] Plurality is needed, but so is synthesis, and it need **not** be the kind of synthesis in H. G. Wells' *A Short History of the World* (1922), Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History* (1934-1961), or Julian Huxley's *Evolution: The Modern Synthesis* (1942). In the words of Adam Arenson, a blogger on "Marking History Podcast", and who is translating Allan Megill's 2007 translation of Peter Novick's 1988 argument, "we should not valorize synthesis nor deplore fragmentation; they should be neutral terms, each possible choices in the writing of history".[6] Like the ocean tides, there is a movement back and forward, however, there is something more satisfying in the movement to high tide. There are different views of history, and they can be both true and conflicting at the same time; but we all live in one world, and unlike the time lord, Dr Who, we only share one seamless past. Thus we ought to seek a mutual understanding of how things hang together, a view that Wilfred Sellers had of the aim for philosophy.[7]

The Argument: Dominant Narratives

The dominant narratives in Queensland history around World War I need to be revisited. There is a complexity which was not given sufficient attention in previous works of Evans, Moses, and

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[5] Allan Megill. Allan Megill's *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: The Contemporary Guide to Practice*. The University of Chicago Books. 2007.

[6] Adam Arenson. Allan Megill and rigorous history in an age of fragmentation. Making History Podcast. Posted on February 11, 2010. http://www.makinghistorypodcast.com/2010/02/11/allan-megill-and-rigorous-history-in-an-age-of-fragmentation/ , sighted 5 September 2015; Peter Novick. *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession*. Cambridge University Press, 1988.

[7] "The aim of philosophy, abstractly formulated, is to understand how things in the broadest possible sense of the term hang together in the broadest possible sense of the term". Wilfred Sellars. "Philosophy and the Scientific Image of Man," in *Frontiers of Science and Philosophy*, Robert Colodny (ed.) (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962). p. 35.

others.[8] Following the task of reviewing the dominant narratives is the work of revealing "undercurrent narratives" in the emotions and thoughts of Queenslanders in the years 1914-1919.

Civic Religion

The role of religion as a binding force in Queensland history has been considered in terms of traditional religious organisations, but the idea of civic religion, as Richard Ely describes in Australian history in the 1980s, has not been developed in the Queensland historical context until recently, in Moses' *St Mark's Review* article in April 2015.[9] Even then the treatment is too narrow. Civic religion expands across ideas of both war and peace.[10] The predominant narrative functions as war justification, a civic religion around the idea of the war.

Figure 1: Canon David John Garland – Unidentified. Canon David John Garland: Collection Reference: 28069 Garland Family Personal Papers and Photographs. State Library of Queensland.

Canon David Garland was the Founder and Director of Soldiers Help Society, the co-founder of the Compulsory Service League, the Organising Secretary for the Queensland Recruitment Committee, and served as a chaplain in Egypt and Palestine.[11] Garland was also the Secretary of the Queensland Anzac Day Commemoration Committee. John Moses and George Davis (2013) argued the case for Garland as the originator of the transnational ANZAC *Day* tradition.

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[8] Evans, Ray. Op Cit; John Moses. George F. Davis. *Anzac Day Origins: Canon DJ Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration*. Barton, A.C.T. Barton Books, 2013.

[9] Richard Ely. "Secularisation and the Sacred in Australian History". *Historical Studies*. Vol. 19. No. 77. October 1981; Moses, John. Anzac Day as Australia's 'civil religion'? *St. Mark's Review*. No. 231 April 2015.

[10] Patrick Morgan. The Anzac Tradition as a Civil Religion. *Quadrant*, Apr 2002, Vol. 46. 2002. pp. 79-81.

[11] Wendy M Mansfield. 'Garland, David John (1864–1939)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/garland-david-john-6278/text10821, published first in hardcopy 1981, accessed online 6 September 2015.

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There is no argument that Garland's vision of war memorialisation was one of civic religion, a combination of representation of "spirituality" and civilian homage. The well-known story is that the royal blue silk ANZAC badges, devised by Garland, included the winged lion of St Mark, because St Mark's Day coincided with Anzac Day. The ANZAC tradition in Australian national consciousness (often forgetting the New Zealand experience) generates a misconception that civic religion focused solely on war. There, nevertheless, was a civic religion movement in Queensland around the idea of peace.

Figure 2: Margaret Thorp – Summy, Hilary and University of Queensland. Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. Peace Angel of World War I: Dissent of Margaret Thorp. Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, [Brisbane], 2006. State Library of Queensland. QSL766675; J 923.6 THO.

