Marching Forward, Looking Backward: Tradition and Change in Australian Military Bands, 1930-1955

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Signature:

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Print Name: Anthea Skinner

Date: 31 October 2016
Dedication

For my grandfathers, David Howard and Cyril Skinner. Veterans of World War II who served on opposite sides of the world. Two very different men who, each in their own way, inspired me to write this thesis.
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Abstract

Almost a million Australians served in World War II. Military bands were, in many ways, the public face of the armed forces, performing in departure and welcome home ceremonies, recruitment drives and to pacify potential enemy sympathisers. Despite this, there has been little research conducted on mid-twentieth century Australian military band history. This thesis is the first study of the lives of Australia’s military musicians before, during and immediately after World War II. The period from 1930 to 1955 saw a marked change in the organisational structure of the Australian military generally and its band services specifically, as they transformed from a largely part-time force, to a fully professional service with long-term career structures for its members. Throughout this time of great change musicians serving in the Australian military were tasked with performing ceremonies aimed at reminding the population, military and civilian alike, of the longstanding traditions and ethos of the military. This thesis explores the dichotomy faced by musicians, working in a constantly modernising organisation like the military, while at the same time maintaining largely unchanging ceremonial performance traditions.

In exploring changes and traditions in Australian military banding between 1930 and 1955 I will concentrate on three main fields: non-musical training and duties, music and performance, and organisational change. Using fieldwork interviews with retired veterans and their families, together with archival records and contemporary newspaper reports, this thesis shows a rapidly changing band service. It tells of barely-trained, part-time militiamen who went on to become the last generation of Australian military musicians to see combat; of highly-trained radar operators who became fulltime bandsmen; and of a previously undocumented group of women, welcomed into mainstream bands during wartime, only to be excluded for another 40 years once peace reigned.

This period was also one of gradual professionalization for Australia’s military band services. In the 1930s musicians performed other military duties, as stretcher-bearers for example; however, starting in World War II and continuing post-war, musicians were gradually removed from the frontlines to focus solely on their musical skills. I will argue that, although it limited their military duties, this process of specialisation was vital to the survival of Australia’s military bands because as increased modernisation led to increased specialisation for military personnel, the idea of having to focus on two distinct fields, such as music and radar operating, was no longer appropriate.

While the mid-twentieth century was a time of great organisational change for Australian military bands, this thesis also demonstrates strong continuity in ceremonial performance. Ceremonial repertoire had often been in use since World War I and much of it is still in use in the present day. Ceremonies such as Remembrance Day are still performed in much the same way today as they were in the period under discussion. Australia’s military musicians may no longer be responsible for keeping up to date with the latest in medicine or radar, but their role as keepers of tradition and ceremony in a constantly modernising military means that they will forever be marching forwards, looking back.
**Acknowledgements**

First of all, I wish to thank my ten research participants and their families. They welcomed me into their homes, were generous with their time and memories and plied me with more cups of tea than I thought possible. Each of my participants was eager to tell their story, and in doing so they let me glimpse a time of great change and, for many of them, great trauma. They provide the backbone of this thesis and I could not have written it without them.

I would also like to thank my supervisors, Professor Margaret Kartomi and Dr Joel Crotty. They were the best supervisors that I could have hoped for, and always made time to read a draft, have a philosophical discussion or lend words of advice. They ensured that my candidature remained on track and ran smoothly, even when I was too sick to get out of bed and they did not even make me cry once.

I had a lot of help and support in researching this thesis, some from friends and colleagues, others from complete strangers with a shared passion for banding history. John Whiteoak and Aline Scott-Maxwell welcomed me into their home and provided me with access to the extensive Arthur Stirling Collection. Finding and contacting banding veterans from a conflict that ended some 70 years ago was no easy task and I could not have done it without the help of Brian Ellis from the RAN Band Association, Stuart Colhoun from the Australian Army Band Corps Association, Alan Robertson from the RAAF Association (Tasmanian Division) and Frank Duracher from the Salvation Army. Robin Himbury and his wife Jan welcomed me into their home to discuss his extensive research on RAN bands. Lindsay Cox was of great assistance at the Salvation Army Southern Territorial Archives and was generous enough to discuss his own research on Australian banding history. My friend and colleague at the Music Archive of Monash University, Bronia Kornhauser, helped me to find music journals from the 1930s to the 1950s in our collection. I would also like to thank Jackie Waylen and all the staff at Monash University’s Matheson Library, especially the personnel in the Rare Books Department. I also appreciated the assistance of the staff at the State Library of Victoria and the National Archives of Australia’s Melbourne and Canberra collections. Dianne Edwards from Music Resources at the Salvation Army also helped me to locate contemporary sheet music used by Australian military bands. I would like to thank my friends Wayne Preusker and Richard Annable for sharing their knowledge of 21st century Australian military bands and Peter Farmer for his advice on all things percussion.

No one completes a PhD without the support of their friends and family. As a person with a disability I rely on this support just to get out of bed in the morning. The following people provided me with attendant care, a place to stay, moral support and a shoulder to cry on: Tim Hackett, Dean Niclasen, Petra Niclasen, Robin Sutherland, Axel Post, Lee-Anne Proberts and Aaron Corn.

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Glossary

- Bass horn – an upright serpent folded to look like a bassoon.
- Bb Bass – B flat tuba
- BBb Bass – Double B flat tuba
- Bombardon – tuba.
- Crooks - lengths of tubing to shorten or lengthen a brass instrument, thus changing its pitch.
- Doubling, double-handed – playing more than one instrument.
- Eb Bass – E flat tuba
- First Fleet – the fleet of 11 ships that arrived in Australia in January 1788, carrying the convicts and guards who would become Australia’s first European settlers.
- Hand-stopping – the technique of putting a hand or cloth in the bell of a French horn to change the instrument’s tone and pitch.
- Lyres - mall music stands that attach to an instrument for use while marching.
- Ophecliede – a bass keyed-bugle. Plays an octave below the keyed-bugle.
- Serpent – wind bass instrument with a leather body with finger holes and keys and a brass-type mouthpiece. Folded into a serpent shape to make it easier to hold.

Abbreviations

- AA – Alcoholics Anonymous
- ACI – Aircraftman I
- ACII – Aircraftman II
- ACT – Australian Capital Territory
- ACW – Aircraftwoman
- ADF – Australian Defence Force
- AFC – Australian Flying Corps (precursor to the RAAF)
- AGH – Australian General Hospital
- AIF – Australian Imperial Force
- ANZAC – Australia and New Zealand Army Corps
- ARA – Australian Regular Army
- AWAS – Australian Women’s Army Service
- AWL – Absent Without Leave
- AWM – Australian War Memorial
- BCOF – British Commonwealth Occupation Force
- BPM – beats per minute
- CO – Commanding Officer
- CMF – Citizen Militia Forces (later Citizen Military Forces)
- EATS – Empire Air Training Scheme
- EFTS – Elementary Flight Training School (RAAF)
- FLT LT – Flight Lieutenant
- FND – Flinders Naval Depot
• HMAS – Her Majesty's Australian Ship
• HMS – Her Majesty’s Ship (British)
• LAC – Leading Aircraftman
• LCI – Landing Craft Infantry
• LDWC – Lower Decks Welfare Committee (RAN)
• NAA – National Archives of Australia
• NCO – Non-Commissioned Officer
• NSW – New South Wales
• NT – Northern Territory
• PoW – Prisoner of War
• PTSD – Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
• Qld - Queensland
• RAAF - Royal Australian Air Force
• RAF – Royal Air Force (British)
• RAG – Regimental Artillery Group
• RAN – Royal Australian Navy
• RANR – Royal Australian Naval Reserve
• RAR – Royal Australian Regiment
• RFC – Royal Flying Corps (precursor to the RAF)
• RMC – Royal Marine Corps (British)
• RN – Royal Navy (British)
• RNSM – Royal Naval School of Music (British)
• RSL – Returned and Services League
• RSM – Regimental Sergeant Major
• RSSILA – Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia (became the RSL in 1965)
• SA – South Australia
• SMH – Sydney Morning Herald
• Tas - Tasmania
• TS – transmitting station
• VC – Victoria Cross
• Vic – Victoria
• WA – Western Australia
• WAAAF – Women’s Auxiliary Australian Air Force
• WRANS – Women’s Royal Australian Naval Service
• WWI – World War I (1914-1918)
• WWII – World War II (1939-1945)
Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

Introduction

The idea behind this thesis began while I was still in school in the 1990s. My musical education began in a high school concert band program. In Australia, the elite performers in this genre, indeed the only professional concert band performers, were members of the nation’s military and police bands. The military was the second largest employer of musicians in Australia (after the Australian Broadcasting Corporation) (Bannister 1994, 33) and we all dreamed of landing a coveted position in one of their bands. Many of our teachers and the senior members of community concert bands were also former or serving military musicians. The idea for this thesis grew from the differences that I observed between retired and serving military musicians. My friends who were current military musicians (in the 1990s) would make jokes about what bad soldiers they were, saying that they would learn to fire a rifle when the infantry learnt to play a C major scale. In contrast, the retired military musicians, many of them World War II veterans, would discuss their experiences in combat and the friends that they had lost. Despite these vastly different experiences of military service, these two generations of musicians had very similar performance experiences. The ceremonial performances of Australian military musicians have changed very little over the last century. Styles of performance, repertoire and the ceremonies themselves maintain a consistency through time in order to evoke the long-standing traditions of military service. Why, I asked myself, had these musical traditions survived when the working conditions of the musicians involved had changed so drastically?

This thesis adds to the existing literature on Australian military bands as the first study to focus on and compare Australian military musicians from all three arms of the military (army, navy and air force). It is also the first study to concentrate specifically on World War II, its build up and its aftermath. Due to the advanced age of my informants (the youngest of whom are in their mid-80s) this thesis is one of the last opportunities to hear about the experiences of Australia’s military musicians of World War II in their own words.

I will explore the dichotomy faced by military musicians, between the need to maintain ceremonial traditions and the need to remain up-to-date with the military’s changing requirements. I will argue that this dichotomy is central to the experiences of military musicians. As “soldiers whose specialty is music and ceremony” (Bannister 1996, 133), musicians hold a unique place within the military as the keepers of ceremonial memory. Military bands feature two main forms of performance, ceremonial and entertainment (with some containing aspects of both). Ceremonial performances included remembrance ceremonies such as ANZAC Day and Remembrance Day; recognition of the achievements of

\footnote{ANZAC Day, celebrated on 25 April marks the landing of Australian and New Zealand Forces on Gallipoli in 1915, however it is used to celebrate the lives, and commemorate the deaths of all members of the Australian and New Zealand armed forces. Remembrance Day, known as Armistice Day, marks the end of World War I on November 11, 1918.}
local personnel, such as march out (graduation) parades; and formal occasions such as welcoming heads of state or military funerals. Ceremonial events were highly formalised, with consistent performance styles, repertoire and running orders of items for each occasion. Entertainment performances were less formalised and were designed to appeal to the local civilian and/or military populations, usually featuring light classical and popular music of the time. The musicians responsible for maintaining these performance traditions are, at the same time, members of the military, an organisation that must constantly modernise equipment, training and organisational structure if it is to remain an effective fighting force. These dual forces of continuity and change result in a band corps that is, in a very real way, marching forwards while looking back.

I will focus on the period between 1930 and 1955, covering the time immediately before, during and after World War II. I chose this period because it was the time in which Australian military musicians changed from a collection of predominantly amateur volunteer musicians, to soldiers who played music when their duties allowed, through to the introduction of a fulltime band corps which is still a feature of the Australian military today. Although removing musicians from the active combat that they faced in World War II may be seen as a backward step for their place in a military organisation, I see it as a vital adaptation in which members of the military were required to become specialists in a specific field, rather than attempting to hold dual, unrelated skills as, for example, both radar operators and musicians.

I have divided the time frame under investigation into three distinct periods, pre-war, World War II and post-war. For the purposes of this thesis I have defined these as: pre-war (1930-1938), World War II (1939-1945) and post-war (1946-1955). I have chosen 1930 as a starting point because it is far enough from the end of World War I (1914-1918) to not be influenced by the demobilisation of that conflict, while being well before the looming threat of World War II, allowing me to trace Australia’s journey along what Svanibor Pettan describes as the “war-peace continuum” examining the build up from peace-time through to the outbreak of war (Pettan 2010, 181). I have limited my study of World War II to the years of Australia’s involvement (1939-1945).¹ Nineteen fifty-five was chosen as the cut off point for my research as by this time all three of the branches of the armed services (army, navy and air force) had begun rebuilding their band services after the demobilisation of World War II. This period also includes two other conflicts in which bandsmen served, the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Malayan Emergency (1950-1960).

One of the most unexpected changes for military musicians at this time that I discovered was the role of women in Australia military bands. While it is well-documented that World War II women’s military forces such as the Women's

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¹ Although Europeans generally consider World War II to have begun in 1939, many in Asia and the Pacific see the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 as the true beginning of the conflict. As Australia did not become involved in the war until 1939, this earlier period will not be discussed in this thesis (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 2016).
Auxiliary Australian Air Force (WAAAF) and the Australian Women's Army Service (AWAS) featured their own performing ensembles (Stevenson & Darling 1984, 184-5), Bannister implies that women did not enter mainstream military ensembles until 1984 when he writes ‘...that women’s entry into the Australian Army Band Corps - following the Australian Government’s Sex Discrimination Act of 1984 - has been an agent of change ...’ (Bannister 1998, 5), and there is no mention in the academic literature of women in mainstream bands before this time. However, I was surprised to be contacted by WAAAF veteran Olive Jardine (nee McNeil) who, due to a shortage of musicians on her RAAF base, was seconded into her local RAAF band during World War II. Upon researching further I discovered that there were indeed a handful of women, all members of the WAAAF, who served in mainstream RAAF bands during World War II. Although this practice was short-lived, ending with the mass demobilisation at the end of the war, the experiences of these women demonstrate that there was a hitherto unknown period of mixed-gender bands in the Australian military.

Australian military bands are the musical arm of the Australian Defence Forces. They feature in a variety of music performances and are used “…to reinforce the people’s belief in a set of ‘social’, ‘personal’ and ‘fighting’ qualities attributed to Australian service personnel in times of war” (Bannister 2002, 1). The dichotomy between modernisation and tradition existed not only between the musical and military roles of military musicians, but also between the various musical roles themselves. While ceremonial performances relied on traditional repertoire and techniques that changed little over time, entertainment performances, aimed at providing a friendly, entertaining public face to the military, featured easily recognisable, popular music of the day and as such needed to remain up-to-date with the latest trends. Entertainment performances have been largely ignored in the existing academic record in favour of the more formal ceremonial performances. Although military bands regularly perform repertoire from classical, jazz and popular styles, “they are not generally recognised by musicians or scholars as part of any of these traditions” (Bannister 1997, 164). Despite this, entertainment-based performances were and continue to be integral to the work of Australian military bands and some of the entertainment performances discussed within this thesis demonstrate very specific military aims including recruiting campaigns, entertaining weary soldiers, winning over the hearts and minds of potential enemy sympathisers and victory celebrations.

The period from 1930 to 1955 was a time of great change in Australia’s defence priorities, and the nation needed to respond appropriately as “[e]ven powerful states can face disaster if their military organizations do not respond appropriately to the challenges required by a country’s security strategy” (Avant 1994, 1). In 1930 Australia, with a population of less than 6.5 million, was hardly powerful by world standards. It had only a small peace-time military, which, as it currently stood, was not equipped for another major conflict so soon after the devastating losses of World War I. The Royal Australian Navy (RAN), supported

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1 Of a population fewer than five million, some 416,809 men enlisted in WWI with 60,000 killed and a further 156,000 wounded, gassed or taken prisoner.
by the British Royal Navy (RN) were seen as the island nation’s primary defence, with the army providing militia support only if the nation were invaded.

As World War II approached, the nation increased all of its armed forces, but especially its army, in preparation for a war against large standing armies on foreign soil. With the entry of Japan into the war in 1941 Australia faced a serious threat of invasion for the first time since colonisation. At the end of the war the military faced the dual tasks of demobilisation, while at the same time rebuilding the navy and air force and creating a permanent standing army for the first time in the nation’s history. However, when new conflicts began, the military hierarchy found that it was not facing large military organisations as it had during World War II, instead it faced guerrilla insurgencies in hostile and (to the Australians) largely unknown territory and again the Australian military was forced to adapt. All of these changes had the potential to adversely influence morale, in soldiers and civilians alike: “Morale and organisation were and are closely linked. Morale requires confidence in colleagues, superiors, and purpose” (Black 1998, 885). As the public face of Australia’s military, military musicians were in large part responsible for helping to uphold morale and maintain longstanding traditions during these turbulent times, and they did it while their own experiences in the military were themselves undergoing rapid change.

**Definition of Terms and Titles**

The term ‘military band’ is an ambiguous one because it can refer both to a band’s instrumentation and its military affiliation. Jeremy Montagu defines military music as: “Instrumental music associated with the ceremonies, functions and duties of military organizations” (Montagu et al n.d.). That is, music provided by the military as representative of that organization. Since the British colonisation of Australia the military has been, and continues to be, represented by various types of instrumental ensembles, including wind bands, drum and fife bands and pipe bands, but in the 20th and 21st centuries the term ‘military band’ has come to mean an ensemble featuring brass, woodwind and percussion instruments. This meaning has become so ubiquitous that “[i]n British usage it refers (misleadingly) to mixed wind bands of all types” (Oxford Music Online n.d.). In Australia, however, these civilian brass, wind and percussion ensembles are usually referred to as ‘concert bands’ or ‘symphonic bands’ while the term ‘military band’ is usually limited to their counterparts in the defence force; it is this more limited definition that will be used in this thesis.

Australia began to be colonised by the British in 1788 and became the Commonwealth of Australia after Federation in 1901. Between these years, the continent was separated into six British colonies, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania (formerly Van Diemen’s Land), Queensland, West Australia and South Australia, each of which had their own colonial military forces. When discussing the colonial period, I will reference specific colonies where appropriate, however when discussing a point which is relevant to the whole continent, I will use the term Australia.
When discussing the origins and development of military bands in Australia I refer to them coming from a British tradition. I do this, despite the fact that brass bands are quintessentially English because I am discussing them in a military context. The bands examined in this thesis first came to Australia as part of the British military, and were tasked with representing the British Empire, not just England. As well as bringing wind and brass bands, the British military also brought with them a parallel Scottish musical tradition in the form of pipe and drum bands. Although these bands were fewer in number, the tradition of pipe and drum bands in the Australian Defence Force continue into the 21st century. As will be discussed in the delimitations section, pipe and drum bands will not be explored in this thesis.

While the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) existed under these monikers between 1930 and 1955, the army went through a number of name changes. During the pre-war period, the army was a part-time militia force known as the CMF (Citizen Militia Forces, later Citizen Military Forces) and used for home defence. At the outbreak of World War II, members of the CMF were only eligible for home service and thus not able to serve overseas (although the definition of home service was later expanded to include New Guinea) (Odgers 1993, 159). During the war, men could be conscripted into the CMF. To provide soldiers to serve overseas, the Australian Imperial Force (AIF), which had first been used in World War I, was reformed by enlisting volunteers as 'hostilities-only' recruits, whose service was only required until the end of the war and who were to be demobilised within 12 months of the end of the conflict (Australian Imperial Force 1940, 10). Unlike their CMF counterparts, these recruits were all volunteers and could serve anywhere in the world. At the end of the war the AIF was demobilised and a small Interim Army existed until the formation of the Australia Regular Army (ARA) in 1949. The CMF also continued to exist post-war, reverting to a part-time force that became the Australian Army Reserve in 1980.

Aims and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to explore the changes and continuities in the working lives of Australia's military musicians between 1930 and 1955, with specific reference on the effect of World War II. I will focus on three areas of military musicians’ experiences: non-musical roles and training, music and performance, and organisational change. These three areas allow me to explore the day-to-day non-musical experiences of military musicians, their music and their long-term careers.

The examination of military musicians’ non-musical roles and training includes recruitment strategies, military training, deployment, combat, injuries and fatalities. They allow me to explore the following questions:

- How were military musicians recruited, and how did this change over time?
• How did the non-musical training of military musicians change?

Music and performance includes musical training, instrumentation, types of performance, and repertoire, exploring questions such as:

• How did the musical training of military musicians change over time?

• How did the make-up of military bands change over time? (i.e. strength, instrumentation)

• To what extent did ceremonial and entertainment performances change?

Finally, organisational change includes changes to pay, opportunities for advancement, and future careers, exploring the questions:

• How did the Australian military provide a long-term career structure for military musicians?

• To what extent was this successful?

Each of these themes will be discussed for each branch of the armed services (army, navy and air force) in the pre-war, war and post-war periods in order to ascertain the competing changes and traditions in the lives of Australian military musicians. These questions will allow me to examine the changes and continuities at play in the lives of Australian military musicians serving between 1930 and 1955 and to demonstrate how institutional responses to these complexities shaped the future of Australian military band services.

Delimitations

In this section I will begin by discussing delimitations relating to historical background, types of ensembles (both instrumentation and personnel) and available primary sources. I will finish with those that I have imposed on various conflicts during the periods in question, and those that result from the availability of informants.

In exploring the history and traditions behind Australian military music it has been necessary to discuss its British roots in the British Army and Royal Navy (RN) but not the British Royal Air Force (RAF) because RAAF bands were not as strongly influenced by its British counterpart as were the Australian army and navy. This is because while the Australian army and navy both began as British forces stationed in Australian colonies and continued to be influenced by these more established forces even after Federation, the RAAF and the RAF formed
much later, and at roughly the same time. As a result RAAF bands were more strongly influenced by the nearby bands from other Australian forces than by those of the RAF stationed on the other side of the world.

I have also imposed delimitations on the types of military ensembles discussed in this thesis. Although the Australian military has featured a wide range of ensemble types, for reasons of space, I will only examine brass bands and concert bands because they formed the core focus of Australia’s military music programs. The only exception to this rule is where brass or concert band members were required to double on other instruments to form separate ensembles within the group. As was discussed above, the Australian military also has a long history of pipe and drum bands; these have been omitted because of the broad musicological differences between them and the brass and wind bands discussed in this thesis. Featuring different instrumentation, repertoire, performance traditions, recruitment bases and even tunings, the inclusion of pipe bands was beyond the scope of this thesis. Likewise, musical ensembles formed by women’s auxiliary military organisations are not included; however a number of individual WAAAF members who were seconded into mainstream RAAF bands are discussed.

One of the contemporary sources that I have used in researching the repertoire of Australian military bands is *Australian Military Forces Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions* (Riley and Shrugg, n.d.). Unfortunately I have not been able to access the score of these arrangements, and was instead forced to rely solely on parts written for repiano cornet and euphonium.

As discussed above, as well as World War II, there were two other conflicts in which Australian military musicians served between 1930 and 1955, the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Malayan Emergency (1950-1960). For reasons of space I have dealt with them only briefly, focusing on the ways in which they reflected the ongoing changes and continuities discussed in this study. The final delimitation imposed on this study is not for reasons of space, but time. This thesis was written some 70 years after World War II; thus, people who were senior members of military bands at the time have long since passed away. My informants were all junior members of their bands at the time, and many were not old enough to begin their service until well after the start of the war. As a result, much of the research stemming from these interviews focuses on period after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941.

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1 The RAF began as an arm of the British Army called the Royal Flying Corps [RFC] in 1912 and became the RAF in 1918. The RAAF began as the Australian Flying Corps [AFC] in 1914, and became the RAF in 1921.

2 ‘Doubling’ refers to a musician being able to play multiple instruments.

3 The repiano cornet part is considered a ‘floating’ part that reinforces particular lines of the music for added emphasis. As a result it often plays the melody line.
Methodology

I have used three main types of research sources, each of which has provided a different perspective on Australian military bands between 1930 and 1955. I will begin by discussing pre-existing studies, including works on military bands specifically and the Australian military more generally, as well as research on organisational theory. The second source which I will discuss are archival resources about the Australian military and its band services, focussing on the collection held at the National Archives of Australia (NAA). Finally, I discuss a series of fieldwork interviews that I conducted with Australian military band veterans and family members of deceased veterans.1 After outlining my recruitment and interview techniques with these informants I go on to explore some of the issues surrounding trauma and memory at play when working with war veterans from a conflict that ended 70 years ago.

Pre-existing studies provide valuable background information on traditions within the Australian military and the British system from which it grew. In assessing changes and continuities in the lives of military musicians, the works of Henry George Farmer, who served as a musician in the British army in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as the ethnomusicological research of Roland Bannister on Australian soldier-musicians in the 1980s and 1990s provide particularly valuable comparisons to the experiences of military musicians detailed in this study. Research on theories of organisational change, such as those of Barbara Senior (2002) and SP Robbins and N Barnwell (1994), especially those that focus on change in the military such as Jeremy Black (1998) and Deborah D Avant (1994), shed light on procedures, motivations and conflicts that occur in large organisations like the armed forces in situations which require rapid change.

Given the limited existing research into Australian military musicians between 1930 and 1955, I have had to rely heavily on the archived documents in the NAA. The NAA holds extensive records relating to the organisation and running of Australia’s military bands. The collection is particularly useful in the way it documents the day-to-day running of the band service, including information on purchase of instruments and music, rehearsal and performance schedules and recruiting. The collection also provides insight into the relationships between musicians and the military hierarchy, with requests and grievances being raised by musicians and then discussed and acted upon by superior officers, thus providing valuable information on the decision-making processes behind many of the changes occurring during this period. The NAA’s collection had two major gaps in information relating to military bands of this period, i.e. information specific to the war and information about part-time bands.

While the archives contain detailed information about both the pre- and post-war periods, there is much less available on World War II. I suspect that this is because the outbreak of conflict caused a flurry of activity and associated paperwork. David Mitchell’s observation that “if war’s first victim is truth, its

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1 Ethics clearance no. CF10/1523-2010000822. Approved 29 July 2010.
second is clerical efficiency” (2004, 391) rings true, with documents outlining the purchase of clarinet reeds or the promotion of a bandsman to band corporal no longer being considered important enough to archive. Additionally, while the NAA’s collection provides detailed information about fulltime professional bands, there is markedly less information about part-time volunteer bands. While fulltime bands consisted of members who were, at least in part, recruited for their musical ability and who spent the majority of their time in the military working as musicians (although they often assumed non-musical roles as well), part-time bands were made up of members of the military working in other specialities who volunteered to rehearse and perform in bands in their spare time. While fulltime bands were centrally funded, part-time bands were usually funded by their local ship, regiment or base and therefore the documentation relating to them was often not stored in centralised archives. Despite this, part-time bands made up the majority of military bands in both the army and the air force prior to the end of World War II. I will discuss the NAA’s resources in more detail in the next section.

I also conducted a series of ten interviews between 2010 and 2012 with retired military musicians and families of deceased veterans (see Appendix 1). Interviews took place in informants’ homes, often with one or more family members present. The sample size was small (nine veterans and one widow of a deceased veteran). This was in large part due to the advanced age of the population studied which meant that there were limited numbers of veterans both alive and well enough to participate. Despite its small size, the sample group is representative of the population under examination, featuring members from all three branches of the armed services and representatives of each of the three periods under investigation (including some who served in all three periods). It also included both fulltime and part-time volunteer musicians, and people who saw both local and overseas service. Although all of the participants were given the opportunity to remain anonymous, all chose to be publicly identified. The majority of participants (six out of ten) served in the army, reflecting the larger size of both that force and its band service in comparison to the navy and air force. During the war, the army had 65 regimental bands (Bannister & Whiteoak 2003, 413), the RAN had six full-time bands plus seven Naval Reserve bands (Royal Australian Navy 1938-1939) while the RAAF had around 19 part-time volunteer bands. Participants also included one of the handful of WAAAF members who had been seconded into an RAAF band and one of the British ex-military musicians recruited to the RAAF in its major European post-war recruitment drive. The interviews that I conducted with military band veterans and their family members were aimed at exploring their memories of serving as musicians between 1930 and 1955.

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1 For example, the sample group includes the only surviving RAN musician to have served during World War II.
2 The list of RAAF bands was put together by the author from fieldwork interviews and available newspaper clippings and archival evidence. It is possible that there are bands not on this list which have yet to be discovered. Interview conducted by author with Olive Jardine, 4 July 2012. See also Anon 1945p, 1; Anon 1945a, 2; Anon 1942, 4; Anon 1945q, 3; Anon 1945d, 6; Anon 1944e, 4; Anon 1940b, 8; Anon 1940c, 9; Anon 1941b, 5; Anon 1940d, 48; Anon 1945b, 9.
To the testimonies of my ten participants are added the voices of three deceased veterans, Fred Kollmorgen, William Sheehan and Cedric Ashton. The family of Fred Kollmorgen contacted me in response to my advertisements, saying that Kollmorgen wished to take part in my study, but that he was currently in hospital. Sadly, he died a fortnight later; however his son donated a copy of his memoir to me for use in this study. Kollmorgen was well known in banding circles as the lone survivor of the 2/22 Battalion Band¹ that had been predominantly made up of Salvationists and was captured by the Japanese in Rabaul, New Britain. To his memoir are added a series of interviews conducted with him by the Salvation Army. Informant Ernest Trotter had for many years been the editor of *Noteworthy News*, the newsletter of the Australian Army Band Corps Association. Both he and his friend and colleague William Sheehan (now deceased) had written extensive memoirs of their military experience in the form of a series of newsletter columns, written over a number of years. Trotter was kind enough to donate to me the full archive of not only his own columns, but those of Sheehan as well. Finally, former RAN musician Cedric Ashton (also deceased) self-published two books about his wartime experience (1997, 2000).

Participants responded to advertisements placed in websites, magazines and newsletters aimed at retired veterans and Salvation Army publications. These included the website of the Australian Army Band Corps Association and their newsletter *Noteworthy News*, the Salvation Army’s magazine *Warcry* and the Returned Services League’s (RSL) magazine *Mufti*. Participants were initially asked to complete a survey about their military service before taking part in an interview (see Appendix 2). I prepared five or six broad questions for each interview (see Appendix 3) but left the conversations without a formal structure, allowing participants the freedom to explore and discuss their memories and experiences with minimal direction. A number of participants also gave me copies of unpublished memoirs they had written about their military experiences.

The concepts of oral history and memory are closely entwined. One cannot interview subjects as part of an oral history without taking into account the phenomenon of memory. The memories that a participant conveys to a researcher can be influenced by a number of factors. In this study, the passing of time was a major factor mentioned by a number of participants, many of whom were, at times, unsure of specific details from events some 70 years previous. Related to the factor of time, is the change in attitudes, both societal and individual, that may have occurred over that time. A number of participants mentioned that their attitudes towards factors discussed in the interviews; for example their views on military violence, attitudes to Japanese people and to women in the military; had changed markedly over the years. This in turn can impact on the way that they remember events and the researcher must be aware that the attitudes of participants now may not necessarily mirror their attitudes of 70 years ago.

¹ Pronounced “second, twenty second battalion band”.

A number of the participants involved in this study saw active duty in conflict zones and were involved in, or directly witnessed traumatic events. Joy Damousi reflects on the effects that trauma can have on memory:

> Memory is not simply a selective, interpretive exercise of what we remember. It also involves a method of forgetting, of disavowal of that which is undesirable. We remake our past by remembering and forgetting – it is not simply events which we recall, for the past we recreate becomes a repository of our defences, emotions, desires, and fantasies (2001, 13).

During the course of my interviews I began to notice that, as Damousi found with the World War II war-widows that she interviewed, a number of my participants couched their more distressing anecdotes in humour (this was a phenomenon that I first noticed in conversation with my late grandfather about his war experience)(Damousi 2001, 101). For example, when discussing the post-war effects of trauma that participants witnessed in their colleagues, the discussion would often begin with an amusing anecdote about socially inappropriate behaviour displayed by the colleague in question. After laughing about their behaviour, participants would go on to explain it by describing the traumatic events that their colleague had witnessed. In his study of World War I, Paul Fussell argues that humour and irony not only enables people to tell stories of traumatic events more easily, but that humour facilitates the actual creation and retention of memories:

> In reading memoirs of the war, one notices the same phenomenon over and over. By applying to the past a paradigm of ironic action, a rememberer is enabled to locate, draw forth, and finally shape into significance an event or a moment which otherwise would merge without meaning into the general undifferentiated stream (1975, 30).

During interviews, I began to take more notice of these amusing anecdotes and the deeper stories they often elicited. By doing this I was able to provide space for my participants to discuss traumatic events in their own time and at their own pace. As the above example demonstrates, some participants were more comfortable using colleagues’ traumatic experiences as examples than their own. It is not surprising that some were unwilling to discuss their own traumatic experiences, as both Fussell (1975, 170), in his study of World War I veterans, and Inga Clendinnen (1998, 36-8) in her research with Holocaust survivors, found that the effects of trauma actually inhibited respondents’ abilities to put their experience into words. Those participants who were able to discuss their own trauma all admitted that they still battled with the effects of it, in the form of nightmares, tears and intrusive memories or flashbacks, echoing Damousi’s findings that “traumatic events are traumatic because they are re-experienced (not just remembered) repeatedly and well after the actual time of the event” (2001,115).

Participants used humour not only to enable them to discuss traumatic events, but also to gain perspective on the many minor frustrations of institutionalised
military life. Much of participant Archie Burt’s early musical training, first at a military school, and then in the British Army, was hampered by the fact that he was issued a high pitch instrument, while the rest of the band played on newer instruments, tuned to low pitch. His frustration at being consistently out of tune was still evident some 70 years later; however his stories about this frustration were punctuated by humorous impersonations of his bandmaster constantly shouting “You’re sharp, Burt!” Likewise, participant Ernest Trotter discussed his frustration at trying to gain promotion in the Interim Army, despite there being no formal career pathways for musicians at the time, by saying, with a laugh, “You've got to learn when to blow and when to suck” up to superior officers.

By combining the oral testimonies of veteran musicians with the information in the archival record and pre-existing literature on military music and organisational change, this thesis is able to explore the changes and continuities in the working lives of military musicians, examining their personal, lived experiences and the formal, military procedure and policy which related to them.

Archival Resources

As was discussed in the previous section, this thesis relies heavily on the archival records held by the NAA; however, in some cases the archival record differed from the lived experiences as recalled by participants. Kay Saunders, in her study on internees in Australia, also found discrepancies between World War II-era archival records and the recollections of her participants (1991), as did JS Sériot in his study of French World War I veterans (2004, 137). In my study, the reasons for these discrepancies varied. In some cases, it was simply due to a change in circumstances between the time a text was published and the time at which the suggestions in that text were implemented. World War II army bandsmen acted as stretcher-bearers in combat and their intended training schedule was published by the Australian Military Forces in 1941 in the manual Standing Orders for Australian Army Medical Services; however, after Japan entered the war in December 1941 large numbers of Australian troops were suddenly needed to defend Australia and the Pacific. Participants who underwent their medical training at this time found it to be rushed in an attempt to get them into active service as quickly as possible. Therefore many sections of the prescribed training syllabus were ignored, accounting for the discrepancies between the training outlined in the manual and participants’ actual experiences. Japan’s entry in the war also changed the focus of training from that outlined in manuals written at the start of the war. For example, desert training designed for the Middle East would be of little use to soldiers heading to the jungles of New Guinea.

The second way in which archival records differed from the memories of my participants was when band members had actively concealed information from superior officers. All of the veterans interviewed who served in the army in the immediate post-war period were in agreement that alcoholism and post-
traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) were rife in the post-war band service. They all
told similar stories of socially inappropriate behaviour exhibited by affected
colleagues, and in many cases they were able to corroborate each other’s stories,
including names, bands and specific events. However, to date, I have not
uncovered any references to these events in the archival record and indeed,
some of the band members mentioned for their inappropriate behaviour by
participants, are praised for their professionalism in archival documents and
even recommended for leadership positions. In this case it seems that band
members had actively shielded affected veterans from censure by withholding
information from superior officers on the understanding that any aberrant
behaviour was as a result of shared trauma, rather than the fault of the veteran
involved.

Literature Review

This literature review is sub-divided into three sections. The first section
contains references that provide broad, background information about the
military band history of Britain, providing background to the Australian
experience. The second section focuses on Australia, including studies of both
Australian military history generally and those specifically relating to military
bands. The third section explores references relating to the broader theoretical
underpinning of the thesis, including research on organisational change, oral
history, memory and trauma; and the importance of public ceremonial events in
shaping the way a community or a nation sees its own history.

Military Band History

My discussion of studies of pre-20th century military band history concentrates
on the British experience, as the military in 19th-century Australian colonies
largely consisted of British forces, with the 20th-century Australian military
system growing out of these traditions. The military history of the USA, which
grew out of the British experience in the period immediately prior to the British
colonisation of Australia, is also explored as a parallel to the Australian
experience. Between them, these references help to build a picture of the
traditions that influenced the formation and growth of Australian military
banding.

The works of retired military musician and musicologist Henry George Farmer
provide the underpinning of my research on military music of the British Army
up to the early twentieth century. Even though his works written in the 1950s
do not cover World War II,¹ they still provide excellent background information
on the context from which 20th-century military music grew. While these books
are somewhat dated in style, Farmer’s combination of academic expertise with
the lived experience of having served as a musician in the British Army in the
late 19th and early 20th centuries give him an unparalleled insight into the

¹ See for example, Military Music, 1950.
working lives of musicians in the British Army. When discussing military music of the 19th century, many, if not most, later histories of British military music, including those of Lilla Fox (1967), and Raoul F Camus (1976), rely heavily on Farmer’s findings.

Jeremy Montagu et al. (n.d.) provide a more modern general overview of military music history in their article 'Military Music' in Grove Music Online. The first two chapters of Raoul F Camus’ (1976) book on military bands in the American Revolution (1775-1783) also provide information relevant to the background of Australian military music. Despite the fact that Australia is never mentioned, these chapters provide a useful comparison for Australian military music because Camus focuses on another British colony (America) at a time immediately prior to the colonisation of Australia,1 making it possible for the researcher to draw close comparisons between military music in the two colonies.

While the studies discussed above concentrate on the British Army, there are also a number of works discussing the band services of the British Royal Navy (RN). In some ways, the RAN was even more closely linked to the RN than the Australian Army was to the British Army, with RN officers being seconded into the RAN as late as World War II. Bands in the RN are provided by the Royal Marine Corps (RMC), a separate force that serves as sea soldiers, providing troops when ships require landing forces and maintaining discipline on board ship.

I have relied on two works which focus on repertoire used in the Royal Navy, Stan Hugill’s (1979) research provided background information on naval songs used prior to and during the 19th century while Cyril Tawney’s (1987) book concentrates on 20th-century repertoire. In examining the day-to-day lives and working conditions of Royal Marine bandsmen I have relied predominantly on two books by former RN musician John Trendall; one is self-published (1978) while the other was published by the Blue Band Magazine (1990), which is, in turn, operated by the Royal Marines Bands Service. Jonathan Neale (1985) also provides background information on 19th-century RMC bandsmen’s non-musical duties, which included maintaining discipline and administering punishments. As was mentioned earlier, RAF history is not explored in any great detail in this thesis, but a broad history of the RAF band service can be found on the RAF’s website, The History of RAF Music Services (Royal Air Force n.d. a).

**Australian Military and Banding History**

This section explores the existing literature specific to Australian military and banding history. By far the most prolific academic writer on Australian military music is Roland Bannister whose work provides a valuable ethnomusicological examination of the lived experience of army musicians working in the 1980s and

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1 The American Revolution ran from 1775 to 1783, the first colonists arrived in New South Wales in 1788.
1990s. In the lead-up to the centenary of the beginning of World War I, a number of publications have also been produced on the experiences of Australian bandsmen in that war (see, for example, Frost 2012, Holden 2014). To date the only existing study that I am aware of that focuses specifically on World War II is Lindsay Cox’s work published by the Salvation Army (2003). While this is a valuable resource, its focus is limited to one case study band, the 2/22 Battalion Band, and more specifically to the Salvationists within that band. I am not aware of any studies focussing on the immediate pre- or post-war periods.

Although many of the banding references, including those of Bannister, Jodie Wooller, Theresa Cronk and Robin Himbury, concentrate on one of the three forces (army, navy or air force), there are a small number of studies that provide overviews of Australian military band history that are relevant to all three forces. There is a brief entry titled ‘Military Music’ written by Peter Dennis in the Oxford Companion to the Australia Military (2008), which briefly mentions World War II. John Whiteoak and Roland Bannister’s entry ‘Military Music’ in Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia (2003) provides a more detailed overview, which is particularly comprehensive about changes in instrumentation. John Whiteoak’s (2001) article examines the place of brass band music in Australia prior to 1920, focussing on the amateur brass band movement that provided the training ground for many future military musicians.


In examining the Australian army, I have relied on a number of books to provide a broad background on the service. Foremost among these have been studies by George Odger (1993) and Albert Palazzo (2001) which both concentrate on the army post-Federation, while Craig Wilcox (2009) discusses the 18th and 19th centuries. The bands of the Australian army have been the topic of more academic research than those of the RAN or the RAAF, primarily due to the work of Bannister (1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2004). To these are added Bannister’s collaboration with Damon Cartledge (1997) and works by Cronk (2009) and Wooller (1995).

The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory Archives and Museum published a study by Lindsay C Cox (2003), which is a detailed history of one band, made up predominantly by Salvationists, captured by the Japanese in Rabaul. The book uses extensive interviews with the band’s sole survivor, Fred Kollmorgen, as well as letters home from the band, donated by family members. During the course of my studies I was also able to access the Southern Territory Archives and Museum to examine some of these primary sources. The Australian Regular Army’s (ARA) website ‘Australian Army Band Corps – History’ also provides useful background information (ARA 2010).
There were also a number of publications produced before or during World War II that shed light on the experiences of bandsmen. C L Riley and H R Shrugg (n.d.) contains arrangements for use by the army for formal ceremonial occasions while W G Bentley (1916) provided field calls for trumpeters and buglers tasked with playing signals in camp, on the march and in the battlefield. Two contemporary sources outline army bandsmen’s non-musical duties. These are *Standing Orders: Australian Imperial Force* (Australian Imperial Force, 1940), which includes correct positioning and duties for bandsmen and individual drummers on parade, and *Standing Orders for Australian Army Medical Services* (Australian Military Forces, 1941), which outlines the duties of bandsmen working as medics and stretcher-bearers. This last document is, perhaps, of most interest because of the discrepancies between the training that it states stretcher-bearers should receive, and participant’s memories of what training they actually received in the rush to get troops into battle.

Background information for the RAN comes from Arthur Bleby (2006) and Bob Nicholl’s (1986) studies, which explore the navy during the colonial period, while Tom Frame (2004) and George Odgers (1982) focus on the post-Federation navy. The only academic study that I am aware of which specifically explores RAN bands is my own publication on the HMAS *Sydney II* band (Skinner 2010). However, there are a number of more generalist studies on RAN bands published either by the RAN itself, or by retired bandsmen. The RAN’s website includes a brief history of the RAN band service on their *Navy Band History* site (Royal Australian Navy n.d.), as does the Australian chapter in John Trendall’s book on the RMC (1990). The most detailed history of the RAN band service was written by retired RAN band member Robin Himbury (2011). There are also a number of published memoirs that relate specifically to the period under examination in this thesis. Cedric Ashton wrote two memoirs on his experiences during World War II (1997, 2000) while Jim MacLeod’s online memoir (2011) outlines some of his post-war experiences.

Studies on the broad background of the RAAF include those of David Wilson (2005) and C D Coulthard-Clark (1991) while Clare Stevenson and Honor Darling’s book (1984) provides details on women’s experiences in the WAAAF during World War II. As was mentioned earlier, the RAAF band has a much shorter history than the other band services, and has correspondingly less associated published information. I am not aware of any existing academic studies, or of any memoirs from veterans. The few published sources that I have been able to uncover include a brief entry in the RAAF Historical Section’s unit history (1995), as well as a short section on the *Air Force Band History* page of the RAAF website (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. a). There is also a history of the band on Amberley Air Base in Queensland on the *Amberley Brass* website (Amberley Brass n.d.). In the absence of many published sources, my research on the RAAF band service relies heavily on information pieced together from newspaper articles, records from the NAA and the oral histories provided by participants.
The final source of information used to explore Australia’s military banding history was contemporary newspaper reports. These included major newspapers such as the *Sydney Morning Herald*, local regional newspapers and specialist publications including *Australasian Band and Orchestra News*. These reports often contained information written from the point of view of audience members and included information about specific performances, including audience reactions, repertoire, visual descriptions of events and fundraising results (many military performances were part of fundraising events, usually for local charities). Local newspapers such as the *Kalgoorlie Times* and the *Queensland Times* (Ipswich) were often particularly rich in their descriptions of such events. Specialist publications targeting Australia’s musical community also provide details on results of band competitions, allowing insight into the relative skill of various bands, as well as more personal insights, such as the announcement of important life events (marriages, injuries, deaths) of prominent musicians in the community, many of whom had military experience.

**Theoretical Context**

In this section I will outline references which do not directly relate to military banding, but which provide background theoretical context for the study. They cover areas such as organisational theory, the methods for conducting oral history and understanding the impact of memory on these histories as well as the importance of ceremony and the continuity of those ceremonies to communities.

Organisational theory outlines the ways in which different types of organisations respond to changing situations, both within that organisation and within its broader environment. Senior (2002) gives a general overview of organisational theory, while Robbins and Barnwell (1994) explore this theory in an Australian context. Black (1998) and Avant (1994) discuss organisational change as it effects the military specifically. Paul Connerton (1989) explores how memory impacts on oral history and ceremony. Tia DeNora (2006) explores the specific relationship between music and memory while Paul Fussell (1975) discusses the way in which a society grapples to come to terms with its memories of a major conflict. It is impossible to study the relationship between memory and war without exploring the effects that trauma has on one’s ability to remember; Joy Damousi (2001) and Inga Clendinnen (1998) have both provided valuable insights into this topic.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter Two explores the background of Australian military bands prior to 1930. It begins with an examination of the British system from which the Australian system grew. Each branch of the armed forces, the army, navy and air force, is discussed in separate sections. This chapter also discusses the change from British colonial forces to a formal Australian military after Federation in 1901, including the first major conflict fought by these forces, World War I.

Chapters Three, Four and Five discuss the army, navy and air force respectively. Each of these chapters is further sub-divided into three sections, outlining the three periods under examination, pre-war (1930-1938), World War II (1939-1945) and post-war (1946-1955). These chapters assess changes and continuities in the working lives of Australian military musicians, focussing on the three main areas under discussion: non-musical roles and training, music and performance, and organisational change.
Chapter 2: History of Military Music 1500-1930

Afterwards, the priest will blow for them the trumpets... and the gates of battle shall open... The priests shall blow... for the attack. When they are at the side of the Kittim line, at throwing distance, each man shall take up his weapons of war. The six priests shall blow the trumpets of slaughter with a shrill, staccato note to direct the battle. And the levites and all the throng with ram’s horns shall blow the battle call with a deafening noise. And when the sound goes out, they shall set their hand to finish off the severely wounded of the Kittim.


Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to place Australian military bands of the 1930s, 40s and 50s into a broader context of military music. Music has been a feature of military life for centuries. Military music is mentioned in the Bible, and, as can be seen in the above quote, in the Dead Sea scrolls. Its use was advocated in Plato’s Republic (1973, 139), written in ancient Greece circa 400BC and in Sun Tzu’s The Art of War (2008, 24), written in China 2,300 years ago. When the Romans invaded Britain in 43AD they were urged on by professional military musicians and were in turn intimidated by the horns and war songs of the native Britons (Farmer 1912, 4). Such widespread use makes it impossible to cover all the variations of military music in different regions and over different eras. As such, this chapter will focus predominantly on English military music as this is the tradition from which Australian military music began to grow in the 18th century. I have chosen as my starting point Britain of the 16th century as this was the time during which the British military was bought under centralised control and the basis of modern military music was formed (Farmer 1912, 16). The strongest focus, however, will be on British music from the 18th century onwards, the period in which Australia was colonised, and the Australian tradition that began to grow at this time, focusing on the ways in which Australian military musicians both continued and changed English traditions.

This chapter will outline the changes and continuities in the lives of first British and then Australian military musicians, focusing on three areas: their non-musical roles and training; their musical training and performances and the way their careers were influenced by changes to the organisational structure of the military. The chapter begins with an exploration of field music, including those field musicians who arrived in Australia on the First Fleet. It then examines Bands of Music and the differences in their roles in comparison to field musicians. The next section of the chapter explores the arrival of British Regimental bands in Australia, followed by a discussion of the uses of musicians in war during the 19th century. Australia raised its own local forces for the first time in the mid-19th century and these bands are examined before an

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1 For example, Numbers 10:9
2 The first British colonists arrived in Australia on the 11 ships of the First Fleet. They celebrated their arrival in Australia with a ceremony in Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788.
exploration of the first major conflict entered into by post-Federation Australia, World War I.

The chapter will then go on to examine the bands of the Royal Navy (RN) and Royal Australian Navy (RAN), where they differ with those of the Army. It will explore the different uses of music on board ship, the limitations of sea-going life on available instrumentation and how these factors affected the living conditions of musicians at sea. Finally, there will be an examination of the bands of the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF), although this examination will necessarily be a brief one, as the Australian air force was not formed until 1913 (under the name Australian Flying Corps) just 17 years before the period under discussion in this study.

The Development of Military Bands

_Farewell the neighing steed and the shrill trump,
The spirit-stirring drum, th' ear-piercing fife,
The royal banner, and all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumstance, of glorious war!_
- Othello, William Shakespeare.¹

Musicians became a formal part of the British military in the 16th century (Farmer 1912, 16). Before that time individual Lords would be accompanied by their personal minstrels in camps and on the battlefield. During the Tudor dynasty, however, the military was bought under central control of the King and Britain’s first standing armies were formed. These new types of armies required new types of musicians. For the first time large groups of men were housed together in camps for long periods of time. The day-to-day lives of these men needed to be regulated and the new military bands were employed to mark important points in the day, such as _Reveille_ to mark the end of the day; to provide calls to mess; to keep time during new marching drills and to keep the men entertained during long nights in camp. These new bands also played at formal ceremonies such as funerals or the arrival of dignitaries as well as providing signals and inspirational music on the battlefield. These new duties of providing structure through musical signals to soldiers’ days in camp and on the battlefield, required a greater standardisation of skills from musicians, and for the first time they began to receive formal musical and military training and to have the same rights and responsibilities as other members of their units. At this time military musicians were divided into two groups, the ‘Field Music’ and the ‘Band of Music’ based on their instrumentation and uses.

Field Music

‘Field Music’ provided music on the battlefield, on the march and to mark various points of the day in camp, such as _Reveille_ to mark the time for soldiers

¹ Act 3, Scene 3, lines 355-357.
to rise and dress in the morning, or *Taps* to mark the end of the day, ceremonies which both continue to this day (Camus 1976, 6). The first military musicians in Australia were field musicians from Britain’s marines (the marines would receive royal assent from George III in 1802 and were renamed the Royal Marine Corps (RMC) at this time [Robinson 2007, 49]). While sailors with the Royal Navy (RN) were charged with the smooth running of the ships, the main role of the marines was to keep peace and order both on the voyage to Australia and in the fledgling colony. Field music for the British army’s cavalry was provided by brass and timpani, while infantry regiments (in both the army and marines) such as those on the First Fleet used fife and drum bands (Farmer 1912, 17; Camus 1976, 6).

According to Marine Sergeant David Collins of the First Fleet’s flagship, HMS *Sirius*, HM Ships *Alexander, Scarborough, Charlotte, Prince of Wales* and *Friendship* had one drummer each, while the flagship had three (Collins 2006[1788], 16-7). Modern scholar Jonathan King names five men as serving as drummers on board the *Sirius* (King 1982). While it seems unlikely that Collins would have been unaware of the numbers of drummers under his charge, it is possible that some marines were moved between ships during the voyage, accounting for the inconsistencies.\(^1\) Once on shore in the new colony, these drummers came together to form a band (Bowes Smyth 1979 [1789], 67-8). No fifers are listed in the accounts, but references to fife and drum music in the diaries of both Surgeon Arthur Bowes Smyth and David Collins indicate that the drummers probably doubled on fife. Some of the drummers travelled with their wives, including Drum Major Benjamine Cook of the *Scarborough* whose wife Mary died on the voyage to the new colony, while the wife of the drummer on the *Prince of Wales* gave birth off the coast of Tenerife (King 1982, 49 & inside front cover).

Field musicians differed from band musicians in that they served as a regular part of their regiment and did not form separate units. One of the most common uses of field music was to provide a regular beat for soldiers on the march, “designed to promote orderly marching, and to enliven the spirits and so minimize fatigue” (Scholes 1991, 598). This march music was divided into the ‘quick step’ at between 100-140 beats per minute (bpm) (Schwandt and Lamb, n.d.), mainly used for processions and on the parade ground, and a ‘slow march’ or ‘common march’ at 60-75 bpm used for long marches and funerals (Camus 1976, 7). The term ‘common march’ can cause confusion in the 21st century when quick steps, used in parades, are the most commonly played marches; however, when the term was coined in the 17th century the slow march was used more regularly. This is because before the invention of mass troop transports the most common use of marches was to accompany troops on their long treks to new stations or battlefields. For these much longer journeys, a quick step would have proved far too fatiguing.

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\(^1\) King identifies the following drummers in the fleet: Alexander Freebourne, William Hughes, Charles Reynolds, Robert Mount Stephens (Mountstephens) and John West of the *Sirius*, Benjamine Cook of the *Scarborough*, and Joseph Abbott, Joseph Cox, John Parfett (Parfitt) and Thomas Whittle, whose ships could not be identified.
Musicians who played field music tended to learn by rote from their superiors (Camus 1976, 84), and it is probable that many were musically illiterate. Unlike 20th-century bands which used both side and bass drums on the march, eighteenth-century infantry field musicians only had access to one sort of drum, the side drum (see Figure 1). These instruments were larger than modern ones, usually around 2½ feet (76cm) in diameter and of similar depth (Montagu 1979, 103). They were rope tensioned, with heads held much more loosely than today’s equivalents. They usually, but not always, had snares. These snares consisted of two gut cords stretched across the bottom of the drum (Camus 1976, 10). The resulting sound would have been much mellower than the modern snare drum, creating a timbre somewhere between modern snare and bass drums.

