

CHAPTER EIGHT

US citizenship for Australian WWII War Brides

'It was a sad day...like saying goodbye to everything I'd ever known.'

[Joy Shaddle, reflecting on the forfeiture of her Australian citizenship in 1953 ¹]

'I never thought it would take so long – I have come full circle!'

[Joy Shaddle, on reclaiming her Australian citizenship in 2007.]

In 1944, Lola Atkins, from the small country town of Northam in Western Australia, left her home and went to the United States as the wartime bride of an American GI, and eleven years later, she became a US citizen. She remembers, 'it was a sad day for me'.² Her husband Tom told her she needed to do so, and because her children were American citizens she too felt that it was necessary to take up US citizenship. Lola tells how she went through the process of being tested and interviewed twice:

the Immigration Officer, a veteran of forty-plus years in the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service], had been arrested for accepting bribes. This necessitated recall with many other innocent persons to repeat the process with another staff member. Perhaps this contributed minimally to my haunting ambivalence.³

¹ Mark Coultan, 'After 54 years, Australia reclaims it's lost Joy', in *The Age*, June 5, 2007.

² Lola Atkins, 'A Mystic Journey', [unpublished, undated journal] p.87

³ *ibid.*

Lola felt truly 'divided' about taking up US citizenship and at the same time having to relinquish the citizenship of her homeland. She recalls how terribly difficult it was and how she cried. A good friend gave Lola a surprise celebration with candles and American flags on the cake, but she just couldn't enjoy it and 'tears bubbled over during the celebration'. She answered her friend's question with one of her own: 'How would you like to renounce your native land?' On her first return trip to Australia, thirty-seven years after she had originally left, Lola was a naturalised American citizen. 'Ah!' she says, 'but I was still very attached to the land of my birth. I felt that I had one foot in and on each beloved continent.' ⁴

Australian WWII war brides such as Lola, who migrated to America and took up US citizenship, automatically forfeited their rights as Australian citizens under section 17 of the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*, which provided that adult Australian citizens lost their Australian citizenship when they acquired the citizenship of another country.⁵ Nothing could be done about this situation, which was entrenched in law.

This chapter will explore this conundrum, drawing on oral history accounts of WWII war brides to highlight the moral, emotional and legal difficulties inherent within citizenship. Torn between allegiance to their old country and their new country of adoption, the recorded testimony of these women reveals the factors which motivated them to become US citizens, despite the consequential loss of Australian citizenship, and the severance of this symbolic tie to their country of birth.

⁴ Interview with Lola Atkins, 22 September, 2001; Lola Atkins, 'A Mystic Journey', *op. cit.*, p. 87

⁵ See pp. 282 and 283 and footnote 12 in this chapter.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Australian WWII war brides living in America turned their thoughts to whether or not they wanted to become US citizens. The 'voices' of participants in this study illuminate the dilemmas they faced when deciding whether or not to become US citizens, especially at a time when they also felt strongly about maintaining their Australian citizenship. Despite this predicament, only three of the 60 war brides interviewed have remained Australian citizens.

Preparation to become a US citizen varied across the United States, although it usually involved applying for naturalisation and taking classes to learn about American history and government. The applicants then were required to pass a test prior to taking part in a formal ceremony, where they received a certificate authenticating their US citizenship. It was a difficult and emotional decision for Australian WWII war brides to become US citizens as they felt loyalty to both countries: a special tie to the country of their birth and a need to embrace their new country of residence.

Legislation regarding citizenship thus had a significant impact on the lives of these women. In most cases their children who were born outside Australia had no access to Australian citizenship through their Australian mothers. According to David Dutton, this was because of 'various unfortunate historical quirks' in Australian citizenship law, which has 'a complex and confusing history'.⁶ The concepts of Australian citizenship and nationality conveyed by political theorists and practitioners, as Dutton observes, have been communicated with 'a range of varied and sometimes contradictory meanings' making it difficult to arrive at an

⁶ Source: The Southern Cross Group <http://www.southern-cross-group.org/> [Accessed 29 August, 2004]; also David Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia. A Guide to Commonwealth Government Records*, National Archives of Australia, 1999, p. 13.

acceptable single definition.⁷ He highlights how the history of citizenship and nationality in Australia has been complicated by Australia remaining part of the British Empire, and therefore 'categories of civic belonging were primarily imperial rather than national ones'.⁸ The rights and obligations attached to Australian citizenship have been 'defined in an ad hoc manner' adding to its complexity.⁹ Dutton points out that lacking a coherent concept of Australian citizenship, to capture 'the whole relationship between citizen and state', it 'must be sought in the common law, and a multitude of Commonwealth and state statutes' which deal with matters such as 'immigration, passports, the franchise, jury service, employment in the public service and social security.'¹⁰

At the time of Federation in 1901 a legal category of Australian citizenship did not exist, the Australian Constitution provided no definition of citizenship, nor did it claim any power over it. The term 'British subject' was the only formal civic status in Australia, until Australia Day 1949 when the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948* was proclaimed. This Act created a legal status of Australian citizenship but because it lacked any new substance, most legislation continued to use the category 'British subject' rather than 'Australian citizen' until the 1970s. It was not until 1984 that Australian citizens actually ceased to be British subjects.¹¹

BECOMING A US CITIZEN

Australians, including WWII war brides, who became naturalised US citizens on or after 26 January, 1949, and before 4 April, 2002, automatically forfeited their Australian citizenship under the provisions of Section 17 of the

⁷ Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia*, op. cit., p. 9

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 17

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 15, 16

Australian Citizenship Act 1948.¹² The prospect of simultaneously giving up the citizenship of the country of their birth was difficult and sometimes traumatic for the war brides, especially at a time when many were homesick and still grieving for the families they had left behind.

The oath of allegiance to the US,¹³ sworn as part of the US naturalisation process, may have sounded to Australian war brides taking up US citizenship as if it was some sort of 'renunciation' of their Australian citizenship. However, as the oath was made under US law, it had no legal effect on their citizenship under Australian law. Under established principles of national sovereignty, a country can only make laws about its own citizenship, not that of another sovereign nation. However, Section 17 of the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* functioned by operation of law (regardless of whether the Australian authorities knew about the US naturalisation) to automatically take away their Australian citizenship under Australian law, its purpose being to prevent dual citizenship.¹⁴

¹² Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, (DIMIA), Australian Government, <http://www.citizenship.gov.au/index.htm> [Accessed 3 August 2004] also Australian Government, http://www.citizenship.gov.au/current/dual_citizenship/ [Accessed 4 November, 2009] and Australian Government, <http://australia.gov.au/topics/immigration/australian-citizenship> [Accessed 21 January 2010].

¹³ The oath of allegiance to the United States reads: 'I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by the law; that I will perform non-combatant service in the armed forces of the United States when required by the law; that I will perform work of national importance under civilian direction when required by law; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; so help me God.' (In some cases, USCIS allows the oath to be taken without the clauses: ". . . that I will bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by law; that I will perform noncombatant service in the Armed Forces of the United States when required by law. . .") Source: US Citizenship and Immigration Services, <http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis> [Accessed 20 December 2009].

¹⁴ Anne MacGregor, The Southern Cross Group, Email re: Australian War Brides, 3 September 2004; also see The Southern Cross Group website at <http://www.southern-cross-group.org/> accessed 29.8.2004; [Note: The Southern Cross Group is an international volunteer-run and independently funded advocacy and support organisation for the Australian Diaspora. It was founded in January 2000 in Brussels, Belgium, attended by some 35 local Australians. Those present at the founding meeting were of the view that there was a need for an advocacy organisation which could actively focus on and work for changes to law and policy that negatively impacted or disadvantaged those in the Diaspora. This group has tirelessly lobbied for past and forthcoming Australian citizenship reform.]

CHANGES TO AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP POLICY AND LAW

Although there were minor amendments to the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* over the ensuing years, Section 17 was part of the legislation from 26 January 1949, and its wording read from 22 November 1984 to the date of repeal on 4 April 2002 as follows:

Section 17

(1) A person, being an Australian citizen who has attained the age of 18 years, who does any act or thing:

(a) the sole or dominant purpose of which;

and

(b) the effect of which, is to acquire the nationality or citizenship of a foreign country, shall, upon that acquisition, cease to be an Australian citizen.

(2) Subsection (1) does not apply in relation to an act of marriage.¹⁵

However, it should be noted that the period in which this wording applied was long after most Australian WWII war brides had become US citizens, and they had already forfeited their Australian citizenship.

BECOMING US CITIZENS

Up to fifteen thousand Australian WWII war brides went to live in the United States, and at some time were faced with the decision of whether or not to

¹⁵ Anne MacGregor, The Southern Cross Group, Email re: Australian War Brides, 3 September 2004.

become US citizens. The oral testimony of participants in this study illuminates the motivation and reasons behind their decisions.

Betty Blondon, a war bride from Newcastle, New South Wales, felt guilty taking the oath of allegiance to become a US citizen. She explains: 'during the war there's such a strong feeling for your country, and then to come to another country and forget your first country – no, you can't!' Australia has always been home to Betty. She comments: 'Even though I was only there twenty one years and I'm 75 years old now, but you know, it's still home'.¹⁶ Despite this predicament which was experienced by most of this cohort, she did become a US citizen, and only three of the 60 war brides interviewed have remained Australian citizens.

The war brides' oral testimony provides an important new lens through which to view Australian women's response to their right to vote and to citizenship. Having grown up in a country where women had been able to vote in national elections since 1902,¹⁷ and where compulsory voting at federal elections was introduced in 1924 for citizens over 21 years of age, these women found it very different as residents of America where voting was not compulsory.¹⁸ Australian war brides generally embraced their new country of residence, and it was some time after they had settled in to American life that many decided to take up US citizenship.

¹⁶ Interview with Betty Blondon, Denver, Colorado, 8 September, 2001.

¹⁷ Note: Women in America could not vote in federal elections until 1920, although some states had already enfranchised women by that time. See C. Sowerwine and P. Grimshaw, 'Women in Europe, the United States and Australia, 1914 to 2000', in *The Blackwell Companion to Gender History*, edited by M. Wisner-Hanks and T. Meade, Blackwell, London, 2004, p. 587.

¹⁸ The Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 granted universal adult suffrage allowing most men and women over 21 to vote at federal elections, but it specifically excluded Aboriginal Australians, Torres Strait Islanders, and South Sea Islanders. Compulsory voting was introduced at federal elections in 1924. See *Australian Electoral Commission Website*, http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/Australian_Electoral_History/Reform [Accessed 17 February, 2010].

CITIZENSHIP FOR WOMEN

Early in the period between the wars Australian women, particularly married women, were unrelenting in their battle for economic independence. The issue of citizenship had become increasingly important in this period, with feminists asserting that 'rights of full "self-expression" and of "earning a living" were "rights essential to every citizen"'.¹⁹ Though the Australian war brides were not necessarily feminists, as Lake observes, they were concerned over their own loss of nationality and citizenship upon marriage.²⁰

The issue of women's citizenship in a modern age was not unique to the war brides. Australian women's struggle to retain their British nationality when married to foreigners was evident as early as the 1930s. For example, Australian writer Winifred James became involved in the feminist struggle over this issue when living in England. Her marriage to an American national resulted in James simultaneously losing her British citizenship.²¹ However, after subsequently divorcing her American husband, she was required to register as an 'alien' in Britain. In 1933, her refusal to continue to do so, highlighted her situation to the world as 'a British woman being sent to jail for loyalty to her country'. Finally, under British law, women in her situation were exempted from registering as aliens.²²

Citizenship has been defined in various ways. According to historian Victoria Rigney, 'citizenship means a number of things, political, economic, social

¹⁹ Marilyn Lake, 'Personality, Individuality, Nationality: Feminist Conceptions of Citizenship 1902-1940' in *Australian Feminist Studies*, 19, Autumn, 1994, p. 28.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 29.

²¹ Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, pp. 28-29. Note: Australians travelled on British passports as British subjects until 1984. See David Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia. op. cit.*, p. 9.

²² *ibid.*

and emotional',²³ but as she points out, according to Galligan and Roberts, the 'elusive quality that is the symbolic heart of citizenship cannot be readily defined'.²⁴ They claim that 'songs, paintings and writings that depict the land' are important in identifying the shared values that define a country's cultural heritage.²⁵

Migration historian, Andrew Hassam, in his study of shipboard diaries of nineteenth-century British emigrants to Australia, notes that the home country is often used as a point of reference when observing similarities or differences in features of the new environment. He maintains that people migrating to a new country commonly look for signs of continuity, using 'familiar everyday co-ordinates' such as the seasons and the natural environment to help make sense of the alien experience of arriving in a new country.²⁶ Dugan and Swarc, similarly state that on arriving in a new country and stepping from the ship onto land, immigrants 'then looked around for signs of continuity' with the land they left behind.²⁷ Evidence from the war brides' oral testimony suggests this is also true of Australian migrants to America in the mid-twentieth century, when they first glimpsed their new country and looked for familiar examples of flora and other signs in the seasonal landscape which reminded them of Australia.²⁸ For many of the Australian war brides it took years before they overcame chronic feelings of

²³ Victoria Rigney, 'For Richer or Poorer, I give Up My Citizenship, Alienation and Marriage', in *Exploring the British World: Identity, Cultural Production, Institutions*, RMIT Publishing, Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, Kiera Lindsay, and Stuart Macintyre (ed), Melbourne, 2004, p. 337.

²⁴ Brian Galligan and Winsome Roberts, *Australian Citizenship*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2004, p. 97.

²⁵ Galligan and Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁶ Andrew Hassam, *Sailing to Australia. Shipboard diaries by nineteenth-century British Emigrants*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p. 203.

²⁷ Michael Dugan and Josef Szwarc, *Australia's Migrant Experience*, Edward Arnold Australia, Caulfield East, 1987, p. 108.

