

# Notes

- Molloy: The Melbourne Public Library at war**
- 1 E La Touche Armstrong, 'Fifty years of the Public Library: some recollections and notes', n.d. [1944–46], M 5583, M 5584, M 5622, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (SLV).
  - 2 David McVilly, 'Armstrong, Edmund la Touche (1864–1946)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/armstrong-edmund-la-touche-5052/text8421, published first in hardcopy 1979, accessed 30 May 2016.
  - 3 Armstrong, 'Fifty years of the Public Library', p. 13; *Report by the Library Staff Disaffection Committee*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1910; a play was subsequently written and performed on this episode, see Susan Gore & Bill Garner, 'The terms and grammar of creation: a play in two acts', photocopy of typescript, MS 14631, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
  - 4 RH Croll, *I Recall: Collections and Recollections*, Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens Ltd, 1939, p. 15.
  - 5 Armstrong, 'Fifty years of the Public Library', pp. 38, 40.
  - 6 Croll, *I Recall*, pp. 14–15.
  - 7 'Library Staff' [State Library of Victoria, 1895], H16881, Pictures Collection, SLV, handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/153110. Many of these staff were still employed by the Library during World War I. Back row: Armstrong, Brazier, Schiller, Kerr. Sitting: Irving, Batty, Boys, Dowden, Bryant, Quirk.
  - 8 For a discussion on the role and appointment of trustees, see Armstrong, 'Fifty years of the Public Library', pp. 6–8. Armstrong's vision for the future of the Library is evident throughout his manuscript. An early paper by Armstrong hints at the seriousness with which he took the profession, and his understanding of its growing complexities (see 'The librarian and his work', *Proceedings of the First Australasian Library Conference*, 21–24 Apr. 1896, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1896, pp. 28–32).
  - 9 'Notes on the Armstrongs of the Border and some Irish and Australian Descendants', pp. 15–16, MS RA.2016.18, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
  - 10 McVilly, 'Armstrong, Edmund La Touche (1864–1946)'.
    - 11 For Michael McKernan, the result of the 1916 referendum on conscription manifested itself in a clear middle-class–working-class split in Victorian society (*Victoria at War 1914–1918*, Sydney: NewSouth Publishing in association with the State Library of Victoria, 2014, p. 168).
    - 12 An initial study was completed in 1975, see David McVilly, 'A history of the State Library of Victoria 1853–1974', MA thesis, Monash University, 1975. However, McVilly does not touch on World War I.
    - 13 Edmund La Touche Armstrong, *The Book of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, 1856–1906*, Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, 1906; and, Edmund La Touche Armstrong & Robert Douglass Boys, *The Book of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of 1906–1931*, Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, 1932.
    - 14 Henry Gyles Turner, Addresses 1913–1914 and 1916–1917, Melbourne Public Library, MS 12989, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
    - 15 On the complexities of labour and politics in Melbourne during these years see Judith Smart, 'A divided national capital: Melbourne in the Great War', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 96, Sep. 2015, pp. 28–58.
    - 16 JM Bennett, 'Notes on the life of Sir William Hill Irvine: chief justice and politician', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 48, no. 4, 1977, p. 297.
    - 17 John Rickard, *H.B. Higgins. The Rebel as Judge*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1984, pp. 170–75.
    - 18 Armstrong, 'Fifty years of the Public Library', p. 3.
    - 19 *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria for 1916*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1917, p. 2.
    - 20 W Boyd Rayward & Christine Jenkins, 'Libraries in times of war, revolution, and social change', *Library Trends*, vol. 55, no. 3, Winter 2007, p. 362.
    - 21 The issue of not having municipal libraries in Melbourne, or a national library in Australia, is central to the context in which Armstrong discusses the role of the Melbourne Public Library (Armstrong, 'Fifty years of the Public Library', p. 13a).
    - 22 See, 'Public Library Melbourne', c. 1920, H96.1/5, Pictures Collection, SLV, search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:SLV\_VOYAGER1755252; taken from a distance

- the Domed Reading Room dominates the surrounding inner-city skyline for miles.
- 23 'New Public Library. Reading Room complete. A vast dome', *Argus* (Melbourne), 6 Nov. 1913, p. 7.
- 24 Armstrong & Boys, *The Book of the Public Library ... 1906-1931*, pp. 22-23; 'War in history. Lecture by Dr Fitchett', *Argus*, 18 Sep. 1913, p. 10.
- 25 'New Public Library', *Argus*, 6 Nov. 1913, p. 7.
- 26 'Interior of Queen's Hall showing a member of staff sitting at the Enquiries window', c. 1910, H4716, H4717-H4720, H4752-H4757, Pictures Collection, SLV, handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/143664
- 27 'New Public Library', *Argus*, 6 Nov. 1913, p. 7.
- 28 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1916*, p. 4.
- 29 Shane Carmody, 'William H. Robinson, booksellers and the Public Library of Victoria', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 81, Autumn 2008, p. 92.
- 30 Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, vol. 2, Sydney: William Brooks & Co., n.d., pp. 134-35.
- 31 On German libraries of the period, their organisation, and scientific publications recommended by the Public Library's staff member E Morris Miller to the Public Library's Books Committee see, Miller, 'Some Public Library memories, 1900-1913', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 35, Apr. 1985, pp. 75-76.
- 32 Armstrong & Boys, *The Book of the Public Library ... 1906-1931*, p. 26.
- 33 'Meeting of the Books Committee 23 March 1915', Library Books Committee, 1912-1918, vol. 41, MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV; Armstrong & Boys, *The Book of the Public Library ... 1906-1931*, p. 29.
- 34 For details on Sotheran & Co. during the Great War and the changes to its business, see Victor Gray, *Bookmen: London: 250 Years of Sotheran Bookselling*, London: Henry Sotheran Ltd, 2011.
- 35 Gray, *Bookmen*, pp. 222-23.
- 36 L Stanley Jast, *What Public Libraries Can Do During and After the War*, London: The Library Association, 1915, p. 2.
- 37 Jast, *What Public Libraries Can do During and After the War*, p. 6.
- 38 Armstrong & Boys, *The Book of the Public Library ... 1906-1931*, p. 15.
- 39 For the role of public libraries in countries similarly distant from the war, see Wayne A Wiegand, *An Active Instrument for Propaganda. The American Public Library during World War I*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1989, especially chpt. 3, 'In service to the state; following national direction, 1917-1918'.
- 40 *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, for 1915*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1916, p. 4. See also *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, for 1917* on the death of staff member Mr LV D'A Slattery in France (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1918, p. 4). See Olga Tsara, 'World War I posters from the State Library Victoria collection', *La Trobe Journal*, no 98, Sep. 2016, pp.62-76
- 41 William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies: Published According to the True Originall Copies*, London: Printed by Tho. Cotes for Robert Allot, 1632 [2nd impression].
- 42 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1916*, p. 4.
- 43 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1916*, p. 4.
- 44 'Accession Book of the Public Library 1916-1918, Nos. 244985-255556', pp. 11-12, 18, 26-28, 32, 105, 151, 201, MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV,
- 45 'Accession Book of the Public Library 1919-1920, Nos. 266345-277593', p. 6, MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
- 46 For example see 'Accession Book of the Public Library 1921-22', entry no. 278169 for F Harris, *England or Germany*, New York: Wilmarth Press, 1915, with the remarks 'Detained by Customs Dept in 1916 and released in April 1921', MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
- 47 See '1 - The Public Library', *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria for 1918*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1919, p. 4. It was later hoped by Monash that, with the building of the Shrine of Remembrance, soldiers' records could be housed in the Crypt (see Bruce Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 134).
- 48 'Public Library, Museum and National Gallery (later the State Library of Victoria) from Swanston Street', c. 1917, H9209, Pictures Collection, SLV, search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:SLV\_VOYAGER1718637; note the hoarding, bottom right; includes soldier with bayonet; full text indecipherable.
- 49 For brief details on Leeper see, JR Poynter, 'Leeper, Alexander (1848-1934)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/leeper-alexander-7154/text12353, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed 30 May 2016.
- 50 'War in history', *Argus*, 18 Sep. 1913, p. 10.

