

# Notes

## Abbreviations

ADB = *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (available on-line at <http://adb.anu.edu.au>).  
 AWM = Australian War Memorial  
 Bean: Charles Bean (ed.), *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918*, 12 vols.  
 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 1, 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).
- 3 Tony Abbott, 'Address to Convoy Commemorative Service', Albany, 1 November 2014, [pm.gov.au/media/2014-11-01/address-convoy-commemorative-service-albany](http://pm.gov.au/media/2014-11-01/address-convoy-commemorative-service-albany), accessed 3 Feb. 2015.
- 4 The ground-breaking study that documents this case is John Mordike, *An Army for a Nation: A History of Australian Military Developments, 1880–1914*, North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992.
- 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.
- 6 See Chris Watson's views in 'The federal Labor Party: interview with the leader', *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 1 Sep. 1902.
- 7 Ross McMullin, *So Monstrous a Travesty: Chris Watson and the World's First National Labour Government*, Melbourne: Scribe, 2004, pp. 103–09; 137–38.
- 8 'Chapter 1: strategical considerations', in 'Defence scheme for the Commonwealth of Australia', marked '2nd Proof', in 'Cover 1: Commonwealth Defence Schemes', MP826/1, 3(A), NAA.
- 9 See *Military and Naval Defence of the Empire*, Wellington: Govt. Printer, 1909, p. 32.
- 10 See 'Part I – Recommendations. Strategical considerations', Points 4 and 5, Kitchener, 'Memorandum on the defence of Australia', A463, 1957/1059, NAA.
- 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.
- 14 Point D (2), in Chapter I (A), 'Introductory remarks and strategic considerations', in 'General scheme of defence', dated Aug. 1913, 5, AWM: 113 MH1/11, Australian War Memorial (AWM). See also 'Plans of overseas operations', undated, in 'Skeleton plan of study of strategical conditions in Australasia', in folder entitled 'Defence schemes', MP826/1, 3(A), 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.’ (*The First World War. Volume I: To Arms*, OUP, 2001, p. 97).
- 18 Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War, 1914–1918*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986, p. 155.
  - 19 Lewis Harcourt, Cabinet memoranda for 1914, Cabinet memorandum, 27 Jul. 1914, Harcourt Papers, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, 29 Jul. 1914.
  - 21 *Ibid.*, 30 Jul. 1914.
  - 22 *Ibid.*, 26 Jul. 1914.
  - 23 For example, see Gerd Krumeich, *Armaments and Politics in France on the Eve of the First World War*, Leamington Spa: Berg, 1984, pp. 220–21; and Reuter’s correspondent, ‘Russia: war excitement’, *Manchester Guardian*, 31 Jul. 1914.
  - 24 Harcourt, Cabinet memorandum, 29 Jul. 1914.
  - 25 Fritz Fischer, *War of Illusions: German Policies from 1911 to 1914*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1975, p. 502.
  - 26 Henry Wilson, Diary, 29 July 1914, reproduced in Major-General CE Callwell, ed., *Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, His Life and Diaries*, London: Cassell, 1927, vol. 1, p. 152.
  - 27 See Douglas Newton, *The Darkest Days: The Truth Behind Britain’s Rush to War, 1914*, London: Verso, 2014, pp. 32–35.
  - 28 Asquith to Venetia Stanley, 2 Aug. 1914, in Michael & Eleanor Brock (eds), *H.H. Asquith Letters to Venetia Stanley*, OUP, 1985, p. 146.
  - 29 ‘Our London correspondence’, *Manchester Guardian*, 3 Aug. 1914; ‘Labour’s war on war’, *Labour Leader*, 6 Aug. 1914; ‘The workers’ war on the war’, *Daily Herald*, 3 Aug. 1914.
  - 30 John Viscount Morley, *Memorandum on Resignation, August 1914*, London: Macmillan, 1928, p. 15.
  - 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.
  - 33 John Burns, Diary, 5 Aug., 10 Dec. 1915, Burns Papers, Add. MSS. 46337.
  - 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.
  - 36 Herbert Samuel to Beatrice Samuel, 2 Aug. 1914, Herbert Samuel Papers, SAM/A/157, Parliamentary Archives, House of Lords, London.
  - 37 Alexander MacCallum Scott, Diary, 30 July 1914, MacCallum Scott Papers, University of Glasgow.
  - 38 See Newton, *Darkest Days*, 2014, pp. 55, 69; chpt 8, ‘Smearing neutrality’; chpt 14, ‘Kite-flying’.
  - 39 *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5th series, vol. 65, 1831–32 (3 Aug. 1914); ‘British plans’, *Times*, 4 Aug. 1914.
  - 40 *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 5th series, vol. 17, 318–20 (3 Aug. 1914); ‘House of Lords’, *Times*, 4 Aug. 1914.
  - 41 *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5th series, vol. 65, 1833–84 (3 Aug. 1914).
  - 42 For more detail, see Newton, *Darkest Days*, 2014, pp. 201–02.
  - 43 Harcourt, Cabinet memorandum, 2 Aug. 1914.
  - 44 Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis 1911–1918*, London: Odhams, 1938, vol. 1, p. 178.
  - 45 George Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, London: Longmans, 1937, p. 262.
  - 46 *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5th series, vol. 65, 1925–28 (4 Aug. 1914).
  - 47 Keith Wilson, ‘Britain’, in Keith Wilson (ed.), *Decisions for War, 1914*, New York: St Martin’s Press, p. 201.
  - 48 Typescript headed ‘AT THE COURT OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE, THE 4<sup>TH</sup> 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 July 1914, in MP1049/1, 1914/0299, NAA.
  - 50 Munro Ferguson to Harcourt, 30 July 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 July 1914, and various drafts, ADM 137/7/18, TNA; ACC Parkinson to Resident Clerk, 30 July 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.