²⁸ See Interview with Joy Shaddle, Forestville, NSW, 4 October, 2002; and interview with Margaret Fosmo, Seattle, 13 September, 2001.

homesickness and before they were settled enough to consider taking out US citizenship and swearing allegiance to their adopted country.

CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION AND AUSTRALIAN WWII WAR BRIDES

There was a great deal of confusion regarding the citizenship status of Australian war brides at a time when 'there was little universal endorsement of the rights of married women and their children'.²⁹ After processing paperwork in the form of permissions, references, declarations, official personal certification, health and police clearances, the United States accepted entry of Australian brides of US servicemen as residents, but only within the legislative framework at that time which categorised them as 'aliens'.

Under American law, prior to 22 September 1922, when an alien woman married an American citizen, she automatically obtained American citizenship.³⁰ After this date, with the passing by Congress of the Cable Act, an alien woman married to an American did not automatically acquire her husband's domicile or nationality.³¹

In March 1943, the Australian Minister for the Army clarified that an Australian bride of an American serviceman did not lose her Australian citizenship until she acquired American citizenship, which did not automatically occur upon marriage. Information of an ambiguous nature was circulated in July of the same year by the Director General of the authoritative Manpower organisation, regarding

²⁹ Jill Roe, 'What has Nationalism Offered Australian Women?' in *Australian Women. Contemporary Feminist Thought*, Norma Grieve & Ailsa Burns (Eds), Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p. 38.

³⁰ Circular letter from Director General of Manpower, Sydney, dated 29 August 1944. [National Archives of Australia Series B551, Item 43/61/5612.]

³¹ Campbell, Rosemary, *Heroes and Lovers. A question of national identity*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1989, p. 65; also Circular letter from Director General of Manpower, *loc. cit.*

the legal position of Australian girls (who then were known as 'British subjects') on their marriage to American servicemen.³² It stated that 'an Australian girl marrying an American will lose her British nationality and become an American national' (which implied, incorrectly, that this would happen automatically) with the proviso 'unless, under American law, she is prevented from acquiring the nationality of her husband'.³³

A year later, on 29 August 1944, the Director General of Manpower clarified the true position under Section 18 (2) of the Commonwealth Nationality Act 1920-1936. Under this Act a female subject did not lose her rights to Australian citizenship *unless* she acquired the nationality of her husband.³⁴ Under Australian law, a woman who was a British subject immediately before her marriage did not cease to be a British subject upon her marriage to an American soldier. If she was to acquire US citizenship in due course, she then ceased to be a British subject.³⁵

However, for the Australian wife of an American soldier, it was not a quick process to acquire US citizenship and it seemed that it could be a long wait for some of these women to gain a true sense of security.³⁶ Their anxiety was made worse by lack of access to maintenance, as no arrangements had been put in place for the distribution of allotments to foreign wives by the US forces.³⁷ As well as having to obtain a visa, comply with immigration formalities for entry into the

³² See Note in footnote 21.

³³ Circular letter from Director General of Man Power, *op. cit.*; Potts, E. Daniel & Annette Potts, *Yanks Down Under 1941-45: the American impact on Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1985, p. 332.

³⁴ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p.65; Circular letter from Director General of Man Power, *op. cit.*

³⁵ Minute Paper, Department of the Army, Melbourne, 'Marriage of Australian Women to American Soldiers', 26 March, 1942. [National Archives of Australia, Series MP508/1, Item 115/701/352.

³⁶ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³⁷ *ibid.*

United States, and reside in the United States for one year before making application for and obtaining naturalisation papers, the Australian wife was required to pass a test before the citizenship ceremony took place.³⁸ Many attended night classes in America to study for this test. Dorothy Berry recalls “it was a six-week course and...it was two nights a week”.³⁹ She remembers learning the Constitution and considering herself a good student. She took her citizenship test in front of a ‘regular US Judge’ who asked why it had taken her thirteen years to become a citizen. Dorothy recalls:

I said ‘Well your honour, I have been a little busy’
and he asked ‘Doing what?’ I said ‘Well in the past
eleven years I’ve had six children!’ He said ‘Oh!’
and that came out in the newspaper.⁴⁰

Speaking up in this situation gave Dorothy confidence and she ‘went on to be PTA President’ at her children’s school and ‘got to be quite a community leader’. This involvement in her neighbourhood helped her finally to feel accepted in her country of adoption.⁴¹

While many Australian women were keen to become naturalised and take up US citizenship, they nevertheless found it very difficult and sometimes traumatic to give up the citizenship of the country of their birth. Ivy Diers, who grew up in Rockhampton, Queensland, recalls that it wasn’t difficult to say ‘I want to be a US citizen’ but she remembers that ‘the hardest thing I ever did was to put my hand up and say – and we *had* to say – that I was going to give up my

³⁸ Campbell, *op. cit.* p. 66.

³⁹ Interview with Dorothy Berry, Denver, CO, 6 September, 2001.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ *ibid.*

Australian citizenship'.⁴² Certainly, anyone wanting to become a naturalised US citizen had to swear as part of the oath of allegiance to the US that: 'I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen'.⁴³ Similarly, Mary Bourne took up American citizenship and clearly recalls giving up her Australian citizenship: 'It was one of the hardest things I've ever done in my life. As welcome as I was here, I was still an Aussie.'⁴⁴

The wartime experience of these women undoubtedly sharpened their sense of national identity when they were faced with the prospect of having to forfeit their Australian citizenship and sever this connection to the country of their birth. Although, as mentioned earlier, while it was timely that various issues affecting the status of women be considered at a national level, some years were to pass before new Australian nationality and citizenship legislation affecting the war brides was to be implemented.⁴⁵

The immigration quota for Australian immigrants to the US at this time was only one hundred per year.⁴⁶ In cases where the Australian immigration quota to the US was not full, the Australian woman married to a United States soldier had to obtain a visa from the American Consulate which required in particular, evidence of good health as well as evidence of the means of the applicant, so that

⁴² Interview with Ivy Diers, Seattle, WA, 13 September 2001.

⁴³ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, www.uscis.gov/ [Accessed 12 February, 2003.]

⁴⁴ Interview with Mary Bourne, 29 September 2001

⁴⁵ Jill Roe, 'What has Nationalism Offered Australian Women?' *op. cit.*, p. 38

⁴⁶ The *Immigration Act of 1924*, or *Johnson-Reed Act*, including the *National Origins Act*, *Asian Exclusion Act*, was a United States federal law that limited the number of immigrants who could be admitted from any country to 2% of the number of people from that country who were already living in the United States in 1890. This governed immigration policy until the *Immigration and Nationality Act* of 1952. However, the *War Brides Act* of 1945 and the *GI Fiancées Act* of 1946, waived these provisions and allowed the immigration of wives and fiancées of US servicemen to America. Source: Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration_Act_of_1924 [Accessed 15 November, 2009; also US Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/> [Accessed 6 December, 2009].

she would not become a public charge (this being strictly enforced), and then she had to comply with immigration formalities.⁴⁷ On the other hand, if the immigration quota was full, then a petition could be made through the American Consulate to Washington on the grounds that the applicant is married to an American citizen. If granted, this could overcome the quota difficulties but it did not waive the other immigration requirements, particularly good health at the time of actual entry and that the person entering would not become a public charge. Such a petition took five to six months to be sent to Washington and returned.⁴⁸

This situation was relieved when, under American law, *The War Brides Act* of December 28, 1945 (59 Statutes-at-Large 659) waived all visa requirements and provisions of immigration law for members of the American armed forces who, during World War II, had married nationals of foreign countries.⁴⁹ Six months later, the *G.I. Fiancées Act* of June 29, 1946 (60 Statutes-at-Large 339) was implemented, finally facilitating admission to the United States of fiancées of the American servicemen.⁵⁰ Once settled in America, war brides turned their thoughts to whether or not they wished to become citizens of their new country.

Not all war brides became US citizens, and some chose to keep their Australian citizenship. Barbara Gleason, for example, readily admits that 'it is amazing' that after 60 years of living in America that she is still an Australian citizen. She says: 'I did consider it at one time, but I just couldn't do it. Once an Aussie, always an Aussie!'⁵¹ Similarly, Margaret Fosmo says, 'I'm Australian' and she has never wanted to become an American citizen, although people have been

⁴⁷ Minute Paper, Department of the Army, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ US Citizenship & Immigration Service <http://uscis.gov/graphics/index.htm> [Accessed 18 April 2004]

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Interview with Barbara Gleason, Anaheim, CA, 20 September, 2001

critical in the past. She recalls: 'People said "your children will want you to be an American", but my children have always kind of liked it that I'm Australian'.⁵² Margaret says, 'I'm what they call a "resident alien"', and as such she has a card which is pink in colour, although it is still referred to as 'a green card' which has to be regularly checked.⁵³

REASONS FOR BECOMING US CITIZENS

Most war brides in this study, however, did become US citizens and were variously motivated to take this action. The strong bonds of motherhood, apparent from the experiences of some of these war brides, were significant factors behind their motivation to become naturalised US citizens. The maternal bonds strengthened the women's decisions to take the serious step of becoming US citizens, despite having to relinquish their cherished Australian citizenship.

For Joyce Balogh, the security of her children was the prime motivation to take up US citizenship. Looking fondly at her framed certificate of citizenship she tells how her husband, Alexander, had said to her: 'If I'm sent overseas anytime and you and the girls are with me, you will be sent to the British section and the girls and I will go to the American section.' Joyce recollected: 'I had no other

⁵² Fosmo, *op. cit.*

⁵³ *ibid.* Note: 'Green Card' refers to a United States Permanent Resident Card, which is an identification document issued by the United States of America affording non-citizens of that country some of the rights its citizens enjoy, sometimes with the prospect of naturalization. See Wikipedia The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_card [Accessed 20 December, 2007.] The design of the 'alien registration' card has changed over the years. The 1940 law requiring all foreign nationals to register did not grant the same rights that today's green card does. Initially designed to assist in tracking aliens living in the United States, it did not distinguish between permanent and temporary residents. After World War II, the first 'green card' – the one from which the term derives – was created and resident 'alien registration' card holders who could prove legal entry into the United States received this card. In 1951, new rights were granted to green card holders and in 1977, the current green card, which is now pink, was made machine-readable to prevent forgeries. This was the 19th version of the 'green card' which over the years has been issued in pale blue, dark blue, pink, and pink-and-blue. Source: StudentCity.com, http://www.istudentcity.com/immigration/imm_citizenship.asp [Accessed 20 January 2008.]

reason, I was happy being an Australian. I didn't mind leaving Alexander, but I couldn't dare leave my daughters.⁵⁴

It was after her children started school that Joanne Patterson wanted to become a naturalised US citizen. She was interested in her children's education and was keen to 'have a say in what was going on in the school'. She also wanted to be able to vote.⁵⁵

This continuous theme among the war brides' stories highlights the relationship between motherhood and citizenship, where the main motivating factor to become a US citizen was in the interests of their children. In their role of 'mother' these women had a natural concern for the security of their offspring. In the period from the late 1940s to the early 1950s, the outbreak of the Korean War was juxtaposed with fresh memories of the war just over. Thus matters of security were heightened at this time, and it seemed prudent for the children and both parents to be US citizens in case of military conflict which might threaten the family unit. The war brides also demonstrated normal maternal concern for good education for their children, and having US citizenship enabled them to express their opinions via the right to vote.

Some war brides took up US citizenship to facilitate easier passage through immigration checks when travelling, so as not to be separated from their children. It was for the sake of her children that Joan Moran took up US citizenship after being in America only a short time. Her husband Tom warned her that in the event of another war she could be separated from her children 'because they were

⁵⁴ Interview with Joyce Balogh, Tigard, OR, 10 September, 2001.

⁵⁵ Interview with Joanne Patterson, Reno, NV, 1 October, 1999.

US citizens'.⁵⁶ These strong maternal ties to their children strengthened the women's decisions to take the serious step of becoming US citizens, despite the fact that at the same time they automatically forfeited their Australian citizenship.

Similarly, Betty Stites took up US citizenship for the sake of her two young sons. Betty had made two visits home to Australia since arriving in America, and remembers on returning to the United States always having to leave her two little children 'over on the side' while she went through customs as a 'non-American' to collect her baggage. She recalls: 'with those little kids waiting in there, it scared me to death'.⁵⁷ Separation from her children because of her 'alien' status was a great worry to Betty, and was the main reason that she decided to become an American citizen, although dual citizenship would have been her preference had it been an option at the time.⁵⁸ The process of becoming a citizen of the United States proved to be fairly easy for Betty, apart from the strong emotion she felt at giving up her Australian citizenship. She tells how she went to night school and 'studied everything under the sun – every book I could find about America'.⁵⁹ Betty's husband drove her to take the examination, and even then she was not sure that she wanted 'to give away' citizenship of her 'own country', and she almost changed her mind. Betty clearly remembers this occasion and the person who conducted the interview:

He was very high up...and he invited me into his office and asked me all these questions. I kept looking at him and thinking 'Why does he want to know all about my family and my family in

⁵⁶ Interview with Joan Moran, Lemon Grove, CA, 19 September, 2001.