![18th-Century Side Drum](image)

**Figure 1:** 18th-Century Side Drum, with snares showing (Illustration based on photograph and descriptions in Montagu 1979, 103).

The melody was provided by small, cylindrical bored, transverse flutes called fifes. These had a narrower bore, and hence a louder, shriller sound than actual flutes. The fife of the late 18th century had six finger holes but no keys and was made in a single piece. Royal Marines fifers usually carried two fifes, one in B♭ (a 6th above the concert flute) and one in C (a 7th above a concert flute). These fifes could be hung from special button holes on players’ uniforms when not in use.

Field musicians such as those on the First Fleet were enlisted soldiers or marines, some being recruited or pressed at as young as nine or ten years of age (Fox 1967, 71). Pressing involved the forced recruitment of men, boys, ships and even cats into the navy. In his 1835 memoirs William Robinson recalled musicians from a civilian ship being pressed into service on his Royal Navy vessel:

> When we were conveying an East Indian fleet from England to the Tropic, one of them happening to have an excellent band on board, our captain took a fancy into his head that he would have some of them; so before he took leave of his convoy, he very kindly sent a lieutenant and
boat’s crew to press the two best musicians, which they did, and brought them on board to increase our band (cited in Trendall 1978, 36-7).

As a nation Australia is lucky in that the circumstances of the first official piece of European military music played on its shores has been documented. This occurred on 7 February 1788 (the First Fleet had landed on 26 January) at the ceremony marking the official reading of Captain Arthur Phillip’s commissioning as governor (Moore 1987, 95). After the company gave Phillip the general salute, three volleys were fired into the air. Between each volley the fife and drum band played the first section of *God Save the King* (Hort 1969, 74).

Surgeon Arthur Bowes Smyth of the *Lady Penrhyn* recorded the event in his diary:

> This morng. at 11 o’Clock all who cd. leave the Ships were summon’d on Shore, to hear the Governor’s Commission read; & also the Commission constituting the Court of Judicature. -- the Marines were all under arms & recd. the Governor wt. flying Colours & a Band of Music – he was accompanied by the Judge Advocate, Lieut. Governor, Clergiman, Surveyor General, Surgeon General &ca. After taking off his hat & Compting. The Marine Officers, who had lower’d their Colours & pd. That respect to him as Governor wh. he was intitled to, the Soldiers marched wt. music playg. Drums & fifes & formed a circle round the whole of the Convict Men & Women, who were collected together (Bowes Smyth 1979 [1789], 67-8).

The second recorded performance by the marines Band in Australia occurred just two days after Phillip’s commissioning, in much less salubrious circumstances. This time they were called upon to ‘drum out’ a sailor as punishment for making illicit visits to the women’s tents (Moore 1987, 98). Traditionally, a ‘drumming out’ involved banishing a wrong-doer from the camp or ship, and expelling them from the army or navy; however it seems unlikely that this was done in a colony which was so isolated from other Europeans. It is more likely that the sailor had to endure a period of punishment before returning to duty. Arthur Bowes Smyth again describes the scene:

> This day one of the Sailors was caught in the women’s Tents & drum’d out of the Camp wt. his hands fasten’d behind him & the Fife & Drum marching before him playing the Pursuit (Bowes Smyth 1979 [1789], 70).

This ceremony was aimed at setting an example to other sailors, thus encouraging them to avoid the women’s tents. It seems to have been less than successful however, as the ceremony had to be repeated just two days later as two more sailors were found in the women’s tents. This time one of the offenders was humiliated by being forced to wear women’s petticoats before being drummed out by the fife and drums. In this instance, instead of playing the *Pursuit*, the musicians played the *Rogue’s March* (Bowes Smyth 1979 [1789], 70) which was the more usual tune played for such punishments (Chappell 1965 [1859], vol 2, 711). Camus describes the ‘drumming out’ ceremony of the US
military at this time. As the US military was recently descended from the English, the ceremonies held in Australia would have been similar:

The actual ceremony consisted of the musicians parading the prisoner along the front of the regimental formation to the tune of the *Rogues March* and then to the gate or entrance of the camp. The prisoner's coat would be turned inside out as a sign of dishonor and his hands tied behind him. At the gate he would be sent upon his way by a kick from the youngest drummer, with instructions never to return to the vicinity. The sentence was published in the newspapers, both near the post as well as in the prisoner's home town (Camus 1976, 113).

Despite being valued by the military as a whole, field music was not always popular with individuals, especially during peacetime. Tired of being woken by early morning bugle practise, Colonel Despard of the 99th Regiment in Sydney ordered bugle practise to take place not within the barracks, but at Flagstaff Hill (De Winton 1889, 82). Disgruntled residents of the area responded by printing this anonymous poem in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

**The Morning Serenading Corps;**

**or**

**Music Before Daylight**

*Being a lament from the Miserable and Unhappy residents in Fort-street, and its immediate vicinity*

Blow ye the trumpet – blow!
The horn's disgusting sound;
Let all the good folk know,
To Fort-street's utmost bound-
The morning star wanes pale and dim,
And soldiers “*in paeans*” hymn.

The trumpet's “scarlet” breath,
O'er this vast world shall sweep;
And waken all from death,
Who in destruction sleep;
So ---------, with his little horn,
Wakes us poor singers every morn!

In vain we strive to snore-
In vain we close our eyes-
For hark! The trumpet's roar,
Assaults the sleeping skies!
Archangel soldiers blow their fill,
O' th' top of Jones's Flagstaff-hill.

All vanish'd now thy glory,
Thy star is on the wane;

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1 The youngest drummer would also usually have been the youngest member of the regiment.
The 99th in story
Shall never shine again!
Their Colonel loathes the martial notes,
On which each other Colonel doats.

Since then these war-sounds break
Your rest dear Colonel D.,
The following hint pray take-
It's equity you'll see:-
As for your ease our rest you slay-
Please let us have one-half your pay!
(Sydney Morning Herald, 31 Jan 1845, 4. Italics from the original.)

The NSW Corps began to replace the marines in Australia from 1790. Despite its name, the new Corps was raised in England for service in the new colony. By 1802 the Corps consisted of 553 members, 16 of whom were drummers (Bannister and Whiteoak, 2003, 412). The distant posting did not attract the most reliable or honest members of the British forces and the NSW Corps soon attracted the nickname the ‘Rum Corps’ for their participation in alcohol smuggling and distribution (Wilcox 2009, 3-4). In 1808 the NSW Corps overstepped their powers by forcibly removing the “foulmouthed autocrat” Governor William Bligh from office (Wilcox 2009, 3-4). The NSW Corps was sent home and replaced by the first of around 24 British army regiments to be stationed in Australia over the next 60 years (Wilcox 2009, 3-4). With these regiments came the first true ‘bands of music’ in Australia.

Bands of Music

In contrast to field musicians, ‘bands of music’ performed primarily for non-combat activities “for the entertainment of officers, such as providing music during meals and for dances and social activities, including serenading” (Camus 1976, 21). Serenading referred to the practice of hiring a band to perform “a musical greeting, usually performed out of doors in the evening, to a beloved or a person of rank” (Unverricht and Eisen n.d.). Members of these bands were not paid by the military itself; instead their pay, uniforms and instruments were sponsored by the officers of the regiment. Members of the band of music, therefore, often retained their civilian status, and did not serve on the battlefield.

While field musicians specialised in ceremonial music, bands of music specialised in entertainment. The music they played was aimed at entertaining the officers and other dignitaries and thus drawn from popular tunes of the day. The bands were small, for example, the Band of the Royal Artillery had just eight members in 1762, playing trumpets, horns, hautboys (or clarinets) and bassoons (Scholes 1991, 639)(see Figure 2). One of the most famous pieces written for British military bands at this time is George Frederick Handel’s Music for the Royal Fireworks. Music for the Royal Fireworks was commissioned by King
George II in 1749 to celebrate the end of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) (Camus 1976, 28). Written for massed military bands, Handel’s original manuscript was written for 24 oboes, 12 bassoons, nine trumpets, nine horns and three pairs of timpani (Montagu et al n.d.).

Figure 2: A Typical 18th-Century Military Band, *Hautboys* by Christoph Weigel (1725) (Reprinted in Camus 1976, 121).

In the 18th century, field and band musicians would often appear in the same parades, but would not play together. Instead, the band would march towards the front of the procession, with the field musicians marching either to the rear, behind the regiment, or standing to the side at its flank (Camus 1976, 27). As time went on however, the bands of music grew and began to feature more musicians and a wider variety of instruments. By the 19th century bands featured their own percussion sections. In most branches of the military the field music and band of music began to be combined, with drummers and trumpeters/buglers coming from within the band to provide music for ceremonies which would have once been the domain of field musicians so that by the 1770s, bands, alongside the field musicians, were used in nearly all military ceremonies (Camus 1976, 21).

This was a gradual process and while the band and field musicians combined for ceremonies and parades, band musicians did not join their field counterparts playing on the field of battle. Instead band musicians would take on non-combat roles as stretcher-bearers, ambulance drivers, fire fighters and later telegraph operators. By World War I (1914-1918), field music had all but died out in the army. This was caused by a combination of two factors: firstly, the increased mechanisation of war made the battlefield a much noisier place, effectively drowning out the sound of musicians’ signals; secondly, the use of radio improved communications, removing the need for musical signals. Vestiges of
these separate ranks could still be seen in 20\textsuperscript{th} century Australian forces. The RAN continued to use Seaman Drummers and Seaman Buglers for signals on board ship until the end of World War II and in 1950 the RAN published advertisements to fill the rank ‘Musician-bugler’, a rank which has since been abolished (Royal Australian Navy, 1950). In the 21\textsuperscript{st} century we still see traces of the two separate types of military music in parades, when the drum corps of a band play soli sections called drum sequences between pieces of music to allow the wind players time to rest before the next piece.

**Instrumentation**

The first bands of music arrived in Australia in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century at a time of great change in instrumentation for British military bands, as can be seen if we compare the Royal Artillery Band of 1762 which had just eight members with the same band in 1839 with 48 members (see Figure 3).

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<th>1</th>
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<td>Oboes</td>
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<td>E Flat Clarinets</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>B Flat Clarinets</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Bassoons</td>
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<td>Drums etc</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>48 Musicians</strong></td>
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*Figure 3: Royal Artillery Band, 1839 (Farmer 1912, 114-5).*

The range of instruments has grown too (see Figure 3), increasing not just the volume, but the available timbres and pitch range as well. The melody line was now led by a group of 17 clarinets (3 Eb, 14 Bb). Clarinets had been new technology in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, and British military bands were early adopters of the new instrument but by the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century the instruments were more common and their use in military bands had become ubiquitous. The treble line was filled out by the flutes, oboes, trumpets and cornets.
The invention of the valve between in the early 19th century had fundamentally changed the character of brass instruments (Montagu 1981, 76). Prior to this time, brass instruments (other than the trombone) were only able to play notes on the harmonic series (see Figure 4). Between 1815 and 1840 a number of different types of valves were developed, all providing players with the means of lengthening the tubing of their instruments by depressing a button or buttons and thus changing the pitch. By 1840 valve technology had become reliable enough to adopt for common use. For the first time brass instruments (other than trombones) were able to play fully chromatic melodies, rather than just providing flourishes and fanfares. Although natural trumpets were still the norm in orchestras of the early 19th century, British military bands were early adopters of the new valve technology as they had been with clarinets in the 18th century (Montagu 1981, 98), and it is likely that the Royal Artillery used these new, melodic trumpets. Previously natural trumpets had been tuned to F or G; however valved trumpets allowed these notes to be played more easily on shorter tubing and as a result trumpets began to be made in B flat, the key which they continue to be made in to the present day (Montagu 1981, 100). Cornets were also valved brass instruments pitched in B flat. Having the same range as a trumpet, the main musical difference between the two instruments was the timbre. Instead of the bright, piercing tone of the trumpet, perfect for fanfares, the cornet had a softer, mellower tone which blended more smoothly with the rest of the band. This was a result of differences in the bores of the two instruments. While the trumpet has a cylindrical bore, only flaring out at the end for the bell, the cornet has a conical bore, making it technically a member of the horn family. The difference in bore also made the cornet an easier instrument to play (Montagu 1981, 88). Above the melody instruments, providing a descant line was another new instrument, the piccolo. The piccolo played an octave above the flute and, as is common today, would have been played by one of the flute players.

![Figure 4: Harmonic Series](image)

The middle voices of the band were provided by the French horns, trombones and bassoons, which had been relieved of their bass line duties by a new set of bass instruments. The French horn also began to be built with valves in the first half of the 19th century. Although the natural horn had been capable of melodic
lines using hand stopping, the new valves provided greater stability and tuning to the notes, and enabled greater volume by allowing players to remove their hands from the bell during chromatic passages (Montagu 1981, 84). This was particularly useful on the march. The trombone’s slide mechanism meant that, uniquely among the brass instruments, it was capable of playing chromatic passages fluently before the invention of valves. As such, the design of the trombone had not changed appreciably from previous generations, its introduction into the military band was instead a result of the increased size of the band requiring stronger and more numerous middle voices to maintain balance (Montagu 1979, 101). The bassoon was an instrument in flux during the 19th century, so rapid was the development of the bassoon at this time that bandsmen could have been playing instruments with anything between six and 22 keys. Some six key instruments were played right into the 1920s when the change of pitch in bands and orchestras made them unplayable (Montagu 1981, 68).

To the modern reader, the bass section of the Royal Artillery Band of 1839 would be the most unfamiliar as they bear little resemblance to their modern equivalents. Before the invention of valved bass brass instruments, ophicleides, bass horns and serpents were in common use (Figure 5). Patented in France in 1821 (Baines 1983, 144), ophicleides were bass keyed bugles, playing an octave below their treble counterparts (Farmer 1912, 88). Folded like a bassoon, but with a brass-type mouthpiece, usually of ivory, and a metal body, the ophecleide was played by producing the harmonic series and then opening keys to shorten the length of the tubing (Montagu 1981, 94; Baines 1983, 144). Serpents were wooden instruments covered with leather with brass-type mouthpieces, again, usually made of ivory (Baines 1983, 121). They had fingerholes and later keys enabling players to shorten the length of tubing. They got their name from the curving shape of the instrument which made it compact enough to hold easily. Bass horns were upright serpents (Baines 1983, 122). They could be made of either wood or metal, had a wide conical bore and were folded into the shape of a bassoon with finger holes and keys (Montagu 1979, 102).

![Figure 5: Ophicleide, Bass Horn and Serpent. Illustration based on descriptions and images in Montagu 1981, 94-5.](image)

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1 Hand stopping involves pushing one’s hand into the bell to partially block the flow of air, thus changing the pitch.
All three of these instruments were in regular use in military bands, however they had a number of distinct disadvantages in comparison to valved bass brass instruments. Their tone was not loud, and they would struggle to be heard over the rapidly improving technology of brass instruments in the upper and middle registers. While they were not limited to the harmonic series like natural trumpets and horns, the key system was not as stable as using valves, making certain notes wildly out of tune. Farmer remembers all three of these instruments featuring in his band in the 19th century, "their tone was very irregular and certainly did not blend well with other brass instruments" (1912, 102). As tunings in the rest of the band improved, and the music they played began to explore a greater range of tonalities, the ophecleide, serpent and bass horn struggled to keep up. These old bass instruments had another disadvantage; they each had markedly different playing techniques that were not interchangeable. This meant that unlike other players who could move between flutes and piccolos, oboes and bassoons, or trumpets and cornets as the need arose, bass horn, ophecleide and serpent players had to be recruited individually. For a band that relied heavily on doubling, this could cause problems.

Percussion sections were bought into European bands when the Ottoman Sultan started a craze for 'Turkish' or 'Janissary' music by presenting a band to the King of Poland in the 1720s (Farmer 1950, 35). England was slower to catch on the new fashion of alla turca music, and the Royal Artillery Band did not hire its first percussionists until 1786 (Farmer 1912, 73). Prior to this time percussion had only been used by field musicians. The new percussion section would most likely have featured a bass drum, side drums with snares, cymbals, triangles, tambourines and possibly a Turkish crescent or Jingling Johnny, a set of bells mounted on a frame that was the forerunner to the modern glockenspiel.

British Regimental Bands in Australia

The first bands of music to arrive in Australia came with British regiments garrisoned in NSW from 1809 to 1870 (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 412). The first regiment to arrive was the 73rd in December 1809. The number of regiments stationed in the colonies grew to four or five in the 1820s, mostly in NSW and Tasmania, before dwindling again to two by the 1870s. The first regiment and band to come to Victoria was the 40th who arrived in 1852 in response to the gold rush (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 412). Regiments were sent to Australia for two main purposes, to “police and protect” the colonies, and as part of a “toughening-up campaign” for the soldiers in preparation for service in India (Richardson 1965, 5). This resulted in many of the finest regiments of the British Army being stationed in the Australian colonies during the 19th century, and with them came some of the British Army’s best musicians (Hort 1969, 74).
Although the band of music, unlike field musicians, did not actually play on the battlefield, their non-musical duties often brought them into the line of fire. British Army musicians have played roles as stretcher-bearers and medics since the 18th century, when Sime’s *Military Guide* states that in action they should “stay with their respective companies, and assist the wounded” (cited in Farmer 1912, 59), a role which they continued to hold in the Australian army into the 20th century. Stretcher-bearers faced great risk to life and limb, often entering the battlefield unarmed, and unable to move quickly while carrying wounded men.

For regiments stationed in Australia, the band’s role in providing marching music and maintaining morale began before the regiment even embarked for the new colony. Major De Winton of the 99th Regiment served as a guard on a Royal Navy convict ship bound for Van Diemen’s Land (now Tasmania) in the 1840s. He remembers his embarkation to Australia:

> My time for foreign service came in April 1843, and, to the tune of ‘the Girl I left behind me’, early one morning we marched out of Chatham... the order being: march to Gravesend, thence by lighter to Deptford to embark on board the barque ‘Constant’... (De Winton 1898, 33)

*The Girl I Left Behind Me* was a tune regularly played by military bands at farewell ceremonies. Not only was it played when leaving England, but diarist Blanche Mitchell noted hearing it in NSW in 1858 when the 77th Regiment returned to England after a long stay in the colony (Mitchell 1980, 72). Writing about *The Girl I Left Behind Me* in 1859, William Chappell (1965 [1859], Vol 2, 708) noted:

> It has... been played for at least seventy years, as a Loth-to-depart when a man-of-war weighs anchor, and when a regiment quits a town in which it has been quartered. The custom has become so universal, that any omission to perform it would now be regarded as a slight upon the ladies of the place.

The role of military bands was particularly important during the first thirty years of the new colony (Hall 1951, 279). At this time instruments, sheet music and trained musicians were in short supply, so any professional musical activities revolved around military bands stationed in the area. These bands could be hired, with the consent of the commanding officer of the regiment, for non-military functions such as official dinners and private parties. Major De Winton, stationed in NSW in the 1840s remembers:

> Balls, dinners, picnics, yachting in the beautiful bay, riding parties to the Sydney Heads and Botany Bay, meetings when the band played in the Domain when there congregated the beauty and fashion... (De Winton 1898, 84).

Fifteen year-old Blanche Mitchell was often in the audiences De Winton described as “the beauty and fashion”. Upon hearing that her local regiment, the
77th, which contained many of her friends and her sister's suitor and soon to be husband, were about to be stationed in Hong Kong to fight a battle that had broken out in Canton, her first thought was not of her friends’ safety. Instead she declared in her diary, “What are we to do without a band, and the parties too, how stupid they will be!” (Mitchell 1980, 55-6).

Major De Winton (1898, 30) also noted that a number of his colleagues requested commissions to Australia to enable them to settle in the colony upon discharge from military service. He explains their reasons for migrating thus:

In the Australian colonies there is more elbow-room, there is not that struggle for existence, there is less conventionality and cant, the necessaries of life are cheaper and the climatic conditions are such that life itself is an enjoyment for as many months in the year as it may be said to be the converse at home. Given a moderate capital, ordinary prudence, and temperate habits, in Australia success in the present and a future for a family may be reasonably counted on. In the colonies military rank may still give social status; in England, since the introduction of the volunteer movement, per se, it carries none (De Winton 1898, 31-2).

Among these ex-military personnel who chose to settle in the colony were a number of military musicians. Many set up businesses to teach, compose and play as civilians including ex-bandsman Robert MacIntosh, whose advertisement in the *Sydney Gazette* on 7 February 1818 (2) offered lessons on “piano-forte...violin, clarionet, Hautboy and other wind instruments.” He also offered instrument repairs and “music furnished for balls and private entertainments at short notice and at a moderate rate of charge”. These ex-military musicians made up the nucleus of Sydney’s amateur music scene (Covell 1967, 8).

Australia was not the only colony to rely heavily on its military bands for entertainment; Williams (1912, viii) notes that colonial America had a similar reliance on its military bands.

Details on the instrumentation of the 99th Regimental band while it was stationed in Australia (1842-1856) can be found in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 September 1844 (Anon, 3), it includes a description of the first Bombardon (tuba) in NSW:

[T]he 99th have no less than eight beautifully toned C and Bb Clarionets and one in Eb, which play together in perfect harmony. Their flutes are equally good, nor are they open to the rebuke ajustez vos flutes, for they keep together in excellent tune, forming as it were one unbroken chain of linked sweetness. Their trumpets again produce a clear martial intonation, free from those disagreeable shrill "cork-cutting" sounds which set one’s teeth on edge ... Their bass instruments are of the first description, for in addition to the *Bassoons*, the *Serpent*, and last but not least the *Ophicleide* which from the full rich grave yet mellifluous tone it is capable of sending forth in the hands of a skilful performer ... is a powerful auxiliary in any orchestra – they have also the *Bombardon*. As this latter instrument was hitherto unknown in the colony we need not
apologise to our readers for introducing a brief account of it. The Bombardone appears to be an instrument of modern invention, of a deep intonation partaking of the bass qualities, both of the Bassoon and of the Ophecleide. Its compass extends three octaves from $F$ two octaves below the bass clef to $F$ above the bass staff.

The introduction of the bombardon marks the beginning of the military band as we know it today. If we examine the instrumentation of the Royal Artillery Band in 1857, all the instruments being used are familiar from a modern concert band (see Figure 6). The number of musicians had again increased and the old-fashioned bass instruments, ophecleides, serpents and bass horns had been replaced by baritones, euphoniums and bombardons (now know as E flat or B flat basses or tubas). The range of the upper brass had also been enlarged with the introduction of soprano cornets and flugel horns. Likewise, the woodwind was strengthened with the addition of saxophones. These instruments were all either invented or perfected by Adolphe Sax, a man who had a big influence on the instrumentation of military bands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Royal Artillery Band, 1857 (Farmer 1912, 128)</th>
<th>Commonly used instruments in Modern concert bands (Nasby 2005)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Flutes</td>
<td>Flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piccolo</td>
<td>Piccolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Oboes</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Clarinets, E flat</td>
<td>Clarinet, E flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Clarinets, B flat</td>
<td>Clarinet, B flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Saxophones, E flat</td>
<td>Bass Clarinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Saxophones, B flat</td>
<td>Alto Saxophone, E flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Bassoons</td>
<td>Tenor Saxophone, B flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Cornets</td>
<td>Baritone Saxophone, E flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Trumpets</td>
<td>Bassoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Soprano Cornets, E flat</td>
<td>Cornet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Flugel Horns, E flat</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Flugel Horns, B flat</td>
<td>Flugel Horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 French Horns</td>
<td>French Horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Baritones</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Tombones</td>
<td>Euphonium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Euphoniums</td>
<td>Basses (tubas) E flat/B flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Bombardons (tubas) E flat</td>
<td>String Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Percussion</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Musicians: 71**

*Figure 6: A Comparison of Instrumentation between mid-19th Century and early 21st Century Bands*

Adolphe Sax patented his 'saxhorns' in 1845 (Farmer 1912, 112). Although there was a range of valved brass instrument designs available at the time,
saxhorns were the “first homogeneous group of bell-up valved instruments covering the range from soprano to bass” (Baines 1983, 152). These instruments were designed to be easy to play, easy to maintain and, most importantly, had virtually interchangeable playing technique. This meant that, once trained, a musician could easily change between cornet, tenor horn, euphonium, baritone and E flat and B flat basses (bombardons) as required, with just a change in embouchure. This ease of playing meant that ophicleides, bass horns and serpents began to be replaced by euphoniums, baritones and bombardons. Sax’s family of wind instruments, the saxophones, worked on the same theory. They are single-reed woodwind instruments with a metal body and a conical bore with a penetrating sound that could be easily played and heard on the march. Like their brass counterparts the saxhorns, saxophones were designed to be easy to play. They could be mastered quickly by anyone who could play a clarinet and had interchangeable fingering systems, allowing musicians to easily change between the various available sizes. With the addition of these two families of instruments, military band musicians became much more versatile. Instead of having to recruit individual specialists on serpents, ophicleides and bass horns, bandmasters could now simply hire brass players or reed players and move them between instruments as the bands’ needs changed.

As military bands in Australia during the 19th century were still members of the British armed forces, their instrumentation was roughly the same, with instruments and music being shipped from England. Receiving new music and instruments would have taken time, however, and “…it seems likely that, as in many other areas, there was something of a time-lag between British and colonial experience” (Bythall 1991, 152).

Increasing Standardisation of British Military Bands

While field musicians were paid by the military, bands of music, were paid for by the officers in their regiments. This included musicians’ pay, instruments and uniforms. A quality band became a source of great pride to many regiments, and officers would pay to ensure their regiment had the best musicians, most up-to-date instruments and most elaborate uniforms (Camus 1976, 23). As bands of music were not officially paid for by the military, they often maintained their civilian status. This could cause a number of problems in times of war, for example, during the Crimean War (1854-1856). Many British military bands were called up for overseas service; however, as they were technically not members of the military, many civilian bandsmen claimed their discharge, as was their right, and many bands were broken up, just as they were needed most (Farmer 1912, 117).

Even after musicians became official members of the military, officers continued to subsidise some bands. The RAN continued having ships’ bands subsidised by the officers until half-way through World War II (Royal Australian Navy, 1943-51). It was reasoned that, while band members’ pay and ceremonial (wind and percussion) instruments should be paid for by the navy, the officers should pay a proportion of the cost and upkeep of their orchestral (string) instruments as the
major role of the orchestral band was in entertaining the officers’ mess and other social events.

The practice of bands being funded by officers in individual regiments meant that the standards of musicianship were sometimes questionable. Regiments would often go to great lengths to procure quality musicians. Some would increase rates of pay for musicians playing particular instruments that were in short supply; for example the Royal Artillery Band paid French horn players an extra twopence a day compared to other musicians in 1792 (Farmer 1912, 58). When advertising and extra pay did not work, musicians could be forced or ‘pressed’ into service. During the American Revolution, the British Drum Major General John Mawgridge issued a warrant “to presse or cause to be impressed from time to time such numbers of Drums, Fifes and Hoboyes as shall be necessary for His Majesty’s Service either by sea or land” (cited in Camus 1976, 27). Mandatory pressing, however, did not serve to improve the standard of the musicians involved. The solution to this concern was the establishment of the Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall in 1857 (the Royal Naval School of Music was established in 1903). This enabled boys from the age of 16 to study music with the specific aim of joining a military band. Serving band members were also able to attend the school to improve their skills to qualify as bugle majors, trumpet majors, drum majors and bandmasters. These institutions paved the way for the modern, disciplined band corps that we see serving as part of the regular British Army and Royal Marine Corps today, and the Australian bands that grew from their traditions.

The story of British military music in the second half of the 19th century is one of increasing standardisation and regulation of instrumentation, pitch and musical arrangements. This began with the introduction of standardised arrangements which, combined with the increasing number of musicians being trained through the Royal Military School of Music, meant that instrumentation and pitch became regulated. This was a gradual process, and despite the introduction of the new range of brass instruments, the School of Music continued to accept ophicleides and bass horns until around 1859 (Famer 1950, 62). Pay and conditions for military musicians also began to be standardised. In 1856 the practice of individual regiments hiring, paying and supplying uniforms and equipment to bands in the British Army was abolished as all regimental bands were bought under control of the War Office. After 1872 all British Army bandmasters had to have graduated with a diploma from the Royal Military School of Music, bringing to an end the practice of hiring civilian bandmasters who were free to leave at any time, a practice which had led to many bands being disbanded during the Crimean War (Farmer 1950, 53).

Instrumentation also began to become more standardised as a result of the publication of a series of compositions and arrangements written specifically for military bands. The most widely used of these was Boosé’s Military Journal, first published by Boosey and Co in 1846, shortly followed by a series written by the bandmaster of the Coldstream Guards Charles Godfrey Snr, published by Jullien (Farmer 1912, 116). As both these journals featured arrangements for the same instrumental ensemble, bandmasters throughout Britain began to tailor their
bands to suite the arrangements available. The purchase of instruments also began to be made through the centralised victualling stores, providing consistency in quality and pitch. Australian music publishers, including Thomas Edward Bulch, began to produce their own works for military bands in the 1880s (Whiteoak 1995, 30).

Military music in NSW began to take on a decidedly Australian flavour within 30 years of the start of the new colony (Hort 1969, 74). This was despite the fact that the musicians composing and playing military music were English-born and had been in Australia for relatively short periods of time. Little of this music survives into the present day, but records of the music's titles and lyrics demonstrate the patriotic Australian sentiment. Harold Hort identifies the first reference to a specifically Australian-themed composition, Quadrilles for Australia written by Mr Reichenberg, Music Master of the 40th Regiment, as appearing in the Sydney Gazette on Thursday 28 April 1825. Reichenberg went on to write a set of Hobart Town Quadrilles which were advertised in the Hobart Town Gazette on 8 August 1828 (Hort 1969, 75).

Other early patriotic music includes works of Bandmaster Kavanagh of the 3rd East Kent Regiment (The Buffs). Kavanagh was known to be composing Australian-themed music as early as 1826 and his works included The Currency Lads (a term referring to Australian-born men), An Australian March, Hail Australia, A Grand Australian March and The Trumpet Sounds Australia's Name (Hort 1969, 75).

The earliest surviving manuscript is William Ellard’s set of quadrilles titled La Sydney, La Wooloomooloo (sic), La Illawarra, La Bong-Bong, and La Engehurst (Hort 1969, 75). Quadrilles were usually adaptations of popular tunes. These early surviving manuscripts, despite their Australian names:

... could only be expected to remain, firmly in the precincts of efficient, anonymous conventionality. However, that same conventionality, disappointing as it might be to anyone looking for a personal or national voice in music, makes the music admirably representative in the social history of the period (Covell 1967, 9).

Although Australian compositions started to appear in the early 19th century, the first Australian-raised military bands did not appear until the middle of the century.

Australian-Raised Forces

The Crimean War (1853-56) inspired the creation of the first Australian-raised forces to serve overseas. These were volunteer army forces called up to fight for Britain. Australian-raised volunteers continued to be recruited after the end of that conflict. By 1861, there were around 9000 volunteers in the colonies, or

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1 Quadrilles are sets of ballroom dances that were popular in the 19th century.
one man in every 50 of working age (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 412). Volunteers went on to serve in New Zealand (1863-1865) and in 1867 they began to be offered some payment for service in return for higher military standards. These volunteer forces contained a number of bands, including the Royal Victorian Volunteer Artillery Band (see Figure 7).  

![Royal Victorian Volunteer Artillery Band, 1866](Image)

**Figure 7:** Royal Victorian Volunteer Artillery Band, 1866 (Photo courtesy of the Australian War Memorial [AWM]).

The number of locally raised volunteer regiments increased again when the British regiments stationed in Australia finally pulled out in 1870 (Wilcox 2009, 4-5). From this time onwards, volunteer forces were Australia’s primary homeland defence so that by “1885 most Australian towns and suburbs were supporting an infantry company or mounted troop” (Wilcox 2009, 5-6). However, a small British Royal Navy contingent stayed on at the Australia station in Sydney until 1913 (Wilcox 2009, 16). The period between 1870 and World War I (1914-19) is a difficult era of Australian military banding to research, as individual volunteer regiments, and regimental bands, primarily funded by local government, were formed and disbanded with little formal recognition or paperwork. Often the only records of an individual band’s existence are photographs (often unlabelled) held by institutions such as the Australian War Memorial (AWM) or various state libraries.

One of the few bands from this time whose history is well recorded is the band of the NSW Cavalry Reserves. Formed in 1888, three years after the formation of the troop, it still exists today, after numerous name changes, as the 1/15 Royal NSW Lancers Band (Australian Lighthorse Association n.d.). The band was originally made up of 20 musicians and a kettledrummer, although a band of 24 had been budgeted. Unusually for the period, the band’s matching grey

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1 An artillery band is simply the band of an artillery regiment.
horses were provided by the regiment and not by individual band members (Australian Lighthorse Association n.d.).

In 1894 the regiment and the band were renamed the NSW Lancers and were assigned their own regimental marches. Instead of being divided into quick marches and common marches as in the infantry, cavalry marches were divided into three speeds, walk, trot and gallop. The NSW Lancers Regimental marches were *The Dragoon Guardsman* (unknown) for the walk, *The Cavalier* (Harris) for the trot and *Bonnie Dundee* (Scott) for the gallop (Australian Lighthorse Association n.d.). In 1900 E.W. Tryell wrote the *NSW Lancers March* and around the same time Mrs C Dalton wrote the *NSW Lancers Waltz*, both of which were regularly played at regimental balls.¹

Members of the NSW Lancers served in South Africa in the Boer War (1899-1902). Although the band itself did not serve in the war, several trumpeters served as field musicians and some other band members may have served as stretcher-bearers as the War Establishment of 1895 stated that the band were to provide four stretcher-bearers per squadron (Australian Lighthorse Association n.d.). When the regiment returned home from South Africa, it was not to the colony of New South Wales that they had left, but to the newly federated Commonwealth of Australia. They, like other regiments across the country, had their name changed as they came under Commonwealth control. They also featured in performances to celebrate federation, including the Commonwealth Parade and Tattoo in Sydney in 1901. In 1903 NSW Lancers officially became the 1st Australian Light Horse Regiment although they retained the territorial name NSW Lancers (Australian Lighthorse Association n.d.).

What little is known about the activities of the band during World War I seems typical of the experiences of volunteer forces during that war. The primary role of volunteer forces was home defence. This meant that they did not serve overseas. The 1st Australian Lighthorse Regiment band seems to have stayed in Sydney and contributed to fundraising efforts for the war. The ranks of the regiment were swollen with new recruits and the band was dismounted, probably due to a shortage of horses for the war effort (Australian Lighthorse Association n.d.).

**World War I**

Regiments for overseas service were newly recruited for World War I as part of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). Many soldiers from volunteer militia regiments volunteered for equivalent regiments in the AIF, so that, “[m]ost of the original officers and NCOs (non-commissioned officers) of the 1st AIF and 2nd AIF (who served in World War II) were militiamen” (Box 1994, 59). Many civilians also signed up for military life.

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¹ Both of these pieces of music are on display at the Regimental Museum, Linden House, Lancers Barracks, Parramatta, NSW.
AIF bands during World War I were still hired, staffed and run by individual regiments, not by military hierarchy. This meant that band members were taken from interested individuals already in the regiment. No equipment, instruments, tuition or uniforms were supplied centrally but were instead paid for by individual regiments (Wooller 1995, 11). The informal nature of the bands, combined with the fact that band membership was not listed on individuals’ military records, makes it difficult to determine exact numbers of bands and bandsmen serving in the AIF during World War I.

Bands of the AIF served on the frontline as stretcher-bearers, and while they did not play in battle, many conducted rehearsals and concerts close to the frontlines (see Figure 8). Although behind the lines, these rehearsals sometimes turned deadly as they did when the 9th Battalion was stationed at Rouge de Bout:

The battalion band had practised that morning near the barn which was used as a billet, when a German Gotha flew overhead, and, no doubt, caught the reflection of the sun’s rays on the instruments (Jack Quinlan cited in Wrench 1985, 424).

The German aircraft returned around midday and the resulting bombing led to over 40 battalion members being killed and around 70 wounded.

![Figure 8: 21st Battalion Band rehearses in Cappy, France 7 September 1918 (Photo courtesy of the AWM).](image)

Many of the men wounded in the war never recovered from their injuries and received little government assistance upon returning home. Research participant and second-generation military bandsman Douglas Watkins remembers the injuries his father sustained in World War I. Walter William Henry Watkins joined the AIF as a bandsman at the age of 24 on 1 February 1916 (First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers 1914-1920). As a member of the Salvation Army he was an experienced brass player and joined
the 37th Battalion Band where he mostly played Eb bass (tuba). He was stationed in France where he was gassed, receiving injuries to his eyes and lungs. He was discharged with defective vision on 20 February 1918 but never fully recovered from his injuries. On his return to Australia, despite his injuries, he returned to banding, joining the Salvation Army’s Colac Corps band. Walter Watkins’ health never improved and he eventually died of his injuries on 2 August 1940. Watkins’ widow, Emmie was outraged at the complete absence of financial and medical support her husband had received (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Although drum corps and buglers continued to be used after World War I in parades and for camp signals, true field music, that is signals played on the battlefield, was used by Australian forces for the last time during this war. Only two signals were used directly on the battlefield, *Alarm* and *Charge*. The peacetime signals for *Stand Fast*, *Continue* and *Dismiss* were also required knowledge for all ranks (see Figure 9) (General Staff 1914, 90). The British infantry’s training manual of 1914 prescribed that an assault should be commenced by the commander ordering “the charge to be sounded, the call will be taken up by all buglers, and all neighbouring units will join in the charge as quickly as possible. During the delivery of the assault the men will cheer, bugles be sounded, and the pipes played” (Johnson and Cloonan 2008, 35).
Figure 9: Common bugle signals of World War I (Bentley 1916) Image courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Sir Louis Matheson Library, Monash University.

Although only five signals were required to be learnt by all ranks, individuals had to learn to recognise signals specific to their work, and of course, trumpeters and buglers had to be acquainted with a wide range of signals. *Trumpet and Bugle Calls for the Australian Army* (1916) lists some 39 field calls for mounted troops, 46 routine calls and 45 calls for in camp and quarters (Bentley 1916). The trumpeter's manual included words to all calls; these not only helped musicians to remember them, but also discouraged them from making up their own, less appropriate lyrics, such as this one from the British forces of World War II (see Figure 10):

Sick Call:
Sixty-four, ninety-four,
He’ll never go sick no more.
The poor fucker is dead. (Page 1973, 57)
Drummers were trained to keep a range of steady beats depending on the purpose of the march:

2. *Time* – In *slow time*, 75 paces are taken in a minute. In *quick time*, 120 paces, equal to 100 yards in a minute, or 3 miles 720 yards in an hour, are taken. Except during the first weeks of recruit training, recruits, when not in marching order, will take 140 paces per minute in *quick time* at drill. In *double time*, 180 paces, equal to 200 yards a minute, are taken. The time of the *side pace* is the same as for the *quick step* (General Staff 1914, 26).

Drummers also played a role in teaching new recruits to march:

1. Recruits are not to be taught to march without the constant use of the drum and pace stick.
2. Before the squad is put in motion a drummer will beat the time in which the men are to march, the men paying careful attention. The squad will then be marched off, and the drummer will beat the time occasionally while the men are on the move (General Staff 1914, 26-7).

By World War I musicians were rarely used on the battlefield but were still needed in the military and bands of music continued to play an important role. Referring to World War I, Farmer noted the important role military bands played in maintaining the morale of troops, stating:

Only those who know what national and regimental traditions are linked up with military music can appreciate how the playing of an army band revived the spirits of the tired and wounded behind the lines (Farmer 1950, 68).

This important role of boosting morale in soldiers and civilians alike, and providing music for military ceremonies, combined with musicians’ non-musical
roles in areas such as stretcher-bearing, ambulance driving, fire fighting and communications meant that musicians continue to play an important role in the military, long after the last drum and bugle were heard on the battlefield.

Throughout the history of military music, there has existed, alongside the musical traditions of the army, a second tradition of musicians at sea representing the Royal Navy. Although the previous section briefly discussed the RMC musicians who arrived in Australia on the First Fleet, the next section will outline in more detail the aspects of the lives of military musicians that were unique to the navy.

Music at Sea – Musical Traditions of the Royal Navy and the Royal Australian Navy

_Ashore it's Wine, Women and Song_
_Aboard it's Rum, Bum and Concertina_
- Old Naval Saying (Melly 1977, front piece)

Music has always been an important part of shipboard life for merchant seamen and naval sailors alike. It improved morale on long voyages, helped keep men fit by providing something to dance to and provided entertainment for visiting dignitaries while on shore. Any long seagoing voyage necessarily involves groups of sailors living together in close confines for long periods of time. Just as their army counterparts found that music helped to relieve boredom and improve morale in camp, ships' captains and fleet admirals found that the presence of musicians on board had a calming influence on their men. Music was also considered important for the physical well-being of the sailors. Before the discovery that lime juice and other vitamin rich foods could prevent scurvy, the Royal Navy (RN) provided on board fiddlers to provide music for “… the vigorous dancing of the hornpipe insisted upon daily by the commanders to keep the men's blood circulating so as to prevent the dreaded disease” (Hugill 1979, 18).

Navy vessels also used music for battle signals and ceremonial duties in much the same way as the army used their field musicians (Longmate 1989, 203). The main musical duties for a ship’s band were performances when raising and lowering the colours (flag) each day, when entering or leaving harbours, string orchestra performances for officers in the Ward Room, concerts for the ship’s crew and on shore for publicity with civilians and dignitaries (Himbury 2011, 21).

There were a number of uses of music that were unique to sailors. Music, through chants and shanties, helped sailors in their labours, especially in the age of sailing ships, when such songs were used to coordinate groups of men as they heaved and hauled on capstans, ropes and sails (Hugill 1979, 2). Despite their usefulness in unifying men working on the same task, the RN discouraged the use of shanties on board its vessels, seeing them as a threat to discipline. This is because a disgruntled shantyman could easily “improvise lines reviling or
criticising his superiors or the Service itself for the amusement of his fellows” (Tawney 1987, 8). This danger was particularly potent, because from the 17th to the 19th century, many RN sailors were not there of their own volition, having been ‘pressed’ into service. The process of pressing made it legal for groups of sailors to virtually kidnap men and boys living in seaside areas to work on board ship as members of the RN; the price of desertion for these and other RN sailors was hanging.

Although the Admiralty frowned upon the lyrical content of shanties, there was still a need for music to aid in the coordination of group efforts in hauling ropes and the like (Hugill 1979, 5-6). To solve this dilemma they used instrumental music. This had the dual benefit (for the Admiralty) of not having official words, and of being loud enough to drown out any unofficial words sung by the men. This use of instrumental music also had the unintended effect of retaining the use of such music after it had died out in the merchant navy.

In the merchant navy the use of shanties and other work songs virtually died out when sailing ships were replaced with steam vessels (Tawney 1987, 7). This was because the tasks they had accompanied, hauling ropes, heaving capstans and stowing sails had been replaced with noisier, dirtier work in colliers and coal bunkers. The new stokers had little breath or energy left to sing songs as they worked. Sailors in the RN however were used to having their work songs provided by a separate band, providing “a constant accompaniment to their labours” that could be heard above the roar of the furnace and did not sap the strength of the workers (Tawney 1987, 6-7).

The second difference between the use of music in the navy and the army stems from the fact that a naval ship in a foreign port automatically becomes a sort of embassy afloat:

No matter whether the political intention was to display an independent national presence or a restricted commitment to an alliance ... (a) warship was an autonomous and self-contained package. It could perform a multitude of tasks concurrently and readily change its military posture to reflect changing circumstances. On innumerable occasions the navy has thereby offered ... decision-makers a wide range of well-calibrated signals that can instantly shift from friendly reassurance to the actual use of deadly force (Stevens 2001, 2-3).

Navy bands made a big contribution to this display of national independence. Their ceremonial music provided a sense of pomp and circumstance to official events, both on board and ashore. Their string bands (provided by bandsmen doubling on string instruments) also provided entertainment for visiting dignitaries at state receptions and the like, and had the added benefit of presenting an example of the unique musical culture of their nation while in foreign lands. Finally, if diplomatic relations soured, the band could be relied on to provide battle signals if open hostilities arose.
One major limitation on naval bands was space on board. Even on the largest ships, space was at a premium and sailors’ living conditions were necessarily cramped and there was limited room available for large bands and their equipment. RN vessels considered too small to hold a full band were provided with individual fiddlers until the late 19th century and even larger ships had comparatively small bands (Hugill 1979, 18). This problem could be ameliorated if bandsmen were able to perform other on board duties when not otherwise occupied with rehearsals or performances. One solution was to form volunteer bands, often headed up by a trained bandmaster, from within the crew. This option was less than ideal from a musical point of view as many of the volunteer musicians had less than adequate musical skills. Likewise, because band members were volunteers, rehearsals and other band events had to be timetabled around other duties.

Another solution was to have a fulltime band, whose members were able to complete other tasks on board ship when not needed for their musical duties. Members of the Royal Marine Corps (RMC) manned bands on RN ships. The RMC were (and still are) a separate force on board ships of the RN. Essentially sea-going soldiers, their duties were twofold. On board ship they were responsible for maintaining discipline and security among the crew, passengers and any prisoners on board. Ashore they were the land-based fighting force of the RN. This meant that a majority of their duties took place on land, leaving them free to rehearse during the long days or weeks at sea. Their role providing discipline on board was also appropriate for bandsmen, who, as with musicians in the British Army, provided music for ‘drumming out’ and other disciplinary ceremonies.

Musicians in the RN could also earn extra cash by acting as personal servants for officers (Camus 1976, 12, Royal Australian Navy 1921-39). The RMC also featured band boys, recruits as young as 9 years-old who served as drummers (Fox 1967, 19). These band boys had perhaps one of the most dangerous jobs: while the older marines worked as riflemen, their young counterparts were charged with supplying them with gunpowder and ball cartridge (Trendall 1978, 8). Working with gunpowder while under fire caused the loss of life and/or limbs for many of these young ‘powder monkeys’, as they were known.

In the early twentieth century, musicians in both the (British) RMC (serving on RN ships) and the RAN often worked as part of the gunnery team in the transmitting station (Trendall 1978, 54; Ashton 1997, 2). The transmitting station was below deck in rooms locked from the outside, rendering escape in the case of fire or sinking almost impossible. As a result the band services of both the RMC and the RAN faced the highest losses of any corps in their respective forces during World War II (Fox 1967, 22; Trendall 1990, 122).

As was shown in the first section of this chapter, the first band to arrive in Australia was a marines band on board the First Fleet in 1788. Marine bands were the only military bands in the country until they began to be replaced by British Army bands in 1790. After this time, the only marine bands in Australia were those who served on board ships stationed in the fledgling colonies.
During the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) a single 20-gun ship was stationed at Port Jackson in NSW. However, this was withdrawn at the end of the war until 1821 when the Admiralty stationed a man-of-war permanently in Sydney (Commonwealth of Australia 1976, 5). Britain’s naval dominance was so strong at this time that a small force was considered enough to dissuade would-be invaders from trifling with her distant colony; however the discovery of gold in NSW and the new Victorian colony in 1851 made them much more tempting targets. As a result the British Admiralty set up the Australia Station in 1859 so that on 25 March Commodore William Loring of HM Frigate *Iris* was authorised to “hoist a Blue Pennant and to assume the command as Senior Officer of Her Majesty’s Ships on the Australian Station independently of the Commander-in-Chief in India” (cited in Commonwealth of Australia 1976, 9). RMC Bands were posted on many of these ships in Australian waters.

An average size ship’s RMC band in the mid-nineteenth century consisted of 11 musicians doubling as a wind and string band with the following instrumentation (percussion was provided by an RMC drummer or other member of the ship’s company) (see Figure 11):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wind Band</th>
<th>String Band</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Piccolo/Flute</td>
<td>4 Violins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Clarinets</td>
<td>1 Viola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Cornets</td>
<td>1 Cello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Saxhorns (alto)</td>
<td>1 Double Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baritone</td>
<td>1 Flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Euphonium</td>
<td>1 Clarinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bombardon (tuba)</td>
<td>1 Cornet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Euphonium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 11:* The dual instrumentations of a mid-nineteenth century Royal Marine Corps Band (Trendall 1978, 39).

In the second half of the 19th century a number of Australian colonies began to form their own Naval Brigades to supplement the support they received from the RN. These Naval Brigades, nicknamed ‘Bluejackets’ and made up of volunteer and part-time sailors and marines, featured the first Australian-raised naval bands.

The first brigade to form its own band was the Victorian Naval Brigade. Their band was formed in 1865 and was made up of members of both the Permanent Services and the (volunteer) Naval Brigade (see Figure 12)(Himbury 2011, 16). The band was a “reed and brass” band, with saxhorns, clarinets, drums and possibly flutes (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 412). The Western Australian Naval Brigade formed the Fremantle Light Infantry Band (later known as the Fremantle Artillery Band) in the 1870s and the NSW Naval Brigade and
Volunteer Naval Artillery had a band each from 1893 (Himbury 2011, 17). The NSW Volunteer Naval Artillery Band included funding for one bandmaster, one band sergeant, 18 bandsmen, a bugler/signaller and a bugler.

**Figure 12:** The Victorian Naval Brigade Band, Queen’s Birthday 1891 (*Illustrated Australian News*, 1 June 1891) (Photo courtesy of the State Library of Victoria).

The Victorian Naval Brigade Band became the first Australian-raised military band to see overseas service when they departed for the Boxer Rebellion in China aboard the troopship *Salamis* on 7 August 1900 (see Figures 13 and 15). Before departing, they took part in a farewell parade in Melbourne (Bleby 2006, 166). The Victorian Naval Brigade then sailed to Sydney where they met up with their counterparts from New South Wales before sailing to China.
Victorian Naval Brigade Band 1900

W. Underwood – Bandmaster
A. Compton – Deputy Bandmaster (Cornet)
R. Crawley – Mellophone
G. Smith – Cornet?
G. Stewart – Cornet
A. Smith – Tenor Horn
J.C. Taylor – Flugelhorn?
C. Lay – Clarinet
E. Chapman – Clarinet
W. Bates – Cornet
G. Honey – Tenor Horn
C. Holmes – Clarinet
G. Hale - Flute?
T.M. Colenso – Baritone
W. Horne – Bass (tuba)
J. Wheelhouse – Clarinet
W. Geoghegan – Alto Clarinet (Secretary)
J. Andrew – Clarinet? (Librarian)
W. Smith – Clarinet
W. Pope – Tenor Horn?
S. Sheaf – Baritone
T. Wilks – Trombone
J. Buttle – Trombone
G. Taylor – Euphonium
N. Duckworth – Trombone
R. Borthwick – Drums
R. Borthwick Jnr – Drums
R. Duckworth - Drums?

Figure 13: Members of the Victorian Naval Brigade Band, circa 1899 (Friends of the Cerberus n.d.).

Before leaving Sydney, the band, along with contingents from both states, took part in a farewell parade (see Figure 14). The parade featured the combined bands of the Victorian Naval Brigade, and either (or possibly both) the NSW Naval Brigade and the NSW Volunteer Naval Artillery, featuring around 35 men in all (Anon 1900a, 7). The band played Sons of the Sea (traditional), as the contingent waved goodbye to loved ones at Fort Macquarie. The procession then proceeded down Macquarie Street, past the Domain and through the streets of Woolloomooloo to the wharf. As the parade moved through the town, the band played popular songs including The Absent-Minded Beggar (Kipling/Sullivan), Red, White and Blue (Berg) and the traditional military

---

1 A mellophone is a brass instrument in F. It is designed to play French horn parts, using the fingering and embouchure of a saxhorn. Often folded like a French horn, but backwards so that the valves are pressed with the right hand.
farewell *The Girl I Left Behind Me* (traditional) (Anon 1900a, 7). Woolloomooloo in 1900 was something of a red light district, with plenty of “pimps, prostitutes and pubs” (Fahey 2012) and as the parade reached the gates of the wharf the crowd became unruly. A contemporary newspaper report noted:

> The constables observed that a great many civilians, not all correctly apparelled, had sandwiched themselves between the bands and the bluejackets, and that quite a large number of ladies presumed to be relatives, judging by their affectionate gestures, hung on to the arms of the gallant seamen. The police made it their business to remove these excrescences in transit, and, as the men were advancing with rapidity, they had to execute gymnastic feats to do it. (Anon 1900a, 7)

Order was soon restored, and the band played *A Life on the Ocean Wave* (Alford) and finally *Auld Lang Syne* (traditional) as they entered the docks (Anon 1900a, 7). The next day at 5pm the contingent sailed out of Port Jackson on the SS *Salamis*. A large crowd had gathered, both on shore and on numerous vessels in the harbour, to wave them goodbye:

> The Salamis blew her final sonorous blast as the anchor hove in sight. She then steamed up the harbour a bit and went round on her port helm, the boys in khaki and in blue being up in the rigging, and the band playing the National Anthem.¹ As a westerly squall came down she rounded Bradley's

---

¹ *God Save the Queen*
Head, and in half an hour was outside the waters of Port Jackson on her way to China (Anon 1900b, 7).

Figure 15: Victorian Naval Brigade Band – 1898 (Photo courtesy of the AWM).

The passage to China was relatively uneventful. Each day the band would play the national anthem at Colours (the raising of the flag) at 8am and probably again at pipe-down (lowering of the flag) at 10pm. In between they gave twice daily (morning and evening) performances on the bridge deck to entertain the men (Nicholls 1986, 51).

Upon reaching China, the Australian’s trademark larrikin sense of humour quickly became evident. As Johnson and Smiedt state in their history of Australian comedy, “total irreverence ... was the basis of Australian comedy. Hardly anything was sacred” (1999, 8). This included relations with our allies from Britain. Although the Australian contingent were members of the British forces flying the Royal Navy’s white ensign, when the members of the Victorian Naval Brigade Band were charged with welcoming the local British admiral, they chose to highlight their separate national identity by striking up a selections from the musical *The Belle of New York* (Kerker), well-known at the time for its lyrics ‘Of course you can never be like us, but be as like us as you are able to be’ (Stevens 2011, 10).