- 55 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.
- 56 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 137/7/29, 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.
- 57 Munro Ferguson to the King, 8 Aug. 1914, Lord Novar Papers, MS 696/5, NLA.
- 58 Munro Ferguson to Cook, 31 Jul. 1914, in file entitled 'War 1914. Notifications (outbreak)', A11803, 1914/89/1, Part 1, NAA.
- 59 Munro Ferguson to Joseph Cook, 31 Jul. 1914, Novar Papers, MS 696/4003.
- 60 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.
- 61 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.
- 62 White, Diary, 3 Aug. 1914, Brudenell White Papers, MS 5172, NLA.
- 63 This is the version given in the official record. The Governor-General [of Australia] to the Secretary of State [Harcourt] (received 6.20 pm, 3 Aug. 1914), in The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *European War: Correspondence Regarding the Naval and Military Assistance Afforded to His Majesty's Government by His Majesty's Oversea Dominions*, no. 10 (printed 11 Nov. 1914), in The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Papers Presented to Parliament*, Vol. V, Session 1914-17, p. 1434.
- 64 Foreign Office statement, issued 12.15 am, 5 Aug. 1914, reproduced in 'War declared', *Times*, 5 Aug. 1914; 'Why there is war', *Daily Mirror*, 5 Aug. 1914. See also 'A state of war', in supplement to the *London Gazette*, 4 Aug. 1914 (No. 28861).
- 65 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.
- 66 For example, see 'London opinion', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 Aug. 1914, giving a summary of editorial opinions from the London press of 31 July, and noting the opposition to intervention from the *Daily News* and the *Daily Graphic*. See also 'Britain's position: peace or war', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 Aug. 1914, noting letters from prominent figures against intervention in the British press.
- 67 Editorial, *Age* (Melbourne), 3 Aug. 1914.
- 68 For example, 'Summary', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'Russia and Germany: war declared on Saturday', *Argus*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'Armageddon', *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 3 Aug. 1914.
- 69 Telegram, giving parliamentary speeches, The Governor of New Zealand to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (received Colonial Office 4.24 pm 1 August 1914), ADM 137/1/12, TNA, and see *Papers Presented to Parliament*, Vol. V, Session 1914-17, p. 1437.
- 70 'Paraphrase of telegram from Gov. General Canada (received 9 am, 2 August 1914), ADM 137/3/8, TNA and 11d, also in *Papers Presented to Parliament*, Vol. V, Session 1914-17, p. 1431.
- 71 See Newton, *Darkest Days*, 2014, chpt 12, 'Pogrom'.
- 72 For example, 'Awaiting Britain's call', *Scotsman*, 1 Aug. 1914.
- 73 'Australian readiness to help', 'The Empire ready: Canadian expeditionary force', 'A loyal Empire', 'Whole-hearted support', *Times*, 2 Aug. 1914.
- 74 'Britain's part in the crisis: the issues at stake', *Times*, 2 Aug. 1914.
- 75 'Voice of the Empire', 'An Empire war', *Observer*, 2 Aug. 1914; 'Australia: help for the Motherland: to our last man and our last shilling', *Scotsman*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 76 'The Empire and the war', editorial, *Times*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 77 'Australia's offer: a force of 20,000 men', *The Times*, 4 Aug. 1914; 'Loyalty of the dominions: Australia offer: an expeditionary force of 20,000 men', *Scotsman*, 4 Aug. 1914.
- 78 *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5th series, vol. 65, 1827-28 (3 Aug. 1914).
- 79 For example, see Lord Denman's speech, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 5th series, vol. 17, 398-403 (5 Aug. 1914).
- 80 *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 5th series, vol. 17, 404-05 (5 Aug. 1914).
- 81 Aubrey Herbert, Diary, 4 Jun. 1917, Aubrey Herbert Papers, DD/HER/70/1, Somerset Archive Centre, Taunton.
- 82 Munro Ferguson to Harcourt, 4 Aug. 1914, CO 418/123/143, TNA.

- 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 137/3/16, TNA, Secretary of State for Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand (sent 1.45 pm, 4 Aug. 1914), ADM 137/1/18, TNA.
- 86 See various accounts of Fisher's words in 'Australia's patriotism', *Argus*, 1 Aug. 1914; 'Crisis of our fate', *Argus*, 3 Aug. 1914; and 'Federal elections', *Colac Herald*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 87 On the dreadnought agitation, see David Day, *Andrew Fisher: Prime Minister of Australia*, Sydney: Harper Collins, 2008, pp. 168–76; 'The future of the British Empire: an interview with Mr Andrew Fisher', *The Review of Reviews for Australasia*, Sep. 1911, pp. 25–26.
- 88 TD Chataway to ED Millen, 31 Jul. 1914, B173, 1906/58 PART 2, NAA. I owe the reference to this document to Neville Meaney, who quotes from it in his *Australia and the World Crisis, 1914–1923* (Sydney University Press, 2009, p. 25).
- 89 'Defence: government policy: Labour's attitude', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 Aug. 1914; 'National defence: Kitchener and Henderson schemes: Labor Party's destructive efforts' and 'Federal campaign', *Daily Telegraph*, 1 Aug. 1914.
- 90 'Position in Australia', *Brisbane Courier*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'Mr Cook and the war', *Daily Telegraph*, 1 Aug. 1914.
- 91 'The federal campaign: Mr Cook at Horsham', *Age* (Melbourne), 1 Aug. 1914.
- 92 'Prime Minister at Colac', *Colac Herald*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'Mr Cook at Colac', 'All in it', *Daily Telegraph*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'The federal campaign', *Age*, 3 Aug. 1914; John Murdoch, *Sir Joe: A Political Biography of Sir Joseph Cook*, London: 1996, p. 105.
- 93 'Senate elections', *Casterton News and the Merino and Sandford Record*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 94 'State premier's view', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 Aug. 1914.
- 95 'Premier attacked', 'North Sydney rally', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 96 'Position in Australia', *Brisbane Courier*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'Our very best', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 97 "'No parties": Labour consults with ministry', 'Mr Fisher definite', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'There are no parties', *Daily Telegraph*, 3 Aug. 1914; 'Statement by Mr Fisher', *Age*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 98 Munro Ferguson to the King, 8 Aug. 1914, Novar Papers, MS 696/5.