⁵⁷ Interview with Betty Stites, Denver, CO, 8 September, 2001.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

Australia and all that sort of stuff?' He didn't ask me a thing about the Constitution!⁶⁰

Betty enquired if he planned to ask her more relevant questions. She said 'I want you to know that I've really studied and I've taken classes and I can answer any question that you want to ask me!' The examiner's response was 'I know that! I knew that the minute I saw you' and he said 'I know you're going to make a wonderful citizen!'⁶¹ When Betty received the notice for the citizenship ceremony she recalls:

I almost ran...you know how you sometimes get panicky? I thought to myself 'What are you doing?'...all these other nationalities were all over the place...hardly anybody like me there ...anyway I raised the flag and...he gave a lovely speech about how we don't want you to forget your own country...it will always be your homeland, but you will be a citizen of the United States as long as you live here.⁶²

Joy Shaddle settled in the small town of Forrest, Illinois, and still lives in the same house almost 60 years later. She was very sad to have to give up her Australian citizenship to become a US citizen, but like many others, she did it for the sake of her three children. She felt that 'it was the wise thing to do' as her children were American citizens and she thought 'if anything happens, I'd better

⁶⁰ Stites, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² *ibid.*

be one too'.⁶³ Joy was in Peoria, Illinois, seven months pregnant with her third child, Jimmy, and nearby a group of Mexicans were celebrating becoming American citizens, but Joy was not so happy. She remembers 'I stood there with tears flowing'.⁶⁴ It was difficult to explain to her four-year-old daughter why she was crying. But she felt she had to become a US citizen and relinquish her Australian citizenship, for the security of her children. If anything happened to her husband, she didn't know what would become of her and her children. Over fifty years later, she reflects on that day in 1953 when she became an American citizen and automatically forfeited her Australian citizenship: 'It was a sad day...like saying goodbye to everything I'd ever known.'⁶⁵

Some war brides took up US citizenship in order to obtain employment. Jean Fargo's motivation to become a US citizen in 1950 was to get a job with the US government, which required her to hold US citizenship. Jean said that 'other Australian girls and I thought it was the thing to do – I have a son who lives here – it was just the thing to do'.⁶⁶ Similarly, June Carver who lives in Ogden, Utah, became a US citizen so that she was eligible to work for the Federal Government. Starting out as a key-punch operator, June worked for the Treasury Department in the Internal Revenue Service for twenty-six years and was in the position of supervisor in the audit section when she retired.⁶⁷

Other war brides found it necessary to become US citizens in order to facilitate their husbands' employment. Iris Craig decided to take out US citizenship in 1949 to ensure that her husband's job application was successful.

⁶³ Shaddle, *op. cit.*

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ *ibid.*; Coultan, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ Interview with Jean Fargo, Reno, NV, 30 September, 1999.

⁶⁷ Interview with June Carver, Denver, CO, 8 September, 2001

She studied hard for her US citizenship test by correspondence through the University of California, although the test turned out to be easy for her. Because her husband was employed in the Border Patrol, Iris had met quite a few people in the Immigration Department. During a general conversation when she happened to be visiting the office at that time, one of the immigration officials asked if she had been studying. As there were a few things that puzzled her a little, they discussed them. He then asked her a few more questions, which she was able to answer. Iris tells how easy it was: 'The next thing, he says "You passed!" I said "Passed what?" He said "I just gave you a test!" I didn't realise I was being tested!'⁶⁸ Iris was working at the time and was allowed time off to go to the court for the citizenship ceremony.⁶⁹

Joan Hamilton took up US citizenship, much to her 'mother's horror!' This was essentially to support her husband's application for consular duty, which required him to have an American citizen as a wife. She recalls:

I really was very sad about it, because I still call myself an Australian. I really didn't want to give it up, but I knew that Charles wanted this assignment very badly. He just desperately wanted it...so that I could go with him overseas.⁷⁰

In some cases, taking up US citizenship involved complications. For example, Australian war bride Kathleen Heeren, an American citizen since 1956, broke her US residency by going to Britain, and had to get a re-entry permit and re-apply when she returned to America. She took out US citizenship mainly

⁶⁸ Interview with Iris Craig, Sydney, 15 November, 2003

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Interview with Joan Hamilton, Anaheim, CA, 19 September, 2001.

because of her husband and children. Her older daughter was born in England and her husband had to return to America before the rest of the family. Knowing that he would 'desperately' want his baby daughter to be an American citizen, Kathleen took the child's English birth certificate to the American embassy in London and waited hours with the infant for her to be issued with an American passport. Also, planning to live permanently in America, Kathleen was aware that there was very little work to be found in her capacity without being a US citizen, and government work was almost impossible to get.⁷¹

Factors such as marriage, the birth of children, and the war brides' roles of 'mother' and 'wife' all reflect significantly on the meaning of citizenship for these women, and influenced their decision to become US citizens, despite the consequential loss of the citizenship of their country of origin.

Interest in politics, and a desire to vote in the country where they now lived and raised their children, also seems to have been a common theme which motivated many war brides to take up US citizenship. Dorothy Hammon, from a 'Labor union background', had worked as a secretary for the Bread-Carters' Union in Australia when the bread was delivered with 'horses and carts'. She remembers that it was considered to be 'a very good job – 35 hours a week – and good money too'.⁷² Demonstrating an early interest in industrial relations, she was keen to vote. Dorothy did not go to night school to study, but borrowed all the books she needed from the library and proudly passed the test.⁷³

⁷¹ Interview with Kathleen Heeren, Reno, NV, 30 September, 1999.

⁷² Interview with Dorothy Hammon, Lemon Grove, CA, 19 September, 2001.

⁷³ *ibid.*

Nancy Lankard, who became a US citizen in 1958, had worked as a volunteer for the elections in the US for ten years and wanted to have her say. She attended school two nights a week for several months with others from Canada, Japan and England, also studying to become American citizens. She recalls passing the test:

there were questions about government, city, etc.
and I was asked 'Would you take up arms against
Australia?...and...'Would you defend America
against any country?' So I said 'yes', but in my
mind I knew I would always be an Aussie no
matter what! ⁷⁴

It was because of her involvement with her husband in local politics in America that Ivy Diers took out citizenship in 1953. She recalls:

I felt kind of funny telling people 'Vote for
Eisenhower' when I couldn't vote myself! So that
was when I decided, if I'm going to live here I
should become a citizen. I feel pretty strongly
about that really. ⁷⁵

Colleen Halter, who became a US citizen in 1952, similarly 'wanted to vote for Eisenhower', but she says 'I always felt Australian in my heart'. ⁷⁶

Taking out US citizenship was a memorable event in the life of Peggy Dunmore Blackman, who did so in order to vote. She says: 'I felt I did not have a

⁷⁴ Telephone interview with Nancy Lankard, 14 November, 2004.

⁷⁵ Diers, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ Interview with Colleen Halter, San Jose, CA, 27 September, 2001.

right to even speak up on any issue until and unless I was an American citizen’.

She recalls:

it was an emotional moment giving up being an Australian, standing up in court with the tears streaming down my face, and my daughter saying ‘Why is Mummy crying?’ It was a renunciation, but I needed no urging to be married and, bottom line, no urging to become a citizen. It was just the renunciation of loyalty to Australia as number one.⁷⁷

However, she comments: ‘I was now an American and if I was indeed in that category, I was going to be a good one. But it was a significant moment in my life.’⁷⁸

Simply the notion that it seemed to be ‘the right thing to do’ motivated some war brides to become American citizens. Teddy Pickerel took out US citizenship in 1949, not long after she came to America. She says:

It had nothing to do with my feelings for Australia, but I knew that I liked this country and I felt that if I was going to stay here and accept the protection of its flag, then it was the only honourable thing one could do. Of course, I do love America...I still love Australia! There was no reason for leaving Australia except that I married an American.

⁷⁷ Interview with Peggy Dunmore Blackman, Sacramento, CA, 29 September, 2001.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

There was nothing detrimental about Australia, and so I made that transition and felt that I wanted to be a part of it. I was very interested in politics and that sort of thing.⁷⁹

It was in March 1975 that Jean Vallero decided to become an American citizen, 26 years after her arrival in America. She remembers the gist of her father's words when she left Australia in 1949: 'I don't want to hear you criticise America in any way, because your life will be there and anything you get will come through that country.' So she made the decision that she was 'not going to say anything bad about the country, even about the things she didn't like'.⁸⁰ Eventually, she remembers, that right after John Kennedy was elected President there was a point where she thought she would like to have a say in the government: 'I figured I couldn't criticise if I didn't vote!'⁸¹ It was not compulsory to vote in America, and Jean's husband never had voted. However, at one time when there was a local issue that needed to be settled, Jean finally persuaded him to register to vote, and she herself worked on the polls several times. Jean says she is 'not greatly interested' in politics, but admits that she does like to know that she can 'make a little bit of a difference'. Jean was unhappy to have to give up her Australian citizenship.⁸²

Irene Perruci became an American citizen on 18 August 1961, because 'I figured that if I was going to live in this country, then I'd better abide by the laws' of

⁷⁹ Interview with Edna (Teddy) Pickerel, 11 September, Salem, OR, 2001.

⁸⁰ Interview with Jean Vallero, Reno, NV, 1 October, 1999.

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² *ibid.*

that country.⁸³ She agreed with the sentiments of her husband's Italian/American family who never taught their children to speak much Italian, as they believed that 'when you are in America, you will speak American (sic)!' Irene went to school for six weeks before it was time for her naturalisation which she remembers:

Oh, how we studied, about this war and that war...I couldn't remember everything. So it came to my turn and the judge asked 'Who makes the laws of the land?' and I said 'Congress'. He asked 'Are the laws the same in each State?' and I said 'No, each State has its own laws'. The judge said 'Next please!' And I went for six weeks to study! And that's all he asked me!⁸⁴

Much of the oral testimony of the war brides in this study suggests that the required 'test', although requiring weeks of preparatory study, was itself not at all onerous. This raises the question of whether test questions varied in difficulty for 'aliens' from other nations, and whether Australians were preferred and looked upon favourably as new countrymen.

This notion resonates with the recent immigration tests, introduced by the Howard government in Australia, which came into practice on 1 October, 2007. No such test has been required for immigrants to Australia since the dismantling of the White Australia Policy which began at the end of WWII, and it has generated a great deal of public interest and press coverage.⁸⁵ The Australian press reported

⁸³ Interview with Irene Perucci, Lemon Grove, San Diego, CA, 23 September, 2001.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ Ben Haywood, *The Age*, 11 February, 2008; see Editorial opinion, *The Age*, 30 January, 2008; 'Citizenship a tad too testing', *Australian Financial Review*, January 29, 2007; also see Andrew Jakubowicz, 'White

public opposition to the test, which was seen as discriminatory and an attempt to keep out unworthy applicants.⁸⁶ Critics claimed that it disadvantaged migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds as the test must be taken in English. Criticisms were also made of specific questions on Australian values as well as the relevance of some test questions (for example those about Australian sporting legends).⁸⁷ People opposing the test claimed the Government was enforcing its own idea on what it means to be Australian, rather than 'embracing the cultural diversity' that comes with immigration. The new Rudd Government, while supporting the citizenship test, promised to review the test questions.⁸⁸

Australian WWII war brides in America took pride in studying and passing the naturalisation test. Helen Leirer was living in Utah in the early 1950s when she became a US citizen. She took a correspondence course on citizenship through the University of Salt Lake City and suspects that she studied 'lots of things' that she didn't need to study. She didn't mind, however, as she was interested to learn. When she sat for the exam she was the only person in the room, with an officer supervising. Helen recalls with pride: I took the test and passed!⁸⁹

Some oral testimony of the war brides contains a hint of scepticism regarding the citizenship process, suggesting that it was undertaken simply for convenience. For instance, Gladys Borger, born in the small Queensland country town of Howard, became a US citizen in 1949, because it made it easier for her to

Noise: Australia's Struggle with Multiculturalism', in *Working Through Whiteness. International perspective*, Edited by Cynthia Levine-Rasky, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2002, p. 107.

⁸⁶ Haywood, *op. cit.*

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Interview with Helen Leirer, Golden Grove, CA, 19 September, 2001.

travel on an American passport when her husband was in the service. However, she says 'I took the oath with my fingers crossed behind my back!⁹⁰

From the above examples narrated in their own voices, it is clear that these Australian women were reluctant to give up their Australian citizenship as a consequence of taking up US citizenship, and most tended to wait some years before doing so. Perhaps the prospect and formality of having to study for a test was a little daunting for some. From all accounts they were prepared to thoroughly inform themselves about America, and found the test questions quite easy.

More than reluctant to give up her Australian citizenship, Hazel Walker says, 'I have never felt "American"'.⁹¹ She did not even consider becoming an American citizen until her husband was about to be transferred from Texas to the Japanese city of Okinawa, eleven years after her arrival in the US. The Commander of her husband's Squadron advised her to take out American citizenship to avoid running into problems on arrival in Japan, and being separated from her husband and family by the Japanese. He said that in Japan 'things were made fast and easy for the US citizens, but not for others'. So Hazel 'took the required exam and was awarded US citizenship in April 1956'.⁹² In 1989, however, after reading a book about citizenship acts in various countries, she contacted the Australian Consulate in Los Angeles to enquire whether she could get her Australian citizenship back. She recalls:

They gave me forms to fill out where I had to explain that I had taken out US citizenship, not voluntarily, but because I was told by a

⁹⁰ Interview with Gladys Borger, Sacramento, CA, 29 September, 2001.

⁹¹ Email from Hazel Walker, 27 November, 2007.

⁹² *ibid.*

representative of the United States Government to take out US citizenship...Shortly thereafter I received a certificate, *Evidence of Australian Citizenship*, from Canberra. I was so happy to be officially Australian again, and went again to the Australian Consulate in Los Angeles and got my Australian passport.⁹³

Some women, such as Jean Wilk, were completely unwilling to forfeit their Australian citizenship. It took Jean 60 years to become a US citizen. In March, 2006 at the age of 82 when visiting Australia on an Australian passport, she enquired whether she needed a visa to return to America. The Australian immigration officers were very surprised to know that it was 60 years since she first left Australia to live in the US. Jean went to the US consulate who informed her that as she had never forfeited her Australian citizenship, more recent changes to citizenship legislation (discussed later in this chapter) now enabled her to obtain dual citizenship. She admits that she had 'felt a little guilty' for not having taken out US citizenship in all those years and tells how some people used to be critical:

A neighbour of my sister once commented on the fact that I had lived in the US so long and had never taken out US citizenship! She asked me if I felt like an American. I said 'No, I still feel like I'm Australian!' People used to ask me about voting

⁹³ Walker, 27 November, 2007, *op. cit.*.

and I'd just say 'I can't vote'. It didn't really worry me.⁹⁴

Now, as a dual Australian/American citizen, Jean is happy to hold both Australian and US passports and also to be able to vote.