- 51 Iain McCalman, 'Turner, Henry Gyles (1831–1920)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/turner-henry-gyles-4760/text7909, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed 30 May 2016.
- 52 Henry Gyles Turner, 'The war with some thoughts on its aftermath in Australia. A lecture delivered at the Public Library 7th June 1916', Addresses 1913–1914; 1916–1917', p. 8, MS 8062, SLV.
- 53 Henry Gyles Turner, 'War and literature. A lecture for the Winter Course 1917 at the Public Library, Melbourne', pp. 36–38, MS 8062, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
- 54 'Stock Book 1916–1918', pp. 11–12, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
- 55 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1918*, p. 5.
- 56 Smart, 'A divided national capital', p. 35.
- 57 See this issue, John Arnold, 'Commemorating staff who served: the Great War Honour Board at State Library Victoria', *La Trobe Journal*, no 98, Sep. 2016, pp. 136–40.
- 58 'World War I commemorative statue, "The Driver", on the South Lawn of the State Library of Victoria', H37350, Pictures Collection, SLV, handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/270699; "Wipers", World War One commemorative statue', H2008.11/2030, H2008.11/2031, H2008.11/2032, Pictures Collection, SLV, handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/55689. Both statues were removed in 1998 and transferred to the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne.
- Hughes: World War I correspondence of William Montgomery**
- 1 The details of Mont Montgomery's war service are taken from his service record, Montgomery William, B2455, National Archives of Australia (NAA), unless otherwise cited.
- 2 Of the four battalions in the brigade, the 24th was originally made up of South Australians, and was not formed as a Victorian unit until a week before sailing.
- 3 Mont was buried at Tincourt New British Cemetery, a few miles from Peronne, France. The author visited his grave in 2003.
- 4 Mont's letters were part of the larger collection of his father, William Montgomery (1850–1927), who was Melbourne's leading stained glass artist for the last 40 years of his life. The rich collection of papers, drawings and memorabilia was the gift to State Library Victoria from his grandsons, Michael and Christopher Montgomery, on behalf of the Montgomery family (Montgomery Papers, MS 15414).
- 5 A few examples: John Monash, *War Letters of General Monash* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc. Books, 2015); Scott Bennett, *Pozières: The Anzac Story* (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Australia, 2012); Eric Partridge, annotated by Geoffrey Serle, *Frank Honywood, Private: A Personal Record of War 1914–1918* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1987); Edward PF Lynch, *Somme Mud* (Sydney: Random House, 2006); Eric Evans, *So Far from Home* (East Roseville, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 2002); Archie Barwick, *In Great Spirits: The WWI Diary of Archie Barwick* (Sydney South: HarperCollins, 2013).
- 6 The author is preparing a collection of the letters for publication.
- 7 Mont to his stepmother, May (his mother, Harriet, died in 1900 when Mont was aged 10), n.d., Box 27/1, MS 15414, Montgomery Papers, State Library of Victoria.
- 8 HMAT *Ulysses* carried 21st and 22nd battalions and Brigade Headquarters in the company of HMAT *Euripides*, which took on board 23rd and 24th battalions.
- 9 Mont to William Montgomery, undated letter from Heliopolis Camp, Egypt, Box 27/1.
- 10 Mont to May Montgomery, 25 Aug. 1915, Box 27/1.
- 11 Eric Carpenter, 'Sunken hopes', *Wartime*, no. 28, 2004, pp. 36–39.
- 12 Carpenter, 'Sunken hopes', p. 39.
- 13 Mont wrote from Gallipoli after the event. It is unclear which ship picked him up, possibly the hospital ship *Neuralia* (Mont to William and May Montgomery, n.d., Box 27/2).
- 14 Carpenter, 'Sunken hopes', p. 39; Mont put the number of dead at 43 (Mont to William and May, n.d., Box 27/2).
- 15 Colonel Richard Linton was buried in East Mudros Cemetery; his grave sighted by the author 2015 (Linton, Richard, B2455, NAA).
- 16 Carpenter, 'Sunken hopes', pp. 38–39. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Arnold Crowther DSO survived the war and re-enlisted in World War II (1939–42) (B884, V80467, NAA).
- 17 Mont wore the same tunic, now in tatters, back to Lemnos after the December evacuation (Mont to May Montgomery, 23 Sep. 1915, Box 27/2).
- 18 Mont to William Montgomery, 15 Oct. 1915, Box 27/2.
- 19 Mont to May Montgomery, 23 Sep. 1915.
- 20 Mont to William Montgomery 15 Oct. 1915.
- 21 Mont did not mind the bombs and shells,