### Smart: A divided national capital

- 1 See Marian Quartly, 'Victoria', in Helen Irving (ed.), *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, CUP, 1999; also James Grant & Geoffrey Serle (arr. & intro.), *The Melbourne Scene 1803–1956*, Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1978 (1956), p. 199.
- 2 Some 8000 Melburnians died at the front and probably three times that number were maimed and injured. On numbers killed, see Grant & Serle, *The Melbourne Scene*, 1978, p. 208.
- 3 JD Rickard, *Class and Politics in New South Wales, Victoria and the Early Commonwealth, 1890–1910*, Canberra: ANU Press, 1970; Frank Bongiorno, *The People's Party: Victorian Labor and the Radical Tradition, 1875–1914*, MUP, 1996; Charles Fahey & John Lack, 'The Great Strike of 1917 in Victoria: looking fore and aft, and from below', in Frank Bongiorno, Raelene Frances & Bruce Scates (eds), *Labour and the Great War: The Australian Working Class and the Making of Anzac*, special issue of *Labour History*, no. 106, 2014, pp. 69–97; Marian Quartly, 'Defending "the purity of home life" against Socialism: the founding years of the Australian Women's National League', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 50, no. 2, 2004, pp. 178–93; Judith Smart, 'Women waging war: the National Council of Women of Victoria 1914–1920', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 85, no. 1, 2015, pp. 61–82.
- 4 Dan Coward, 'The impact of war on New South Wales: some aspects of social and political history 1914–1917', PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1974; Raymond Evans, *Loyalty and Disloyalty: Social Conflict on the Queensland Homefront, 1914–18*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987; Richard White, 'Motives for joining up: self-sacrifice, self-interest and social class, 1914–18', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 9 Oct. 1986, pp. 3–16; Michael McKernan, *Victoria at War: 1914–1918*, Sydney: NewSouth, 2014.
- 5 Joan Beaumont notes the problem of drawing conclusions from crowd behavior (*Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2013, pp. 20–21).
- 6 *Age*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 7 *Argus*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 8 *Age*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 9 *Argus*, 4 Aug. 1914.
- 10 *Age*, 4 Aug. 1914.
- 11 *Age*, 5 Aug. 1914.
- 12 *Argus*, 6 Aug. 1914.
- 13 *Age*, 7 Aug. 1914. See also Chris McConville, 'From "criminal class" to "underworld"', in Graeme Davison, David Dunstan & Chris McConville (eds), *The Outcasts of Melbourne*:

- Essays in Social History*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985, pp. 72–76.
- 14 *Age*, 7 Aug. 1914.
- 15 *Truth* (Melbourne), 15 Aug. 1914.
- 16 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.
- 17 Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973, pp. 32–33.
- 18 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.
- 19 *Age*, 3 Aug. 1914.
- 20 *Age*, 14 Sep. 1914.
- 21 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).
- 22 *Age*, leader, 13 Aug. 1914.
- 23 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.
- 24 *Age*, 12 Oct. 1914; 4 Aug. 1914. Patrick O'Farrell remarks that the Catholic response was, by and large, a subdued one. See his *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History 1788–1967* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1968, p. 202).
- 25 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.
- 26 *Age*, 22 Aug. 1914.
- 27 *Age*, 25 Aug. 1914.
- 28 *Richmond Guardian*, 15 Aug. 1914.
- 29 *Richmond Guardian*, 22 Aug. 1914.
- 30 The figures in Webber's ward gave him victory by 793 votes to 537 (*Richmond Guardian*, 29 Aug. 1914).
- 31 *Age*, 26 Aug. 1914. The meeting was addressed by Labor Senator EF Russell, who said that it would be a 'lasting disgrace upon Port Melbourne if nothing had been done in the matter'.
- 32 See the *Richmond Guardian* (22 Aug. 1914), for an example of pressure from a local businessman, AA Head, president of the Richmond Progress Association. Head & Co. offered to pay for the printing of 10,000 circulars about the patriotic fund to be distributed in the district without advertisement.
- 33 *Woman*, vol. 7, no. 9, 2 Nov. 1914, p. 221; vol. 7, no. 10, 1 Dec. 1914, pp. 237–39; *Liberty and Progress*, vol. 11, no. 9, 25 Sep. 1914, pp. 203–04; vol. 12, no. 1, 25 Jan. 1915, p. 7; vol. 12, no. 2, 25 Feb. 1915, p. 32.
- 34 *Age*, 11 Aug. 1914.
- 35 *Socialist*, 7 Aug. 1914, p. 3.
- 36 National Council of Women of Victoria (NCWV) council minutes, 25 May 1916, NCWV records, SLV (accession pending). The number given here, 106,000, was based on returns by only 17 of the affiliated societies.
- 37 *Argus*, 28 Aug. 1914; NCWV council minutes, 27 Aug. 1914. See also Judith Smart, 'Women waging war', 2015, pp. 63–64.
- 38 NCWV council minutes, SLV, 25 Sep. 1914.
- 39 *Woman Voter*, 25 Aug. 1914, p. 2; 10 Nov. 1914, p. 1; 24 Nov. 1914, p. 3; 8 Dec. 1914, p. 3.
- 40 NCWV council minutes, 25 Mar. 27 May, 24 Jun. 1915.
- 41 Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 2013, p. 38; Jay Winters & Jean-Louis Robert, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919*, vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 12.
- 42 Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 2013, pp. 40–41; Ernest Scott, *Australia During the War*, Bean vol. 11, pp. 636–37.
- 43 The term was coined by 'Shotgun' in *Labor Call*, 20 Aug. 1914, p. 5.
- 44 *Victorian Parliamentary Debates (VPD)*, vol. 136, 11 Aug. 1914, p. 736.
- 45 Donald Mackinnon and Frederick Hagelthorn, *VPD*, vol. 136, 12 Aug. 1914, pp. 762–65, 768; 13 Aug. 1914, pp. 772–73.
- 46 *Argus*, 12 Aug. 1914; 13 Aug. 1914; *VPD*, vol. 136, 12 Aug., pp. 808–09; 820–21.
- 47 George Blmslie, *VPD*, vol. 138, 8 Dec. 1914, pp. 56–57, 65.
- 48 Trades Hall Council (THC) minutes, 10 Dec. 1914, MS7825, THC Records, SLV; Political Labor Council (PLC) central executive minutes, 19 Feb. 1915, MS10389, Records of the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), SLV; *Woman Voter*, 22 Dec. 1914, p. 1.
- 49 Nick Dyrenfurth, *Heroes & Villains: The Rise and Fall of the Early Australian Labor Party*, Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011.
- 50 'Official report of the Australian Political Labor executive by Victorian delegates', PLC state conference minutes, 21–24 Apr. 1916, MS10389, Records of the DLP, SLV.
- 51 *Labor Call*, 24 Jun. 1915, p. 2.
- 52 *Woman*, vol. 8, no. 9, 1 Nov. 1915, p. 504; *Amendment of Constitution Federal Referendums: The Case For ... and Against*, Melbourne, 1915, p. 41. 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 Year Book 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.
- 56 *Labor Call*, 14 Oct. 1915, pp. 4–5.
- 57 *Labor Call*, 17 Feb. 1916, pp. 4–5.
- 58 PLC central executive minutes, 26 Nov. 1915, 11 Dec. 1915, MS10389, Records of the DLP, SLV.
- 59 Judith Smart, 'War and the concept of a new social order: Melbourne 1914–15', PhD thesis, Monash University, 1992, 'Conclusion'.
- 60 'Housewives Co-operative Association', Brookes Papers. MS1924/38/9–14; 'A brief chronology', Brookes Papers, MS1924/38/52–67, 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.
- 64 Meredith Foley, 'From "thrifty" to "scientific spending": The Sydney Housewives Association between the wars', *Sydney Gazette: Organ of the Sydney History Group*, no. 6, 1984, p. 14; THC executive minutes, 18 Aug. 1914; 15, 22 Sep. 1914; 6 Oct. 1914; THC minutes, 1, 8 Oct. 1914. *Age*, 21 Nov. 1914.
- 65 Housewives' Association of Victoria Ltd minutes of executive 1915–16, Box 4, MS13340, SLV.
- 66 NCWV council minutes, 15, 22 Feb. 1917, SLV; *Argus*, 27 Mar. 1917, p. 8.
- 67 *Argus*, 31 May 1917, p. 9.
- 68 *Argus*, 21 Feb. 1917, pp. 12, 13.
- 69 *Economical Cookery Recipes/Book of Recipes: economical but delicious*, Australasian League of Honour, Melbourne, 1917, Domestic Economy Pamphlets collection, vol. 14, SLV.
- 70 Judith Smart, 'Feminists, food and the fair price: the cost of living demonstrations in Melbourne, August–September, 1917', *Labour History*, no. 50, 1986, pp. 113–31.
- 71 Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, chpt. 14.
- 72 Kirenan vs Walsh, Crown Solicitor's File, CL760, 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.
- 73 Smart, 'Feminists, food and the fair price', 1986, especially pp. 123–24.
- 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.*
- 78 *Woman Voter*, 6 Sep. 1917, p. 1.
- 79 This account is drawn from Judith Smart, 'Respect not relief: feminism, guild socialism and the Guild Hall Commune in Melbourne 1917', *Labour History*, no. 94, 2008, pp. 113–32; *Woman Voter*, 18 Apr. 1917, p. 2; JM Bomford, *That Dangerous and Persuasive Woman: Vida Goldstein*, MUP, 1993, p. 184.
- 80 Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 2013, p. 332; Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, pp. 652–53. The commission was formed in 1913 to oversee constitutional guarantees of free trade and commerce between the states (p. 648).
- 81 Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, pp. 653–57.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 1938, p. 11.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 1938, app. 3, p. 871.
- 84 LL Robson, 'The origin and character of the First AIF, 1914–18: some statistical evidence', *Historical Studies*, vol. 15, no. 61, 1973, pp. 738, 740–41; 'Army – World War I: 1914–1918', NAA, [naa.gov.au/collection/explore/defence/service-records/army-www.aspx](http://naa.gov.au/collection/explore/defence/service-records/army-www.aspx)
- 85 JNI Dawes & LL Robson, *Citizen to Soldier: Australia before the Great War. Recollections of Members of the First AIF*, MUP, 1977, part 2.
- 86 Marilyn Lake, *A Divided Society: Tasmania during World War I*, MUP, 1976, pp. 8, 31; Coward, 'The impact of war on New South Wales', 1974, pp. 46, 271, 275–77; White, 'Motives for joining up', 1986, pp. 12, 14; Evans, *Loyalty and Disloyalty*, 1987. See also *Labor Call* (27 Aug. 1914, p. 5), for evidence of unemployment as an important motive in the early months of the war in Melbourne.
- 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'.

