Notes

Abbreviations
ADB = Australian Dictionary of Biography
AWM = Australian War Memorial
CUP = Cambridge University Press
MUP = Melbourne University Press
NAA = National Archives of Australia
NLA = National Library of Australia
OUP = Oxford University Press
SLNSW = State Library of New South Wales
SLV = State Library of Victoria
UMA = University of Melbourne Archives
UQP = University of Queensland Press

Newton: ‘We have sprung at a bound’
1 Joseph Cook, Pocket Diary for 1915, entry on memoranda pages, Cook Papers, M3580, 7, NAA.
2 Charles Bean contrasted Australia’s desire to be ‘straight’ with Britain’s wavering (The Story of Anzac from the Outbreak of War to the End of the First Phase of the Gallipoli Campaign, May 4, 1915, Bean I, 11th edn, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1941, pp. 15–17). Ernest Scott contrasted the ‘quivering’ of British ministers with Australia’s ‘resolve’ (Australia During the War, Bean XI, 7th edn, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1941, p. 13).
5 Among many studies of racial anxieties before 1914, see David Walker, Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850–1939, St Lucia: UQP, 1999.
9 See Military and Naval Defence of the Empire, Wellington: Govt. Printer, 1909, p. 32.
11 Committee of Imperial Defence, Minutes of the 112th Meeting, 29 May 1911, 12, 16–17, 25, 27, CAB 38/18/41, The National Archives, London (TNA).
12 Mordike was the first historian to stress the significance of this in Australian military historiography. See ‘Operations of defence (military) – 2nd day, 17 June 1911’, WO 106/43, TNA, quoted in John Mordike, ‘We Should Do This Thing Quietly: Japan and the Great Deception in Australian Defence Policy, 1911–1914’, Fairburn, ACT: Aerospace Centre, 2002, pp. 53–79. See also ‘Report of a committee of the imperial conference convened to discuss defence (military) at the War Office, 14th and 17th June, 1911’, in Papers Laid Before the Imperial Conference, 1911, Dealing with Naval and Military Defence, Wellington: Govt Printer, 1912, pp. 4–5.
13 ‘Proceedings of the conference between Major-General A.J. Godley, CB, commanding New Zealand military forces, and, Brigadier-General J.M. Gordon, CB, chief of the general staff, C.M. Forces, 18 November 1912’, in the file marked ‘Conference convened for the purpose of discussing a scheme for mutual assistance and co-operation for submission to the governments of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand, 18th/20th November 1912’, MP84/1, 1856/1/33, NAA.
15 ‘Notes by second naval member’, and ‘Notes and comments on War Orders’, both commenting on Admiralty letter of 15 May 1913 conveying war orders for HM Australian ships, MP1049/1, 1914/0157, NAA.
16 Hamilton to Asquith, 14 Apr. 1914, Hamilton 5/1/87, Hamilton Papers, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King’s College London, quoted in Mordike, 2002, p. 90.
17 For example, Hew Strachan writes: ‘By the morning of 3 August the cabinet and the
country were at last effectively united.’


20 Ibid., 29 Jul. 1914.

21 Ibid., 30 Jul. 1914.

22 Ibid., 26 Jul. 1914.


24 Harcourt, Cabinet memorandum, 29 Jul. 1914.


28 Asquith to Venetia Stanley, 2 Aug. 1914, in Michael & Eleanor Brock (eds), H.H Asquith Letters to Venetia Stanley, OUP, 1985, p. 146.


31 Burns to Asquith, 2 Aug. 1914 (handwritten copy), Burns Papers, Add. MSS. 46282/158, British Library; Simon to Asquith, 2 Aug. 1914, in a journal marked ‘Diary #5’, MS. Simon 2, Simon Papers, Bodleian Library; Morley to Asquith, 3 Aug. 1914, in Morley, 1928, p. 22; Beauchamp to Asquith, 3 Aug. 1914, Beauchamp Papers, private collection; Charles Trevelyan to Asquith, 3 Aug. 1914 (draft), Charles Trevelyan Papers, CPT 59, Robinson Library, Special Collections, Newcastle University.

32 Untitled, undated private memorandum filed with his resignation letter (3 Aug. 1914), Beauchamp Papers.


34 For more detail on Radical resistance see Newton, 2014, pp. 7–15, and chpt 22, ‘Dissent’.

35 For example, see Newton, Darkest Days, 2014, pp. 136, 179.


37 Alexander MacCallum Scott, Diary, 30 Jul. 1914, MacCallum Scott Papers, University of Glasgow.


42 For more detail, see Newton, Darkest Days, 2014, pp. 201–02.

43 Harcourt, Cabinet memorandum, 2 Aug. 1914.


48 Typescript headed ‘AT THE COURT OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE, THE 4TH DAY OF AUGUST 1914 (AT 10.35 P.M.)’ listing only The King, Granard, Beauchamp, and Allendale as ‘Present’, appended to Almeric FitzRoy to Beauchamp, 30 Oct. 1918, in Beauchamp Papers.

49 Creswell to Naval Secretary (Macandie), 28 Jul. 1914, in MP1049/1, 1914/0299, NAA.

50 Munro Ferguson to Harcourt, 30 Jul. 1914, ADM 137/7/17, TNA; ‘Telegram from Gov. Genl. of Australia, 30 July 1914’, MS Harcourt 479, Bodleian Library.

51 See Patey to Admiralty, enclosing ‘War between Great Britain, France, Russia, and Japan against Germany and Austria, 1914: Participation by Australian seagoing fleet in the operations’, received 26 Dec. 1914, ADM 137/1/257, TNA.

52 Harcourt, Cabinet memorandum, 30 Jul. 1914.

53 Ibid., 30 Jul. 1914.

54 ‘Colonial Office for Governor-General Australia’, 30 Jul. 1914, and various drafts, ADM 137/7/18, TNA; ACC Parkinson to Resident Clerk, 30 Jul. 1914, ADM 137/7/22, TNA; copy listed in MP1049/1, 1914/0299, NAA. There is a copy also in MP1049/1, 1914/0276, NAA, showing that it was sent from London on 30 July at 8 pm.
Harcourt, Cabinet memorandum, 30 Jul. 1914.
The cablegram, listed as ‘from Admiralty’, dated London, 8 pm 30 July 1914, is given in the narrative history prepared as White to AW Bazeley, 20 Apr. 1934, in the file entitled ‘Adoption of the precautionary stage of the Australian defence scheme’, AWM: 224 MS636.

Telegram from the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia (at Sydney) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Received Colonial Office 11.1. am 31 July 1914, ADM 337/9/29, TNA; Munro Ferguson to Harcourt, 31 July 1914 (marked as ‘sent 2 pm’), in White to AW Bazeley, 20 Apr. 1934, in the file entitled ‘Adoption of the precautionary stage of the Australian defence scheme’, AWM: 224 MS636.

Munro Ferguson to the King, 8 Aug. 1914, Lord Novar Papers, MS 696/5, NLA.

Munro Ferguson to Cook, 31 Jul. 1914, in file entitled ‘War 1914. Notifications (outbreak)’, A11803, 1914/89/1, Part 1, NAA.

Munro Ferguson to Joseph Cook, 31 Jul. 1914, Novar Papers, MS 696/4003.

See the dates of reports in ‘The dominions: anxiety in Canada: to assist Great Britain’, Sydney Morning Herald, 1 Aug. 1914. For other examples, see ‘Suggested offer of force’; ‘Canadian loyalty’, Argus, 1 Aug. 1914; ‘New Zealand’s decision: offers an expeditionary force’, Mercury (Hobart), 1 Aug. 1914.