- it was the fleas, lice and lack of a bath that perturbed him most (Mont to William Montgomery, 11 Jan. 1916, Box 27/3).
- 22 These positions were held by the same companies for most of the time that 21st Battalion was on the peninsula. In early November there was a reshuffle of positions and D Company moved out of Courtney's Post taking over Tambour, then transferred to Lone Pine shortly before evacuation (AR Macneil (ed.), *The Story of the Twenty-First: Being the Official History of the 21st Battalion of the A.I.F.*, Melbourne: 21st Battalion Association, 1971 (1920), p. 9; AIF 21st Battalion Unit diary, AWM 4 23/38/3 and AWM 4 23/38/4, Australian War Memorial (AWM)).
- 23 Mont to William Montgomery, 12 Nov. 1915, Box 27/2.
- 24 Mont to William and May Montgomery, n.d. [no date allowed], Box 27/2.
- 25 James Drummond Burns was buried by the 21st Battalion chaplain, the Rev. D Macrae Stewart, a colleague of Burns's father, who was also a minister of the Presbyterian Church. The author visited the grave at Shrapnel Valley Cemetery in 2015. See *In the Dawning of the Day: In Memoriam J. D. Burns ...*, [Melbourne: Scotch College, c. 1916] with photographs of the soldier, his poetry and a number of tributes to Corporal Burns. Mont to William Montgomery, 19 Sep. 1915, Box 27/2.
- 26 Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, p. 10. Details of the evacuation plans and execution were reported by Captain Duggan and attached to the battalion unit diary AWM 4 23/38/4, AWM .
- 27 Copy of Mont [to William Montgomery], 11 Jan. 1916, Box 27/3. Duggan's and Crowther's parties left the front trenches at 2.30 am and 2.48 am respectively on 20 December, along with the adjutant and RMO, who also remained to the last (Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, p. 10).
- 28 Mont evacuated from Gallipoli on the *Alcantara* in the early morning of 20 December 1915. Copy of Mont [to William Montgomery], 5 Jan. 1916, 16 Jan. 1916, Box 27/3.
- 29 'Somewhere in France' was Mont's usual address throughout 1916.
- 30 Mont to May Montgomery, 9 Apr. 1916, Box 27/3.
- 31 Mont to May Montgomery, 9 Apr. 1916.
- 32 While he was on the peninsula, Mont was promoted to lance corporal and was therefore looking out for his men; a month later he was made corporal (Montgomery, William, B2455, NAA).
- 33 Mont to William Montgomery, 26 Jun. 1916, Box 27/3.
- 34 Mont to William Montgomery, 26 Jun. 1916.
- 35 Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, pp. 15–16.
- 36 Mont to William Montgomery, 12 Sep. 1916, Box 27/3.
- 37 Mont to William Montgomery, 5 Dec. 1916, Box 27/3.
- 38 There were nine officers and 61 other ranks killed; 14 officers, 459 other ranks wounded; one known prisoner of war; and 131 men missing. The 21st Battalion did not regain its full strength again until September 1917 (Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, p. 17).
- 39 Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, p. 17.
- 40 Mont to unnamed family member, 16 Oct. 1916, containing a detailed, uncensored explanation of events. The letter was entrusted to Sergeant Murrell MC to post from England, and thereby escaped the usual censorship (Box 3/5).
- 41 Mont to William Montgomery, begun on 5 December 1916 at Flescelles, about 16 kilometres from Amiens, and completed and posted in England (Box 27/3).
- 42 Mont to May Montgomery, 8 Jan. 1916, Box 27/4.
- 43 Mont to William Montgomery, 5 Dec. 1916, Box 27/3; copy of letter dated 19 Dec. 1916, Box 27/3.
- 44 Mont to May Montgomery, 9 Jun. 1917, Box 27/5; this letter was written after several months' convalescence.
- 45 Mont to William Montgomery, 5 Dec. 1916.
- 46 Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, p. 18.
- 47 Mont to William Montgomery, 26 Apr. 1917, Box 25/5.
- 48 Casualties stood at 534: officers – 10 killed, 14 wounded; other ranks – 57 killed, 417 wounded; 60 were reported missing (Jonathan Walker, *The Blood Tub: General Gough and the Battle for Bullecourt 1917*, Staplehurst, Kent: Spellmount Ltd., 2000).
- 49 Mont to William Montgomery, 24 Jun. 1917, Box 27/4. He found that his former company commander on Gallipoli, Captain, now Major, Bernard OC Duggan, was officer in command of 21st Battalion (AIF 21 Battalion Unit Diary, AWM 4/23/38/22 Jun. 1917, AWM).
- 50 About 20 shells a day were landing well in their rear; Mont believed that the Germans were either short of metal or poor observers (Mont to William Montgomery, 24 Jun. 1917).

- 51 Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, p. 22.
- 52 Telegram from Mont to his father from Newcastle, England, 13 Dec. 1916, Box 27/3.
- 53 Mont to William Montgomery, 10 Oct. 1917, Box 4/5.
- 54 Postcards from Mont to his family, 26 Nov. 1917, Box 27/4.
- 55 Mont to William Montgomery, 10 Oct. 1917.
- 56 Mont to William Montgomery, 8 Jan. 1918, Box 4/7.
- 57 Mont to William Montgomery, 8 Jan. 1918.
- 58 Mont to William Montgomery, 20 [Apr.?] 1918, Box 3/1.
- 59 Mont to William Montgomery, 17 Jul. 1918, Box 4/7.
- 60 Moore's Timber Yard was a large business in City Road, South Melbourne (Mont to William Montgomery, 18 Aug. 1918, Box 3/1).
- 61 For an overview of this decisive battle, see Michele Bomford, *The Battle of Mont St. Quentin-Peronne 1918* (Canberra: 11-Australian Army Campaign Series, Army History Unit, 2012); for a detailed account of 21st Battalion's part, see Peter Stanley, *The Men of Mont St Quentin: Between Victory and Death* (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications Pty Ltd, Melbourne 2009).
- 62 Mont to May Montgomery 8 Sep. 1918, Box 3/1.
- 63 AWM 4 23/38/37 – September 1918/RCDIG1003861, AWM.
- 64 21st Battalion, barely able to muster a company, was officially disbanded on 13 October, when it became part of 24 Battalion (Macneil, *The Story of the Twenty-First*, p. 32).
- 65 Chaplain Sydney Buckley to William Montgomery, 21 Oct. 1918, Box 3/5.
- 66 The Montgomery family received letters from Colonel Duggan, Officer Commanding 21st Battalion; Mont's friend Adrian Lawlor, the artist; and several of the men who served alongside him, including Private James Watson, one of the men who risked his life to retrieve Mont under fire.
- 67 Ross McMullin, *Farewell, Dear People*, Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe, 2012.

#### Claven: Evelyn Hutt World War I Collection

- 1 The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of the Hutt family – Judith Gunnarsson and Deb Stewart – in the compilation of this article. The album contains 68 photographs identified as being taken on Lemnos during the Gallipoli campaign, with a further seven that were most likely also taken on Lemnos.
- 2 Evelyn's daughter, Judith Gunnarsson, does not believe that Evelyn used a camera

during her service. It appears not to have been uncommon for soldiers who took photographs – such as AW Savage from the 3rd Australian General Hospital – to provide copies of photographs to other service personnel (as evidenced in the copies of Savage's photographs that are held in different archives). There are also many photographs featuring Evelyn and her friends, however, which indicate that they were taken on request.