- 88 PG McCarthy, 'Labor and the living wage, 1890–1910', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1967, p. 68; app. 1, p. 83.
- 89 John Barrett, *Falling In: Australians and 'Boy Conscription' 1911–1915*, Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979, pp. 157–63; Dawes & Robson, *Citizen to Soldier*, 1977, part 2. Many of the respondents mentioned their previous training as cadets as qualification.
- 90 *Age*, 7 Aug. 1914; LL Robson, *The First AIF: A Study of its Recruitment 1914–1918*, MUP, 1970, p. 28; Robson, 'The origin and character of the First AIF', 1973, p. 744. Nearly one in four of all recruits up to June 1915 was British-born.
- 91 *Labor Call*, 21 Jan. 1915, p. 6.
- 92 The depositions of the soldiers list their occupations but not whether they were currently in work.
- 93 Robert Bollard, 'Economic conscription and Irish discontent: the possible resolution of a conundrum', in Phillip Deery & Julie Kimber (eds), *Fighting Against War: Peace Activism in the Twentieth Century*, Melbourne, Leftbank Press, 2015, pp. 139–56; Lack, 'Class or Nation', 2015.
- 94 *Labor Call*, 21 Jan. 1915, p. 6.
- 95 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.
- 96 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.
- 97 *Woman Voter*, 11 Aug. 1914, p. 2; 18 Aug. 1914, p. 2.
- 98 *Woman*, vol. 7, no. 12, 1 Feb. 1915, p. 288.
- 99 Brookes Papers, MS1924/18/2685–2689, NLA. Herbert was married to Ivy Brookes, the daughter of former prime minister Alfred Deakin.
- 100 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.
- 101 23 March at the Melbourne Town Hall. *Woman*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1 Mar. 1915, p. 330.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 408; see also *Age*, 3 Jul. 1915.
- 103 *Woman*, vol. 8, no. 5, 1 Jul. 1915, pp. 409–10.
- 104 Modelled on the PRC of the House of Commons. See Frank Clarke, *VPD*, vol. 139, 15 Jun. 1915, p. 821; Alexander Peacock, *VPD*, vol. 140, 23 Jun. 1915, p. 1049.
- 105 Their joint appeal for recruits was published in the *Age* (5 Jul. 1915).
- 106 *Labor Call*, 1 Jul. 1915, inside front cover.
- 107 *Labor Call*, 8 Jul. 1915, inside back cover.
- 108 *Age*, 3 Jul. 1915; 19 Jul. 1915.
- 109 *Age*, 12 Jul. 1915.
- 110 Victorian Chamber of Manufactures council minutes, 16 Nov. 1914; 30 Nov. 1914; *Labor Call*, 28 Jan. 1915, p. 4.
- 111 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.
- 112 For example, JW Billson at Fitzroy, WJ Beckett (MLC, Melbourne North Province) at Northcote and JR Jewell (MLA, Brunswick) at Fitzroy. *Age*, 8 Jul. 1915; 16 Jul. 1915. See also letter from Maurice Blackburn, *Socialist*, 16 Jul. 1915, p. 1.
- 113 *Age*, 3 Jul. 1915; 15 Jul. 1915.
- 114 *Socialist*, 9 Jul. 1915, p. 3.
- 115 *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.
- 116 See, for example, the odd combination of Mrs Agnes Baillieu and Dr William Maloney (*Age*, 15 Jul. 1915).
- 117 The Victorian Socialist Party attacked Labor Party speakers as traitors, *Socialist*, 16 Jul. 1915, p. 2; 30 Jul. 1915, p. 2.
- 118 *Age*, 8 Jul. 1915.
- 119 *Age*, 7 Jul. 1915.
- 120 *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).
- 121 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*, 16 Jul. 1915).
- 122 'The call for recruits', *Age*, 5 Jul. 1915.
- 123 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.
- 124 Brookes Papers, MS1924/16/168, NLA.
- 125 Brookes Papers, MS1924/16/169; *Age*, 9 Sep. 1915.
- 126 *Liberty and Progress*, vol. 12, no. 9, 25 Sep. 1915, p. 215.
- 127 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 128 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. See also Joy Damousi, 'Socialist women in Australia c. 1890 – c. 1918', PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1987, p. 237.
- 129 Geoff Hewitt, 'A history of the Victorian Socialist Party 1906–1932', MA thesis, La Trobe University, 1974, pp. 187, 190; Damousi, 'Socialist women in Australia', 1987, p. 275; *Socialist*, 23 Jul. 1915, p. 4.