The reporter for the Argus, who was at the Commonwealth Offices in Melbourne, listed only four ministers as attending; Cook, Millen, Irvine and McColl. See ‘Governor-General arrives: defence minister accompanies: meeting of Cabinet’, Argus, 4 Aug. 1914. See also ‘Australia’s navy to be under British control: Cabinet decision’, Advertiser (Adelaide), 4 Aug. 1914.

White, Diary, 3 Aug. 1914, Brudenell White Papers, MS 5172, NLA.


83 Harcourt, Cabinet memorandum, 3 Aug. 1914.
84 Ibid., 4 Aug. 1914.
85 The Secretary of State [Harcourt] to the Governor-General [of Australia] (sent 1.45 pm, 4 Aug. 1914), in Papers Presented to Parliament, Vol. V, Session 1914–17, p. 1434; The Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of Canada (sent 1.45 pm, 4 Aug. 1914), ADM 137/9/16, TNA, Secretary of State for Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand (sent 1.45 pm, 4 Aug. 1914), ADM 137/11/18, TNA.
88 TD Chataway to ED Millen, 31 Jul. 1914, B173, ADM 137/9/16, TNA.
92 ‘The federal campaign: Mr Cook at Horsham’, Age (Melbourne), 3 Aug. 1914.
95 ‘Premier’s view’, Sydney Morning Herald, 1 Aug. 1914.
98 Munro Ferguson to the King, 8 Aug. 1914, Novar Papers, MS 696/5.
The patriotic song especially was a popular genre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the songs’ contents were not necessarily of great significance in indicating the sentiments of those who sang them.

The Age later referred to them as ‘hoodlums who patrolled the streets posing as patriots in the early stages of the war’ (12 Oct. 1914). On crowd responses in Brisbane, see Evans, Loyalty and Disloyalty, 1987, pp. 21–23.

For example, the celebration of 21 years of the Melbourne Central Mission that was held on Wednesday evening at the Melbourne town hall (Age, 6 Aug. 1914).

They characteristically came from town and city councils, Old Boys’ organisations, public servants and schoolteachers, small businessmen such as grocers, the Chamber of Manufactures, the Australian Women’s National League, Lutherans, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists.

Councils that held such meetings between August and November included St Kilda, Williamstown, Brunswick, Camberwell, Malvern, Collingwood, Footscray, Surrey Hills, Northcote, Prahran, South Melbourne, Brighton, Ivanhoe, Port Melbourne, Richmond, Caulfield, Mordialloc, Preston, Fitzroy, Essendon and Coburg.

The number given here, 106,000, was based on returns by only 17 of the affiliated societies.

The term was coined by ‘Shotgun’ in Labor Call, 20 Aug. 1914, p. 5.

The number given here, 106,000, was based on returns by only 17 of the affiliated societies.

'The patriot officials are ready to distribute the patriotic fund to be distributed in the district without advertisement.'


Copy in Premiers’ Papers, P16/2086, Public Record Office Victoria.
53 Amendment of Constitution Federal Referendums, 1915, pp. 9, 10, 11, 16.
54 Calculated from figures in table, ‘Purchasing power of money in metropolitan towns – index nos. shewing weighted average results for all groups (groceries, dairy products, meat, and home rent) 1901 and 1904–1915’, Official Yearbook for the Commonwealth of Australia, no. 9, 1916, p. 1098.
55 See tables, ‘Purchasing power of money (food, groceries and home rent) – amount necessary on the average in each year from 1901 to 1914 (1915) to purchase in each capital town what would have cost on the average £1 in 1911 in the Australian capital cities regarded as a whole’, Official Yearbook for the Commonwealth of Australia, no. 8, 1915, p. 1048; no. 9, 1916, p. 1102.
58 PLC central executive minutes, 26 Nov. 1915, 11 Dec. 1915, MS1924/38/52–67, NLA.
60 ‘Housewives Co-operative Association’, Brookes Papers. MS1924/38/9–14, NLA.
61 Housewife, 1 Sep. 1915, pp. 2–3.
62 ‘Housewives Co-operative Association’, Brookes Papers. MS1924/38/9–14, NLA.
63 Housewife, 1 Sep. 1915, pp. 2–3.
65 Housewives’ Association of Victoria Ltd minutes of executive 1915–16, Box 4, MS13340, SLV.
67 Argus, 31 May 1917, p. 9.
71 Scott, Australia During the War, 1938, chpt. 14.
72 Kirenan vs Walsh, Crown Solicitor’s File, CL/760, National Archives of Australia (NAA), cited in Smart, ‘Feminists, food and the fair price’, 1986 p. 120. See also John Lack, ‘Class or nation: worker loyalties in Melbourne during the Great War’, Victorian Historical Journal, no. 283, 2015, pp. 141–60.
74 Argus, 30 Jul. 1917, p. 6; 1 Aug. 1917, p. 6; 8 Aug. 1917, p. 8. A leader in the paper refers to wharf labourers refusing to ‘handle any portion of about 4,000 tons of goods sold to Eastern markets’.
75 Argus, 14 Aug. 1917, p. 7.
76 Woman Voter, 8 Nov. 1917, p. 3.
77 Ibid.
80 Beaumont, Broken Nation, 2013, p. 332; Scott, Australia During the War, 1938, pp. 652–53.
81 Scott, Australia During the War, 1938, pp. 653–57.
82 Ibid., 1938, p. 11.
83 Ibid., 1938, app. 3, p. 871.
87 ‘Employment in different states at end of years 1914–1921’, Official Yearbook for the Commonwealth of Australia, no. 15, 1922, p. 872. ‘Employment in different states at end of years 1901–1913’, Official Yearbook for the Commonwealth of Australia, no. 7, 1914, p. 997. As the Commonwealth statistician GH Knibbs commented in presenting these figures in 1915, he relied on information furnished by unions about their members and hence the figures represented mostly unionised skilled trades – ‘This table does not obviously furnish a complete register of unemployment’. 

Notes

The deposits of the soldiers list their occupations but not whether they were currently in work.


The sole uncritical supporter of war and enlistment in *Labor Call*, Frank Henty, continued to rail against pacifists into 1915, but his voice was not heard after mid 1916.

For example, see *Socialist*, 16 Jan. 1914, p. 2; 5 Jun. 1914, p. 3; 1 May 1914, pp. 2, 3; 21 Aug. 1914, p. 1; 28 Aug. 1914, p. 1; **Labor Call**, 23 Jul. 1914, p. 5.


Brookes Papers, MS1924/18/2685–2689, NLA. Herbert was married to Ivy Brookes, the daughter of former prime minister Alfred Deakin.

On recruitment figures, see *Scott, Australia During the War*, 1938, app. 3, pp. 871–72. See also *Liberty and Progress*, vol. 12, no. 2, 25 Feb. 1915, p. 32; vol. 12, no. 4, 23 Apr. 1915, p. 8. On the need for systematic recruitment, see leaders in the *Argus*, 2, 4, 6, 10 Feb. 1915.


Ibid., p. 408; see also *Age*, 3 Jul. 1915.


Their joint appeal for recruits was published in the **Age** (5 Jul. 1915).

**Labor Call**, 1 Jul. 1915, inside front cover.

**Labor Call**, 8 Jul. 1915, inside back cover.


**Age**, 12 Jul. 1915.

100 For example, the Unemployed Benefit Concert of 8 July and the carnival in August. THC minutes, 1 Jul. 1915; 17 Aug. 1915, MS7825, THC Records, SLV.


103 **Socialist**, 9 Jul. 1915, p. 3.

104 **Age**, 19 Jul. 1915. The total enlistment for the state for June had been only 3381 and that was nearly twice the May figure of 1735. See *Scott, Australia During the War*, 1938, app. 3, pp. 871–72.

105 See, for example, the odd combination of Mrs Agnes Baillieu and Dr William Maloney (*Age*, 15 Jul. 1915).


107 **Age**, 8 Jul. 1915.

108 **Age**, 7 Jul. 1915.