Margaret Thorp, or more commonly known much later, Margaret Watts, was a co-founder and the Secretary of the Queensland branch of the Women's Peace Army.[12] Ray Evans (1987) pointed to Thorp's role as "an important interlinking of the religious and secular pacifist movements" and biographer Hilary Summy (2006) argued that this role was vital in unifying various Queensland factions involved in the anti-conscriptionist campaigns.[13] It was her Quaker principles, in a religious system of Thorp's Christian socialism, which was the glue for an alternative dominant narrative.

Political Skepticism

In contrast to the civic religions, there were also movements which rode on skepticism. They challenged the dominant narratives which aimed at biding the community together. Hence, the

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[12] Martha Rutledge. 'Watts, Margaret Sturge (1892–1978)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/watts-margaret-sturge-11984/text21485, published first in hardcopy 2002, accessed online 6 September 2015.

[13] Hilary Summy. *Peace Angel of World War I, Dissent of Margaret Thorp*. Brisbane, Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies . 2006.

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Peace movement could be said to be divided between those who took a religious perspective on peace, and those who were motivated in an opposition to the war from a denial of a specific binding narrative.

Emma Miller was the President of the Queensland branch of the Women's Peace Army.[14] At the ripe age of 77, Miller was a delegate to the Australian Peace Alliance Conference in Melbourne in 1916. The following year, Mother Miller, as she was affectionately known, died a heroine of the Queensland labour movement. Biographer Pam Young stated that it was Miller's "hatred of militarism led her to take an energetic part in the anti-conscription campaigns".[15] In this dominant narrative of labour, world war was the struggle of capitalism with itself, and this would lead to the peace of a classless society.[16] However, there was a wider narrative here from the roots of eighteenth and nineteenth century romanticism.[17] Militarism was the means to obtain social conformity in the machine-like expectations of the duty to family, country, and monarch.[18] To make things more complex, there were those who challenged the official

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[14] Pam Young. 'Miller, Emma (1839–1917)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/miller-emma-7583/text13241, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 6 September 2015.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Robin Archer. Stopping War and Stopping Conscription: Australian Labour's Response to World War I in Comparative Perspective. *Labour History* No. 106 (May 2014), pp. 43-67; For consideration of narratives on capitalism & war and evaluation, see Mark Harrison. Capitalism at War. Department of Economics and CAGE, University of Warwick. at http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/staff/mharrison/public/capitalism_at_war.pdf

[17] Nancy L. Rosenblum. Romantic Militarism. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1982), pp. 249-268.

[18] William Eckhardt and Alan G. Newcombe. Militarism, Personality, and Other Social Attitudes. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Jun., 1969), pp. 210-219; J. Christopher Cohrs, Barbara Moschner, Jürgen Maes and Sven

dominant narrative of war, not from a position of peace, but from the position of another war. There was another war for the British Empire, the Irish civil war. Indeed, it becomes too easy to forget the multiple of conflicts, mass murder, or genocides, which occurred in other places other than the major war fronts of the Great War. There has been a misconception about feelings and thoughts on war & peace in the dominant narratives through perceptions of so-called minor incidents as being secondary; side-shows to the main event. The veracity of the dominant perspective is dependent on the specific historical question brought forward: overall strategies which created the war's conclusion in the actual peace which occurred or towards the fullest consideration of what war and peace meant in the overall human experience.

Figure 4: John Arthur Fihelly – Riley, Sidney. John A. Fihelly, 1920 (2005): Collection Reference: 7131 Large Portraits. Print. State Library of Queensland. Negative number: 68200

John Fihelly was Minister without Portfolio and Assistant Minister for Justice in the Ryan government. Biographer Betty Crouchley reported on Fihelly's argumentative style, he was "aggressive, personal and witty, he attacked the man rather than the subject"; these were actual words of Thomas O'Sullivan, the Attorney-General in the earlier Kidston and Denham Governments.[19] It was this trait that infamously leads Fihelly into wartime controversy, and for the word "Fihellyism" to be used around the country as accusation of disloyalty.[20] During the

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Kielmann. The Motivational Bases of Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation: Relations to Values and Attitudes in the Aftermath of September 11, 2001. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. No. 31, 2005: 1425.

[19] Betty Crouchley. 'Fihelly, John Arthur (1882–1945)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fihelly-john-arthur-6169/text10597, published first in hardcopy 1981, accessed online 6 September 2015.