- 3 CEW Bean describes the advantages of Lemnos and the reasons for its selection (*The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918*, vol. 1, *The Story of Anzac*, facsimile edn, University of Queensland Press & Australian War Memorial, 1981, pp. 184–85). Lemnos was described at the time as the advanced base for the campaign, with Alexandria being the main base (see, *The Dardanelles Commission 1914–16*, London: The Stationery Office, 2001 [1917], p. 130).
- 4 Service Record of Sister Evelyn Hutt, B2455, National Archives of Australia (NAA), [discoveringanzacs.naa.gov.au/browse/records/290255](https://discoveringanzacs.naa.gov.au/browse/records/290255), accessed 6 Nov. 2015. Referred to below as Evelyn Hutt's Service Record.
- 5 Matron in Charge, General Hospital Hobart, letter of commendation, 4 May 1915, MS 15166, Evelyn Hutt Collection, State Library of Victoria (SLV).
- 6 AIF, 3rd AGH and Reinforcements, Nominal Roll, AWM 26/67/3, RCDIG1067715, Australian War Memorial (AWM).
- 7 My research estimates that 109 nurses served solely at the 3rd AGH, 17 at the 2nd Australian Stationary Hospital (ASH) and a further 10 nurses at both. This estimation is drawn from AWM information, such as unit nominal rolls and unit diaries; service records held by the NAA; the Australian Official Medical history of the Gallipoli campaign (AG Butler, *The Official History of Australian Army Medical Services in the War of 1914–1918*, vol. 1, *Gallipoli, Palestine and New Guinea*, Melbourne: Australian War Memorial, 1930) and the research of Dr Kirsty Harris of the University of Melbourne.
- 8 A further 736 patients were being treated at the other Australian field hospital on Lemnos, the 2nd ASH (Butler, *The Official History of Australian Army Medical Services*, p. 336).
- 9 Between 7 August and 11 November, 96,943 sick and wounded arrived in Mudros Harbour from the beaches and, during the same period, 100,258 sick and wounded left the harbour for Egypt, Malta, Gibraltar and

- England (Butler, *The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, pp. 336–38, 396).
- 10 Of these, 4795 were shipped to Egypt, 4136 to Malta and 1260 to England (Butler, *The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, p. 332).
  - 11 Grace Wilson, quoted in Jan Bassett, *Guns and Brooches: Australian Army Nursing from the Boer War to the Gulf War*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 46.
  - 12 Reflecting the disorganisation that bedevilled the whole campaign, the hospital's medical equipment was sent to Alexandria instead of Lemnos and did not arrive on the island until 22 August (Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, p. 46).
  - 13 Judith Gunnarsson, 'WWI memories of Evelyn Hutt', typescript, MS 15166, Evelyn Hutt Collection, SLV.
  - 14 Judith Gunnarsson, 'Address in honour of Nurse Evelyn Hutt, 3rd Australian General Hospital, Lemnos 1915', in *Lemnos Gallipoli Memorial: The Unveiling Event and Key Speeches*, pp. 30–31, [lemnosgallipolicc.blogspot.com.au/2015/10/lemnos-gallipoli-unveiling-speeches.html](http://lemnosgallipolicc.blogspot.com.au/2015/10/lemnos-gallipoli-unveiling-speeches.html), accessed 6 Nov. 2015.
  - 15 Rachel Pratt, 'Nursing at Lemnos, August–December 1915', *Reveille*, vol. 6, no. 12, 1 Aug. 1933.
  - 16 Michael Tyquin, *Gallipoli – The Medical War*, University of NSW Press, 1993, p. 216. More than half of the diggers buried in Lemnos's military cemeteries died of disease. Out of the 148 diggers buried on Lemnos, 78 died due to illness, 68 having been killed in action or dying of wounds, with two dying due to accidents. Sourced from the service records of the 148 diggers buried on Lemnos held by the NAA.
  - 17 Evelyn Hutt's service record does not indicate that she was ever admitted to hospital on Lemnos due to illness.
  - 18 Matron Wilson, quoted in Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, p. 46.
  - 19 He recovered, returned to Gallipoli and finally came again to Lemnos in December. He survived the war (Gunnarsson, 'WWI memories of Evelyn Hutt'; Service Record of Sergeant 1409 Robert Alexander Murdoch, B2455, NAA, [discovinganzacs.naa.gov.au/browse/records/300128](http://discovinganzacs.naa.gov.au/browse/records/300128), accessed 6 Nov. 2015).
  - 20 Butler's example indicates that, up to 15 October 1915, only 77 out of 3906 cases admitted to the 3rd AGH died – a rate just less than 2 per cent (*The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, p. 395).
  - 21 Quoted in Catherine McCullagh, *Willingly into the Fray – 100 years of Australian Army nursing*, Newport, NSW: Big Sky Publishing, 2010, p. 35.
  - 22 Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, p. 52.
  - 23 The hospital accommodated over 1000 beds and, over its eight months in operation, treated 7400 patients, of whom 143 died (Evelyn Hutt's Service Record and 'Nurses at Gallipoli: Overview: The 3rd AGH (Australian General Hospital) Lemnos Island, Greece, 1915', *Gallipoli and the Anzacs*, [www.gallipoli.gov.au/nurses-at-gallipoli/index.php](http://www.gallipoli.gov.au/nurses-at-gallipoli/index.php), accessed 6 Nov. 2015).
  - 24 Recollection of Judith Gunnarsson, Evelyn Hutt's daughter, as told to the author in 2015.
  - 25 Gunnarsson, 'WWI memories of Evelyn Hutt'.
  - 26 Evelyn Hutt's Service Record.
  - 27 The Matron-in-Charge, British Expeditionary Force, wrote to the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) requesting that it be led by its matron, Miss Davidson, along with 27 of its Australian nurses. The AIF's Director of Medical Services, Major General Neville Howse, approved the deployment. The initial complement of 27 nurses was added to by the arrival of a further eight Australian nurses (Butler, *The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, pp. 577–78). Evelyn was one of the initial complement of Australian nurses to serve here, arriving in Genoa on 19 November 1917 (Evelyn Hutt's Service Record).
  - 28 Another Australian who served in Italy was the pioneer aviator Herbert Hinkler. As a 2nd lieutenant with the 28th Royal Air Force between August and November 1918, he flew over 50 operations (Norman MacMillan, *Offensive Patrol: The Story of RNAS, RFC and RAF in Italy 1917–18*, London: Jarrolds, 1973, pp. 207–10 and App. 9).
  - 29 AIF Base Records Office to Evelyn Hutt, 14 Apr. 1920, Evelyn Hutt's Service Record. Along with her Royal Red Cross, 2nd Class, Evelyn was awarded the 1914/15 Star, British War Medal and Victory Medal.
  - 30 Recollection of Judith Gunnarsson.
  - 31 Evelyn proceeded to England on 18 January 1919, arriving at Southampton on 22 January. She sailed to Australia aboard the *Dunvegan Castle* as the nurse-in-charge, arriving on 4 July 1919. She was discharged 5 December 1919 (Evelyn Hutt's Service Record).
  - 32 Gunnarsson, 'WWI memories of Evelyn Hutt' and 'Address in honour of Nurse Evelyn Hutt', Sister Evelyn Hutt Collection.