The China Contingent also included a number of buglers acting as field musicians within particular units. It is possible to name two of the men serving as buglers: H. Hayes from the Victorian Naval Contingent and S.F. Freckleton from the NSW Marine Light Infantry D Company. The NSW Wales and South Australian Naval Brigades also sent buglers to China, as did the NSW Marine
Light Infantry B Company (Nicholls 1986). It is possible that other units also included a bugler in their ranks.

By the time the members of the Victorian Naval Brigade Band returned home, they did so not to the colony of Victoria that they had left, but to the newly federated nation of Australia. During the first decade after Federation, Australia's naval defence was virtually unchanged, with RN ships at the Australia station supplementing the locally raised volunteer forces. On 10 July 1911 King George V granted the title ‘Royal Australian Navy’ to the naval forces of the new nation and recruiting began for a new Australian fleet (Himbury 2011, 18).

In late 1912 advertisements were placed in major Australian newspapers for musicians to serve on the (as yet uncommissioned) Australian flagship HMAS Australia. Although 78 applications were received, only five (four cornets and a tenor horn player) were considered to meet the selection criteria (Himbury 2011, 2). These five musicians, along with Chief Bandmaster Joshua Ventry, who had been recruited into the RAN after nearly 20 years in the British Army, were sent to the UK for training at the Royal Navy School of Music in Portsmouth (Himbury 2011, 27). There, 13 ex-Royal Marine and British Army bandsmen joined them. This group of 18 men became the first RAN Band (see Figure 16). Six buglers were also recruited from the UK to act as the RAN's first field musicians (Himbury 2011, 25).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Serial Number</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Ross Bramwell Bollard*</td>
<td>S/N 2740</td>
<td>21 November 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank August Kendrick*</td>
<td>S/N 2797</td>
<td>9 December 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Francis Richardson*</td>
<td>S/N 2785</td>
<td>21 January 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sincock*</td>
<td>S/N 2798</td>
<td>1 July 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent Thomas Webb*</td>
<td>S/N 2794</td>
<td>7 January 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyril Simmonds</td>
<td>S/N 8218</td>
<td>19 March 1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin Austin</td>
<td>S/N 8195</td>
<td>2 July 1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace Batchelor</td>
<td>S/N 8219</td>
<td>18 November 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Benny</td>
<td>S/N 8199</td>
<td>27 January 1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Budd</td>
<td>S/N 8196</td>
<td>28 July 1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Clark</td>
<td>S/N 8226</td>
<td>9 November 1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Cummins</td>
<td>S/N 8198</td>
<td>14 October 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Curtis</td>
<td>S/N 8197</td>
<td>4 February 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin German</td>
<td>S/N 8227</td>
<td>26 July 1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Hayden</td>
<td>S/N 8217</td>
<td>31 December 1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hoffman</td>
<td>S/N 8193</td>
<td>7 August 1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John White</td>
<td>S/N 8220</td>
<td>19 June 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Wood</td>
<td>S/N 8194</td>
<td>18 December 1888</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates musicians recruited in Australia.

Figure 16: The First RAN Band, Commissioned 1913.
The new RAN band service based its rank structure and instrumentation on that of the existing RMC Bands (mixed wind and brass bands, instead of the all-brass bands more popular in Australia at the time). A modified version of the prestigious RMC uniform was adopted in an attempt to make service in the RAN more attractive to English recruits:

This band’s uniforms consisted of a dark blue/black high necked tunic with small brass lyre badges on each side of the collar, five brass buttons down the front of the tunic with smaller brass buttons fitted to the breast pockets and epaulettes. The peaked cap had a red felt band and a starched white cotton cap cover. The cap badge was a seven-pointed star with the crown of King George V over a lazy anchor and the words ‘ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY’ around the circumference. NCOs (Band Corporals and Sergeants) wore their chevrons on the right sleeve ... A pouch bag for carrying march cards was slung over the left shoulder. The uniform trousers were matching serge material with a thin 1.5 cm red stripe down the outside of each leg (Himbury 2011, 119).

On 4 October 1913 the RAN’s fleet sailed into Port Jackson (NSW) for the first time. It consisted of the flagship, battle cruiser HMAS Australia, plus three light cruisers (Melbourne, Sydney and Encounter) and three destroyers (Parramatta, Warrego and Yarra). As the fleet entered Sydney Harbour, the first RAN band could be heard playing military music from the decks of the flagship (Himbury 2011, 20). This was the first Australian performance of the newly formed RAN band. Australia’s colonial heritage of volunteer bands was also represented in the fleet, with HMAS Encounter featuring a volunteer Bluejacket Band, under the direction of Bandmaster Charles Mayal, among its crew (Himbury 2011, 29). Volunteer bands can be distinguished from fulltime bands by their uniforms: confusingly, the uniforms of these ‘Bluejacket Bands’ are not necessarily blue (summer or tropical uniforms were usually white) but consist of normal RAN uniforms, as opposed to the modified RMC band uniforms of the full-time bands.

The fledgling Australian navy did not have to wait long to see active service. On 4 August 1914, less than a year after the RAN fleet first sailed into Port Jackson, Britain declared on Germany and World War I began. Australia rushed to support the Empire and the RAN began preparing for war. The Australian fleet of a battle cruiser, three light cruisers and three destroyers had by now been supplemented by a fourth light cruiser (Pioneer) and two submarines (AE1 and AE2) and their parent ship (Protector). A fifth light cruiser (Brisbane) was commissioned in 1916. In 1914 the RAN had a strength of 3800 permanent personnel (850 of whom were on loan from the RN) and a further 5693 reservists who could be called up during wartime (Odgers 1982, 49).

The only full-time RAN band during World War I was still the band aboard the flagship HMAS Australia. The members of this band served continuously on board ship for a full five years from 1913 to the end of the war in 1918, taking part in actions in the Pacific, Asia, the Mediterranean and East Africa (Himbury 2011, 31-2). While in port the 18-piece band had various performing duties,
including the daily Colours (flag raising) ceremony at which they played the national anthem of every ship in harbour at 0800 (8am) each day (Himbury 2011, 32). They also played onshore at various events including parades and sporting events and were sometimes augmented by volunteer musicians. They did not perform while at sea, instead concentrating on their non-musical duties. The band worked as part of the gunnery team and most had action stations in the transmitting station (TS), with one bandsman in the turret and two in the foretop (Himbury 2011, 32).

These non-musical duties were based on those of bandsmen in the RMC. World War I RMC Bandsman, Musician George Moody describes his action station in the Voice Pipe Control room on HMS Iron Duke:

Abaft the mess decks close to the Bandmaster’s cabin was a water-tight door with six cleats. Opening from this door was a shaft about four feet square which went down two decks. On the bulkhead was an iron runged ladder which you descended to an iron grid made in two sections, each section of which was hinged. When closed the grid could only be lifted from above. When opened, one descended another iron runged ladder to the Voice Pipe Control. The control was just a huge steel box approximately 20 feet in each dimension, set among the coal bunkers. The only fittings were six voice pipes and a form for our comfort. The Voice Pipe Control would come into use should the electrical system fail in which case all orders from the T.S. to the turrets would be sent orally (cited in Trendall 1978, 54).

Once a battle began, Musician Moody and his colleagues were all but cut off from the rest of the ship:

We could hear muffled heavy firing through the voice pipes, then suddenly our 13.5’s opened with salvo after salvo – we were in the thick of battle ... The Iron Duke fired a total of 89 salvos. In the ‘Black Hole’ we had no outside communication whatever due to the fact that all was well with the electrical system. To the three of us the hours seemed interminable as none of us had a watch. No food, no sleep and covered with coal dust which oozed in through the seams of the bulkheads ... During our time in the ‘Black Hole’ I thought ‘Should the ship be hit and crippled by gunfire or a torpedo was there any possible way of getting to the upper deck?’ The only escape was by way of the grid so I asked the Midshipman if I should try to lift it. His reply was, ‘No Moody, the orders are to have it closed’. (cited in Trendall 1978, 54)

No RAN bandsmen are known to have been killed during World War I (Himbury 2011, 39-40).

As well as the fulltime band aboard the flagship, the light cruisers Melbourne, Sydney, Pioneer and Brisbane also had volunteer Bluejacket Bands on board. As well as rehearsing and performing in their own time, many had to provide their
own instruments, although HMAS *Brisbane* had a full set of instruments donated to them by the City of Brisbane (Himbury 2011, 35).

After five years of continuous service on board ship, few of the fulltime bandsmen were willing to re-sign with the RAN after their period of service expired at the end of the war. This left the band service seriously depleted and one of the first post-war tasks for Chief Bandmaster Joshua Ventry was to recruit new members in Britain before returning home to Australia (Himbury 2011, 31). After some rebuilding the flagship band was able to continue its service and in 1927 the RAN formed its first shore-based band to provide musical services at HMAS *Cerberus* (previously known as Flinders Naval Base) in Victoria (Himbury 2011, 39). By 1930 the RAN had these two professional bands, one on shore and the other on the flagship, as well as a number of volunteer bands.

The Australian Army and the Royal Australian Navy both grew out of long standing traditions in the British Forces. The aircraft was invented in the first decade of the 20th century, shortly after Australian became an independent, federated nation in 1901. As a result the British Royal Air Force (RAF) and the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) came into being within a year of each other. Despite this, the RAAF was still strongly influenced by the RAF, relying on their British counterparts for many of its aircraft and much of its ground support although the RAAF band service itself, being made up of volunteer musicians, had little formal contact with their British counterparts.

**The Royal Australian Air Force**

"*Not within a thousand years will man ever fly*"
- Wilbur Wright, 1901 (cited in FitzSimons 2009).

As has been discussed, the RAAF has a much shorter history that the other two arms of the defence force. This, combined with the fact that there has been correspondingly less research conducted on music in the RAAF than in the Australian Army or the RAN, means that this section will necessarily be shorter than the previous two as it only discusses the Australian air force from its inception in 1913 until 1930.

In 1912 the British Royal Flying Corps (RFC) was formed under the auspices of the British Army in response to the invention of the aeroplane in the previous decade (FitzSimons 2009). In September of the same year, the Australian Army issued an order to create the Australian Flying Corps (AFC) with four officers and 39 other ranks (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 9). As a result, preparations for Australia’s first flight school, the first in the British Empire outside of Britain, began in June 1913 (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 9). Land was purchased in Point Cook,¹ near Werribee in Victoria, chosen for its level ground and the fact that it bordered Port Phillip Bay, allowing for training on both sea and land planes. The staff of two flying instructors and four mechanics along with five aircraft, moved

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¹ Originally spelt Point Cooke.
in during February 1914 and the first flight was made on 1 March 1914 in a Bristol Boxkite (Parnell and Lynch 1979, 9). All six members of staff had been recruited in Britain, although two were actually Australian-born (Coulthard-Clark 1991, xv).

The first class, consisting of four Australian Army officers, began aviation training on 17 August 1914 and all graduated as qualified pilots after an average of ten hours flying experience (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 9). In August 1914, less than a month after the outbreak of World War I, the AFC was sent on its first overseas expedition. Two pilots, several mechanics, one land plane and one sea plane were sent to conduct reconnaissance as part of a joint Army-Navy force to German New Guinea. However reports of a German base proved to be a hoax and the aircraft were never unpacked from their crates (Coulthard-Clark 1991, xvi). The AFC first saw active combat in Mesopotamia, after responding to a request for pilots and mechanics by sending a contingent on 20 April 1915. The contingent was mainly responsible for reconnaissance, supply drops and occasional bombing raids in which 1-kg infantry hand-bombs had to be dropped manually from the open cockpits (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 11). The aircraft, which were provided upon arrival, were out of date, second hand, in poor repair and "quite unsuitable for any sort of war service, especially in such a hot climate," leading to a campaign which was a "deplorable muddle" (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 11).

In 1915 the British Army Council suggested that the British Dominions\(^1\) form complete squadrons for service within the RFC. Australia was the only Dominion to do so (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 16). By the end of the World War I Australia had four operational squadrons (No 1 Squadron in Palestine and Nos 2, 3 and 4 Squadrons in France) and a further four training squadrons (Nos 5, 6, 7 and 8) (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 9). The members of No 1 Squadron included a number of musicians who travelled with their instruments. As a result, the first volunteer AFC band was formed from No 1 Squadron’s members. While in Egypt they formed a concert party and a camp orchestra (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. a). Similar volunteer ensembles formed in other squadrons and AFC bases throughout World War I, including The Gee Whizzers at Minchinhampton (where Squadron Nos 5 and 6 were stationed) and The Flying Kangaroos at Leighterton (where Squadron Nos 7 and 8 were stationed) (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. a, Wilson 2005, 30).

The fact that the AFC included so many talented amateur musicians was not entirely a coincidence. When recruiting pilots for the Australian Squadrons of the RFC, English officers were concerned with recruiting pilots who came from what they saw as an appropriate socio-economic background. As such questions such as “Do you play polo?” “Do you sail?” and “Do you play a musical instrument?” were part of recruitment interviews (FitzSimons 2009, 92).

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1 The British Dominions were member countries of the British Empire, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa.
In 1918, the British Defence Force combined the RFC with the Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS) to form a third arm of the British Defence Force, known as the Royal Air Force (RAF) (Coulthard-Clark 1991, 1; RAF n.d. b). The RAF School of Music was formed in 1919, although due to limited manpower, its focus was mainly on providing training for bandmasters to lead volunteer amateur bands (RAF n.d. a). The RAAF would eventually follow the lead of the RAF in having professional bandmasters leading bands of volunteer amateur musicians.

Towards the end of World War I, both the Australian Army and the RAN put forward bids to form their own separate air services (Coulthard-Clark 1991, 1). Due to the prohibitive costs of having two separate air forces, on 17 September 1921, Commander Hugh Maguire, a visiting lieutenant colonel from the newly formed RAF, proposed that Australia should follow the British example and form an air force as a separate branch of the Australian defence forces (Coulthard-Clark 1991, 2-3). As a result the RAAF was officially formed on 31 March 1921 (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. b).

The first RAAF band was formed in January 1923 at Point Cook Air Base. Like the army’s CMF bands and the navy’s Bluejacket Bands, the first RAAF Band was a brass band made up volunteer amateur musicians from within RAAF ranks (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. a). Corporal B.D. Thacker, a motor driver mechanic who was also the first bandmaster, founded the band (Coulthard-Clark 1991, 46). In August of the same year, at Thacker’s suggestion, a more experienced musician was chosen to take on the role. Hugh Niven, previously a civilian bandmaster, was given the post of part-time bandmaster, with the rank of Warrant Officer and Thacker became the band’s drum major (Coulthard-Clark 1991, 46-7). In 1926 the band consisted of 27 musicians (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 413). In 1927 Thacker left the RAAF and was replaced by Leading Aircraftman (LAC) Hal Harding (Coulthard-Clark 1991, 47). The RAAF Band was responsible for playing at all official RAAF ceremonies and it represented the air force at the grand public military review at the opening of Parliament House in 1927 (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. a).

**Conclusions – Australian Military Bands prior to 1930.**

Australian military bands grew out of the traditions of the British marine bands and British Army Regimental bands of the 18th and 19th centuries. The first band stationed in the fledgling colony of New South Wales was a British marines fife and drum band that arrived with the First Fleet. In 1808 the first full brass and woodwind bands arrived in Sydney in the form of a series of British Regimental Bands. Despite the fact that these were British bands, manned by English soldiers playing English-made instruments, many of them found the new colony inspiring and Australian-themed songs began to make their appearance just 30 years after the founding of New South Wales.

The first Australian-raised forces were members of volunteer militia forces recruited to assist Britain in the Crimean War (1853-1856). Band members were drawn from members with musical experience and served as stretcher-
bearers on the field of battle. The informal nature of these bands, raised and funded at a local level, means that documentation on their activities is sparse. The first Australian-raised naval band was the Victorian Naval Brigade Band formed in 1865. It also became the first Australian naval band to serve overseas when it departed for the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900.

Australian-raised military bands were still all operating on an amateur, volunteer basis when Australia became a Federated nation in 1901 and this continued to be the case until 1913, when the RAN, which had been established in the same year, recruited professional musicians to form a band to serve aboard the flagship, HMAS *Australia*.

During World War I this RAN band remained the only professional military band serving in the Australian armed forces, although the army, and the navy featured a number of volunteer bands. During World War I, the RAAF also formed its first volunteer ensembles, in the form of concert parties and camp orchestras at overseas bases where Australian squadrons were located. At the end of the war, as servicemen were demobilised back into civilian life, both the various volunteer band forces, and the RAN's professional service were reduced drastically. The 1920s were a period of slow rebuilding after the devastation of World War I, for both the Australian military generally and the band services specifically. At this time, the RAAF also formed its first Australian-based band, a volunteer amateur brass band at Point Cook Air Base.

By 1930 Australia had two professional military bands, both part of the RAN, as well as a number of largely undocumented volunteer amateur bands spread across the three services. The professional bands were concert bands, featuring brass, woodwind and percussion, with members doubling on string instruments to form orchestral ensembles while volunteer bands were usually brass bands, based on the amateur banding movement so popular in Australia at the time. The 1930s would see a continuation of the rebuilding begun in the 1920s, which sped up as both German and Japanese aggression increased, and World War II loomed.
Chapter 3: The Australian Army

... from conversation with a number of bandmen they seem to think that the military bands are the thing nowadays (Anon 1937a, 43).

Of the three branches of the Australian armed forces (army, navy and air force), it was the army that underwent the greatest change to its organisational structure in the period under examination. In 1930 the Australian army was a part-time force of militiamen who received little military training, but by 1955 it had grown into a full-time standing army, the first in the nation’s history. A well trained, standing army required an equally professional band service and this chapter explores how changes to military structure and policy affected the recruitment, training and working lives of bandmen in the Australian army. It will outline the army’s attempts to create a long-term career structure for musicians, showing a gradual shift in non-musical duties away from the battlefield and towards full-time performance duties. It will also demonstrate continuity in performance practice, despite the rapid organisational changes occurring within the band corps.

Pre-War: 1930-1938.

Henceforth, Australia was to have an all-volunteer, primarily part-time 35,000 strong Army. (Austin 2000, 13-14)

The Australian Imperial Force (AIF) was disbanded after World War I, with the army reverting to the part-time home guard, the Citizen Militia Forces (CMF) in 1921. The volunteer forces were now reorganised in imitation of the unit titles, colour patches and eventually battle honours of the AIF (Austin 2000, 13). Many regiments also used weapons and equipment bought home from the battlefields of World War I (Odgers 1993, 106). This meant that existing bands were often renamed, and others newly formed to represent the various disbanded AIF regiments that had served during World War I (for example the 4th Cavalry Brigade Band and the 38/7 Battalion Band) (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 413). As well as the CMF, a small permanent forces army was maintained. Consisting predominantly of World War I AIF veterans, the permanent forces army was not primarily a fighting force, but was charged with training and overseeing the much larger CMF. Funding for the permanent army was increasingly cut over time and discharged members were not replaced, so that by 1932 it had dwindled to just 1536 members (Odgers 1993, 108).

The part-time nature of the Australian army was a hangover from British Army policy of the 18th and 19th centuries. In response to the English Civil War (1642-1651) the English parliament had sought to limit the power of the army to reduce the chance that it could be used by the crown to overthrow the government (Avant 1994, 36-7). As a result, rather than maintaining a standing army, new forces were effectively reformed and then dismantled for each new conflict, thus preventing a build-up of military power during peacetime (Avant
1994, 36). Although the British Army began to be professionalised in the 1870s, the Australian army kept much of this system in place until the end of World War II. In both Australia and Britain, this system was supported by the theory that in case of invasion the island nations could rely on their stronger, permanent naval forces for defence (Avant 1994, 46).

In the 1920s and early 1930s military recruitment and funding waned as the Australian populace attempted to recover from the high casualties of World War I. Annual military funding dropped from £1,349,000 in 1916/17 to a low of £978,000 in 1933 (Beaumont 2001, 30). As a result, by 1930 numbers in the CMF had fallen to 27,000, well short of the original post-World War I target of 37,000 (Austin 2000, 13-4). In 1933 first Japan and then Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. Concerned about possible conflict with these two countries, the Australian government began increasing its defence spending in 1935 (Beaumont 2001, 30). The second half of the 1930s, prior to the outbreak of war, is a demonstration of what Pettan refers to as “the war-peace continuum” (Pettan 2010, 181). Although technically a time of peace, the Australian government believed that war was imminent and strengthened its military accordingly. In 1938 a new recruiting plan was implemented and by mid-1939 the militia had reached a strength of 80,000 (Austin 2000, 14). By the start of the war, military funding had increased to £4,389,000 per annum (Beaumont 2001, 30).

In my research on Australian military bands of the 1930s, I did not expect to be able to interview any bandsman of this era, given that I was conducting interviews some 80 years after the fact. However, much to my surprise, Jack Williams, whose service included playing cornet with the CMF between 1936 and 1939, contacted me. Patricia Porter also took part in this research, sharing her memories of the 1930s CMF service of her deceased husband Lloyd Porter. As well as these interviews, I have based my research on this period on contemporary music journals like the *Australasian Band and Orchestra News* and *Australian Music Maker and Dance Band News* as well as documents from the NAA which mostly outline funding and purchases for individual regimental bands. Information about repertoire was particularly difficult to find for this era, with few available references to specific music played by 1930s army bands.

CMF bands often received little in the way of government funding and although members were often veterans of the AIF or British Imperial Units (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 26), in many ways the bands operated in the same way as civilian community bands, with members providing their own instruments and sometimes purchasing uniforms if their regiments were unable to afford them. In both Perth and Hobart, World War I veterans joined together to form Returned Servicemen’s Bands (Anon 1937c, 43; ‘Dotted Note’ 1938, 18, 21). Some civilian bands signed up en masse, including the Cottesloe Town Band in Western Australia which became the regimental band of the Regimental Artillery Group (RAG) in 1934 (‘Crochet’ 1934). In rural areas there were often not enough CMF musicians to stage performances, and so they combined with

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1 Australian currency used pounds until 1966 when it adopted the dollar.
local town bands, as in the Maitland Military and Citizens’ Band in NSW (‘Tetrachord’ 1934, 26).

Some bands could only afford to operate as a result of their own fundraising concerts, such as one held by the Melbourne University Rifles Band on 22 November 1931 (‘Sarge’ 1931). As well as pieces by the band, the concert featured guest soloists on violin and vocals, a performance by the Melbourne Male Choir, a poetry recitation, a “humorous sketch” and music from “Bell’s Crackajack Mouth Organ Band” conducted by Bandsman W. Bell, who was well-known within the band for his skills on the harmonica (‘Sarge’ 1931).

Military training in these bands and in the CMF generally was often fairly ad hoc. A lack of funding in the 1920s meant that, at times, even annual training camps had to be abandoned (Austin 2000, 13). The cancellation of training camps caused some concern within band ranks, as five pounds of their annual funding was contingent on attendance at these camps. After some discussion, it was eventually decided that bands should continue to receive this funding during the period in which these camps were suspended (Army Headquarters 1928-1936). The lack of funding and support that the CMF received in the early 1930s impacted on army bands, and the overall number of bands in Australia dropped from 64 in 1929 to 52 in 1934 (Army Headquarters 1928-1936). These bands were distributed around the country (see Figure 17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military District</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Bands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17: Distribution of CMF Bands in 1934 (Army Headquarters 1928-1936)

Once training camps were reinstated in 1931, bands played an important role in maintaining the morale of the part-time soldiers. The band of the Melbourne University Rifles was formed in 1931 to coincide with the regiment’s first militia camp after the reintroduction of compulsory training (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 26). The band played during the march to the docks at Port Melbourne where the regiment boarded a paddle steamer to Sorrento, 91 kilometres south of Melbourne. During the camp they gave a concert for the regiment and the visiting Divisional Commander, Brigadier-General C.H. Foott, but it was on the return journey that their services came into their own. On the last day of the camp manoeuvres were interrupted by a “terrific storm” and the regiment was forced to make its return journey (on foot and by boat) in the downpour:

We plodded home through the awful weather soaked to the skin, but in excellent spirits, due largely to the irrepressible spirits of certain
members of the band, who provided us with music and the encouragement to sing. The corps marched into the barracks thoroughly drenched but still singing. All were enthusiastic about the way the band sparked up, and with their music made the weary journey so much shorter (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 26-7).

The next day, the storm still raged as the regiment boarded the ferry back to Port Melbourne:

The trip up proved to be most eventful, with heavy seas and a fierce southerly blowing the whole time. The spirits of the troops were again elevated by the band, who, despite the adverse conditions, provided some excellent music, to the great enjoyment also of the few passengers who were on board (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 26-7).

The storm was so bad that the Hygeia, the elderly ferry the regiment had travelled in, was retired immediately following the journey (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 27). As was shown in the previous chapter, accompanying soldiers on route marches was a continuation of one of the oldest and most frequent military uses of common marches by military bands.

As useful as a band’s musical duties could be, the lack of funding for training meant that their military skills were not always of such a high standard. After one rifle practice by the members of the Brisbane Excelsior 9/15 Battalion Band it was noted:

A few who usually blow very straight notes cannot fire straight with the rifle. I don’t like to mention names, but I would like to send you a photo of the target, not damaged after five shots at 100 yards. They must have put a turn or a trill on the bullet (‘Tone’ 1931, 13).

It was not just training standards that were sometimes lax in these inter-war regimental bands; recruiting requirements were also sometimes ignored. Jack Williams was invited to join the 29/22 Battalion Band in 1936 (see Figure 18). The 14-year-old was advised that he would need to lie about his age as membership was limited to players who were 16 years or older. He remembers that both his Bandmaster and his Regimental Sergeant Major (RSM) were aware of his real age:

... the Bandmaster suggested to me one day that I come and join his band at the 29/22 Battalion. He said, “You’ve got to be 16 before you can go,” and I was only 14. So he said, “Remember that you’re 16.”

So I went along with him, and a big burly RSM said, “How old are you son?”

And I said, “Fourteen”.
He said, “How old?”
I said “Sixteen”.
He said, “That’s better” (Williams 2011, personal communication).
Despite being much younger than the other members of the band, Williams was immediately placed in the prestigious solo cornet desk\(^1\) in the 29/22 Battalion Band, demonstrating that filling positions with quality players was sometimes deemed more important than meeting army regulations (see Figure 18).

![Jack Williams in uniform](image)

**Figure 18:** Jack Williams in the uniform of the civilian Newport and District Band, shortly before lying about his age to enlist in the 29/22 Battalion Band (From the private collection of Jack Williams).

While inter-war CMF bands may not have always strictly adhered to army standards and regulations, they did make an active contribution to their local communities. In November 1931 alone, the 59\(^{th}\) Battalion Band (based in Coburg, a suburb of Melbourne) reported giving weekly Sunday concerts in Coburg Reserve, appearing at various “fêtes and other functions,” touring Melbourne’s southern suburbs in an illuminated tram to raise money for the Ladies’ Benevolent Appeal at Green Mill and giving a performance on radio station 3AR as well as their regular weekly rehearsals (Anon 1931, 7). While ceremonial performances were aimed primarily at members of the military, these entertainment performances were squarely aimed at members of the general public, providing a public face for the military and embedding them within their local community by supporting fundraising efforts of local charities.

\(^{1}\) The solo cornet desk is usually given to the most skilled cornet player in the band. It plays the main melodic line and, as its name suggests, is allocated any solo parts required by the cornets.
The instrumentation of most inter-war CMF bands was all brass, reflecting the most common form of organised amateur music making in Australia at the time (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 413). Brass band instrumentation consisted of soprano cornet, cornets, flugel horn, tenor horns, baritones, euphoniums, trombones, G trombone (later replaced by bass trombone), Eb basses, BBb basses (tubas) and percussion (Brass Band Stuff 2005). However, bands had to rely on volunteer musicians, and so a few CMF bands were formed as concert bands, with woodwind, brass and percussion instruments, reflecting the available instrumentalists. The Melbourne University Rifles Band was one such band (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 26), probably reflecting the increased access to musicians that affiliation with the university provided (The University of Melbourne’s Conservatorium of Music was opened in 1894) (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music 2012). Likewise, the South Australian-based 6th Cavalry Brigade Band played as a brass band, but included two local E flat alto saxophone players (presumably playing E flat tenor horn parts) (See Figure 19). All-brass bands were more common at the time because they were the core of the amateur banding movement (Whiteoak 2001). Their instruments were designed to be easy to learn and, thanks to the interchangeable fingerings on different sizes of saxhorns, musicians could easily be moved from one instrument to another as required. However, while concert bands required more specialist musicians, they had the great advantage that members could easily reform to make up a dance band when needed. The Melbourne University Rifles Band did just that, first appearing as a dance band in 1931 at their Regimental Ball at the Plaza Ballroom in St Kilda (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 27). They were so popular that other regiments were soon lining up for their services. They performed at the Artillery Ball at St Kilda Town Hall later that year and were “promised the support of other militia corps” to continue with their dance band program (‘Adjutant’ 1931, 27). The nature of this support was most probably financial, with other corps paying for the dance band to perform at their events. The popularity of a military band that was able to double as a dance band (as RAN bands had been doing since before World War I) demonstrates the importance of these bands having an instrumentation that allowed them to perform a repertoire that was compatible with popular music of the day.
Regimental bands often formed their own band competitions, based on civilian brass band competitions (‘Crochet’ 1934, 14). Bands performed test pieces that were set by adjudicators and the bands’ own choice of a quickstep march. Each piece was judged on three criteria: inspection (an inspection of the band’s uniform and presentation), music, and drill (marching technique). These points were then combined to form an aggregate score to decide the winner (Anon 1934a, 32; Victorian Bands League 2010, 10). In April of 1934 both the 2nd Military District (NSW) and the 3rd Military District (Vic) held their annual band competitions. Competing in the NSW competition were bands representing the following regiments (‘Crochet’ 1934, 14):

- 45th Battalion (St George Regiment)
- 56th Battalion (The Riverina Regiment)
- 4th Cavalry Brigade (Parramatta)
- 18th Battalion (Kuringai Regiment)
- 34th Battalion (The Illawarra Regiment)
- 20th/54th Battalion (Parramatta-Blue Mountains Regiment)
- 36th Battalion (St George English Regiment)
- 4th/3rd Battalion (Homebush Regiment)
- 17th Battalion (North Sydney Regiment)

The organisers of the Victorian competition considered the skill level between the bands varied enough to separate them into ‘A’ and ‘B’ Grades. As well as army bands, the competition also included a Royal Australian Naval Reserve (RANR) band. The following regiments were represented (Anon 1934, 32):

\footnote{I have been unable to find any specific criteria for the various brass band gradings, but they are usually allocated by the organising committees of the various state band leagues (Victorian Bands League 2010, 11).}
A Grade
- 39th Battalion
- 32nd Battalion
- 6th Battalion

B Grade
- 38th/7th Battalion
- 46th Battalion
- 29th/22nd Battalion
- 37th/52nd Battalion
- 57th/60th Battalion
- RANR Williamstown

The Melbourne University Rifles Regiment was not represented in this competition, presumably because, as was mentioned above, their brass and wind instrumentation differed to the brass band format of the other bands. Western Australia, with its smaller population, had fewer military bands and so included a concert band, the Subiaco Military Band, in the festivities surrounding its annual 'Fremantle Week' military band competition in 1938. While they were allowed to perform at the event, they were not included in the judging ('Dotted Note' 1938, 18). After the late withdrawal of the Perth RSL Band, the competition was only left with three competing bands, the 11/16 Battalion Band (City of Perth), Fremantle Naval Band, and the Regimental Artillery Group Band (Cottesloe). Matters were complicated by the fact that each of the bands was classed in different performance grades in the larger civilian competitions (one each from grades A, B and C) and so a handicapping system had to be put in place to decide the winner ('Dotted Note' 1938, 18).

As funding for the CMF began to be increased in the late 1930s in response to fears of conflict with Germany and Japan, membership of CMF bands became more popular and musicians from civilian bands were lured away by promises of regular payment and the prestige of a military uniform, as was noted in the Australian Music Maker and Dance Band News of March 1937:

There seems to be a definite movement for bandsmen to gravitate into the military bands, although from all accounts these bands are not up to full strength. But there again we come to matter of payment, and the military bandmen are sure of their payment ... sure of regular practice nights ... uniform free and definite engagements (Anon 1937a, 43).

Military bands may have received more generous funding in the late-1930s than civilian ones, but some band members were concerned that CMF bands were not receiving their fair share of the increased military spending and that this lack of funding was limiting both recruit numbers and quality. For example in 1938 Sydney musician Glen Braham complained:

Such a lot of money is being spent on defence, much of it on material that becomes obsolete in about three to five years, yet the bands are starved as far as equipment is concerned. We have heard so much about the New
South Wales bands being supplied with new instruments, but are still wondering when they will receive them. Yet band instruments, with care, have a very long life, and do not become obsolete like other material supplied to the military. Then again, the uniforms supplied to these infantry bands is not of such a quality to attract recruits, and one would like to see these bands in something more striking, and as such would show off the bands a bit when on parade. But then again, there are many in these militia bands who are not of much credit to the bands or the Defence Forces. They are untidy in their dress and careless in their appearance generally, and if you put some of them in the most ‘showy’ and spectacular dress of the British Army they would have it dirty and untidy in a few days. So if the militia bands are ever supplied with a ceremonial or parade dress, one thinks that a lot of the present members must be passed into the ranks or discharged (Braham 1938, 32-3).

Braham’s assertion that militia bands were under funded was an accurate one, and as a result many bands were using broken, out-dated instruments, some still sporting damage from use during World War I (Army Headquarters 1934-1938). However, the lack of financial backing was a reflection of the budget of the militia as a whole, rather than a specific slight on band units (Austin 2000, 14). Although funding was increased in the late 1930s, both the amount of money and the standard of the militia itself were considered far below what would be needed if Australia were to have a chance of defending herself and much of the money that was spent was allocated to the RAN (Palazzo 2001, 123; Odgers 1993, 110). It was not until Hitler’s invasion of Austria in March 1938 that Prime Minister Lyons announced a major increase in funding, tripling the defence budget in an attempt to modernise the military in preparation for the expected war. Of this, the army received the smallest share of the three branches of the defence force. After the signing of the Munich Agreement in September 1938, a further increase spread over three years was announced (Odgers 1993, 110).¹

Funding for military bands in the 1930s was also relatively low, growing slowly as the threat of war increased. In the 1930-31 financial year each cavalry band was allotted £75 (roughly equivalent to $7,140 today)² and each infantry band £30 ($2,860). Funding for infantry bands was increased the next year to £45 ($4,280) with an extra £5 ($467) payable to any band whose members attended an annual training camp. The total amount allocated to bands in the 1931-1932 financial year was £2675 ($282,000). This allocation was raised to £2750 ($312,000) in 1932-33, but this was in response to the formation of extra bands and each band still received the same amount as in previous years (Army Headquarters 1928-1936).

When funding for the militia began to be increased in 1936, army headquarters decided to spend the increased band budget on upgrading the instruments and equipment of the band force as a whole, rather than by simply increasing funds

¹ The Munich Agreement was signed on 30 September 1938. The agreement, signed by Nazi Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy permitted German annexation of Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia.
to individual bands. In that year, an audit of CMF band instruments was conducted (Army Headquarters 1934-1938). Each band was asked to list their stock of instruments and describe their condition. The results varied greatly between bands. J P Breman, Band Sergeant of the 47th Battalion Band, reported that most of his instruments were in good condition but “... only of fair quality. None of them are new.” (Cited in a memo dated 20 Feb 1936 in Army Headquarters 1934-1938). Band Sergeant Smith of the 42nd Battalion, on the other hand, could only describe the best of his band’s instruments as “serviceable” (Army Headquarters 1934-1938). The 2nd Cavalry Brigade Band did not even own their own instruments, their allotment had been taken by the ordnance depot in 1916 (presumably to furnish an AIF band in World War I) and the CMF band had been relying on ones borrowed from the civilian Adelaide City Band ever since. The 1/19 Battalion Band reported that although their instruments were playable, they had all been “repeatedly repaired” (Army Headquarters 1934-1938). The 45th Battalion Band had no instruments and individual players had to supply their own (Army Headquarters 1934-1938). Some bands reported that they had instruments that were still sporting damage received while being played on active service in the AIF in World War I and a number claimed to have received complaints from bandsmen about the quality of their instruments. Ordnance depot also had a collection of instruments, but because most of them were “over thirty years old” it was decided it was not worth the cost to repair them (Army Headquarters 1934-1938).

Given the poor quality of the majority of CMF instruments, army headquarters chose to supply the entire band service with new ones and in the 1936-37 financial year they allocated £7,250 (equivalent to $748,000) to the task. Each band was to be provided with instruments to form a 27-piece brass band (see Figure 20). There was scope for the inclusion of some other instruments, as long as they did not need to be provided by army stores.

### Official CMF Band Instrumentation, 1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eb Cornet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bb Cornets</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flugel Horn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor Horns</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baritones</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphoniums</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor Trombones</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bass Trombones</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eb Basses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bb Basses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side Drum</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bass Drum</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cymbals, pair</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 20: Official CMF Band Instrumentation, 1936 (Army Headquarters 1934-1938)*
Army headquarters had originally intended to upgrade all of the bands at once, but the cost proved to be prohibitively expensive and the £7,250 that had been allocated only bought 21 sets of instruments for the 52 bands in the 1936-37 financial year, with a further 21 sets ordered (and a further £7,250 allotted) for the next financial year (Army Headquarters 1934-38). The new instruments were tuned to 'low pitch' (A440hz) that was increasingly being adopted by bands and orchestras around the world. The militia's existing instruments were still in 'high pitch', playing almost a semitone higher. This meant that it was impractical to mix the old and new instruments, so it was decided that each military district would be rolled out with new instruments individually, with the best of the old instruments being sent to districts still awaiting supply (Army Headquarters 1934-1938). This delay was probably the cause of Braham's 1938 complaint (above) that “We have heard so much about the New South Wales bands being supplied with new instruments, but are still wondering when they will receive them.” (Braham 1938, 33)

As well as the militia bands, the small permanent forces army had one band, the Royal Australian Artillery Band based in Queenscliff, Victoria (Australian Army 2012). Although this was a permanent forces band, the band only operated on a part-time basis with members working in non-musical positions (such as gunners) and rehearsing in their spare time.

By 1939, despite increases in funding, the Australian army was a largely part-time, volunteer force whose members were limited to home service and were thus not required to serve overseas. Its band service consisted predominantly of amateur musicians serving on a part-time basis. Standards varied depending on the numbers and availability of players from civilian brass band ‘A’ Grade standard, down to ‘C’ Grade.

As the Australian army began to increase its funding in the lead-up to war, bands slowly began to modernise, with instruments that had been in service since World War I being replaced by modern, low-pitch equivalents. Despite this, training, both musical and military, had changed little and was often administered on an ad hoc basis. Official instrumentation also changed little, with brass bands still being in favour, however because the bands still had to rely on using any instrumentalists that were available within regiments, a few concert bands were formed, allowing musicians to form dance bands for entertainment concerts, while still performing traditional marches for ceremonial performances.

Gavin Long, the Official Historian of Australia in World War II, summed up the state of the army on the eve of the conflict:

... in 1939 the now adult nation possessed an army little different in essentials from that of the young Australia in 1914. It was fundamentally a defensive force intended if war broke out to go to its stations or man the coastal forts and await the arrival of an invader. History has proved
and was to prove again the futility of such a military policy. The measures that had been taken in the few years of ‘re-armament’ were insignificant in the face of the threat offered by two aggressive Powers, one of which desired to master Europe, the other East Asia. (Long 1961, 32)

As the next section will demonstrate, World War II would go on to fundamentally transform the Australian Army and with it would come big changes to the lives of the country’s military bandsmen. Despite this, many of their performing traditions would continue through these tumultuous times.

World War II: 1939-1945

... the band’s main function was to provide stretcher-bearers and medical orderlies, and therefore the majority of the bandsmen’s time should be spent in appropriate medical training. (Cox 2003, 35)

On 1 September 1939 Germany invaded Poland, causing France and Britain to declare war. As a member of the British Commonwealth, Australia too, declared war on Germany. World War II, as it was to become known, was to continue until 2 September 1945 and was fought across Europe, the Pacific, the Atlantic, South East Asia, China, Japan, the Mediterranean and North Africa. During the war a total of 726,543 Australians enlisted in the army and 21,558 died (Beautmont 2001, 120-123). Researching this conflict can be particularly frustrating for the scholar focussing on Australian military band history due to a lack of information about such bands in the archival record. For the periods before and after the war the NAA’s records hold valuable, if not entirely comprehensive1 information about recruitment and enlistment of personnel and purchasing of music and equipment; however once war is declared, this archival evidence becomes scarcer. One can only assume that with the increased workload that went with war, maintaining records pertaining military music was seen as less of a priority.

Individual soldier’s military records at this time also rarely make mention of their band service, and so cannot be used to identify band members. However, if a soldier’s band service can be confirmed through other means, these records enable the researcher to confirm that bandsman’s battalion and times and placement of their (and by extension, their band’s) deployments. One way to identify these bandsmen is through the many photos of military bands held in collections such as the Australian War Memorial (AWM). Many of these photos

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1 Individual records often contain detailed information about a single band, giving a good insight into the day to day running of the bands featured, but not necessarily providing a broad overview of the band units as a whole. This is a result of the regimental band system, under which bands were funded separately by individual regiments.
include captions naming the members of the bands, but in others band members remain stubbornly anonymous.

Information on Australian army bands during World War II can also be found in contemporary media reports. These include mainstream newspapers which occasionally included fragmentary descriptions of band performances at military parades and ceremonies, and specialist music press such as Australasian Band and Brass Band News, which became Musicmaker in 1940 and included scattered descriptions of military band competitions, profiles of individual bandmasters and advertisements by sponsors of military bands.

The participants in this study who served in the army in World War II were Jack Williams (served 1936-1939 and 1941-1977), Douglas Watkins (served 1941-1946), Wes Brown (served 1941-1946) and Ron Williamson (served 1943-1947). This section also draws on oral histories and memoirs of bandsmen (both published and unpublished). These include memoirs by previously mentioned participants Wes Brown and Douglas Watkins that complement their interviews as well as memoirs by deceased veterans William Sheehan and Fred Kollmorgen.

Wherever possible I have attempted to corroborate the information supplied in oral histories with documentary or archival evidence. Where this has not been possible, I have tried to show continuity between what documentary evidence is available from before or after the war, and the wartime experiences of my participants. Failing this, I have tried to demonstrate that the men involved in this study had similar experiences in common, despite being in different regiments and different bands, thus showing a consistency in their recollections.

As was mentioned previously, when war broke out Australia did not have a professional standing army, instead relying on the RAN backed up by a militia of reservists. Once war was announced, the CMF began conscripting men of eligible age, but their service only included home defence. To recruit men to serve overseas, the Australian government raised a second AIF, the first having been disbanded after World War I. Battalions that took on the name of previous AIF units added the prefix 2/ to their titles to distinguish themselves from their World War I counterparts, for example the 2/22 Battalion (pronounced Second Twenty Second Battalion). Towards the end of the war battalions were sometimes combined when troop casualties or transfers depleted their numbers. For example, the 2/14 and the 2/16 Battalions briefly combined in 1942 to become the 14/16 Battalion (pronounced Fourteenth Sixteenth Battalion). This renaming of battalions after their World War I forebears demonstrates an attempt at providing a sense of continuity between the two wars, despite the fact that the AIF had been disbanded for some 20 years.

The 2nd AIF, as the World War II force would become known, differed from the CMF in a number of ways. The CMF continued to be used primarily for home defence (although the term 'home defence' was later expanded to include New Guinea) (Odgers 1993, 159). Within a month of war being declared existing militiamen were called up for service. The draft was conducted in two groups of
40,000, with each group receiving one month’s training (Odgers 1993, 116). In contrast, service with the AIF allowed men to “serve at home or abroad as circumstances permit” (Austin 2000, 15). In the first Federal parliamentary session after the declaration of war, Leader of the Opposition John Curtin declared that his party, the Australian Labor Party, did not support conscription for the AIF (Commonwealth of Australia 1939, 38). There was no objection from Robert Menzies’ government so the AIF remained a voluntary force (Grey 2008, 145).

To be eligible to volunteer, prospective AIF soldiers had to be aged between 20 (or 18 with a parent’s permission) and 40 and not belong to a reserved occupation, while men could join the CMF from 18 (16 with parent’s permission) (AIF 1940, 10; Grey 2008, 147). The categories of reserved occupations were taken directly from British categories, without concern for the differences in the Australian population, which had a higher percentage of people living and working in rural areas, with related occupations. The Year Book Australia, 1939 gives the percentage of the Australian population living in rural areas as 35.91%, while the percentage of the British population living in rural areas in 1901 was already as low as 23% and continued to fall through the following decades (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1939; Hicks and Allen 1999, 14). Reserved occupation categories excluded members of a wide range of occupations from service, many of them based in country areas, including, storemen, storemen’s assistants, mill attendants, milking machine mechanics, secretaries, business owners and glassblowers (Department of Defence – Central Office 1940a; Department of Defence – Central Office 1940b; Department of Defence – Central Office 1940-1941; Department of Defence – Central Office 1941; Department of Defence – Central Office 1942). The restrictive categories became somewhat of a joke, causing Major General Clive Steele to say, “they prevented everybody joining the AIF except, as I remember it, stockbrokers and certain classes of unemployed” (cited in Grey 2008, 146). Steele had reason to be frustrated, by the end of November 1941 the AIF had received 236,215 applications for enlistment, 11,921 of these, or one in every 21 men, had been rejected because they worked in reserved occupations. Statistics were even worse for the CMF, of the 491,580 men who were called up to join the militia, 116,600 or two out of nine, were members of reserved occupations (Department of Defence – Central Office 1942).

However, age and occupation limits were of little concern to young Australian men eager to sign up, and many simply lied on their application forms (Grey 2008, 147). In January 1940 the first members of the 2nd AIF began to leave for overseas bound for Egypt (Odgers 1993, 116; Grey 2008, 152). By the end of March 1940, 100,000 men had volunteered to serve overseas, 22,000 of those had enlisted in the army (Grey 2008, 152). These new recruits were known as ‘hostilities-only’ recruits, the AIF’s standing orders stated: “Enlistment will be effected for the duration of the war and twelve (12) months thereafter, unless sooner lawfully discharged.” (Australian Imperial Force 1940, 10).

With no standing army in place, all members of the AIF had to be trained from scratch (as was shown in the previous section, even those men who had
previously been members of the CMF had received little training). The high rates of recruitment at the start of the war caused a backlog in training of new recruits and enlistments began to be limited (Odgers 1993, 117). Wes Brown was about to turn 17 when war broke out. He was eager to sign up, but even after he turned 18 he was unable to join the militia because of the training backlog and his father would not give him permission to join the AIF (Brown, personal communication, 2011). While waiting for his call up, Brown’s father heard that his local battalion needed bandsmen:

Dad came home from work one day and he said, “You want to get into the army band?”
I said “Yeah.”
He said “Well they’re taking bandsmen in the militia … You can’t join the AIF because you’re not going overseas, but you can get in as a bandsmen.”
So being in the Prahran\(^1\) district … I went along to the 14\(^{th}\) Battalion down on the corner of Punt Road and Commercial Road. There was a big drill hall there and I met up with the fellahs and joined up there (Brown, personal communication, 2011).

Men wanting to join the militia had to wait until they were called up due to the backlog in training; these call-ups were conducted in age groups (Brown, personal communication 2011). A conscription letter into the militia was the first introduction to army life for many, including Douglas Watkins. Watkins was almost 19 and working in a reserved occupation making military equipment when he received his call up:

I had an exemption card, of course … So I could have quite easily got out of it. But when I got there, I met a few friends, and we got talking and I thought, I’m going to join the military. So on the spot they gave me a medical and they swore me in, and I was to report to Watsonia\(^2\) about a week later.

I went back to Crusader Plating in Abbotsford\(^3\) and I went to the boss he asked me how I got on. I told him I had already joined the military, so he sacked me on the spot. Then I came back and in due course I went to Watsonia to where the military was … it was open space in those days so you just went to Watsonia and filled up a sack with straw and you were allotted a tent (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

According to the AIF’s standing orders, a recruit like Watkins who was employed in a reserved trade should only have been accepted “to fill vacancies on war establishments requiring the special qualifications which they possess” (AIF 1940, 11). Instead, Watkins left Crusader Plating to join the infantry.

Breaking reserved occupation orders was just one way eager recruits flouted regulations in their rush to enlist; others lied about their ages. Despite being

\(^1\) A suburb of Melbourne.

\(^2\) A suburb of Melbourne, home of the Watsonia Army Camp, now known as Simpson Barracks.

\(^3\) A suburb of Melbourne.
under the required age of 21, the idea of joining the AIF and the possibility of overseas service was too tempting to refuse for a number of the men who participated in this research. As was stated above, men between the ages of 18 and 20 were allowed to join the AIF only if they had their parents’ permission (AIF 1940, 11). Ron Williamson managed to convince his father to approve his transfer to the AIF when the 18-year-old was called up to the militia:

Well call up was when I was 18, I went to Royal Park, and I got my dad to sign the papers a fortnight or so later to join the AIF... he didn’t want me to because one of my brothers joined it, and now I’m joining it too. But I got him to sign the papers and I joined the AIF (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

Wes Brown also eventually convinced his father to sign his forms (Brown, personal communication 2011) but not everyone’s parents were willing to let their sons enlist. Douglas Watkins’ father Walter had been an E flat bass player in World War I. He had come home blind and permanently disabled after being exposed to mustard gas. He died of his wounds in 1940. Watkins’ mother had been outraged at the lack of governmental support his father had received and Watkins knew that she would not approve of him enlisting in the AIF. Despite this, the underage Watkins decided to attempt to transfer from the militia to the AIF when he heard an announcement in camp calling for volunteers to form a band for the 2/14 Battalion that had just returned from the Middle East:

So I with two others, we went up to the orderly room and said we’d like to join the 2/14 Battalion. So they said how old are you and I said 21. I asked the good Lord to forgive me, but I said I was 21. But in those days they didn’t keep really good records. So they accepted us within a couple days and we were sworn in again for the second time (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Despite being underage, Watkins travelled from Melbourne (Vic) as far as Brisbane (Qld) with the 2/14 AIF Battalion and was about to depart for Port Moresby in New Guinea when he was discovered. He and two friends (also underage) were called into the orderly room and informed by the commanding officer that they could not travel to Port Moresby with their battalion (Watkins, personal communication 2011). Watkins’ secret had been discovered because his mother, determined that her son would not face the same fate as his father, informed the military of her son’s true age:

My mother was very unhappy about the military because in those days the Repat department didn’t do very much for the diggers, and my father didn’t receive any help at all whatsoever in his last days... But my mother was a very strong personality, and she’d gone to Melbourne to Victoria Barracks and said, “My son is underage”. And the villain dobbed me in! But I’ve forgiven her [laughs] (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Watkins was duly shipped back to Melbourne, but despite his mother’s insistence that she did not consent to her underage son serving overseas,
Watkins, with the full knowledge of his commanding officers, was still able to join the AIF before his 21st birthday:

So they sent us up to Tenterfield (NSW) to a staging camp up there, where we spent a few days, then they brought us back again. That went on for about a fortnight. In the end I went up to the orderly room and said, “This is ridiculous. I know that you know that I’m not 21, but what are you going to do with me? We should be with our unit.”

I found someone who was compatible and he said “Alright, if you are prepared to take the risk that’s up to you.” So we duly signed the papers that we were 21 and within a few days were on a draft that’s taking reinforcements and so forth, on another Liberty ship. We were taken across to Port Moresby (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

It was not only underage men who lied about their age to enlist. George Gilmore, battalion bugler and drum major with the 2/16 Battalion claimed to be 39 when he enlisted in the 2nd AIF in 1940 (see Figure 21)(2nd AIF Personnel Dossiers, 1939-47); however the English immigrant had already served 21 years in the King’s Royal Rifle Corps. His first active service was in 1902 as a bugler in the Boer War, which, according to his AIF record, was when he was two years old (Uren 2009, 11). His British service record gives his real date of birth as 16 September 1883, making him 56 years old when he enlisted in the AIF, some 16 years older than the maximum recruiting age. He served for two years in the AIF including active duty in the Middle East before being injured and discharged “Overage, Debility Deafness” in 1941 aged 58 (2nd AIF Personnel Dossiers, 1939-47).

Figure 21: 56-year-old career soldier George Gilmore lied about his age to join the AIF as a bugler and drum major. This is the identification photograph in his military records, 1940. Photo courtesy of the NAA (2nd AIF Personnel Dossiers, 1939-47).
As new AIF regiments were formed, their bands were recruited and set up in a very similar manner to militia bands. Like the militia, the first bands of the AIF were regimental bands. This meant that individual regiments were responsible for supplying music and instruments for their own bands. Musicians were classed as infantrymen and acted as regular members of their battalions. Their official title was “Infantryman who has been trained as a stretcher bearer who may be used as a bandsman” (Sheehan 2001, 1). Unlike the other forces, army titles of bandmaster, drum major and the like were not “ranks” but “unpaid Commanding Officer’s appointments” (Sheehan 2001, 1).

One of the first AIF battalions to recruit a regimental band during World War II was the 2/16 Battalion from Western Australia (Uren 2009, 10). It was recruited at the request of Jack Robertson, who had served in Kalgoorlie’s 16th Battalion and 28th Battalion Bands in the CMF. Robertson would become the 2/16 Battalion’s first bandmaster. A circular was sent to all bands in the Western Australian Bands Association and the battalion received 99 applications for the 21-piece band, including 15 from the Perth Fortress Salvation Army Band (Uren 2009, 10). It was eventually decided to increase the band size to 30, with the bandsmen not required for stretcher-bearing duties being trained as batmen (officers’ servants) and later, when the battalion was in Syria, as muleteers. Their first rehearsal took place at Perth’s Salvation Army Citadel Hall on 13 June 1940 and their first performance accompanied the battalion’s march into Northam Camp,1 where they played Colonel Bogey (Alford) and Roll Out the Barrel (Vejvoda) (Uren 2009, 10), echoing the traditional route marches discussed in chapter 2 and the first section of this chapter. The 2/16 Battalion Band served in Syria, did two tours of New Guinea and fought in the battle of Balikpapan in Borneo. Before receiving reinforcements after their second tour of New Guinea, the 30-piece band had been reduced to just 12 members through illness, injury and death (Uren 2009, 11).