[20] "The Melbourne "Argus" was lamenting the other day that "Fihellyism" is too awkward a word to obtain a permanent place in the language of politics. The word was coined by Mr Adamson, lately a member of the Queensland Cabinet, in referring to Mr Fihelly, a present member of the Ministry—the Minister of Justice, in fact. Mr Adamson used the phrase to denote the mode of thought of men like Mr Fihelly, 'who recently caused some

aftermath of the Irish Easter Rising, an intended signal for the Irish Civil War, Fihelly made passionate remarks and speeches in defence of the rebels-cum-freedom-fighters, and there were deep emotions about 90 people sentenced to death, and 15 actually executed, ending with the hanging of Sir Roger Casement for high treason on 3 August 1916. It was too much, not only for Fihelly, but for a sizable section of the Queensland Irish community. At the meeting of the Queensland Irish Association in September, Fihelly denounced the British Government. That, in turn, became too much for the Queensland Governor Sir Hamilton John Goold-Adams who was born in Cork, in southwest Ireland. Goold-Adams refused to speak to Fihelly, and ensured that he was suspended from Executive Council meetings until he apologized. The story reveals considerable doubt in binding dominant narratives on either side of the war*s*, plural.

Whether *official* British Australian policy, or not, these four positions synthesizes dominant narratives among ordinary Queenslanders during World War I. That is, we have one society with at least four divisions in narratives which were strongly articulated in the population:

1. A binding narrative or civic religion which sought to recruit the efforts of both men and women to the cause of war on behalf of the British Empire;
2. A binding narrative or civic religion which acted as alternative to the call to war and sought efforts to restore international peace;
3. A skeptical narrative which challenged the 'powers' in the binding narrative for war – it opposed the political organisations of both capital and militarism, believing that that they were interrelated;
4. A skeptical narrative which challenged the Imperial British 'powers' in the binding narrative for war – it opposed the mistreatment of colonial subjects, specifically Ireland, by the British Government.

The divisions within the one socio-political body of Queensland society are clearly to be seen, but it is quite possible that within individual citizens these four different narratives operated

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commotion by making such statements as the following: "England is the home of cant, humbug, and hypocrisy"; "England showed hypocrisy by pretending to enter the war for the smaller nationalities, and then acting as she has done" ; and "the opinion is held by many young Australians that every Irish- Australian recruit means another soldier to assist the British Government to harass tho people of Ireland." As a consequence of these utterances, the Governor of Queensland (Sir Hamilton Goold Adams) refused to sit with Mr Fihelly in the Executive Council. At latest advice Mr Fihelly had been induced to give to the Premier a statement to the effect that in the statements quoted (which were made in a speech at the Queensland Irish Association) "nothing was intended that would be incompatible with absolute loyalty." The surprising thing is that Mr Fihelly was not prosecuted. Less seditious words than his have sent many ill-conditioned fellows to gaol already." The Press, Volume LII, Issue 15737, 2 November 1916, Page 6. Published in Canterbury, New Zealand.

across the time of the Great War. We know that in ordinary psychology that individuals express views which are inconsistent, whether opportunistically or in a genuine conversion of thought.[21]

The Argument: Undercurrent Narratives

There were, however, in addition, often overlapping, undercurrent narratives, which were just as important to how Queenslanders felt and thought on war and peace. These were not stories that Queenslanders told themselves as self-reflections on war and peace. Rather they are narratives to which historians have used to explain the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours we see in the life choices of Queenslanders, whether to go to war, avoid the presence of war, or to establish their own world of peace.

Masculine Adventurism and Feminine Fantasy

Australian historians Bill Grammage (1974) and Graham Seal (2004) have well explored the narrative of masculine adventurism in wider works on the ANZAC tradition.[22] Whether mythology in its retelling, or *ad hoc* experience of country lads in their personal motivation to join Australian Imperial Force, it is not surprising that a number of Queensland servicemen had an idea of adventure as part of the psychology for war. The fictional works of the era, as much as in previous centuries, and since, taught that manhood was achieved in the journey to, into, and from war; the central message of Homer's Iliad and *Odyssey*.

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[21] The term cognitive dissonance is used to describe the feelings of discomfort that result from holding two conflicting beliefs. Psychologist Leon Festinger proposed a theory of cognitive dissonance centered on how people try to reach internal consistency. There are three key strategies to reduce or minimize cognitive dissonance:
- Focus on more supportive beliefs that outweigh the dissonant belief or behaviour.
- Reduce the importance of the conflicting belief.
- Change the conflicting belief so that it is consistent with other beliefs or behaviours.

Leon Festinger. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson. 1957.

[22] Bill Gammage. *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974; Graham Seal. *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*. St Lucia, API. Network and UQP, 2004.