109 **Age**, 8 Jul. 1915. See also Alexander Peacock at Collingwood on 6 July on the need for the wealthy to make sacrifices: ‘if they did not do their duty voluntarily it would be for Parliament to see that it was done’ (*Age*, 7 Jul. 1915).

110 The recruits, he wrote, were ‘mostly working men; very few of the rich men or their sons care about lending a hand’ (Private Ray, **Age**, 19 Jul. 1915).

111 The call for recruits’, *Age*, 5 Jul. 1915.

112 Legislation for a wartime census was introduced into the Commonwealth parliament on 15 July and passed on 23 July. *Scott, Australia During the War*, 1938, p. 310.

113 Brookes Papers, MS1924/16/168, NLA.

114 Brookes Papers, MS1924/16/169, *Age*, 9 Sep. 1915.


116 Ibid., p. 214.

117 The Peace Army was formed at a ‘large and enthusiastic’ meeting on 8 July. **Woman Voter**, 15 Jul. 1915, p. 2. The decision about the Children’s Army was made on 31 August.


130 Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, pp. 333–34. The Victorian branch was formed at a meeting at the Melbourne Town Hall on 11 September 1915, Latham Papers, MS 1009/17/7, NLA.

131 *Age*, 11 Sep. 1915.

132 *Age*, 13 Sep. 1915.

133 THC minutes, 16 Sep. 1915, MS7825, THC Records, SLV. The balance of power in the union movement was almost even in mid 1915 between the radical anti-war group and the moderate Labor supporters of the government. By the end of the year, the radicals were clearly in command.

134 Originally, 10 days were allowed for filling in the cards but, finally, it was decided that only the personal cards must be returned by the specified date. Respondents were given until the end of the month to return the income questionnaire (*Age*, 2–14 Sep. 1915).

135 *Age*, 13 Sep. 1915.

136 Given the composition of the censor’s staff, this was not surprising. Of the 61 names published in July 1915, all but 16 were from backgrounds in commerce or the professions. The middle-class profile of the censor’s staff remained unchanged throughout the war. By the end of the year, the radicals were clearly in command.


139 Victorian Socialist Party executive minutes, 3, 18 October 1915, MS564, Victorian Socialist Records, NLA.

140 *Age*, 20 Dec. 1915. Adela Pankhurst’s speeches had been attracting the attention of the authorities throughout 1915. See Premiers’ Papers, R4783, P15/1863, Public Record Office Victoria.

141 *Age*, 20 Dec. 1915.

142 Ibid.


145 Ibid., p. 6.

146 *Age*, 31 Dec. 1915, pp. 4, 5.


148 THC minutes, 13 Jan. 1916, MS7825, THC records, SLV.


155 This account is drawn from Judith Smart, ‘The right to speak and the right to be heard: the popular disruption of conscriptionist meetings in Melbourne, 1916’, *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 23, no. 92, April 1989, p. 205.


157 Calculated from electoral returns in *Australian Parliamentary Papers*.

158 Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, p. 872.


160 PLC state conference minutes, 8 Jul. 1917, MS10389, Records of the DLP, SLV.

161 Lack (‘Class or nation’, 2015), extends Smart’s analysis (‘Feminists, food and the fair price’, 1986) which identified many of these establishments without examining the reasons they were chosen.


163 Judith Smart, 'The events of 1917: a Victorian perspective', lecture to the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, Melbourne Branch, 20 October 1987, circulated as 'An account of events of 1917 – an historic year for the Australian labour movement'.

164 Ibid.

165 Victorian Chamber of Manufactures minutes, 26 Nov. 1917 and 27 Dec. 1917, 1990.0107


168 Age, 4, 5, 7, 14, 19 Dec. 1917

169 For example, see Age, 22 Nov. 1917; 4 Dec. 1917.

170 Age, 14 Nov. 1917; 20 Nov. 1917; 4 Dec. 1917.

171 For example, Age, 4, 6 Dec. 1917.

172 For example, Age, 4, 6, 7 Dec. 1917.


177 Ibid., pp. 455–57.


Lack: 'The great madness of 1914–18'


2 Ibid. p. 11.


6 *Argus*, 7 Oct. 1914, p. 10; *Courier* (Brisbane), 26 Sep. 1914, p. 5.

7 See Judith Smart, 'A divided national capital: Melbourne in the Great War', *La Trobe Journal* no. 96 (this issue), p. 28.

8 Thomas Purcell, Diary 1915–1920, MS 11791, Box 2067/2, SLV.

9 Argus, 10 Aug. 1914, p. 9.


15 Namely: the League of the Cross total abstinence confraternity, the Catholic Young Men’s Society, the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, and the St Vincent de Paul Society. In 1917 he became a probationary officer to the Footscray Children’s Court.


18 Miles Lewis, *Don Juan of Balaclava*, Melbourne: Brian Atkins, 1977, p. vii. My knowledge of John’s business career and family life has been drawn almost entirely from this most engaging, and frank, study.

19 Lewis, *Don Juan of Balaclava*, 1977, p. 75.

20 Sands and McDougall *Melbourne Directory for 1910* (first appearance of James B Lewis at 41 Kooyong Road, Armadale); Brian's siblings, Athol, Ralph and Owen commenced at Wesley College in 1909; another son was born (and died) in 1909, in Malvern; Rev E Nye (ed.), *The History of Wesley College, 1865–1919*, Melbourne: 1921, app.; on James Lewis in Tasmania: *Daily Telegraph* (Launceston), 15 Sep. 1909, p. 2 'one of the highest authorities'; 13 Nov. 1909, p. 6; 18 June 1914, p. 2; *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 23 Sep. 1909, p. 2; *Examiner* (Launceston), 28 May 1912, p. 2.

21 Lewis, *Sunday at Kooyong Road*, 1976, p. 15. I have transposed several passages.

Notes

24 I owe much of this account of the Purcell migration to the generosity of descendants Shirley Constantine and Tony Purcell.
25 This account of the Purcell migration and settlement in Melbourne is based on Tom Purcell’s diaries for 1881–88, 1890–92 and 1896–1903 (MS 11791, AMC, SLV); City of Footscray valuation books for the same years (held by the Footscray Historical Society), and Sands and McDougall Melbourne directories.
28 Ibid., p. 108.
29 Ibid., p. 104.
30 Ibid., p. 29.
36 Purcell, Diary, 3, 21, 22, 26, 27 Mar. 1915; 3, 9 Apr. 1915. Tom’s contributions went to the wounded soldiers’ funds and, in the early months of 1915, the appeals for Belgian relief.
38 Ibid., p. 13.
39 Ibid., p. 20.
40 Ibid., p. 57.
41 Ibid., p. 58.
44 Ibid., p. 56.
45 Germany recorded 116,000 killed and 400,000 wounded, more than ten times the number lost in the Franco–Prussian War; France lost 329,000 in August and September (including 27,000 on 22 August alone); in the first four months Britain lost four times the losses incurred in the South African war of 1899–1902 (Michael S. Neiberg, *Dance of the Furies: Europe and the Outbreak of World War I*, Boston: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 172–5).
48 Ibid., p. 134.
49 Ibid., p. 174.
51 The last sourced by Tom from a two-page ‘War Special’, *Herald*, 5 May 1915.
53 NAA 2455/617. These army records of Leo Patrick Purcell are incorrectly listed as those of Leslie Patrick Purcell.
55 John Williams, *Anzacs, the Media and the Great War*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999, p. 85. CEW Bean’s fashioning of the Gallipoli legend occurred mainly after the war. In September 1915 both the *Age* (Melbourne) and the *Argus* ceased taking his Dardanelles dispatches (Williams, *Anzacs, the Media and the Great War* 1999, p. 71).
56 Purcell, Diary, 14 May 1915 and that evening’s *Herald*.
57 *Herald*, 31 Jul. 1915; Purcell, Diary, 22 Jul. 1915.
59 Ibid., pp. 149, 161, 166.
60 Ibid., 126, 134. This is a strange comment, given the mid-1915 recruitment campaign, and Lewis’s remark that he had detected ‘social blackmail’ in 1915, when the eligible man who stayed at home was branded as ‘“shirker and a coward”’ (*Our War*, 1980, p. 157).
61 Ibid., pp. 177, 178.
63 Tom Purcell’s diary of 2 May 1916 noted a letter of 26 March mentioning that the boys were near Ismalia.
64 Anderson & Trembath, *Witnesses to War*, 2011, p. 67.
65 Purcell, Diary, 26 Feb. 1916.
of the middle of 1916' (Our War, 1980, p. 76) has significance only as a factually incorrect 'memory'.