- 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 (Frank Cain, 'The origins of political surveillance, 1916–1932: reactions to radicalism during and after the First World War', PhD thesis, Monash University, 1979, pp. 165–68.
- 137 NCWV, *Report for 1915*, Hawthorn: NCWV, 1915, p. 5.
- 138 NCWV council minutes, 23 Sep. 1915, NCWV Papers, SLV; Smart, 'Women waging war', 2015, pp. 66–67.
- 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.*
- 143 *Age*, 21 Dec. 1915; Joy Damousi, 'Socialist women and gendered space: the anti-conscription and anti-war campaigns of 1914–1918', *Labour History*, no. 60, 1991, pp. 12–13.
- 144 Damousi, 'Socialist women', 1991, p. 8.
- 145 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 146 *Age*, 31 Dec. 1915, pp. 4, 5.
- 147 *Age*, 25 Dec. 1915.
- 148 THC minutes, 13 Jan. 1916, MS7825, THC records, SLV.
- 149 Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, p. 310; IAH Turner, *Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia, 1900–1921*, Canberra: ANU Press, 1965, p. 100.
- 150 THC minutes, 9 Dec. 1915, 20 Dec. 1916, MS7825, THC Records, SLV. Only 190,869 of the estimated 600,000 responded. See LC Jauncey, *The Story of Conscription in Australia*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1968 (1935), p. 247, cited in Evans, *Loyalty and Disloyalty*, 1987, p. 91.
- 151 Turner, *Industrial Labour and Politics*, 1965, pp. 101–02; *Labor Call*, 4 May 1916; Peter Love, 'Frank Anstey, money power, and the labour split in war time', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 86, no. 1, 2015, pp. 161–86.
- 152 *Labor Call*, 18 May 1916; Love, 'Frank Anstey', 2015, pp. 161–86.
- 153 Nick Dyrenfurth, "'Conscription is not abhorrent to Laborites and Socialists': revisiting the Australian labour movement's attitude towards military conscription during World War I', *Labour History*, no. 103, 2012, pp. 145–64; see Evans, on the results of the wealth census (*Loyalty and Disloyalty*, 1987, p. 85).
- 154 FB Smith, *The Conscription Plebiscites in Australia, 1916–17*, Melbourne, Victorian Historical Association, 4th edn, 1974, pp. 14–15; Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, pp. 351–52.
- 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.
- 156 Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 4, *The Succeeding Age*, Melbourne: OUP, 1986, p. 168.
- 157 Calculated from electoral returns in *Australian Parliamentary Papers*.
- 158 Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, p. 872.
- 159 Verity Burgmann, 'The iron heel: the suppression of the IWW during World War I', in Sydney Labour History Group, *What Rough Beast? The State and Social Order in Australian History*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1982, p. 180.
- 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.
- 162 Dan Coward, 'Crime and punishment: the Great Strike in New South Wales, August to October 1917', in John Iremonger et al. (eds), *Strikes: Studies in Twentieth Century Australian Social History*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1973, pp. 51–80; Turner, *Industrial Labour and Politics*, 1965, chpt. 6; Robert Bollard, "'The active chorus": the Great Strike of 1917 in



- Victoria', *Labour History*, no. 90, 2006, pp. 77–94; Fahey & Lack, 'The Great Strike of 1917', 2014.
- 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 17 Dec. 1917, 1990.0107 Australian Chamber of Manufactures 1879–1989, University of Melbourne Archives; *People*, 12 Dec. 1917; *Liberty and Progress*, Nov., Dec. 1917.
- 166 *Labor Call*, 15 Nov. 1917, p. 2.
- 167 See LF Fitzhardinge, *William Morris Hughes: A Political Biography*, vol. 2, *The Little Digger, 1914–1952*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1979, chpt. 12, for further details.
- 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.
- 173 *Age*, 11 Dec. 1917; *Argus*, 11 Dec. 1917.
- 174 Calculated from the figures in LL Robson, *Australia and the Great War 1914–1918*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1969, pp. 76, 98.
- 175 Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 2013, pp. 416–17.
- 176 Scott, *Australia During the War*, 1938, pp. 452–55.
- 177 Ibid., pp. 455–57.
- 178 Ibid., pp. 459–61, 465–66.
- Lack: 'The great madness of 1914–18'**
- 1 Brian Lewis, *Our War: Australia during World War I*, MUP, 1980, p. 7 (Republished as *Our War: A View of World War I From Inside an Australian Family*, Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1981). Page references are to the 1980 edition. See also Brian Lewis, *Sunday at Kooyong Road*, Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1976.
- 2 Ibid. p. 11.
- 3 See Douglas Newton, "'We have sprung at a bound': Australia's leap into the Great War, July–August 1914", *La Trobe Journal* no. 96 (this issue), p. 6, and Douglas Newton, *Hell-Bent: Australia's Leap into the Great War*, Melbourne: Scribe, 2014.
- 4 *Argus*, 3 Aug. 1914, p. 14, confirmed in *Horsham Times*, 6 Aug. 1914, p. 6.
- 5 For the clergy: Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914–1918*, Sydney & Canberra: Catholic Theological Faculty; Australian War Memorial, 1989, chpt. 3.
- 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.
- 10 TP Boland, *Thomas Carr: Archbishop of Melbourne*, University of Queensland Press, 1991, pp. 404–05.
- 11 McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, 1989, p. 30.
- 12 As at the 1911 Commonwealth census: *Victorian Year-Book, 1911–12*, Melbourne: Government Printer, [1912], p. 546.
- 13 Lewis, *Sunday at Kooyong Road*, 1976, pp. 36, 56–57.
- 14 HJ Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860–1930*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press 1987, p. 170.
- 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.
- 16 Thomas Mallon, *A Book of One's Own*, London: Picador, 1985, pp. 10–12; Katie Holmes, *Spaces in Her Day: Australian Women's Diaries 1920s–1930s*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin 1985, p. xv.
- 17 Holmes, *Spaces in Her Day*, 1985, p. xiii.
- 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.
- 22 Janet McCalman, *Journeyings: The Biography of a Middle-Class Generation 1920–1990*, Melbourne University Press, 1993, pp. 61, 55