The reasons that these women gave for taking up US citizenship were diverse. They were concerned with family security, especially with regard to children; employment opportunities with the government; helping to secure employment for their husbands; avoiding estate tax duty if their husband died and they were not US citizens; simply doing the 'right' or 'honourable' thing; or sometimes a combination of these reasons. An interest in politics and having the right to vote were also important factors in becoming US citizens, indicating a strong desire of these women to take their place as useful citizens in their adopted country.

AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION REFORM

In August 1998, almost fifty years after the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* was implemented, the Australian Citizenship Council was established as an independent body to advise the Minister for Immigration & Multicultural Affairs on contemporary issues relating to Australian citizenship. The subsequent review of citizenship policy and law led to amendments being made to the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* in 2002. Section 17 was repealed, allowing adult Australian citizens to acquire another citizenship without losing their Australian citizenship.⁹⁵ However, this applied only to those Australians who acquired another citizenship

⁹⁴ Telephone conversation with Jean Wilk, 1 July, 2007.

⁹⁵ Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, (DIMIA), *op. cit.*

from the date the legislation came into effect on 4 April, 2002, and it was not proposed that this amendment apply retrospectively.⁹⁶ While this change in legislation brought Australia into line with the citizenship law of many other comparable countries, including the UK, Canada, New Zealand, USA, France and Italy,⁹⁷ it was of no benefit to Australian war brides in America who had mostly taken up US citizenship approximately 50 years earlier.

Further amendments to citizenship legislation provided for resumption of prior Australian citizenship, however, this required the applicant to guarantee their intention to become a permanent resident of Australia within three years of the application. This of course could not be guaranteed by Australian war brides who have lived in America for 50 or 60 years, and who now are most unlikely to want to leave their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren to return to Australia permanently.⁹⁸

Reforms to Australian citizenship law announced on 7 July, 2004, were expected to pass through parliament in 2005, and offered promise that Australian WWII war brides who lost their Australian citizenship under Section 17 would soon enjoy simplified access to Australian citizenship. This would allow not only the war brides, but also their war babies and children born overseas to obtain dual Australian/American citizenship.⁹⁹ Under these reforms, the only criterion for resumption of Australian citizenship was that the person be of good character. Now there was to be no requirement for the applicant to have the intention to

⁹⁶ Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, (DIMIA), *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁹ The Southern Cross Group <http://www.southern-cross-group.org> [Accessed 29 August, 2004]. Media Release H128 2004 of 7 July 2004, former Minister for Citizenship and Multicultural Affairs, the Hon Gary Hardgrave, MP, outlined planned changes to the Australian Citizenship Act 1948.

No. 33 – Citizenship



Reforms to Citizenship legislation in 2007 allow Australian WWII war brides to reclaim their Australian citizenship and to hold dual Australian-US citizenship. These passports were issued to Erin CRAIG, daughter of war bride Iris CRAIG.



This dual-national-flag brooch, worn by an Australian WWII war bride at the Australian Embassy in Washington DC, in 2007, is symbolic of the strong bonds of loyalty these women have shown to both Australia and America.

reside in Australia permanently within three years.¹⁰⁰ The passage of this forthcoming legislation through parliament was happily anticipated by some Australian war brides in America who had already indicated their excitement to be able to resume their Australian citizenship, which was to give them dual Australian-American citizenship and restore their 'lost citizenship' of many years. Some indicated that their children born in Australia and overseas were also very interested to apply for Australian citizenship.¹⁰¹

The above expected reforms were slow to arrive. Again the Australian WWII war brides, now mostly in their eighties, had to exercise patience and once again found that they were 'ladies in waiting'. The Southern Cross Group (SCG), acting in the interests of Australians living abroad, had lobbied intently for this legislation, and in a media release welcomed the news that finally the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007* had received Royal Assent on 15 March 2007. The Act was passed by Parliament in Canberra on 1 March, but did not come into force until July 1, 2007.¹⁰²

Just two months earlier, in recognition of Australian WWII war brides, the Australian Embassy in Washington DC hosted a special event giving tribute to these women and their courageous spirit, in a historic gathering on 24 and 25 April 2007. Ninety-five Australian war brides, despite most being in their 80s and some in their 90s, travelled various distances from across the vast United States, accompanied by spouses, children and grandchildren, to participate in this special occasion. The Australian Ambassador, Dennis Richardson, and the Australian Embassy Staff gave tribute to the Australian WWII war brides with an evening

¹⁰⁰The Southern Cross Group <http://www.southern-cross-group.org> [Accessed 20 March, 2007]

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰² *ibid.*

No. 34 – Tribute to Australian WWII War Brides at Australian Embassy in Washington DC, 24 April, 2007.



Ninety-five Australian WWII war brides came from all parts of the USA to attend a special event in their honour hosted by Australian Ambassador, Dennis RICHARDSON, in Washington DC on 24 April, 2007, in conjunction with ANZAC Day ceremonies the following day.



Edna (Teddy) PICKEREL at the Australian Embassy, Washington DC, on 24 April, 2007.



Sunny SANSING and Iris CRAIG embrace at the gathering of Australian WWII war brides at the Australian Embassy, 24 April, 2007.

devoted to them, in conjunction with events the following day to commemorate ANZAC Day. Most of the war brides had not attended an ANZAC Day ceremony since leaving Australia in the 1940s and were so proud to be invited to attend. In a letter of thanks to the Australian Ambassador, Erin Craig, President of the WWII War Brides Association, and daughter of a war bride, relates:

My mother, Australian war bride Iris Craig, was overwhelmed at being asked to lay the War Brides' wreath at the Korean War Memorial. A lot of the other war brides there told her how proud they were of her. You should have seen her beam!¹⁰³

On behalf of the Australian WWII war brides, Erin Craig conveyed their thanks to the Ambassador, stating that 'it was an honor to participate in the commemorations for this most important of Australian dates'. The letter expressed appreciation for 'recognizing [sic] our Australian war brides' who 'felt that they were treated like royalty by their homeland' at this 'once-in-a-lifetime gathering in the United States of America...on Australian soil. It was like being home again.'¹⁰⁴

Media coverage of this historic event was widespread in America and in Australia, and it was soon after their tribute at the Embassy that Australian WWII war brides became eligible to become dual Australian-American citizens. One war bride who was the subject of TV and press coverage, says, 'Of all the nice write-ups, this one is my favourite! When Jamie read it to me at his store, I was so

¹⁰³ Letter from Erin Craig, President, World War II War Brides Association, to Ambassador Dennis Richardson, Embassy of Australia, Washington DC, dated 2 May 2007. (Copy of letter in author's possession.)

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

No. 35 – Australian WWII War Brides at Australian Embassy, Washington DC, 24 April, 2007.



War brides, Gene BUFFMEYER and Merle WIMBERLEY, at the Australian Embassy, 24 April, 2007.



Robert PENCE (son of war bride Dorothy PENCE BERRY) with Sunny SANSING, at the Australian Embassy, 24 April, 2007.



Coral AYRAUD with her daughter, Carol, and dancing with an American serviceman in Washington DC, 24 April 2007.



Iris CRAIG (centre) with daughter Erin and Australian Ambassador Dennis RICHARDSON.



The band played music from the 1940s.

touched I couldn't utter a word!' She refers to a small piece in the advertising newsletter 'July 4th Spectacular' from the only grocery store in her small home town in Illinois which reads:

Dear Friends & Amigos,

A World War II bride, Joy Shaddle, ever proud of her Forrest home has put Forrest on the international stage. She has been given dual citizenship from the United States and her beloved Australia. Her beauty and charm captivated the TV and newspapers in both countries. A great very true love story that transcends time is genuine and true, like her accent. Always cheerful and elegant. Just thinking of her brings a smile.

Happy 4th,

Jamie

P.S. Just one of the things that make Forrest a great place!

P.P.S. Thanks to all our servicemen for our freedoms!¹⁰⁵

At almost 89 years of age, Joy was 'ecstatic' when a package with her Australian citizenship papers arrived on the porch at her home in Forrest, Illinois, where she has lived since 1947. She describes the moment: 'I was laughing and crying. I was bursting at the seams.'¹⁰⁶ Joy, like other Australian WWII war brides, was very proud to reclaim her Australian citizenship which meant much to her even after such a long period of time.

The knowledge gained from studying this group of women, drawing from taped interviews, as well as from secondary and legal sources, offers insight into

¹⁰⁵ Jamie's Inc., 'July 4th Spectacular' Newsletter, July, 2007. (Copy in author's possession.)

¹⁰⁶ Sharon K. Wolfe, 'Forrest woman reclaims coveted dual citizenship', *The Pantagraph*, 18 June, 2007.

their experiences as 'aliens' in their adopted country. The oral testimony of the war brides reveals the reasons behind their motivation to become US citizens, while being forced simultaneously to forfeit their Australian citizenship.

The oral testimony of this group of women, articulated in their own words, contributes to a broader understanding of how the law regarding citizenship, its interpretation, implementation and eventual reform, affected a generation of Australian women and their children. Initially, the implementation of the citizenship legislation added to their sense of uncertainty and insecurity in a new country; it then allowed them gradually to feel that they belonged and could take part in American community activities; and finally, decades later, gave them the opportunity to reclaim their 'lost' identity as Australian citizens. For some war brides, unfortunately, this legislative reform came too late, but can be utilised by their children.

The strong bonds that continue to connect these women to the country of their birth can be seen in their reluctance to give up their Australian citizenship and in their eagerness to resume it, in the form of dual Australian/US citizenship, 60 years later – not only for themselves, but also for their children and in some cases, their grandchildren.

CONCLUSION

Since the first interviews were conducted for this thesis, almost ten years have passed. Sadly, at the time of writing, it is known that 12 participants in this study have died in recent years. Among this ageing cohort, where most women are now in their mid- to late-eighties and some in their early nineties, this news is not surprising. This means, however, that the oral testimony collected during this period of research is a precious resource which records their experiences and reveals their valuable contribution to women's history.

Over the past decade, during five visits to the US to meet with these women and record their memories, personal relationships have developed between the interviewer and the participants in the study. The war brides' interest in contributing has been enthusiastic from the start and has been sustained over the years by contact during these visits to the US, as well as by telephone conversations and correspondence. Several war brides and some of their families have visited me in Australia, and it has been an honour to be able to repay some of their generosity and kindness shown to me when travelling in the US. My interaction with them for this project has formed another of their links to Australia, which are so important to them.

This is a generation of women who are very proud of their Australian heritage, and of their lives in their adopted country of America which they have fully embraced. The omission of any in-depth study of these women is remarkable given that as many as up to 15,000 Australian war brides joined their husbands in America, and represented the largest contingent of Australian women ever to

migrate. This study shows that once Australian women decided to marry American servicemen, they were specifically affected by the arbitrary nature of some decision-making over which they had no control, and this had a significant impact on these women's decisions and plans for their future lives.

During recent years, there has been a growing interest in the subject of war brides, and the topic has attracted more researchers. There has been a burgeoning of memoirs as war brides themselves have begun to chronicle their experiences in books and unpublished journals. However, in the absence of any scholarly in-depth analysis of the experiences of the Australian brides of US servicemen, this thesis is designed to address this omission from historical studies.

Partly due to lack of record-keeping during the war, and partly due to the marginalisation of women on the homefront, there has been little statistical or archival record-keeping regarding the Australian WWII war brides of American GIs. The archive of taped interviews with this cohort addresses this omission, and results in a unique resource recorded in their own words and from their own perspectives. The war brides' self-representations of their role in the war years and beyond are revealed, adding substantially to existing knowledge and enabling their stories to be placed in the public domain.

The archive of war brides' stories created for this thesis gives new understanding to a part of women's history previously overlooked, and complicates previous studies of Australian women in wartime. The evidence from the war brides' oral testimony clearly shows that their experiences differed from

those of other women, and complicates Lakes' thesis which sees women in wartime as hedonistic and out to have a good time, pursuing sexual pleasure and seeking an alluring and exciting future.¹ This thesis shows that the official wartime constraints placed on women who married American servicemen saw a shift in their experiences, which became more complex with their decision to marry. Although early courtship between the young Australian women and the glamorous GIs may have resembled the carefree hedonistic image suggested by Lake, the decision to marry emphatically changed this situation. The war brides' testimony reveals that their liaisons with American servicemen were often courtships conducted over long distances by mail, with little time or opportunity for a sexual relationship to develop, thus refuting Lake's claims. While the anticipation of the shipboard journey contained elements of adventure and excitement, it was always tempered by overwhelming feelings of apprehension and nervousness while waiting for passage on a ship. The journey itself was fraught with a range of emotions at leaving families behind, suffering seasickness and with outbreaks of measles among the children, all made worse by rough and sometimes cyclonic weather conditions. It certainly was an adventure, but not always a pleasant one. While Lake looks to studies of consumerism, popular magazines and the cinema on which to base her claim of their influence on the sexualisation of women generally, this study of a specific group of women looks further by tapping the memories of those who actually lived through this period, and whose memories and self-representations give depth and understanding to their experiences from a subjective perspective. This cohort who married American GIs, experienced the wartime years quite differently from the 'good-time girls' and the 'gold-diggers' whose images loom large in wartime mythology.