### Carew: University High School and the Great War

- 1 Victorian Minister of Public Instruction, the Hon. T Livingston, 'School rolls of honour', *Victoria Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid*, Jun. 1915.
- 2 PM Carew-Smyth, 'School rolls of honor', *Victoria Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid*, 20 Mar. 1917, pp. 44, 59.
- 3 PM Carew-Smyth, 'School honor books', *Victoria Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid*, Jul. 1915.
- 4 Jock Murphy, consulting archivist, Melbourne High School, conversation with the author, 18 Feb. 2016.
- 5 Professor E Scott, 'The Department's "Record of War Service" Professor Scott's suggestions', *Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid*, 11 Sep. 1919, p. 143.
- 6 Frank Tate, 'War records: the school honor book. An appeal to teachers by the Director', *Victoria Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid*, 18 Nov. 1919, p. 178.
- 7 *The Education Department's Record of War Service, 1914-1918*, Melbourne: the Dept, 1921.
- 8 J Beacham Kiddle (ed.), *War Services of the Old Melburnians, 1914-1918*, Melbourne: Council of the Old Melburnian Society, 1923.
- 9 'Honor books and honor rolls', *Victoria Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid*, 16 Apr. 1921, pp. 56, 58.
- 10 Paul Macpherson, acting La Trobe Librarian, to Mr J Clarke, Principal University High School, 10 Sep. 1981, MS 11240, Matthew Stanton Sharman Papers, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (Sharman Papers).
- 11 Kerry Knott, at sea, to MS Sharman, n.d. Sharman Papers.
- 12 *Writing the war: Percival Langford*, www.slv.vic.gov.au/view-discuss/writing-war-percival-langford. Kate Bird, curatorial volunteer, assisted with the research for this film.
- 13 Curriculum vitae and testimonials, c. 1914, Sharman Papers.
- 14 MS Sharman to Private EC Hancock, 8 Oct. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 15 Phillip J Powell, *Come on Lads: Old Wesley Collegians and the Gallipoli Campaign*, Melbourne: Wesley College, 2015.
- 16 Edgar Stonham, Belgium, to MS Sharman, 4 Mar. 1915; Frank Grant, France, to MS Sharman, 21 May 1916, Sharman Papers.
- 17 Eric Hancock, France, to MS Sharman, 5 Jan. 1918, Sharman Papers.
- 18 Keith Burrows to MS Sharman, 13 Jul. 1918, Sharman Papers.
- 19 JJ Makin, County of London, War Hospital, Epsom, to [unknown] University High School, 7 Aug. 1916, Sharman Papers. This letter may have been sent to, and transcribed by, Patrick J Sheehan, a former classmate and secretary of the Old Pupils Association, University High School.
- 20 Carolyn Rasmussen, *A Whole New World, 100 Years of Education at University High School*, North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010, p. 38.
- 21 Keith Burrows to MS Sharman, 13 Jul. 1918, Sharman Papers; see also the *University High School Record*, Xmas, 1918, p. 38.
- 22 Percival Langford, Trenches, to the 'Girls and Boys of University High School', 20 Oct. 1915, Sharman Papers.
- 23 Charles Gordon Gray to MS Sharman, 10 Dec. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 24 Maxwell N. Waugh, *Soldier Boys: The Militarisation of Australian and New Zealand Schools for World War I*, Melbourne Books, 2014, p. 168.
- 25 Norman Heathcote, France, to MS Sharman, 7 Dec. 1916, Sharman Papers.
- 26 Frank Grant, France, to MS Sharman, 21 May 1916, Sharman Papers.
- 27 Edgar Stonham to MS Sharman, 11 Nov. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 28 MS Stanton to Frank Tate, 22 Nov. 1919, VPRS 10249/P0000/43, University High School Inward Correspondence, Public Record Office Victoria (PROV).
- 29 Charles Gordon Gray to Miss Marshall, 29 Nov. 1917, pp. 2-5, Sharman Papers.
- 30 CA Duff, France, to Miss Marshall, 5 Mar. 1917, p. 3, Sharman Papers.
- 31 JJ Makin, Perham Downs, England, to his mother, 1 Jan. 1917, James Joseph Makin, Private Record, IDRL/0474, Australian War Memorial.
- 32 Alice Hoy, *City Built to Music: The History of University High School, Melbourne, 1910 to 1960*, Melbourne: University High School, 1961, p. 86.
- 33 John Campbell Blogg to MS Sharman, 8 Jul. 1918, p. 3, Sharman Papers.
- 34 University High School, annotated memorandum to the Director of Education, 19 Mar. 1915, VPRS 10249/P0000/43, 1915/4776, University High School, Inward Correspondence, PROV.
- 35 MS Sharman, Melbourne, to the Director of Education, 16 Aug. 1915, University High School, Inward Correspondence.
- 36 AD Ellis, France, to MS Sharman, 3 Mar. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 37 *The University High School Record*, Xmas 1916, p. 33.
- 38 N Heathcote, France, to MS Sharman,

