Lest We Forget: Fighting Mac, the Army and Contemporary Australia

Daniel Reynaud
Avondale College of Higher Education, daniel.reynaud@avondale.edu.au

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Badge from World War One, “Captain Mac, The first Australian S.A. Chaplain” (Garth R. Hentzschel’s Private Collection)

Two biographies of Commissioner William McKenzie
Authors Col Stringer and Adelaide Ah Kow
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LEST WE FORGET:  
FIGHTING MAC, THE ARMY AND CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIA

By  
Daniel Reynaud

Abstract

One of the jewels in the crown of The Salvation Army in Australia is the life and ministry of Commissioner William McKenzie. Once almost universally known across the country as ‘Fighting Mac,’ McKenzie’s work at Corps, Divisional and Territorial level had a huge impact, and yet was dwarfed by the extraordinary legacy of his three and a half years in the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF). It was during these years that McKenzie reached many tens of thousands of Australians serving overseas, as well as civilians at home in Australia, touching their lives in ways that they would never forget, and forging a platform from which he was able to advance the cause of Christ through the agency of The Salvation Army for twenty years after World War One.

Adding to his actual achievements, his reputation was subjected to mythological inflation, both during his lifetime and afterwards. Sadly, despite the incredible work that he accomplished, since his death, his profile has simultaneously diminished to the point where one of the most recognisable figures of inter-war Australia is now almost completely forgotten – most tragically by a good number of Salvationists. But McKenzie’s story is at its most powerful when it is both fully and accurately remembered.

At a time when The Salvation Army has taken perhaps the most significant hit to its public reputation, McKenzie still holds the potential to act as a positive bridge to Australian society through his connection to Australia’s national unifying myth – the story of Anzac. The history of William McKenzie offers a wake-up call for the Army of the 21st Century.

The purpose of history and memory

The theme of this symposium, ‘History – Our Wake Up Call?’ is inspired by a quote from William Booth, “We must wake ourselves up or somebody else will take our place and bear our cross and thereby rob us of our crown.”1 Booth’s statement does not overtly invoke history as the means by which we may wake ourselves up, hence the question mark in the symposium theme title. Can history function as a spiritual wake-up call? What is the purpose and meaning of history?

Too often history is dismissed as virtually useless, as embodied in the popular statement variously attributed to Friedrich Hegel or G. B. Shaw, “the only thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history”. Unsurprisingly, historians have had something to say on the purpose of their discipline. The seminal Communist feminist historian Gerda Lerner invoked the spiritual

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1 George Scott Railton, Commissioner Dowdle – The Saved Railway Guard (2nd ed.), The Red Hot Library No. 8, (London, UK: The Salvation Army Book Department, 1912), 96.
dimension in asserting that history “gives us a sense of perspective about our own lives and encourages us to transcend the finite span of our life-time by identifying with the generations that came before us and measuring our actions against the generations that will follow. By perceiving ourselves to be part of history, we can begin to think on a scale larger than the here and now.”

In a significantly titled work, *The Uses and Abuses of History*, Margaret MacMillan argued that “History, if it is used with care, can present us with alternatives, help us to form the questions we need to ask of the present, and warn us about what might go wrong.” The wording of her statement reinforces the need for careful history, as history “can have real significance in the present…. For all of us, the powerful and the weak alike, history helps to define and validate us.” MacMillan also noted the role of heroes in history, offering both positive and negative potential in understanding and applying history.

Clearly, if history is misunderstood, misused and misapplied it can lead to mis-definitions, mis-validations, false directions, wrong questions and failed warnings.

Renowned French philosopher Paul Ricoeur’s study of the concepts of memory, history and forgetting offers a framework for understanding the story and myths of Commissioner William McKenzie, the subject of this paper. Ricoeur argued that memory, especially collective memory, was not the same as history, though the two engage in a dialectic. History differs from memory in that it seeks to establish facts, search for explanations, and arrange the knowledge it finds in breadth and significance. This in turn informs memory. Ricoeur also spoke of both an excess of memory and a shortage of memory, which also bear on the McKenzie story. “Speaking about memory necessarily means speaking about forgetting, because one cannot remember everything,” Ricoeur sagely observed. He labelled the nature of forgetting as both escapist, particularly a negative desire to forget uncomfortable truths, and active, including forgiveness as an act of positive active forgetting, allowing a person, group or society to let go of guilt and revenge.