Like the militia bands of the 1930s, AIF bands were brass bands. A majority of the men recruited into AIF regimental bands were not professional musicians. Most had either played in pre-war militia bands, amateur brass bands or Salvation Army bands. Of the participants in this study who served in the AIF during the war, Jack Williams and Wes Brown had played in the brass band movement and Douglas Watkins and Fred Kollmorgen were Salvationists. Williams also played in a pre-war militia band. Ron Williamson’s pathway to joining his regimental band was more unusual. His only prior musical experience was playing the side drum while his primary school classmates marched into class. He improved his drumming skills by using a coconut as a practice pad while stationed in New Guinea. Once he was transferred from being an infantryman/stretcher-bearer into the band unit, he quickly discovered that bandsmen were expected to be already competent musicians and that little was offered in the way of musical tuition outside of full band rehearsals. Undeterred, Williamson taught himself to read music once he realised that his

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1 Northam is a town in Western Australia, 97 kilometres north-east of Perth.
side drum lines usually followed the cornet line rhythmically (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

Once enlisted new recruits were sent to their nearest barracks to receive their training. As stated above, bandsmen were considered to be members of the infantry who specialised as stretcher-bearers, and their training reflected this. The infantry training that bandsmen received as described by this study’s participants seems to have been fairly limited. In most cases, the training they claim to have received is far less than that outlined in *Standing Orders for Australian Army Medical Services* released by the Australian Military Forces in 1941. However, their stories are backed up by the fact that they all seem to have had similar experiences (except Williamson, who did his training later than the rest of my participants, and who did his basic training in the regular infantry rather than as a stretcher-bearer/bandsman). As was shown in the previous section, limited training for bandsmen had certainly been the norm in the pre-war militia (Austin 2000, 13; ‘Tone’ 1931, 13). In the rush to recruit, train and deploy soldiers for the AIF, it was not unheard of for even regular infantrymen to be sent to the front with little training (Grey 2008, 155).

Williams remembers that firearms training consisted of getting the chance to “fire at the rifle range once a year” (Williams, personal communication 2011). Watkins recalls:

> We did a little bit of military training, not too much but we did do it. But most of the battalion was involved, because we’re not far from the coast, they were involved in digging weapon pits and bunkers and so forth (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Watkins was also received invasion training while stationed in Queensland between overseas deployments:

> They used to take us down to Trinity Beach at Cairns where they had an English troopship … We lived on that for about a fortnight. There were landing craft that were on the ship that were lowered by davits down into the water.

> Any hour of the day or night, the green light would go up and you’d just have to get out, race to the landing craft, get in and take your position, full battle order. Then they’d circle around until they got into formation. They’d race into shore, lower the ramp and you’d just charge out onto the beach, run up the beach. Lie down as though you were going to fire. Then we’d just get up, get back on the landing craft, go back to the ship, we’d be hauled up, and then we’d just go on with life … That used to happen at any time, could happen three times a day. Could happen at four o’clock in the morning (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Bandmaster Arthur Gullidge of the 2/22 Battalion Band wrote home to his wife that his training included “river crossing manoeuvres in small flat-bottomed
boats using canoe paddles” and “hammock slinging” (cited in Cox 2003, 38). Wes Brown was separated from his original unit due to an injury prior to them being sent on active duty, but remembers his former band mates telling him how unprepared they were for battle:

Brown: They had their instruments taken from them because they went into action ... and they wouldn’t even let them be stretcher-bearers, they gave them a rifle and they said “Right get in there and fight the Japs”.

Author: Were they trained to do that do you think?

Brown: No we were stretcher-bearer/bandsmen ... makes me realise how lucky I was to get sick and not go on further (Brown, personal communication 2011).

Infantry training in the early part of the war was often hurried and was based on the English experience of war in Europe and North Africa. As a result many of the techniques were of little use in the jungles of South East Asia and New Guinea. By 1942, campaigns in Malaya, New Britain and New Guinea had inspired new tactics and new training regimes to go with them (Uren 2009, 113-114). Ron Williamson was too young to enlist until 1942, when he became a regimental stretcher-bearer (but not, initially, a bandsman). His recollections are of a much more intense period of training at the Jungle School in Canungra, Queensland:

That was where you went before you went over into the islands, into action. They teach you what you’re getting in to, live ammo and everything else ... no messing about, grenades and everything. We lost one bloke ... he got hit by a grenade. They had their own cemetery outside the front gates. They had about two per cent deaths for every intake.

Well, when you got up there you realised why they did this. Because you had no idea what was going on. Never been in the jungle anyway... So, you went through this training, they used to call it the 28-day Wonder. The only thing was if you did not pass that course, you were there for another 28 days, and another 28 ... (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

The amount of medical training stretcher-bearer/bandsmen received also seems to have varied. Stretcher-bearers were part of the ‘Regimental Medical Service’, which consisted of “Medical Officers attached for duty to regiments and corps, together with regimental stretcher-bearers and details for water and sanitation duties” (Australian Military Forces 1941, 12). In 1941, when the Japanese invasion of Rabaul, New Britain, was imminent, the non-musical duties of the band of the 2/22 Battalion were expanded from stretcher-bearing to include duties covering all aspects of the Regimental Medical Service, including acting as medical orderlies, delivering water to outposts and sanitation duties including mosquito control (Cox 2003, 85).
Members of the Regimental Medical Service were supposed to receive ten sessions of medical training and receive a qualification certificate after an examination at the end of this course (Australian Military Forces 1941, 69). This course was meant to cover first aid, stretcher exercises, transport of wounded and the evacuation of casualties (Australian Military Forces 1941, 68). As well as these ten sessions, members of the Regimental Medical Service were supposed to receive practical training in the improvisation of sanitary appliances including “Latrines, Urinals, Refuse Pits, Grease Traps, Destructor, Incinerators, and ablution places” and practical training in “water and poison testing” (Australian Military Forces 1941, 69). The syllabus of the Course of Instruction for Regimental Medical Service outlines a rigorous training regime (Australian Military Forces 1941, 68; War Office 1940); however, in reality, a stretcher-bearer/bandsmen’s training did not always cover all of these criteria. Jack Williams received no medical training at all while learning to become a stretcher-bearer, his training was limited to “… just a matter of picking someone up, and putting them on stretcher” (Williams, personal communication 2011). Wes Brown received only slightly more training when he was posted as a bandsman/orderly at a military hospital:

We’d had ‘fantastic’ training, they had taught us how to put on a Band-Aid ... Oh we learnt a little bit about your occipital protuberance and your clavicle and how to put a sling and all that sort of elementary stuff (Brown, personal communication 2011).

Fred Kollmorgen’s medical training did not begin until he was already on active service in Rabaul. Instead of a formal training course, he was sent to a local native hospital in order to learn “rudimentary treatments”. In his memoir he recalls he had:

... never seen anything so crude in all my life. People suffered with ulcers and they wouldn’t get them treated in the early stages. The result was that they lose not only a finger, but also a hand or leg ... There were beds in formation but as the surgeon moved amongst them, he also moved his rubbish bucket along, and when he took off a toe or a finger, he just put it in. One of our blokes couldn’t take it and just flaked out (Kollmorgen 2006, 6).

Despite the basic nature of his medical training, Kollmorgen credits the knowledge he learnt with saving his life after the Japanese invasion of Rabaul:

While we were escaping, I developed an ulcer and I knew I’d have to do something or it would ruin my chance of a successful escape. Even though I was a long way from Rabaul, I still had my steel hat. As most of our escape route was along the coast, come evening, I would get my tin hat, boil some water and bathe the ulcer. Eventually, as a result of this treatment, it healed. It had been worth my while to observe in the hospital as I gathered necessary information for treating myself when necessary in the future (Kollmorgen 2006, 6).
As with infantry training, Ron Williamson's experiences of medical training when he first enlisted in the infantry were quite different to those of men who went straight into band units. Before his regiment left for Bougainville he volunteered to become a stretcher-bearer in the knowledge that as one of the few men in his unit big enough to do the required lifting, he would have been "picked anyway" (Williamson, personal communication 2012). He learnt basic medical skills on the job, working the sick parade at Battalion Headquarters under the supervision of the regiment's doctor:

... we were learning how to sew up people and bandaging people, check their ears and all sorts of things because ... we used to do three sick parades a day ... through the different companies. And through doing that you learn a lot (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

Once their training as infantrymen and stretcher-bearers was complete, many bandsmen were sent to serve overseas. In order to reach their new stations, members of the AIF were boarded onto troopships. Standing orders stressed the fact that AIF bands (as opposed to RAN ones) were not to perform on board without the express permission of the ship's master. AIF regulations stated: "Bands are not to play on coming into, or on leaving harbour, until the Master notifies that this will not interfere with the working of the vessel" (Australian Imperial Force 1940, 49).

While AIF bands needed permission to play on board troopships, AIF buglers retained their role as signallers for their men. The most recently updated book of Australian military signals appears to be the version printed in 1916 and Ernest Trotter confirms that they corresponded with the signals he remembered from his service immediately post-war (Bentley 1916; Trotter, personal communication 2011). Given that these signals had to be immediately recognisable to all members of the battalion, it makes sense that they were changed as rarely as possible. However the realities of life on board a troopship meant that these signals needed to take on modified meanings to allow for the different conditions that the men would meet there. *The Australian Imperial Force: Standing Orders* (1940) described these changes (original army signals are in the left column, modified troopship meanings on the right):

198: The following Bugle Calls will be used:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Signal</th>
<th>Troopship Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stand fast</td>
<td>(man overboard)(silence) Everyone to remain still.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Those below to remain there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue</td>
<td>Carry on - that is, continue your business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retire</td>
<td>Everyone off upper deck but the guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4Gs</td>
<td>Sweepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4Gs &amp; double</td>
<td>Swabbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge</td>
<td>Permission to smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lights out</td>
<td>Leave off smoking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire Alarm</td>
<td>Fire and Collision (Troops fall in at their respective stations. All others remain quiet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commence Firing</td>
<td>Heave round the pumps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cease Firing  Avast Pumping  
(Australian Imperial Force 1940, 55-6)

The 'Fire Alarm' is an example of one such signal (see Figure 22). While on board this signal was modified to mean 'Fire and Collision Alarm'. Fires and/or collisions on board ship constituted a serious threat of sinking. Upon hearing the alarm troops on duty were to fall in at their stations (often at the water pumps, providing sea water for fire hoses) while others were to remain quiet and stay out of the way of the working crew (AIF 1940, 49). The melody, like all Australian military signals, is limited to the harmonic series (see Figure 4) so that it can be played on the bugle, an instrument without valves, although Jack Williams remembers that he sometimes played them on a cornet instead (Williams, personal communication 2011). The melody is simple, using only three pitches and simple duple time, helping to make it easily recognisable to troops at a time of emergency. The first line uses crochets and minims, with quavers being used in the second line, creating an increasing sense of urgency.

![Figure 22](image)

**Figure 22:** Army signals had modified meanings while on board ship. 'Fire Alarm' became a 'Fire and Collision Alarm'. Upon hearing it troops were to fall in at their stations while others were to remain quiet. (Bentley 1916, 40) Image courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Sir Louis Matheson Library, Monash University.

Regimental bands travelled with their regiments, and as such could be stationed anywhere within the theatre of war. At the start of the conflict most AIF regiments were stationed in the Middle East, North Africa and Europe, but after the entry of Japan into the war in late 1941, a higher percentage of Australian regiments, and their bands, were stationed in South East Asia and the Pacific. Upon arriving at their destination, the realities of army life began to set in. Being classified as infantrymen/stretcher-bearers rather than as bandsmen meant that the amount of time they could dedicate to their musical duties depended on the whims of their commanding officers. Once the 2/22 Battalion arrived in Rabaul in New Britain, little thought was given to the band's need to rehearse or perform together. Their men were distributed widely as stretcher-bearers, riflemen, medics, excavators, draftsmen, signallers, drivers, officer's aides, water distributors and mosquito controllers (Cox 2003, 69-85). As a result the band rarely had full rehearsals together and was often shorthanded in performances.
At one concert, held to entertain troops in the RSL hut, the band was missing 12 players, including all of its solo cornet players. “But we have to do the march just the same!” wrote Bandmaster Arthur Gullidge to his wife:

Can you imagine what it must sound like for a dozen men – minus solo cornets – to march around the Camp trying to play marches. So very few connected with the administration responsible for the band understand its structure and it is really pathetic to hear some of the directions given in this regard (Cited in Cox 2003, 81).

Ron Williamson was stationed in Bougainville, New Guinea, where he accompanied his platoon as their designated stretcher-bearer while on patrol, “wherever your platoon went on patrol in enemy territory, you went. You were responsible for any medical aid that they needed.” Despite being a medic, and being issued with a Red Cross card (see Figure 23), Williamson always went on patrol fully armed:

We had to carry the .303 (rifle), the bayonet and grenades, and we said “But you know, we’re covered under the Geneva Convention,” and they said, “Well don’t worry about that, because the Japs won’t worry about that. They’ll just shoot you or jab you.” We said, “Fair enough”, so we carried them (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

![Figure 23: Ron Williamson’s Red Cross Card, offering him protection as a medic under the Geneva Convention. From the private collection of Ron Williamson.](image)
While Williamson remained armed while serving as a stretcher-bearer, Watkins was given reason to wonder whether the things he had been told about Japanese soldiers firing on medics were true:

... three other stretcher-bearers and myself stopped at the bridge whilst carrying a young dying soldier. He indicated to us that he wanted a priest to perform the last rites. So we lowered the stretcher to the ground and the rites were administered. When the priest had finished we continued on our way across the bridge. No sooner had we crossed when a burst of machine gun fire came down the middle of the road, right where we had been moments earlier. I will always wonder if the Japanese observed us with the priest and dying man and held their fire – we will never know... (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

The *Royal Medical Army Corps Training* manual had been written in London in 1935, and at times held little relevance for men fighting in South East Asia and the Pacific. The manual covered lessons on wheeled stretcher carriers (see Figure 24), horses, donkeys, camels and ambulance carriages, but nothing on jungle warfare (War Office 1940).

**Figure 24:** As this illustration from the Royal Medical Army Training Corps manual demonstrates, many of the techniques learnt by stretcher-bearers were of little use in the tropical jungles of South East Asia and New Guinea (War Office 1940, 157). Image courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Sir Louis Matheson Library, Monash University.

For Williamson, serving in the jungles of New Guinea, even the term stretcher-bearer was something as a misnomer. There was no room to carry stretchers with them in the thick tropical jungle. If a member of the platoon was injured, a stretcher had to be improvised from materials at hand (see Figure 25):

... you get a couple of blokes to cut a couple of branches down, use their shirts, put through the arms and use that as a stretcher... all they’d do is cut strong saplings down, put them through the sleeves of the shirt and tie them and then they’d just lay the bloke down and they’d carry the bloke back, not you... because you’ve got to be there in case they need
service straight away… That’s why I reckon they should have been called medic stretcher-bearers (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

The *Royal Army Medical Corps Training* also suggests that, as well as saplings, “doors, gates, hurdles, shutters, shafts ... broom handles, corn-sacks, tarpaulins, old pieces of cloth ... (and) great coats ...” can also be used to make improvised stretchers (War Office 1940, 154-55).

Figure 25: Stretcher-bearers in New Guinea carry a wounded soldier up a steep slope on an improvised stretcher made from saplings (Image Courtesy of the Australian War Memorial).

Almost 70 years after the end of the war, Williamson still has nightmares about one soldier he was unable to save. The man was shot by sniper fire in an unprotected area:

> I went running, and one of the officers said “Just stay where you are. Don’t move. You’re not going any further.” And he wouldn’t let me go... We had 32 men in a platoon. So he’s protecting the rest of them as well as me. So, you often dream about it ... (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

Williamson’s officer may have saved his life, but not all bandsmen/stretcher-bearers were as lucky. Bandmaster Herbert ‘Bluey’ Palmer from the 2/16 Battalion band was killed in action in Syria. During the battle, Palmer was among a group of stretcher-bearers who volunteered to go into combat to search for wounded men. In the lead-up to his death, he managed to capture eight enemy prisoners of war, while “carrying only side arms, and with a stretcher on his shoulder” (Uren 2009, 97). His brother Mick, also a stretcher-bearer/bandsman, was with him and recounted Bluey’s last moments:
We got to the top of the hill and Bluey said, “Down you go young un, there’s a couple of fellows here that need attention.” So we attended to them. Bluey fixed up a young bloke who’d got his arm knocked about a bit. And I can see the old boy now with his tin hat slightly forward, kneeling down and he was comforting this fellow. He says, “Righto young un, come on there’s more over the hill.” So away we go, and we looked up at the top of the hill and there’s two more of our fellows coming back. Off go the guns, rifle fire, they stop, both of them spun. Bluey said, “There’s two of them, what can we do about it?” And all of a sudden he just arches his back. He says, “Oh Mick, I’m dead.” And he just slowly fell forward, his tin hat fell on the ground and he just slides into it. What had happened he’d got a mortar in the back – he was gone in six seconds (cited in Cox 2003, 68).

Though trained as a stretcher-bearer, Doug Watkins found himself assigned as a rifleman when the terrain in the Finisterre Ranges in New Guinea proved to be too high and steep to easily move stretchers. His main task was sentry duty at night, which he found “a bit hairy”¹ (Watkins, personal communication 2011). Once that area had been secured by allied troops, Watkins and his regiment were sent to Australia for a period of training before being posted to Balikpapan in Borneo where he and 33,000 other troops landed in Japanese held territory (see Figure 26)(Odgers 1993, 185). After the combined allied navies bombarded the beach, Watkins and the rest of his battalion were taken in on an American ship and loaded into Landing Craft Infantry (LCIs):

They’d take perhaps, a couple of hundred men. The front of them are flat-bottomed, so they come into shore. You come off about waist-deep in water, and there’s a ramp that goes down the side. We came off that and ran up the beach. There was a bit of sporadic fire. There was a lot of fire around, because the place is noted for its oil (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

¹ ‘Hairy’ is rhyming slang for scary.
Once ashore Watkins and his unit were charged with dislodging the Japanese from their bunkers:

We didn’t have much opposition except there were a few Japanese in bunkers – they dislodged them by putting a flamethrower in the entrance ... Early in the morning, about two or three in the morning, a sniper shot one of our guys and that was the first casualty ... We were in a battle area, no question on that, so everybody had to get out and dig weapon pits in case we needed to get in, in case the Japanese came through the night. The next day we commenced to march to the airfield, which was our main objective, the Mangar airfield ... We had to cross the Mangar River, and then the airstrip ... we eventually got to the river and we were making tea, thinking this is a bit of a cakewalk. Then the next thing, the Japanese, the whole hill came alive because they had their coastal defence guns up there. They opened up with everything and of course we were just pinned down... We lost about 21 there, within about 2 days, 21 were killed (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

During that battle Watkins distinguished himself by rescuing an Australian soldier trapped in a burning tank under Japanese gunfire in what he refers to as his attempt “to win the VC (Victoria Cross)” (Watkins, personal communication 2011). When three Matilda tanks\(^1\) were fired upon by Japanese mortar fire, it was the job of Watkins and the other stretcher-bearers from the 2/14 Battalion Band to cross the river and retrieve the wounded tank crews under fire:

\(^1\) Matilda II Tanks, used in Balikpapan, were British-designed infantry tanks with a 40mm tank gun in a three-man turret.
As stretcher-bearers it was our responsibility to quickly cross the river and bring back the wounded. My responsibility was to help Corporal John Blackberry who, at the time was able to walk but had a head and groin wound and had become disorientated. As I led him across the river I tried to give him words of encouragement, but to no avail as John had a temporary loss of hearing which he indicated to me. I put my arm around him and we crossed the river assuring him he was in safe hands, I then took him to the waiting jeep where he was taken to a field dressing station. (Watkins 2010, 1)

Some bandsmen also received wounds during their World War II military service. Wes Brown was injured before he even had a chance to leave Australia. He developed Barcoo rot\footnote{Barcoo rot is a form of scurvy characterised by chronic sores, named after the Barcoo River in Queensland where many infections were found (Laugesen 2013).} as a result of poor nutrition while based in Geraldton, Western Australia:

In the west the food and water we had was very poor. Army food was really crap ... and most all the troops came out in sores on their legs ... I had one on my arm. Anyway the further north we went the worse I got and we got to Townsville (Qld) and they put me off the train into an ambulance and took me to the 14th Australian General Hospital at Cape Pallarenda about five miles out of Townsville and I was stuck there till my arm got better ... (Brown, personal communication 2011).

While Brown was healing, his regiment was sent to New Guinea. Once he recovered he was stationed as an orderly in the same hospital where he had been a patient. He spent the rest of the war there.

Injuries that were self-inflicted, whether deliberately or accidentally, could lead to disciplinary action by superior officers, as Douglas Watkins discovered when he came back from patrol with serious sunburn:

... on patrol we took our shirts off and we just lay in the sun. We were out for about a week and came back to base camp and were replaced by another group. Before I got back my back was sunburnt and was blistered completely, the whole back was blistered. So the guys had to carry my equipment back, ‘cause I couldn’t stand it on there ... Then the announcement went out that we were to emplane and go across to Buna and Gona (New Guinea). I said to my friends, “What will I do? I can’t even stand my shirt on, let alone go into battle.” So they suggested that I go to the medical officer and make up something that’d stop me from going. The only thing I could think of was I’m not seeing too good, although I was ... because on the charge sheet it was considered an offence and you’d be charged for it and that’d be against your record. So I went up to the medical officer and told him that I was having trouble with my eyes. And of course he put up the big E and so forth and I couldn’t even see that [laughs] ... So eventually the CO (Commanding Officer) called me up to
his tent and said you’ll have to stay behind, you’ll have to help in the
recreational hut while we’re away. So I felt terrible, because all the guys
went up in the plane and went into battle there and I’m here with
equipment (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Sunburn was not going to be Watkins’ only brush with injury during his active
service. While stationed on sentry duty in the Finisterre Ranges in New Guinea
he developed dermatitis and scrub typhus caused by a water-born parasite,
Watkins remembers:

... scrub typhus ... was really a death sentence if you didn't get back to get
help shortly. A lot of guys died in the Owen Stanley’s because they
couldn’t get them back in time ... all I know was that they took me back to
the dressing station, and then they flew me back to Port Moresby, with
other wounded and I spent two months in a military hospital ... (Watkins,
personal communication, 2011).

Of course, as well as duties as stretcher-bearers and riflemen, bandsmen in the
AIF had many musical duties. As was discussed above, most AIF bands were
regimental bands. These bands were attached to specific regiments. This meant
that those bands were expected to travel wherever their regiment was posted.
This had a great effect on the morale of troops, who often held great pride in not
just their regiment, but in their regimental band in particular (Sheehan 2001, 1).

All of the participants in this study who served with the army during World War
II started out in regimental bands. Wes Brown’s introduction to military life
began in 1941 when he joined his local militia band, the 14th Battalion Band
(Prahran). For the first three months of his service he was only required on a
part-time basis and was able to maintain his job at the local real estate agent
while attending weekly rehearsals. In November 1941 the regiment was called
up for full-time service and Brown and the band were sent to Geraldton in
Western Australia and then later to Townsville in Queensland (Brown, personal
communication 2011). Brown played soprano cornet with the band and was the
camp’s bugler, rising before the rest of the camp in the morning to play Reveille
at 6:30am (see Figures 27 and 28), returning again at 6pm to play the Retreat at
the flag lowering ceremony (Brown, personal communication 2011).
Figure 27: Lance Corporal Wes Brown playing *Reveille* at 6.30am at the 2/14 Australian General Hospital (Townsville). Exact date unknown, between 1941-1944. From the private collection of Wes Brown.

*Reveille* (see Figure 28) played a dual role in the army, as both a military signal and ceremonial music. As a signal, it was played when troops were required to wake up, rise and dress in the morning. At the same time it was used ceremonially as the flag was raised in camp each morning and as part of *Last Post/Reveille* at funerals and memorial services such as Remembrance Day and ANZAC Day. At 32 bars, it is substantially longer than most military signals, reflecting its dual use. The use of *Reveille* as ceremonial music has also resulted in the piece being arranged for full band, including one arrangement written by the World War II Bandmaster of the 2/22 Battalion Band, Arthur Gullidge, which went on to be used in the publication *Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions* which was produced by the Army and later reprinted for the RAAF (Riley and Shrugg n.d.).

While the use of a solo bugle in the *Reveille* necessarily limits the range of notes to the harmonic series, musical interest is added with changes to tempo and rhythm. It starts solemnly, in common time, and is marked largo with a crochet equalling 76 beats per minute (bpm), appropriate for its use in memorial services. The tempo then doubles to allegretto (minim equals 76 bpm); however the rhythmic effect is of an even greater increase in speed as the rhythm moves from minims and dotted crochets to a pattern of dotted quavers and semiquavers. In the third section the tempo increases again to vivace (dotted minim equals 76 bpm) and further interest is added by changing from simple common time, to compound duple time (6/8). The fourth section releases the tension by reverting to common time and slowing to moderato (crochet equals 108 bpm). The final section speeds up again and is marked presto (crochet
equals 132 bpm). This increase in speed is again highlighted by the use of shorter notes, this time a pattern of semi-quavers.

Figure 28: Reveille for infantry units (Bentley 1916, 66-7). Image courtesy of Rare Books Collection, Sir Louis Matheson Library, Monash University.

While stationed in New Guinea, Douglas Watkins’ entire band participated in the daily Reveille ceremony:

It’d be about six o’clock we’d get up. Just get out of bed and we’d go up to the flag pole and get two threes on the side drums and play a march. Oh, we’d blow Reveille first, the bugle call. Most of the guys that could handle a bugle would take it in turn. At that stage I had stopped playing E-flat tuba and went onto tenor horn. I used to take a turn in playing Reveille, and then we’d play the march and go back. The troops would get up and go to breakfast and the day would start ... (Watkins, personal communication, 2011)

As well as providing bugle calls for military ceremonies, bandsmen performed in a wide range of situations. Wes Brown, though normally a cornet player, remembers doubling on side drum while leading Sunday morning parades of Australian Women’s Army Service (AWAS) nurses around the roads of the 2/14 AGH in Townsville (see Figure 29)(Brown, personal communication 2011).
Brown also remembered performing for the general public at the town hall while based in Geraldton and in a park while based in Bendigo, but the repertoire he played did not interest him much, complaining, “we just played marches,” even in entertainment-based performances (Brown, personal communication 2011). Brown’s true love was Dixieland jazz, and he was still regularly playing in ensembles when interviewed in 2011. While stationed in Geraldton, Western Australia, he and his friends from the band put together a jazz band using homemade instruments for their own amusement, “in Geraldton we used to fool around trying to make life a bit interesting cos it was very boring out there in the bush … you know you’re thirty miles inland in the desert country” (Brown, personal communication 2011). The band included an old tire for a bass drum, tin plates for cymbals, a hose pipe clarinet and a tea chest string bass.

Douglas Watkins also took part in regular parades. While the rifle companies were out on bivouac or route marches, the band would stay behind and practise, “that’s all we did, was practise all day”. When the other companies returned, the band would be driven out to meet them and provide music for their march home:

... we would be taken out by a truck a couple of miles out from the camp. We would wait until they came in sight, they’d form up, and we’d go in front and march them back to the unit. That was routine (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

In 1943 Douglas Watkins took part in a regimental band competition while based in Atherton in Queensland. Four bands took part in a competition based on civilian competitions that were popular at the time. Watkins’ band, the 2/14
Battalion Band, combined with the 2/16 Battalion Band to field their combined best 26 players. Despite quality playing, Watkins blames himself for the band’s defeat:

We had a competition at Kairi and we won playing the march and selection because we were, well, pretty good ... We had to do a quick snap, that’s marching and so forth. Before we did our march ... the judges inspected us. Before that, we’d had dinner, lined up and had our lunch, and normally you put your knife and fork in the Dixie, and close it up, put it with your equipment. For some reason or other, I’d put my knife and fork in my hip pocket and forgot all about them ... We were being inspected and the inspecting officer came along and saw the knife and fork in my hip pocket and took points off us. And so we lost ... you can imagine how popular I was after that (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Like Brown, Watkins also gave performances in the local park for the general public, although his band’s entertainment repertoire was more varied than Brown’s had been, with marches supplemented by “a bit of classical and what have you ...” (Watkins, personal communication 2011). When Jack Williams’ band did public performances, they also mostly performed marches, although he seems to have enjoyed them more than Brown did: “It was mainly marches and things like that. Oh yes, we played good music ... It was all the marches, though. It was virtually hundreds of marches we played” (Williams, personal communication 2011). Williams remembers that they also performed popular music, but had trouble remembering exactly which charts they played, “…Pirates of Penzance, all things like that. There’s 50 years since I’ve played!” (Williams, personal communication 2011).

For military ceremonies bands had to play quick or slow marches, and while bandmasters were able to choose which quick or slow marches their bands played at particular ceremonies, for the most part they were limited to music available from army stores. Likewise, for non-ceremonial performances bandmasters were free to choose between arrangements of popular and light-classical music from those available in army stores. Unfortunately there is no comprehensive list of either popular or march music available from army stores at this time, however the Army did produce a publication titled The Australian Military Forces Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions. It contains music arranged by Salvation Army bandmaster, composer and bandmaster of the 2/22 Battalion Band, Arthur Gullidge, and compiled by the Bishop of Bendigo Senior Chaplain C.L. Riley and Southern Command Bandmaster H.R. Shrugg. The publication contains a range of hymns, music for ceremonial occasions including national anthems, formal marches and funeral music, “songs for special occasions” such as Auld Lang Syne (traditional) and band arrangements of military signals such as Reveille (see Appendix 4).

Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions only contained a small part of the bands’ repertoire. The participants in this project remembered some of the marching repertoire their bands played, and of that list (see Figure
30) the only piece featured in the official songbook was the ‘March’ from Handel’s opera *Scipio*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Nationality/Service</th>
<th>March</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth J. Alford</td>
<td>British Royal Marines</td>
<td>The Standard of St George</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Lithgow</td>
<td>New Zealand, Civilian</td>
<td>Invercargill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth J. Alford</td>
<td>British Royal Marines</td>
<td>Colonel Bogey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Browne Hall</td>
<td>USA, Civilian</td>
<td>Death or Glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth J. Alford</td>
<td>British Royal Marines</td>
<td>Great Little Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfredo Javaloyes</td>
<td>Spanish Army</td>
<td>El Abanico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Teike</td>
<td>German Army</td>
<td>Steadfast and True</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Frideric Handel</td>
<td>German/British Civilian</td>
<td>‘March’ from <em>Scipio</em> (arr. Gullidge)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 30:** Marches that Research Participants from this Study Remembered Playing During World War II

An examination of albums released by Australian Army Bands after 1955 (no commercial recordings were released during the period under examination in this study), and current regimental marches demonstrate that these marches continue to be part of their repertoire. For example, the album *Military on Parade* produced by the Australian Army Band of the Third Military District (circa 1965) featured *Colonel Bogey*, while *Music from a Century of Leadership*, from the Band of the Royal Military College Duntroon (2011) features both *Colonel Bogey* and *Great Little Army*. *Invercargill* is currently the regimental march of the 40th Battalion, Royal Tasmanian Regiment, while *El Abanico* is currently the regimental march of both the 9th Battalion, Royal Queensland Regiment, and the regimental quick march for the 1/15 Royal NSW Lancers, while their slow march is from *Scipio*. *The Standard of St George*, *Invercargill*, *Colonel Bogey* and *Death or Glory* are all still listed as recognised competition marches by the National Bands Council of Australia (National Band Council of Australian 2010).

Unsurprisingly, arrangements of popular music have changed more over time than have military marches. The participants in this study were less sure of the popular repertoire that their bands had played and were more likely to remember genres than specific pieces. For example Brown remembers playing “waltz tunes” (Brown, personal communication 2011) and Williamson remembers “musical comedies, bits and pieces” (Williamson, personal communication 2012). However, by combining those charts that the
participants did remember with those mentioned in letters by members of the 2/22 Battalion Band and members of their audience (Cox 2003), it is possible to get an idea of the army’s popular and light classical repertoire during World War II (see Figure 31).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juventino Rosas</td>
<td><em>Over the Waves</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert and Sullivan</td>
<td>Selections from <em>Pirates of Penzance</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John B Dykes</td>
<td><em>Holy, Holy, Holy</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigmund Romberg</td>
<td>Selections from <em>Desert Song</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Hall</td>
<td><em>Sweet Hearts of Yesterday</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert William Ketelbey</td>
<td><em>Wedgewood Blue</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxime Heller</td>
<td><em>Maoriland</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilian Ray</td>
<td><em>Sunshine of Your Smile</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Hart</td>
<td><em>Pal of My Dreams</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Elgar</td>
<td><em>Land of Hope and Glory</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franz Schubert</td>
<td><em>Lilac Time</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Fraser-Simson</td>
<td>Selections from <em>Maid of the Mountains</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov</td>
<td><em>Song of India</em> (Song of the Indian Guest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lew Pollack and Erno Rapee</td>
<td><em>Charmaine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor Herbert</td>
<td><em>Falling in Love with Somebody</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debroy Somers (arranger)</td>
<td><em>Savoy English Medley</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composer unknown</td>
<td><em>The Apache</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W Meyer</td>
<td><em>My Song of the Nile</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Byrom</td>
<td><em>Christians Awake</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manning Sherwin</td>
<td><em>Who’s Taking You Home Tonight?</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 31:** Some of the Entertainment Charts Played by Australian Military Forces Bands During World War II.

If the bandmaster or one of his men was a competent composer or arranger they were free to write their own music for their bands. For example, the 2/16 Battalion’s regimental march was written by one of its members, George Reid. Bandmaster Arthur Gullidge of the 2/22 Battalion Band, had been a well-known composer for Salvation Army bands before the war and had arranged the music in *The Australian Military Forces Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions*. He continued to write and arrange during his service. He wrote the band’s regimental march *Little Hell* (based on the poker term for the Battalion’s designation of 2, 2, 2) and a medley from the film *Wizard of Oz* (again a play on words for the abbreviation ‘Oz’ for Australia)(Cox 2003, 47, 73). Both of these scores were lost during the war, either when Gullidge was taken as a prisoner of war after the Japanese invaded Rabaul, New Britain on 14 January.
1942, or when he was killed in the sinking of the Japanese troopship the Montevideo Maru on 1 July 1942 (Cox 2003, 89-90, 119-120).

Williams’ public performances took place at the Melbourne Town Hall and demonstrate some of the military objectives behind entertainment performances; in this case the concerts were especially designed to encourage new recruits to sign up:

... we played outside the Melbourne Town Hall for recruiting. Almost every day we were in there, on lunchtimes ... There were crowds of people around, and the men joined up. And we went into the town hall with them to sign up. (Williams, personal communication 2011)

Each band had their own regimental march, which became representative of not just that band, but also its entire regiment. In some cases, like the 2/22 Battalion Band mentioned above, a member of the band would write or arrange a march specifically for their regiment, but it most cases a march was chosen from the standard repertoire that was available in band stores as discussed above. Thus the 14th Infantry Battalion Band used El Abanico as its regimental march (Brown, personal communication 2011). Watkins’ regimental march in the 2/14 Battalion Band was the well-known Steadfast and True (Watkins, personal communication 2011). Steadfast and True, written by 19th century German army bandsman Carl Teike, had also been the regimental march of the 58th Battalion of the 1st AIF during World War I (Cronk 2009). The fact that the march was written by a member of what was an enemy army does not seem to have been a problem for either the army hierarchy or individual bandsmen.

A complete list of regimental marches for World War II is not available. This is because regimental bands were funded and operated locally by their individual regiments, meaning that details such as repertoire was not centrally archived and as a result much of this information has been lost. Jack Williams, who served with the 2nd Brigade Headquarters Band in Bathurst, NSW, does not recall his regiment even having a designated march (Williams, personal communication 2011). Theresa Cronk’s blog entry ‘Infantry Battalion Regimental Marches’ on the AWM website features a partial list of AIF regimental marches for World War I (Cronk 2009), however the interwar disbanding of the service means that there was not necessarily any continuity generally, let alone musically, in specific regiments between the two wars. It does, however, demonstrate that some of the marches mentioned by this study’s participants above, including Steadfast and True, The Great Little Army, and El Abanico (misspelt in the blog as ‘El Ebanico’) had been in use at least since the previous war.

Although a number of participants who served in the army, including Wes Brown and Jack Williams, were stationed near visiting American bandsmen during the war, the two nations’ bands did not rehearse or perform together. The only participant in this study who did perform with an American band was Jack Griffith of the Royal Australia Navy. He and the other members of the HMAS Shropshire band played one joint concert with the band of the USS Missouri, he
remembers, ‘They were brilliant ... we had a fantastic band and so did the USS Missouri.’ (Griffith, personal communication 2011)

As more and more regiments and their bands were deployed overseas, there were fewer musicians left at home to provide musical and ceremonial services for civilians and service personnel in Australia. Home-based military bands were needed to perform at military ceremonies like funerals, for recruiting campaigns, parades and dances aimed at improving the morale of locals. In response to this need, a number of ‘command bands’ were formed. Command bands were bands permanently based in local military districts, designed to supplement the existing regimental band system by providing musical services on the home front.

The existing documentation is often unclear as to exactly when individual command bands were formed. In the entry titled ‘Military Music’ in the *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia*, Whiteoak and Bannister give the date of the formation of command bands as being 1949, when the Australian Regular Army was formed (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003). However, this is the date when the command band system was re-formed after having been disbanded at the end of the war. There had been a previous period of command bands, beginning as early as 1940.

Jack Williams enlisted in 1941 and remembers being asked to join the Southern Command Band in Melbourne by Bandmaster Edward James (Ted) Robottom who had formed the band in the previous year (Williams, personal communication 2011). Documents held at the AWM demonstrate that Brisbane’s Northern Command Band and Sydney’s Eastern Command Band were also operating by 1941 (Australian War Memorial 1941a, 1941b). Before long Adelaide and Perth also had their own command bands, the Central Command Band and the Western Command Band respectively. As members of these bands were not expected to see action, strict military health and fitness standards were sometime ignored if a potential recruit had good musical skills. Ron Williamson remembers that he was denied a transfer from his regimental band (then based in New Britain) to Melbourne’s Southern Command Band in 1946 on the grounds that he was “too fit” and therefore unable to be spared from his regiment (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

While regimental bands were formal members of their regiments and were therefore stationed wherever their regiment was sent, members of command bands were musicians in uniform, stationed in capital cities with no fear of being posted to a war zone. Their more formalised practice schedules meant they were usually able to produce a more refined performance, but many command bandsmen were barely able to fire a rifle. Ted Robottom was tasked with forming the Southern Command Band. While regimental bands had to rely on soldiers to volunteer their musical skills, Robottom was often able to handpick musicians for service in this prestigious home-based band. This was how Jack Williams, a talented young cornet player, came to be invited to join the Southern Command Band when he signed up in 1941. Williams' remembers that, unlike regimental bands, the Southern Command Band did not have a specific
regimental march during World War II (Williams, personal communication 2011). The implementation of the command band system was the first formal recognition by the Australian military that they needed a dedicated band corps, able to provide musical services without the distraction of other military tasks such as stretcher-bearing.

As the years of conflict passed, it became more and more difficult to supply bands with the instruments, music and equipment that they needed. Instruments were often damaged during service, such as those of the 2/22 Battalion Band, which were damaged by the sulphur in the air from a nearby volcano in Rabaul and then lost in the Japanese invasion (Cox 2003, 65). When bandsmen were killed or captured in action their instruments could often not be recovered, and as the war continued and both shipping and manufacturing became reserved for essential military uses, new shipments of supplies from England became increasingly rare.

The musical retailer Allan’s was the major supplier of musical supplies to the Australian military forces, and their changing advertisements demonstrate the decreasing availability of instruments. In the Australasian Musical News and Digest of 1 February 1943 Allan’s took out a full-page advertisement declaring their support of the military forces (see Figure 32). Its headline reads, “Music is essential to Victory!” and features a drawing of armed soldiers carrying a piano. It proclaims the company’s support of the armed services while hinting that this support may become more difficult to provide, stating, “Allan’s have always provided necessary musical requirements for the Military Forces and will continue to do so while facilities are available” (Australasian Musical News and Digest, 1 Feb 1943, back cover). By 1 December 1945, just three months after the end of the war, Allan’s is printing a much smaller advertisement, reminding readers that “Musical Instruments (are) still urgently wanted for the fighting services”. Now, however, instead of being able to donate new instruments they are offering to “pay spot cash” for second-hand ones, assuring readers that “Every instrument suitable for the Fighting Services will be supplied to them” (Australasian Musical News and Digest, 1 Dec 1945, 19). By advertising their support of military bands through out the war, Allan’s were able to portray themselves as the patriotic choice for Australian’s wishing to buy and sell instruments and music, in an attempt to appear to be good corporate citizens and improve brand loyalty among its customer base.
The introduction of command bands during World War II can be seen as the start of a separate band corps within the Australian army. Members of these bands became the first Australian soldiers dedicated solely to music and ceremony. Despite these organisational changes, ceremonial performances changed very little, with many of the same marches and ceremonial music used in World War I continuing to be played. Although the repertoire of entertainment performances changed more rapidly, they continued to support the military objectives of recruitment, fundraising and raising morale. As has been stated previously, an individual’s military service records did not mention their roles as bandsmen. This makes it impossible to estimate how many men served as musicians in the Australian army during World War II, let alone how many were injured, captured or killed. The end of the war in Europe was declared on 9 May 1945; however, the war in the Pacific, in which the majority of Australian forces were involved, continued until the 2 September. Peace, however, did not bring about an immediate end to military service, even for ‘hostilities-only’ soldiers, and demobilisation continued through 1946.

ARA Bands are of the greatest value as aids to recruiting, to the stimulation of public interest in the Army, and to the promotion of esprit de corps and morale. Special measures are therefore justified to provide the necessary bandsmen.

- Lieutenant-General S. Rowell, Vice Chief of the General Staff, 31 March 1950. (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-58)

The end of World War II bought about great changes to the organisational structure of the Australian army; the AIF was disbanded, the CMF reverted to a part-time force and the army set about reorganising itself to form a permanent standing army for the first time in the nation’s history. This reorganisation into a permanent force would have longstanding effects on Australia’s military abilities: never again would the nation have to build and train a fighting force from scratch as it had done at the outbreak of World War I and World War II. The benefits of this reorganisation were numerous:

Organisation matters: permanent, armed forces can act and react quicker than improvised forces, while tactics which require training, teamwork, trust, and solidarity within the fighting unit also favour units that are permanent (Black 1998, 880).

A permanent army, however, also has added responsibilities to its soldiers. No longer signing on for ‘hostilities only’, potential recruits now needed reasons to stay in the organisation in the long-term, during both war and peacetime. In order to do this, military organisations require high levels of professionalism in order to create high levels of morale and confidence in superiors and colleagues (Avant 1994, 12; Black 1998, 885). This professionalism was best ensured by high levels of training and opportunities for promotion that provided “efficient incentive structures” for the long-term careers of soldiers (Black 1998, 881). The post-war period, for both the army generally and the band service specifically, can be seen as a time when these professional structures were first designed and implemented, providing soldier-musicians with a viable career from apprenticeship to retirement.

Members of the AIF were considered ‘hostilities-only’ soldiers and their period of service was due to come to an end within a year of the end of the war (Australian Imperial Force 1940, 10). Demobilisation was also important to Australia economically, as servicemen were needed to return to their occupations in industry and agriculture (Grey 2008, 197). Despite this, the demobilisation of the AIF was not instant, and continued into 1947 as men and women were recalled from across the South-West Pacific and Britain, and prisoners of war from Europe, Manchuria, Formosa and Japan were found and repatriated (Grey 2008, 197). Even once they were in Australia, troops could not be demobilised immediately as each member was required to sit a pre-discharge medical examination. There were more than half a million Australian men and women in uniform at the end of the war, and the military had a “maximum dispersal” of 3000 per day (Grey 2008, 198). Discharges were
prioritised under a points system which took into account a soldier’s length of service, overseas service, age, family responsibilities and the importance of their civilian occupation to the nation’s economic recovery (Odgers 1993, 193).

AIF Units awaiting demobilisation were deployed as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) in Japan. This force was made up Australian, British, Indian and New Zealand units who, along with the Americans, were stationed in Japan and areas that had previously been Japanese-held territories and tasked with demilitarisation and demobilisation of the areas as well as enforcing military government regulations (Austin 2000, 23). Soldiers who wished to continue with the army, rather than accept discharge, had the opportunity to volunteer to serve with the BCOF in one of three newly formed battalions, the 65th, 66th and 67th which became the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Royal Australian Regiments (RAR) of what would become the new Australian Regular Army (ARA) (Austin 2000, 23). Soldiers serving in the BCOF were no longer considered part of the AIF, but members of the new Interim Army. The Interim Army was designed to fill the gap between the demobilisation of the AIF (1945-1947) and the forming of newly restructured Australian Regular Army (ARA) on 1 December 1948 (Palazzo 2001, 197, 203).

A number of the research participants who took part in this study served during this post-war period. Wes Brown (served 1941-1946) and Douglas Watkins (served 1941-1946) had to continue serving through 1946 before being discharged. Ron Williamson (served 1943-1947) was younger and had signed up later and so had to wait until 1947 to receive his discharge. He was offered a position in the Interim Army Band Service at this time, but chose to decline it. Jack Williams (served CMF1936-1939, AIF/ARA 1941-1977) decided to stay on in the army after the war, as did William Sheehan (who was unable to participate in the study, but whose memoirs were donated to the researcher by Ernest Trotter). Ernest Trotter (served CMF 1948-1951, ARA 1951-1976) was one of the first post-war recruits into the Southern Command Band in Melbourne.

Bandsmen awaiting demobilisation continued with their service though the war had ended. For Brown, who had been serving at the Townsville AGH in Queensland (Townsville had been, technically, considered a war zone), the end of the war meant a transfer back to his home town of Melbourne and his new wife, where he served at the Heidelberg Military Hospital as a driver for the hospital’s colonel and waited “for the discharge papers to come through” (Brown, personal communication 2011).

Watkins was in Borneo when the Japanese surrendered. He remembers that his battalion signed a surrender pact with the local Japanese forces that were later removed to Celebes (now Sulawesi, Indonesia). He and his battalion were then transferred to Macassar, also in Celebes, to quell unrest among members of the local Indonesian population who were leading a nationalist rebellion against Dutch occupation. He remembers the band playing a prominent role in a parade through the town, which was intended as a show of force by the newly arrived Australian troops:
We marched through Macassar and the battalion marched behind us with fixed bayonets ... We marched through; there would be something like 800 or 900 men. We led the march, playing \textit{Steadfast and True}. They marched through the town, and we were taken to the old Dutch military barracks, where we were quartered (Watkins, personal communication 2011).

Watkins was to serve another three months in Macassar with the 2/16 Battalion Band before being discharged. As well as keeping peace among the locals, the battalion was charged with overseeing the 25,000 Japanese soldiers being held in a compound in the hills, “but they weren’t guarded because there was nowhere to go” (Watkins, personal communication 2011). Watkins remembers the time between the end of the war and demobilisation as being relatively uneventful:

Well that was a real bludge.\footnote{1}{“Bludge” is an Australian slang word meaning avoiding work or responsibility.} All we used to do was put the guard on at night, and the same thing to impress the locals. We'd mount the guard in dress uniform, and have various sentry posts around the little town that was there. Played, practised through the day and that’s about all we did, sleep ... By that time I had a couple of stripes and we used to take out patrols to check that there were no Japanese around. Then I was put on draft with a few other guys and transported back to Brisbane. (Watkins, personal communication 2011)

For Ron Williamson, the end of the war meant that he was finally freed from his duties as a stretcher-bearer and allowed to join his regimental band. He had originally asked to join a band unit when he had signed up but had been rejected, on the grounds that he was too fit, “they said ‘no, you're A1\footnote{2}{A1 is the top medical/fitness grade given to recruits.} – you’ve got to go into action’” (Williamson, personal communication 2012). He applied and was declined three more times during the war, but was finally accepted into the 29/46 Battalion Band, stationed in Rabaul.

When he joined the band, it had 32 members, including one side drummer and one bass drummer. As we saw from the advertisements by Allan’s Music in the previous section, instruments were in short supply by the end of the war. On Williamson’s first day in the band, his section leader told him he would be provided with his own side drum the next morning:

I thought, “Geez, this is going to be good”. The next morning he came down and he said, “Well, here’s your drum”. It was in bits! (Williamson personal communication 2012)

Williamson was handed a dismantled, rope-tensioned, brass-shelled, snare drum. His first task as a bandsman was to assemble it.
As with Watkins’ regiment in Macassar, Williamson’s regiment spent much of its time in Rabaul simply maintaining a presence to keep the peace. The band helped to improve the morale of both the locals and the soldiers and nurses stationed there, and their performances reflected that. As well as marches, they played popular music in entertainment concerts. Performances included tours of the local Catholic missions and a horse racing carnival organised using abandoned Japanese cavalry horses. The 29/46 Battalion Band also put together a dance band, using army-owned brass and drums with woodwind and other instruments privately owned by some of the musicians. This dance band performed in the Officers’ Club on Saturday nights (Williamson, personal communication 2012).

Demobilisation of the AIF had actually begun prior to the official end of the war, in an attempt to free men to work in industry and agriculture (Grey 2008, 197). As each regiment was discharged, their bands were dismantled alongside them, causing a rapid reduction in the number of regimental bands. When the Interim Army formed its first three battalions, the 65th, 66th and 67th (later known as the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Royal Australian Regiment [RAR] Battalions), each was given its own band and its own regimental march (see Figure 33) (Syron 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Battalion</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>March</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65th Battalion (1RAR)</td>
<td>Christina Macpherson</td>
<td>Waltzing Matilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66th Battalion (2RAR)</td>
<td>Composer Unknown</td>
<td>Ringo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67th Battalion (3RAR)</td>
<td>Frederick Ellsworth Bigelow</td>
<td>Our Director</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 33: Post-war Regimental Marches**

When William Sheehan was offered demobilisation from the 2/15 Battalion of the AIF, he elected to stay on in the Interim Army. He joined the 66th Battalion Band (later 2 RAR) as part of the BCOF in Japan. The 66th Battalion was formed on the island of Morotai in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) from re-enlisting AIF troops who had served in the South West Pacific. Having recently fought against the recently defeated Japan, the members of the battalion were eager to begin their peacekeeping duties. As time passed, and the battalion remained in Morotai with little to do, the members of the battalion became frustrated. Things came to a head when, in order to keep the troops occupied, a schedule of basic training was implemented. Veterans, who had between them seen active service in Syria, Palestine, Greece, Egypt, Libya, Borneo and New Guinea, felt insulted that they were being trained as new recruits (Sheehan 2001, 4). At this time, Sheehan attempted to gain a transfer out of his unit, but was denied and told to return to his regiment to form the first band of the 66th Battalion (Sheehan 2001, 5). The 66th Battalion Band started with just nine members, including Sheehan on BB flat bass, but as more demobilised soldiers elected to stay on in the Interim Army, it quickly grew to have 28 brass players and a drums corps of 18 (Sheehan 2001, 5).

Sheehan stayed with his regimental band for 18 months, including a four-week period in which they served as “Duty Band Tokyo”. In 1946 all three of the
regimental bands from the Australian Interim Army, the 65\textsuperscript{th}, 66\textsuperscript{th} and 67\textsuperscript{th} Battalion Bands, took part in a Victory Parade through the streets of Tokyo. The 66\textsuperscript{th} Battalion Band led the way, and Sheehan remembers marching past the Emperor’s Palace as being the highlight of the march (Sheehan 2001, 5).

For Sheehan, there was a marked difference between his wartime service in the AIF and his post-war service in an Interim Army regimental band. In the AIF he had seen active service in South East Asia and the Western Pacific Region with the 2/15 Battalion. He remembers:

As opposed to my experience as a Bandsman in the 2/15\textsuperscript{th} Bn, life in 66 Bn was a paradise. We were the ‘Regimental Band’, the ‘CO’s pride and joy’ and with the exception of essential regular weapons drill and range practices, we were employed solely as a Band. My service with 66\textsuperscript{th} Bn was to change my attitude toward Army Bands and was possibly the reason for pursuing that activity in later years (Sheehan 2001, 6).

After 18 months in the 66\textsuperscript{th} Battalion Band, Sheehan transferred back to Australia to serve with a command band. He immediately discovered a difference in attitude between the two types of bands. Because command bands were not part of official regiments, their place within the military hierarchy at the time was unclear. In the immediate post-war years, these bands had no formal policies on training, recruitment or promotions. This meant that recruitment into these bands was often based more on nepotism and an ‘old boys’ network’ than a formal auditioning process. Thus, Williamson was offered the position of drum major at Southern Command Band without an audition because he had played with other members of that band while stationed in Rabaul (Williamson, personal communication 2012). On the other hand, Sheehan was unknown to the bandmaster of Eastern Command and was put through an overly thorough audition in hopes of excluding the newcomer. The audition on BB flat bass (tuba) began with a request to play ‘A’ grade tuba solos from memory and got increasingly difficult until he was asked to play ‘A’ grade cornet solos on the large instrument. Only after this feat was achieved was Sheehan grudgingly accepted into the band (Sheehan 1992b, part 1, 2). Sheehan was to encounter more differences between regimental and command bands when he joined his new band on the parade ground. He remembers being told off for marching too well. His drum major told him “You are not in the Battalion now my boy, so don’t swing your arm like that, and loosen up a bit. You show the rest of us up!” (Sheehan 1992b, part 1, 3)

The fairly lax attitude towards recruitment and performance in Interim Army command bands was a product of their unusual and as yet unformalised position within the service. Although service in the new army’s bands provided fulltime, paid performing work for the musicians involved, the lack of formal organisation proved a strong deterrent for many potential army musicians. Positions like drum major and bandmaster were still honorary titles and included no formal rank or increase in pay. Under the interim system, most musicians were unlikely to ever rise beyond the rank of corporal and even bandmasters were unlikely to reach officer status. When Ron Williamson was demobilised from his
regimental band in the AIF in late 1946, he was offered the prestigious position of drum major at the Southern Command Band in his hometown of Melbourne. He decided to decline the offer however, because the low rank and pay rates were not enough to support his young family. Instead he began a more stable career as a travelling salesman (Williamson, personal communication 2012). With no formal method of achieving promotion, band members had to curry favour with their bandmasters if they were to move up the ranks. Ernest Trotter remembers that he became a drum major with the eventual rank of Warrant Officer First Class, not by completing required military and musical courses, but by knowing “when to blow and when to suck” up to superior officers (Trotter, personal communication 2011).