- 14 Feb. 1917, p. 10, Sharman Papers; this is an extract from the description.
- 39 Norman Heathcote to MS Sharman, 24 Nov. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 40 Norman Heathcote, France, to MS Sharman, 14 Jul. 1918, Sharman Papers.
- 41 'Absent friends', *The University High School Record*, Xmas 1916, p. 3.
- 42 Stanley Sissons, 'Letter to Mr. Sharman, 18 January, 1917', quoted from *World War One History, Victoria's Story*, Melbourne: Victorian Government, 2014, p. 41.
- 43 AD Ellis to MS Sharman, 16 Sep. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 44 Vivian Gray Burston to MS Sharman, 31 Jan. 1917; Macdonald to MS Sharman, 28 Oct., 1918, Sharman Papers.
- 45 MS Sharman to Mrs Saltau, 13 Jul. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 46 JJ Burston, 'To the Editor', *Argus* (Melbourne), 3 Jul. 1915, p. 18.
- 47 *The University High School Record*, Jun. 1915, p. 11.
- 48 *The University High School Record*, Jun. 1917, p. 36.
- 49 WL Orchard to MS Sharman, Sharman Papers.
- 50 RH Greenhalgh to MS Sharman, 13 May 1918, Sharman Papers.
- 51 RS Matthews to MS Sharman, 8 Dec. 1918, Sharman Papers.
- 52 MS Sharman to Mrs Duff, 28 Jun. 1917, Sharman Papers.
- 53 *The University High School Record* (Melbourne), Xmas 1917, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 34.
- 54 'Honor books and honour rolls', *Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid*, 16 April, 1921, p. 57.
- 55 *The University High School Record*, Speech Night Supplement, 1921, Xmas 1922, pp. 2-3.
- 56 Mary Burrows to MS Sharman, 13 Jun. 1922, Sharman Papers; *The University High School Record*, Xmas 1922, p. 20.
- 57 Robert A Castles, University High School, to the author, 14 Feb. 2015.
- 58 'In memoriam, on active service', *Age* (Melbourne), 26 Nov. 1935, p. 1; MS Sharman to the Secretary, Defence Department, Melbourne, 29 Jun. 1934, p. 22, and 9 Jul. 1934, p. 20, Service Record for Harold Clifford Brooke, B2455, National Archives of Australia.
- 2 Nicholas Hiley, "'Kitchener wants you'" and "Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?": the myth of British recruiting posters', *Imperial War Museum Review*, no. 11, 1997, p. 52.
- 3 Four made the supreme sacrifice and another died shortly after the war ended. See this issue: John Arnold, 'Commemorating staff who served: the Great War honour board at State Library Victoria', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 98, Sep. 2016, pp. 136-140.
- 4 It is worth noting that the trustees made a decision in early 1915 to acquire a comprehensive collection of books and pamphlets relating to the war. See this issue, John Lack, Steven Kafkaris & Walter Struve, "'A universal collection of literature on the European war'?", *La Trobe Journal*, no. 98, Sep. 2016, pp. 77-91.
- 5 Edmund La Touche Armstrong & Robert Douglass Boys, *The Book of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, 1906-1931*, Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, 1932.
- 6 Library Committee minutes, 29 Mar. 1917, Trustees of the Public Library, Gallery and Museum, Minutes, MS 12855, State Library of Victoria (SLV).
- 7 Hiley, "'Kitchener wants you" ...', pp. 40-41.
- 8 Hanbury, Tomsett & Co., *The scrap of paper, Prussia's Perfidy - Britain's Bond*, 1914, lithograph, H33861/5.
- 9 This poster is not held by State Library Victoria.
- 10 Hiley, "'Kitchener wants you" ...', p. 41.
- 11 Jim Aulich & John Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007, p. 34.
- 12 Hiley, "'Kitchener wants you" ...', p. 48.
- 13 Beth Irwin Lewis, Paul Paret & Peter Paret, *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives*, Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 22.
- 14 *Journée du Poilu 1915*, H93.476/7, and *Aidez-nous à soigner nos blessés. Achetez les timbres a l'effigie des nos Generaux. Le Carnet de 20 timbres: 1 FR* [Help us to care for our wounded], H93.476/1.
- 15 'Get into Khaki' *We are doing our bit*, 1915, H33425; Norman Keene, *The latest despatch*, ca 1915, H33422.
- 16 A good example demonstrating this is the poster, *Enlist To-day. He's Happy & Satisfied Are You?*, H33861/11
- 17 'Poster for Sportsmen', *Geelong Advertiser*, 14 Apr. 1917, p. 9, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/132673325](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/132673325).

**Tsara: World War I posters from the State Library Victoria collection**

- 1 All the posters discussed in the essay are from the Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, unless otherwise stated.



- 18 Troedel & Cooper, *Man. You are Wanted! In the Sportsmen's 1000*, 1917, lithograph, H2000.212/19; *Enlist in the Sportsmen's 1000. Play Up and Play the Game*, 1917, lithograph, H2001.34/3a; H2001.34/3b; H2001.34/3 (three copies held); *Enlist in the Sportsmen's Thousand. Show the Enemy what Australian Sporting Men can Do. Lieut. Jacka V.C.*, 1917, lithograph, H2001.34/1; H2001.34/1a; H2010.128/1 (three copies held).
- 19 Jacka. *He kept his Pledge, You Buy Peace Bonds*, 1919, lithograph, H40458.
- 20 Meg Albrinck, 'Humanitarians and he-men: recruitment posters and the masculine ideal', in James Pearl (ed.), *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009, p. 322.
- 21 *Men of Britain Will You Stand This?*, H33861/23; Albrinck, 'Humanitarians and he-men', p. 319.
- 22 By Arthur Wardle, March 1915. State Library Victoria holds the image as a cigarette card in the Eric Thake collection of cigarette cards, H33719.
- 23 'The latest British recruiting poster', *Argus* (Melbourne), 27 Apr. 1915, p. 7.
- 24 Examples from the State Library's collection include: *Australia has promised Britain 50,000 More Men. Will YOU Help Us Keep That Promise*, 1916, lithograph, H30357; Norman Lindsay, *Will you fight now or wait for this*, 1918, lithograph, H141838; and C Wall, *South Australians Coo-ee! Fall in! We Want You at the Front*, 1915, lithograph, H33426.
- 25 Examples are: EK, *Another Call. 'More Men and Still More until the Enemy is Crushed'*, 1915, photolithograph, H33427; and, David Allen & Sons, *Boys Come over here you're wanted*, 1915, lithograph, H33861/31.
- 26 Guy Lipscombe, *It's Our Flag. Fight for it. Work for it*, 1915, lithograph and letterpress, H33423.
- 27 'New recruiting poster', *Argus*, 27 Nov. 1915, p. 19, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/1582173](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/1582173).
- 28 Alfred Leete, *Britons [Kitchener] 'Wants You'*, 1914, lithograph, H41472.
- 29 Paul Fraser, 'We want £15,000 ... for Kitchener poster: the last surviving First World War recruitment advert set to be sold at auction', *Daily Mail Reporter*, 12 May 2014, [www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2625851/We-want-15-000-Kitchener-poster-Last-surviving-First-World-War-recruitment-advert-set-sold-auction.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2625851/We-want-15-000-Kitchener-poster-Last-surviving-First-World-War-recruitment-advert-set-sold-auction.html). According to other reports in the recent press, the State Library holds one of the only three surviving original copies of this poster (Harriet Hernando, 'One of only three surviving 'Lord Kitchener Wants You' First World War recruitment posters sells for a world record £30,000', *Daily Mail*, 12 Jul. 2014, [www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2688857/Lord-Kitchener-Wants-You-World-War-One-recruitment-posters-sells-record-30K.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2688857/Lord-Kitchener-Wants-You-World-War-One-recruitment-posters-sells-record-30K.html)).
- 30 Hiley, "Kitchener wants you" ..., p. 44.
- 31 Frank Brangwyn, *Britain's Call to Arms*, 1914, lithograph, H38599. Originally accessioned 29 May 1916 in the Miscellaneous Register at M 690. Purchased 1916. There are copies held by the London Transport Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum.
- 32 Maurice Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, London: Evelyn, Adams & Mackay, 1968, p. 14.
- 33 Hiley, "Kitchener wants you" ..., p. 44.
- 34 Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, p. 10.
- 35 Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, p. 15.
- 36 Frank Brangwyn's *War / To Arms Citizens of the Empire!!*, poster is reproduced in Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, plate 17; not held by State Library Victoria.
- 37 Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, p. 15.
- 38 The seven posters are held in the Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H93.476/1-7. They were accessioned in the Library's Miscellaneous Register in 1919-20 as an anonymous donation. It has recently been discovered, however, that they were purchased by the Library in 1917, and displayed in the foyer. As with many acquisitions made during the war, they were not formally accessioned until after the war was over. In the case of the French posters, it seems their true provenance was forgotten by 1919. Two examples were reproduced in the *Australasian*, 12 May 1917, p. 51. Thank you to John Lack (see this issue, John Lack, Steven Kafkaris & Walter Struve, "A universal collection of literature on the European war"?), pp 77-91, and John Arnold for this information.
- 39 Lewis, Paret & Paret, *Persuasive Images*, p. 40.
- 40 'Recruiting poster for motorists', *Register* (Adelaide), 31 Jul. 1915, p. 10, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59413252](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59413252).
- 41 The caption reads: 'The five inset at the top of the photograph are the most appealing. Exhibition of recruiting posters in front of the Town Hall, Melbourne' (*Australasian* (Melbourne), 19 Jun. 1915, p. 55, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/142975121](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/142975121)).
- 42 'English recruiting campaign - display of designs', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 11 May 1915, p. 3, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/89963524](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/89963524).