- 23 McCalman, *Journeyings*, 1993, p. 55.
- 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.
- 26 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 57; 1914 Commonwealth Electoral Rolls for Lottah, Tasmania.
- 27 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 104.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 31 Lewis, *Sunday at Kooyong Road*, 1976, p. 15.
- 32 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 27.
- 33 Ernest Scott, *Australia During the War*, 6th edn, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1940, pp. 505–07.
- 34 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, pp. 90–91.
- 35 See Smart, 'A divided national capital: Melbourne in the Great War', in this issue, p. 28; Judith Smart, 'Feminists, food and the fair price: the cost of living demonstrations in Melbourne, August–September, 1917' *Labour History*, no. 50, 1986, p. 115; Charles Fahey & John Lack, 'The Great Strike of 1917 in Victoria: looking fore and aft, and from below', in Frank Bongiorno, Raelene Frances & Bruce Scates (eds), *Labour and the Great War: The Australian Working Class and the Making of Anzac*, special issue of *Labour History*, no. 106, 2014, pp. 69–97; John Lack, 'Class or nation? Worker loyalties in Melbourne during the Great War', *Victorian Historical Journal* (forthcoming).
- 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.
- 37 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 41.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 42 Fay Anderson & Richard Trembath, *Witnesses to War: The History of Australian Conflict Reporting*, Melbourne University Press, 2011.
- 43 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 45.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 45 Germany recorded 116,000 killed and 400,00 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).
- 46 Richard Holmes (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 478.
- 47 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 174.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- 50 LL Robson, *Australia and the Great War*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1970, p. 8.
- 51 The last sourced by Tom from a two-page 'War Special', *Herald*, 5 May 1915.
- 52 *Victorian Year-Book 1919–20*, Melbourne: AM Laughton, Government Statist n.d., p. 101.
- 53 NAA 2455/617. These army records of Leo Patrick Purcell are incorrectly listed as those of Leslie Patrick Purcell.
- 54 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 141.
- 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.
- 58 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, pp. 100, 153.
- 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.
- 62 Report of General Legge, Chief of the General Staff, to the Minister of Defence: *Argus*, 29 December 1914, p. 4.
- 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.
- 66 Williams, *Anzacs, the Media and the Great War*, 1999, p. 135.
- 67 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 213.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 1980, p. 214.
- 69 Williams, *Anzacs, the Media and the Great*

- War, 1999, pp. 121, 130.
- 70 Anderson & Trembath, *Witnesses to War*, 2011, p. 70.
- 71 Purcell, Diary, 10 Sep. 1916.
- 72 Ibid., 13 Sep. 1916.
- 73 Anderson & Trembath, *Witnesses to War*, 2011, pp. 70, 71; Williams, *Anzacs, the Media and the Great War*, 1999, p. 148.
- 74 Anderson & Trembath, *Witnesses to War*, 2011, p. 73.
- 75 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, pp. 216–17.
- 76 Ibid., 1980, p. 191.
- 77 Ibid., 1980, p. 70.
- 78 Ibid., 1980, p. 191.
- 79 Ibid., 1980, p. 218. Lewis is correct in stating that Mannix spoke from a stronger position once he became archbishop (*Our War*, 1980, p. 273).
- 80 See Brenda Niall, *Mannix*, Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2015, p. 77: 'Although Mannix expressed doubts about the war, the Catholic community had no reason to worry about his basic loyalty in 1914 and 1915.' All of Mannix's private papers were, on his instructions, destroyed on his death.
- 81 McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, 1989, pp. 110–11. On conscription, Lewis writes that 'The Presbyterians were less enthusiastic' than other Protestant churches (*Our War*, 1980, p. 218). McKernan's evidence of support from the Commission of the Presbyterian Assembly, the *Presbyterian Messenger*, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, and the Public Questions Committee of the Victorian Presbyterian Church, would seem to be conclusive on this point (pp. 115–18).
- 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.
- 86 Niall, *Mannix*, 2015, p. 70. Val Noone, 'Class factors in the radicalisation of Archbishop Daniel Mannix, 1913–17', *Labour History*, no. 106, 2014, pp. 189–204; Val Noone, 'Parish priest of West Melbourne', in Val Noone & Rachel Naughton (eds), *Daniel Mannix: His Legacy*, East Melbourne: Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission, Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, 2014, pp. 115–20.
- 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 gently 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.
- 93 Noone, 'Class factors', 2014, p. 190. For an extended treatment of radical protest in Melbourne, see Smart, See Smart, 'A divided national capital', p. 28, and her article 'Respect not relief: feminism, guild socialism and the guild hall commune in Melbourne 1917', *Labour History*, no. 94, 2008, pp. 113–32.
- 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).
- 97 *Age*, 13 Feb. 1917, p. 6.

- 98 Patrick Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix: Catholics in Public Life 1880–1920*, Ballan, Vic: Connor Court Publishing, 2012, pp. 159–62.
- 99 Noone, 'Class factors', 2014, p. 202.
- 100 Purcell, Diary, 5, 6 Mar. 1915. That is, all except the apprentices and perhaps the younger improvers were discharged.
- 101 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 180.
- 102 *Independent* (Footscray), 24 Nov. 1917, p. 1; 1 Dec. 1917, p. 3.
- 103 Purcell, Diary, 1 Sep. 1917.
- 104 Fahey & Lack, 'The Great Strike of 1917 in Victoria', 2014, p. 90.
- 105 Lewis, *Sunday at Kooyong Road*, 1976, p. 76.
- 106 Fahey & Lack, 'The Great Strike of 1917 in Victoria', 2014, pp. 88–93.
- 107 Lewis, *Our War*, 1980, p. 70: 'the riff-raff Irish'; p. 148: 'the Irish ... disloyal and disreputable'.
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- 138 These enlistment figures are estimated from data obtained from the AIF Project, UNSW Canberra ([aif.adfa.edu.au/index.html](http://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 (3262), 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%.
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#### Damousi: John Springthorpe's war

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#### Laing: World war and worldly women

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- 25 'The children who saved Hamburg', *School Paper*, V-VI, Aug. 1912, pp. 105-07.
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- 27 'The land of the Germans', *School Paper*, III-IV, Aug. 1914, pp. 118-20.
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- 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.).