A religious contemporary of William Booth offers a judgement on the value of history as a spiritual wake-up call. Ellen White, herself a notable founding figure in a new Christian movement, wrote at the end of her life, “We have nothing to fear for the future, except as we shall forget the way the Lord has led us, and His teaching in our past history.”

Ricoeur’s insights help us understand the interplay between memory, history and forgetting, which has occurred in the story of William McKenzie. MacMillan’s observations on the uses and abuses of history also inform the discussion, making us wary of myth but welcoming of a rigorous history that may offer a ‘wake-up call’ to the present.

**A Pocket History of McKenzie**

A brief overview of McKenzie’s life provides evidence of his significance for The Salvation Army in Australia, as well as for the whole of Australia itself. The Scottish-born William McKenzie came to Australia as a 14-year-old with his family in 1884, settling near Bundaberg. McKenzie was raised a ‘rigid’ Presbyterian, describing his childhood as characterised by “porridge, the shorter catechism

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5 Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White, being a narrative of her experience to 1881 as written by herself; with a sketch of her subsequent labors and of her last sickness*, (Mountain View, USA: Pacific Press, 1915), 196.
and plenty of lickings.”6 He grew up to be a powerfully-built, combative and energetic man. At the age of 19, he underwent the seminal experience of his life, being converted and joining The Salvation Army. The rigours and demands of his new religion formed a central part of its appeal. Of it, he spoke in later life:

What a religion! Why, it was the real article! It meant giving up things – drink, tobacco and much else – and facing scorn and derision. It meant going down to the mud and slime; it meant living with the lowest and the worst; it meant fighting with the devil himself for the souls of men. Lo’, it snatched me clean out of myself. It hit me, like a blow. It was so real, so honest. I said to myself ‘here’s the true religion for a fighting man;’ and off I went to be converted and to sign on.7

McKenzie trained as an officer and received his first marching orders in January 1890, serving in a series of corps and staff posts in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria and New Zealand over the next twenty-five years. In Queensland, he served as corps captain in Charters Towers in 1894 and spent a week in jail for “disturbing the peace” with his noisy street meetings, but took his revenge by breaking the handle of every axe they gave him during his hard labour.8 During his corps posting at Toowoomba in 1893, he met and later married Annie Hoepper, with whom he had five children.

McKenzie’s work as a Salvation Army officer was characterised by high commitment, overflowing cheerful vitality, inventiveness, extremely long hours, intense prayer and a deep hunger for souls. His capacity to reach the unsaved grew with experience and his ministry was characterised by an evident respect for those he worked with and a knack for engaging their attention and affection. By the start of World War One in 1914, he had become skilled in the art of relating to ordinary people and in turning the conversations to spiritual things in a natural and easy manner.

In 1914, after Commissioner James Hay lobbied the Federal Government, William McKenzie was accepted as a chaplain by the Australian Army, eventually being assigned to the 4th Battalion. While initially unwelcome, McKenzie’s genial disposition, hard work on behalf of the soldiers, charisma and spiritual integrity soon won over the suspicious soldiers and he became a popular and influential figure through the 1st Brigade of which his battalion formed a part. Eventually his reputation spread to the entire division and even across the other four divisions of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF).

His reputation began with running hugely popular concerts and entertainments for the troops on board ship and in Egypt, then was grounded in his wholehearted voluntary engagement with the tough training routines designed to knock the stuffing out of young men half his age, and finally cemented by his devoted care for their spiritual, moral and physical well-being. In Cairo, he literally dragged men out of the brothels in the notorious Wassa district, sending them back to camp. His concerts were legendary, and the soldiers would not allow anyone else to chair a concert if McKenzie was available, while his church services attracted more than half of the brigade, leaving the other three chaplains to divide the rest between them.9 In the trenches on Gallipoli, he chased up rare treats

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such as eggs and chocolates to break the monotonous diet, lugged stretchers and water up and down the unforgiving hills, and ran well-attended services in the trenches.

At some point early in the Battle of Lone Pine in August 1915, McKenzie crossed No-Man’s-Land under fire and began sorting the living from the dead in the captured Turkish trenches even as the fighting swirled around him, burying about 450 men in the weeks after the battle and leaving himself so exhausted he could barely crawl. By the end of the Gallipoli campaign, he was a recognised figure across the Anzac (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) units, one soldier identifying him one of the two outstanding personalities of the campaign alongside commanding general William Birdwood.  