- 43 'Special recruiting week', *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 Jul. 1917, p. 2, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/119720642](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/119720642).
- 44 'Furniture wanted for the new recruiting depot', *Geelong Advertiser*, 24 Jan. 1917, p. 2, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/130676617](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/130676617).
- 45 'No posters at Trades Hall', *Argus*, 17 Jul. 1915, p. 18, [trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1537947](http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1537947); 'A recruiting poster', *Argus*, 4 Mar. 1915, p. 12, [trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1500419](http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1500419).
- 46 The caption reads: 'A British recruiting poster. Posters are issued in the British Islands by various organisations formed to stimulate recruiting. This is a fac simile [sic] of a poster displayed on behalf of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee', *Queenslander*, 6 Feb. 1915, p. 2, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/22293603](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/22293603).
- 47 See, for example, 'Australia's big effort – incidents of the recruiting campaign', *Table Talk*, 20 Jan. 1916, p. 22, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/146641767](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/146641767). Thank you to Elisabeth Kumm for this reference; and 'Australia Day snapshots in the country', with a photo showing a nurse standing next to the framed poster *They Have Done Their Share. Will You Do Yours?* in *The Land*, 27 Aug. 1915, p. 10, [trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/102911185](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/102911185).
- 48 Maurice-Louis Henri Neumont, *Journee du Poilu 1915*, lithograph, H93.476/7; 'French posters (sent out by the Victorian artist Miss Jessie Traill)', *Australasian*, 15 Jun. 1918, p. 51, [nla.gov.au/nla.news-article140207664](http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article140207664).
- 49 For Jessie Traill's role in the war, see this issue, Jo Oliver, 'From Harkaway to Amiens: Jessie Traill's war', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 98, Sep. 2016, pp. 108–123.
- 50 'Recruiting posters', *Argus*, 23 Jun. 1915, p. 10, [trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1526351](http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1526351).
- 51 Set of nine slides, ca 1915 – 1918, Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H2013.3/1–9.
- 52 Hiley, '“Kitchener wants you” ...', p. 45.
- 53 Eric Thake collection of cigarette cards, Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H33719.
- 54 An example of a poster that shows both an appeal to help the wounded, and to produce food at home: RG Prail, *Enlisted for Duration of the War. Help the National Egg Collection for the Wounded*, ca 1914–18, lithograph, H33861/1
- 55 A good example is, Hassaly, *Belgian Canal Boat Fund for Relief of the Civil Population behind the Firing Lines. Send them Something*, 1915, lithograph, H33861/12.
- 56 Tom Purvis, 'Our Day to help at the Front our wounded from Home & Overseas', 1917, lithograph, H33861/4.
- 57 Visual propaganda and popular culture had an effect on those at the front, too. We know that posters were displayed in the trenches and huts at the front (Aulich & Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction*, p. 72). These posters were from a series commissioned by the London Underground, and showed idealised views of the English countryside. Soldiers and organisations like the YMCA brought civilian entertainment, songs and theatre, to the trenches, creating a link to home. Poster art was a visual link to home. As one writer puts it: 'The message they [men in trenches] took from songs and posters was clear. They could (and did) put up with the awfulness of trench warfare in part because of their commitment to the world they had left behind, a world conjured up in vivid terms by popular entertainments and in shorthand by poster art' (Jay Winter, 'Imaginations of war: posters and the shadow of the Lost Generation', in Pearl, *Picture This*, p. 46)
- 58 Aulich & Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction*, p. 96.
- 59 James Pearl, 'Introduction: reading World War I posters', in Pearl, *Picture This*, p. 1.
- 60 See, for example, Chorley & Pickersgill, *We're both needed to serve the huns! Fill Up The Ranks! Pile Up The Munitions!*, 1915, lithograph, H33861/10.
- 61 While posters do exist that call for women to participate in industry and food production, and actually depict women, there are no such examples in the State Library's poster collections.
- 62 It's hard to get an exact date of when the first poster was put up, but we know from a report in the *Geelong Advertiser* that it was up by at least 5 October 1918 ('Look at the recruiting poster – the Ape Man', *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 Oct. 1918, p. 3, [trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/119755161](http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/119755161)).
- 63 Peter Fullerton, *Norman Lindsay: War Cartoons 1914–1918*, Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1983, p. 8 (citing a letter in Howarth & Baker (eds), *Letters of Norman Lindsay*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1979, p. 124).
- 64 John Hetherington, *Norman Lindsay, the Embattled Olympian*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 130–32.
- 65 Antje Gnida, 'From Hun-beast to abstract threat: portrayals of the German enemy in Australian war posters', *Neo: journal for*