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Arthur Hoey Davis, that is, Steele Rudd, is well-known for short stories and novels which tell the tale of the hapless and hopeful male in the Queensland bush.[23] In 1918 Davis published *Memoirs of Corporal Keeley*, a sequence of memories as a young lad prepares to embark on the adventure of war. Davis had very little experience of war, but he had chaired the local recruiting committee as the Chairman of the Cambooya Shire Council in 1914-1915.
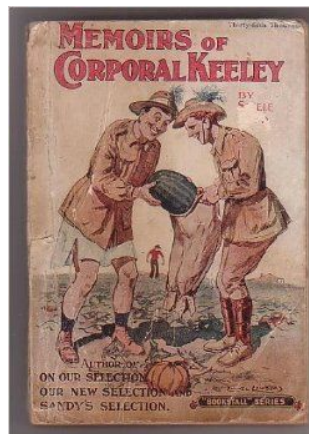
What is striking about Davis' comic novel is how little of the narrative focused on the actual experience of war overseas. Instead the novel is full of ordinary daily experiences of violence – fist-fights, whippings, spanking, and knife threats – and thus linking our ordinary values to the

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[23] Steele Rudd. Memoirs of Corporal Keeley. Sydney, N.S.W. Bookstall Series. 1918.

horrors of world war. Keeley's memoir ends with a fleeting thought of the dead mate, the masculine desire for courage, the obligation of national duty, and wanting of forgetfulness in a simple life:

> *Now I'm back in Sunny Queensland, on a little fruit farm that's all me own, still often thinkin' o' poor old Sam an if the wattle-tree has started to wave over him yet, but happy an' contented as the flowers an' th butterflies, along with Connie, an in th' knowledge that I had th' courage when me country was in trouble to inlist an' do me duty.* [24]

Masculine Adventurism focused on the war, but there is an undercurrent narrative which focused on peace. Feminine Fantasy can be coined as a term which speaks to the fantasy literature – before, during and after the war – which created an escapist or idyllic world of peace. Literature around fairies, and its connection to spiritualism and the Theosophical Society, in the later years of World War I is well known as the case of the Cottingley Fairies, with the fake photographs in 1917 and the article of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in 1920 Christmas edition of *The Strand Magazine*. [25]

Figure 7: Mabel Forrest – Unidentified. Mabel Forrest (2005). State Library of Queensland. Negative number: 122087.

Over the course of her life, Mabel Forrest, was a member of the Society of Authors, in London, a member of the Fellowship of Australian Writers, and a life member of the Queensland Press Institute. In the year before and during the War, Forrest was writing stories and poetry from her Brisbane home, published in major Australasian newspapers and journals, as well as her own collected volumes.

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Jemma Saunders. The Cottingley Fairies: a summary. History in an Hour. Posted September 4, 2012, at http://www.historyinanhour.com/2012/09/04/the-cottingley-fairies-summary/ , sighted 14 September 2015.

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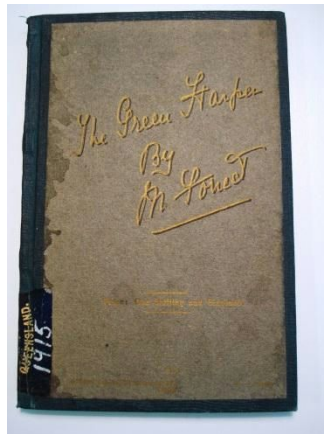
In 1915 Mabel Forrest produces *The Green Harper*. It is a collection of lyrical poems and short stories on fairies.[26] The narratives, such as they are, lush in child-like colourful imagery. They appear to offer the reader very little thought on war and peace, but hidden in analogy of mythological creatures are the troubling deceit and violence which flares up quickly and then disappear in ethos of innocence lost. It is the device we get with J. R. R. Tolkien's characters of Gollum, the Hobbits, and some of the Elves. Forrest's characterisation and narrative development was pale and thin compared to the substantive literature of writers like Tolkien and C.S. Lewis, which worked as a slightly different fantasy genre in another era of another world war. Tolkien, however, had indicated that there was applicability to his sense of the loss of close friends during World War I, a fact picked by Niall Ferguson in his account of the twentieth century in world war:

> *…J.J. Tolkien always denied that his Lord of the Rings trilogy, conceived during the First World War and largely written during the Second, was an allegory of contemporary events. Yet, as he conceded, it was certainly applicable to them. 'The Shire', with its thatched cottages, dappled sunlight and babbling brooks, was England precisely as she imagined herself in 1940 – not a mighty world empire, but an innocent rural backwater, albeit one acutely vulnerable to contamination from outside. Mordor was the totalitarian antithesis, a blasted industrial hell, 'bored and tunnelled by teeming broods of evil things', spewing forth monstrous hordes and devilish weaponry; a realm of slaves and of camps. Like Tolkien's hobbits, the English considered themselves the plucky little underdogs pitted against an all-knowing, all-powerful foe. The Lord of the Rings is a fairy story, in its author's own phrase, but one that was 'quickened to full life by war' – indeed, Tolkien himself also referred to the work as 'a history of*