The lack of career prospects and an unwillingness to stay in the army after six long years of war combined to make band service an unappetising prospect for many young post-war musicians. As a result, the command band ranks were predominantly filled with veterans who, for whatever reason, found it difficult to return to civilian life. Enlisting in 1951, Ernest Trotter was one of the first musicians to be recruited into the Southern Command Band after the disbanding of the Interim Army and the formation of the ARA in December 1948. He remembers that all the other members of the band had been members of both the AIF and the Interim Army and had all seen active service, some in both World War I and II (Trotter, personal communication 2011). Trotter, Williamson and Sheehan all agree that they witnessed high rates of alcoholism within the post-war band service (Trotter, personal communication 2011; Williamson, personal communication 2012; Sheehan 1992b, part 1, 3).

Alcoholism (associated with equally high rates of what is now known as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or PTSD) seems to have been rife throughout much of the post-war band service. Per capita beer consumption in Australia doubled between 1945 and 1970 and Australian alcohol consumption reached a peak in the post-war decades of the 1950s and 1960s (Dingley 1980, 233-34). It was, perhaps, no coincidence that the first Australian chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) was founded in 1945. By 1960 Australia had more AA members per-capita than the USA (Room 2010, 157). According to both Ernest Trotter and Jack Williams, the average workday for members of the Southern Command Band in the late 1940s and early 1950s began with a game of volleyball as soon as enough members arrived in the morning. This game continued until 11.30am when the band adjourned to the nearby Corner Hotel where most members would spend the rest of the day (Trotter 1992a, 1).

At Eastern Command Band in Sydney in the late 1940s, Bandmaster Bill Pearson and his personal friends in the band spent so much time at the United Services Hotel that it became known as “the Office”. Musicians were interviewed there prior to auditions and the camp commandant knew to send a jeep there to pick them up if the band was called to perform at short notice. Rehearsals for the remaining members of the band were usually run by the four bandsmen who were members of the Salvation Army whose faith left them less prone to over-indulgence (Sheehan 1992b, part 1).
One particularly eccentric veteran was Bandmaster Jack Parry who served with Sydney’s Eastern Command Band in the early 1950s (Sheehan 1992d, 2). He was unable to cope with living off base, or in barracks with his fellow soldiers and so set up house in the band’s storeroom. The band complex included showers, toilets, a stove and a refrigerator and was within 50 yards of three bars. He could often be seen in the band room in loose fitting boxer shorts cooking baked beans or eggs and had caused a number of fires by leaving forgotten meals on the stove while at the pub drinking.

When parties were held in the band-room he would hide in his storeroom, only venturing out (still clad only in his underwear) to go to the toilet. Band members knew to make sure their wives didn’t stay too long at these parties, because late in the night Parry would appear, guitar in hand, put one foot on a chair and serenade the remaining party goers, seemingly unaware that his apparently well-proportioned flaccid genitalia was escaping from his ancient underwear.

Despite this behaviour, band members were understanding of Parry’s odd habits, and would regularly donate food and other basic items to him because it was commonly known that he had had a “bad time” in a Japanese prisoner of war camp. Long after the war, he continued to fill his pockets with a mixture of bread crusts and used cigarette butts and could regularly be seen rifling through them when in need of a snack or a smoke (Trotter 1992b, 1). He had also developed a strong aversion to military marches, which was unfortunate for an army bandmaster. Instead of using the usual army marches such as Steadfast and True or Colonel Bogey, Parry would make his own march arrangements of traditional songs such as Bobby Shafto to play in their place, much to the chagrin of both the bandsmen and military hierarchy (Sheehan 1992d, 1). Jack Parry was just one of a number of traumatised veterans who found a home in the post-war band service. In her study of Australian war widows, Damousi found that:

> Despite the growth of services provided by social workers and psychiatrists at this time, war widows were of the generation that sought comfort for loss in community networks rather than the new professionals. (Damousi 2001, 6)

A similar process seems to have occurred in the post-war army band service, with veterans supporting one another and protecting the most traumatised among them to allow them to continue working as military musicians.

Because the command band system untied bands from specific regiments, the normal lines of army hierarchy were initially unclear in the post-war band service. Band members who had grievances about their bandmasters had no formal method of complaint. To compensate for this, post-war bands developed their own method of protest, which the musicians referred to as a “Pianissimo Strike” (Sheehan 1992b, part 2, 22). A “Pianissimo Strike” would be called when the disgruntled band members were on parade. When this happened all the

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1 Despite this, he is known to have composed at least one military march, Rose Glory.
instrumentalists would play their parts pianissimo, regardless of the required dynamics. In contrast, the drum corps would play all of its parts at fortissimo. The more the drum major would signal for volume, the quieter everyone would play, except the drummers who would continue to get louder. Through all of this the band would maintain perfect behaviour, with ranks and files straight, correct posture, drill and demeanour. The next day the camp commandant would usually stroll into the band room at morning teatime to chat, allowing him to subtly listen to any problems the bandsmen were having.

By 1950, despite the creation of the ARA, the ad hoc nature of the army's band corps was still affecting its ability to recruit and retain members. During the early stages of the Cold War, Communist insurgencies in South East Asia and the declaration of war in Korea (1950-1953) resulted in a new recruitment drive within the Australian army (NAA 2012a). The size of the band service was also increased in line with this policy. In 1950, the army nominally had eight bands, five command bands and three regimental bands. Each of these bands was supposed to have 28 members (see Figure 34). In reality, some of these bands only existed on paper and only half of them had enough members to enable them to act as functional performing ensembles (see Figure 35).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Warrant Officer Class 1 (Bandmaster)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sergeants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Corporals (Bandsmen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lance-Corporals (Bandsmen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Privates (Bandsmen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 34:** Establishment Personnel of Post-War Australian Regular Army Bands (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-58)

To increase the numbers of musicians serving in the army, attempts were made both to increase the number of new band recruits and to provide a career structure for bandsmen already serving. By providing a long-term career structure, the army was not only ensuring that they would retain more bandsmen but also training men to serve in the roles of drum major and bandmaster. In July 1950 the Brigadier in Charge of Administration at Southern Command (Melbourne) sent a request for volunteers to apply for the bandmaster's course at the Royal Military College of Music at Kneller Hall in the UK (Command Headquarters – Southern Command 1948-1950). The Royal Military College of Music at Kneller Hall, the British Army's music training college, had been training British bandsmen and bandmasters since 1857, all British Army bandmasters having been required to complete a course there since 1862 (see Chapter 2)(Farmer 1950, 53).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Deficiency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Command (Brisbane)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Command (Sydney)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Command (Melbourne)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Command (Perth)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Command (Adelaide)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Royal Australian Regiment (RAR)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2RAR</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RAR (BCOF)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 35:** Band Strength in the ARA, 1950 (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-58)

ARA bandsmen were invited to nominate themselves for Kneller Hall’s three-year bandmaster’s course. Unlike in the UK, where bandmasters had to pass the course before being promoted, some Australian nominees were already acting as bandmasters. Successful nominees had to meet the following criteria:

- a) Marked stability of character
- b) Good appearance and Military bearing
- c) Sound general education
- d) Aged NOT more than 35 years
- e) Competent musician
- f) If NOT already a Bandmaster, must have qualities and ability to develop into WO1 (Warrant Officer 1st Class) Bandmaster

(Command Headquarters – Southern Command 1948-1950)

Although I have been unable to find any archival evidence of the numbers of Australian bandmasters trained in England, Trotter remembers that up to two Australians could study at Kneller Hall at one time, and that while some bandmasters completed their training in Australia, and others were sent to study with the United States Marines, the “best candidates” were sent to the Royal Military College of Music (Trotter, personal communication 2011). When they returned from their three-year course, Trotter remembers: “Their whole style and presentation was British. And their supreme confidence in front of the band was magnificent.” He also noted that those bandsmen who missed out were sometimes envious of the Kneller Hall graduates: “They were jealous, they were jealous that they missed out. But (the graduates) were given the greatest respect” (Trotter, personal communication 2011).

As well as improving the skills of senior bandsmen and bandmasters, the army needed new recruits to fill the band ranks. In 1950 the army embarked on a campaign to recruit a new rank of soldier – band boys. The army had recently lowered its minimum recruitment age to 17 and an apprenticeship scheme had been started in 1948 providing a four-year trade qualification for 14 to 18 year
olds (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958). Band boys were considered in a different category to army apprentices because, as F.R. Sinclair, the Secretary to the Department of Treasury, Defence Division, stated:

The Army Apprentice is being given a skilled trade to Army and industrial standards for which he will in due course be able to command fully skilled rates of pay both in and out of the Army (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958).

In contrast, band boys received no formal qualifications:

Band-boys will be taught an art which for the great majority will have little or no remunerative value outside the Army. So far as is known there are no brass bands on full time duty except in the Services (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958).

Sinclair even went so far as to state that the army band service, as it stood at the time, did not provide a viable long-term career prospect for most of the boys involved, saying “... it would be difficult for the Army to satisfy parents and guardians on the question of a musical career for their boys” (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958).

To make up for the lack of qualifications, band boys were to receive a higher rate of pay than apprentices, whose pay during their training was “regarded as pocket money” (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958). Band boys received the following rates, which were based on the rates that army recruits received (see Figure 36):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Band Boy Proposed Pay Rate 1950 (Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-58)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16 years of age</td>
<td>5/7d per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 16 years of age</td>
<td>10/7d per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 17 years of age</td>
<td>16/10d per day (recruit minor rate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 18 years of age</td>
<td>20/0d per day (recruit adult rate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 18 with star grade rating</td>
<td>If qualified, pay in accordance with rating held.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 36:** Band Boy Rates of Pay

The first intake of band boys had to meet a number of criteria to be eligible for enlistment. They had to be between 15½ and 17 years of age, meet the medical classification of A1 (the army’s highest medical rating) and be a minimum height of five feet, two inches. Prospective band boys also had to be deemed to have a good moral character, have achieved a “reasonable primary educational standard”, and received their parents’ or guardians’ written consent. There were no musical requirements as such, however:
If the number of applicants permits, preference will be given to those who have had experience in playing a musical instrument (Defence Division in Department of the Army – Central Office 1950-51).

As it turned out, the number of applicants in the first intake of band boys in 1952 did not permit preferential enlistment for boys with musical experience. Of an expected class size of 30, only 12 band boys were recruited (Defence Division in Department of the Army – Central Office 1950-51). They had signed up for an 18-month training period followed by a six-year engagement after they turned 18 years of age. After turning 18, they would also be eligible for overseas service (Defence Division in Department of the Army – Central Office 1950-51). The band boy's training schedule consisted of musical, academic and physical training. Each week was divided into 40 periods (eight lessons per day). During the 18-month training period of the original intake of band boys in 1952, as well as music theory and practise, the boys learnt instrument maintenance and repair and undertook basic military training (see Figure 37).

By the time the first intake of boys was due to complete their training, it had become obvious that 18 months was not enough time to teach novice musicians to perform at an appropriate standard “where they can be fitted into a Comd or Regt band without some further individual musical tuition” (Defence Division of the Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958). The decision was made to increase the band boys’ length of training to two years, and to lower the recruitment age from 15½ to 15 years old. This meant that by the time the boys completed their training, the youngest among them would have reached 17, the minimum age for enlistment into the regular army. This extra 6 months was added on to the boys' minimum enlistment period, which now became 8 years (Defence Division of the Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-58).

Attempts were also made to recruit new band boys with higher levels of musical skills. The first enlistment of band boys included Boy A Henson, who had grown up in a Salvation Army orphanage in New South Wales:

The Director of Music, Capt R.A. Newman ARCM, under whose direct supervision these boys receive their training is so impressed by the bearing, ability and general demeanour of Boy Henson, that he would welcome any other boys of his kind for training (Defence Division of the Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958).
As a result, a memorandum was sent to the Chief Secretary of the Salvation Army Head Quarters in Melbourne, including brochures on enlisting as a band boy in the army and navy and a request for officers in charge of boys’ homes to distribute them to suitable candidates (Defence Division of the Department of the Army – Central Office 1949-1958). Boys in Salvation Army orphanages were taught to play brass band instruments, and many of the church’s members had served in bands during World War II. The policy seems to have been successful for both the army and the navy. Ross MacNamara remembers that he first heard about the RAN’s band boys’ course from friends in Salvation Army boys’ homes (MacNamara, personal communication 2012). The policy was expanded to include other orphanages that had brass band programs, including the Catholic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Month of Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4-6 7-9 10-12 13-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements of Music</td>
<td>4 4 4 3 2 1 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private lesson with Tutor</td>
<td>2 2 2 2 2 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unison Scales and Long Notes Practice</td>
<td>7 7 7 6 6 4 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Practice</td>
<td>11 10 10 10 9 9 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing with Band</td>
<td>2 3 3 3 4 8 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Practice</td>
<td>2 2 2 3 4 3 2 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aural Training</td>
<td>- - - 2 2 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance Lecture</td>
<td>1 1 1 - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Appreciation</td>
<td>- - - - - - 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance &amp; Inspection of Instruments</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Military Training</td>
<td>10 10 10 10 10 10 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40 40 40 40 40 40 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 37**: Syllabus, First Intake of RAR Band Boys, 1952
Westmead Boys’ Home in Parramatta (NSW), Kincumber Boys’ Home near Gosford (NSW), the Presbyterian Boys’ Home in Parramatta (NSW) and Saint Augustine’s Orphanage in Geelong (Vic) (Sheehan 1992c, 1,3). Boys who had grown up in these orphanages had not only received a quality musical education, but were use to the “monotonous food … strict routine and iron discipline” of institutional life (Sheehan 1992c, 1). So common was their presence in the army in general, and in army bands in particular that Sheehan stated:

> There was not a unit in the Army during the 1940s to 60s that did not have its representative of ‘Old Boys’ from the Orphanages. Never were they more prominent than in Army Bands. Being generally players of very high calibre, they were eagerly sought and I never served in a Regimental or Command Band that did not have at least two ‘Old Boys’ (Sheehan 1992c, 2).¹

Increasing the length of training for band boys, and recruiting more experienced musicians helped to improve the standard of musicianship in the program’s graduates, but the band boy system faced other teething problems. Because band boys were not included under the apprenticeship scheme, it was decided that they should receive their training at the Battalion Recruit Training Company in Kapooka, New South Wales instead of at the Apprentice Training School in Balcombe (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-58). This meant that the class of 30 band boys (or only 12 in the original intake) were the only minors on an adult army base.

Precautions were taken to protect them from contact with the regular soldiers. Band boys had separate barracks, showers and ablution amenities and mess rooms from the regular soldiers, and were only allowed to visit the dry canteen at specified, supervised times. Band boys were to retire to their beds by 9pm, except on nights when they were allowed to attend camp cinema shows. They were only allowed to obtain a leave pass if they had a written invitation inviting them to spend such leave at a specific address. Special allowances also had to be made for the boys’ uniforms, as their original allotment from army stores proved to be too large for their young bodies (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-58).

The tutors hired to work with band boys were also hand picked. These teachers needed to be a good influence on the boys, as well as good musicians:

> The ability to play an instrument well is not considered sufficient qualification to train Band Boys to a degree where they can be considered as future Bandmasters, and a good advertisement to attract other applicants for admission as Band Boys to the A.R.A.

¹ ‘Old Boys’ was the term that ex-residents of boys’ homes and orphanages used to describe themselves.
Somewhat surprisingly, Jack Parry is listed among the suitable applicants for the position. This was seen as a good role for him, because his four and a half years of captivity as a Japanese prisoner of war ruled him as ineligible for active service in a regimental band. Employing him as a teacher would allow the army to continue to employ him and make use his musical knowledge, which was “far above the average Bandsman, and...above that of the Bandmasters also” (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958).

Parry may have had exceptional musical skills, but, as was discussed above, his PTSD resulted in alcoholism, regular accidental public nudity, and an intense dislike for military marches. As these are hardly attributes which would commend him as a teacher and leader of band boys, one must assume that his band members protected him to the degree that the military hierarchy was largely unaware of Parry’s problems.

Despite the attempts at providing a suitable educational environment for young men at a regular army base, it was soon decided that it was more age appropriate to train them at the Apprentice School in Balcombe, NSW. The first intake of band boys to be trained there arrived on 24 March 1953 (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958). However the move does not seem to have greatly improved the position of the boys. The second intake of band boys at Balcombe began their training on 5 March 1954. By 28 August, eight had been discharged for being Absent Without Leave (AWL) or for other illegal absences, including one who was facing a court martial. A further four had requested transfers out of the army, one had requested transfer into the army apprenticeship scheme, and two had applied to join the RAAF (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-58). This meant that in the first six months of training, the intake was down to half strength. Band boys found themselves accepted by neither the apprentices, who envied their higher pay levels, or by the regular recruits who dismissed them as children. As a result, they often became they became the butt of taunting and cruel jokes, causing the officer in charge of them to report:

The insistence by many of the Band Boys, that they are belittled and victimised, not because of their shortcomings as soldiers, but because they are Band Boys (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958).

In 2013 the Defence Abuse Response Taskforce was formed to investigate more than 2400 registered complaints (Anon 2013). The instances of abuse highlighted by the taskforce demonstrate the vulnerable position these young men were in (Anon 2012). The bullying and harassment of apprentice musicians by other apprentices at the Army Apprentice School is discussed in the Defence Abuse Response Taskforce’s Report on Abuse in Defence. The report goes on to state that, “Almost half the complainants who reported abuse at the Army
Apprentice School experienced sexual abuse (29 complainants)...” but it does not mention whether these 29 complainants included any band boys (Defence Abuse Response Taskforce 2014, 206).

The discussion in the papers of the Defence Division in the Department of the Army in the 1950s, outlined above, clearly demonstrates that not only was the army hierarchy aware of the vulnerability of underage boys living in barracks, but that they were also trying to minimise any danger to them.

One suggested solution to the problem of bullying was to rename band boys as ‘apprentice musicians’. The Director of Personnel demonstrated the deep-seated distain that many army personnel seem to have held for the boys when he replied to the suggested name change, claiming that he did not care if they were called “Bandboy, Apprentice Musician, Ratcatcher, Rodent Exterminator” (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958). Despite this attitude, the title of band boy was replaced with apprentice musician in 1955 (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958).

There was still the problem of the different rates of pay between apprentice musicians and other apprentices causing unrest between the two groups. As becoming a musician was not a formal apprenticeship with qualifications recognised outside of the military, it was still deemed unfair to give them the same ‘pocket money’ pay rates of other apprentices. The solution was to provide apprentice rates of pay to the boys immediately, with the rest of their pay being deferred until they graduated into the regular army (aged 17 or older), or when they were discharged if they failed to graduate (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958). Pay rates for apprentice musicians enlisting in 1957 can be seen in Figure 38.

The two-year apprentice musician’s course was divided into four terms, with boys sitting an examination at the end of each term. The future of boys who failed these exams was at the discretion of a board made up of the Director of Music, the School of Music’s Senior Instructor and the Officer in Charge of the Company (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958). The options available to them were to allow the boy to continue his studies, ask him to repeat a term, transfer him to another school within the apprenticeship scheme or to discharge him from the military.
### Table: Apprentice Musicians Pay Rates 1957 (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958)\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Daily Drawing Rate</th>
<th>Amount Deferred Daily</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16 Years</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 16 Years</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>5/-</td>
<td>13/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 17 Years (Recruit Minor)</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td>16/6</td>
<td>25/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 18 Years (Recruit Adult)</td>
<td>10/-</td>
<td>19/4</td>
<td>29/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Year</th>
<th>Daily Drawing Rate</th>
<th>Amount Deferred Daily</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16 Years</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 16 Years</td>
<td>12/-</td>
<td>1/10</td>
<td>13/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 17 Years (Recruit Minor)</td>
<td>12/8</td>
<td>12/10</td>
<td>25/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 18 Years (Recruit Adult)</td>
<td>13/2</td>
<td>16/2</td>
<td>29/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 38: Apprentice Musicians Pay Rates 1957

Although efforts had been made to improve the musical standards of newly recruited apprentice musicians by recruiting directly from boys' homes with band programs, the scheme still catered for complete musical novices, with the first term covering basic topics like “formation of embouchure, production of notes, function of valves ... relative lengths of notes and rests ... study of clefs ...” (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958). By the end of their two-year course, Apprentice Musicians were expected:

- To be able to play scales, major and minor, up to four flats and four sharps.
- To be able to play Band parts of average Band standard.
- To have a thorough knowledge of the instrument, both in its musical function, and for maintenance ... To have a GOOD knowledge of the Rudiments of Music...
  (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958)

Apprentice musicians were not expected to have a working knowledge of harmony, instrumentation or aural training, “but any band boys considered sufficiently advanced may be put into the NCOs ... class” (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-58).

Recruiting of musicians was also increased through the National Service Program. The original post-war National Service program ran from 1951 to

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\(^1\) Although 1957 falls outside of the time frame of this study, no summary of pay rates was made in 1955, the figures shown represent the closest date available.
1959, inspired by the increased tensions of the Cold War, Communist insurgencies in South East Asia and the Korean War (1950-1953). The *National Service Act 1951*, provided for the call up for men who turned 18 on or after 1 November 1950. They were required to complete 176 days service training and to remain as reservists in the CMF for a period of five years after their call-up (National Archives of Australia 2012a). Between 1951 and 1959, some 227,000 men were trained, with enough of them volunteering for band service that a National Service Band could be formed (Defence Division in the Department of the Army – Central Office, 1949-1958).\(^1\)

The combination of better long-term career prospects for existing musicians through formal training and advancement, along with a concentrated effort to recruit new musicians through the band boy/apprentice musician program and National Service was successful in increasing both the numbers and standards of bands and bandmen in the army. In 1950 the army band service reached a low point of 76 musicians serving in eight bands (only four of which had enough members to function as a performing ensemble). Although no figures are available for 1955 (the last year covered in this study) by 1957 the Australian Army band service had grown to 265 musicians serving in 13 bands, 12 of which had enough numbers to field a performing ensemble (see Figure 39).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Full Complement</th>
<th>Actual Members</th>
<th>Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Command</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Command</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Command</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Command</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Command</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Service</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruit Training Battalion</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Military College</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Australian Engineers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1RAR</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2RAR</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RAR</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>318</strong></td>
<td><strong>265</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 39:** ARA Band Service as at 5 June 1957.

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\(^1\) A second period of National Service occurred outside of the period of reference for this study. Running from 1964 to 1972 this saw a much larger increase in National Service bandmen. Trotter remembers of this time that National Servicemen were asked if they could play an instrument on enlistment and if they could play so much as a ‘tin whistle’ they were seconded into the band force. Many of these men were all too happy to volunteer for band units, as it assured that they would not be posted for service in the Vietnam war.

\(^2\) There are no figures available for 1955.
Members of ARA regimental bands also served in two conflicts during the post-World War II period. These were the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Malayan Emergency (1950-1960). On 25 June 1950 the Korean People’s Army launched an offensive into South Korea. In support of the South Korean cause, Australia deployed the 3RAR as well as RAN and RAAF contingents. The members of 3RAR (including their band) had been serving as part of the BCOF in Kobe, Japan, but were considered “understrength and ill prepared for combat deployment” (Australian War Memorial n.d. b). Over the next three months the battalion was bought up to strength with volunteers who had been recruited specifically for the Korean campaign with shortened, three-year sign-up periods. The members of 3RAR arrived in Pusan on 27 September 1950. They were joined by 1RAR in April 1952, who were then replaced by 2RAR in April 1953. All three regiments travelled with their regimental bands. Although there are numerous contemporary newspaper reports of regimental bands playing in welcome home parades,¹ there is little published information about RAR bands in Korea.

One of the difficulties facing band members on duty in Korea was the weather. In winter the weather became so cold that brass instruments became unplayable (Keevers, cited in Trotter 1992c, 2). In lieu of winter performance duties band members would be seconded into other duties around the barracks, including mess duty (Keevers, cited in Trotter 1992c, 2).

Although I have come across little documentary evidence regarding the performances of RAR bands in Korea, band members continued to serve as stretcher-bearers on the battlefield and two band members received commendations for their service as stretcher-bearers in this conflict, they were Sergeant Tom Murray and Private Ron Dunque.

Sergeant Tom Murray, drum major of the 3 RAR Band was awarded the George Medal on 26 October 1950 for diving into freezing water to rescue wounded soldiers at the Battle of Broken Bridge at Kujin (Australian War Memorial n.d. c)(see Figure 40). Private Ron Dunque was awarded the Military Medal for helping to evacuate six wounded soldiers under heavy fire at the Battle of Kapyong and continuing his duties despite receiving a head wound from an enemy grenade (Australian War Memorial n.d. d). The Korean War was the final point in the longstanding tradition of Australian army musicians serving as stretcher-bearers. This tradition had come to Australia with the earliest British regimental bands but from now on musicians would be freed for other duties.

¹ See for example, Anon 1953c, 5; Anon 1953d, 3.
Although the RAAF was deployed to the Malayan Emergency (1950-1960) as early as 1950, the ARA did not arrive until October 1955 and after arriving in Penang did not start anti-communist operations on the mainland until January 1956 (Australian War Memorial n.d. e). No longer acting as stretcher-bearers, ARA bands in Malaya also had a number of their ceremonial duties stripped away. Upon being deployed to Malaya, bands had received a personnel cut of 25 per cent. Instead of fielding their usual band of 26 musicians plus a drum corps of nine, they now had only 21 personnel in all, leaving them understaffed for formal ceremonial parades (Trotter 1991a, 2). Daily regimental duties like Battalion Parades and Beating Retreat were also limited in Malaya, due to companies being spread up to 40 miles from battalion headquarters (Trotter 1991b, 1).

Drum Major Ernest Trotter remembers that these changes at first left band members feeling like “tourists” with little to do; however they were soon busy with new duties (Trotter 1991b, 1). Musically, RAR bands in Malaya were responsible for “area pacification”. The local ethnic Chinese population, suspected of being communist sympathisers had been moved into:

... ‘New Villages’ which were virtual prisons during the night surrounded by well lit, 10 foot high barbed wire fences designed to keep the reluctant residents in and the Communist Terrorists out” (Trotter 1991b, 1).
Regimental bands were tasked with providing morale-boosting concerts in these New Villages. Although these entertainment performances were ostensibly to win of the hearts and minds of potential communist sympathisers, they must have been an unnerving sight, with each band member holding a rifle between his legs or on his lap during the entire concert (Ernest Trotter, personal communication, 2011). In some cases concerts were given to distract villagers while other members of the company laid ambushes for local communists (Trotter 1991b, 1). Band members also discovered that what constituted ‘popular’ music in Australia was of little interest to the ethnically Chinese audiences in the camps, stating “we soon discovered the fact that unless there was a lot of cymbal clashing, they just didn’t respond” (Trotter 1991b, 1). They changed their entertainment repertoire accordingly. Excerpts from the 1916 musical *Chu Chin Chow* by Fredric Norton, which parodied Asian music, proved popular, despite being considered out-dated (and somewhat racist) in Australia.

No longer acting as stretcher-bearers, band members were now responsible for re-supplying jungle patrols. This involved travelling in armed convoys through communist-held ‘black areas’ with bands sometimes stopping to give concerts in New Villages on the way. At times band members even conducted their own “search and destroy” missions in the jungle (Trotter 1991b, 2), but I have found no evidence of enemy contact ever being made by band members.

The post-war period (1946-1955) for Australian army bands was marked by a sudden reduction in number of both bands and bandsmen followed by a slow increase in numbers as the force rebuilt and reorganised itself, first as the Interim Army and then as the Australian Regular Army (ARA). The Interim Army’s band service was made up predominantly of veterans from World War II, including some who had served in both World Wars. Many of these men were suffering from what would be called post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and many were alcoholics. Service in an Interim Army band provided employment in a protective environment around men who understood the trauma that that these veterans had experienced.

Band and musician numbers were allowed to dwindle in the late 1940s, reaching a low of 76 musicians and four functioning bands by 1950. This sparked a campaign to recruit and retain musicians for the newly formed Australian Regular Army. This campaign was made up of three parts. Firstly, it created a viable long-term career structure for musicians who were already serving. This included formalised promotions courses for drum majors and bandmasters, both in Australia and overseas at the Royal College of Military Music at Kneller Hall in the UK. Secondly, a program of education for band boys was instituted, allowing the ARA to recruit and train military musicians from the age of 15. Thirdly, the first round of post-war National Service, which ran from 1951 to 1959, encouraged these conscripts to join the band service, making up their own National Service Band. This three-pronged approach to post-war recruitment seems to have been successful, as the numbers of musicians serving in the ARA swelled from 76 in 1950 to 265 officers and men serving in 13 bands in 1957.
ARA musicians served in two conflicts during this period, the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960). The Korean War was the last time Australian army musicians served as stretcher-bearers. Bandsmen serving in the Malayan Emergency still worked in enemy held territory; however now they were responsible for re-supplying frontline troops. Although bands in Malaya were stripped of many of their ceremonial musical duties, their entertainment performances had the very real military objectives of distracting and pacifying enemy sympathisers. Used to performing for Australian audiences, band members had to change and adapt their repertoire to please the predominantly Chinese villagers.

Conclusions

The period from 1930 to 1955 was a time of great change for Australia's army musicians. Prior to World War II the army only existed as a part-time militia aimed at providing home defence. During the war the AIF was reformed after having been dismantled at the end of World War I, this allowed 'hostilities-only' recruits to be enlisted specifically for wartime service. When these recruits were demobilised at the end of the conflict the army reorganised and modernised its recruitment and training strategies to provide the nation with a full-time professional army for the first time in its history.

During the pre-war period the recruitment and training of army musicians happened on a fairly ad-hoc basis. If a potential recruit were below the minimum recruitment age of 16, bandmasters and commanding officers would sometimes look the other way if the candidate were a quality musician able to fill a vacancy in a specific band. The majority of military training took place during annual camps and even these were suspended due to lack of funds in the early 1930s. Once war broke out and the second AIF was established the numbers of new, 'hostilities-only' recruits increased dramatically however due to a combination of bad record keeping and officers willing to look the other way, underage (and overage) recruits were still often able to enlist. Training levels increased at the start of the war, but after Japan entered the conflict in 1941 this training was often shortened in the rush to supply new troops for the conflict in the Pacific. In both the pre-war period and during the war bandsmen were trained as stretcher-bearers however, while this training had been mostly theoretical in the pre-war CMF, musicians in the AIF found that this position often put them in the frontline under fire. Wartime necessity also found musicians serving in other roles, some of which, like hospital orderlies, were related to the medical training they had seen as stretcher-bearers, while others, like drivers, riflemen and batmen (officer's servants), had little to do with the work they had been trained to do.

After the war, when the majority of hostilities-only recruits had been demobilised, a large-scale recruitment campaign was instigated to reorganise the army into a fulltime professional force. This included the introduction of formalised courses for bandmasters and drum majors, the training of apprentice musicians aged between 15 and 17 and the introduction of National Service. While musicians in the Korean War continued to work as stretcher-bearers, by
the time the ARA entered the Malayan Emergency musicians were performing more generalised tasks such as delivering supplies. This change was reflected in the training that apprentice musicians and new recruits received, which prepared them for more generalised military life instead of specifically as stretcher-bearers.

While the non-musical duties of musicians changed after the war, their musical duties were more static and, over time, efforts were made to further standardise musical training and performance. Many of the military marches used in ceremonial performances, and indeed the ceremonies themselves, were recognisable to veterans of World War I, and continue to be used by army bands today. During World War II these continuities were formalised with the introduction of standardised arrangements for ceremonial performances in The Australian Military Forces Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions. Although repertoire for entertainment performances continued to consist of popular and light classical music, this repertoire changed more rapidly with only a handful of the songs (mostly those from music theatre or light classical repertoire) still recognisable to audiences today. While the numbers of musicians in bands fluctuated with budgets and availability of personnel, army bands utilised brass band instrumentation (the most popular form of amateur music making in Australia at the time) throughout the whole of the time under discussion in this thesis.

Perhaps the most significant change for army bandsmen between 1930 and 1955 was their potential for a long-term career as military musicians. Prior to the war musicians could only serve in the CMF on a part-time basis and both prior to, and during the war their primary duty was stretcher-bearing with musical duties being fitted in around medical duties. The introduction of command bands meant that, for the first time, fulltime army personnel were recruited specifically for their musical prowess and worked primarily as musicians, with few other military duties. A new career structure was also introduced for Army musicians, providing them with regular promotions and pay rises, all the way from apprenticeship to retirement. This meant that, for the first time, musicians were able to concentrate solely on their musical skills, with the army providing a long-term, stable career, eventually leading to the highly trained, professional band corps that exists in the army in the 21st century.
Chapter 4: The Royal Australian Navy

I returned to the band mess. This part of the ship was to be my home for - how long? On one side was the inward sloping side of the ship, reinforced with steel ribs and round portholes, slightly bigger than a man’s head. Both ends of the mess and the fourth side were steel partitions. There was one doorway; the ceiling was a tangle of straight and twisted pipes carrying air ventilation, fuel and water and communication to the entire length of the ship. These were used at night to sling our hammocks. A long trestle table, firmly screwed to the deck, accommodated the 12 bandsmen at meal times.
– Cedric Ashton (1997, 64)

At the start of the 1930s the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) was the most senior of Australia’s military forces. This chapter will show how the RAN led the way in changes to military finance structure and policy regarding musicians and how these affected the recruitment, training and working lives of bandsmen that took place between 1930 and 1955. The RAN was the first branch of the Australian military to begin building a long-term career structure for musicians and this chapter will examine whether these changes were successful in encouraging musicians to stay in the force after their initial term of service expired. It will also explore changes to musical training of bandsmen, as well as any changes to band structure, instrumentation and repertoire and will include changes and continuities in both entertainment and ceremonial performances. Comparing these various aspects of RAN musicians’ lives will enable me to assess how they managed the juxtaposition of working in a rapidly changing organisation, while at the same time providing consistent and traditional ceremonial performances aimed at reminding the civilian and military populace of the longstanding history and traditions of naval service.

While the Australian army at the beginning of the 1930s was primarily a part-time volunteer force, the RAN had been a fulltime, well-trained military force since 1911. Despite depression-era funding cutbacks, as a maritime nation, Australia’s defence force leaders, politicians and populace saw the navy, in conjunction with Britain’s Royal Navy (RN), as the nation’s frontline defence in the case of war or invasion (Odgars 1993, 108). This policy came in part from Australia’s status as an island nation and the British Empire’s long history of naval power (Avant 1994, 46), but it was also influenced by the nature of naval warfare. While armies can be quickly improvised, the same is not true of a large naval force:

... naval warfare has always been the most costly and demanding of all forms of war ... Warships were and still are the most complex and advanced of all artefacts. To build and operate them requires a mass of technical, industrial and professional skills, ashore and afloat, and a sophisticated system of management to mould them into an effective whole. Above all it requires long-term commitment, for sea power cannot be improvised. Ships can be constructed relatively quickly, but the skills and capabilities that make up an effective navy can only be built up with long years of investment (Rodger 1997, 430).
As the most senior member of the Australian defence forces, the RAN also had the most senior band service with the only military musicians in the country who were specifically recruited and trained to fill that role. Musicians were able to double on multiple instruments to perform variously as ceremonial (brass and woodwind), orchestral (string) and dance bands. RAN musicians were not only experienced musicians, they needed to be well-trained sailors with the technical skills to work in a 20th century warship. Their main non-musical role was as part of the gunnery team, finding ranges and targeting coordinates in the transmitting station. In order to maintain this highly trained band force, the RAN needed musicians who were willing and able to stay in the navy after their initial service period had expired. Making the RAN an attractive long-term career option for musicians was one of the main tasks facing the band service in the 1930s.

Pre-War: 1930-1938.

In Australia the depression brought naval activity almost to a standstill. In 1930 for reasons of economy the Naval College was moved from Jervis Bay to Flinders Naval Depot on Westernport Bay in Victoria. Recruiting ceased and in 1931 no cadets were enrolled at the College. Strength of the Permanent Forces fell to some 3250 and the Reserves to less than 6000 all ranks (Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 33).

Australian naval policy in the 1930s was strongly influenced by the Washington Treaty (1922)(Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 32). Signed at the end of World War I, at a time when the League of Nations was determined to begin a program of international disarmament, the treaty was designed to limit a build-up of armaments, like that which had occurred in the lead-up to World War I. The result was that Britain, the United States and Japan agreed to limit the size of their capital ship and aircraft carrier ratios to a 5:5:3 basis (Frame 2004, 138). Under the treaty, the RAN's fleet was considered part of the British Empire's fleet, which had to be limited to 50 ships in total (Nicholls 2012, 126). As a result, the flagship HMAS Australia, the first home of the RAN's only fulltime band, was scuttled off Sydney on 12 April 1924 (Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 32). By that time Australia had already been downgraded to non-operational status, primarily because of the high costs of maintaining the large battle cruiser (Nicholls 2012, 44, 52). The RAN band had been moved from Australia to the fleet's new (and much smaller) flagship, HMAS Melbourne, in 1921 (Himbury 2011, 35).

The RAN Band continued with only one fulltime ensemble, which served almost continuously aboard the flagship (Melbourne from 1921-1924, then Sydney 1924-1927) apart from a six-month training period on HMAS Brisbane in 1924 (Himbury 2011, 35). The RAN's fulltime musicians were the first military musicians in Australia to be recruited specifically for their musical prowess, giving the RAN more flexibility in the types of instrumentalists they employed. Not having to rely on readily available amateur brass band musicians, the RAN
instead based the instrumentation of their bands on those of the British Royal Marine Corps (RMC), from whom the RAN still seconded many senior players. These consisted of concert bands (with woodwind, brass and percussion instruments) with players doubling on string instruments to form small orchestral ensembles.

During this time, the RAN found that many of their bandsmen were unwilling to re-sign with the navy after their original 12-year service period had ended. One of the factors discouraging bandsmen from re-joining the RAN, was that up to five years at a time could be spent serving on the flagship with no extended shore leave (Himbury 2011, 31-2). In 1927, due to a shortage of bandsmen, the Naval Board allowed some musicians to enlist for a minimum of five years instead of the usual 12. This reduction was only approved for applicants who were either above the normal maximum age for enlistment, but otherwise found suitable, or for bandsmen who joined the RAN already able to play two instruments to a high standard, and who did not, therefore, require musical training by the navy (Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927, in a letter dated 26 November 1926).

In 1927 a fulltime band was formed at HMAS *Cerberus* (formally Flinders Naval Base) in Westernport outside of Melbourne under the baton of recently retired RMC Bandmaster 1st Class Edward Plant Snook (Himbury 2011, 39). The band consisted of one bandmaster, one band corporal and 16 bandsmen (see Figure 41)(Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927). The creation of this band fulfilled three main requirements of the RAN. Firstly, it provided a pool of musicians who were “interchangeable” with those serving on the flagship, allowing for “a fair share of harbour and sea service for all band ratings,” which until that point had been “impossible” (Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927). In other words, bandsmen would now be able to rotate regularly between serving on board ship, and at bases in Australia, allowing them more regular contact with friends and family. Secondly, the band would provide musical services for parades, functions and ceremonies on the base. HMAS *Cerberus* was primarily a training base, and the unnamed Captain Superintendent of Training stated that a band:

> … would very considerably improve the general effect of all ceremonial parades, route marching, divisions, etc., and add enormously to the efficiency and general bearing of all ratings under training (Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927).

---

1 The policy of not providing extended shore leave seems to have been a hangover from the 19th-century RN practice of pressganging. Sailors who had been forcibly entered into the navy via pressganging were likely to abscond if given extended shore leave and it seems that leave policy for bandsmen had not been amended since this time (Berckman 1973, 17-18).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Doubling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bb Cornet</td>
<td>Violins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Piccolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bb Clarinet</td>
<td>Violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Eb Clarinet</td>
<td>Viola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Euphonium</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Baritone</td>
<td>‘Cello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Eb Bombardon (tuba)</td>
<td>String Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bb Tenor Trombones</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>G Bass Trombone</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 41:** The Instrumentation of HMAS *Cerberus* Band, circa 1927  
(Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927)

Thirdly, the *Cerberus* Band could form “the nucleus of a School of Music,” providing musical and naval training for new bandsmen recruits who had hitherto been trained either on board the flagship, or in England at the Royal Naval School of Music (Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927). This new band signalled a marked change in both the lives of RAN musicians, who could now be sure of regular postings to Melbourne to connect with family and friends, and more generally to RAN members working and training at HMAS *Cerberus* who would now have access to regular performances on base. These included ceremonial performances for events like graduation parades and funerals and marking *Colours* and *Beating Retreat* (marking the start and end of the working day, equivalent to *Reveille* and *Taps* in the army), as well as entertainment performances like mess room concerts and performances at the base’s cinema.

As well as musical training, bandsmen at *Cerberus* were also trained in fire control, physical training and squad drill without arms, as well as:

> Certain other duties ... such as the cleanliness of Fire Control room and instruments and other extraneous duties as considered necessary and desirable (Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927).

The members of the fulltime band serving on shore at HMAS *Cerberus* were kept busy with a rigorous timetable of performances and rehearsals with both ceremonial and entertainment performances being a part of daily life on base. Their standard day consisted of:

- 08.00 Colours (ceremonial performance)
- 09.00 Divisions (ceremonial performance)
- 09.30-11.00 Rehearsals (with marching practice on Wednesdays)
12.15 Dinner Hour concert for Ship's company (entertainment performance)
19.00 Performance for Ward Room Mess or Pictures (entertainment performance)

The band also participated in ceremonial performances for divisions and church services on Sundays (Royal Australian Navy 1918-1927).

So by 1930, the RAN had two fulltime bands, one on board the newly commissioned flagship, HMAS Australia II, and one in harbour at HMAS Cerberus. The RAN also had a number of volunteer, part-time bands made up of regular members of the navy. As well as volunteer bandsmen, the RAN also featured ‘seaman buglers’ and ‘seaman drummers’, who were responsible for providing musical signals on board ships and at bases. The terms ‘seaman bugler’ and ‘seaman drummer’ were not formal ranks, and were not mentioned in members’ military records; instead they referred to duties carried out by the men in other ranks (for example, able seamen) who provided drum and bugle signals. Seaman buglers and drummers were also used to fill out the band during ceremonial performances.

Volunteer bands were formed on ships or at bases that did not have their own fulltime RAN band. Like the fulltime bands, volunteer bands provided music for official RAN parades and ceremonies, and at more informal events like balls. Unlike the fulltime bands, they relied on volunteers who were willing and able to spend their spare time rehearsing and performing. This was true not just for the musicians, but for bandmasters and drum majors as well. As a result, many bands were formed and disbanded as the personnel became available and were then moved on. By 1939 the Naval Reserve Districts of Queensland, New South Wales, Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania each had one volunteer band, while Victoria had two, one in Port Melbourne and one in Williamstown (Royal Australian Navy 1938-1939).

In the 1930s, the RAN's volunteer or Bluejacket bands were very similar to the regimental bands of the army’s Citizen Militia Forces (CMF). Like regimental bands, Bluejacket bands were made up of volunteers already serving in the forces. Relying as they did on volunteer musicians, the majority of these bands were brass bands, reflecting the most popular form of organised, amateur music making at the time, although some consisted of drum and bugle corps which could fill out an official band on parade (Himbury 2011, 21). Their volunteer status was reflected in the uniforms they wore, usually the standard “square rig” service uniform of the navy, rather than specific ceremonial performance uniforms (Himbury 2011, 122-123). In contrast, full-time RAN Bandsmen wore ceremonial uniforms based on those of the RMC (see Chapter 2)(Himbury 2011, 122).

Volunteer bands also often participated alongside CMF bands in military band competitions. For example, in 1934 the Royal Australian Naval Reserve (RANR) Williamstown Band competed in a regimental band contest held at the 15th annual Navy, Army and Air Force competitions in Victoria (Anon 1934a, 32).
They came in last place against five regimental CMF bands. Likewise in 1938 the Fremantle Naval Band came second behind the City of Perth 11/16 Battalion Band in the Fremantle Week competitions (Dotted Note 1938, 18).

Discovering specific RAN band repertoire for the 1930s has been particularly difficult. There are no surviving veterans able to remember 1930s repertoire and to the best of my knowledge there are no memoirs of deceased veterans who served at this time, nor have I been able to find any concert programs from the 1930s. Instead I have relied on contemporary newspaper articles that occasionally mention specific repertoire. One of the limitations with this method is that, in the absence of programs, reporters could only recognise songs that they were already familiar with, meaning that more obscure repertoire is missing from these accounts.

Marches used by the RAN included those that specifically referenced naval life such as *Life on the Ocean Wave* (Russell), *On the Quarterdeck* (Alford) and march arrangements of naval airs including *Nancy Lee* (Adams)(Anon 1937d, 13). Just as each army regiment had its own regimental march, each RAN ship also had its own march. HMAS *Canberra’s* march was the well-known Australian song *Waltzing Matilda* (attributed to Macpherson), HMAS *Australia* had *Advance Australia Fair* (Dodds McCormick), which would become Australia’s official national anthem in 1984 and HMAS *Sydney II* had *Cocos Island* (composer unknown)(Anon 1937d, 13). *Cocos Island* was written specifically for HMAS *Sydney II* to commemorate the sinking of the German light cruiser SMS *Emden* by the HMAS *Sydney I* at Cocos Island during World War I. The song was written by an unknown employee of British ship builders Swan Hunter while the *Sydney II* was being built. The ship building company purchased and registered the song before donating it to the RAN for the sole use of the HMAS *Sydney II* band (Anon 1937d, 13).

Other ceremonial music such as the *Last Post* was similar to army arrangements, although the RAN was the only arm of the forces to perform a “harmonised version” of the *Last Post* for full band (as opposed to solo bugle) at this time (Anon 1934b, 9). Hymns for ceremonial performances also featured music that was easily recognisable to audiences and included *Oh God Our Help in Ages Past* (Watts)(*Sydnia*’ 1930, 41-2).

Repertoire for RAN entertainment performances in the 1930s has proved to be even more elusive than that of ceremonial performances. They featured light classical, popular music and repertoire from music theatre including *For He’s a Jolly Good Fellow* (traditional)(Anon 1935, 3). As with ceremonial music, entertainment repertoire also included music that specifically referenced naval life including *The Death of Nelson* (Braham)(Anon 1934b, 9).

The flagship band served aboard HMAS *Australia II* at the start of the 1930s, but was transferred to HMAS *Canberra* in 1931 before being returned to *Australia II* in 1935. During the first half of the 1930s the RAN squadron kept up a program of exercises that took them up and down the east coast of Australia. This program was not only designed to keep the squadron well trained, but was also
timed to take advantage of the seasons and to coincide with major social events around the country (Stevens 2001, 83). As one of the major public relations arms of the RAN, the flagship band was kept busy performing at a range of such events at each destination. The annual timetable was laid out thus:

The squadron traditionally started the year with the Regatta in Hobart. The competition helped bond the newly formed ships’ companies into teams after the summer leave and posting period. Then, for three months the ships would exercise off the Tasmanian coast, spending most weekends in Hobart. In June, the squadron returned to Sydney for winter leave before sailing for Brisbane to participate in the Agricultural Show festivities. After Brisbane, it would exercise in the congenial waters of Hervey Bay in Queensland before the ships were despatched on independent cruises. In November, the squadron returned south and assembled in Melbourne for ‘the Cup’ (Stevens 2001, 83).

Funding for the navy increased in the late 1930s, just as it had in the army, as Australia’s place on the war-peace continuum marched towards conflict. Between 1935 and 1939 the RAN increased its complement of Light Cruisers from one (HMAS *Adelaide*, built during World War I) to four. The RN transferred three modified Leander Class Light Cruisers to the RAN, the HMAS *Hobart*, HMAS *Perth* and HMAS *Sydney II* (Himbury 2011, 39). Each of these new ships was to be allocated a 12-piece band (see Figure 42)(Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936). The twelve musicians on each ship were made up of one bandmaster, one band corporal and ten bandsmen. On the face of it, recruiting 36 musicians for fulltime, paid performing work should have been relatively easy, especially during the Great Depression, however the man charged with the task, Warrant Officer Bandmaster Frank Cockshead encountered considerable difficulties in filling the vacancies (Himbury 2011, 40). In the next section I will examine the difficulties he faced, and the reasons behind them via a detailed discussion of the recruiting process for one of the three light cruisers, HMAS *Sydney II*. I will focus on the recruitment of the HMAS *Sydney II* Band, as the recruitment process for this band is particularly well documented in the archival record in comparison to the other light cruisers purchased during the 1930s, HMA Ships *Hobart* and *Perth*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship/Base</th>
<th>Officers (Bandmasters, Band Corporals)</th>
<th>Ratings (Bandsmen)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flinders Naval Depot</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMAS <em>Australia II</em> (flagship)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMAS <em>Canberra</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMAS <em>Hobart</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMAS <em>Perth</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMAS <em>Sydney II</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 42: Fulltime Bands in the RAN, circa 1936.*
Pre-War Recruits – HMAS *Sydney II*

Launched in 1934, the HMAS *Sydney II*’s first voyage commenced in September 1935, taking her from Britain to Australia (Olson 2002, 3). Her crew was waiting to meet her, having been sent from Australia on HMAS *Brisbane*. With the rapid expansion of bands after the commissioning of three light cruisers, there were no existing band recruits available for transfer to the new ship (Royal Australian Navy 1938-1939).

The first recruitment advertisements appeared in August 1934 with the hope that the band could start basic training in January 1935 (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936). They could then board *Brisbane* on 1 April, and meet *Sydney* in England in September. By December, one month before the start of training, the RAN had not recruited a single musician, and now required 14 recruits for the 12-man band (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936). The extra two musicians were to be added to the ‘wastage pool’ at HMAS *Cerberus*. The wastage pool was part of a new system that provided extra musicians at bases and was a marked change in the lives of RAN musicians, allowing them to be rotated to shore duty regularly to spend time with family for the first time. Bandsmen in the wastage pool were assigned to the shore base HMAS *Cerberus* in excess to that base’s band requirements, this allowed these members to be transferred to ships’ bands to relieve other members of that band on a rotating basis to allow each member adequate shore leave. There was also no one within the pre-war RAN qualified to be advanced to bandmaster, and no mechanisms in place to provide such training (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936).

Basic training, which was supposed to be completed for all new RAN recruits, began as scheduled in January 1935, with the band still short a bandmaster, one band corporal, one bandsman and two wastage. Recruiting continued throughout basic training and the last bandsman was appointed just a week before HMAS *Brisbane* departed, and presumably received little basic training (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936). The bandmaster’s position was harder to fill, with a British RMC bandmaster eventually being seconded into the RAN. When the band left to meet *Sydney* in England, the wastage pool was still short two members, but this would not become an issue until the ship returned to Australia and shifts were rotated.

One of the difficulties that the RAN faced in recruiting bandsman was that the navy was looking for some very specific types of musicians to join their light cruisers’ bands. Each ship was to have a 12-man band, capable of playing as three distinct ensembles, a ceremonial (wind) band, an orchestral (string) band and a dance band. In order to do this, the RAN needed to recruit musicians who could double on specific combinations of instruments. Figure 43 shows the RAN’s musician recruiting categories for HMAS *Sydney II*. Note that since the formation of the first official band at HMAS *Cerberus* in 1927, a number of these categories have changed (see Figure 41). By 1936 saxophones have been added to enable formation as a dance band, and clarinettists are required to double on alto saxophone instead of violin. As a result, there was an overall decrease in the
number of strings used in the orchestral band, with A clarinets being used in place of some of the violins. Some categories, such as B flat and A clarinet, doubling on alto saxophone, were relatively common, but others were harder to find. In the 1930s, as in the 21st-century, musicians who could play saxophone and violin; tenor horn, violin and piano; or euphonium and 'cello were uncommon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musicians</th>
<th>Ceremonial Band</th>
<th>Orchestral Band</th>
<th>Dance Band</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Conductor</td>
<td>Conductor</td>
<td>Conductor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Solo Bb Clarinet</td>
<td>A Clarinet</td>
<td>Eb Alto Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Solo Bb Clarinet</td>
<td>A Clarinet</td>
<td>Eb Alto Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bb Tenor Saxophone</td>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>Bb Tenor Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Solo Bb Cornet</td>
<td>Solo Bb Cornet</td>
<td>Solo Bb Cornet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Solo Bb Cornet</td>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>Bb Cornet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bb Cornet</td>
<td></td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Eb Tenor Cornet</td>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>Piano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Euphonium</td>
<td>'Cello</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Eb Bass (Tuba)</td>
<td>String Bass</td>
<td>String Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>Drums</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 43:** Recruitment Categories, HMAS *Sydney II* Band (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936).

The RAN took these recruitment categories from the British RMC band service (Trendall 1978, 49). However unlike the RAN, the RMC did not try to recruit musicians who could *already* play those instruments, instead using them to decide which second study instrument new recruits should be trained to play. As was discussed in Chapter 2, RMC band recruits undertook training at the Royal Naval School of Music (RNSM). Training at the RNSM began when boys were 14 years old and included training in both a wind and a string instrument as well as elementary music theory and harmony. Non-musical training included infantry drill, physical training, swimming, musketry and general education (Trendall 1990, 39). Some British boys began their military careers even before they reached the minimum recruitment age of 14, with the *Arethusa* Training Ship in Kent providing boys with a full-time naval and musical education from as young as nine years old (Archie Burt, personal communication 2012; Anon

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1 The original recruitment requests outlined in the NAA’s records ask for a tenor cornet, this would be an unusual addition to a band of this size and is probably a misprint for the more common tenor horn. As time went on, however, and recruiting proved to be more difficult than expected, attempts were made to recruit trombone or baritone players to fill this position. (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936).
1932-1933). The above categories determined which instrument a new recruit should be allocated as a second study. For example, a tuba player was automatically taught double bass during his training. With three months between the start of basic training and the departure of HMAS Brisbane, the RAN had no time to teach recruits to play their second study, nor did it have the facilities. While a school of music did exist at HMAS Cerberus, it was not equipped to train musicians from scratch; instead it was designed to help them to brush up on skills specific to military music including marching and duty calls. In 1935 it did not even have a dedicated music classroom (Royal Australian Navy 1939-1940).