In France, he continually buried men in No-Man’s-Land under shell fire, and strove to be with the men in the front lines as often as possible. He also established canteens serving hot drinks to the soldiers coming out of the line, especially welcome on freezing Northern European winter nights. Noticing the damage to morale of not receiving mail, he began a ‘To a Lonely Soldier’ letter-writing campaign that saw many thousands of people in Australia write letters sent to him to distribute to those men who never got mail.

Despite being ground down by the enormous self-imposed workload, and by the ravages of the traumas of war which deeply affected this sensitive man prone to bouts of depression, McKenzie’s spiritual life shone during these war years. Soldier diarists from multiple units recorded his church services with evident affection, and McKenzie’s evangelistic zeal was intensified by the likely death of many in his congregations in impending battles. His work probably resulted in the conversion of somewhere between 2,000-3,000 men during the war.  

His own spirituality had a strong element of the mystical about it, and he recorded numerous instances of having received specific instructions by a Voice on the battlefields, each time being saved from death by obeying it. His spiritual convictions and integrity impressed even the most hardened of non-believers, and ensured that many who might normally have avoided conversations on spiritual matters actively sought him out, or willingly listened to his sermons.

Eventually his energetic commitment to the Anzacs and his almost complete lack of self-care saw him so run-down that he had to be sent home, arriving in February 1918 to a hero’s welcome. Everywhere he went in Australia, he was feted, with monstrous crowds turning out to hear him speak. For the next twenty years, his time of leadership in The Salvation Army in Australia was marked by what was effectively a celebrity status, attracting leading citizens to share the stage with him, and drawing large audiences to his many meetings. His stature as an Anzac legend ensured that his ministry, and that of The Salvation Army at large, received maximum positive exposure. While offering him a platform as a celebrity, McKenzie never sought personal fame, rather using his reputation to advance the work of The Army during the inter-war years.

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10 Archie Barwick, Diary, MLMSS 1493, (Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW), 41.
11 War Cry, (Melbourne, 30 March, 1918), 2.
Commissioner William McKenzie as often depicted in military trench coat\textsuperscript{12}

Three years of missionary work in Northern China in the late 1920s was successfully conducted under the extreme hardship of famine compounded by civil war. His cheery and energetic disposition reenergised a flagging Salvation Army under his command, and again he spared nothing of his own time, physique, resources or passion in order to win Chinese souls to Christ.

By the time of his retirement in 1939, with his phenomenal memory close to collapse under the strain of his service, McKenzie had been touted as one of the most recognisable men in Australia, and perhaps the most famous Anzac of them all. Probably no Salvationist in Australia has had a greater public profile, nor more universal respect, than McKenzie.13

McKenzie myths

A straightforward account of McKenzie’s life, service and impact indicates considerable historical capital which could be of great service to The Salvation Army, leveraging off one of Australia’s great public figures who was a central player in the story of Anzac. The Anzac legend has morphed into Australia’s most important national narrative, defining both the idealised Australian and the core national values. However, just as MacMillan warned of the dangers of misusing history, especially through the tempting exploitation of heroic figures, so the story of McKenzie comes with caveats, for he too was subjected to mythological inflation, leading Sydney-based Salvation Army archivist Dr George Hazell to coin for his story the term “hagio-mythology”.14

Mythologising McKenzie has a history dating back to the Great War itself and continues to this day. During the war, his work was big-noted, out of affection by soldiers and out of the demands for war propaganda by journalists. In more recent times, writers, usually with pious motives, have tried to keep his memory and influence alive through articles and books in the popular press and through website information, though sadly they have often been characterised by misinformation and even careless exaggeration in an attempt to make a spiritual impression on a secular society.

Early mythologising tended to embroider his work on the battlefield, particularly after the Battle of Lone Pine. It wasn’t long before accounts began to circulate that he had led an attack with a Bible in one hand and a stick or spade in the other. Accounts of this were reported in soldier diaries (but never as eye-witness testimony) and were picked up by journalists, the stories varying in detail, with some having him rallying leaderless soldiers and leading a counterattack in the trenches to drive back a Turkish thrust.15 Later accounts of his story took these as gospel and happily repeated them, sometimes with additional flourishes.16

But other myths attached themselves to him as well. Some sources had him boxing in tournaments, knocking out some of the AIF’s best fighters.17 Others had him leading the riot on Good Friday 1915 where Australian soldiers burnt down several brothels in the Wassa, with later accounts