¹ Marilyn Lake, 'Female desires: the meaning of World War II' in Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (Eds) *Gender and War: Australians at war in the twentieth century*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 62; Lake, Marilyn, 'The desire for a Yank', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1992, pp. 621-633.

The importance of this study, in refuting the gendered myths and stereotypes of wartime, can be clearly seen from the following extract from a recent Sydney newspaper. Its opening words read:

In World War II US servicemen were serviced by a grateful nation of Australian women in exchange for protection, hosiery and chocolate. Sydney has always opened its arms – and legs – to visiting Americans in times of war.²

This offensive text, appearing in the mainstream press in 2010, as long as 65 years after the end of WWII, confirms the need for studies such as this to challenge the power of false perceptions, which perpetuate the stereotypical images of women during wartime.

Evidence from the oral testimony in this study clearly highlights the way in which life unfolded for the Australian war brides once they made their permanent residence in America, again complicating Lakes' thesis, as most of the war brides did in fact return to the traditional role of housewife and mother, at least for some years, where they were expected to fill typical female roles. The oral testimony of the war brides' lives in America demonstrates how they differed greatly from the morally undesirable foreigners some Americans feared they would be, and shows how they acculturated to become valued members of the community. At the same time, this thesis also demonstrates the strong attachment the Australian war brides had, and still have, for their homeland as well as loyalty to their new land,

² Charles Waterstreet, 'G'day Mr USA', in *The Sun-Herald*, February 7, 2010, p. 20.

and explores the specific ways in which they have built and maintained links to Australia over the last 60 years.

In April, 2007, 95 Australian war brides and their families came from all parts of the US to attend the special tribute given in their honour by the Australian Ambassador, Dennis Richardson, in Washington, DC. It was an honour for me to be invited to speak about my research on this occasion, and I did so in the auditorium of the National Geographic building as part of this event. This official acknowledgment of their valued contribution to American society as good ambassadors, coming after so many years was timely. Almost simultaneously, legislation reform at last provided for the war brides, and their war babies, to be able to apply for dual Australian-American citizenship. For these women who found it so heart-wrenching to forfeit their Australian citizenship 60 years ago, the opportunity to reinstate it means much to them and to their children. In one or two cases, the required FBI checks and fingerprinting, necessary as part of the application for dual citizenship, upset the war brides, who felt that they should not be subjected to such scrutiny after being law-abiding American citizens for so many years. One war bride felt strongly about this and decided not to go ahead with the application for this reason.

The memorable public commemoration and acknowledgment of the Australian WWII war brides, as well as their participation in this study, clearly confirms to these women the importance of their memories of the past. As Kate Darian-Smith suggests:

the private and public forms of commemoration of
the experiences...reveal much about memory as

a form of healing in old age: the tying up loose ends and offering comfort through the reflection on and need to give a meaning and sense of purpose to their lives'.³

In her study of US Marine veterans who spent time in Australia during WWII, Darian-Smith concludes that for some men, communal reminiscing about their wartime youth in Australia proved to be one of the most positive and empowering experiences of old age. In the same way, the Australian Ambassador's recent tribute to the Australian WWII war brides, allowed them to share their experiences and to be honoured in an official capacity, which was an inspiring and empowering experience for these older women, most of whom were accompanied at this event by their children and grandchildren – the future generations – who can reflect on and learn from the war brides' recorded memories, adding a new dimension to women's history in both Australia and America.

³ Kate Darian-Smith and Rachel Jenzen, 'Memories from America: Australian War Brides and US Marines Remember Australia and the Pacific During the Second World War', Conference Paper in *When the Soldiers Return: November 2007 Conference Proceedings*, pp. 12-25.

APPENDIX 1 - AUSTRALIAN WWII WAR BRIDES WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS STUDY

SURNAME	NEE	FIRST NAMES	AUSTRALIAN ORIGIN	NAME OF SHIP	SAILED	ARRIVED	Q/AIRE I/VIEW OTHER *		
ANDREATTA	HURLEY	Marjorie	Rockhampton Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane Apr 1946	S'Frisco 25 Apr 1946	Y	Y	Y
ARCHER		Merle	Sydney NSW	President Monroe	NewCaledonia Aug 1945	S'Frisco Aug 1945		Y	Y
ATKINS	WILKINS	Lola	Northam WA	Lurline	Sydney 5 Apr 1944	S'Frisco 20 Apr 1944	Y	Y	Y
AYRAUD	WEST	Coral John Presnell	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	1946	S'Frisco Mar 1946	Y		Y
BADER	McGUIRE	Patricia Joyce	Brisbane, Qld	Air-PanAm from NZ	BrisSydNZ-28 Sept 1946	S'Frisco Oct 1946	Y		
BALESTER	McLEOD-SHARPE	Alison Garland (Dawne)	Mentone, Vic	Monterey	Sydney 27 Oct 1946	S'Frisco 14 Nov 1946			Y
BALOGH	EVERTON/ETHERTON?	Joyce		Lurline	1945	S'Frisco June 1945	Y	Y	
BATTLE	WHITE	Doreen Mary	Subiaco WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle April 1946	S'Frisco Apr 1946	Y		
BENTSON	STAINES	Joan Bernice	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 30 May 1946	S'Frisco June 1946	Y		
BERRY formerly PENCE	MILBOURNE-JACKSON	Dorothy E.	Crookwell NSW	General Mann	Brisbane 26 Dec1944	SanPedro 13 Jan 1945	Y	Y	Y
BLACKMAN	DUNBAR	Peggy	Scone NSW	Mirrabooka	Aug 1945	S'Frisco 27 Aug 1945	Y	Y	
BLONDON	WINKWORTH	Betty June	Newcastle NSW	Lurline	Sydney Oct 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y	
BORGER	KING	Gladys Irene May	Maryborough Qld	Lurline	Brisbane 14 Sept 1944	S'Frisco Sept 1944	Y	Y	
BOURNE	COOK	Dorothy (Mary)	Meekatharra WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle April 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y	
BRIDGES (k/a Betty)	ROADLEY	Elizabeth Gwendolyn	Glen Iris Vic	Arongi	April 1947	S'Frisco 2 May 1947	Y	Y	
BROCK		Jean Esther	Kalgoorlie WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle		Y		
BUFFMEYER	ROBINSON	Catherine Eugene(Gene)	Sydney NSW	Monterey	Sydney Oct 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y		
BYER	HUGHES	Joan Margaret	Perth WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle April 1946	S'Frisco May 1946	Y	Y	
CAMPBELL	BROGDEN	Phyllis May (Maisie)	Ballarat Vic	Marine Phoenix	Sydney Jan 1947	1947	Y		Y
CAPUANO	WESTLEY	Audrey	Strathalbyn SA		1946	April, 1946			Y
CAROLLA	HILLHOUSE	Iris Ann	Perth WA	Marine Phoenix	Fremantle 17 April 1947	May, 1947	Y		
CARVER	ARUNDELL	Raynel June	Sydney NSW	Lurline	Sydney 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y	
CASTENGERA		Eileen	Perth, WA				Y		
CHAMBERS	FRANKS	Gloria Elanor	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane April 1946	S'Frisco April 1946	Y		
CHERRY	MYLCHREEST	Lillian	Brisbane Qld		Brisbane 1946	S'Frisco 1946			Y
CLARK	MATTINGLEY	Iris Joan	Springsure Qld				Y		
CLAUSON	HURRELL	Edna (Sue)	Melbourne Vic	Lurline	Sydney March 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y		
CONNOR	HOFER	Mavis Irene	Carlton NSW	Marine Phoenix	Sydney 10 June 1948?	S'Frisco July 1948	Y		Y
COOMBS	WILSON	Betty Treherne	Sydney NSW	Mariposa	Brisbane 29 May 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y		
COPELAND	STEWART	Jean Isabel	Hakea WA	Marine Phoenix	Sydney 14 Feb 1947	S'Frisco Mar 1947	Y		
CORBIN	COOPER	Marjorie (Marge)	Katoomba NSW	Mariposa	April 1946	S'Frisco Apr 1946	Y		
CRAIG	ADAMS	Iris	Sydney NSW	Lurline	Sydney 21 Mar 1946	S'Frisco Apr 1946	Y	Y	
CUNNINGHAM	CATO	Bernice Mary	Perth WA	Monterey	May-46	S'Frisco May 1946	Y		
CURRIER	BYRNES	Daphne	Marrickville NSW	Mariposa	Brisbane 6 Mar 1946	S'Frisco1946	Y		

SURNAME	NEE	FIRST NAMES	AUSTRALIAN ORIGIN	NAME OF SHIP	SAILED	ARRIVED	Q'AIRES VIEW OTHER *	
DAHLQUIST	BARRATT	Betty Doreen	Perth WA	Marine Falcon	Sydney Aug 1946	S'Frisco Sept 1946	Y	
DAKE	O'HARA	Annie Betty	Sydney NSW	Lurline	Brisbane 10 Sept 1945	S'Frisco 1945	Y	
DIERS	WILLIS	Ivy	Rockhampton Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane April 1946	S'Frisco 25 Apr 1946	Y	Y
DIXON	ALLEN	Nydia June	Geraldton WA	Marine Phoenix	Sydney 2 June 1947	S'Frisco 21 June 1947	Y	
DOGGETT	BRIDGE	Bernice Natalie	Brisbane Qld	Lurline	Brisbane June 1945	S'Frisco 1945	Y	
DOLE	CRITCH	Elizabeth	WA	Lurline				
DOUGAN	FALL	Joan Dorothy	Yarloop WA	Monterey	Sydney Oct 1946	S'Frisco 14 Nov 1946	Y	
DUFFY	LAWSON	Patricia	Sydney NSW	Monterey	Sydney April 1945	S'Frisco 1945	Y	
DVORAK	MUIRHEAD	Janet	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	April 1946	S'Frisco Apr 1946	Y	
EVANS	LONERGAN	Joyce Helena	Sydney NSW	Aorangi	Dec 1949	January, 1950	Y	
FARGO	ROBERTSON	Jean Weir	Sea Lake Vic	David C Shanks	Sydney June 1946	S'Frisco 28 June 1946	Y	Y
FEUERBACH			Ballarat Vic	David C Shanks	Sydney 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	
FINK	WARNER	Joan	Vaughan NSW	Monterey	Sydney 1947	S'Frisco 1947	Y	
FITTS	MONCKTON	Mena Katherine	Brisbane Qld	Lurline	Brisbane 16 Sept 1944	S'Frisco 1944	Y	
FOSMO	COOPER	Margaret	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane April 1946	S'Frisco 25 Apr 1946	Y	Y
FRANCK	VICKERS	Irene Victoria	Perth WA	Gunnawarra	Melbourne 15 Sept 1943	S'Frisco 1943	Y	Y
FREELAND	GOLDING	Roma Jean	Pemberton WA	Lurline	Brisbane 1944	S'Frisco 12 Aug 1944	Y	
FROST	DOWSETT	Ruth Isabelle (Ruth)	Melbourne Vic	David C Shanks	Sydney 28 Mar 1946	S'Frisco April 1946		Y
GARDNER	MORRIS	Norma Jean	Brisbane Qld	General Butner	Brisbane 14 Dec 1945	San Pedro Dec 1944	Y	
GEIST	ANDREASSEN	Bernice	Port Douglas Qld	Lurline	Jan 1947	S'Frisco 26 Jan 1947	Y	Y
GERE	LE PAGE	Joan Dorothy	Perth WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Easter 1946	S'Frisco May 1946	Y	
GLEASON	SHERIDAN	Barbara Faith	Perth WA	Lurline	Sep-45	S'Frisco Sept 1945	Y	Y
GLENN	HOUSTON	Jean Eleanor	Melbourne Vic	Mariposa	Brisbane 26 May 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	
GREER	FRAZER	Betty	Orange NSW	Marine Phoenix	Sydney 24 Feb 1947	S'Frisco 14 Mar 1947	Y	Y
GROSSETTA	NUNN	Margaret Rose	Greenmount WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle Apr 1946	Honolulu Hawaii 1946	Y	
GUSTAFSSON	MANN	Dorothy (k/a Joy)	Rockhampton Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 11 Apr 1946	S'Frisco 25 April 1946	Y	Y
HALTER	MOORE	Colleen P	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane June 1946	S'Frisco 14 June 1946	Y	Y
HAMILTON	Handley	Joan Margaret Edith	Sydney NSW	Monterey	April 1946	S'Frisco April 1946	Y	Y
HAMMON	ZGLINICKI	Dorothea Mary	Croydon Park NSW	Marine Phoenix	February 1947	S'Frisco 1947		Y
HANSEN	WHITE	Jacqueline S.	Perth WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle 15 May 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y
HARBURT		Doris	Adelaide SA					Y
HARRIS	TRUNFULL	Shirley	Bassendean WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle April 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	
HAWKES	HOOLIHAN	Norma Mary	Townsville Qld	Marine Phoenix	14 April 1947	S'Frisco May 1947	Y	
HAWKS	MILLARD	Betty	Sydney NSW					Y
HAWKINS		Josine				S'Frisco 17 Mar 1947		Y
HEBERT	GALVIN	Joan	Sydney NSW				Y	Y
HEEREN	McCORMACK	Kathleen Mary	Perth WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle 21 Apr 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y