There were also non-musical requirements making recruiting musicians more difficult. To meet these requirements recruits had to be male, aged 17 to 35 and medically and dentally fit. They had to be willing to sign up for a minimum of 12 years, and to serve on board ship for long periods of time. The minimum sign-up period of 12 years had been instituted across the whole of the RAN in the hopes of attracting “a more stable type of person” who saw working in the navy as a long-term career (Nicholls 2012, 41). Unfortunately the RAN’s band service had no formal long-term career structure for musicians to follow. New recruits were expected to work for below minimum wage and the only way for RAN musicians to obtain pay raises was to qualify as band corporals or bandmasters. However these positions were strictly limited to two band corporals and one bandmaster per band. As a result, the average pay raise for RAN musicians was 11 pence over 12 years of service (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939). If the RAN wanted to meet its goal of increasing the size of its band service along with the size of its fleet, it needed to find a way to encourage more musicians to join the navy.

Recruiting Solutions

Archival documents show that RAN musicians were aware that the navy’s band policy was limiting recruitment and retention of musicians well before 1930 (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939). With the help of the Lower Deck Welfare Committee (LDWC) musicians had been lobbying for better pay and conditions since 1921. They requested two changes: a decrease in the minimum sign up periods from 12 to five years and an increase in pay rates and rank to make them ‘artisans’. Other ‘artisans’ included carpenters, plumbers and engineers who received extra pay in recognition of their qualifications. Musicians received similar pay rates to untrained cooks and stokers (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939).

These requests were denied by the Department of Defence on the grounds that becoming a skilled musician did not take as much training as becoming a plumber, as an unnamed officer stated in the minutes of a 1930 Department of Defence inquiry, the ability to “play one instrument - cannot be compared with the 5 year trade apprenticeship” (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939). This attitude was often repeated by pre-war RAN officers when discussing musician’s pay rates in the archival record, the idea that these pay rates should reflect a musician’s skill was dismissed as “the false doctrine that because a man is a
skilled individual he must hold a substantive rate” (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939). In the archival records, ‘being a musician’ is not referred to as a trade; instead the ‘ability to play an instrument’ is discussed by (usually unnamed) officers as the only required skill for band service (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939). This ignores the fact that RAN musicians had to be proficient on multiple instruments, musically literate, able to play in various genres and on the march. It also overlooked skills like conducting, teaching, instrument repair, composing and arranging which were often required of band members.

When their original requests were denied on the grounds that being a musician was not a skilled occupation, the LDWC tried another tack. They demonstrated a difference in skill level between musicians, suggesting that in lieu of promotions in rank, regular pay increases would give musicians a career structure and encourage them to not only join the navy, but to stay after their original service period expired. They requested all musicians sit an efficiency test in music and relevant naval skills after six months, with successful candidates receiving a pay rise, and incremental pay rises every three years for the first 12 years of service (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939). This request had been granted in 1930, nine years after lobbying began, but was not implemented in the way the musicians had expected. Instead of raising pay rates for anyone who had passed the test, they lowered it by five shillings a week for anyone who had not passed. This was presumably done in an attempt to save money. Since the test was yet to be devised, let alone implemented, the entire band corps was suddenly demoted. Unsurprisingly there were immediate calls from musicians and their ships’ captains to implement the test, allowing qualified musicians to resume their former pay rates. A test was eventually devised that included a minimum six months service, the ability to pass an exam on two instruments, or one as a soloist and knowledge of fire control instruments (Royal Australian Navy 1921-1939). Recruited in 1934-5, musicians on the Sydney II became some of the first musicians to join the navy under this new system. This new test provided a marked change in the lives of military musicians, eventually becoming the basis for the modern Australian military musician qualification system, whereby musicians are given ‘trade tests’ at regular intervals, the successful completion of which qualifies them for an increase in pay and/or rank.

The RAN's bandsmen's training did not significantly change during the 1930s, but a number of methods were found to increase the pool of qualified recruits. Firstly, the recruitment categories were relaxed, so that, for example, the requirement for someone to double on 'cello and euphonium, became a request for a musician to double on "Violin cello and a Wind Instrument" (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936). Secondly, bandmasters and other senior band members were often seconded from the British RMC, and finally, volunteer 'bluejacket' buglers and drummers supplemented band numbers on parade (Royal Australian Navy 1934-1936). A requisition request was placed in 1939 to improve the HMAS Cerberus band storeroom to create a "silent classroom" for the school of music, however these plans seem to have been shelved with the outbreak of World War II (Royal Australian Navy 1939-1940).
As the RAN increased its fleet size in the lead up to war, it also increased the size of its band corps. By the time war broke out in September 1939, the RAN had six fulltime bands (one on shore at HMAS Cerberus, and a band on each of the cruisers Australia and Canberra and light cruisers, Sydney, Hobart and Perth) and seven volunteer bands spread across smaller ships and bases (Royal Australian Navy 1938-1939).

**World War II: 1939-1945**

*We went to join the navy*  
*Walking up on air*  
*Waltzing into Flinders*  
*Thought we were nearly there.*

*Chorus*  
*But now that the time has come to pass*  
*You can stick the navy up your arse.*  
*We signed away our freedom*  
*We signed away our souls*  

*We never heard of jaunties*  
*Never heard of rounds,*  
*Never knew the wrennery*  
*Was out of bloody bounds*  
-Song sung by WWII RAN Sailors (Page 1973, 18-19)

When war broke out in September 1939 the RAN had two heavy cruisers (Australia and Canberra), four light cruisers (Adelaide, Hobart, Perth and Sydney), five destroyers (Stuart, Waterhen, Vampire, Vendetta and Voyager) and three sloops (Moresby, Warrego and Swan) (Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 33). The RAN had a permanent force of 5440, including the Emergency and Retired lists, giving the RAN had the largest number of permanent members at the outbreak of the war of any of the three forces (army, navy and air force) (Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 33). This reflected the “… bipartisan political recognition that the surrounding seas offered Australia the best protection against a possible Japanese invasion, (and that) a strong navy would be needed to protect its trade” (Frame 2004, 148).

In researching the RAN during World War II, it is noticeable that the archival sources covering RAN bands at the NAA are far more comprehensive than those of the army. This is due to the fact that fulltime RAN bands were an official part of the navy hierarchy, centrally funded on a national level, unlike regimental army bands that were raised from interested troops and funded at the regimental level. Even the Royal Australian Naval Reserve (RANR) volunteer bands were funded and supplied by their overseeing Naval Districts (one per state) rather than at a local level. This has meant that a greater percentage of the documentation travelled through official channels, and therefore has survived in the NAA. The RAN had also had far fewer bands than the army (seven fulltime
and seven part-time bands, as opposed to the army's 65 regimental bands) making individual bands easier to track, locate and compare (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003, 413).

The military records of individual RAN bandsmen are also much easier to identify than their wartime army and air force counterparts because their rank reflected their musician status. While army musicians held generalist ranks as privates, corporals and warrant officers, navy musicians were clearly identified as bandsmen, band corporals and bandmasters. This is only true of those trained musicians serving as members of fulltime bands. Volunteer bandsmen, seaman drummers and seaman buglers only had honorary titles that do not appear in their military records, making them as stubbornly invisible to researchers as their army equivalents. Seaman drummers and seaman buglers had separate messes to band members, and did not rehearse with them (Griffith, personal communication 2011).

While the archival evidence of World War II RAN bands is more comprehensive than that of army bands, there are fewer surviving servicemen available to take part in research studies such as this one. This is a result of the smaller number of musicians serving in the RAN, combined with their high mortality rate during the war (the band corps had the highest percentage of deaths of any unit in the RAN)(Himbury 2011, 44). By the time this research was conducted there was only one surviving veteran of a World War II RAN band and I was fortunate enough to be able to interview him in his home in Queensland. Bandsman John (Jack) Griffith joined the RAN as a 17-year-old hostilities-only recruit in 1944 and served aboard HMAS Shropshire (which was given to the RAN by the RN to replace HMAS Canberra, sunk in 1942). Griffith’s recollections are complemented by two autobiographies written by World War II RAN Bandsman Cedric Ashton (1997; 2000), and by two broader navy band histories, written by retired navy musicians, Robin Himbury of the RAN (2011) and John Trendall of the RMC (1990).

When war broke out the RAN’s forces were quickly expanded in two ways, by calling up 4819 members of RANR for fulltime service and by providing training for a large number of hostilities-only recruits. This second group was to make up the majority of Australia’s wartime navy (Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 34). At its height, in 1945, the RAN grew to 39,650 members on active service, including 2617 members of the Woman’s Royal Australian Navy (WRAN) and 57 nursing sisters (Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 34). Hostilities-only recruits also increased the pool of quality musicians available to play in RAN bands, thus rapidly improving the musical standards of ensembles (Ashton 1997, 5). Among musicians who were well-known to audiences of Australian classical music to join the RAN at this time were Cedric Ashton (’cello and French horn) who played with the Monte Carlo Russian Ballet (Ballets Russes) during its Australian tours in the 1930s, the Sydney String Quartet and the Sydney Symphony orchestra (Ashton 1997, 1, 7; Ashton 2000, 28); Alan Wood (trumpet) who later worked as composer and arranger for the ABC Concert Band (Australian War Memorial n.d. a); Frank Ward (double bass) who had played with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra (Ashton 1997, 7); and Alan Rule
(clarinet) who played in the Perth Symphony Orchestra (later known as the Western Australian Symphony Orchestra) from 1949-1971 (Clarinet and Saxophone Society of Western Australia n.d.).

Not all of these newly recruited musicians volunteered for band service. Cedric Ashton originally applied to be a submariner but the 29-year-old was rejected as too old. Despite being a professional musician, he only agreed to join the band service after being assured that he would see active service aboard a cruiser (Ashton 1997, 2). When Jack Griffith joined the navy as a 17-year old hostilities-only recruit, he began with the rank of seaman 2nd class, but he was soon transferred into the band (Jack Griffith, personal communication 2011). Griffith was already an experienced young musician, having played baritone in the Hyde Street Youth Band in the Melbourne suburb of Footscray and winning the National Quartet prize at the Australian Brass Band Championships with three other members of the band before graduating to the Footscray City Band where he played cornet and later trumpet. He was playing an impromptu concert in the Seaman’s mess with his friend, saxophonist Jimmy Allen when they were overheard by the base’s bandmaster, Warrant Officer (later Bandmaster Lieutenant Commander) Frank Cockshead who, as Griffith recollects:

... came over and said “I need some musicians for the band ... I want you to join the band”.
And I said, “I don’t want to go in the band”.
And he said, “You haven’t got any choice”. And they transferred Jim and I to the band (Griffith, personal communication 2011).

The speed with which the RAN prepared their bandsmen for active service increased as the war continued. Both Ashton and Griffith completed their basic training at HMAS Cerberus. Ashton was trained in 1940, shortly after the outbreak of war. His initial training took three months and included training similar to that described in the pre-war era. Topics included “… Navy discipline and routine, then Fire Control instruction, which (came from) the Gunnery Department, swimming and life saving, and of course a lot of parade band and wardroom orchestra playing” (Ashton 1997, 5).

After the completion of his training, Ashton stayed at HMAS Cerberus for a further three months because the head of RAN band training, Warrant Officer Cockshead, wished to retain the services of the professional cellist and French horn player for the depot band (Ashton 1997, 6). He was only transferred to active service aboard HMAS Canberra after making a formal request to the base’s Gunnery Officer.

In contrast, 17-year-old Griffith was not eligible to join the military until 1944. By this time the small RAN Band service had already lost 16 members who had died of illness or injury, including the entire 12-piece band of the HMAS Sydney II who were lost at sea on 19 November 1941, and two members killed in the sinking of HMAS Perth on 20 February 1941. Nine members of Perth’s band, as well as two of their seaman buglers were also taken as prisoners of war (PoWs)
by the Japanese (Himbury 2011, 44-47). Griffith recalls that in the RAN's rush to re-fill their bands, much of his normal naval training was bypassed:

> Our training was marching, mainly. And they'd have divisions of a morning. So we'd have to march down to a parade ground, and with the seamen, once we got there, following us. We used to march around the parade ground, they'd do the salute and things like that ... We used to march around there, and then they'd have the divisions. So we would go back to the mess, so when we got back there, they would tell us what they had for the day. We'd go out in the firing range ... and we never learnt to tie knots ... the seamen did. We never did any of that. We never did any seamanship at all. The only thing we did was physical training ... and we used to do that and just climb up nets which you had to do if you're at sea in a harbour where you're not up alongside the wharf, you had to climb up and down these nets to get there (Griffith, Personal Communication 2011).

As a 17-year-old, Griffith was not initially eligible for active service, but less than a month after his 18th birthday, and only two months after joining the RAN he was transferred to serve overseas on HMAS *Shropshire*. He remembers "we were, as bandsmen, the fastest to go overseas of any division" (Griffith, Personal Communication 2011). The speed with which bandsmen were deployed was a result of the high percentage of casualties within the band service. Griffith recalls, "After I had been to my first overseas trip, I got back, and the fellows that were in the mess with us had not left Flinders Naval Depot (HMAS *Cerberus*)" (Griffith, Personal Communication 2011).

Coming of age also qualified him to advance in rank to bandsman 1st class. Although, as was shown in the previous section, during the 1930s the RAN had installed an exam to allow musicians to graduate to bandsman 1st class, this prerequisite seems to have been set aside during the war, as Griffith remembers qualifying automatically for the new rank as soon as he turned 18.

As with RAN bandsmen of the 1930s, World War II RAN bandsmen were expected to be able to change instrumentation to perform as a ceremonial (wind), orchestral (string) or dance (jazz) band (see Figure 43). Griffith was assigned the drums as his second study instrument at HMAS *Cerberus*, but he was never required to perform as a drummer during his time in the navy (Griffith, personal communication 2011). While on board *Shropshire* he was assigned to act as one of the ship's two buglers. This was unusual, given that this role was usually performed by seamen buglers, who did not train or rehearse with bandsmen (although they sometimes filled out band ranks in ceremonial performances). However when one of *Shropshire*'s buglers was reassigned, Griffith was given the job. Not having trained as a bugler, Griffith was left to his own devices to learn the required signals but he "... learnt them quickly, very, very quickly because you would hear the buglers at Flinders Naval Depot playing them, and all you did was to copy it, simple as that. But I knew all calls ...” (Jack Griffith, personal communication 2011).
The band’s musical duties while at sea were limited to ceremonies when entering or leaving harbour, church services and concerts while in harbour. Regular Sunday church services were held in the torpedo bay,\(^1\) with the band playing hymns. Larger services on special occasions, and performances for entering or leaving harbour were held on the quarterdeck (see Figure 44).

![Image](https://example.com/image.png)

**Figure 44:** Church Service aboard HMAS *Sydney II*, 1941. The band can be seen in the foreground, with their backs to the camera. Bandmaster Stear conducting. (Photo courtesy of the Australian War Memorial)

As with the pre-war era, information on specific RAN band repertoire is scarce. Griffith remembers that his band “... had a selection of about 30 or 40 marches in total ...” including *Our Director* (Bigelow) and *Colonel Bogey* (Alford), (Griffith, personal communication 2011). Despite the fact that the RAN featured wind bands, Griffith recalls, “We used to have all the marches ... that came out of the army, out of brass band arrangements”(Griffith, personal communication 2011). Ashton remembers playing *Colonel Bogey* for his first harbour-leaving ceremony on board HMAS *Canberra* in 1941, while Griffith played *Waltzing Matilda* (McPherson) in his first ceremony on HMAS *Shropshire* in 1944 (Ashton 1997, 8; Griffith unpublished memoir). As well as performing marches for parades and harbour-leaving ceremonies, Griffith also found himself performing for troops in combat, as the HMAS *Shropshire* band played the march arrangement of *Waltzing Matilda* as Australian army troops disembarked from their troopship on the shores of Japanese-occupied Balikpapan on 1 July 1945 (see Figure 26)(Griffith, unpublished memoir).

As was shown in the previous section, the RAN had been the first of the Australian services to feature full band arrangements of the *Last Post* for military ceremonies (as opposed to bugle solos). Commemorations at the end of

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\(^1\) The torpedo bay was a large area below decks in which torpedoes were fed into tubes ready for firing. When not in action this area could be cleared to make room for church services, performances and other gatherings.
the war saw the navy introduce a new full-band arrangement for the *Last Post* and an arrangement for *Reveille*, both written by RAN Bandmaster Harry Blaskett. This arrangement was first performed at a memorial service for HMAS *Australia* sailors killed in the battles of Leyte and Lingayen. The ceremony was held at Martin Place in Sydney. Griffith and his colleague Gordon ‘Curly’ Ball played the bugle solos at this first performance. At the time of writing, these arrangements were still in use for RAN ceremonial performances (Griffith, unpublished memoir).

For entertainment performances, band arrangements of popular music were still being used, Griffith remembers playing the Australian favourite *Click Go the Shears* (traditional) as well as arrangements of music made famous by Glenn Miller and Vera Lynn including *We’ll Meet Again* (Parker and Charles).

Early in the war, before Japan entered the conflict, Australian cruisers were mostly “... engaged in long patrols looking for enemy raiders or else escorting fast troopship convoys to the South Atlantic, the Middle East and later to Singapore or thereabouts” (Ward 1988). These long patrols without reaching harbour meant that bandsman had little chance to perform, given the RAN’s policy of “No playing at sea” (other than church services and official ceremonies)(Ashton 1997, 7). However, after Japan entered the war, the RAN began a process of “island hopping”, which left many ships at bases in the Pacific, except when on exercises or operations (Ward 1988). This policy resulted in sailors having more free time, and thus bands were utilised giving concerts to keep the men entertained. Griffith remembers that while in port they would give daily concerts between 1200 and 1400 hours in the torpedo space. These entertainment concerts, playing arrangements of popular and light classical music would regularly have audiences of “100s of appreciative sailors” from the *Shropshire’s* complement of 1280 (Griffith, unpublished memoir).

While members of the band had few playing duties at sea, they were kept busy with non-musical duties in the transmitting station. During voyages, members of the band were responsible for working in the transmitting station, with six of the 12 band members on duty on each shift (Ashton 2000, 64). Duty shifts were four hours on, four hours off, with two hour dog watches, however during action stations, shifts could be as long as 12 hours (Griffith, personal communication 2011). In the transmitting station bandsmen worked under the gunnery officers. The transmitting station is a room on the bottom deck of the ship where the calculations are performed to accurately target the guns:

> In naval warfare, Allied and enemy ships are constantly moving targets for each other ... The T.S. (Transmitting Station) was created to solve the following complex problems. Two warships are ten to twelve miles apart,

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1 Dog watches are watches between 1600 and 2000 hours (4pm-8pm). These are half the length of normal watches, with first dog watch lasting from 1600-1800 hours, and last dog watch from 1800-2000 hours. These shorter watches serve two purposes, firstly they create an uneven number of watches each day, allowing the crew to rotate through different watches instead of one group having to remain on duty every night. It also allows both watches to have their evening meal at around the traditional time.
when about to engage in action. The spotting officer on the bridge, and
the rangefinder, send down to the T.S. the estimated range, speed and
inclination opening or closing rate of the enemy ship. (Observe that a
shell fired will take approximately twenty to thirty seconds to travel 10
to 12 miles). These factors together with wind speed and direction, roll
of the ship, spin of the shell, etc are all fed in the T.S. table. This
information is resolved simply for the gun turret crews – into gun
elevation and gun traverse – by following clock face pointers (Ashton
1997, 14).

When HMAS Canberra was sunk at Savo Island in 1942 the RN donated a
replacement ship, HMAS Shropshire, to the RAN. The transmitting station on
board the new Shropshire featured the latest technology – radar. When her new
crew was sent to England to bring the ship home to Australia, the bandsmen’s
skills were bought up to date with a Radar Course conducted at the RN’s
Chatham Naval Base (Ashton 1997, 18). This new technology gave Shropshire
one of the best firing records in the fleet and as a result she was designated as
the warning alert ship for the combined Allied fleet in the Pacific (Ashton 1997,
20). The musicians aboard HMAS Shropshire may have been responsible for
maintaining the navy’s most traditional ceremonies, but they also operated
some of its most advanced technological equipment.

When Griffith joined the crew of HMAS Shropshire in 1944, the transmitting
station already had a full complement and so he was stationed elsewhere in the
gunnery section, in the after director. The after director, situated on the top
deck, half way up the mast, was a small room, holding three crew members.
Griffith manned the range to elevation deflection unit. His job was to receive
targeting instructions from the transmitting station and to aim the gun
appropriately, using three sets of dials (Griffith, personal communication 2011).
At the Battle of Balikpapan in July 1945, accurate targeting became even more
vital than usual, as the Shropshire had to shoot over the top of Allied prisoners of
war to reach the Japanese soldiers stationed behind them. The men took great
pride in the ship’s 100 per cent targeting success rate (Griffith, personal
communication 2011).

Griffith remembers the after director as becoming “terribly, terribly hot” while
under fire in the tropics. The men were made even more uncomfortable by the
heavy "anti-flash gear" made of asbestos which they wore protect them from the
noise and heat of the guns. They also faced another threat, unknown to them at
the time, of the gun’s concussion causing their asbestos heat-protection to
splitter. Griffith explains, “... when the 8-inch (guns) went off, because we had
no air conditioning, and the asbestos pipes, all the dust would come down on
everybody, we had quite a few men die of asbestosis ... ” (Griffith, personal
communication 2011).

When action stations were called, the men had three minutes to reach their
allotted positions. By then end of the war, attacks had become so regular that
the bandmen dispensed with their hammocks, which took too long because:
... once you roll in those hammocks, you couldn’t get out to your action station, and you couldn’t get out fast enough ... we used to sleep on tables, on the couch that ran alongside in the mess, underneath lockers, on the floor ... and that was the way that we slept, and you’d sleep with bloody cockroaches running over you all night, you know, it was terrible ...
(Griffith, personal communication 2011)

Once the bandsmen arrived at their stations, the door was locked from the outside. Griffith remembers, “... you can’t get out, no way can you get out, and you just stay there until you’ve done your watch which was four hours ... but in action you could be in there for ten, 12 hours” (Griffith, personal communication 2011).

Casualties

Overall, the RAN band service suffered 19 fatalities during the war, including two who died as prisoners of war. This gives the band service the highest casualty rate pro rata of any branch in the RAN during World War II. While the names of army and air force bandsmen who were killed or injured during the war are impossible to quantify, the RAN’s policy of giving musicians specific ranks and their small number of bands makes their casualties easier to identify. All 12 members of HMAS Sydney’s band were declared missing in action when the ship disappeared in November 1941; the wrecked ship, their final resting place, was finally discovered in 2008 (Finding Sydney Foundation 2008). Two band members died in the sinking of HMAS Perth and a further two members of that band died as prisoners of war. Three more members died of illness while on active service (see Figure 45)(Himbury 2011, 46-7).

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Sydney</td>
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<td>Lost at Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Bandsman</td>
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<td>Sydney</td>
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<td>Lost at Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>S/N 8899</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 21511</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>19/11/1941</td>
<td>Lost at Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Desmond Tyler</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 22622</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>19/11/1941</td>
<td>Lost at Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent Warren</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 22985</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>19/11/1941</td>
<td>Lost at Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Ernest Douglass</td>
<td>Bandmaster</td>
<td>S/N 19529</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>28/02/1942</td>
<td>Lost at Sea – Battle of Sunda Strait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry William Freestone</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 19182</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>28/02/1942</td>
<td>Lost at Sea – Battle of Sunda Strait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnold Pearce Partington</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 22132</td>
<td>Canberra</td>
<td>06/04/1942</td>
<td>Illness - Appendicitis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Brown</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 15171</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>05/12/1943</td>
<td>Died while PoW in Burma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan Keith Dunstan</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 24862</td>
<td>Australia/Penguin (Garden Island)</td>
<td>31/12/1943</td>
<td>Illness - Septicaemia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Alfred Kelly</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 19225</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>20/01/1945</td>
<td>Died while PoW in Borneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Michael Briglia</td>
<td>Bandsman</td>
<td>S/N 25969</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>11/02/1945</td>
<td>Illness - Pancreatitis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 45:** RAN Band Service Fatalities During World War II.

The Japanese also captured eight members of HMAS Perth’s band during the sinking of their ship that took the lives of Bandmaster Walter Douglass and Bandsman Harry Freestone. Two more members of the band, Bandsmen Alfred Brown and Henry Kelly died during their incarceration (Himbury 2011, 44-5). Among the Japanese PoWs was Bandsman Kenneth Partington. He and his brothers Arnold and Leslie had joined the RAN Band Service prior to World War II. Kenneth was the only one of the brothers to return home alive (see Figure 45).
The fate of the RAN’s volunteer bandsmen and its seaman drummers and buglers is more difficult to quantify because, like their army and air force counterparts, their musical roles were not mentioned in their military records. Bugler Able Seaman Alan Gee was serving on HMAS *Perth* when she was sunk and was subsequently taken prisoner of war. While he was a PoW working on the Burma-Siam Railway Gee’s ceremonial duties continued, playing the *Last Post* over 1500 times for allied servicemen who succumbed to illness or injuries. On one particularly gruelling day he played at 33 funerals. Gee returned home, but lost 92% of his vision due to his imprisonment (Himbury 2011, 46). Two unnamed seaman drummers can be seen in a photo showing the HMAS *Sydney II* band in February 1941 (see Figure 46). In this picture the band is seen with their backs to the camera as Governor-General Lord Gowrie stands on the deck is addressing the crew. The two seaman drummers can be seen in the back row of the band (closest to the camera), on either side of the band’s official drummer. Their seaman status is obvious as they are dressed in whites instead of official band uniforms, which were navy blue to match those of the Royal Marine Corps bands. The straps of the seamen’s drum harnesses can clearly be seen on their shoulders. Unless these two unknown men were lucky enough to be transferred off the *Sydney II* between this photo being taken in February 1941, and the ship’s sinking in November of that year, their fate would have been the same as the other 645 crewmen lost without a trace in the ocean off Western Australia (see Figure 47).

*Figure 46*: The band aboard HMAS *Sydney II*, Feb 1941. The twelve-piece band can be seen in the foreground, standing between the guns with their backs to the camera. They are standing in two rows of five, with Bandmaster Stear at the front, and the band’s drummer at the back. Note the two seaman drummers in white sailor suits standing at the back of the band on either side of the band’s permanent drummer. (Photo courtesy of AWM.)
The lives of musicians in the RAN changed significantly with the outbreak of World War II. In the build-up to war the band service had been increased along with the size of the fleet, and pay and service conditions were improved. Once war broke out the fleet’s annual schedule of travelling to various Australian ports to take part in major social and sporting events rapidly changed to one of convoy missions and naval battles. As the war wore on, training periods for musicians were reduced as more bandmen were needed to replace those killed, injured or taken prisoner of war, so that by the time Jack Griffith was training in 1944, he noted "We never did any seamanship at all" (Griffith, Personal Communication 2011).

Despite the changes in the training, duties and lives of RAN musicians, their repertoire and performances barely changed at all, with band performances continuing to divide their musical work between ceremonial performances at church services, remembrance ceremonies and the like; and entertainment performances aimed at keeping up the morale of civilians and military personnel alike. The instrumentation of bands changed little during the war, with members of fulltime bands doubling to allow one group of musicians to form a ceremonial (wind), orchestral (string) and dance bands, while volunteer bands were made up of amateur brass band musicians. This divide was mirrored in the army in the difference between regimental and command bands that was beginning to form.

A total of 2,170 RAN personnel died during WWII and the service lost three cruisers, four destroyers, two sloops, three minesweepers (with a fourth being lost in post-war mine clearing operations) and 22 other miscellaneous vessels (Department of Defence [Navy] 1976, 40). The end of hostilities was to see the
RAN becoming involved as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) in Japan and the Pacific at while at the same time undergoing mass-demobilisation of hostilities-only recruits. The band corps would again have to make major changes to recruiting policies if it was to continue its strong presence within the RAN.

**Post War: 1946-1955**

At the end of World War II the power and experience of the Royal Australian Navy had reached an unprecedented level. During the war a most significant event had occurred. Historically the RAN had relied upon the Royal Navy to provide the chief of staff and flag officer commanding the Australian squadron. By 1945 this situation was completely transformed by the presence of a group of senior Australian-born and trained officers who had emerged from World War II with outstanding reputations for leadership (Firkins 1975, 220).

During World War II the ranks of both the RAN generally and the band service specifically had been bolstered by large numbers of hostilities-only recruits. At the end of the war these recruits began to demobilise. As with the army, demobilisation occurred gradually, based on a points system, however this process impacted the RAN less than the Australian army and the RAAF because the navy was the first to embark on a re-equipment program, beginning as early as 1946 (Firkins 1975, 221). This re-equipment program consisted in the main of developing a fleet air arm. This included procuring not only aircraft and the carriers to house them, but also men to serve as crews for the new vessels. At the same time the RAN was still heavily involved in the post-war clean-up as part of the British Commonwealth Occupying Force (BCOF) in Japan and the Pacific.

Resources used in researching the post-war RAN band service are much the same as those used for the RAN band service during the war. NAA and AWM records contain detailed information about the funding, recruiting and supplying of the band service generally as well as details specific to individual bands. Although he was an hostilities-only recruit, research participant Jack Griffith continued to serve during this period, as he was not demobilised until 1946. Ross MacNamara who joined the RAN in the second intake of boy musicians in 1951, also participated in fieldwork interviews. To their stories are added a memoir by Jim MacLeod (2011). Books by ex-navy musicians Robin Himbury (RAN)(2011) and John Trendall (RMC)(1990) continue to provide useful information on this era of Australian navy band history.

Post-war demobilisation caused a large decrease in both RAN bands and bandsmen. From a wartime high of seven fulltime bands (six on board cruisers, one on base at HMAS *Cerberus*), by November 1945 the RAN only had enough band ratings¹ to man two bands, one onshore at HMAS *Cerberus* and one on

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¹ Ratings are members of the military whose rank is below that of an officer.
board the flagship HMAS *Australia II* which was serving as part of the BCOF in Japan (Royal Australian Navy 1945-1946). With the RAN embarking on a re-equipping program, and the majority of the World War II band members being demobilised, the band service needed to recruit new personnel to serve on the new aircraft carriers (MacNamara, personal communication 2012).

Bandmaster Lieutenant Frank Cockshead was charged with recruiting new bandsmen. He advertised within RAN ranks for any recruits with musical experience and after conducting auditions between July 1945 and June 1946 found six suitable navy men consisting of one assistant cook, three ordinary seamen and two stokers (Himbury 2011, 51). On 1 October 1946 the rank of ‘bandsman’ was changed to that of ‘musician’ (Himbury 2011, 7). The unnamed RAN officers tasked with renaming bandsmen thought the term ‘musician’ sounded more professional and distinguished RAN musicians from civilian bandsmen playing in amateur brass bands.

In 1948, the same year that the RAN commissioned its first carrier HMAS *Sydney III* (Firkins 1975, 221), the band service broadened its recruiting strategies by creating a new rating, that of ‘recruit (musician-bugler)’ (Royal Australian Navy 1948). ‘Musician-buglers’ faced the same educational, age, health and fitness requirements as normal musicians; they had to have experience as a bugler but were not required to be able to play a band or orchestral instrument. The musical pre-requisites for a recruit (musician-bugler) were as follows:

> Candidates for this entry must have had bugling experience and be keen to continue with that instrument. They are to be informed that their advancement in the Musician Branch will depend on their being able and willing, after entry, to learn to read music and to play another musical instrument, for which facilities will be made available to them in the R.A.N. School of Music (Royal Australian Navy 1948).¹

This new rating was designed to encourage the recruitment of men who had learnt to play bugle signals in organisations like the cadets, scouts or in the military. Their initial lack of musical expertise would, presumably, be made up for with increased experience in military or paramilitary organisations. The recruitment of inexperienced musicians was made possible by the expansion of the RAN School of Music at HMAS *Cerberus*. Whereas in the past it had only existed to help experienced musicians brush up on military skills like marching, by 1950 every new recruit musician went through an intensive period of musical training.

In 1951 another band rating was added to the RAN to increase recruiting potential, that of boy musician (later junior musician) (See Figure 48) (Himbury 2011, 57). As with apprentice musicians in the army, the entry of boy musicians into the RAN bought younger recruits into the branch and allowed for the rapid expansion of bands. Boy musicians could originally begin fulltime training at

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¹ Underlining in original text.
16½, although this was later reduced to 15½. They enlisted for 18 months ‘Boys Time’ and a further six years from when they turned 18 (Himbury 2011, 55).

![Image](image.jpg)

**Figure 48:** Boy Musicians in Uniform. Date unknown, between 1951 and 1953. (From the private collection of Ross MacNamara.)

Boy Musicians’ recruitment was done on a state-by-state basis and the standard of musicianship required seems to have varied depending on where you were recruited. Ken Robertson was recruited in Melbourne after reading an advertisement in *The Sun*. He was told that “knowledge of music (was) advantageous” and was made to sit tests in arithmetic, dictation and musical ability (cited in Himbury 2011, 57-8), however I have not been able to find copies of this test, or references to the specific tasks required of potential recruits.

Ross MacNamara, on the other hand, was recruited in NSW, where there were no existing band officials to conduct examinations. He received physical and medical checks, but no musical examination whatsoever. He reflects that he had no musical experience to speak of: “I was lucky. Because in most cases – outside of New South Wales anyway – they interviewed them and they had some sort of musical exam. If that’d happened to me I wouldn’t have joined the navy” (MacNamara, personal communication 2012). MacNamara went on to become solo clarinettist in the RAN; however musical exams and basic entry criteria soon became standardised. Initial basic entry criteria for boy musicians (15½ to 17) were:

... to have a limited musical knowledge and a limited ability to play any instrument and have a high musical aptitude and potential. He then receives an intensive two year musical course and promotion to Ordinary Musician (Himbury 2011, 63).

A recruit musician (17 and above) was required to have, “... a satisfactory knowledge of music and be an efficient performer on any instrument and have a
high musical aptitude and potential. After three months training at the School of
Music, he is promoted to Ordinary Musician” (Himbury 2011, 63).

Upon joining the navy, both boy musicians and recruit musicians were required
to undergo three months of basic training in Recruit School, covering parade
training, boat work, first aid, fire fighting and naval organisational structure
(Himbury 2011, 56). They then went to the RAN School of Music at HMAS
Cerberus for practical and theoretical instruction. The boy musicians’ course
lasted two years while the recruit musicians studied for three months (Himbury
2011, 63). The boys and the recruits were trained and messed separately, to
protect the boys from undue influence of the men. The boys were allowed to
march behind the main band in parades at the school, and Ken Robertson, who
was in the original intake of six boys, remembers the pride he felt at these
moments:

   Every week day morning a recruit school parade was held on the parade
ground and the 6 Boy Musicians would fall in and march behind the band,
which was a wonderful experience at the time. Every Friday afternoon
the depot held divisions when all the ship’s company and recruits would
turn out for inspection and march past. We would be marched from the
annexe as a separate unit but fall in behind the band once the march past
commenced (cited in Himbury 2011, 58).

After completing their three-month basic training, boy musicians began an
intensive course of practical and theoretical musical instruction. For
MacNamara, who had no musical experience before joining the RAN, his two
years of training were a steep learning curve, but the isolation of life on HMAS
Cerberus was conducive to practise. Boy musicians only received four hours
leave each week, to be taken on a Saturday afternoon. For the rest of the week
they were:

   All the time in the same place, so you’d be practising all the time, and
once you started to learn, and got a little bit of an interest in it, you’d set
up little groups and play a little bit of Dixieland or something like that,
which must have sounded pretty bad, but anyway. That’s what you did.
And when you were at sea it was the same thing (MacNamara, personal
communication 2012).

By training their own musicians, rather than relying solely on people with
previous experience, the RAN was able to more closely fit in with the musical
requirements of its sister service, the Royal Marines Corps. Prior to the war, as
has been shown, the RAN struggled to find recruits able to double in ceremonial,
string and dance bands. Now that it had its own school of music at its disposal,
the RAN could train new recruits specifically to meet its own criteria just as the
RMC did (see Figure 49).
In comparison to the instrumental recruiting categories in the 1930s (see Figure 43), the range of instruments has increased, with oboe, cor anglais, bassoon and French horn being added to the instrumentation. This increase of instruments allowed a return to the extensive use of strings, with clarinettists returning to doubling on violin/viola (instead of saxophones), with specialist saxophonists (essential for a dance band) also doubling on string instruments.

After the war, the trade tests that had been implemented in the 1930s were expanded and improved so that they formed a series of graded promotions, each with an increase in both rank and pay. Upon completion of the two-year training period for boy musicians or three months for recruit musicians, band members qualified as ordinary musicians. Further periods of service made ordinary musicians automatically qualified for promotion to able rank musician (For ex-boy musicians this length of service was 33 months from date of entry or reaching 18½, whichever is later. For ex-recruits it was 21 months of service as an ordinary musician)(Himbury 2011, 63).

Musicians wishing to move even further up the ranks could apply to become leading musicians after 18 months as an able rank musician (this was briefly reduced to 12 months as an interim measure to bolster numbers). As well as length of service requirements, musicians applying for leading musician rank were required to pass tests on the “Power of Command and Responsibility of Higher Rank” and a practical musical examination (Himbury 2011, 63).

The expansion of the RAN School of Music also included the first Australian-based courses for promotion to bandmaster, which began in 1954. Prior to this time, candidates for these positions were either seconded from the British Royal Marine Corps, or promising Australian candidates were sent to the Royal Naval

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1 French horn players were also required to learn parade side drum, bass drum and cymbals for ceremonial parades.
School of Music in England. The most promising Australian musicians were still sent to England, but now the RAN was able to increase its pool of bandmasters by training them locally as well.

Musical duties changed slowly during this period, with RAN vessels continuing to serve in Japan as part of the BCOF. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, Jack Griffith was in Tokyo Bay aboard HMAS *Shropshire* to witness the signing of the peace treaty. As the crew’s duties moved from active war service to peace keeping duties, the band was increasingly called upon to keep them entertained as it had during the “island hopping” days early in the war in the Pacific. The torpedo bay was transformed into a make shift social area for rehearsals, church services and concerts:

… the space would almost be, well, nearly as big as the house … And it was right in the centre of the ship. Overnight all the sailors used to sleep there. Of a day, that’s where we had the jazz band … And when we were in port or in smooth seas we used to go and play in the torpedo space for the men … We did the church service. When they had divisions to inspect all of the crew, we used to play, marching onto the quarter deck, to play there, we used to entertain officer’s quarters, everything … (Griffith, personal communication 2011)

Griffith remembers returning home to port after completing peacekeeping duties after the war particularly vividly:

And of course coming home … coming into bloody port, we’re blowing our bloody backsides off coming into port, strike up *Waltzing Matilda* and everybody’s you know [pretends to cry] bawling they’re eyes out. We’re home, and same with the crew, all standing up lining the decks as they do when the navy ships come in, all the ship. We’ve all got to the upper deck, standing like this, and people waving … We played *On the Quarter Deck*\(^1\) when all that’s happening and they just lined the whole ship so people could see hundreds and hundreds of faces on it. And of course you’d start at the Heads, playing at the Heads, and you’d still be playing when you got to the Sydney Harbour Bridge … That’s the longest blow you’ve ever done in your life! (Griffith, personal communication 2011)

The repertoire remembered by Griffith demonstrates the continuities in ceremonial performance repertoire. Griffith not only played *Waltzing Matilda* in his welcome home ceremony, he also played it in his first on-board ceremonial performance after joining *Shropshire* and at Balikpapan for army soldiers marching into battle. Post-war, it became the regimental march of the ARA’s 1RAR battalion and at the time of writing it was the only song performed by the RAAF Concert Band available on iTunes. *On the Quarterdeck* was written by the prolific British march composer Kenneth J Alford. Alford was the stage name of Frederick Joseph Ricketts, a military musician who served with the British Army and then the Royal Marine Corps in the late 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) centuries.

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\(^1\) A march by Kenneth Alford.
Although *On the Quarterdeck* is a specifically naval song, of the eight wartime marches remembered by informants who had served in the wartime army, three of them were by Kenneth J Alford (see Figure 30). Both songs continue to be performed by RAN bands in ceremonial performances and are both featured on a CD released by the RAN band in 2002, also titled *On the Quarterdeck*. Entertainment performances continued to feature repertoire from popular music, music theatre and light classical music and included arrangements of the children’s song *Three Blind Mice* (traditional) and a medley arranged by Alford called *A Musical Switch: Humoresque* featuring selections from various musicals including *Oklahoma* (Hammerstein II) and *Annie Get Your Gun* (Berlin) (Anon 1951, 5).

The RAN’s involvement in the Korean War (1950-1953) began in 1951 when the new aircraft carrier HMAS *Sydney III* joined the action. As the band service was still rebuilding its numbers after World War II, the carrier did not include a fulltime band and instead included a volunteer part-time band made up of members of the ship’s crew under the direction of a single member of the band service, Band Corporal R Carr. Band Corporal (later Acting Bandmaster) Noonan later replaced Carr. Also on board the ship were three musician buglers (Himbury 2011, 71). Having a volunteer band under the direction of a band corporal or bandmaster was one method used by the navy to bolster its band numbers while new musicians were training. A similar technique had been used on bases HMAS *Melville* (Darwin) and HMAS *Assault* (Sydney) (Royal Australian Navy 1943-1946). On HMAS *Vengeance*, a light fleet carrier loaned to the RAN by the RN from 1953-1956, a volunteer band played under Bandmaster Alan Bird, with bugler Musician Green as the only fulltime band member (Himbury 2011, 72).

During the Korean War the HMAS *Sydney III* carried three squadrons made up of Sea Fury and Firefly aircraft which flew sorties aimed at supporting ground forces and protecting the fleet from air attack (Australian War Memorial n.d. f). The aircraft carrier aimed to launch 54 aircraft sorties per day, completing 89 on a single day on 11 October 1951 (Department of Veteran’s Affairs 2015). The crew of the HMAS *Sydney III*, including its volunteer band, faced difficult conditions in Korea, the seas were often full of mines and the weather harsh. Snow fell in winter, making unheated living quarters freezing, with naval guns having to be operated every ten minutes to prevent them from freezing. Typhoon season stretched through summer into autumn, bringing winds of up to 160 kilometres per hour (Australian War Memorial n.d. f).

The RAN sent its first vessels to the Malayan Emergency in June 1955. Their duties included providing a blockade against the ‘phantom’ threat of shipments of arms and ammunition to the Communist forces and providing “a deterrent to further Communist aggression in South East Asia” (Perryman 2015). Ships serving in Malaya also regularly travelled to Hong Kong, Japan and Korea to take part in training exercises (Perryman 2015). A number of musicians served on ships in Malaya, including Ross MacNamara. He found wartime duties for RAN musicians markedly different to those of his World War II forebears. During World War II, with the dangers of enemy attack ever-present, bandsmen could
spend up to 12 hours at a time locked into their action stations in the transmitting station and after director. Aircraft carriers were much larger than cruisers had been, with much larger crews. As a result musicians were no longer needed to double in highly-trained roles in the gunnery section and instead took on more generalist work requiring less training. Ross MacNamara remembers that his first action station was assembling the rocket heads on the bombs before they were sent to the flight deck; later he loaded ammunition into Beaufort guns (MacNamara, personal communication 2012). During World War II, band members had had to man the transmitting station for 24 hours a day, serving four hours on and four hours off, with much longer shifts when action stations were called. In contrast, in the 1950s MacNamara was only required to “rehearse” his action station, “to acquaint you with it, because every time the ship came back, the crew would change” (MacNamara, personal communication 2012). Other than that “They just left us alone, we didn’t get any other duties ...” (MacNamara, personal communication 2012).

In 1953 HMAS Sydney III embarked on the Coronation Cruise to the Spithead Review off Portsmouth to take part in celebrations surrounding the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (Himbury 2011, 71). On board was a massive band of 27 fulltime musicians which had been put together especially for the coronation (see Figure 50) (MacLeod 2011). The five-month tour took the band from Sydney to Portsmouth via Melbourne, Fremantle, Cocos Island, Colombo, Aden, Tobruk, Valletta and Gibraltar. Along the way they performed in numerous parades and at a memorial service at the Australia and New Zealand War Cemetery in Tobruk. Once in Portsmouth, the band played at the Southend-On-Sea Coronation Tattoo but not in the actual Coronation March, where Band Corporal Jack Pleass alone represented the RAN Band Service. The band also played in the Spithead Review, playing on the flight deck as the Royal Yacht sailed by (MacLeod 2011). The cruise returned to Sydney via Halifax, Baltimore, Kingston, Colon, Pearl Harbor and Auckland, again participating in a number of local events including an Independence Day in Baltimore, Ceremonial Sunset in Pearl Harbour and a parade to the Auckland Town Hall with the RAN band in the lead (MacLeod 2011). Jim MacLeod found that his limited non-musical duties on the 1953 Coronation Cruise left him time to play volleyball, deck hockey and cricket (MacLeod 2011). Other than on board rifle drill and marching practise, his only non-musical duties were during joint training exercises where he worked damage control.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Commissioned Bandmaster</td>
<td>G. Hooker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chief Bandmaster</td>
<td>G.R. Ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band Corporal</td>
<td>G. Duncombe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band Corporal</td>
<td>N. Gullick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band Corporal</td>
<td>J. Pleass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>C. Bierton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician Bugler</td>
<td>T. Blatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>G. Coe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>G. Crompton</td>
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<td>Musician</td>
<td>H. Towson</td>
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<td>Musician</td>
<td>I. Williams</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musician 2</td>
<td>L. McCabe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musician 2</td>
<td>J. McLeod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician 2</td>
<td>J. Shaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Musician (promoted to</td>
<td>K. Mansfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician 2 en route)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 50:** Band Aboard HMAS *Sydney III* for Coronation Cruise, 1953. (MacLeod 2011)

The post-war period was a time of rebuilding, both for the RAN bands in particular, and for the wider RAN more generally. As hostilities-only recruits were demobilised and the RAN embarked on a re-equipment program, the navy had to embark on a rapid recruiting program to provide it with enough crew members to man their newly purchased aircraft carriers. In the band service this meant that new methods had to be found to both attract and retain musicians. The pre-war period had been marked by lax educational standards, low pay, harsh conditions in which band members were at sea for years at a time and little chance for promotion. In contrast, the post-war service had a well-structured scale of promotions, including two new ranks, boy musician (later junior musician) and recruit (musician-bugler). This recruiting of less experienced musicians and improved promotional structure was facilitated by an upgrading of the RAN School of Music at HMAS *Cerberus*. Prior to the war the RAN only had few facilities to provide musicians with further musical training.
after recruitment. With the enlarged School of Music they could now provide a more detailed musical education for its recruits. Prior to the war, the RAN had relied on the RMC for its band corporals and bandmasters, either by seconding musicians directly from the British forces or by sending promising Australians to the Royal Naval School of Music in England for further study. Although the most outstanding candidates continued to be sent to England post-war, the RAN was now able to increase its pool of senior musicians by conducting its own courses at the RAN School of Music.

After World War II, musicians’ work on Action Stations went from being a regular duty with shifts of up to 12 hours, to being a rare event rehearsed at the start of each cruise and only enacted in cases of extreme emergency. Large aircraft carriers with room for extra crew freed them from regular non-musical duties and RAN musicians spent that extra time in rehearsal, performance and other band-related activities. This, combined with their increased musical educational standards rapidly raised the professionalism of the RAN band corps.

Conclusions – RAN Band Service 1930-1955

The RAN was the first of the Australian services to have a fulltime professional band service, with recruiting for musicians beginning in 1912, just a year after the RAN was formed (Himbury 2011, 22). Musicians in this professional service were trained to double on various instruments, allowing bands to perform as ceremonial (wind and brass), orchestral (string) or dance (jazz) band combinations.

One of the major barriers to maintaining a professional band service was the lack of a long-term career structure for musicians in the RAN. To encourage musicians to stay in the service the navy had to modify its recruitment, training and promotion strategies. In the 1930s musicians were required to sign on for a minimum of 12 years and were likely to spend most of that time on board the flagship with little, if any extended shore leave. They were also unlikely to make any advancement in rank or pay during that time. In order to encourage musicians to first join and then stay in the RAN the navy in the 1930s instigated a number of changes including reducing the minimum sign up periods, relaxing the requirement for specific instrument combinations and, perhaps most importantly, instituting a system of trade tests to allow musicians regular increases in both rank and pay. The introduction of a wastage system also allowed for musicians to be regularly rotated to duty on base at HMAS Cerberus, allowing them time to reconnect with family and friends and providing a nucleus for the new RAN School of Music. These changes saw the RAN introduce a coherent, long-term career structure for naval musicians from apprenticeship to retirement for the first time.

During World War II, despite an influx of hostilities-only recruits, the RAN band service continued to struggle to meet its recruitment requirements, due in large part to the high number of musicians killed or taken as prisoners of war. As a result, training time for musicians was shortened, with band members having the fastest turn around from basic training to active service of any RAN corps.
After the war, as hostilities-only recruits were demobilized the navy again found itself struggling to fill vacancies, this time for its new air fleet. To combat this, two new ranks were formed, recruit (musician bugler) and junior musician.

Musicians’ non-musical duties prior to and during World War II were highly technical, providing range and elevation figures for the gunnery section from the transmitting station. Although during the 1930s this task was only required for practice drills, during the war band members often spent up to 12 hours at a time in the transmitting station where their skill was not only needed to make successful hits on enemy targets, but also to avoid allied soldiers and prisoners of war stationed nearby. When radar was invented just prior to World War II the musicians serving in transmitting stations had to be re-trained to use the new system and thus became responsible for operating some of the most modern technology in the fleet.

After the war the RAN invested in a number of aircraft carriers. These housed the majority of musicians stationed at sea. The large size of these vessels meant that musicians were no longer needed to fulfil vital logistical roles and they were removed from their positions in the transmitting station, which required extensive training, and given less technical jobs such as loading ammunition, thus allowing them more time to hone their musical skills.

While the non-musical duties of RAN musicians changed drastically during the period under examination, their musical duties remained much more static. Ceremonial bands remained in a wind and brass combination, with musicians doubling to provide orchestral (string) and dance band combinations. Prior to and during the war the RAN recruited bandsman who were already experienced musicians and as a result required little in the way of musical training other than military-specific skills such as marching, or leadership courses for bandmasters. After the war, however, the introduction of the ranks of recruit (musician bugler) and junior musician allowed people with little, if any, musical experience to enlist as musicians. Training for these recruits was conducted at the newly-expanded RAN School of Music at HMAS Cerberus.

Although the size of RAN bands grew in the post-war period as a result of the introduction of large aircraft carriers, performances underwent little change in the period under examination. Ceremonial performances often featured the same repertoire, with marches in use in the 1930s being used throughout World War II and the post-war period. Likewise, although new arrangements for ceremonial music such as Reveille and the Last Post were introduced towards the end of the war these were simply new arrangements of repertoire that had long been in use. Entertainment repertoire featured more change in individual pieces, but the policy of playing a combination of light classical, music theatre and popular song continued. There was change in the nature of some performances, for example, during World War II when RAN musicians played for troops marching into battle at Balikpapan, but many other aspects, including recruitment drives, fundraising events and funerals continued through all three periods.
Despite rapid changes in training, recruiting and non-musical duties, RAN musicians continued to provide performances that reflected the longstanding traditions of the navy. The dichotomy between traditional performances and repertoire and modern, highly technical non-musical duties was at its greatest towards the end of World War II, after the introduction of radar. At this time RAN musicians were responsible for operating some of the newest technology in the fleet, the details of which were a highly guarded military secret, giving allied forces a distinct advantage over their enemies. These same musicians were also responsible for performing some of the oldest ceremonies in the navy, thus reinforcing longstanding traditions in the rapidly modernising force.

While the navy was the most senior member of Australia’s military, the RAAF was the country’s newest force. Formed from the Australian Flying Corps in 1921, the RAAF was just nine years old in 1930 however by the end of the war it had grown to become the fourth largest air force in the world (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. b). The next chapter will outline the growth of the RAAF’s fledgling band service from a single band of amateur volunteers to a fully professional military band corps.
Chapter 5: The Royal Australian Air Force

*It is submitted that the maintenance of the Squadron band is of very considerable importance, as it is an effective method of sustaining esprit-de-cors and personal pride not only in the Squadron, but in the Air Force as a whole, and such an attitude must inevitably tend to improve efficiency* (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

This chapter examines the band service in the third and most recently formed branch of Australia’s armed forces, the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) between 1930 and 1955. It focusses on the three main areas under investigation in this thesis: non-musical duties and training; music training and performance; and organisational structure to explore the changes and continuities in RAAF musicians’ military, non-musical duties and their musical and ceremonial responsibilities. Of the three branches of the military, it is the RAAF’s band service that went through the biggest change in regards to professionalisation; starting with just one part-time amateur band in 1930, by 1955 it had a fulltime professional service, with musicians able to specialise in their fields with few, if any, non-musical duties. Two of my participants served in RAAF bands between 1930 and 1955. Olive Jardine (nee McNeil) was serving with the Women’s Auxillery Australian Air Force when she was seconded into her local RAAF band during World War II and Archie Burt, a veteran of the British Army, moved to Australia after being recruited into the post-war RAAF band service.

Pre-War: 1930-1938

*The amateur musicians in these bands were drawn from trade and unskilled mustering and time spent rehearsing and parading was at the expense of the hours allotted for their normal duties. This frequently caused disruption to the working sections, particularly as more demands were being placed on the services of these bands* (RAAF Historical Section 1995, 184).

In 1930 the RAAF had three bases, Point Cook and Laverton, both in Victoria, and Richmond in NSW (Wilson 2005, 45). By this time the original aircraft procured by the RAAF at its inception in 1921 had become out-dated and the force was in the process of modernising its fleet. The RAAF had one band, a volunteer brass band made up of amateur musicians from people stationed on Point Cook Air Base. While musicians in the band were volunteers from staff already serving on the base, the band did have one member paid for his duties. Hugh Niven had been a civilian conductor before joining the RAAF on a part-time basis as bandmaster (see Chapter 2). He was originally granted the rank of
warrant officer but in 1934 was promoted to honorary flying officer (Coulthard-Clark 1991, 46).