82 So Lewis's perception that 'the dominant Irish voice in Australia was pro-war until the middle of 1916' (Our War, 1980, p. 76) has significance only as a factually incorrect 'memory'.

83 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 209.

84 Ibid., p. 69. For the earlier, acute fear of the Ulster men, see Lewis, Sunday at Kooyong Road, 1976, pp. 54–55.

85 McKernan, Australian Churches at War, 1989, p. 114.


87 'Mr Hughes says that if the volunteering is not satisfactory at the end of the month they will bring in a Bill to take a referendum to conscript wealth as well as people': Purcell, Diary, 31 Aug. 1916. Hughes, whose enthusiasm for conscription made him persona non grata with significant sections of his party and the trade union movement, opted for a national plebiscite to permit the raising by compulsion of the number of men from 6000 a month to 16,500. In addition, if enlistments did not improve markedly in September, he would use the Defence Act to call up men aged 21–35 without dependants for training for home defence.

88 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 219.

89 Judith Smart, The right to speak and the right to be heard: the popular disruption of conscriptionist meetings in Melbourne, 1916', Australian Historical Studies, no. 92, 1999, pp. 203–19. Anti-conscriptionists, denied public venues in Malvern (Smart, 'The right to speak', n. 18, p. 206), held street meetings that Brian Lewis tried to disrupt and, in 1917, they disrupted a Protestant Federation conscription and anti-Mannix rally at Malvern Town Hall (Age, 27 Nov. 1917, p. 7).

90 The Herald did not report Mannix at Clifton Hill, and the Age gave his words a single paragraph (18 Sep. 1916, p. 8). The Argus reported Mannix at Preston, and criticised him, but the Age did neither, and the Herald only genteelly questioned his claim to be speaking merely as 'an ordinary private citizen': Argus, 23 Oct. 1916, p. 6; editorial: 24 Oct. 1916, p. 6, Herald, 23 Oct. 1916, p. 4.

91 There can be little doubt that Mannix used the word 'sordid', as both the Age and the Argus independently reported: Age, 29 Jan. 1917, p. 7; Argus, 29 Jan. 1917, p. 9.

92 Advocate, 3 February 1917, p. 12.


94 For Mannix's speech, see the Melbourne Advocate, 28 Apr. 1917, p. 15.

95 Advertiser (Footscray), 28 Apr. 1917, p. 1.

96 The socialists excluded from this motion of support 'Dr Mannix's efforts to de-secularise our education system' (Argus, 1 Feb. 1917, p. 9).

100 Purcell, Diary, 5 & 6 Mar. 1915. That is, all except the apprentices and perhaps the younger improvers were discharged.
102 Independent (Footscray), 24 Nov. 1917, p. 1; 1 Dec. 1917, p. 3.
103 Purcell, Diary, 1 Sep. 1917.
105 Lewis, Sunday at Kooyong Road, 1976, p. 76.
110 Anderson & Trembath, Witnesses to War, 2011, pp. 74–75.
111 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 268.
112 Anderson & Trembath, Witnesses to War, 2011, pp. 78–79.
114 Scott, Australia During the War, 1940, p. 82.
115 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 250.
118 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 162.
119 Ibid., pp. 161, 216. He seems to be writing about letters published in the press, rather than his brothers’ letters.
120 This observation is also based upon the author’s reading of hundreds of soldiers’ letters published in the five Footscray, Yarraville and Williamstown newspapers 1915–18.
121 The following account of enlistment of the boys of the Lewis family is based upon their service dossiers at the NAA and Our War, 1980, pp. 178–80, 247–50, 264–7.
122 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 302.
123 Ibid., p. 300.
124 Ibid., 1980, p. 310.
125 Ibid., 1980, pp. 251.
126 Ibid., 1980, pp. 218, 259, concerning Dr Leeper’s sons.
128 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 276.
129 Ibid., p. 312.
131 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 276.
132 Ibid., p. 276.
136 Robson, ‘Origin and character’, 1973, tbl. 2, p. 741. This match-up may also be broadly confirmed from the analysis of the religions of surviving veterans at the 1933 census: Statistician’s Report [1940], pp. 401–02.
138 These enlistment figures are estimated from data obtained from the AIF Project, UNSW Canberra (aif.adfa.edu.au/index.html). The addresses recorded at time of enlistment show that, leaving Melbourne City aside, the highest number of enlistments came from South Melbourne (2926), followed by Prahran (2956), and then by Richmond (2587). Malvern (including Armadale) recorded 2109 enlistments; Footscray (including Yarraville) recorded 1664. Projected onto male age profiles for municipalities at the 1921 Census, with due allowance for wartime casualties, we find that enlistment levels for eastern suburban middle-class municipalities – Malvern (including Armadale) (39%), Hawthorn (35%) and Camberwell (30%) – were similar to or higher than levels in inner working-class local government areas – Port Melbourne...
and South Melbourne (38%), Richmond (34%), Collingwood (33%), and Fitzroy (31%). Socially mixed Prahran, which included South Yarra, stood at 35%.

139 Purcell, Diary, 12 May 1917.
140 Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 320.
141 ‘The family was caught in its surroundings: middle class, university, public school and conventionally Presbyterian, it would have been difficult to break out’: Lewis, Our War, 1980, p. 126.

Ziino: War and private sentiment during 1915
Author’s note: This research is supported by funding from the Australian Research Council, DP0880615: The culture of war: private life and sentiment in Australia 1914–18.

4 Margaret Stanley to mother, 12 Jan. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/1 (A), SLV.
5 Louis Roth to Monash, 8 Jan. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 112, NLA.
6 Nellie Fisher to John Balfour, 8 Jan. 1915, PR87/027, AWM.
7 Gid (Charles Murrell) to mother, 16 Jan. 1915, MS 11202, MSB 638, SLV.
8 Frank Tate to Barrett, 14 Apr. 1915, 3DRL 250, Item 106, AWM.
9 John Melvin to Jack, 4 May 1915, MS 12347, Box 3162/2, SLV.
10 John MacArthur, diary 29 Mar. 1915, MS 9147, SLV.
11 FD Michaelis to CM Bromley, 29 Jun. 1915, 102/60, Box 18, Series 13/8, UMA.
12 William Dodds to Glenn Taylor, 24 May 1915, MS 9859 MSB 113, SLV.
13 TW Robinson to Mr Corbett, 4 May 1915, State Records Office of Western Australia, Series 72, 1917/0001.
14 Uncle Will to Alan Fry, 19 Jan. 1915, MSS 1159, ADD-ON 2076/Box 7, Mitchell Collection, State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW).
Notes