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[26] Mabel Forrest. *The Green Harper*. Brisbane, Mabel Forrest. 1915.

the Great War of the Ring' and a homage 'to England; to my country'. It is a celebration of 'the indomitable courage of quiet small people against impossible odds' – and in that respect a quiet different kind of Ring saga from the Wagnerian version revered by Hitler.[27]

The historiographical connection between the world wars, and Queensland society as a vision of a small English rural community, meant that Forrest's fairy stories are a similar exploration for Queensland readers during a time of world war; as a means to frame the horror of the outside world in child-like stories of distant and dreamy lands.

Masculine Adventurism and the Feminine Fantasy are narratives in emotions and thoughts which are extraordinary. They are narratives which are a revolt against the acceptance of the ordinariness of life, against the expectations to live in comfortable routines.

Staying in Normalcy and the Return to Normalcy

Not everyone, however, wants to run away from such expectations, and indeed, nearly everyone, at some time, is happy where they are. And so there is an undercurrent narrative of staying in normalcy. Although these ideas of normalcy were not conscious self-reflections on war and peace, as true descriptions of the intention to live a normal life, in abnormal circumstances of wartime, it is an undercurrent narrative which cannot be ignored. As much as the war had a huge impact on people's lives, in Queensland, you simply could, and did, get on with the normal routines in life, as they had been in the years before 1914.

Figure 9: Frankie Payne – "Mrs. A.P. Clinton, (Sydney), formerly Miss Frankie Payne, the talented Queensland artist, and her infant son, Andrew Gifford". Society News. The Queensland Society Magazine. Vol. 3, No. 5 (June 1923) p. 4. State Library of Queensland. NAT 050 QUE.

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[27] Niall Ferguson. *The War of the World: History's Age of Hatred.* London: Allen Lane, 2006. pp. 414-415.

Frankie Payne was a noted Queensland artist.[28] Payne was only in her very early stage of her commercial design career in the war years, and earned an income as an illustrator for Queensland newspapers. Prior to the war, Payne had the unusual luxury of a modern-day European Grand Tour, combined with an elite education for a sketch artist and painter: studying at the Académie Colarossi, the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 'La Grande Chaumière', and Frank Brangwyn's studio in London.

Figure 10: Frankie Payne Illustration – "Illustrated advertisement from The Queenslander, December 4, 1915, p. 59". State Library of Queensland. Image No. 502620.

In 1915 Payne was asked to illustrate for a Queensland Railways advertisement (above) in *The Queenslander*. We see in the artwork an extraordinariness of a very ordinary Queensland scene, on the beach, enjoying the shade of the umbrella. There is no war; just the peace of the coastal terrain. It is what could be called a Proustian moment.[29] Marcel Proust published his voluminous "In Search of Lost Time" or "Remembrance of Things Past" across this wider era, from 1913 to 1927. Proust illuminated famously the experience of previously forgotten memories rushing into consciousness, triggered by momentary sensation, a taste, smell, a sound, or a colour, but it had been, well before 1914, an unselfconscious human experience, highlighted by the desire to recover a lost time of innocence. Modern literature, particularly in film 'flashbacks', has only become more apt in capturing that yearning for the safety of a time and place nostalgically re-lived. The idea of Staying in Normalcy spoke to the retention of peace on the home front. It was not the narrative of those Queenslanders being in the war front, at

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[28] Philp, Angela. 'Payne, Frances Mallalieu (Frank) (1885–1976)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/payne-frances-mallalieu-frank-11354/text20281, published first in hardcopy 2000, accessed online 6 September 2015.

[29] David L. Jones. Proust and Doderer as Historical Novelists. *Comparative Literature Studies*. Vol. 10, No. 1 (Mar., 1973), pp. 9-24.

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least, not in the literature and artworks done for the consumption of those who left to get on with their usual occupations and habits.