The 1930s saw the creation of only one new band, the RAAF Band, Richmond, based at Richmond Air Base. Also a brass band made up of volunteers, it was formed in 1932 to provide the RAAF with musical services in NSW. With only two bands operating in the 1930s, there is, unsurprisingly, much less information available about RAAF Bands than those of the army and navy during this period. None of my research participants served in the RAAF during the 1930s, and I have been unable to locate any memoirs or other writings by ex-RAAF bandmen. As such, this section is based largely on documents held by the NAA, official unit histories released by the RAAF and contemporary newspaper articles. The NAA collection holds detailed documentation about the formation of the RAAF’s first fully professional band in 1954, its early performances and the training of its members, however neither the archival records nor the RAAF’s official publications provide much detail on the air force’s earlier, volunteer bands. In researching the RAAF’s volunteer bands I have primarily relied on contemporary newspaper coverage.

Relevant RAAF publications include the website Air Force Band History (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. a) and the chapter titled ‘RAAF Central Band’ in the RAAF Historical Section’s Units of the Royal Australian Air Force – A Concise History (RAAF Historical Section 1995). There are also brief mentions of RAAF bands in broader histories on military music and the RAAF, notably works by Roland Bannister and John Whiteoak (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003) and C.D. Coulthard-Clark (1991).

As with the army and navy, the RAAF continued to expand through the 1930s, with the pace of expansion speeding up towards the end of the decade as the nation readied itself for war. During this time, four new bases were added to the three existing ones. These were Pearce in Western Australia (1934), Darwin in the Northern Territory (1939), Archerfield in Queensland (1939) and Rathmines in NSW (1939) (See figure 51)(Wilson 2005, 45). In 1934, 18 Hawker Demon fighters were ordered, and a further 36 were purchased after the first 18 were found to be successful. In 1935 a DH 89, A3-1 was purchased to conduct aerial surveys, with a second being ordered soon after (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 47). However, as war drew closer, supplying new aircraft became more difficult. By March 1936, £1,700,000-worth of aircraft had been ordered from the Royal Air Force (RAF) in Britain, but with the RAF attempting to expand its own forces at the same time, it was made clear that no further aircraft would be forthcoming in the near future (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 47-8). As a result, on 17 October of the same year, the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation was formed to provide the RAAF with its own, locally-made aircraft (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 48). By the time war broke out on 1 September 1939, the RAAF had 310 officers, 3179 airmen and 246 aircraft serving in 13 squadrons (see Figure 51)(Wilson 2005, 45). Aircraft included 82 Ansons, 54 Demons, 7 Wirraways, 21 Seagull Vs and 82

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1 Although Niven’s rank was honorary flying officer, he was not a volunteer and was employed on a part-time basis. The term “honorary” denoted the fact that despite being a “flying officer,” he had not undergone formal officer training.
trainers (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 48). When war was declared, all members of RAAF operational squadrons were mobilised on short notice for combat duty (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 52).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Squadrons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laverton, Vic:</td>
<td>No 1 Bomber Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 2 General-Reconnaissance Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 12 General-Purpose Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 21 General-Purpose Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Cook, Vic:</td>
<td>No 10 General-Reconnaissance Squadron (awaiting delivery of aircraft from UK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond, NSW:</td>
<td>No 3 Army Co-operation Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 6 General-Reconnaissance Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 9 Fleet Co-operation Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 22 General-Purpose Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane, Qld:</td>
<td>No 23 General-Purpose Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darwin, NT:</td>
<td>No 12 General-Purpose Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearce, WA:</td>
<td>No 14 General-Reconnaissance Squadron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 25 General-Purpose Squadron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 51:** RAAF Squadrons as at 28 August 1939 (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 48)

RAAF Band, Richmond

In 1932 a second RAAF band was formed (Royal Australian Air Force n.d. a). Based in Richmond, NSW, it was a volunteer band that aimed to provide Sydney with the same musical services that the RAAF Band in Point Cook did for Melbourne (see Chapter 2). Like the Melbourne band, the Sydney band was also a brass band, featuring brass and percussion instruments. The band’s original bandmaster, Leading Aircraftman (LAC) Keller, was himself a volunteer, just as Point Cook’s original bandmaster had been (see Chapter 2) (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). The band had 22 members, most of whom had never played an instrument before joining (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). Despite this, by the start of 1933 the band had begun marching at the head of the squadron for the morning working parade, in which the squadron marched from Richmond’s parade ground to the hangars at the start of each day. On 16 February 1933 they performed at their first public ceremonial parade when the squadron was inspected by the Governor of NSW, Lord Wakehurst (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Given that the new band was now giving performances, a request was made in February 1933 for a free issue of band uniforms (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). The band requested and were granted 20 winter jackets; however
the band’s aiguillettes\(^1\) were not available from RAAF stores and had to be ordered separately (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). A bass drummer’s apron, made of leopard skin, and a sash, gauntlets and officer’s cap for the drum major were deemed too expensive to be supplied without direct permission from the Air Board (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). Records do not show whether this purchase was ever approved.

As both the Point Cook and Richmond bands were made up of volunteers from their respective bases, the RAAF did not run any recruitment campaigns for musicians during the pre-war period. As was shown above, prospective band members did not even need to have any musical experience. It seems that band membership was open to anyone who wished to join, with the more experienced musicians taking on senior roles such as drum major and teaching less experienced members of the band, just as they did in the civilian brass band movement.

While the Victorian-based Point Cook band was led by a professional bandmaster, all of the musicians in the Richmond band, including the drum major and bandmaster, were amateur musicians. This meant that professional musical training was limited in the Richmond band. The RAAF considered Hugh Niven (based at Point Cook in Melbourne) to be not just the Point Cook’s bandmaster, but bandmaster of the entire service (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). As a result, Richmond’s squadron leader placed a formal request with the Secretary of the Air Board in February 1933 to have Bandmaster Niven visit the Richmond band to help train both the band and its volunteer bandmaster and to assess the standard of the band’s instruments (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). This request was denied as the Air Board refused to pay for Niven’s return train fares from Melbourne to Sydney, with an unnamed Group Captain, Air Member for Personnel, stating:

> With regard to the suggested visit by Warrant Officer NIVEN, the expense of a special journey from Melbourne cannot be approved, but when he is next visiting Sydney the opportunity will be taken to arrange for him to extend his visit to Richmond for instructional purposes as requested (Memo dated 10 March 1933, Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Members of the Richmond band had to wait almost a year until Niven visited Sydney to act as an adjudicator for the 1934 NSW band Championships (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). As a result, he visited Richmond Air Base from 19 until 21 January 1934, with the RAAF agreeing only to fund his train fares from Sydney to Richmond, mess fees and a per diem of 25 shillings (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Niven presented the results of his visit in a letter to the Secretary of the Air Board dated 26 January 1934. He found that, “(a)s would be expected the playing does not reach a high standard, this is chiefly owing to the fact that most

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\(^1\) Ornamental braided chords that usually hang over the shoulder.
of the players knew nothing of music or playing a brass (sic) twelve months ago.”
(Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Niven recommended that providing volunteer Bandmaster Keller with specialist
training in conducting and leading a band would be a less expensive alternative
to providing training for the entire band (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-
1941). Niven also found that the instruments the band was playing were below
standard. Some were out-of-date instruments still tuned to high pitch and
unable to be played in tune with the rest of the band, others Niven simply
referred to as being “of an inferior class” and “most unsatisfactory” (Royal
Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Even the better-equipped RAAF Band (Point Cook) was not using a standardised
set of brass band instruments during the 1930s (see Figure 52). Due to minor
variances in tuning between different makes of instruments at the time, it was
considered best practice for a band to have a single set of instruments, bought in
bulk from a single manufacturer (Royal Australian Air Force 1954). Figure 52,
showing the RAAF Band (Point Cook) in 1938, demonstrates that the band were
not using a single set of instruments in this way. The photo clearly shows the
band using both sousaphones (tubas especially designed for marching) and
standard tubas. A complete set of instruments from a single manufacturer would
have only featured one type of tuba, thus demonstrating that the band was
instead forced to rely on whatever instruments were available (Anon 1938a,
26).

Unsurprisingly, given that Richmond’s band members were more experienced as
members of the military than as musicians, Niven was most pleased with the
“snap and precision” of the band’s marching technique which was “quite up to
our best standard except from a musical standpoint”. He also had high praise for
the “spectacular work” of the volunteer drum major. Although disappointed with
band’s musical skills, Niven was confident that “(t)ime and training will improve
this, as was made evident by improvement at termination of my visit and special
training” (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

As was discussed above, Hugh Niven was the only member of either RAAF band
to be paid for his service as a musician. In 1934 he was granted the rank of
honorary flying officer, despite not having undergone formal officer training.
The fact that he was not required to complete this course is, in part, due to the
unusual methods of officer training then employed by the RAAF. As the newest
arm of Australia’s defence force, in the 1930s the RAAF did not have its own
officer training school. Instead its officers were trained at the Royal Military
College, Duntroon. This put potential RAAF officers in the unusual position of
training with the army in order to join the air force:

Those recruits had to wear an Army uniform, complete the same course
as Army cadets, and on graduation were commissioned into the army.
Only then were they seconded to the RAAF. (Stephens 2001, 45-6)

Not only was training as an army officer an inadequate introduction to the
culture of the RAAF for a new officer, but places reserved for RAAF candidates at
Duntroon were extremely limited, and it is unlikely that one would have been
used to train a part-time bandmaster. In 1928 Air Marshal Sir Geoffrey Salmond
suggested two alternatives that would prove more cost effective than forming an
independent RAAF officer training school. These were to form a separate RAAF
wing at the Royal Military College (his preferred option) or to send potential
officers to the RAF College in England. Both of these suggestions were dismissed
on the grounds of expense, and RAAF officers continued to be trained at
Duntroon until 1948 when the RAAF finally formed its own cadet college at the
existing air base in Point Cook, Victoria (Stephens 2011, 45-6).

Temporary promotions were given to some RAAF bandsmen for the period of
their band service, but this was only available to bandsmen who held the
relatively junior ranks of aircraftman I or II (ACI or ACII). These men were given
a temporary promotion to leading aircraftman (LAC) upon joining the band
(Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). Men who already held the rank of LAC
were not further promoted as this would have made them non-commissioned
officers, which was seen as too large a promotion to give in exchange for band
service. In January 1934, the Squadron Leader of Richmond Air Base, after
consultation with Bandmaster Niven, submitted a proposal to the Secretary of
the Air Board that this policy was unfairly biased against those band members
who already held the rank of LAC. He suggested that instead of increasing band
members’ ranks temporarily, all bandsmen should receive an extra six pence a
day in return for band duties. The Air Board agreed that bandsmen should
receive extra pay for band duties and took the proposal to the Minister for
Defence but “(t)he Minister would not approve of the recommendation” (Royal
Australian Air Force 1933-1941).
Although both RAAF bands were made up of volunteer members, by the time the Richmond band began public performances in 1933, there was a marked difference in musical skill between the two bands. The Point Cook band had been playing together since 1923 and had benefitted from training by the experienced, professional Bandmaster Niven for a decade. The Richmond band, on the other hand, had been playing together for less than a year, most of its members had little, if any prior musical experience and their bandmaster, Bandmaster Keller, was himself a volunteer. Despite this difference, as the only RAAF bands in their respective states they were called upon for any musical duties at which the RAAF needed representation. Both bands also performed under the title “The Royal Australian Air Force Band”. The problem of having two bands performing under the same name was brought to a head after the Richmond band performed at the Sydney Town Hall in an “Act of Remembrance Ceremony” to commemorate Armistice Day, 11 November 1933 (Anon 1933a, 17). The performance was broadcast on national radio. Upon hearing the broadcast, Bandmaster Niven was concerned that, given both bands had the same name, the low standard of performance produced by the Richmond band would reflect badly on the Point Cook band (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). At Niven’s request the two bands were renamed. The Point Cook band became the No. 1 RAAF Band (usually just referred to as the RAAF Band in newspaper reports) while the Richmond band became known as the RAAF Band, Richmond.

Archival records do not contain information on the exact repertoire of the two RAAF bands in the 1930s, however, newspaper reports of the RAAF bands, demonstrate that they seem to have performed a combination of marches, popular songs and light classical music from the publicly available brass band repertoire. For example, entertainment repertoire included folk song Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush (traditional), the overture to the opera Raymond (Ambroise Thomas), selections from the operetta Maid of the Mountains (Fraser-Simson and Tate) and the overture to the musical Dream of Babylon (Carver) (Anon 1934c, 12; Anon 1938c, 5).

Ceremonial repertoire seems to have been very similar to that of the army, with the RAAF Band, Richmond playing unspecified “old army songs” in the 1939 ANZAC Day March, just five months before the outbreak of war (Anon 1939a, 3). Likewise, in 1937 the No 1 RAAF Band took part in the farewell parade for the Australian military contingent travelling to the United Kingdom to take part in festivities surrounding the coronation of King George VI. Newspaper reports described the event as “reminiscent of troopship sailings during the (First World) war” and the parade featured hundreds of service men and women and ten thousand spectators (Anon 1937b, 24). The songs performed by the No 1 RAAF Band in this parade included patriotic songs Rule Britannia (Arne), Keep the Home Fires Burning (Novello) and Auld Lang Syne (traditional) (Anon 1937b, 24). Other ceremonial repertoire which the RAAF and army had in common included the Last Post, Reveille, the national anthem (God Save the King) and ceremonial signals such as the General Salute and the Royal Salute, although for the most part it is unclear which of these were band arrangements and which were bugle solos (Anon 1933c, 14; Anon 1934d, 11). It is also unclear whether
the RAAF and the army were playing the same arrangements of these pieces; however, as shall be shown in the next section, the two forces standardised their arrangements during World War II.

In 1933 the No 1 RAAF Band performed in Armistice Day commemorations at Parliament House in Victoria (Anon 1933c, 14). Figure 53 shows the order of service for the event. Armistice Day was renamed Remembrance Day in 1948 and a comparison between the 1933 order of service and that of the service held at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, in 2015 (featuring the Band of the Royal Military College, Duntroon) shows the strong continuities in these services (see Figure 54).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.30am</td>
<td>Flags at Half Mast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.35am</td>
<td>Guard of Honour and Band in Position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.36am</td>
<td>Selection by RAAF Band.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.45am</td>
<td>Arrival of Lieutenant Governor – Royal Salute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.50am</td>
<td>Arrival of the Governor-General – Royal Salute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.54am</td>
<td>Hymn – All People that on Earth Do Dwell, sung by public, accompanied by band.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.58am</td>
<td>Guard of Honour rest on reversed arms, Stand Fast, sounded by bugle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.59 ¼ am</td>
<td>Special siren sounds one long blast followed by one short blast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00am</td>
<td>Gun fires. Two minutes silence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.02am</td>
<td>Short blast or siren, followed immediately by gunfire. Guard of Honour present arms. Last Post sounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.03am</td>
<td>Guard of Honour Advance Arms. Reveille sounded. Flags at masthead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.04</td>
<td>National Anthem (God Save the King).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.06</td>
<td>Governor-General inspects Guard of Honour and departs. Royal Salute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10</td>
<td>The Lieutenant Governor departs. Royal Salute.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 53**: Order of Service, Armistice Day Service, Parliament House, Victoria, 1933 (Anon, 1933c, 14).
**Order of Service**

**Arrivals** (10.30am) – the Prime Minister and his wife, HRH Prince of Wales, HRH Duchess of Cornwall, Governor General

- Playing of Didgeridoo
- Reading – The Ode
- *Last Post*
- One Minute’s Silence (11.00am)
- The *Rouse*

**Commemorative Address**

- Laying of Wreaths by special guests including the Prime Minister, HRH Prince of Wales and the Governor-General
- Hymn – *O God, Our Help in Ages Past*
- Laying of Wreaths by Diplomatic Corps
- Readings
- Laying of Poppies by school students
- *National Anthem - Advance Australia Fair*

**Acknowledgements**

![Figure 54: Order of Service, Remembrance Day, Australian War Memorial, 2015 (Australian War Memorial n.d. h).](image)

Although there are noticeable differences between the two services, including the introduction of a didgeridoo solo and a laying of poppies by school children, many aspects of the two ceremonies are the same. Both ceremonies begin at 10.30am with silence at 11.00am. Both feature appearances by representatives of the Australian government and the British royal family (the Governor-General and Lieutenant Governor in 1933, the Prime Minister, Governor-General and HRH Prince of Wales in 2015), although their role inspecting the Guard of Honour in 1933 has been replaced by a wreath-laying ceremony in 2015. Musically, both services feature the national anthem (*God Save the King* in 1933, *Advance Australia Fair* in 2015) and the *Last Post* while *Reveille* has been replaced by a similar, but shorter signal called the *Rouse*. Both ceremonies also feature hymns, and although the hymns in these two specific ceremonies are different, *O God Our Help in Ages Past*, featured in the 2015 ceremony is known to have been used in Armistice/Remembrance Day ceremonies during all three periods under discussion in this thesis (pre-war, World War II and post-war), thus demonstrating continuity in ceremonial repertoire (Anon 1930,12; Anon 1940a, 3; Anon 1950c, 6). Despite being some 80 years apart, the order of service of these two ceremonies show the largely unchanging nature of the ceremonial duties that Australian military musicians performed.

From the standpoint of the Air Board, performances by RAAF bands fell into two distinct categories: performances sponsored solely by the RAAF and performances in which outside organisation hired the bands independently. The RAAF would cover costs of performances:
... only for organisations that can be said to have some claim on the Service. These would include only hospitals and other charitable organisations approved by the Charities Board or the R.S.S.I.L.A\(^1\) and organisations in some way connected with one of the Services ... (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Each organisation or institution could apply for one performance per year. Organisations that did not fit this definition could still hire the RAAF Bands, however they would be required to cover “the cost of transport and all incidental expenses” (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Organisations which successfully applied to have the RAAF Band, Richmond, perform at their events in the 1930s included the Children’s Hospital in Camperdown, the Home for T.B. (Tuberculosis) Soldiers in Turramurra, Armistice Day Celebrations at the Cenotaph, and the Richmond Air Base’s Annual Unit Ball (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). While these non-military performances seem to have been fairly common for the RAAF Band, Richmond, there are few contemporary newspaper reports describing such performances by the No 1 RAAF Band, indicating, perhaps, that they performed at charitable events less often than the Richmond band; however they did perform at the “RAAF Children’s Party” at Laverton Air Base in 1933 (Anon 1933b, 14). As the members of both RAAF bands held other positions within the RAAF and only played on a voluntary basis, their rehearsals and performances had to be scheduled around their normal duties. As such, performances were only approved on the assumption that they “will take place outside normal working days” (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

On 18 August 1939 the RAAF bought in new regulations limiting uniformed RAAF members from taking part in religious or political movements, thus bringing the RAAF into line with the army and navy. These included a prohibition stating:

... no Air Force Band may play at any meeting, demonstration, or procession for religious or political purposes, except funeral or religious services or religious, charitable gatherings approved by the Air Board (Anon 1939b, 2).

By the outbreak of war in 1939 the RAAF had two volunteer brass bands, the No 1 RAAF Band based in Point Cook in Melbourne and the RAAF Band, Richmond, based in Sydney. As volunteer bands, all rehearsals and performances were supposed to take place outside of normal working hours so as not to interfere with band members’ regular duties. While army and navy bands at this time were building on a long musical and ceremonial history, both in Australia and Britain, the much younger RAAF band service was still in the process of building new rituals. In order to create a sense of history and tradition in the new force, repertoire for ceremonial performances was largely based on army repertoire

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\(^1\) RSSILA stands for Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia which became the Returned Services League (RSL) in 1965.
and tradition, (army bands also featured brass band instrumentation), thus providing audience members with music and ceremony which was already a familiar part of Australia’s military tradition, despite the fact that the RAAF had existed for less than 20 years. As has been shown by comparing Armistice/Remembrance Day commemorations from this period with that of 2015, there is strong continuity in ceremonial traditions and repertoire over time.

After World War II broke out, the call for patriotic and commemorative performances increased. As such, this time would see a rapid increase in both the number of RAAF bands, and on the importance that the Air Board placed on those performances and the bands that provided them.

**World War II: 1939-1945**

*With a vast Empire Air Training Scheme being mooted, Australia would not only be responsible for creating a wartime air force practically from scratch but a training programme of a magnitude not previously attempted. The Royal Australian Air Force was entering the war with one flying training school and sixteen instructors. It could not have been forecast that at the end of the war its strength would have reached 180,000 personnel, or that it would have become the fourth or fifth largest world air force (Ilbery 2002, 1).*

In September 1939 the RAAF consisted of 310 officers, 3179 airmen and 246 aircraft on seven airbases (Wilson 2005, 45). The service had two volunteer amateur brass bands, No 1 RAAF Band based at Point Cook in Victoria (which relocated to the nearby Laverton base during the war) and the NSW-based RAAF Band, Richmond. When war broke out, the RAAF was in the middle of an expansion and re-equipment program, which was supposed to be completed by June 1941, and allowed for 19 squadrons, with 212 front line aircraft with a further 50 per cent reserve. Instead, at the beginning of the war the RAAF had 164 front line aircraft, with the remaining 82 being suitable only for training (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 53).

In order to rapidly expand the RAAF, the service’s funding increased quickly at the outbreak of war. The RAAF’s annual budget jumped from £2,816,000 in the 1938/39 financial year to £11,622,000 in 1939/40 reaching a high of £128,189,000 in 1943/44 (Beaumont et al 2001, 30-1). New flying schools began to form, beginning with No 1 Elementary Flight Training School (EFTS) at Parafield, South Australia; No 2 EFTS at Archerfield, Queensland; No 3 EFTS at Essendon, Victoria and No 4 EFTS at Mascot, NSW. At the same time new RAAF bases were provisioned providing coastal defence so that by the end of the war the RAAF had 317 airfields around Australia, the Western Pacific and South East Asia (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 54; Dunn 2015).
The Empire Air Training Scheme (EATS) was formed in November 1939 to streamline training for pilots and aircrews in the Allied forces (Wilson 2005, 58). Under the scheme, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) would pool their resources to provide consistent training throughout the British Empire. Australian pilots received their basic training in Australia, with many completing advanced training in Canada, some also receiving further training in Rhodesia before beginning active service (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 54). Australia aimed to provide 1,120 crewmen to the scheme every four weeks. These consisted of 336 pilot trainees for elementary training, 280 pilot trainees for advanced training, 184 observers (navigators) and 320 wireless operator/air gunner trainees (Parnell and Lynch 1976, 54).

Providing such a large number of men to the EATS for training left the RAAF with a shortage of men to act as ground crew and in other supporting roles. In answer to this problem, the War Cabinet approved the formation of an air force women’s auxiliary on the 4 February 1941 (Thomson 1991, 2). The Women’s Auxiliary Australian Air Force (WAAAF) was the first of Australia’s armed forces to accept women in roles other than nursing.

As with the pre-war section, resources on the history of RAAF bands during World War II are limited. This section is based largely on documents held by the NAA, and official unit histories released by the RAAF and brief mentions of RAAF bands in broader histories on military music and the RAAF. Unlike the pre-war era, however, one of my research participants served in a RAAF band during this period, Corporal Olive Jardine (nee McNeil) from the WAAAF.

Many of the WAAAF’s original members were recruited from the Australian Women’s Flying Club and the Women’s Air Training Corps, which had been formed in 1938-9 (Thomson 1991, 39). Members of the WAAAF worked in a variety of musters (trade groupings), including cipher, aeronautical inspection, meteorology, catering, record keeping, accounting, medical statistics, and on radar stations (Stevenson and Darling 1984, 32). WAAAF members were given their own ranks that, in theory, were equivalent to those in the RAAF, but as women, they did not receive equal rates of pay. For example, a WAAAF Group Officer received sixpence a day less than a lower ranked Flight Lieutenant in the RAAF (see Figure 55)(Stevenson and Darling 1984, 31-2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WAAAF Officer Ranks</th>
<th>RAAF Equivalent</th>
<th>Army Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Section Officer</td>
<td>Pilot Officer</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section Officer</td>
<td>Flying Officer</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flight Officer</td>
<td>Flight Lieutenant</td>
<td>Captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squadron Officer</td>
<td>Squadron Leader</td>
<td>Major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wing Officer</td>
<td>Wing Commander</td>
<td>Lieutenant Colonel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Officer</td>
<td>Group Captain</td>
<td>Colonel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 55:** WAAAF Officer Ranks and their Equivalents.
As the RAAF grew, so too did the number of RAAF bands. As new bases were formed around the country, volunteer bands were often formed to provide ceremonial and entertainment music. Details of specific bands formed during this time will be discussed later in the chapter. Unlike bands in the army and navy, all RAAF bands stayed in their local area, performing on base and in the surrounding districts and did not follow their units. This was due to a fundamental difference in the nature of the air service. Army regiments could be stationed anywhere around the world, in deserts or jungles, often at great distances from formal bases and as such they needed their regimental bands to travel with them. Likewise, navy ships travelled around the world and were often far from naval bases and so carried shipboard bands with them. The nature of airflow, however, meant that RAAF members needed to stay on or near an air base that provided runways and aircraft maintenance staff. The speed of air travel also meant that pilots could serve on Allied bases, making sorties over enemy lines before returning home. As a result, with RAAF bands serving at many Australian bases (and with other allied bands at many overseas bases) RAAF bands did not need to travel with their units, as those units simply moved from one base (often with an existing band) to another.

Like the pre-existing No 1 RAAF Band and the RAAF Band, Richmond, these newly formed bands were volunteer brass bands and membership was open to any serving members who wanted to participate. Instruments were donated to the RAAF for use by air force members, Olive Jardine was not sure who had provided her tenor horn at Uranquinty Air Base in NSW, but suspected that it had been donated by the Comforts Fund, a charity which provided luxuries to service men and women that were not covered by the armed services (Jardine, personal communication 2012). When Amberley Air Base in Queensland found themselves with keen volunteers but no instruments in 1943, a selection of instruments was donated by the local civilian brass band, Laidley Town Band (Amberley Brass n.d.). These new bands were formed by volunteers on local bases with little, if any, input from the Air Board, and, as such, there is little evidence of their exact numbers and locations in archival records. Indeed, many bands formed, folded and re-formed over time as members were transferred from one station to another with no thought given to their band service. For example, Amberley Band originally formed in 1941 but was disbanded in 1942 when a majority of its members were moved to bases in the Pacific after Japan entered the war. It then reformed again in early 1943, but, even after this point, its numbers fluctuated so much that it was, at times, reduced to just a drum corps (Amberley Brass n.d.).

As was mentioned in the pre-war section, during the 1930s, Bandmaster Niven had noted that media reports of RAAF Bands tended to confuse the two bands then in existence and in order to easily distinguish between the two, he renamed them the No 1 RAAF Band and the RAAF Band, Richmond. The public’s confusion between the different bands only increased as more RAAF bands formed around the country, with many media reports referring to any RAAF brass band as “the RAAF Band” (see for example, Anon 1945a, 2). This further adds to the confusion over which bases had bands at which times; however contemporary newspaper
reports indicate that the following bases had their own bands during World War II (see Figure 56):¹

- Richmond (NSW)
- Bradfield Park (NSW)
- Evans Heads (NSW)
- Narromine (NSW)
- Point Piper (NSW)
- Uranquinty (NSW)
- Forest Hill (NSW)
- Ascot Vale (VIC)
- Point Cook/Laverton (VIC)
- Perth (WA)
- Kalgoorlie (WA)
- Pearce (WA)
- Fairbairn (ACT)
- Edinburgh, North Adelaide (SA)
- Port Pirie (SA)
- Mallala (SA)²
- Mount Gambier (SA)
- Launceston (TAS)
- Amberley (QLD)

¹ This list was put together by the author from fieldwork interviews, available newspaper clippings and archival evidence. It is possible that there are bands not on this list that have yet to be discovered. (Jardine, personal communication 2012. See also Anon 1945p, 1; Anon 1945a, 2; Anon 1942, 4; Anon 1945q, 2; Anon 1944d, 6; Anon 1944e, 4; Anon 1940b, 8; Anon 1940c, 9; Anon 1941b, 5; Anon 1940d, 4S; Anon 1945b, 9; Anon 1945m, 1)
² It is possible that this band, at least for portions of its history, was a drum and bugle band rather than a full brass band.
As RAAF bands were volunteer organisations there was no formal process for recruiting musicians. Olive Jardine remembers being recruited by her local RAAF band while serving in the WAAAF at the 5 Service Flight Training School (5SFTS) at Uranquinty in NSW. An experienced pianist and organist, she had been playing organ for church services at the padre’s hut on base when she was approached by a member of the base band to join them:

I said “I don’t know anything about band music”… and they said “We’ll teach you”. So they did. And I ended up in the band (Jardine, personal communication 2012).

Olive joined the 5SFTS Band, Uranquinty, as a tenor horn player (see Figure 57). She was the only woman in the band. Although Olive had found some other members of the RAAF resistant to the idea of women in the air force, she found the bandsmen welcoming to their only female musician, remembering “Oh, they loved it. (Laughing) ... They were all nice to me,” (Jardine, personal communication, 2012).

The other members of Uranquinty band were eager for any new musicians, as their band had only 12 members (including Jardine) when she was recruited. For big events, such as the local RAAF sports day, they combined with the 26 members of the band from the nearby RAAF base at Forest Hill. Writing home to
tell her family about the event, Jardine remarked excitedly “Might add that I was the only girl in the band amongst about 37 men!” (Jardine 1945).

**Figure 57:** 5SFTS Band, Uranquinty. The only female member, Corporal Olive McNeil can be distinguished by the white socks of her WAAAF uniform. (From the private collection of Olive Jardine [nee McNeil]).

Although it was unusual for WAAAF members to join RAAF bands, Jardine was not the only one to do so. Trumpeter, Aircraftwoman (ACW) Hannah Lilian Colley, serving in Western Australia, was also the only woman in her base’s band (Anon 1944a, 7). She was given the honour of playing the bugle calls for Perth’s Armistice Day Celebrations in 1944 (Anon 1944a, 7). Unusually, the press photo shows her playing a trumpet, not a cornet as would normally be used in brass bands; however, this photograph does not appear to be taken in situ with her RAAF band, and it is probable that she played a cornet in the band (although, as was demonstrated in the previous section, RAAF volunteer bands often used whatever instruments were available). WAAAF member ACW Vera Owens also played the kettle drums in the RAAF band on her base at Point Piper, NSW, and Mallala band, SA, had a WAAAF bugler and a number of side drummers (Anon 1945b, 9; Stevenson and Darling 1984, 142).

The WAAAF did not have its own brass bands, but its members did form a number of musical ensembles, most notably a series of drum corps. The first of these was formed by the Women’s Air Training Corps and Australian Women’s Flying Club in 1940, before the official formation of the WAAAF. The Women’s Air Training Corps and Australian Women’s Flying Club Drummers, as they were known, consisted of four women, including Phyllis Arnott, the first Australian woman to hold a commercial pilot’s license (see Figure 58). The WAAAF went on to form drum corps including ones based at Laverton (Vic), and Point Piper (NSW) and a fife and drum band, based in Melbourne. The WAAAF also had a number of choirs, the largest of which was the No 1 RAAF Recruiting Centre
WAAAF Choir, based in Melbourne and over one hundred voices strong (Stevenson and Darling 1984, 142, 143, 184). It was conducted first by Haydn James, and later by Verdon Williams\(^1\) who also arranged music for the ensemble and wrote a patriotic recruiting song for the choir, with lyrics written by a choir member Corporal N Ray, called *Girls of Australia* (Stevenson and Darling 1984, 184, 186; Anon 1944c, 6). After the demobilisation of the WAAAF at the end of the war, restrictions on women serving in the military made them ineligible for service in official RAAF bands until the introduction of the Sexual Discrimination Act by the Parliament of Australia in 1984 (RAAF Historical Section 1995, 185).

\[\text{Figure 58: The Women’s Air Training Corps and Australian Women’s Flying Club Drummers. Phyllis Arnott, the first Australian woman to hold a commercial pilot’s licence is closest to camera (Image courtesy of AWM).}\]

As members of RAAF bands could come from any arm of the air force (see Figure 59), their military training differed depending on their specific mustering (trade grouping) and rank; however all members of the RAAF began their air force careers with a ten week basic training course which covered drill (a useful skill for a prospective military musician), physical training, mathematics, physics, navigation, law, administration, science, ground defence, signals, health and hygiene and aircraft recognition (Stephens 2001, 68). Upon volunteering to join their bases’ band, new bandsmen and women would receive informal tutoring from more experienced members of their band (Jardine, personal communication 2012).

\(^1\) Verdon Williams (1916-1997) went on to become a well-known conductor in Australia, leading the 3DB Concert Orchestra, the Australian Broadcasting Commission Orchestra and the West Australian Symphony Orchestra. His other compositions include a balletic version of the Ned Kelly story called *The Outlaw*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Number</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Mustering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7606</td>
<td>Warrant Officer</td>
<td>E.J. Fellows</td>
<td>Bandmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1587</td>
<td>Warrant Officer</td>
<td>V. Plumb</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>Flight Sergeant</td>
<td>T.A. Rea</td>
<td>Clerk Stores (Deputy Bandmaster)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2026</td>
<td>Flight Sergeant</td>
<td>A.W.D. McEachern</td>
<td>Storekeeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Flight Sergeant</td>
<td>G.E. Branbury</td>
<td>Fitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2498</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>S.M. Ryan</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>A.E. Armstrong</td>
<td>Clerk General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>A.M. Stevens</td>
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<td>2955</td>
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<tr>
<td>2687</td>
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<td>J. Mullane</td>
<td>Fabric Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2653</td>
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<td>S. Palmer</td>
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<td>A. Inward</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
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<td>6187</td>
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<td>Messman</td>
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<td>3149</td>
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<td>L.L. Dunn</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
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<td>A.A. Cooper</td>
<td>Driver Motor Transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22062</td>
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<td>V. Fay</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32311</td>
<td>Leading Aircraftman</td>
<td>I.J. Thompson</td>
<td>Coppersmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14213</td>
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<td>J.J. Scott</td>
<td>Messman</td>
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<td>4263</td>
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<td>A.W. Maxted</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
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<td>R.E. Marsh</td>
<td>Mess Steward</td>
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<td>22370</td>
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<td>D.W. Evans</td>
<td>Messman</td>
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<tr>
<td>33522</td>
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<td>B. Sheath</td>
<td>Clerk General</td>
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<tr>
<td>15316</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>L.K. Rowland</td>
<td>Fitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14628</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>F.C. Makin</td>
<td>Fitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27203</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>E.A. Wilksch</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33440</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>C.W. Gilmore</td>
<td>Aircrafthand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12108</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>R.G. Clarke</td>
<td>Fitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15193</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>R. Crawford</td>
<td>Fitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34129</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>J.P. Hall-Clarke</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36205</td>
<td>Aircraftman I</td>
<td>J.M. Cardew</td>
<td>Storekeeper (in training)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 59:** Musterings (Trade Groupings) of Members of the RAAF Band, Richmond, 1941 (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

During the war, the RAAF recruited a second formally appointed bandmaster (see Figure 59). Warrant Officer E J Fellows was recruited to lead the RAAF Band, Richmond, the most experienced RAAF band in NSW, and like his counterpart in Victoria, Honorary Flying Officer Hugh Niven, he was the sole professional musician in a band of volunteer amateurs.
The policy of temporarily promoting band members ranked aircraftman I and II to leading aircraftman seems to have been revoked during this time. I have not come across any archival documents that outline the decision or the reasons behind this, however, as is shown in Figure 59, the RAAF Band, Richmond included a number of men ranked ACI, who had clearly not received a temporary promotion to LAC upon taking on band duties (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

As was discussed above, the nature of air service meant that RAAF bands were not, as a unit, posted overseas. This meant that the nature of their performances, a mixture of ceremonial and entertainment performances, did not appear to change much with the outbreak of war. What did change was their frequency. As the war continued, the call for bands to perform at recruiting drives, commemoration services, fundraisers for troops and veterans and the inevitable funeral services increased. They also performed regular musical duties on base, including performing at Officers’ Mess and Sergeants’ Mess Dining In Nights and morning parades (Jardine, personal communication 2012).

As before the war, music included marches, hymns and popular music. For example, Amberley RAAF Band in Queensland performed an entertainment concert in the park in aid of “Aunt Peggy’s Prisoner-of-War Fund” on 19 November 1944 (Anon 1944b, 3). They performed a varied program of music including children’s song Punchinello (traditional), hymns Fierce Raged the Tempest (Dyke) and Rock of Age’s (Montagne Toplady), popular songs Flowers of Australia (unknown) based on a poem by Caroline Carleton, In a Chinese Temple Garden (Ketelbey) and selections from Pirates of Penzance (Gilbert & Sullivan). The performance was rounded off by the national anthem God Save the King (see Figure 60)(Anon 1944b, 3).

Figure 60: God Save the King, Repiano Cornet Part, from RAAF – Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions.

Olive Jardine wrote a letter home to her family on 28 February 1945 describing a joint rehearsal between Uranquinty and Forest Hill RAAF bands in preparation for Forest Hill Air Base’s sports day. She mentions rehearsing The Desert Song, from the operetta of the same name (Romberg), and “Unfinished Symphony”.

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1 For example, a search of the National Library of Australia’s search engine Trove, for the term “RAAF Band” for the five-year period before the war (1934-39) displays 969 newspaper articles, while a search for the same term for five years during the war was (1940-45) displays 24,508 articles.
She does not mention which unfinished symphony they rehearsed, although it was most likely Schubert’s (Jardine 1945). These two concerts demonstrate the nature of the repertoire of entertainment performances. While some pieces, especially light classical and music theatre repertoire, are still available in band arrangements in the 21st century and would still be recognisable to musicians and some audience members, other popular songs of the day would be unrecognisable for musicians and audience alike. Although individual repertoire may have changed, there is continuity in the types of songs (light classical, music theatre and popular music) performed in these entertainment performances.

Perhaps one of the most prestigious and solemn performances required of a RAAF band during the war was after the death of Prime Minister John Curtin, who died in office on 5 July 1945, shortly before victory was declared in the Pacific. The next day, Prime Minister Curtin’s body was flown from Fairbairn RAAF base in Canberra to his home state of West Australia. It was the role of the RAAF Band, Fairbairn, to lead the escort and gun carriage carrying the casket onto the tarmac before Curtin embarked on his final journey home (Australian War Memorial n.d. g).

In 1944 the RAAF band service ordered replacement copies of *Royal Australian Air Force – Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions*, arranged for brass band, which had been previously published under that title as early as 1941 (see Figure 61) (Royal Australian Air Force 1943-1950). Published by the Salvation Army Press, these anthologies of sheet music were renamed but identical in content to those used by the Army under the title *The Australian Military Forces – Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions* (see Figure 61). The Bishop of Bendigo, Senior Chaplain C.L. Riley and the Army’s Southern Command Bandmaster, Captain H.R. Shrugg compiled these collections with arrangements by well-known Salvation Army band composer Arthur Gullidge. Gullidge served in the AIF as Bandmaster for the 2/22 Battalion Band and was killed while a prisoner of war during the sinking of the Japanese troopship *Montevideo Maru*. 
Figure 61: Different covers, same music: Australian Military Forces and RAAF Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions.

The anthologies’ index divides the music into “Hymns” and “Ceremonial Music” which includes the then national anthem, *God Save the King* (see Figure 60); *Advance Australia Fair*, a song that would later become the national anthem but at the time was a popular patriotic song; a number of marches and two general salutes. The next section listed in the index is “Music for Social Occasions” which includes *Auld Lang Syne* and *For He’s a Jolly Good Fellow* and the books end with “Miscellaneous” music, which include scales and band arrangements of common military ceremonial signals, the *Last Post*, the *Rouse* and *Reveille* (see Appendix 4).

Standardising the ceremonial music both within the RAAF and between the army and the air force had a number of benefits for musicians and audience members alike. This standardisation was possible because, during World War II, both army and air force bands were limited to brass band instrumentation, unlike the RAN bands that could perform as concert bands, dance bands or string ensembles. In both the army and the air force, the majority of band members were also volunteer amateur musicians and were liable to be transferred from one unit to another with little consideration given to their band service. When this happened, the standardised ceremonial music allowed newly transferred members to take up positions in their new unit’s bands without
having to relearn the ceremonial repertoire. Likewise, standardised arrangements allowed different bands to play together en masse without having to learn new arrangements. For audience members, the standardised arrangements gave a sense of continuity between ceremonies, at each event they would hear the same version of *God Save the King*, *Reveille* and other commonly played ceremonial music.

An examination of the anthologies demonstrates that an attempt was made to ensure that standardisation did not have to mean predictability and boredom. There are numerous choices of song for various occasions, allowing bandmasters to pick and choose repertoire for individual performances. For example, the books contain numerous marches suitable for a funeral, including Chopin’s *Funeral March*, Handel’s *The Dead March* from the oratorio *Saul* and a number of other equally suitable slow marches (see Figure 62). Newspaper reports confirm that for the joint funeral of Flying Officer Anthony Ashby Daniel and Corporal Fred Sass at Karrakatta cemetery in Perth in February 1941, the bandmaster (most probably of Perth RAAF band, although it is possible that the band from Pierce base, also nearby, was used) chose to perform *The Dead March* (Anon 1941a, 9). In contrast, at Prime Minister Curtin’s funeral, also at Karrakatta cemetery, the army’s Western Command Band chose to play Chopin’s *Funeral March* (Anon 1945c, 1; Anon 1945d, 8). Likewise, *God Save the King* is printed in two different keys (B flat major and G major when written for transposing B flat instruments, A flat and F concert pitch), presumably to allow options when playing with accompanying vocalists (see Figure 60).

![Figure 62: Handel’s ‘Dead March’ and Chopin’s ‘Funeral March’, two of the arrangements suitable for performing at funerals from *The Australian Military Forces Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions*. This figure shows the repiano cornet part.](image-url)
As mentioned above, the anthologies also included full brass band arrangements of common military ceremonial signals, the *Last Post*, the *Rouse* and *Reveille* (see Figure 63), similar to those used by the RAN in the 1930s. Previously, in the army and air force, a lone bugler had played these signals. While this option was (and still is) in regular use, full band arrangements gave bandmasters the option of a fuller, broader sound at Remembrance ceremonies and the like, more suitable for the large crowds which were attending these events during and directly after the war.

![Figure 63: Ceremonial Signals from *The Australian Military Forces Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions*. This figure shows the repiano cornet part for the full band arrangements of these calls, which had previously been played by a solo bugle.](image)

Unlike the members of army regimental bands, who were trained as stretcher-bearers, and navy bandsmen who worked with the gunnery crew in the transmitting station, RAAF bandsmen’s work was scattered across different mustings. This meant that little, if any, consideration was given to their band service when members were posted to new bases, leading to some bands folding, reforming and even changing instrumentation as personnel came and went (Amberley Brass n.d.). As the performance workload of various bands increased during the war, the uncertainty of band membership became
problematic. The RAAF Band, Richmond was the senior RAAF band in NSW, and as such, was called upon to perform not just on its own base, but also at major functions in Sydney. As a result, in May 1941, the Group Captain of the Richmond Air Base wrote to NSW RAAF Headquarters complaining that recent transfers had left the band with weaknesses in the solo cornet and euphonium sections. He requested the return of two ex-members of the band, cornet player Flight Sergeant R Webb, who had been posted to Waterloo in NSW and euphonium player Sergeant B Miller who had been posted to Port Moresby in New Guinea. He also requested that the current members of the band (see Figure 59) be shielded from transfer and “retained at RICHMOND in order that the band may continue to function” (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941). Such was the importance of the band’s work to the RAAF that this request was granted within a month. Webb and Miller were returned to Richmond, and the rest of the band was shielded from further posting with the exception of three fitters, LAC L B Sharpe, ACI L K Rowland and ACI R Crawford who had already been selected for overseas duty (Royal Australian Air Force 1933-1941).

Prioritising band duty over other trades during a time of war highlights the important work that the RAAF bands were doing for both morale and publicity in the air force. This was the RAAF’s first step away from amateur, volunteer bands, towards the professionalised band service that would become familiar in the post-war era. An increase in the call for performances by the band service, and expectations of their musical prowess lead to band members at RAAF Band, Richmond being shielded from postings to different air bases so that the band could remain intact. This policy of valuing band membership over members’ other duties was the Air Board’s first step towards recognising the need for a fully professional band service. As the next section will show, the post-war period saw the completion of this policy so that by 1955 the RAAF band service would be made up of professional musicians recruited specifically for their musical skills.

Post War: 1946-1955

*The step to introduce a permanent Military Band into the RAAF was the result of years of discussion. Finally - on September 3rd 1951, a Director of Music was enlisted in London to form and train the proposed (sic) Bands. It was decided to adopt the “Military” type of Band in preference to the “Brass” band variety. This bought the RAAF in line with all service Bands in England and most other countries throughout the World* (Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).

When victory in the Pacific was announced on 15 August 1945, the RAAF had 173,622 personnel and 5,620 flying aircraft, a massive increase on the 3,489 people and 246 aircraft it had had at the war’s beginning (Stephens 2001, 173). As with the army and navy, the RAAF now faced the task of demobilising its wartime personnel and equipment, and returning to a smaller, peacetime force. To make matters more difficult, this demobilisation began before a precise size and structure for the peacetime service had been determined (Stephens 2001,
As a result, it was decided to form an Interim Air Force of 20,000 personal to last for two years (1946-1948) before a Permanent Air Force could be established. The Interim Air Force was tasked with maintaining a basic force and continuing the nucleus of the organisation. Its three main tasks were to keep track of developments in air warfare, to train air and ground staff and to maintain a minimum holding of aircraft and facilities (Stephens 2001, 177). It also had to supply personnel and aircraft for the RAAF’s contribution to the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF) in Japan, which consisted of three fighter squadrons, one base squadron, one maintenance squadron and one fighter control unit, that arrived at Kure, Japan on 21 February 1946 (Wilson, 2005, 138).

Once a permanent force was established in 1948, its first priorities were to build on the air force’s existing flying schools and research and development units by creating a cadet college to train future officers (until this point RAAF officers had been trained by the army), a staff college to enable those officers to further their training as required and an apprenticeship scheme to train future mechanics and other tradespeople (including musicians)(Stephens 2001, 185).

Information on this period varies markedly between that focusing on demobilisation and the Interim Air Force (1945-48) and the Permanent Air Force (1948 onwards). Information on the Interim Air Force is sparse, the RAAF was in a state of flux, with between 9000 and 18,000 members being demobilised each month in the first year (Stephens 2001, 173). The band service was still made up of volunteers and there is little archival evidence on the activities of bands during this time, although reports of their performances often feature in newspaper coverage as local newspapers around the country reported on the many events conducted to usher in the new era of peace. These included celebrations on VP Day (marking Victory in the Pacific), welcome home parades for returning soldiers and memorial services for the war dead (Anon 2945h, 4; Anon 1945l, 2; Anon 1945p, 1; Anon 1948a, 5). After 1948 the archival records for the RAAF generally become more complete, and in 1952 the service recruited its first fulltime band. From this point onwards archival records of the band service become more detailed.

At the end of the war, existing RAAF members who wished to join the Interim Air Force rather than being demobilised had to submit an application form by 28 February 1946 (Stephens 2001, 178). They did so on the understanding that they would probably be demoted from their current rank. This was done to ensure that the new RAAF did not become too top heavy; with so many members having been promoted on active service, there was a real risk that the RAAF could become a service of all officers, with few men working beneath them. To ameliorate this effect, a number of measures were put into place. Officers who had served as permanent members of the RAAF before the war could maintain their pre-war rank, but lost any temporary or acting positions they had been awarded during the conflict. Officers who had joined during the war had their ranks reduced and had to serve out two years in the (part-time) Citizen Air Force before resuming fulltime positions (Stephens 2011, 177). Pre-war leading aircraftmen (LACs) were allowed to maintain that rank, but those...
who joined during the war were demoted to the lowest rank, aircraftman I (ACI). The policy for NCOs and warrant officers was more complex, but 20 per cent of them were demoted to LAC or ACI (Stephens 2001, 178).

The prospect of demotion, combined with war fatigue and competition from civilian employers meant that the RAAF struggled to maintain its personnel levels during the Interim Air Force period. Attempting to fill 19,156 roles, only 7,597 applications were received from members wishing to continue their service, with aircrews being particularly short-handed (Stephens 2001, 178). In May 1946 the federal government, facing post-war budget constraints, further reduced its funding of the RAAF, so that its proposed personnel cap fell from 19,156 to 15,000, but, even this target was not reached, so that by the end of 1948 when the Interim Air Force was due to be replaced by a permanent force, the RAAF had just 7,897 personnel.

The post-war period began with a flurry of activity for the members of RAAF bands, with a sudden increase in performances in victory parades, welcome home ceremonies and memorial services. On 16 August 1945, the day after peace in the Pacific was declared, an unnamed RAAF band (probably No 1 RAAF Band from Laverton) performed in front of the Melbourne Town Hall to an audience of singing, dancing revellers (Anon 1945e, 13). On the same day the RAAF band from Bradfield Park in NSW was in Canberra to perform at the Australian War Memorial as part of a national thanksgiving service, with RAAF trumpeter LAC Whitehead playing the Last Post and Reveille (Anon 1945f, 2). Later in the day they performed a recital at Manuka Park. In Perth, also on 16 August a RAAF band joined with a RAN Band, a US Navy Band, an Australian Military Forces (army) band and an RSL band in a victory march followed by a thanksgiving service (Anon 1945g, 8).

It was not only RAAF bands based in capital cities that were called upon to perform in victory celebrations. Kalgoorlie RAAF band (WA) led locals, including members of the armed forces and auxiliary organisations, veterans from previous wars, and members of the Red Cross, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, in a parade from the local RSL hall to Kalgoorlie’s Soldiers’ Memorial (Anon 1945h, 4). Likewise, RAAF Band Amberley (Qld) performed for “large crowds” in front of the Town Hall in their local town of Ipswich, sharing the bill with other local bands, including the Ipswich and Bundamba Salvation Army Corps bands (Anon 1945i, 2).

Peacetime celebrations did not end with the victory parades, which were quickly followed by farewell ceremonies for overseas soldiers (mostly Americans) who had been stationed in Australia, welcome home parades for people returning from overseas and the first peacetime anniversary celebrations of many significant battles. For example, on 10 September 1945 a RAAF band performed in a welcome home parade for returning airmen up Bourke Street, along Swanston and Collins Streets to the Melbourne Cricket Ground. The Melbourne newspaper, The Argus, described the effect the band had on crowds (Anon 1945j, 3). According to its report, prior to the parade, no audience had gathered,
no barricades were in place and only a few flags had been erected. It seemed that the local populace had forgotten that the parade was to be held:

> But the first strains of the band reminded them, and immediately there was a rush from shops, from pavements, and safety zones, and before the band, and its huge lorry and trailer, had turned from Bourke st into Swanston st, there was an avenue of cheering, shouting people lining the way (Anon 1945j, 3).

Despite being in regular use for peace celebrations, RAAF band members were quickly being demobilised back into civilian life. As early as 22 August 1945, just one week after victory in the Pacific was declared, the *Kalgoorlie Miner* warned its readers that an upcoming dance at which the local RAAF band was playing, “may possibly be the last concert programme to be rendered by this band” (Anon 1945k, 4). The band did play again, on 9 October 1945, as part of celebrations for the arrival of the Super Fortress *Waltzing Matilda* at Kalgoorlie air base, however, by this time band numbers were so “seriously depleted” that they had to be joined by members of the local amateur brass band, the Boulder Mines Band, in order to have enough musicians to perform (Anon 1945l, 2). The Port Pirie RAAF band even performed at the closing ceremony for the flight school at which it was based, No 3 Air Observer’s School (Anon 1945m, 1).

As the number of RAAF bands decreased due to demobilisation, those that were left found themselves travelling to participate in performances in areas no longer serviced by a band. On 22 December 1947 the Richmond band travelled from Sydney to Brisbane to take part in a ceremony in which 1,400 United States war dead whose bodies had been collected after being killed in the Pacific region, were being repatriated to the United States from Queensland for burial (Anon 1945n, 5; Anon 1945o 1), and in February 1948 they travelled to Canberra to perform at the Governor General’s residence, Yarralumla, and Parliament House (Anon 1948a, 5).

By the time the permanent air force was reinstated in 1948, the number of RAAF bands had markedly diminished from at least 19 at the end of the war, to just four bands, all run on a volunteer basis, they were Laverton (Vic), Richmond (NSW), Forest Hill (NSW) and Darwin (NT)(Anon 1949a, 12; Anon 1949b, 2). The fact that the Richmond band had travelled to Amberley to perform implies that that base’s band had either ceased to exist or was not of a high enough standard for major events; however the Amberley band either improved or reformed and was again performing by 1954 when they were also allocated a fulltime, professional bandmaster (Anon 1948b, 1; Royal Australian Air Force 1954). No RAAF bands served in either the Korean War or the Malayan Emergency, although it is possible that some personnel who had served in Australian-based volunteer bands were posted to these conflicts (the first time a RAAF band was sent to a combat zone was in Vietnam in 1969)(Van den Akker 2015).

Although the air force was now on a permanent footing, the small number of bands meant that those still in existence, especially Laverton and Richmond...
bands, which were the most experienced and featured professional conductors, continued to be called upon for performances across the country, travelling as far as Brisbane and Adelaide to perform (Anon 1948b, 1; Anon 1950a, 3; Anon 1950b, 2). In 1952 there had also been a planned Royal visit to Australia from Princess Elizabeth and her husband the Duke of Edinburgh that was cancelled after the death of King George VI on 6 February. In preparation for this visit, the best players from each of the amateur RAAF bands were bought together to form an elite RAAF band that would tour the country with the royal couple (Anon 1952a, 1). After the cancellation of the Royal Tour, the band did one performance at the Royal Adelaide Exhibition, before being disbanded only two days after its formation. Frank Crawthorne, musical director of the exhibition claimed, “No band of the standard of this one has had so short and spectacular a career” (quoted in Anon 1952a, 1). Forming individual bands for every special occasion was clearly not a long-term solution to having a professional standard band in the RAAF, and by the time the royal couple, now Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and HRH the Duke of Edinburgh returned to Australia in 1954, the RAAF would have its own professional band service (RAAF Historical Section 1995, 184).