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- 32 For examples of William Gillies' textbooks, see *Stories in English History for Young Australians*, Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, [1901?]; *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].
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### Hughes: Remembrance

- 1 Some sites have faded from memory over time, generally overtaken by the Villers-Brettonneux 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.
- 2 KS Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Carlton: Miegunyah Press, MUP, 1998, pp. 123–24.
- 3 See Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2013.
- 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](http://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

- of the Australian Imperial Force, who died at Gallipoli (Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 1998, pp. 76–77). An unknown soldier was returned to the Hall of Memory, AWM, Canberra, in 1993.
- 11 See notes 21 and 49 for an indication of cost.
  - 12 This was not the case later. By 1918 Montgomery was seriously short of glass, and was waiting up to six months for shipments to arrive, which caused a backlog of orders. For details, see Bronwyn Hughes, 'Designing stained glass for Australia 1887–1927: the art and professional life of William Montgomery', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2007, chpt 2.
  - 13 Osborne O'Hara matriculated from Melbourne Church of England Grammar School. Ben Thomas, Art Curator, Trinity College, the University of Melbourne, pers. comm. with the author, 27 Apr. 2015.
  - 14 By June 1915, 138 Trinity old boys were serving as officers, chaplains and medicos. Only three deaths had been recorded at that time: Edward Bage, Herbert H Hunter and Osborne O'Hara (*Church of England Messenger*, 4 Jun. 1915, p. 1788). By December 1915, 205 were listed on Trinity's Roll of Honour, eight of whom were killed in France or Gallipoli (*Church of England Messenger*, 31 Dec. 1915, p. 9).
  - 15 'If you do not mind I should prefer the St Alban, & will, unless you wish otherwise, make him the subject of the window' (William Montgomery, letter to Dr Leeper, 16 Apr. 1915, Letterbooks 1/522, National Gallery of Australia Research Collection (henceforth NGARC)). Montgomery went on to make more than 90 commemorative windows over the next 12 years; he died while designing the cycle of windows for the Warrior Chapel, All Saints Anglican Cathedral, Bathurst.
  - 16 Colin Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: A History of St Peter's Eastern Hill 1846–1990*, Carlton: MUP, 1996, pp. 110–12.
  - 17 For details on the cult of chivalry in nineteenth-century Britain, see Mark Girouard, *The Return of Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, p. 8; Shane Carmody, 'The naked saint: Sir J Edgar Boehm's St George and the Dragon', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 87, May 2011, pp. 116–35.
  - 18 North's ground plan for the chapel noted 'The second (2nd) stained glass window is to be placed here [north wall of the sanctuary]. The Rev. Brown desires design for this window ... Mr. Montgomery'. Drawing J.3606 Sheet No. 1, North Drawings, Private collection.
  - 19 Brown vetoed Montgomery's suggestions for pivotal figures from English history and literature, believing them inappropriate exemplars for the boys (William Montgomery, letter to Rev Brown, 22 Jan. 1917, Letterbook 1/644, (uncatalogued), NGARC).
  - 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.
  - 26 *Church of England Messenger*, vol. 46, no. 752, 13 Jul. 1917, p. 368.
  - 27 *Church of England Messenger*, vol. 53, no. 856, 8 Jul. 1921, p. 334; vol. 53, no. 857, 22 Jul. 1921, p. 348.
  - 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.

- 34 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).
- 35 Churchwardens, St. Columb's, Hawthorn, letter to William Montgomery, 17 Jul., 1920, accepting design at a cost of £315, WMC SLV.
- 36 Holden, pers. comm., 7 Nov. 2007.
- 37 Chauvel was in the greatest demand in rural towns where light horsemen were most often recruited. Later he became Australia's first full general.
- 38 Extracts from the Order of Service, Sunday 14 Nov. 1920. WMC SLV.
- 39 *Church of England Messenger*, vol. 55, no. 900, 15 Mar. 1923, pp. 143–44.
- 40 Montgomery, letter to Brown, 20 Feb. 1922, Letterbooks 4/833, NGARC. It is the first time Montgomery uses his title as a Lambeth DD, which was conferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury (*The Church of England Messenger*, vol. 52, no. 842, 21 Dec. 1920, p. 610).
- 41 William Montgomery, letter to LA Adamson, 26 Jun., 1919, NGARC.
- 42 *The vigil* might also be read as a new interpretation of the *Agony in the garden*. The sources of many stained-glass windows were interpretations of nineteenth-century paintings by either Heinrich Hofmann or E. Goodman. See B. Hughes, 'Twentieth century stained glass in Melbourne churches' (MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 1997), for a discussion on the second- and third-hand use of paintings for stained glass.
- 43 Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 1998, pp. 52–55. The *Church of England Messenger* printed a photograph of the Australian 'digger', with slouch hat and puttees, standing at-ease in front of the crossed Australian flag and Union Jack in April 1915. It became the masthead for a regular column, 'Work among the soldiers' (vol. 44, no. 694, 23 Apr. 1915, p. 1708).
- 44 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.
- 45 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.
- 46 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.
- 47 *Trainee*, vol. 14, no. 5, Oct. 1920, pp. 8–9.
- 48 *Trainee*, vol. 14, no. 5, Oct. 1920, p. 4.
- 49 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.
- 50 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).
- 51 *Argus*, 22 Oct. 1923, p. 9.
- 52 A third window, *St Martin*, was planned. It was made and installed by Brooks Robinson & Co. in 1929, after Montgomery's death.
- 53 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 10" x 7 1/2" (25 x 19 cm) mounted but unframed for 1/-. *Graphic*, vol. XCIII, no. 2406, 8 Jan. 1916.
- 54 *Graphic*, vol. 92, no. 2380, 10 Jul. 1915.
- 55 *Ecclesia*, Jan. 1916, quoted in Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 1996, p. 112; *Advocate*, vol. 48, no. 2276, 6 May 1916, p. 14.
- 56 Presented to the church by parishioners, Mr and Mrs WH Harbour and family. A faculty was granted by the Archbishop for its erection in the church (*Church of England Messenger*, vol. 53, no. 846, 18 Feb. 1921, p. 85).
- 57 English stained-glass artists made adjustments to the original too, for instance, a kilted soldier, with bagpipes at St Nicholas' Church, Wallsey in Cheshire and several additional angels at St Clements' Church, Terrington, Norfolk.
- 58 *Graphic*, vol. 92, no. 2401, 4 Dec., 1915.
- 59 Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 1998, p. 131.