42 Albert Behrend to Monash, 7 Aug. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 114, NLA.
43 Muriel Mills to ‘My own dear old brother’, 16 Aug. 1915, MS 10016, AMC, SLV; Sarah Simonson to John Monash, 15 Sep. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 114, NLA.
44 Ernest Scott, Australia during the War, 5th edn, Bean, vol 11, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1939, p. 289.
45 Felix Meyer to Monash, 24 Jul. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 113, NLA.
46 Frank Tate to Barrett, 30 Jun. 1915, 3DRL 250, Item 106, AWM.
47 Malcolm Stirling to mother, 29 Apr. 1915, MS 10739, Box 957/1, SLV.
48 Cyril Sharp to father, 11 Jul. 1915, Battye Library, State Library of Western Australia, ACC 6405A. See also Beaumont, Broken Nation, 2013, pp. 103–09.
49 M [Amonssern/Simonsson?] to Dene B Fry, Perth, 14 May 1915, MSS 1159, ADD-ON 2076/BOX 5, SLNSW.
50 W March to Premier, 5 Sep. 1915, Item ID 862560, File 10642, Queensland State Archives.
51 Cousin Rita [Beckwith?] to Glenn Taylor, 10 Jul. 1915, MS 9859 MSB 114, SLV.
52 Kittie Sandford to John Mackintosh, 24 Jul. 1915, 66/17, Item 3/2/2, UMA.
53 La (Sarah Maria Simonson) to Monash, 27 Jul. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 113, NLA.
54 Father to Alan Fry, 18 May 1915, MS 1159, ADD-ON 2076/Box 7, SLNSW.
55 Margaret Stanley to mother, 30 Jun. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/1 (C), SLV.
56 Muriel Mills to ‘My own dear old brother’, 16 Aug. 1915, MS 10016, NLA.
57 Ernest Wears to Monash, 17 Oct. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 114, NLA.
58 John MacArthur, Diary, 6 Apr. 1915, MS 9147, SLV.
59 Margaret Stanley to mother, 1 Jun. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/1 (C), SLV.
60 Littleton Groom to Jess, 15 Jul. 1915, MS 10046, Box 13, Folder 113, NLA.
61 Muriel Mills to ‘My own dear old brother’, 16 Aug. 1915, MS 10016, SLV.
62 Frank Tate to Barrett, 23 Aug. 1915, 3DRL 250, Item 106, AWM.
63 ‘Jack’ (Zellah) to Ed Milne, no date c. mid 1915, PR84/187, Folder 11, AWM.
64 Felix Meyer to Monash, 24 Jul. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 113, NLA.
65 Margaret Stanley to mother, 11 Aug. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/2 (A), SLV.
66 HA Twiby to Andrew Newell, 6 Jul. 1915, MS 00064, Box 196-6, RHSV.
67 Margaret Stanley to mother, 27 Jul. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 115, NLA.
68 John MacArthur, Diary, 6 Apr. 1915, MS 9147, SLV.
69 Margaret Stanley to mother, 1 Jun. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/1 (C), SLV.
70 Littleton Groom to Jess, 15 Jul. 1915, MS 10046, Box 20, Folder 26, NLA.
71 Frank Tate to Barrett, 23 Aug. 1915, 3DRL 250, Item 106, AWM.
72 ‘Jack’ (Zellah) to Ed Milne, no date c. mid 1915, PR84/187, Folder 11, AWM.
73 Felix Meyer to Monash, 24 Jul. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 113, NLA.
74 JG Roberts, Diary, 4 Aug. 1915, MS 5782, Box 265/1, SLV.
75 HA Twiby to Andrew Newell, 6 Jul. 1915, MS 00064, Box 196-6, RHSV.
76 Margaret Stanley to mother, 18 Oct. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/2 (A), SLV.
77 Milne to sons, 24 Aug. 1915, PR84/187, Folder 1, AWM.
78 Errol Devlin to Mother, 2 Sep. 1915, 1DRL/0241, AWM.
79 Farewell to Lindfield Recruits, Sat. 18 Sep. 1915, MSS 1159, ADD-ON 2076/BOX 1, Item 7, SLNSW.
80 Arthur Mordaunt Hunter, Diary, 23 Sep. 1915, MS 000887, Box 211/1, RHSV.
81 Arthur Fry to Dene Fry, 8 Oct. 1915, MS 1159, ADD-ON 2076/BOX 5, SLNSW.
82 Margaret Stanley to mother, 18 Oct. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/2 (B), 2 Nov 1915, Box 1498/2 (A), SLV.
83 Milne to sons, Wed. 6 Oct. 1915, PR84/187, Folder 3, AWM.
84 La (Sarah Maria Simonson) to Monash, 27 Jul. 1915, MS 1884, Box 13, Folder 113, NLA.
85 Margaret Stanley to mother, 30 Jun. 1915, MS 10668, Box 1498/1 (C), SLV.
86 Arthur Mordaunt Hunter, Diary, 23 Sep. 1915, MS 000887, Box 211/1, RHSV.
87 Tom DM Dewarre to Milne, 23 Nov. 1915, PR84/377, Folder 3, AWM.
88 Milne to sons, 16 Nov. 1915, PR84/377, Folder 3, AWM.
89 Jack Strong to Herbert Brookes, 21 Dec. 1915, MS1924/1/2818, NLA; Milne to sons, 29 Dec. 1915, PR84/377, Folder 4, AWM.

Damousi: John Springthorpe’s war
1 For Springthorpe see his entry in ADB and also Obituaries Australia at oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/springthorpe-john-william-8610/24842
3 St Arnaud Mercury, 1 Jul. 1914, p. 4.
5 See also Argus, 20 Aug. 1902, p.7.
8 Ibid., 17 Jul. 1891, p. 3.
10 Ibid., 30 Aug. 1890, p. 12.
11 Ibid., 6 May 1892, p. 3.
12 Ibid., 24 Nov. 1893, p. 6; 19 Apr. 1893, p. 9.
13 Ibid., 7 Dec. 1907, p. 16.
14 Faculty of Dentistry, Minutes, 17 Feb. 1905, Faculty of Dental Science, Minutes, vol. 1, 1905–1916, 435, University of Melbourne Archives.
15 Punch (Melbourne), 20 Aug. 1914, p. 39.
16 Ibid., 19 Nov. 1914, p. 40.
17 Chronicle (Adelaide), 23 May 1896, p. 23.
18 St Arnaud Mercury, 1 Jul. 1914, p. 4.
19 Argus, 12 Aug. 1914, p. 10.
21 Punch 3 Sep. 1914, p. 30.
22 Weekly Times (Melbourne), 19 Sep. 1914, p. 12.
23 Ibid., 19 Sep. 1914, p. 12.
26 Ibid., p. 23.
27 Ibid., p. 23.
28 Ibid., p. 23.
29 Ibid., p. 23.
31 Australasian, 20 May 1916, p. 29.
32 Argus, 12 May 1916, p. 6.
33 Ibid., p. 6.
34 Mercury (Hobart), 13 May 1916, p. 5.
35 Argus, 11 May 1916, p. 7.
36 See Damousi, 'Freud in the Antipodes', 2005, p. 32.
38 John Springthorpe, Diary, 18 Sep. 1916, in John Springthorpe Papers, MS 9898, SLV.
39 Ibid., 12 Oct. 1916.
40 Ibid., 20 Sep. 1916.
49 Advertiser, 14 Oct. 1916, p. 18.
50 Ibid.
51 Western Argus, 5 Jun. 1917, p. 8.
53 Age, 29 Aug. 1918, p. 4.
54 Weekly Times, 8 Jan. 1916, p. 15.
57 Argus, 25 Mar. 1919, p. 4. Springthorpe objected to this characterisation of the meeting. See Argus, 26 Mar. 1919, p. 10.
58 Age, 13 May 1919, p. 8.
60 Ibid., 9 Sep. 1919.

Laing: World war and worldly women

I am grateful to Professor Marilyn Lake, Dr Roland Burke and Dr Judith Smart for their comments on drafts of this paper.