SURNAME	NEE	FIRST NAMES	AUSTRALIAN ORIGIN	NAME OF SHIP	SAILED	ARRIVED	Q'AIRE T'VIEW OTHER *		
HENRY	FULLER	Mavis	Tocumwal NSW			S. Frisco 1946	Y		
HERTZBERG EmlyKATZ//GOLDBERG	STEIGRAD	Valda Rebecca	Sydney NSW	Barrunduna (Swed)	Brisbane Aug 1946	S'Frisco 22 Aug 1946	Y	Y	
HEWETT	McDONNELL	Noreen Mona	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane May 1946	S'Frisco June 1946	Y		Y
HOLYCROSS-HUDSON		Blanche V.							Y
HOPKINS	NORTH	Rita Frances	Rockhampton Qld	Lurline	Brisbane 12 Sept 1944	S'Frisco 28 Sept 1944	Y	Y	
HOVER	LUCAS	Marjorie	Perth WA	Lurline	Brisbane 4 June 1945	S. Frisco 18 June 1945	Y		
HURLESS	MANNIX	Irene Theresa	Bartle Frere Qld	Lurline	Brisbane 11 Sept 1945	S'Frisco 25 Sept 1945	Y		
HYATT	SHOTTON	Joyce					Y		
HYDE	MATTHEWS	Helen Elizabeth	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 11 April 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y		Y
JOHNSON	GRAEBNER	Ruth Dorothea	Perth, WA	By air	Syd.-NZ PanAm-25 Sep'46	S'Frisco 1946	Y		
KANE	DENTON	Betty	Albany WA	Monterey	Sydney 12 Feb 1946	S'Frisco 1946		Y	Y
KATZENSTEIN	HASSALL	Joan Isabel	Kandos/Sydney NSW		Sydney March 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y	
KELSEY	WRIGHT	Frances (Fran)	Tasmania		Sydney	S'Frisco	Y		
KESSELER	MASON	Shirley Berne	Randwick NSW	Monterey	Sydney May 1946	S'Frisco May 1946	Y		
KING Formerly de ST GERMAINE	MOTT	Betty Louise	Willoughby NSW	David C Shanks	Sydney April 1946	S'Frisco May 1946	Y	Y	Y
KLOPP	ARMSTRONG	June Mary Victoria	Sans Souci NSW				Y		Y
LALLEY	LAWSON	Norma Betty	Wembly Park WA	Henry T Butner	Melbourne June 1944	SanPedro 1944	Y		
LANKARD		Nancy	Sydney NSW		Sydney 21 March 1946	April, 1946		Y	Y
LASSITER		Margaret (Peg)	Melbourne, Vic		1944	1944	Y		
LAW	EVANS	Patricia	Sydney NSW	Marine Phoenix	Sydney 1947	S'Frisco 1947	Y	Y	Y
LAWTON Formerly GWYNN	HARRIS	Barbara Jean	Adelaide, SA	Goonawarra	Sydney Jan 1946	S'Frisco Feb 1946	Y		
LEDER	GATE	Joyce C	Cremorne NSW				Y		
LEIRER	THOMSON	Helen Low	Leura, NSW		Sydney March 1946	S'Frisco April 1946	Y	Y	
LOCKLEAR		Muriel							Y
LOGAN	MILLS	Nancy	Bellevue Hill NSW	Lurline	Brisbane June 1945	S'Frisco 1945	Y		
McDONOUGH	CARMAN	Joan	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 30 May 1946	S'Frisco June 1946	Y		
McELWEE	BUTLER	Margaret Hope (Hope)	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane Feb 1944	S'Frisco 1944	Y	Y	
McGREW	CONDREN	Irene Francis	Sydney, NSW	Monterey	Sydney February 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y		
McINTIRE	WADDELL	Betty Jean	Melbourne Vic	Monterey	Sydney 1 April 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y	Y
MALONE	TREDREA	Ruby	Charters TowersQld				Y		
MASON	WARNER	Betty	Sorrento Vic		Sydney Feb 1945	New York Mar 1945	Y		
MASTERS	HODGSON-BROWN	Betty Aileen	Harden NSW	Monterey	Sydney March 1946	S'Frisco April 1946	Y		
MATTINGLEY		Joyce Addison	Sydney NSW				Y		
MESSERSCHMIDT	TURNER	Rae	Kempsey NSW	Marine Phoenix	Sydney 14 April 1947	S'Frisco 2 May 1947	Y		
MILDER	SKEGGS	Irene	Perth WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle 25 April 1946	S'Frisco 15 May 1946	Y		
MINER	McENCROE	Margery M	Melbourne Vic	Lurline	Brisbane Aug 1945	S'Frisco 7 Sept 1945	Y		
MOORE	ELLIS	Patricia Stella	Perth WA	Marine Phoenix	Sydney June 1947	S'Frisco 1947	Y		

SURNAME	NEE	FIRST NAMES	AUSTRALIAN ORIGIN	NAME OF SHIP	SAILED	ARRIVED	Q'AIRE T'VIEW OTHER *	
MORAN	MONAGHAN	Joan M.	Perth WA	General Butner	Sydney June 1944	S'Frisco 4 July 1944	Y	Y
MORRIS	PARKER	Beulah	Woollahra NSW	Mariposa	Sydney Feb 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	
MURRAY	SALMON	Ethel Dorothy	Waverley NSW	David C Shanks	Sydney April 1946	S'Frisco May 1946	Y	
NOGGLE	PRICE	Lurline H.	Northam WA	Marine Phoenix	Apr-47	S'Frisco May 1947	Y	Y
NORTON	NICHOLLS	Shirley June	Melbourne Vic	Monterey	Sydney 1 April 1946	S'Frisco 28 April 1946	Y	Y
OLGUIN	KELLY	Joyce	NSW	Lurline	Sydney May 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y
PACK	FERGUSON	Florence (Mabel)	Rockhampton Qld	Mariposa	Brisb. 20 Feb 1946	S'Frisco 6 March 1946	Y	
PARK	MILLAR	Ruby Elizabeth	Moe, Vic	Lurline	Brisbane 1 Sept 1944	S'Frisco 28 Sept 1944	Y	
PATTERSON	NICHOLLS	Joan N. (Joann)	Melbourne Vic	Monterey	Sydney Feb 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y
PAUKOVITZ	LYON	Betty Harvey	Fremantle WA	Lurline	Brisbane Sept 1945	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y
PERUCCI	COWIE	Irene Alice	Northam WA	Lurline	Sydney 4 April 1944	S'Frisco April 1944	Y	Y
PETER	ROBERTS	Cynthia	Mosman NSW	David C Shanks	Sydney June 1946	S'Frisco 23 June 1946	Y	Y
PICKEREL	LOVE	Edna Muriel (Teddy)	Boonah Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 11 April 1946	S'Frisco 25 April 1946	Y	Y
PORTER	BARRITT	Joan Evelyn Marie	Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 2 April 1946	S'Frisco April 1946	Y	
RASSMUSSEN		Nell	Sydney NSW	Sunderland F/boat	Sydney 3 Sept 1946			Y
REED	BALLINGER	Mona Kathleen	Ballarat Vic	Monterey	Sydney 6 April 1946	S'Frisco April 1946	Y	
REED	BERCOVE	Rae Passie	Perth WA	Lurline	15 September 1944	S'Frisco 28 Sept 1944	Y	
REEDY	LUCAS	Mavis	Perth WA	Fred C Ainsworth	F'mantle April 1946	S'Frisco 20 April 1946	Y	
REHRER	COX	Norma Lawrence	Winton Qld	Lurline	Brisbane June 1945	S'Frisco 1945	Y	Y
RICHARD	IRONS	Elsie Olive	Clermont Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 9 April 1946	S'Frisco 25 April 1946	Y	
RICHARDSON Formerly STEELE	CREER	Margaret Bromley	Newcastle NSW	Mariposa	Sydney June 1946	S'Frisco June 1946		
RINGEN	BRAUER	Viola Evelyn (Billie)	Tenterfield NSW	Mariposa	Brisb. 20 Feb 1946	S'Frisco 6 March 1946	Y	Y
RIOPELLE	HIGGINS	Kathleen Patricia	Maroubra, NSW	Lurline	Brisbane 1 Sept 1945	S'Frisco 24 Sept 1945	Y	
RUDY	DREW	Alice Kathleen (Allie)	Victoria	Lurline	June 1945	S'Frisco 18 June 1945	Y	Y Y
RYCYK	IRVINE	Barbara Cecilia	Wynnum, Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane March 1946	S'Frisco March 1946	Y	
SANSING Formerly WOOLARD	POTTS	Dorienne Minna (Sunny)	Chatswood NSW	Sunderland F/boat	Rose Bay-NZ-Pan Am	S'Frisco Sept 1946	Y	Y Y
SARFF	MAY	Doris Gwendoline	Pelaw Main NSW	Marine Phoenix	Sydney May 1947	S'Frisco 1947	Y	Y
SCANTLING	RATCLIFFE	Nonee (Doreen)	Ballarat Vic	Lurline	Brisbane Oct 1946	S'Frisco Sept 1946	Y	
SEYFRIED	JAMES	Joy Bernice	Brisbane, Qld	Air - BCPA	Sydney 10 Nov 1948	New York 14 Nov 1948	Y	
SHADDE	PARKER	Joy Isabella	Sydney NSW	Lowlander	Sydney 10 Jan 1947	New York 5 Mar 1947	Y	Y
SHIPPLER	HUNTER	Joy Anne	Balmoral NSW	Marine Phoenix	Sydney June 1947	S'Frisco 1947	Y	Y
SIMPSON	LELIEVRE	Verna Joyce	Northam WA	Lurline	Brisbane Aug 1945	S'Frisco 1945	Y	
SINKOVITCH	THOMSON	Margory	Cormiston Tas					Y
SKILLMAN	COX	Winifred Nelva	Melbourne Vic	David C Shanks	Sydney April 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	
SLATTUM	SHEPHERD	Isobel M. (Bel)	Mackay Qld	Lurline	14 September 1944	S'Frisco 28 Sept 1944	Y	Y
SMITH	FORBES	Rosemary Dorothea	Sydney NSW	Lurline	Sydney	S'Frisco Apr 1946		Y
SMITH	BALLARD	Val June	NSW	Monterey	June 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y	Y

SURNAME	NEE	FIRST NAMES	AUSTRALIAN ORIGIN	NAME OF SHIP	SAILED	ARRIVED	Q'AIRES VIEW OTHER *		
SPERRY	MARTIN	Avis	Sydney NSW	Romance of the Sky	Sydney Pan Am	S'Frisco-New York	Y		Y
ST. JEAN		Peggy	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane April 1946	S'Frisco 1946	Y		
ST. ONGE	MORGAN	Olive	Yarraville Vic		Melbourne Feb 1945	1945	Y		
STERN	BOYLE	Joan (Bette)	Newcastle NSW	Monterey	1 April 1946	S'Frisco 22 April 1946	Y		Y
STITES	SMITH	Betty	Coburg Vic		1945	1945		Y	
STORK Formerly WALKER	FELL	Marian	Sydney NSW	Monterey	Brisbane April 1946	S'Frisco April 1946	Y		
THOMAS		Irene	Gardenvale Vic	Lurline	September 1945	S'Frisco Sept 1945	Y		
THOMPSON	LEISHMAN	Dorothy	Lutwyche Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 20 Feb 1946	S'Frisco 6 March 1946	Y	Y	
TODD		Eileen W					Y		
TOTH	DUNCAN	Joan	Brisbane Qld	Mariposa	Brisbane 24 May 1946	S'Frisco June 1946	Y		
TRAVERS	THOMPSON	Pat	Perth WA	Lurline	Brisbane June 1945	S'Frisco June 1945	Y		
TRONIC	ANDREW	Lorraine (Shirley)	Subiaco WA	Fred C Ainsworth	Fremantle Apr 1946	S'Frisco May 1946	Y		Y
UNREIN		Gloria	Perth WA				Y		
VALLERO	ANDERSON	Lavinia (Jean)	Wilston Qld	Arongi	Sydney 28 Nov 1949	Vancouver 1949	Y	Y	
WALKER	CASTLEDINE	Hazel Mary	Red Hill Qld	Lurline	28 May 1945	S'Frisco 18 June 1945	Y	Y	Y
WARD	PARNELL	Elaine Florence	Buchworth Vic	Air - ANA	Sydney Airport Jan 1947	Seattle WA 1947	Y		
WATKINS	BEACH	Josephine Olive	NSW		Brisbane June 1945	S'Frisco 1945	Y		
WEBB	CAMPBELL	May	Subiaco WA	Mariposa	Brisbane 19 Feb 1946	S'Frisco March 1946	Y	Y	
WILK	REEVES	Jean Constance	Subiaco WA	Marine Phoenix	Sydney May/June 1947	S'Frisco June 1947	Y	Y	Y
WIMBERLEY	LISSON	Merle Constance	Sydney NSW	Monterey	Sydney July 1946	S'Frisco Aug 1946	Y	Y	Y
TOTALS							146	60	40

[*OTHER = Telephone/Correspondence/Diary or Journal]

APPENDIX 2 PROFILE OF WAR BRIDES (Data drawn from 60 interviews conducted between 1999 and 2007)

(1) AGES
At outbreak of war in 1939 – ages ranged from **12–25**, the majority being around age of **16**.

By August 1942, when there was a very visible American presence, ages ranged from **15-29**, the majority being around age of **19**.

Ages when married – ranged from **17-32**, the majority being between **19 and 23**, with most aged **20**.

(2) SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND
Based on fathers’ occupations:
Shearer, chamber magistrate, journalist, building contractor, tram conductor, thoroughbred horse trainer, hosiery business owner, gold miner, building contractor, WW1 veteran, master grocer, railway clerk, banker, photographer, fireman/farmer, carpenter/farmer, telephone mechanic at PO, railway engineer/mine manager, master plasterer, mechanical engineer, railway engineer, wool industry, cattle & dairy farmer/butcher, bank manager, sailor/fisherman, school teacher/funeral parlour manager, soldier in Indian Army/WWII veteran, upholsterer, grazier, council worker, railway engineer, train driver, tyre salesman, bush carpenter/tree logger, butcher, building contractor, RAME engineer/WW1 veteran, store owner, farmer, chief engineer in the Navy, railway mechanic, farmer/produce merchant, store manager, blacksmith striker, electrical engineer, mounted policeman, painter.