14 In conversation with the author, 1 May 2008.
16 For example, Col Stringer, ‘Fighting McKenzie’, Anzac Chaplain: Tribute to a hero, (Robina, Australia: Col Stringer Ministries, 2003), 73-75.
17 McKernan, “William McKenzie”, ADB.
asserting that to prevent the flames being extinguished he had beaten up natives and chopped up the firemen’s hoses in the bargain.18 Still more claimed that he had been three times recommended for the Victoria Cross, only having it denied because the officers who witnessed his deeds were killed before they could lodge a recommendation, or because chaplains were not eligible for more than one medal (he had been awarded a Military Cross for his work on Gallipoli).19 Some had McKenzie burying 647 men in three days after Lone Pine, on a diet of three biscuits and six pannikins of water. A Salvation Army newsletter improbably had McKenzie digging and filling many of those graves as well – a phenomenal feat of human strength and endurance, especially given that McKenzie was grievously debilitated by dysentery and neuritis at the time.20

A couple of writers have set themselves the task of demythologising McKenzie’s war service. Graham Wilson, a one-time employee of the Directorate of Honours and Awards in the Department of Defence, has published two myth-busting books about the Anzacs, one demolishing the overblown reputation of an otherwise honourable Jack Simpson, the legendary Gallipoli martyr figure who moved wounded men to the hospital with a donkey, and the other addressing various Anzac myths, of which one chapter is devoted to setting straight the record on McKenzie, a chaplain who Wilson respects and admires.21 The other author is the present one, having published an article on McKenzie myths as well as a biography.22 Wilson is particularly upset by the exaggerations and carelessness of Queensland evangelist Col Stringer’s hagiographic ‘biography’, written with little regard for the facts in order to shape McKenzie into the kind of Christian hero Stringer wants to place as a prime mover in Australian history. But in attacking Stringer’s multitudinous inaccuracies, Wilson himself resorts to emotive conclusions based on his personal experiences in the Army and the Department of Defence rather than evidence about McKenzie. He accuses Stringer of “distortions and outright lies”, adding that “he is certainly the worst historian that has ever walked the Earth.”23 Of the stories that McKenzie led an attack at Lone Pine, an outraged Wilson wrote, “I cannot believe and will not believe that William McKenzie was such a poor priest and such a poor soldier that he would have [taken part in an armed assault],” adding soon after, “To think that a man... who was ever mindful of his duty to both God and the army as a military chaplain would do something so naive, so crass and shallow, so totally out of character as to lead a charge on the Turkish trenches armed with a shovel is totally ridiculous and is an insult to the memory of a great and wonderful man.”24 Of McKenzie’s universal fame in the AIF, Wilson is also suspicious, dismissing such claims as “simply ridiculous”

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24 Wilson, Bully Beef and Balderdash, 340, 343.
and “the sheerest nonsense”, and arguing that McKenzie’s apparent post-war popularity was the result of many Salvationists turning up to his meetings as well as the product of effective Salvationist publicity. 

My own research has involved a careful examination of all the available evidence on each matter of dispute in McKenzie’s story, and has exposed many elements of these narratives as well-intentioned exaggeration. But it has also confirmed certain stories as reliable and truthful, even some of those dismissed by Wilson as hagiographic.

Far from working at the Aid Post during the Battle of Lone Pine, as Wilson insists, and where two of his fellow padres were stationed in conformity to regulations, the evidence clearly indicates that McKenzie did go over the top, having been witnessed in the Turkish trenches the morning after the attack began by an officer who was trying to sneak off from the fight, but who felt shamed by a glance from McKenzie’s who was working to save the wounded. Similarly, while there is no evidence of his supposed prowess at boxing, nor of Victoria Cross recommendations, it is possible to show that his wartime reputation in the AIF and his post-war reputation in Australia was soundly based on his wartime achievements, and was genuine, personal fame and not the result of clever Salvationist propaganda.

MacMillan warned against the abuses of history, both in exaggerating and underestimating the achievements of heroes. McKenzie’s work has been exaggerated, most often by his most partisan supporters. While some of this work has produced a heightened respect for McKenzie, any reputation built on exaggeration can only suffer when exposed by the truth. A genuinely great man like McKenzie deserves an accurate account of his life; anything greater or lesser ultimately diminishes him in ways that he did not deserve, and even worse, diminishes the spiritual power of his story – ‘lying for God,’ as some Christians do in the hope of making God and religion more impressive, has a bad habit of backfiring, resulting in far more damage than good. Similarly, Ricouer’s calling on history to inform memory reminds us that the most valuable remembrances of McKenzie are those grounded in rigorous historical processes.