2 WJ Hudson, Australia and the League of Nations, Sydney University Press in association with the Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1980, p. 3.
4 Sluga, Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism, 2013, p. 2.
5 Ibid.
6 Ernest Scott, Australia During the War, Bean vol. 11, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1936.

16 Sluga, Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism, 2013.


19 Miss Hilda Moody & Miss Doris Kerr, ‘WPA becomes anti-militarist; Misses Moody and Kerr resign’, Woman Voter, 10 Nov. 1914.


27 Eleanor M Moore, The Quest for Peace, as I Have Known It in Australia, Melbourne, 1948.


29 Moore, The Quest for Peace, 1948, p. 27.


31 Eleanor Moore, letter to Jane Addams, Chicago, detailing reasons for the SIP to join the international organisation, 5 May 1915, Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers 1915–1978.


34 Eleanor Moore, letter to the International Women’s Committee for Permanent Peace (IWCPP) 1919 conference organizing committee (undated), Papers, Women’s...
International League for Peace and Freedom, 1723/1 MS 9377, SLV.

Eleanor Moore, letter to May Wright Sewall, 5 May 1915, replying to a letter sent to the SIP (Mrs Strong) on behalf of the International Conference of women workers, Pan Pacific International exposition San Francisco, California, Papers, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 1723/1 MS 9377, SLV.


Moore, The Quest for Peace, 1948, p. 28.


Ibid., p. 38.

Scott, Australia during the War, 1936, p. 145.


For more information on the arrests, see the entry on Sarah Jane Baines in the ADB.

Pankhurst v Porter, High Court of Australia, 52; 1917, 23 CLR 504, 2 Oct. 1917. www.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/sinodisp/au/cases/cth/HCA/1917/52.html?stem=0&synonyms=0&query=pankhurst


Moore, The Quest for Peace, 1948, p. 29.


Pictures of Mrs Drummond addressing a large crowd in Melbourne 1923 on the Yarra Bank can be found in Eleanor Moore’s personal papers, ‘No more war’ demonstration, 1923, picture 9, ‘Various photographic views and portraits of Eleanor May Moore, alone and with various pacifist groups she belonged to, taken in Australia and overseas at conferences and demonstrations, ca. 1918–1945’, SLNSW. See also, Australian Peace Alliance poster advertising a public meeting in Melbourne, 18 Mar. 1818, lists both Vida Goldstein and Moore as prominent speakers on the topic ‘Peace terms – Australia’s part’, in Saunders & Summy, The Australian Peace Movement, 1986, p. 26.


Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers.

Vida Goldstein, letter to Miss Hobhouse ICWPP Secretary, Amsterdam, 3 Nov. 1915, Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers.

‘Memorandum on the progress of the organisation of an Australian National Committee to work in cooperation with the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace’, sent by the ICWPP to all Australian contacts, 8 Jan. 1916, Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers.

Vida Goldstein, letter to the National Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, 27 Apr. 1916, and Vida Goldstein, letter to Miss Hobhouse ICWPP Secretary, Amsterdam, 3 Nov. 1915, Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers.


Eleanor Moore, letter to the secretary of the IWCPP, 19 Sep. 1916, Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers.

Clara Weekes, member of the SIP and the WPA, letter to Mrs Strong, secretary of the SIP, copied in with the IWCPP, 17 Aug. 1916, Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers.

Cecilia John, letter to Dr Aletta Jacobs, 14 Jun. 1916, Series III Reel 54, WILPF International Papers.

Moore, The Quest for Peace, 1948, p. 34.


Caption read ‘We are indebted to the Melbourne Sisterhood of Peace for the opening and closing speeches of Miss Addams, reported from the congress by their delegate, Miss Eleanor M Moore’. Jane Addams address, Woman Voter, 1 Sep., 1919, p. 1.


Memorial from the Sisterhood of International Peace, Melbourne, Australia to the International Congress of Women,


3 Hetherington, The Morning was Shining, 1971, pp. 132, 140–41, 161.

4 Charlwood, Marching as to War, 1990, p. 2.


7 Walter William ‘Skipper’ Francis, ‘Australia will be there’, Melbourne: c. 1914.

8 Multiple editions and reprints of the song had the following descriptor added to the title: ‘written, composed and sung with phenomenal success by Skipper Francis’: trove.nla.gov.au/work/107963107?q=francis+australia+will+be+there&c=music


15 ‘Notes of deputation from the Bookbinders Society of Melbourne re- the printing of school books in Victoria, 13 Feb. 1902’, p. 1, 892/P1, Unit 79, Special Case File 1061, Public Record Office Victoria (PROV). Regarding
straitened circumstances for children of the poor, especially during the war, see 'The Council of Public Education', Education Gazette, Mar. 1915, pp. 73–74.


17 For a full discussion of the role of contemporary media representations of Germany’s mistreatment of Belgium in securing wider Australian society’s support for the imperial and Allied war effort, see Judith Smart, ‘“Poor little Belgium” and Australian popular support for war 1914–1915’, War & Society, vol. 12, no. 1, 1994, pp. 27–46.


19 See the May numbers for each School Paper grade levels for each of the years 1910–1914.


21 For a full discussion of wartime representations of the Empire and its Allies, see Triolo, ‘Our Schools and the War’, 2012, chpts 1 & 2.


29 The first reference to the war for Grade III–IV readers was in ‘How to serve one’s country’, School Paper, III–IV, Oct. 1914, p. 159.

30 The ‘numbers’ the Department produced variously and for different grades between 1914 and 1918 were ‘Hygiene’ (Jan.) or ‘Poetry’ (Jan.); ‘Anzac’ (Apr.) replacing, in 1916, the previous ‘Discovery Day’ commemorating James Cook’s ‘discovery’ of Australia in Apr. 1770; ‘Empire Day’ (May), ‘Arbor Day’ (Jun.), ‘Thrift’ (Jul.), ‘French’ (Sep.), and ‘Bird’ (Oct.).
32 For examples of William Gillies’ textbooks, see Stories in English History for Young Australians, Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, [1907]; Stories in British History, Part II, 1588–1901, Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, [between 1911–15]; Simple Studies in British History: A Second Course of Reading in British History, Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, [between 1910–19].
34 For good examples of Tate’s controlled writing style, see ‘Some soul of goodness in things evil’, Education Gazette, Apr. and May 1916, respectively, pp. 95–96, 117–18; ‘The continuation schools of Munich: how Germany prepares the rank and file of her industrial army’, Education Gazette, Victoria, Melbourne, Apr. and May 1916.

Notes


53 ‘Feeding a nation’s children in captivity’,


56 For examples of such items in the popular media, see ‘The peril to Australia’, ‘Quick!’ and ‘Will you fight now or wait for this?’, in Peter Stanley (ed.), What did You do in the War, Daddy?, Melbourne: AWM & OUP, 1983, pp. 20, 21 and 39. For other examples of anti-German literature and imagery in circulation at the time, see The Story of Belgium: From Prosperity to Desolation; Murder, Rapine and Ruin, Sydney: Belgian Consul and Turner & Sons, 1915. For some comparison with the British situation, see Keith Crawford, ‘When the English Began to Hate: The Manufacture of German Demonisation in British School History Textbooks, 1900–1930’, History of Education Review, vol. 38, no. 1, 2009, pp. 54–62.


58 Charlwood, Marching as to War, 1990, p. 3.

59 ‘The land of the Germans’, 1914, p. 120.


65 JI Findlay, Some principles of educational reform’, Education Gazette, Dec. 1915, pp. 595–98. There were at least five, if not six, summer schools organised by Victoria’s Education Department between 1900 and 1910: Rosalie Triolo, ‘Summer school to Somme: connections and ruptures between training, teaching and soldiering in Victoria’s Education Department, 1909–18’, unpublished paper presented to the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Annual Conference, Wagga Wagga, 2010.