The war brides’ family backgrounds are diverse, and include a range of socio-economic levels which cross working-, middle- and upper-middle-class boundaries.

(3) SIZE OF AUSTRALIAN FAMILY	
No. of children in family:	% of 60 families
(Range from 1 – 11 children)	
1	8.3
2	13.3
3	13.3
4	13.3
* 5	16.8
6	8.3
7	5.0
8	5.0
10	1.7
11	1.7
	100.0

*Despite falling marriage rates in the 1920s (see Appendix 5) when the war brides were born, the biggest group of families (16.8% of 60) had 5 children.

(4) STATE OF ORIGIN OF ALL WAR BRIDE PARTICIPANTS

	QLD	NSW	VIC	WA	SA	TAS	NT	TOTAL
Nos. of War Brides	39	54	24	40	3	1	-	161

(5) RELIGION WHEN GROWING UP

Anglican /C of E	Catholic	Presbyterian	Baptist	Methodist	*Other	N/A	Unknown	TOTAL
18	8	5	2	5	2	6	14	60

*Other - 1 Jewish, 1 Congregationalist,
Note: 4 war brides had Catholic/Protestant parents.

(6) EDUCATION

Only 3 of 60 (5%) war brides interviewed went to University in Australia (courses were interrupted by the war); 1 graduated from Music College; 2 attended Technical College; 14 attended Business/Commercial Colleges; 5 studied Fashion/Dressmaking/Design; 1 trained as a Nurse (unfinished); 1 completed a 5-year apprenticeship and graduated in Draughting; 33 of 60 (55%) interviewed did not disclose any tertiary college or university education in Australia after leaving school.

(7) HOW LONG WAS THE AVERAGE WAIT TO GET MARRIED?

No of War Brides	Interval between meeting and marriage		
	Years	months	weeks
1*		3	-
3**		4	-
3		5	-
5		6	-
4		9	-
2		10	-
3		11	-
3	1	0	-
1	1	1	-
3	1	3	-
1	1	4	-
6	1	6	-
1	1	7	-
1	1	10	-
4	2	0	-
1	2	4	-
1	2	5	-
2	2	6	-
2	3	0	-
1	3	6	-
1	4	0	-
1	5	0	-
8	unknown	unknown	unknown
60			

* (Proposed on first night)
** (2 Married without first obtaining US Army permission) Note: 2 months and 3 months, are shortest intervals between first meeting and marriage; 4 and 5 years are the longest intervals.

(8) HOW MANY AUSTRALIAN/AMERICAN COUPLES DIVORCED?

6 of 60 women interviewed (10%) were divorced – but not for some years and not before children were teenagers or older.

(9) HOW MANY BECAME AMERICAN CITIZENS?

57 of 60 (95%) became US citizens

(10) HOW MANY RETURNED PERMANENTLY TO AUSTRALIA TO LIVE?

3 of 60 women interviewed (5%) returned, accompanied by their husbands, to live permanently in Australia.

APPENDIX 3A

Australian War Brides In The United States: Origins And Experiences

Research project conducted by Ms Robyn Arrowsmith (Supervisor Professor Jill Roe) as part of requirements for MA(Hons) degree in the Department of Modern History at Macquarie University, Sydney, 2109, Australia.

QUESTIONNAIRE
[IN CONFIDENCE]

1. PERSONAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

a) Name:

Surname **Given Names** **Maiden name**

Previous married names (if any)

b) Date and place of birth:

c) Were your parents born in Australia or overseas? If overseas, please state where:

d) Father's name and occupation:

e) Mother's name and occupation:

f) How many brothers and sisters were there in your family? Where did you come in the family?

g) Where did you grow up?

h) Please give the place and extent of your education and any training:

i) Was religion important in your upbringing? If so, what grouping?

2. MEETING YOUR HUSBAND

a) How did you first meet your husband?

b) When was that and what attracted you to him?

- c) Was he your first boyfriend?
- d) At what point did you decide to marry?
- e) Did you have a job at the time you met your husband? If so, what sort of work were you doing?

3. HUSBAND'S FAMILY BACKGROUND

- a) What was your husband's name?
- b) What was his date and place of birth?
- c) What was his father's occupation?
- d) What was his mother's occupation?
- e) What was your husband's occupation before the war?
- f) What was your husband's wartime position?
- g) What did he do after the war?

4. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

- a) When and in what place (town or city) did you get married?
- b) Was it a church wedding or held somewhere else (please say where)?
- c) Any comments about your wedding (eg number of guests, your dress, cake, honeymoon etc.)
- d) How did you feel about going to America to live?

- e) How did your family feel about your marrying an American and going to the US to live?
- f) Did you plan to have children? Did you have any before you left Australia for the US?
- g) How many children did you have altogether?
- h) What is your present marital status (still married, widowed, divorced, separated, re-married)?

5. LEAVING AUSTRALIA FOR THE US

- a) Were there any delays in your being able to leave Australia for the US? If so, how long did you have to wait to make the journey, and what were the reasons for the delays?
- b) Which port did you sail from?
- c) From where did you travel in Australia to join the ship to the US?
- d) Can you remember the name of the ship?
- e) What date did it sail (approximately)?
- f) What were your main feelings when you sailed away?
- g) Did you feel as though you were leaving Australia permanently?
- h) What things do you remember about the ship voyage?
- i) Had you travelled outside Australia before? If 'Yes', where?

6. ARRIVING AND SETTLING IN THE UNITED STATES

- a) When and where did you land in the US?
- b) Who met you at the boat (your partner/someone else/no-one)?
- c) Where did you first live in the US?
- d) How far did you have to travel to your new home and by what means?
- e) What were your first impressions of the US?
- f) How did you compare it to Australia?
- g) How were you received by your husband's family?
- h) Where else in the US have you lived since then?
- i) What has been your main occupation in the US?

7. CITIZENSHIP

- a) How has being an Australian affected your life in America?
- b) Are you a US citizen now?
- c) If yes, when and why did you become a US citizen?

d) If no, what have been your main considerations?

e) Do you find you have any problems with citizenship now? If so, please elaborate.

f) Would you like to hold dual Australian/US citizenship now?

8. LINKS WITH AUSTRALIA

a) What links do you still have with Australia?

b) Have you ever been back to Australia? If so, how frequently and for what main reasons?

c) What kind of information do you get about Australia these days?

d) What other kinds of things would you like to know?

e) Which aspects of Australian life have been of most/least interest to you? e.g. political changes, education, Aborigines.

f) What, if any, recent Australian movies have you seen?

g) What Australian books or magazines do you read (if any)?

h) Do you follow Australian sport e.g. tennis, golf, cricket?

i) Which (if any) notable Australians in the world of entertainment and the arts have been of interest to you?

j) Did/do people ever ask you about Australia? If so, what do they ask?

k) What, if anything, do you miss from your Australian days?

l) Are your children and/or friends interested in your Australian background? If so, how does it show?

m) To what extent have you been concerned that your children should have Australian links?

n) Do you have any grandchildren? If so, how many?

o) Do any of them show any interest in Australia? If so, in what ways?

[Could you please give me the full current address of one grandchild I could contact?]

p) About how many other Australians do you still have contact with in the US?

q) What war brides' association do you belong to (if any)? If so, do you receive any newsletters?

r) Can you say anything about how your life has been different (better/worse) than if you had stayed in Australia?

s) What do you think about returning to Australia?

t) Are there any other comments you would like to make?

Current contact details:

Name Telephone No.

Address Email address
.....
.....

APPENDIX 3B

Participant Information and Consent Form

This research project, ‘Australian WWII War Brides: Origins and Experiences’ is being conducted by Robyn Arrowsmith robynarrow@ozemail.com.au to meet the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Honours) under the supervision of Professor Jill Roe, Department of Modern History, Macquarie University, Sydney 2109, Australia, jroe@ocs.mq.edu.au.

The aims of this project are to study the experiences of Australian WWII War Brides who married US Servicemen and went to live in America. Information for this study is to be obtained by questionnaire and/or interview to be recorded on audio-tape.

(Please strike out whatever may be irrelevant)

I, _____ of _____
(FULL NAME) (PRESENT ADDRESS)

wish to participate in this project and give my permission for my taped interview and/or completed questionnaire to be deposited with the Australian History Museum at Macquarie University (or a similar repository in Australia such as the Australian War Memorial in Canberra) to be part of their permanent collection.

I give my consent for all or part of my interview and/or responses to the questionnaire to be used in future publications, and if so, I would prefer to be identified as indicated below: [please tick one box]

- ☐ My present name
- ☐ My previous name i.e. before marriage
- ☐ My first name with initial of present surname e.g. Mary C—
- ☐ Not to be identified by name at all.

Please also tick one of the following:

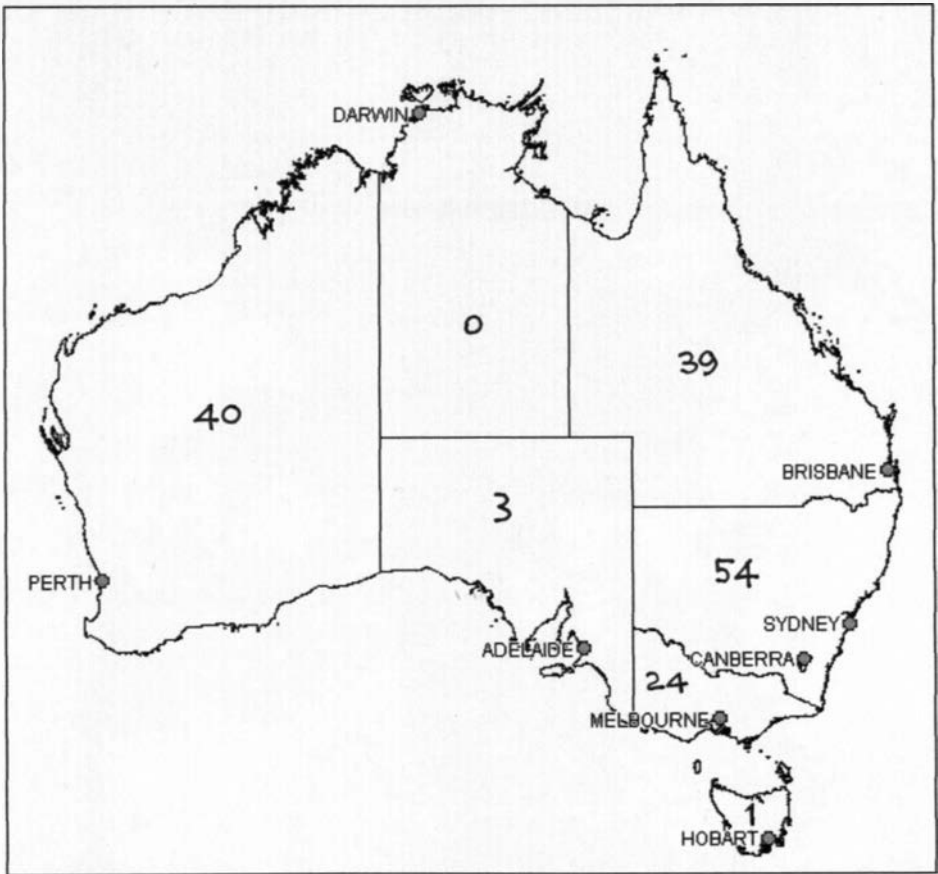
- ☐ I do not wish to place any restrictions on access to, or use of, my questionnaire response and/or my taped interview.
- ☐ I do wish to impose restrictions on access to or use of the whole, or part, of my interview and/or questionnaire response. (Please specify any restrictions. If the restriction applies to part only, please identify the part below. [e.g. 3(a), and/or by simply marking the relevant section clearly.]