RAAF Central Band, as this new, professional RAAF band would be known, was not a brass band like the earlier amateur ones had been, but would be a full concert band made up of woodwind, brass and percussion instruments, thus making it capable of playing a wider range of music and bringing it into line with British military bands and the RAN (RAAF Historical Section 1995, 184). Flight Lieutenant (Flt Lt) Lawrence Herbert Hicks, who had previously been the bandmaster of the British Army’s Black Watch Band was enlisted in London as RAAF Director of Music on 3 September 1951 and his first job was to purchase suitable instruments from London and recruit members for the new band (Entry dated 2 June 1952, Royal Australia Air Force 1952-1985). He purchased a full set of concert band instruments (brass, woodwind and percussion) from London for £7000 (Anon 1952b, 2). The band’s existing set of brass band instruments would be redistributed among the five existing amateur RAAF bands (Laverton, Richmond, Forest Hill, Amberley and Darwin), which would continue to provide music on their local bases and in their local communities (Royal Australia Air Force 1954). This included the amateur brass band based at Laverton that continued to perform despite now having a professional band at its base (Burt, personal communication 2012). The RAAF Central Band aimed to have 43 members and, like British military bands and RAN bands before them, musicians would be expected to double on a second instrument to allow the band to perform in various combinations, in this case a concert band, a dance band, a choir, a drum corps and an ensemble of fanfare trumpets (RAAF Historical Section 1995, 184; Entries dated 2 June 1952 and 17 July 1953, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).

Recruiting for the band began not in Australia, but in London. Just as the RAN had struggled to recruit musicians experienced in military band music in the 1930s, Hicks realised that his band could benefit from musicians experienced in the British military system to hold key positions in the band and to help train
Archie Francis Burt was one of the British musicians recruited to join the band. By 1952, 30-year-old Burt had 20 years experience as a military musician behind him (Burt, personal communication 2012). The son of a high-ranking officer in the British Army, Archie had begun studying at the Newport Market Army Bands School at the age of nine. When he reached 14, the age of enlistment in the British Army in 1936, Archie was driven by one of his teachers directly from the residential school to a recruiting centre at Scotland Yard where he enlisted as a band boy in the Buffs 3rd Regiment of Foot and played the bassoon (Burt, personal communication 2012). As a band boy he served in British Colonial India and on the home front at the start of the war, but when he turned 18 in 1940 he qualified for active service and was sent to the Middle East. His minimum service period was nine years plus three years reserve from when he turned 18, and so when Hicks recruited him in 1952 Burt was still serving out his reserve period and could have been called up by the British Army at any time. Burt had temporary work as a civilian mailman, but had failed to find any permanent employment, so when his wife saw an advertisement in the Daily Express calling for bandsmen for the Australian services, he travelled to Australia House in London for an interview.

Flt Lt Hicks conducted a brief interview in person:

... he was very abrupt to talk to, you know? He didn’t say much. “What’s your name?”
“Burt” ...
“Alright, what do you play?”
I said “I think I play bassoon” ...
He said “Oh, we need one of those, you can enlist” (Burt, personal communication 2012).

After this brief interview, Burt went straight to the recruitment office:

So I thought I was in heaven because I went into the recruiting place and there was an Australian man there, and he said “You want to join up, son?”
I said “Yes!”
So he said “Alright, what’s your name. Right, sign here.” And he said “Oh by the way, there’s six week’s pay”. Six weeks! And that was for the joy of the trip out from England to Australia by boat ... So when I went home, I told my wife, I said “We’re going to Australia,” and she said “We can’t”
I said “Yes, we can!” I said, “They’ve paid me for it!” She couldn’t believe it (Burt, personal communication 2012).

When Flt Lt Hicks arrived back in Melbourne on 5 March 1952 he embarked on a local recruiting campaign and advertisements were placed in newspapers across the country (see Figure 64)(Entry dated 2 June 1952, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).
1952-1985). He aimed to have the band together and ready to perform by 17 September 1952 for the presentation of the Queen’s Colour (Entry dated 2 June 1952, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). However, recruiting professional musicians into the RAAF in the 1950s proved just as difficult as it had for the RAN in the 1930s. Flt Lt Hicks commented that, “Conditions for a permanent Military Band in the RAAF were not sufficiently attractive to induce (sic) the right type to come in” (Entry dated 2 June 1952, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).

Hicks noted that many potential band members were reluctant to sign on for a minimum six years of service, and it seems that the RAAF’s pay rates of £11/7/6 for single men and £13/4/6 for married men were often not enough to overcome this reluctance (Entry dated 2 June 1952, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985; Anon 1952c, 2). Some of the new band members had previously been members of Laverton RAAF base’s amateur brass band who auditioned and were deemed good enough to join the professional band, but, these only supplied small numbers of brass musicians, and did not fill out the concert band’s new woodwind section (Burt, personal communication 2012). In the end, Hicks had to use his influence and reputation among fellow musicians in Australia to convince people to join and, “... by a dint of personal approach to a selected number of inquiries the strength of the band on 17th September (1952) was 20 all ranks” (Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).

Recruitment continued to be a problem for the RAAF Central Band, aiming to reach 43 members, all ranks, the band did not reach 40 members until April 1953 and by the end of 1955 they were still three members short of their target.
(Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1983). Hicks also continued to recruit men from outside of Australia, and planned his holidays around recruitment drives. As well as a handful of British musicians, he successfully recruited two Austrians while on a trip to Vienna and four Italians while in the International Zone in Trieste (Burt, personal communication 2012).

These new RAAF bandsmen received little training before taking up their posts. The short turn around time between auditions in July and the first performance in September did not allow time for the original recruits to complete basic training, and the band members commenced their musical duties before their military training. Experienced British military musicians had been recruited to assist Australian musicians, some of whom had little experience in military music, but there is no evidence of exactly what this assistance entailed. It is perhaps this lack of formal military training that caused Archie Burt to notice when he first arrived that in the RAAF band “discipline was a bit different” to his experiences in the British Army, stating “Well, you didn’t get away with anything in England. Not at all. Here [in Australia] it was a bit more liberal” (Burt, personal communication 2012).

Military discipline may have been slightly lax, but Hicks demanded high levels of musical discipline: he regularly gave his band members impromptu theory tests, asking them to play scales at random and to answer basic music theory questions in rehearsals. He also quickly instituted his own trade tests to ensure that his men were making sufficient musical improvement and to allow them to qualify for increases in pay and rank based upon their musical prowess (Burt, personal communication 2012). In June 1953 the band started preparations for their trade tests, undertaking a weekly course in music theory and aural training (Entry dated 1 June 1953, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).

Band members did not begin their military basic training course until 7 September 1953, almost a full year after the formation of the band (Entry dated 7 September 1953, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). They sat the written section of the course in November, finally graduating from basic training on 9 November (Entry dated 9 November 1953, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). In June 1954, almost two years after the band’s recruitment, they completed a four-day Ground Combat course to finally complete their Recruit Training (Entry dated 3 June 1954, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).

This policy of rushing musicians into service in response to changes in military circumstances can be seen in all three periods under investigation and in all three forces. Pre-war RAN musicians recruited to serve on HMAS Sydney II received little in basic training in the rush to fill band places on the RAN’s newly acquired fleet of light cruisers. During World War II musicians serving in both the army and navy had their training periods shortened after Japan entered the war in 1941 and now, post-war RAAF musicians had their training delayed in order to have a professional band service play for the presentation of the Queen’s Colour. Despite their rushed entrance into the forces, these musicians were expected to be able to uphold the musical traditions and ceremonies of the military with little military training.
In 1954 the RAAF joined the navy and the army in recruiting apprentice musicians into its ranks. The first intake of ten boys was recruited in late 1954 and began training at Point Cook Air Base in January 1955 (Anon 1954a, 5). As with army and navy, RAAF band boys, aged between 15 and 17 years, did not need to have any musical experience upon enlistment (Anon 1954a, 5). The RAAF publicity encouraged boys to sign up with the claim that “The Central Band is the only complete full-time military band in Australia” (Anon 1954a, 5) a claim which seems unusual given that both the army and navy had band programs and were already training apprentice musicians when the RAAF began this recruitment campaign. However, as was discussed in Chapter 1, the term ‘military band’ can either refer to a band that is part of the military, or an ensemble with an instrumentation of woodwind, brass and percussion (usually called ‘concert bands’ in Australia). Under this second definition, Australian Army bands, which at this time were brass bands, were not technically military bands. The navy had concert bands, but most of these performed on board ship. One could argue that these small, shipboard bands were not ‘complete’ military bands (i.e., they did not have enough members to ensure full instrumentation), or that the fact that musicians served on board ship meant that they were not ‘fulltime’ musicians (although, as we have seen, by the 1950s RAN musicians had few non-musical duties other than action stations in times of emergencies) (see Chapter 4). The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) had had a professional civilian military (concert) band since the 1930s, but it had disbanded in 1951 (Australian Broadcasting Commission 2014, 3).

Apprentice musicians underwent a two-year training course. The RAAF did not release a detailed syllabus of its apprentice musician program, but it is probable that they received very similar training to the apprentice musicians already being trained by the army and navy, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Although they were able to form their own drum corps during training, apprentice musicians only had limited access to performance opportunities with the main band because child labour laws limited them to only working certain days and hours, and many performances fell outside of these times (Burt, personal communication 2012; Royal Australian Air Force 1954).

As a fully professional band, the RAAF Central Band had more time for performances and rehearsals than had previous RAAF Bands. Their daily routine began with a march past at 8am, at which the band led the approximately 2,000 airmen based at Laverton around the parade ground to the tune of various marches (Burt, personal communication 2012). There is no record of the exact marches played during these ceremonies, but as was shown in Chapter 3, military march repertoire had not changed a great deal since World War I, and the album *Marching in Hi-Fi*, released in 1958, just three years after the period under examination in this thesis, features a number of marches already mentioned, including *El Abanico* (Javaloy), *The Standard of St George* (Alford) and *Great Little Army* (Alford) as well as *Eagle Squadron*, a march written by Alford about the British air force (RAAF Central Band, 1958a). RAAF band march repertoire also included *Point Cook*, a quick march written by the band’s conductor Flt Lt L. H. Hicks. While these daily performances were easily supplied by a professional band, they were extremely time consuming for members of the...
remaining amateur bands (Laverton, Richmond, Forrest Hill, Darwin and Amberley) who had to balance band work with that of their main trade and who were awarded leave in lieu of time spent performing (Royal Australian Air Force 1954). In a memo to RAAF Headquarters dated 30 November 1954, Flt Lt Hicks recommended that amateur bands’ rehearsal time be increased to three hours a week, but that they be excused from daily parades and when they were required for special events, that they only be required for “the last two practice parades” (Royal Australian Air Force 1954). Hicks went on to advise:

> It is a mistaken impression held by many Commanding Officers that continued use of the Band on early rehearsals assists in the smartness of the Unit. The Band should be used to provide the extra lift to turn an ordinary Parade into one which is just that little bit better. If the Band is used too often and for too lengthy a period, the men lose this lift and the parade will sink back into mediocrity (Royal Australian Air Force 1954).

Hicks had aimed to recruit and train the RAAF Central Band in time to perform at the presentation of the Queen’s Colours on 17 September 1952. Despite only having 20 members of his proposed 43 piece band, they held their first performance two days prior to this date at the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne to celebrate the opening of Air Force Week. The band provided music and the fanfare trumpeters sounded the *Last Post* and *Reveille* (Entry dated 15 September 1952, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). Two days later they performed at the presentation of the Queen’s Colours and “received congratulations from the Minister for Air, the Chief of the Air Staff, the Air Member for Personnel and many other senior officers” (Entry dated 17 September 1952, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985).

RAAF Central Band quickly proved the advantages of having a fulltime, professional band. In their first year they averaged 12 performances per calendar month, over and above their daily parade duties, and performed up to three times a day, a feat which would have been impossible for volunteer bandsmen attempting to balance band duties with work in other trades (Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). Performances included two tours each to Ballarat and East Sale, one to Numurkah (all in regional Victoria) and a trip to Sydney for the parading of the Queen’s Colours (Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). The dance band, made up of members of the RAAF Central band and known as the RAAF Dance Orchestra, began rehearsals in January 1953, with bassoon player Archie Burt doubling on string bass, and gave its first performance on 9 February at a fundraiser for the Austin Hospital in the Melbourne suburb of Heidelberg, “the orchestra played for twenty minutes, featuring all types of music; including a trumpet solo, Latin-American numbers, etc.” (Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985; Burt, personal communication 2012). This musical versatility was one of the great strengths of the RAAF’s new professional band service, able to perform as a concert band, drum corps, fanfare ensemble, dance band or choir, this highly trained group of musicians could, and did provide music for every occasion.
The increased versatility of a concert band over a brass band becomes obvious when one examines the different instrumentation of the two ensembles (see Figure 65). The increased range of timbres and pitches allows for a wider variety of repertoire, as well as the opportunity for a wider range of smaller ensembles to be formed from its members. Brass bands are, unsurprisingly, made up of all brass instruments (plus percussion). More than this, other than the trombones, these brass instruments are a homogenous group designed so that their timbre will blend harmoniously. Brass band instruments (other than trombones) all have wide, conical bores that produce a rich, mellow sound (Montagu 1981, 89). The bore of the cornet is, in comparison to its size, narrower than those of the other instruments, but is still broader than the trumpet which plays at the same pitch but has a narrow, cylindrical bore, and perhaps it is the difference between the timbre of the mellow cornet and the strident trumpet that best underlines the blended timbre of the brass band.

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<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Cornet, B flat</td>
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<tr>
<td>***</td>
<td>Trumpet, B flat</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td>Flugel Horn, B flat</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td>French Horn</td>
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<td>Trombone, B flat</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td>Euphonium, B flat</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td>Basses (tubas), E flat</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td>Basses (tubas), B flat</td>
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<tr>
<td>***</td>
<td>String/Electric Bass</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
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</tbody>
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**Figure 65:** Instrumentation, Brass Bands and Concert Bands.

While the brass band aims for tonal homogeneity, the concert band is almost the exact opposite. It features wind instruments of many different types, capable of producing a wide range of timbres. Although string basses are sometimes included in concert band instrumentation, the fact that bassoon player Archie

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1 Known as alto horns in the USA and Germany.
Burt had to double on string bass for the dance band, makes it unlikely that the RAAF band included one in their concert band line-up at this time (string basses are also not able to be played on the march) (Burt, personal communication 2012).

This wide range of instruments required musicians trained in a variety of skills. This would have been a disadvantage for the amateur volunteer bands, where the homogenous brass band instruments allowed people to easily move from one instrument to another with little training as people came and went from their postings. For a fully professional band, however, the broader concert band instrumentation gave them great flexibility in performance styles. RAAF Unit History sheets show that they took full advantage of this fact, sometimes performing as different ensembles at the same performance, such as when the band held its own fundraiser for the Air Force Women’s Association in 1953. They, and a visiting guest pianist Mamie Bell, were the only items on the program, and yet the band was able to play as a military band, a dance orchestra and provide solo performances. Some members of the band even performed (non-musical) comedic sketches (Entry dated 20 April 1953, Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). The band’s exact repertoire for this period is not recorded, but it was certainly broader than that of a brass band. For example, in June 1953 they appeared in a “pageant of British Kings and Queens” to mark the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, in which they performed music from the Elizabethan era until the present day (Anon 1953a, 19). Other entertainment repertoire performed by the RAAF Central Band in the 1950s includes Little Brown Jug (Winner), which had been popularised by Glenn Miller during World War II, children’s song Baa Baa Black Sheep (traditional) and light classical piece The Flight of the Bumblebee (Rimsky-Korsakov) (RAAF Central Band 1958b). Music for ceremonial occasions was still often taken from the RAAF Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions arranged by Gullidge (see Appendix 4). For example, at the commemoration ceremony for the Battle of Britain, held at St Paul’s Cathedral in Melbourne on 20 September 1952, the RAAF Central Band played Gullidge’s arrangement of Handel’s Dead March from the oratorio Saul (see Figure 62) (Anon 1953b, 6).

By the time the royal couple, now Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, rescheduled their Australian trip in February 1954 the RAAF Central Band was an experienced, well-trained ensemble. They accompanied the royal couple on their tour to Canberra, Melbourne and Perth. Again their versatility proved essential, with the band performing any music for a wide range of performances. They performed highly ceremonial performances such as when Her Majesty opened parliament and reviewed the troops in Canberra, where the band played national anthem, God Save the Queen, as the Queen arrived at Parliament House (see Figure 60) (Anon 1954b, 3). Their entertainment performances included appearing at an Ex-Servicemen’s Rally in Canberra, also attended by the Queen, in which the band played For He’s a Jolly Good Fellow (traditional) (Anon 1954c, 1). The Queen also laid a dedication at the Melbourne Shrine of Remembrance, where the fanfare trumpeters played the Last Post and Reveille. Later the band accompanied a choir and provided incidental music at the Victorian School Children’s Physical Education Display at
the Melbourne Cricket Ground and entertained crowds at the York Trotting Meeting in rural Western Australia (Royal Australian Air Force 1952-1985). When the Queen was welcomed to Perth at Victoria Park the band’s performance was delayed by several minutes when police had to be called in to calm excited crowds when “people pressed hard against the bandsmen” (Anon 1954d, 1).

The RAAF Central Band had been specifically recruited to provide a pool of musicians who did not have other duties distracting them from their band work, and Flt Lt Hicks was determined that that status be maintained:

... we rehearsed with Mr Hicks, because he had his own little empire. He wouldn’t stand any nonsense from any senior officers coming in and saying that they’d want some men for doing something else, he’d say “No, they’re in the band” ... He was very protective of us, and I suppose in a way, he wasn’t very popular, you see, with the hierarchy ... He stood on his dig and he said “No they’re the band and they’re my people” ... (Burt, personal communication 2012).

The post-war period saw the RAAF band service shift from a series of volunteer brass bands, to a fulltime, professional band service with concert band instrumentation. This new instrumentation not only bought the RAAF bands in line with the British military and the RAN (but not the Australian army, which was still using brass bands), but also provided the RAAF with a much more flexible group of musicians, able to reform into a variety of different ensembles and thus meet the musical varied needs of the service, from military parades and formal ceremonies to dances and children’s entertainment.

Conclusions

The story of the RAAF band service between 1930 and 1955 is one of slowly increasing professionalization. In 1930 the RAAF itself was a small force, having become a separate arm of the military less than a decade previously. It featured just one volunteer brass band, based in Point Cook, Victoria. During the 1930s a second amateur band was formed at Richmond Air Base. During this time, the RAAF had just one professional musician, Honorary Flying Officer Bandmaster Hugh Niven.

World War II saw the rapid expansion of both the RAAF and its amateur band service with bands increasing from two to at least 19. Uniquely among the armed forces at the time, some of these bands featured female members serving in the WAAAF. This would be the only time women were welcomed into mainstream Australian military bands prior to the 1980s.

While the army and navy featured bands that travelled with their regiments or ships, RAAF bands were firmly tied to their bases due to the nature of air service which meant that air crews needed to be stationed on bases that had access to ground crews, runways and the like. As a result RAAF bands were not required to tour with their units as were those in the army and navy.
While ceremonial music for the army and navy aimed to reinforce long-standing military traditions, the RAAF, which had been formed as recently as the 1920s, did not have such pre-existing traditions. As a result the early RAAF bands had to create such traditions for the young service. This was done by drawing on the pre-existing traditions of the army and navy that the Australian public was already accustomed to. Early RAAF bands used brass band instrumentation, already familiar from both army bands and the widespread amateur brass banding movement. RAAF bands performed alongside army and navy bands at many ceremonial events, including ANZAC Day and Armistice/Remembrance Day. Ceremonial signals, such as the *Last Post* and *Reveille* were taken from army band repertoire as were many marches including *El Abanico* (Javaloys), *The Standard of St George* (Alford) and *Great Little Army* (Alford). To these were added marches that specifically referenced the experiences of members of the air force, including *Eagle Squadron* (Alford) and *Point Cook* (Hicks). This combination of using existing works already familiar in a military context alongside air force-specific repertoire allowed the RAAF to form its own musical and ceremonial voice while still staying firmly rooted in recognisable military repertoire.

During World War II the RAAF’s ceremonial repertoire was standardised with the introduction of *RAAF Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions*. This book provided a series of standardised arrangements for a range of ceremonial situations. This not only meant that there was continuity between ceremonial performances within the RAAF, but also between the air force and the army, as the content of the RAAF book was identical to *Australian Military Forces Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions*, supplied to army bands. Entertainment performances had no such standardised repertoire and bandmasters continued to rely on popular arrangements of the time.

The main problem with having an amateur band service was that members’ official air force trade duties often clashed with band rehearsals and performances and band members were often transferred to other bases with no thought given to their band duties. In 1941 the Group Captain of Richmond Air Base successfully applied to the Air Board to have transfers cancelled for anyone serving in the RAAF Band, Richmond. As Sydney’s most senior band, the RAAF Band, Richmond, was called upon to provide musical services across Australia’s most populous city and recent postings had left them short of solo cornets and euphoniums. The approval of this submission was the first step to the professionalization of the band service that would take place post-war.

After victory was declared in the Pacific, the RAAF, along with the army and navy, went through a period of demobilisation during which the number of volunteer bands dropped from at least 19 to just four. The best musicians from these four bands were bought together to perform at the planned visit of Princess Elizabeth, which was later cancelled due to the death of the King. Although this band performed at a high standard, the Air Board realised that such a band could not be cobbled together for every important ceremonial event and plans were put in place for a fully professional band service. This service was formed in 1952 under ex-British Army Bandmaster Lawrence Hicks. The
newly formed RAAF Central Band, based in Laverton, Victoria, consisted of the best of the formerly volunteer bandsmen, new recruits from Australia and ex-bandsmen recruited from British and European forces. The increased professionalization of the band service allowed the change from brass bands (the foundation of Australia’s largest amateur banding movement) to concert bands with a greater range of instruments and timbres. This in turn allowed musicians to reform into other ensembles when needed and bought the RAAF into line with both the RAN and British Forces (the Australian Regular Army would follow in the 1960s). At the same time the apprentice musicians’ course was introduced, providing training for the next generation of RAAF musicians. Between them, these changes put in place the foundation for the modern, fully professional band service seen in the 21st century.
Chapter 6: Conclusions

This thesis has interviews with ten military band veterans and their families at its core, discussing their experiences before, during and after World War II. It is the first study to examine the working lives of musicians from all three of Australia's armed forces at this time, and, given the advanced age of the research participants, it is likely to be the last time we are able to hear of their experiences in their own words. They, together with archival records and contemporary newspaper reports, tell a story of a rapidly changing band service. They tell of barely-trained, part-time militiamen who went on to become the last generation of Australian military musicians to see combat; of highly-trained radar operators who became fulltime bandsmen; and of women, welcomed into bands during wartime, only to be excluded for another 40 years once peace reigned.

Despite all of these changes, I have shown that the ceremonial performances of Australia's military bands remained fairly static. Much of the repertoire from this period including marches, hymns and signals, had been in use since World War I, and much of it is still in use today. The military ceremonies that my research participants participated in, including ANZAC Day, Remembrance Day, military funerals and parades, would still be easily recognisable to present-day audiences. Roland Bannister identifies that long-standing traditions are a "powerful element of military rhetoric" (1994, 34). It is military musicians, "soldiers whose specialty is music and ceremony" (Bannister 1996, 133), who are tasked with upholding this sense of tradition, and they must do so, regardless of the changes going on around them.

This chapter will begin by summarising the concepts of memory and trauma outlined in Chapter 1, and how they relate to interviews conducted in this thesis. As discussed in Chapter 1 the focus of this study has been on three research areas: non-musical roles and training, music and performance, and organisational structure, each of which will be explored in turn.

Memory and Trauma

A central part of this study has been a series of ten interviews conducted with military band veterans and their families. These interviews were conducted some 70 years after the events under discussion, and often drew on memories that were traumatic. In this section I will explore how the passing of time and the associated trauma affected these interviews.

A number of the participants in this study related stories involving trauma. These included Ron Williamson's discussion of not being allowed to help a dying soldier under fire and Douglas Watkins' description of stopping whilst under fire to allow a priest to administer the last rights to his patient. However, descriptions of traumatic events were often stopped-short as the men involved fought back tears. Their eyes became unfocussed, clearly picturing the long-ago scenes in graphic detail. Williamson admitted that the scene still played out in
his dreams at night. It was not uncommon for participants to seem to run out of words mid-sentence, before suddenly moving to a new, less distressing topic.

These occurrences fit within the existing framework for understanding human being’s ability to express grief and trauma. In many cases, people attempting to discuss trauma literally find that words fail them, that they are unable to express the things they have witnessed, essentially forcing them into silence (Clendinnen 1998, 35-6). Fussell, in his study of World War I veterans discovered that when returned soldiers did try to express their grief, they found that listeners were shaken by what they had to say, and as a result many learnt to keep their grief to themselves (Fussell 1975, 170). Damousi also demonstrated that, in the post-World War II period in particular, people were actively discouraged from expressing their grief over wartime experiences and were encouraged to stay silent, further increasing their difficulties in expressing themselves all these years later (Damousi 2001, 194).

Two of the devices that research participants in this study used to help them discuss traumatic experiences were distancing and humour. Distancing occurs when a speaker attempts to remain emotionally aloof from the topic of discussion. One way participants in this study employed distancing was by choosing to tell of someone else’s experience rather than their own. The friend or colleague may have experienced similar trauma to the speaker, but by telling of someone else’s experiences they are able to emotionally distance themselves from the events in question. Humour can be another form of distancing (Damousi 2001, 101) and being able to laugh at traumatic experiences has been shown to be a vital coping mechanism for soldiers (Gibbs, cited in Fussell 1975, 8).

The life of Jack Parry was used by a number of participants as a way of using distancing and humour to discuss traumatic aspects of the war (see Chapter 3). Stories of Jack Parry always began with humour, of tales of his heavy drinking, of setting the band room on fire or bouts of accidental public nudity. At the end of each story the participant would pause, and then go on to tell stories of the trauma that Parry had experienced and of the resulting post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) that he suffered. They told of his time in a Japanese PoW camp, of his permanent limp resulting from the beatings he endured and of his post-war habit of always keeping his pockets full of bread crusts and cigarette butts in case of emergency. The story of Jack Parry, a well-known, highly skilled but damaged bandmaster, allowed participants in this study to engage with some of the darkest sides of the conflict they participated in, without have to discuss their own traumatic experiences directly.

The next three sections will discuss my findings as they relate to my three main research areas outlined in Chapter 1: non-musical roles and training, music and performance, and organisational change. By exploring the changes and continuities in these areas I will demonstrate how all three branches of the military, led by the RAN, gradually increased the professionalization of their band services by introducing a coherent career structure for musicians. Despite changes in training and non-musical roles and in the make-up of the military
organisations for which they worked, I will also show strong continuities in the ceremonial duties of Australian military musicians between 1930 and 1955.

Non-Musical Roles and Training

Although my high school band-mates and I, growing up in the 1990s, saw membership of a military band as a much-coveted dream, this study has found that all three of the armed services struggled to recruit musicians at some point between 1930 and 1955. This phenomenon was most obvious with the RAN as the navy was the only branch of the forces specifically recruiting fulltime musicians as early as 1930.

Despite offering fulltime work for musicians during the Great Depression, this study has found that the pre-war RAN struggled to recruit musicians to man its new fleet of light cruisers (see Chapter 4). There were a number of reasons for this including strictly defined recruitment requirements, a lack of shore leave and no coherent career structure for musicians. The RAN was eventually able to attract enough musicians to its fleet by loosening its recruitment requirements, introducing a wastage pool to allow musicians periods of extended shore leave and introducing a series of trade tests allowing for increases in both pay and rank (this will be discussed in more detail in the Organisational Change section below).

The influx of hostilities-only recruits during World War II made recruitment easier, however during this time both the RAN and the RAAF struggled to man their increasingly large band corps. Both organisations dealt with the problem in a fairly informal manner. The RAN’s Bandmaster at HMAS Cerberus seconded any new naval recruits who could play an instrument into his band service, sometimes against their will (see Chapter 4). Meanwhile the RAAF, relying on volunteers from other trades to fill-out their bands, opened their bands up to female members of the WAAAF (see Chapter 5). I did not uncover any evidence of army bands having problems finding men to volunteer for wartime band service, in part because bandmen’s non-musical duties as stretcher-bearers appealed to the Christian sense of duty of the large number of amateur bandsmen who were Salvationists (see Chapter 3).

After the war all three branches of the military had to institute new policies to attract a war-weary populace to become military musicians. As a result they introduced an apprentice musicians’ course, aimed at training boys between the ages of 15 and 17. They quickly discovered that recruiting boys with no musical experience resulted in many apprentices failing to graduate and archival evidence discovered during this study demonstrates that the military began to directly target recruitment drives to boys living in orphanages with brass band programs at this time. These boys made excellent recruits because they not only
had advanced musical skills but were also accustomed to the rigours of institutional life that the military had to offer.

Although membership of 21st century military bands is considered highly prestigious, this thesis demonstrates that this was not necessarily the case between 1930 and 1955. Starting with the RAN in the 1930s and continuing with all three services post-war, the military had to implement recruitment policies to specifically attract musicians into the forces. This process will be outlined in more detail below in the section discussing Organisational Structure.

My research into musicians’ military training between 1930 and 1955 has demonstrated that both the RAN and the army followed similar trajectories in this field. That is, their levels of technical training slowly increased until the end of World War II, before being limited in the post-war period to allow for increased specialisation as musicians (see Chapters 3 and 4). In the RAN in the 1930s, musicians were already highly trained members of the gunnery team (see Chapter 4). Working in the transmitting station, it was their role to calculate correct targets for the ship’s guns. During peace-time this task was only done when ‘practising’ their action stations; however once war broke out they were often responsible for manning their stations 24 hours a day. With the sinking of HMAS Canberra in 1942 the RN donated HMAS Shropshire to the RAN. The transmitting station on Shropshire contained some of the latest targeting technology – radar, and it was the ship’s musicians who were trained to become some of the first Australians to operate this new technology. However, after the war, with the replacement of light cruisers with much larger aircraft carriers, musicians were freed from their roles in the transmitting station, taking on action stations requiring little training such as transporting ammunition. This in turn freed them to concentrate with more focus on their musical skills.

Pre-war army musicians were part-time militiamen, only attending weekly rehearsals and an annual training camp. Descriptions of their efforts at the rifle range, at which they appeared to “have put a turn or a trill on the bullet” (‘Tone’ 1931, 13) are reminiscent of the military musicians I knew in the 1990s who claimed they would learn to fire a rifle when the infantry learnt to play a C major scale. Although technically trained as stretcher-bearers, their entire military and medical training was limited to an annual, weeklong training camp. Army musicians continued to serve as stretcher-bearers during the war, and although their training was often shortened in the rush to get men into combat, they now had very real medical responsibilities within their regiments. Although existing literature states that the army formed their first command bands in 1949 (Bannister and Whiteoak 2003), evidence provided by research participants in this study, confirmed by archival documents, has uncovered a previously unknown era of these non-combat bands forming as early as 1941 (Williams, personal communication 2011; Australian War Memorial 1941a, 1941b).
Members of these bands became the first Australian military musicians whose sole duty was as musicians and who received little military training over and above the basic training course at recruitment. After the war, the percentage of army musicians serving in these command bands increased, and while regimental bandsmen continued their role as stretcher-bearers into the Korean War, by the time of the Malayan Emergency they, like their RAN counterparts, were limited to non-musical roles that required little training, freeing them to concentrate on their role of musicians.

Unlike their army and navy counterparts, RAAF musicians before and during the war did not receive specific non-military training as a group and were instead drawn from a range of mustering (see Chapter 5). However, in the post-war period, they too were removed from their non-musical duties as a fulltime band corps was formed. Archival documents demonstrate that military training for this new RAAF band was given such a low priority that the original members did not complete their recruit training until almost two years after enlistment.

Although removing musicians from frontline military roles seems, at first, to be a backwards step for their place in the armed forces, this study has found that it was, in fact, vital to the modernisation of Australian military bands. World War II demonstrated the importance of these bands, they provided encouragement for recruitment campaigns, pacified locals in occupied areas, entertained weary troops, and helped the populace to celebrate victories and mourn the dead. Their importance was highlighted by the fact that when the army’s regimental bands were stationed overseas, they developed a non-combat, command band corps to service the local Australian population. As roles within the military became more technical, requiring more advanced training, it became impractical to expect soldiers to specialise in two completely separate fields, such as music and medical duties. As a result, during the post-war period all three branches of the armed services created specialist band corps, in which highly trained musicians were able to specialise in military ceremony. This was a defining period in Australian military banding, and created a system of rear echelon musicians which is still a feature of the Australian military today.

**Music and Performance**

While military training for musicians generally became less demanding after the war, I have found the opposite was true of bandsmen’s musical training. Through all three branches of the military there was a gradual increase in the quality of musical training they received over time. This was true both of new recruits and for musicians seeking promotion to positions such as bandmaster.

Although the RAN was recruiting professional musicians before the war, they did not have the facilities to provide musical training to new recruits at this time.
Instead musicians were recruited who already had pre-existing skills and the RAN only provided military-specific musical training in marching, ceremony and the like (see Chapter 4). Musicians seeking promotion to positions such as bandmaster were either sent to Britain to train at the Royal Naval School of Music or simply promoted locally with little, if any, further training. During the war, with the loss of musicians following the sinking of HMA Ships Sydney II, Canberra and Perth, the RAN band service, lacking both the time and the facilities to train new musicians, seconded any available RAN recruits who demonstrated musical skill into the band service to provide enough musicians to serve the fleet.

Prior to and during the war, both the army and the RAAF’s volunteer band services were based on the amateur brass band movement and their musical training reflected that fact. Many of these musicians had extensive experience in either amateur brass bands or Salvation Army bands and these experienced musicians were responsible for providing informal training, in their own time, to less experienced band members. Olive Jardine’s experience was typical, an experienced organist, Jardine could already read music but had never played a brass band instrument. She was loaned a tenor horn, provided by the Comforts Fund, and was taught to play it by other members of her band (Jardine, personal communication 2012)(see Chapter 5).

After the war all three services began to raise their expectations as to the musical prowess of their band members and, as a result began to offer better musical training. During the 1950s all three services offered an apprentice musicians’ (also known at various times as band boys, boy musicians or junior musicians) course for recruits aged 15 to 17. The original (army) course was 18 months duration but this was soon extended to two years after many of the boys failed to make sufficient musical progress in the time allotted. The boys, many of whom had no prior musical experience, received 30 periods of musical instruction per week (as well as 10 periods of basic military training).

Musical training also improved for more senior musicians after the war. In the interim army, recruitment was often on an ad hoc basis, with local bandmasters often recruiting from among their friends and wartime colleagues. However, in 1950 the ARA began sending potential bandmasters to study at the Royal Military College of Music, Kneller Hall in the United Kingdom, as well with the United States Marines (see Chapter 3). This international training was only provided to the most promising leaders, and many bandmasters were still promoted locally.

The post-war RAN expanded their School of Music in 1951 to provide training not only for apprentice musicians but also to recruit musicians and recruit (musician- buglers), so that by 1951 every new recruit received at least three
months musical training (see Chapter 4). The RAAF began formal training of its musicians with the formation of their first fulltime band in 1952. The original recruits for this band were all experienced musicians and did not undergo a formal training period prior to joining the band (see Chapter 5). Instead, Bandmaster Flt Lt Hicks conducted training within rehearsals, with regular spot quizzes being held for all band members.

This study has found that the trajectory of musical training for Australian military musicians between 1930 and 1955 was a mirror image of their non-musical training as outlined in the previous section. As their roles in medicine, gunnery and other musterings diminished, more time was available to concentrate on musical skills. As World War II demonstrated the important role military bands played (see previous section), so the quality of bands was maintained and improved with increased musical training. By 1955 all three services had a fulltime band corps and the musical expectations of bands increased as a result.

Archival research into band strength and instrumentation of military bands shows that the actual make-up of individual bands underwent little change in both the army and the RAN between 1930 and 1955 (see Chapters 3 and 4). While the RAN and army featured minor changes to band strength and an increase in standardisation over time, only the RAAF made major changes to instrumentation (see Chapter 5). Prior to and during the war the RAAF featured volunteer brass bands. As with army bands at the time, these volunteer brass bands relied on whatever instruments and personnel they had available. With the post-war creation of a fully professional band service instrumentation was changed to a concert band format with wind, brass and percussion. Just as the RAN and the RMC had done before them, the RAAF took advantage of this broad instrumentation, and members’ abilities to double on other instruments to allow concert band members to reform into other ensembles as necessary. As a result, the members of the RAAF’s concert band were able to play variously as a dance band, a choir, a drum corps and an ensemble of fanfare trumpets.

This study has demonstrated a number of advantages to concert band instrumentation over brass bands. As well as enabling band members to break down into other ensembles, the wide range of instruments in concert bands allow for a greater range of timbres. In changing from brass to concert band format, the RAAF also bought its instrumentation in line with not only the RAN but also with British military forces, allowing for joint performances without having to make new arrangements of repertoire. John Whiteoak has demonstrated that in Australia brass bands were seen as a primarily amateur genre (Whiteoak 2001, 31) and the military’s gradual move from brass to concert bands reflects this. In all three branches of the military, part-time amateur bands featured brass band instrumentation. When the RAN introduced
its first fulltime band prior to World War I, it was differentiated from amateur bands by its concert band instrumentation (see Chapter 4). Likewise, when the RAAF formed its first fulltime band in the 1950s it too had concert band instrumentation. The army would eventually follow this pattern, phasing in concert band instrumentation for its bands from 1964. While I do not argue that brass bands are an inherently amateur genre (bands in the New Zealand army and navy, for example, still use brass band instrumentation in the 21st century), I, like Whiteoak before me, argue that they were perceived as amateur ensembles in Australia during the period under discussion. As a result, the gradual shift from brass to concert band instrumentation can be seen as part of the ongoing shift towards greater levels of professionalism already outlined in this thesis.

Military band performances serve two main functions, reinforcing military tradition and history, and providing a friendly, public face of the military to encourage the support of the populace. These functions are served by two distinct forms of performance: ceremonial and entertainment performances (with some performances featuring aspects of both genres). I argue that ceremonial performances, with their links to tradition and history, have undergone very little change. In contrast, entertainment performances must be more flexible if they are to hold the interest of audiences over time.

Ceremonial performances, with their strong continuities are used to reinforce tradition and history. These include ceremonies such as ANZAC Day and Armistice/Remembrance Day, military funerals and ceremonies such as march out parades (marking cadets’ graduation) and parades celebrating the departure or return of troops. These ceremonial performances underwent little change between war and peacetime, although during war they were, of course, more frequent.

This need to reinforce military tradition meant that there was a great deal of continuity in ceremonial repertoire. There was little change in march repertoire through the three periods covered in this thesis and the different branches of the defence force often played the same march tunes. Many of these tunes had been in use since at least World War I and many are still in use today. During World War II the repertoire for the army and the RAAF became further standardised with the release of the publications *RAAF Band Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions* and *Australian Military Forces Music for Church Parades, Ceremonial and Other Occasions*. Despite their different titles, these two anthologies contained identical repertoire, providing continuity in performance between the two branches of the forces then using brass band instrumentation.

While there was more variation in repertoire for entertainment performances, music was drawn from light classical, music theatre and popular music. In some cases musicians otherwise playing in brass bands provided their own
instruments (clarinets, saxophones, string basses etc) to enable them to play popular music in jazz bands. Participant Wesley Brown and his friends even created their own instruments out of found objects to allow them to provide up-to-date music on their army base (Brown, personal communication 2011). The juxtaposition between the need for continuity in ceremonial performances, and the need to provide music for entertainment performances that was easily recognisable and popular with audiences meant that military musicians had to be familiar with both historical military and modern popular music. As a result we see, for example, that Ross MacNamara, when completing his apprentice musician’s course, spent his working hours learning military marches, and his spare time learning to play popular jazz pieces with his friends (MacNamara, personal communication 2012).

Although entertainment performances were primarily designed to improve morale among military personnel and civilians alike, many of the entertainment performances outlined in this thesis served very real military objectives and I have found that it is these objectives that underwent the most obvious changes between war and peacetime. During times of peace their purposes were usually more general and included providing a public face at major cultural and sporting events, such as the Melbourne Cup; providing entertainment for military personnel during long nights on base or on-board ship, such as Officers’ Mess Concerts and providing public service through fundraising events for local charities. While many of these performances continued through wartime, performances with more specific military goals were also added. These included performances at recruitment drives, aimed at filling positions in a rapidly expanding service; performances in newly-pacified areas aimed at demonstrating the strength of the military through a display of pomp; and, as was evident in the performances in ‘New Villages’ during the Malayan Emergency, performances aimed at winning over the hearts and minds of potential enemy sympathisers.

This juxtaposition between traditional ceremony and popular music was, and still is, central to the musical lives of military musicians and can be seen as reflecting the juxtaposition between their roles as keepers of ceremony and their lives as members of a modern military. In order to fulfil this wide range of requirements, Australia’s military musicians had to keep one eye on the historical traditions of the past, while at the same time maintaining a familiarity with the latest in popular music.

**Organisational Structure**

As has been demonstrated, the working lives of Australian military musicians underwent a great deal of change, and an increasing level of professionalization
between 1930 and 1955. Many of these changes were underpinned by changes to the organisational structure of the band corps. Avant describes the importance of an organisation’s professionalism:

An organization’s *integrity* is similar to what we often call “professionalism”… Standards for training, promotion, and the like induce us to talk about the organization’s “preferences”. The higher the degree of organizational integrity, the greater the ability of the organization to articulate preferences and pursue them as an actor in the political arena (Avant 1994, 12).

During World War II it became obvious to the military hierarchy in both the army and the RAAF that a lack of professionalism was hindering the work done by military bands. Although a system of amateur bands may work during peacetime, once war commenced, musician’s non-musical duties took them away from band work, often resulting in bands which were short-handed or even non-existent.

As a result, by the end of the war both the army and the RAAF had begun to follow the lead of the RAN by privileging band work and by 1955 all three organisations featured fulltime professional bands. However, as early as the 1920s the RAN had discovered that simply providing work for trained musicians was not enough to guarantee a functioning professional band force (see Chapter 4). In order to recruit and retain enough musicians, the RAN had to modernise the organisational structure of its band corps to provide attractive working conditions and a long-term career structure for its members.

Archival evidence demonstrates that prior to this reorganisation, RAN musicians could expect to spend the majority of their 12-year service period on board ship, with little, if any extended shore leave (see Chapter 4). Despite the fact that pay rates on enlistment were under award rates, musicians were unlikely to see any promotions or pay rises in that 12 years. The challenge for the navy was to provide regular shore leave and a promotional structure for musicians. As was shown in the Recruitment section above, facilities for regular shore leave were provided by a wastage pool, featuring surplus musicians stationed at onshore bases who could be transferred to ship-board duty to replace members on shore leave or who were sick or injured.

In order to provide a promotional structure for musicians, a system of trade tests was implemented. These were based on the promotion system for other skilled trades within the military and featured tests conducted at regular intervals at which members were able to demonstrate their skill in a particular trade (in this case music). On the completion of a trade test musicians became eligible for increases in pay and/or rank. Although originally implemented by the navy, trade tests for musicians were eventually adopted by all three branches of the military.

Post-war, trade tests were complemented by increased opportunities for training. Apprentice musician programs meant that boys could begin their
training as young as 15 and increased training facilities in Australia, as well as access to training in the UK and USA, provided musicians who wanted promotion to positions such as drum major and bandmaster, with a platform to improve their skills.

The transformation of Australia’s military bands from a group of predominantly amateur, part-time musicians to a fulltime, professional band service was underpinned by major changes to the organisational structure of band services. This study has demonstrated that a combination of increased opportunities for recruit and advanced training, and a system of trade tests was implemented that provided a coherent career structure for military musicians from apprenticeship to retirement for the first time in Australia’s military banding history.

**Marching Forward, Looking Back**

As the first study to concentrate on Australian military bands before, during and after World War II, this thesis has demonstrated that the period between 1930 and 1955 was one of slowly increasing professionalization for band services in Australia’s army, navy and air force. In the 1930s musicians were expected to specialise in two distinct areas, in the army they combined their music with work as stretcher-bears, RAN musicians doubled in the gunnery team and RAAF band members were taken from a range of musterings.

World War II demonstrated the important role of bands to a range of military objectives. They helped to recruit soldiers, pacify potential insurgents, and lead the nation in both mourning and celebration. As has been shown, these roles proved too important during wartime to be left to men who could be re-assigned to their non-musical roles at any point. This thesis has demonstrated that in the army, this process of specialisation was begun by the formation of command bands as early as 1941, and not in 1949 as previous studies have stated (see Chapter 3).

The problems caused by a lack of professionalization were particularly evident in the RAAF where bands became so short-handed that women from the WAAAF were invited to join mainstream military bands. The discovery of WAAAF members of RAAF bands is a major finding in the field of military band history as it had previously been assumed that women had not played in any mainstream Australian military bands until the 1980s (see Chapter 5).

World War II also saw an increase in the technical requirements for musicians’ non-musical duties. This was particularly evident in the RAN where band members became responsible for operating radar systems, one of the latest technologies available at the time (see Chapter 4). The combination of an increased understanding of the importance of bands and increasing technical requirements in other duties resulted in a post-war move away from requiring musicians to serve in dual roles. Removed from the frontline, post-war musicians were now able to focus solely on performing. In order to support this change to fulltime bands, the organisation of band corps also needed to change.
Starting with the RAN in the 1930s and spreading to the army and RAAF post-war, the military adopted a structure in its band corps, based on those of other skilled trades, aimed at maximising the recruitment, training and retention of musicians. This new system would become the foundation for the modern band corps in use in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century.

The new levels of training also provided higher-quality musical services. Changes in instrumentation to concert bands allowed musicians to reform to provide the latest in jazz and dance music for entertainment performances and improved musical training allowed musicians to stay up-to-date with the latest musical trends.

While this thesis has demonstrated that the period between 1930 and 1955 was a time of great organisational change to Australian military bands, it has also shown that ceremonial performances remained fairly static. Repertoire for marches, hymns and military signals had often been in use since World War I and many are still in use in the present day. Ceremonies such as ANZAC and Armistice/Remembrance Day are still performed in much the same way today as they were in the period under discussion. Indeed, a number of participants still performed the same roles in local commemoration ceremonies as they did while members of the military. Australia’s military musicians may no longer be responsible for keeping up to date with the latest in medicine or radar, but their dual roles as keepers of tradition and ceremony while providing an entertaining, musical face of a modern military means that they will forever be marching forwards, looking back.
## Appendices

### Appendix 1

### Interviews Conducted and Biographical Details of Participants

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<tr>
<th>Participant Name</th>
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<td>Archie Burt</td>
<td>12 February 2012</td>
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<td>Olive Jardine (nee McNeil)</td>
<td>04 July 2012</td>
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<td>Ross MacNamara</td>
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<td>Patricia Porter</td>
<td>28 July 2012</td>
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<td>Ernest Trotter</td>
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<td>Douglas Watkins</td>
<td>11 July 2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jack Williams</td>
<td>31 August 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ron Williamson</td>
<td>06 February 2012</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Biographical Details

#### Lance Corporal Walter Wesley William (Wes) Brown

- **Service**: AIF 1941-1946
- **Bands**: 14th Infantry Battalion, 14/32 Infantry Battalion, 38th Infantry Battalion.
  - **Instruments**: Cornet, Bugle, Side Drum.
- **Overseas/Active Service**: Townsville (classified as a war zone).

(Photo 1 from the private collection of Wes Brown. Photo 2 by author.)
Corporal Douglas W Watkins

Service: AIF 1942-1946.
Bands: 2/14 Battalion, 2/6 Battalion.
Instruments: Eb Bass, Solo Horn.
Overseas/Active Service: Borneo, Celebes.
(Photo 1 from the private collection of Douglas Watkins. Photo 2 by author.)

Bandsman John A (Jack) Griffith

Service: RAN 1944-1946
Bands: HMAS Cerberus, HMAS Shropshire.
Instruments: Cornet, Trumpet, Bugle.
Overseas/Active Service: New Guinea, Pacific Ocean.
(Photo 1 from the private collection of Jack Griffith. Photo 2 by Alison Fulu.)
Captain Jack Arthur Williams

Bands: 29/22 Battalion (CMF), 2nd Brigade Headquarters, Southern Command.
Instruments: Cornet.
Overseas/Active Service: British Commonwealth Occupying Forces (BCOF) Japan.
(Photo 1 from the private collection of Jack Williams. Photo 2 by author.)

Musician 1st Class Kevin Ross (Ross) MacNamara

Instruments: Solo Clarinet, Alto and Tenor Saxophone.
Overseas/Active Service: Malaya.
(Photo 1 from the private collection of Ross MacNamara. Photo 2 by Alison Fulu.)

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1 Photo 1 shows MacNamara with an unidentified fellow apprentice musician. Photo 2 shows him with his wife Priscilla.
Private Ron A Williamson

Bands: 29/46 Infantry Band, Southern Command Area Band.
Instruments: Drums, Vocals.
Overseas/Active Service: Bougainville, Rabaul, New Guinea.
(Photo 1 from the private collection of Ron Williamson. Photo 2 by author.)

Warrant Officer Ernest Trotter

Service: CMF 1948, ARA 1951-1976
Bands: Vic Scottish Regiment Pipes and Drums (CMF), 2RAR, Southern Command, Central Command, Royal Military College Duntroon, Northern Command.
Instruments: Drums (CMF), Cornet, filled in on other brass instruments as needed while acting as Drum Major.
Overseas/Active Service: Malaya.
(Photos from the private collection of Ernest Trotter.)
Flight Lieutenant Archie Francis Burt

Bands: The Buffs 3rd Regiment of Foot (BA), RAAF Central Band Melbourne,
RAAF Band Sydney.
Instruments: Cornet, Clarinet, Bassoon, Saxophone, Double Bass.
Overseas/Active Service: India, England, Egypt, Iraq, Persia, Palestine, Lebanon,
Vietnam.
(Photo 1 from the private collection of Archie Burt. Photo 2 by author.)

Corporal Olive Winifred Jardine (nee McNeil)

Service: WAAAF 1942-1946.
Bands: 5STS (Service Flight Training School) Uranquinty NSW.
Instruments: Organ, Tenor Horn.
Overseas/Active Service: None.
(Photo 1 from the private collection of Olive Jardine. Photo 2 by Alison Fulu.)
Patricia Porter, widow of Sergeant Lloyd Edward Porter (pictured)

Instrument: Cornet.
Bands: 6 Cavalry Brigade (CMF), 4th Australian Armoured Brigade, 2/1 Australian Amphibious Armoured Squadron.
Instruments: Cornet.
Overseas/Active Service: None.
(Photos from the private collection of Patricia Porter.)
Appendix 2
Participant Surveys

Questionnaire - 1

Retired Military Personnel who served as musicians

Name:
Rank:
Serial Number:
Date of Birth:
Year of Enlistment:
Year of Discharge:
Number of Years Service:
Which branch/es of the military did you serve with (please tick all that apply):

☐ Royal Australian Navy
☐ Australian Army
☐ Royal Australian Air Force
☐ Australian Army Reserve
☐ Australian Imperial Force
☐ National Service
☐ Citizen Military Forces
☐ Other (including foreign forces) Please Specify

Please list the military band/s that you played with during your service:

Which instrument/s did you play during your service (including voice)?
Were you responsible for any other duties for the band? (i.e. conducting, arranging, music librarian, truck driving etc)

Were you responsible for any other duties outside of the band? (i.e. wireless operating, fire control, stretcher bearing etc)

Were you ever posted overseas? If so where?

Were you ever posted to a war zone? If so where?

I will be contacting some respondents to take part in longer interviews. These interviews will take place in a place of your choosing and should take no longer than two hours. Do you wish to take part in an interview?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, please provide your contact details:

Phone Number:

Email:

Postal Address:
Questionnaire - 2

Relatives of Deceased members of the Australian Defence Force who served as Musicians

Please complete the following questionnaire about your deceased relative who served as a musician in the Australian Defence Force. If you do not know the answer to any questions, please leave them blank. If you are unsure about any answers, please indicate this, i.e. Year of Enlistment: approx 1940. Don’t worry if you don’t know all of the answers to these questions, even small amounts of information like names and instruments played can go a long way in helping our research.

Your Name:

Have you ever served in the military?  □ Yes □ No

Your Relative’s Name:

Their Relationship to you (i.e. father, grandfather, boyfriend, cousin):

Their Rank:

Their Date of Birth:

Their Year of Enlistment:

Number of Years Service:

Which branch/es of the military did they serve with? (Please tick all that apply)

□ Royal Australian Navy

□ Australian Army

□ Royal Australian Air Force

□ Australian Army Reserve

□ Australian Imperial Force

□ Citizen Military Forces

□ National Service

□ Other (including foreign forces) Please Specify

Please list the military band/s that they played with during their service.
Which instrument/s did they play during their service (including voice)?

Were they responsible for any other duties for the band? (i.e. conducting, arranging, music librarian, truck driving etc)

Were they responsible for any other duties outside of the band? (i.e. wireless operating, fire control, stretcher bearing etc)

Were they ever posted overseas? If so where?

Were they ever posted to a war zone? If so where?

Was their death as a result of their military service? □ Yes □ No

I will be contacting some respondents to take part in longer interviews. These interviews will take place in a place of your choosing and should take no longer than two hours. Do you wish to take part in an interview?

□ Yes □ No

If yes, please provide your contact details:

Phone Number:

Email:

Postal Address:
Appendix 3
Interview Questions

1. Start at the beginning, what came first for you, music or the military?

2. Why did you decide to join the military as a musician?

3. What sort of musical training did you receive in the military?

4. Did you perform any non-musical duties in the military? What sort of training did you receive for that?

5. Tell me about the performances that you participated in.

6. When did you leave the military, what caused that decision?
# Appendix 4

**Australian Military Forces Band Music for Church Ceremonies, Ceremonial and Other Occasions – Table of Contents** (Riley and Shrugg n.d.).

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