68 Frank Tate, ‘Some soul of goodness in things evil’, Education Gazette, Apr. 1916, pp. 95–96.

69 Tate, ‘The continuation schools of Munich’, 1916.


76 Tate, letters to Barrett, 12 May 1915, Barrett Papers, 3DRL/250/106, and 4 Dec. 1917, 3DRL/250/107, AWM.

77 For Tate’s sons, see his letters to James Tate, 13 Jan., 24 Feb., 31 Nov. 1915, Barrett Papers 3DRL/250/106, EC Perrin, letter to Tate, 27 Aug. 1918, ‘War service, letters of congratulations, condolence, etc’, VPRS 892/P1, Unit 91, SCF 1119, VPR, PROV. For Long’s sons, see ‘Honors and promotions’, Education Gazette, Jan. 1917, p. 13.

78 Ernest Scott, professor of history at the University of Melbourne, wrote in 1936 how ‘the effort of [Australia’s] schools was most completely organised in Victoria’ (Australia During the War, Bean vol. 11, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1936, p. 735). Nearly half a century later, Geoff Alves concluded that the department generated funds and comfort to the 1982 equivalent of millions of dollars (‘The department and the Great War’, Educational Magazine, vol. 35, no. 5, 1982, p. 31). Brian McKinlay wrote in 1990, ‘It is doubtful if the Victorian school system has ever been so mobilised or involved in any other event to the same extent as was the case in 1914–18’ (‘Gallipoli remembered’, Education Victoria, May 1990, p. 6). Bob Bessant & Andrew Spaull have argued that, in terms of practical patriotism, ‘none were more loyal than the teachers’, (Politics of Schooling, Melbourne: Pitman Pacific, 1976, p. 41).


Durance: Too good to lose

1 Roll of Honour details, AWM, www.awm.gov.au/research/people/rollofhonour (AWM 145). For Bridges, see his entry in the ADB.

2 Peter Pederson ‘Burning Bridges’, Wartime: Official Magazine of the Australian War Memorial, no. 50, first paragraph.


5 CEW Bean, From Anzac to Amiens, Canberra: AWM, 1983 (1946), p. 27.


10 ‘Late Major-General Bridges funeral in Melbourne an impressive spectacle’, 1915, p. 9.


13 ‘Bridges, an impressive funeral’, 1915, p. 4.

14 Ibid., p. 4.

15 Raymond Membrey, ‘Memoir’, PRO2022, p. 2, AWM.

16 Ibid., p. 2.

17 Ibid.

18 Herbert Alfred Godber was the author’s grandfather.


21 Ibid.


23 ‘For King And Empire’, Bandsmen Roll of Honor, Australian Band News, 26 Sep. 1915.


26 Embarkation Roll details for Membrey 3877, Godber 3870, Nash 3899, AWM 8.


28 ‘At the military camp’, Flemington Spectator, 16 Sep. 1915, p. 2.


31 Ibid., p. 3.

32 ‘At the military camp’, 1915, p. 2.

33 Ibid.

34 Essendon Gazette, 21 Oct. 1915 p. 3.

35 Membrey, ‘Memoir’, p. 3.


37 Embarkation Roll, AWM 8.

38 Interview with Percy Nash’s great-grand-daughter, Georgie Grattan, 2010.
Based on a variety of sources including unpublished diary of Herbert Godber (in author’s possession).

Red Cross Wounded and Missing Enquiry Bureau, AWM DRL/0428 series.


Ibid., p. 12.

**Tiernan: In search of Stroud Langford**


5 Victoria Certificate of Title vol. 1561, fol. 312139.

6 Camberwell Rate Book 1888, no. 799, Camberwell Rate Book 1900, no. 760.

7 Camberwell State School, Vic, file of official correspondence, 1891–1914, Boroondara Local History Collection, Boroondara Library; Marjorie Starkey, interview with the author, 10 Dec. 2011.

8 Camberwell State School, Vic, file of official correspondence, 1891–1914, Boroondara Local History Collection.


10 Stroud’s name is listed in the Roll of Honour, *Annual Report*, Victoria Lacrosse Association, 1918 (Doug Fox, architect Victorian Lacrosse Association, email to author, 8 July 1913).

11 Royal Academy of Music and Royal College of Music certificates, John Clucas, email to author, 8 July 1913.

12 Swinburne University archives; Sara Jervis, archivist, email to author, 2 Oct. 2012.


14 Peter Langford, interview with the author, 13 Apr. 2012.


16 ‘Camberwell Branch ANA’, Box Hill Reporter, 18 Sep. 1914, p. 9.

17 Australian Natives’ Association Victorian Board of Directors Members Ledger Camberwell Branch, 1911–15, Australian Unity archive; Beryl Armstrong, archivist, Australian Unity/ANA, email to author, 9 May 2012.


21 ‘Church parade at St John’s Camberwell’, Box Hill Reporter, 2 Oct. 1914, p. 9.


34 ‘Extracts from diary of Lieut RW McHenry MC 2nd Field Artillery Brigade, AIF’, AWM 1D No. 2DRL/0136.
36 McHenry, ‘Diary’.
37 Ibid.
39 McHenry, ‘Diary’, p. 3.
46 Oates, With the Big Guns, 2006, p. 50.
48 ‘Unit diary’, Apr. 1915, pp. 31–34.
50 Stevens, Diary of James Stevens; Wilkie, ‘Diary’, 1914–1915, 12 Apr. 1915.
52 Langford, AIF dossier.
54 Langford, AIF dossier, ‘Unit diary’, Apr. 1915; Routine Orders, H.M.T. Karroo, April 1915, AWM: 25, no. 707/20, file no. 13, box 313.
55 Stanley, Bad Characters, 2010; Gammage, Broken Years, 1974; Ross, Myth of the Digger, 1985.
58 Routine Orders, ‘Karoo’ April 1915.
60 Wahlert, The Other Enemy, 1999, p. 73.
63 Stanley, Bad Characters, 2010, p. 31.
65 Stroud Langford Pay Card, Series MT297/13, Item No. 1291466, Box 30, National Archives of Australia (Victoria).
69 ‘Unit diary’, Apr. 1914, p. 35.
73 Bean, The Story of Anzac, 1941, p. 213.
77 ‘An artist at the landing: Signaller Silas’, Gallipoli and the Anzacs.
81 Reynolds, ‘Diary’.
82 Ibid.
84 Ibid., pp. 170–71. ‘Beachy Bill’ was a Turkish artillery battery at Gaba Tepe.
85 Ibid.
88 Langford, AIF dossier.
94 Ibid.
96 Julie Williams, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, email to author, 11 Apr. 2012.
98 Stroud’s unit diary (see note 48 above) states that he died on 6 May 1915 and this is supported by references in Wilkie, ‘Diary, 1914–1915’; Reynolds, ‘Diary’; and Alexander, On Two Fronts, 1917.
104 ‘Composer’s success’, article in newspaper, title and date unknown.