The war, however, would formally end in 1919, and Queenslanders who had been marred by the war experience would be expected to return to a life of normalcy during peace-time. In 1920 Warren Harding won the Presidency of the United States with the narrative of "Return to Normalcy". For American culture in the 1920s it became a dominant narrative, but with a Labor Government in power it was an undercurrent narrative in Queensland. It is worth reading the 'Return to Normalcy' paragraph of Harding speech on 24 May 1920, in Boston, Massachusetts, because it sums up well the same narrative for Queensland. To quote:

> *America's present need is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums, but normalcy; not revolution, but restoration; not agitation, but adjustment; not surgery, but serenity; not the dramatic, but the dispassionate; not experiment, but equipoise; not submergence in internationality, but sustainment in triumphant nationality.*

It was a socio-political argument which one section of the Queensland society thought was particularly applicable. The conservatives across the 'British Commonwealth of Nations' tended to borrow the American small-government and business-orientated narrative. It was well described in Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street* (1920), and in the last decades of the British Empire, it was a better way to reject out-of-hand any need for further social reform, as espoused by Labor Governments and other Socialist or Fabian organisations. There was also the hope for further reforms from Liberal Governments as established in the British New Liberalism of the welfare state reforms in the decade before the war (1906-1914). Politics in the United Kingdom and Australia, however, took a swing to the Conservative view of the world in the 1920s, preferring a more insular and quiet lifestyle than any struggle for either personal liberality or communal equality.

Figure 11: Elton Mayo – University of Queensland First Lecturers. University of Queensland Library.
http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:230292/web_phs169.jpg

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Elton Mayo was the first lecturer in moral and mental philosophy at the University of Queensland, and was appointed its first professor of philosophy in 1919.[30] The old description of "moral and mental philosophy" is refers now to the two fields, ethics, and psychology. Mayo had studied under philosopher, William Mitchell, at the University of Adelaide. From Mitchell, Mayo seemed to take a general educative approach where learning was of importance to the intellectual, aesthetic, and moral development of the person in their career, rather than prevailing utilitarian view of the time. During the war Mayo worked with a Brisbane physician, Dr. T. H. Mathewson, on psychoanalytic treatment for shell-shocked soldiers. Recovery towards a person's independence through an understanding of misconceptions or barriers in thought became one of Mayo key themes.
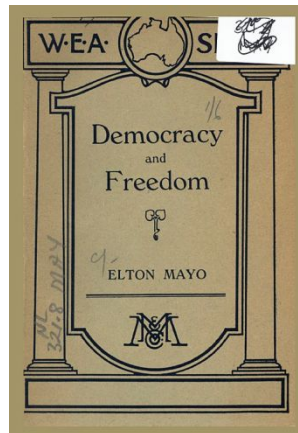

Figure 12: Democracy and Freedom Book Front Cover – Mayo, Elton. Democracy and Freedom: An Essay in Social Logic. Melbourne : Macmillan, 1919. National Library of Australia. http://nla.gov.au/nla.aus-vn5547883

In the same year he is appointed Professor at the University of Queensland, Mayo produces his first book, *Democracy and Freedom: An Essay in Social Logic*. It is the book was the first in a series published by the Workers' Educational Association of Australia. It seeks to develop a social democratic theory, one that is based in liberalism and yet appeals to the needs of labour. Mayo is a controversial figure in sociology and social physiology, for the fact that, according to his critics, he ended up with a machine-like managerialism at Harvard School of Business Administration during the 1930s.[31] It is unfortunately ironic because Mayo is motivated to heal

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[30] Bourke, Helen. 'Mayo, George Elton (1880–1949)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mayo-george-elton-7541/text13155, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 6 September 2015.

[31] Ellen S. O'Connor. The Politics of Management Thought: A Case Study of the Harvard Business School and the Human Relations School. *The Academy of Management Review*. Vol. 24, No. 1 (Jan., 1999), pp. 117-131; J.H. Smith. Elton Mayo and The Hidden Hawthorne. *Work, Employment & Society*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (March 1987), pp. 107-120.

the worker's mental health, for *men* recovering from the trauma of the war experience, and he wants only to resolve industrial unrest into a vision of social cohesion.[32]

An entertaining novel, a collection of poems and short stories, or an illustrative advertisement will convey philosophic influence or expression indirectly and simpler. Fiction is quite unconcerned to shape up its ideas to bring a thorough understanding of its history and intellectual schema (relation to all other ideas). An analytic narrative as we see in Mayo's *Democracy and Freedom* has to be considered at greater length, more so, because its schema can be seen in how Queensland conservative-liberal politicians prevented social reforms being legislated, ones which would greatly benefit the individual and their personal liberties. We see in the leadership of several Queensland Premiers a paternalistic managerialism, and this is evident also for Labor Governments in Queensland. For this reason, further attention has to be made on where Mayo's theory goes wrong in *Democracy and Freedom*, and how his thinking ends up as the antithesis of both liberalism and social democracy. In this regard, we will see it has to do with the war experience, the turmoil the war produced in 1919, and the struggle to understand what would bring and maintain peace. Mayo enunciated that, "The function of the State in relation to this [combining ancestral tradition and self-development] social process is that of moral control".[33] Mayo took the morality in traditional forms of society ("Social Will") at face value, and it pushed Mayo into a conservative and militaristic view of a functioning industrial society built upon tightly-controlled cohesion. The argument is confusing but it can be explained more accurately by quoting a few short sections of Mayo's introduction and concluding chapter in *Democracy and Freedom*:

> *…industries are learning to regard themselves as social functions rather than sources of merely national wealth, and are already experimenting in the direction of extra-political or world-wide organisation. The effect of the war will undoubtedly be to strengthen and accelerated this tendency; former methods and conceptions of politics and industry will be quite inadequate to the task of reconstituting civilisation. If social freedom implies an enlargement of human spheres of activity, then this war, in spite of military regulation, has achieved a notable advance…*

> *Parallel with this change has come a marked extension of the sphere of State control. This extension is not socialistic, as some would fain believe; it is primarily military. The social logic of war differs by the whole width of heaven from the social logic of peace. In war the military*

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[32] Bernard Sarachek. Elton Mayo's Social Psychology and Human Relations. *The Academy of Management Journal* Vol. 11, No. 2 (June 1968), pp. 189-197.

[33] Elton Mayo. *Democracy and Freedom: An Essay in Social Logic*. Melbourne, Macmillan Series W.E.A. series；no. 1 . 1919. p. 7.

commander must be supreme, and the device of State-control is simply a "democratic" method of recognising this necessity...The political State was consequently compelled to assume the leadership and to impose an industrial system and an artificial unanimity upon the economic activities of the nation. This is still the condition of affairs; it is difficult to see how the mere cessation of the war will materially alter the situation from a political point of view...[34]

As can be seen, the experience of war and a militarist view of peace have shaped the argument. At this point Mayo introduces the problem:

...In the absence of adequate understanding of the issues involved and a social will to co-operate, the State may therefore be forced into the continued imposition of war conditions after the war is over. And this, while it may seem to the politician to be the will of the community, while it may actually be necessary, will please no one, and may, indeed, bring governments, whether democratically organised or not, into conflict with that expanding social will which is the most remarkable feature of the present era. This, then, is the problem. A large measure of State regulation and control is admittedly a present military and industrial necessity, and the necessity may continue beyond the conclusion of the war. On the other hand, State control would seem to be incompatible with that; extra-political expansion of social activities which is apparently to be the outstanding feature of a reconstructed civilisation. Democracy, as we know it, provides no sufficient safeguard against governmental interference with development and freedom...[35]

Mayo's solution is for workers to remove the mists from social and political philosophy which has led to "an aggravated partisan hostility" of class warfare, and to take-on a more moralistic view of the State's role in preserving the traditions of the Society:[36]

...The function of "the governor" was no longer, therefore, that of "governing" in an absolute or arbitrary manner, but was rather that of discovering and interpreting the social will. The effect of this was to give society a moral, rather than a military or intellectual unity; so far the effect was definitely an advance. That "will, not force, is the basis of the State" has always been the principle which has determined the stability of a given community; disregard of the social will, under any form of government, has been the shortest way to revolution. But democracy was the first attempt, historically speaking, to place sovereignty explicitly in the social will. The failure of democracy is due to the fact that it has lost sight of its original inspiration. Modern democracies bear some resemblance to the historic tyrannies in their misconceptions of the art of government. All the objections which mankind discovered to the "divine right of kings" might be urged with equal force against the principle of social activities.

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[34] Ibid. pp. 8-9.
[35] Ibid. p. 10.
[36] Ibid. p. 13.

> *"State control" implies a reversion to the very condition of things which democracy was designed to destroy; and especially so, when our political leaders altogether misconceive the nature of the social will.*

> *The social will in any civilised community is extraordinary concrete and very complex. It finds expression in moral institutions such as common law, equity, marriage and the law of contracts, which regulate human relationships by means of law and public opinion. It finds expressions, also, in the various professions and trades, each of which conserves some special type of skill in the interest of the community. In no other manner can skill be conserved; written records are values with the skilled and experienced interpreter. Over the whole field of human activity, inherited tradition supplies the material of knowledge; the contribution of each successive generation to this common stock is relatively small. Civilisation, therefore, depends for its maintenance primarily, it might be said, upon the ability of a present generation to understand, to apply and to extend its ancestral knowledge. This fact is a commonplace of psychological science. Its implication is that structure is everything to civilisation. Man is civilised only when he functions in a social scheme or system which endures through successive generations and is continuously developed towards the better expression of human capacities of thought and will. The art of government cannot be held to have approached perfection until it has related itself to this age-long effort to realise ideal conditions of living for the individual and the society.*[37]