.Signature of Interviewee _____ Date _____

Signature of Interviewer _____ Date _____

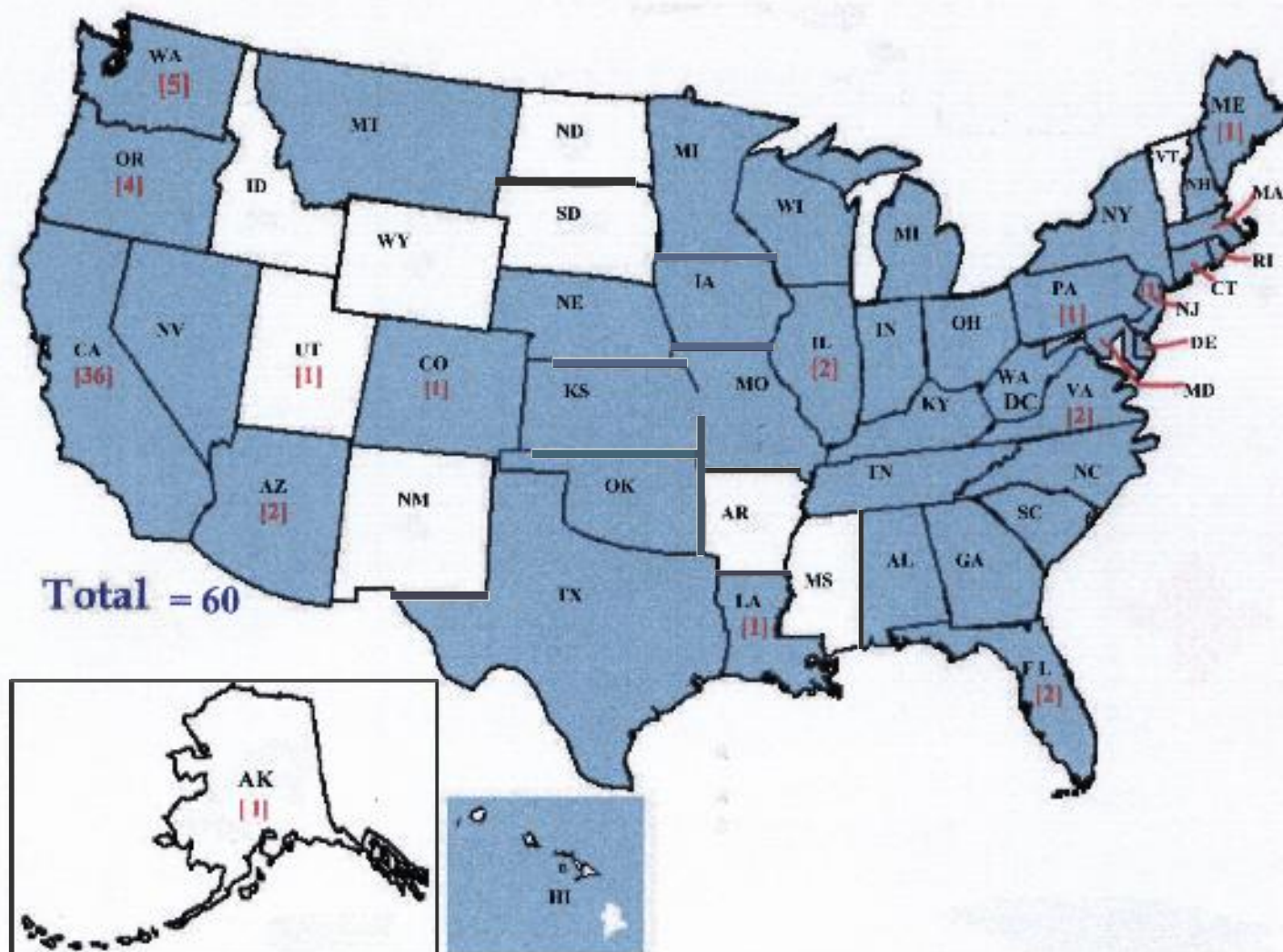
The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (telephone 61 2 9850 7854, fax 61 2 9850 8799, email: rachael.krinks@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX 4A – MAP OF AUSTRALIA showing original locations of WWII War Bride Participants (including those who participated in this study by questionnaire, interview, telephone and/or correspondence.)



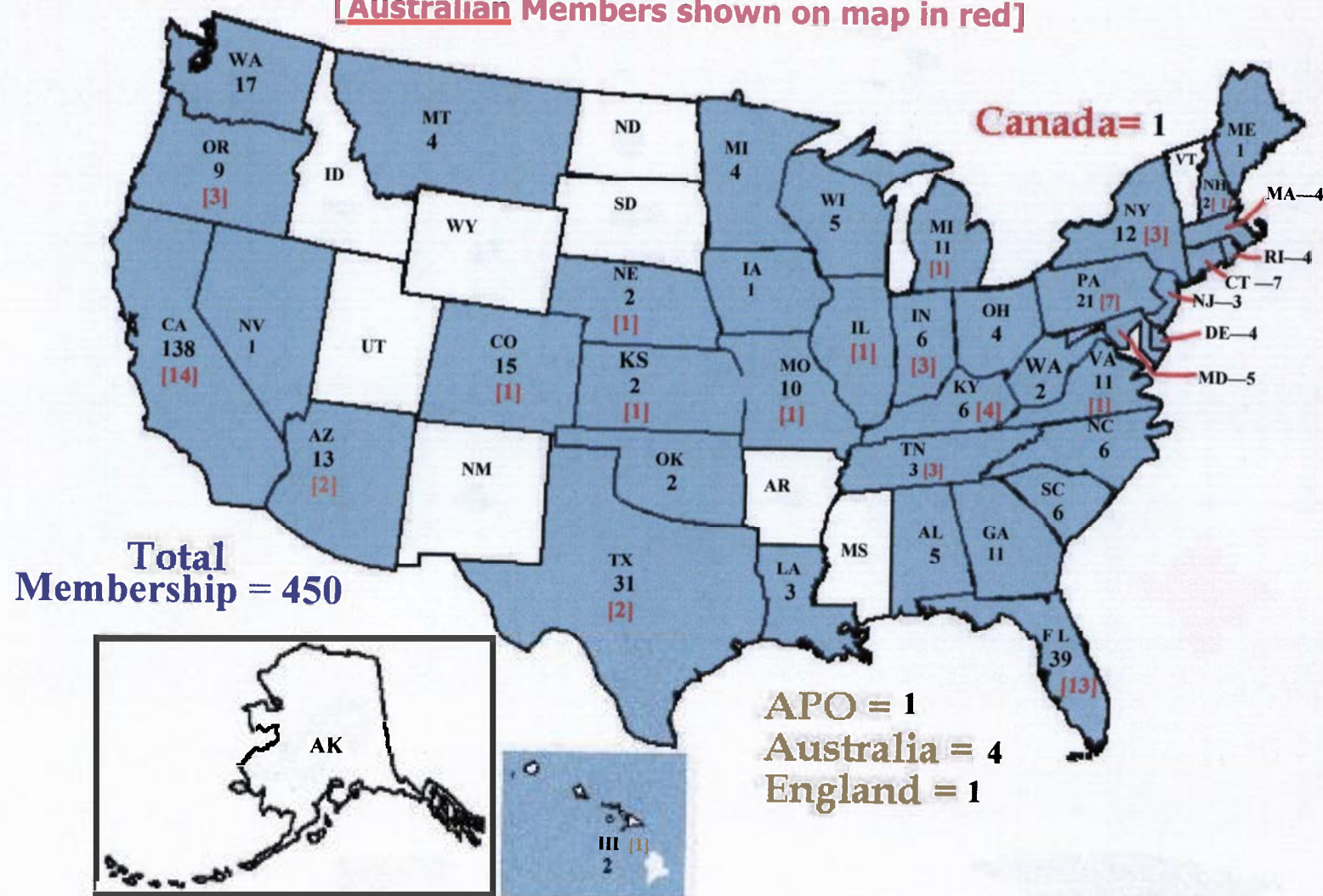
NEW SOUTH WALES	Sydney and suburbs	41
	Rural	13
	TOTAL	54
QUEENSLAND	Brisbane and suburbs	24
	Rockhampton	5
	Townsville	1
	Mackay	1
	Rural	8
	TOTAL	39
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	TOTAL	3
VICTORIA	Melbourne & suburbs	13
	Rural	11
	TOTAL	24
TASMANIA	TOTAL	1
WESTERN AUSTRALIA	Perth and suburbs:	27
	Rural	13
	TOTAL	40
		<u>161</u>

APPENDIX 4B MAP SHOWING STATE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS IN THIS STUDY
[Red = number of Australian WWII War Brides Interviewed]



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF ALL MEMBERS OF WWII WAR BRIDES' ASSOCIATION AT 2 APRIL 2009

[Australian Members shown on map in red]



Australian Members—Total of 75—Distribution by State at 2 April 2009

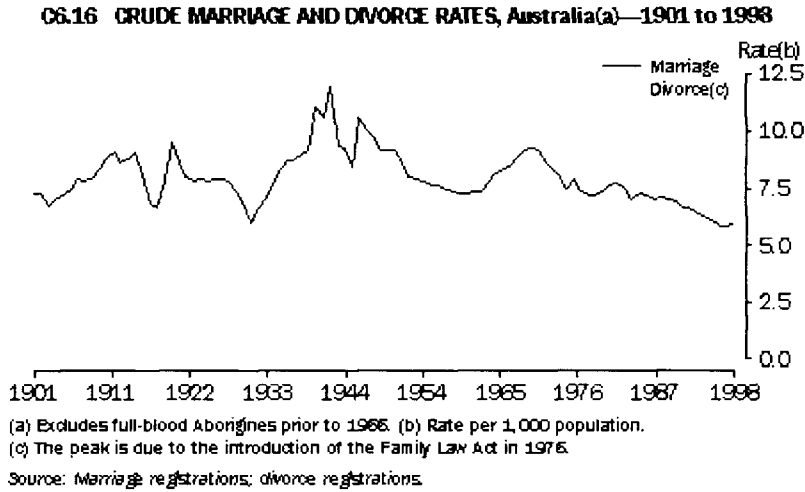
AZ = 2	IN = 3	MO = 1 (+1 daughter)	PA = 7 (+1 daughter)	Total Australian War Brides Living in the US = 63) APO = 1) Living in Australia = 4) Living in the UK = 1) Sons & Daughters = 6)
CA = 14 (+3 daughters)	IL = 1	NE = 1	TN = 3	
CO = 1	KS = 1	NH = 1	TX = 2	
FL = 13 (+1 son)	KY = 4	NY = 3	VA = 1	
HI = 1	MI = 1	OR = 3		

APPENDIX 4D: LIST OF US STATES, ABBREVIATIONS AND CAPITALS

1. Alabama - *AL* - Montgomery
2. Alaska - *AK* - Juneau
3. Arizona - *AZ* - Phoenix
4. Arkansas - *AR* - Little Rock
5. California - *CA* - Sacramento
6. Colorado - *CO* - Denver
7. Connecticut - *CT* - Hartford
8. Delaware - *DE* - Dover
9. Florida - *FL* - Tallahassee
10. Georgia - *GA* - Atlanta
11. Hawaii - *HI* - Honolulu
12. Idaho - *ID* - Boise
13. Illinois - *IL* - Springfield
14. Indiana - *IN* - Indianapolis
15. Iowa - *IA* - Des Moines
16. Kansas - *KS* - Topeka
17. Kentucky - *KY* - Frankfort
18. Louisiana - *LA* - Baton Rouge
19. Maine - *ME* - Augusta
20. Maryland - *MD* - Annapolis
21. Massachusetts - *MA* - Boston
22. Michigan - *MI* - Lansing
23. Minnesota - *MN* - Saint Paul
24. Mississippi - *MS* - Jackson
25. Missouri - *MO* - Jefferson City
26. Montana - *MT* - Helena
27. Nebraska - *NE* - Lincoln
28. Nevada - *NV* - Carson City
29. New Hampshire - *NH* - Concord
30. New Jersey - *NJ* - Trenton
31. New Mexico - *NM* - Santa Fe
32. New York - *NY* - Albany
33. North Carolina - *NC* - Raleigh
34. North Dakota - *ND* - Bismarck
35. Ohio - *OH* - Columbus
36. Oklahoma - *OK* - Oklahoma City
37. Oregon - *OR* - Salem
38. Pennsylvania - *PA* - Harrisburg
39. Rhode Island - *RI* - Providence
40. South Carolina - *SC* - Columbia
41. South Dakota - *SD* - Pierre
42. Tennessee - *TN* - Nashville
43. Texas - *TX* - Austin
44. Utah - *UT* - Salt Lake City
45. Vermont - *VT* - Montpelier
46. Virginia - *VA* - Richmond
47. Washington - *WA* - Olympia
48. West Virginia - *WV* - Charleston
49. Wisconsin - *WI* - Madison
50. Wyoming - *WY* - Cheyenne

APPENDIX 5 – MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE RATES & EX-NUPTIAL BIRTHS

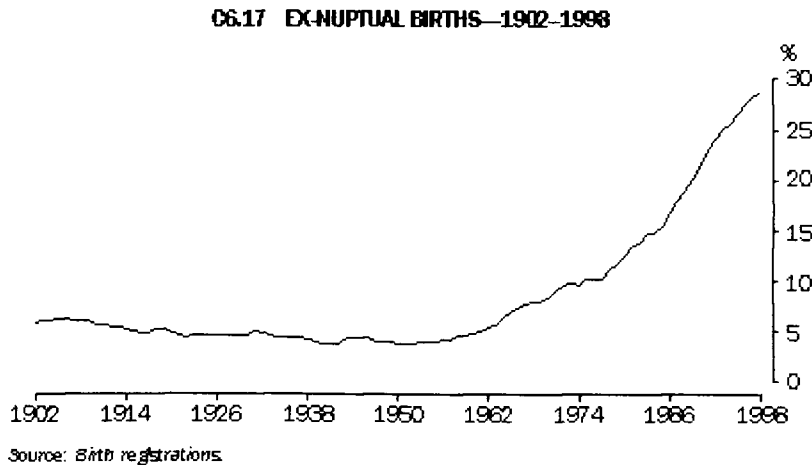
Figure 1



The marriage rate reflects the prevailing economic and social conditions. It increased in times of prosperity such as the early 1900s, rose before each world war, fell during it and rose again after it, and fell in times of adversity such as in the 1930s during the Depression. It rose again around the time of the Vietnam war. Over the last 20 years marriage rates have fallen, and age at first marriage and age at first birth have increased dramatically. In contrast divorce rates rose in the 1970s, stabilised in the 1980s and have increased slightly through the 1990s. Coincident with the fall in marriage rates, there has been an increase in de facto relationships, which have become more socially acceptable in the last 20 years, even if children are involved. The proportion of births which are ex-nuptial has risen from around 6% in 1901 to 29% in 1998 (graph C6.17); at least half of these births are to women in de facto relationships.

[Source: ABS 1301.0 – Births, Year Book Australia, 2001] ¹

Figure 2



The median age at first marriage was around 27 years for males and 24 for females in the 1920s, remained high during the 1930s Depression years and fell dramatically after 1940. It continued to fall until around 1975 when, associated with marked changes in the professional and social development of women, age at marriage increased again to levels similar or even higher than those seen in 1920s.

[Source: ABS 1301.0 – Births, Year Book Australia, 2001] ²

¹Australian Bureau of Statistics – ‘Trends in marriage and divorce’, Australian Social Trends 1995, Canberra.
[Source: Marriage Registrations]

² *ibid.*

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