Hughes: Remembrance

1 Some sites have faded from memory over time, generally overtaken by the Villers-Bretonneux monument, which was selected to commemorate the Australian Corps in France. A similar all-encompassing monument planned for Belgium never eventuated. See Joan Beaumont, ‘Australia’s global memory footprint: memorial building on the Western Front, 1916–2015’, Australian Historical Studies, vol. 46, no. 1, 2015, pp. 45–63.
4 Ken Inglis cautiously estimated as many as 4000 memorials in Australian public parks, gardens, civic halls and streets, of which 1455 were documented World War I memorials. Inglis, Sacred Places, 1998, p. 485.
5 No doubt, many more windows will be added to the record over time. See Victorian War Heritage Inventory at vhd.heritage.vic.gov.au/vhd/veterans.
6 A small group of commemorative windows was erected after the Boer War. The Lights Everlasting project has identified 17.
7 Three windows were installed by Congregationalists and one each by the Welsh Church and Church of Christ; the remainder were in secular sites that included Returned and Services League premises, civic buildings and non-denominational educational facilities.
8 Opposition to the war from Archbishop Daniel Mannix, which became more strident after the 1916 Easter Uprising in Ireland, is sometimes cited as a factor for this small number of memorials but, as only slightly larger numbers of windows have been identified in New South Wales, it appears other cultural, religious and economic factors may be at play.
9 The first memorial to ‘fallen heroes’, in the form of a cross, was unveiled in Adelaide by Australia’s Governor-General Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson on Wattle Day, 7 September 1915 (Inglis, Sacred Places, 1998, p. 9). The seaside suburb of Mordialloc also installed a small granite cross on a pedestal as its Great War civic monument.
10 Only one soldier’s body was returned to Australia during the war, that of Major-General William Throsby Bridges, commander

20 Sadly, World War II brought a new series of memorial windows as the next generation suffered loss. With only a few exceptions, the Geelong Chapel windows were the work of Mervyn Napier Waller and Christian Waller.

21 Not wishing to crowd the space, Montgomery omitted the dragon, which Brown felt was integral to the narrative. It was reinstated in the final cartoon. The window was quoted at £200, or £205 with wire guard (Montgomery to Brown, 20 Mar. 1917, Letterbook 1/664, NGARC).

22 Details of Ronald’s service, B2455, Ronald Kenneth McGeorge, National Archives of Australia; James Affleck, Geelong Grammarians of the Great War, Corio: Old Geelong Grammarians Inc., 1999, p. 36.

23 Rev FE Brown, letter to William Montgomery, 4 Dec. 1917, William Montgomery Collection (uncatalogued), SLV.

24 Brown, letter to Montgomery, 14 Dec. 1917, WMC, SLV.

25 Details of the life of George Pollard Kay taken from ‘Letters from Bob’, a compilation of Kay’s war letters by his father, GA Kay, [1917?], private collection.


28 The window was ordered from William Montgomery by St Bernard’s parish priest, Fr Ellis.

29 For details of war service of the men, see the inventory of the Lights Everlasting project. James Johansen cited his religion as Presbyterian on enlistment, which suggests that the donors were more interested in remembering all the men from their district, not simply those of Catholic faith. A rare World War II parallel is the 58–59 Battalion memorial window (1957) at St Brigid’s Catholic Church, Mordialloc.

30 Simulated marble was marketed under the proprietary name Opus Sectile, an opaque, tile-like material that could be scored, cut, painted and fired in a similar way to glass.

31 Montgomery Letterbooks 4/933 (Brighton), 4/974 and 4/960 (Ballarat), NGARC.

32 The two windows were unveiled on Sunday 6 December 1920. Peace, honour and victory was unveiled by Senator ‘Pompey’ Elliott and the honour roll by Major GE Bright OBE (Argus, 6 Dec. 1920, p. 8).

33 The church is now in private hands, the window in a fragile state and of considerable concern to the owner.
As Melbourne's leading 'low church' congregation in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, St. Columb's selection of the Crucifixion would have been unusual before World War I. I am indebted to Colin Holden for his knowledge of the Anglican Church and its evolution in Melbourne (pers. comm. with the author, 7 Nov. 2007).

Churchwardens, St. Columb's, Hawthorn, letter to William Montgomery, 17 Jul., 1920, accepting design at a cost of £315, WMC SLV.

Holden, pers. comm., 7 Nov. 2007.

Chauvel was in the greatest demand in rural towns where light horsemen were most often recruited. Later he became Australia's first full general.

Extracts from the Order of Service, Sunday 14 Nov. 1920. WMC SLV.


Montgomery, letter to Brown, 20 Feb. 1922, Letterbooks 4/833, NGARC. It is the first time Montgomery uses his title as a Lambeth DD, originally set up in 1891 by artist Auguste Fischer, but was renamed to dispel any assumptions of German connections (incorrect, as he was of English and French parentage). By 1920 Brooks, Robinson & Co. owned the business.

The chapel was first mooted in July 1920 and plans were drawn up by architects Klingender and Alsop two months later. Funds accumulated swiftly, allowing the chapel to be consecrated by November 1923 (Church of England Messenger, vol. 52, no. 830, 9 Jul. 1920, p. 330; vol. 52, no. 835, p. 442; vol. 55, no. 917, 8 Nov. 1923, p. 638).

A third window, St Martin, was planned. It was made and installed by Brooks Robinson & Co. in 1929, after Montgomery's death.

Prices ranged from facsimiles in oils, framed, 28" x 20" (71 x 50 cm) £1.11.6, photogravure (selected copies signed by the artist) unframed, 22" x 15" (56 x 38 cm) £1.1.0 to colour prints 16" x 7 1/2" (25 x 19 cm) mounted but unframed for 1/-– Graphic, vol. XCIII, no. 2406, 8 Jan. 1916.

The hall later became the college's Gryphon Gallery and, for many years, the window was boarded up. The college amalgamated with the University of Melbourne in 1989 and the building was renamed the 1888 Building in recognition of the date of its erection by the Public Works Department. Philip Goad & George Tibbetts, Architecture on Campus: A Guide to The University of Melbourne and its Colleges, Carlton: MUP., 2003, pp. 24–25.

Originally, an honour roll made up from two Opus Sectile tablets was placed at either side of the window. Unusually, each name was identified with a small portrait of the teacher, soldier or nurse, probably based on cartes-de-visite taken by Algernon Drage. The tablets were removed but remain on display in the building.

A similar image of a 'serviceman as saint', with a rising sun halo, was embroidered on an altar frontal for St Peter's, East Melbourne, by the serving officer's mother. See Holden, From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass, 1996, p. 121.

Historian Dr Anne Beggs-Sunter's research revealed that the window was made by 'Fisher', at a cost of £150. The firm was originally set up in 1891 by artist Auguste Fischer, but was renamed to dispel any assumptions of German connections (incorrect, as he was of English and French parentage). By 1920 Brooks, Robinson & Co. owned the business.

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A similar image of a 'serviceman as saint', with a rising sun halo, was embroidered on an altar frontal for St Peter's, East Melbourne, by the serving officer's mother. See Holden, From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass, 1996, p. 121.

Historian Dr Anne Beggs-Sunter's research revealed that the window was made by 'Fisher', at a cost of £150. The firm was originally set up in 1891 by artist Auguste Fischer, but was renamed to dispel any assumptions of German connections (incorrect, as he was of English and French parentage). By 1920 Brooks, Robinson & Co. owned the business.

The chapel was first mooted in July 1920 and plans were drawn up by architects Klingender and Alsop two months later. Funds accumulated swiftly, allowing the chapel to be consecrated by November 1923 (Church of England Messenger, vol. 52, no. 830, 9 Jul. 1920, p. 330; vol. 52, no. 835, p. 442; vol. 53, no. 917, 8 Nov. 1923, p. 638).

A third window, St Martin, was planned. It was made and installed by Brooks Robinson & Co. in 1929, after Montgomery's death.

Prices ranged from facsimiles in oils, framed, 28" x 20" (71 x 50 cm) £1.11.6, photogravure (selected copies signed by the artist) unframed, 22" x 15" (56 x 38 cm) £1.1.0 to colour prints 16" x 7 1/2" (25 x 19 cm) mounted but unframed for 1/-– Graphic, vol. XCIII, no. 2406, 8 Jan. 1916.

The hall later became the college's Gryphon Gallery and, for many years, the window was boarded up. The college amalgamated with the University of Melbourne in 1989 and the building was renamed the 1888 Building in recognition of the date of its erection by the Public Works Department. Philip Goad & George Tibbetts, Architecture on Campus: A Guide to The University of Melbourne and its Colleges, Carlton: MUP., 2003, pp. 24–25.

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