The last sentence here is hopeful, if not romantic in its gesture, but the references to ideas of moral unity, not intellectual unity, and of an unexplained and presumed "social will" which all others have misconceived except the "moral institutions" and the "skilled and experienced interpreter" – what Mayo identifies as the major supply of "inherited tradition" to which the present generation adds very little knowledge – ends in a very illiberal system of a benignly motivated, or paternal, managerialism. According to Mayo, it is not the ethical choices which each person makes that civilize, but the enduring system of morality (what Mayo is inferring in the idea of a social scheme or will). It was for this very reason that the late twentieth century philosopher Bernard Williams rejected the concept of morality for both a skeptical and a liberal approach to ethical and political theories.[38] However, in 1920s the experience of war and its aftermath in the victorious Russian and the suppressed German socialist revolutions, conservative-type liberals needed to severely tame the push for social reforms, out of fear that it would create a slide into moral chaos. Peace became a return to conventional ways of doing

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[37] Ibid. pp. 62-64.

[38] Bernard Williams. *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*, London: Fontana. 1985; *Making Sense of Humanity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; *The Sense of the Past: Essays on the History of Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; *In the Beginning was the Deed: Realism and Moralism in Political Argument*, Geoffrey Hawthorn (ed.), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

things. As Mayo stated, "Civilisation is a gallant experiment in the direction of peace, an experiment which has behind it a history of war."[39] Mayo, at least, saw war as the "insufficiency and inadequacy in the social structure" but Mayo had no hope that world peace could be achieved in the cooperation between the States, such as was envisaged in the League of Nations.[40] Rather the answer for Mayo was the cooperation of societies in "the tasks of civilisation". Mayo was opposing the tragic consequences in 1919 of both Fascist and Marxist Statism.[41] His analysis here is admirable, particularly in hindsight, but his idea of "the State as a moral, rather than intellectual, instrument of the community" sadly overlooked the way moralism also commonly justifies violence.[42] Mayo did well to challenge the idealisation of the State, but then he appears to do the exactly the same kind of idealisation for Society. "States are national and geographical", says Mayo, "society is not."[43] A sense of place and time in a society is missing for Mayo, and it led to a very confusing argument of Mayo in the last few pages of the book, where he claims that Australian Labour Party's foreign policy (Perth Conference, June 1918) of the right of Australian self-determination ("recognising the equal right of other communities to autonomy of a like kind") was 'probably' an adapted declaration of "the social gospel of Bolshevik Russia", and thus at its extreme, "reactionary and closely akin to militaristic imperialism".[44] However, it is Mayo's own idealisation of Society and its function for the State "to forbid *any* contravention of established morality" which appears reactionary.[45]

Whether masculine or feminine, extraordinary or ordinary, or even whether the narratives sought political engagement or withdrawing into bland or paternal managerialism, these last four positions of philosophic influence (and expression) synthesizes the undercurrent narratives among ordinary Queenslanders during World War I. To sum up the undercurrent narratives to which ordinary Queenslanders, at the time, were only vaguely aware, if at all:

5. An undercurrent narrative of Masculine Adventurism which spoke of the external reimagining of war's turmoil in romanticised drama that focuses on the breaking away from home for a life in the big world;

6. An undercurrent narrative of Feminine Fantasy which spoke of the internal reimagining of war's turmoil in romanticised drama that focuses on the love of a rural Englishman's home;

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[39] Mayo Op Cit. p. 66.
[40] Ibid. pp. 69-70.
[41] Ibid. pp. 70-71.
[42] Ibid. p. 71.
[43] Ibid. p. 72.
[44] Ibid. pp. 72-73.
[45] Ibid. p. 73. Emphasis Added. Mayo clearly meant "any" in an absolutist sense.

7. An undercurrent narrative of Staying in Normalcy which spoke of a denial of the ever-presence of war in the peace of "Remembrance of Things Past";

8. An undercurrent narrative of Return to Normalcy which spoke of seeking and maintaining peace in a conventional small-town moralism – the evil of Statism which brought war, and the goodness of an idealised Society which is beyond any blame for personal conflict and political inequality.

There are many insights here, and, even where the connections are confused and misconceived, the different narratives of war and peace for Queenslanders do hang together as the one socio-political society. They also hang together as a body of different intellectual organs under the skins of persons with many emotions and thoughts. How exactly the parts for the individual and the society in Queensland connect is a matter of further discussion, research, and the synthesis in our thinking.

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