On the other hand, the once almost-universally known McKenzie is now virtually unknown in Australia. Sadly, even many Salvationists remain unaware of his story. Ricouer’s notion of forgetting has come into play in the case of McKenzie due to Australia’s distinctive historical development. While the Anzac legend has gone from strength to strength in popular modern memory, McKenzie has been elided from that memory. Arguably it is because McKenzie represents elements of the Anzac legend that are unsuited to Australian public memory, in particular the religious aspect. A historian has observed that there is “a tendency for secular histories of Australia to omit discussion of religion or to downplay its significance.” Another argues that Australian society deliberately excluded the divisive topic of religion from public discourse in order to avoid Old World sectarian strife. While Anzac Day memorialisation had its origins through the initiative of particular clergymen, its overt religious aspects have been dropped in order to make it accessible to Protestant

26 Reynaud, The Man the Anzacs Revered, 111-115.
and Catholic alike, as well as non-believers, and the heroes that have emerged have been strictly secular.\textsuperscript{32} While it may seem strange to place McKenzie among the uncomfortable truths that the nation seeks to forget, the fact is that his very prominent religious identity has led to him being edited out of the national Anzac memory. During the lifetime of the servicemen who knew McKenzie, his name was remembered, but he has slipped from public consciousness, despite the occasional mention in various media over the last 40 years.\textsuperscript{33} In fact, part of the motivation for the modern mythologising of McKenzie, in particular Stringer’s book, might very well be an attempt to restore his story in the national memory. However, acts of wilful or careless forgetting are not made right by acts of wilful or careless exaggeration. McKenzie deserves neither oblivion nor false glorification. He is best honoured by a rigorously truthful account, which by any standards still presents a larger-than-life personality striding alongside the great figures in Australian Anzac history.

\textbf{The Potential of McKenzie story for The Salvation Army today}

Somewhere between the mythologising and the forgetting lies a truthful happy medium. The Anzac Legend is now well entrenched as the most unifying national narrative Australia possesses, and its popularity among a new generation of Australians is demonstrated by the strength of support for events such as Anzac Day marches, pilgrimages to Gallipoli, France and New Guinea, and the care lavished on the reburial of war dead from various conflicts whose lost graves have been found.

Given the popular resonance of the Anzac story, it would appear that McKenzie’s story could find a home in the public imagination if sympathetically and sensitively revived. Australian society would probably resile from any attempt to foist a new religious hero on the Anzac legend, but could also be open to rediscovering one of the great men of the Great War who was idolised by the Anzacs themselves.

A revival of his memory in the public eye could be timely for The Salvation Army, which has probably endured its worst publicity since its earliest days, in the wake of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Abuse. Sadly, several former Salvation Army institutions have featured among those where child abuse was extensive in the 1940s-60s, including two of the institutions set up by McKenzie with such hope in the 1930s: the Gill Memorial Home in Goulburn and the Riverview Farm Boy’s Home. McKenzie’s life offers a positive narrative about the influence of The Army in a cherished part of Australia’s history, which is sorely needed at this time.

As well as offering a potential bridge to secular Australian society, McKenzie’s story serves as an inspirational role model for The Salvation Army in the twenty-first century. Perhaps no Australian Salvationist has so well embodied the vision and mission of The Army as McKenzie, and it would be of value for Salvationists to know his story better, for it can act as a timely reminder for the organisation as it seeks to respond to the ever-changing demands and needs of Australian society in a new century.


Historical memory also demands that McKenzie be recalled in all his dimensions, for he was not faultless. A false memory of McKenzie only opens up new areas for future problems to flourish. Specifically, McKenzie’s inability to recognise and respond to his own emotional and physical needs meant that he exhausted himself through his endless giving when times of physical and emotional refreshment might have enhanced and extended his service. An organisation that places high levels of demand on its officers and rank and file is well advised to consider the right balance between work and rest, as evidenced in Christ’s famous statement, “Come with me by yourselves to a quiet place and get some rest” (Mark 6: 31 NIV).

Similarly, if sensitively handled, McKenzie offers The Salvation Army the potential for a story that links the Army to Australia’s central national narrative, allowing the impact of his ministry to be remembered and perhaps re-appreciated by the broader Australian society. Few, if any, religions in Australia have such a figure as McKenzie in their history who has the potential to become a potent and effective icon among the general community. His story can act as a wake-up call to Australia, which could help facilitate a renewed engagement of The Salvation Army with its broader society in the 21st century.