- higher degree research students in the social sciences and humanities, 2008, www.arts.mq.edu.au/current\_students/new\_and\_current\_hdr\_candidates/hdr\_journals/neo\_journal/issue/2008/pdf/Antje\_-\_From\_Hun-Beast\_to\_Abstract\_Threat\_Portrayals\_of\_the\_German\_Enemy\_in\_Australian\_War\_Posters.pdf , p. 4 (archived by Pandora, 23 Jul. 2013) (viewed 25 January 2014).
- 66 Gnida, 'From Hun-beast to abstract threat', p. 1; and, Aulich & Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction*, p. 56.
- 67 Norman Lindsay, *Will you fight now or wait for this*, 1918, photolithograph, H141838.
- 68 Hetherington, *Norman Lindsay*, p. 117.
- 69 Winter, 'Imaginations of war', in Pearl, *Picture This*, pp. 46–47.
- 70 'The horrors of war', *Brunswick and Coburg Leader*, 30 Jul. 1915, reproduced in Laurie Cunningham & Laura Donati (eds), *Our Anzacs: A Scrapbook of Brunswick during World War I*, Brunswick, Vic.: Laurie Cunningham, 2014, p. 32.
- 71 See Judith Smart, 'A divided national capital: Melbourne in the Great War', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 96, Spring 2015, pp. 28–58. Thank you to John Arnold for this reference.
- 72 *Geelong Advertiser*, 17 Oct. 1918, p. 4, nla.gov.au/nla.news-article119756164.
- 73 *News board on The Age building ...*, photograph, National Library of Australia, nla.pic.vn6391315.
- 74 Norman Lindsay, *The Call of Humanity*, 1918, letterpress, H41218, sent to Mr TB Carter of Mont Albert, postmarked 29 Oct. 1918; another example, H41219, postmarked 3 Oct. 1918; and, yet another, H42365, postmarked 22 Oct. 1918.
- 75 John M Kinder, 'Iconography of injury: encountering the wounded soldiers body in American poster art and photography of World War I', in Pearl, *Picture This*, p. 340.
- 76 As part of the exhibition *The Great War – a graphic legacy* (14 Jun. – 24 Aug. 2014) the Geelong Gallery showed a selection of Norman Lindsay recruitment posters from State Library Victoria's collection. Their aim was to contrast propagandist imagery (officially commissioned works) with anti-war images. Thank you to the Geelong Gallery for supplying me with a copy of their curatorial vision.
- 77 State Library Victoria is showing early Australian recruitment posters in the Dome Galleries as part of its commemoration of the centenary of World War I.
- Lack, Kafkaris & Struve: State Library Victoria's Great War pamphlets**
- The authors would like to thank John Arnold for assembling the 'Three Pamphleteers' team, and for guiding us to State Library Victoria accession registers and compiling the initial counts of pamphlets acquired by the Library from Sotheran's.
- 1 *Argus* (Melbourne), 15 Nov. 1913, p. 21.
- 2 Strictly speaking, 400,000 was the number of visits (some 2000 each day) rather than visitors. In 1914 the Library had acquired almost 7000 new reference volumes (bringing the total to 230,000), 2000 volumes for the associated lending libraries (total almost 33,000), and more than 1000 pamphlets. More than 45,000 newspapers and periodicals were added each year (*Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria for 1913*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1914). The Library reportedly held 10,000 volumes of bound newspapers ('Among the quick and the dead', *Age* (Melbourne), 13 Nov. 1913, p. 11. This facetious *Age* article, on the Library as a mausoleum of dead books, bears comparison with the article by TSH [Thomas Sergeant Hall], 'Needs of Melbourne's libraries', *Argus*, 23 Jan. 1909, p. 5. Our thanks to Emeritus Professor Wallace Kirsop for identifying the author).
- 3 Lord Denman quoted in *Leader* (Melbourne), 22 Nov. 1913, p. 29.
- 4 On Melbourne as a national and defence capital, see John Lack & RS (Bill) Billett, 'Defence', in Andrew Brown-May et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 198–200; and, Judith Smart, 'A divided national capital: Melbourne in the Great War', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 96, Sep. 2015, pp. 28–58.
- 5 Turner, quoted in the *Leader*, 22 Nov. 1913, p. 29; *Report of the Trustees ... for 1913*, p. 10.
- 6 In 1899 Turner's fellow trustee William Henry Fitchett added a four-volume account, *How England Saved Europe: The Story of the Great War (1793–1815)*, reissued in three volumes in 1909. General Blucher and his Prussian army were vital to the defeat of Napoleon.
- 7 'Lecture by Mr HG Turner', *Argus*, 31 May 1917, p. 4.
- 8 Edmund La Touche Armstrong & Robert Douglass Boys, *The Book of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, 1906–1931*, Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, 1932, p. 29.

- 9 In October 1914 the Library Committee agreed to George Roberston & Co.'s request for an addition of 5 per cent to invoices because 'owing to war risks and insurance the cost of obtaining books from England has considerably increased' (Library Committee minutes, 29 Oct. 1914, Minute Book May 1912 – Feb. 1918, Trustees of the Public Library, Gallery and Museum, Minutes – vol. 41, MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (SLV)).
- 10 Governor-General Denman, *Argus*, 15 Nov. 1913, p. 21. Denman presumably owed this information to Library sources.
- 11 Newspaper access was further liberalised early in 1916 when the Books Committee authorised 'Dr Fitchett to prepare lists of papers that he wishes to be placed in files so that the public may read them without having to ask at the counter' (Book Committee minutes, 21 Mar. 1916, Library Committee Minute Book, Trustees of the Public Library, Gallery and Museum, Minutes – vol. 41, MS 12855).
- 12 For an overview, see Walter Struve, 'Nineteenth century German Melbourne on display: musings of a curator', in Ellen I Mitchell (ed.), *Baron von Mueller's German Melbourne*, Bundoora, Vic.: La Trobe University, 2000, pp. 104–35; and, Walter Struve, 'Germans', *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, pp. 304–05.
- 13 Rod Home, *Science as a German Export to Nineteenth Century Australia*, London: Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, 1995, p. 5.
- 14 A Lodewyckx, *Die Deutschen in Australien*, Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlagsaktiengesellschaft, 1932, p. 235.
- 15 It is difficult to estimate, from existing bibliographies of German language material in Australian libraries, the dimensions of Public Library of Victoria holdings in this period, but the comment by JE Fletcher, compiler of the *Short-Title Catalogue of German Imprints in Australia from 1501–1800* (Clayton, Vic.: Department of German, Monash University 1970, p. 9), is suggestive: 'The combined holdings of NPL [Public Library of New South Wales], NM [the Mitchell Library] and ND [the Dixon Library] barely exceed those of the rambling State Library of Victoria, home of the most curious and comprehensive general collection of books in Australia'.
- 16 WH Fitchett, 'The first three months of the war', Melbourne: T Shaw Fitchett, 1914, p. 16.
- 17 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1914*, p. 10.
- 18 Library Committee minutes, 28 Oct. 1915.
- 19 Book Committee minutes, 23 Mar. 1915, in the Library Committee minute book, May 1912 – Feb. 1918. In November 1916, Sotheran's also offered French war posters. See below, note 44.
- 20 'News of the day', *Age*, 26 May 1915, p. 8.
- 21 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1915*, p. 4.
- 22 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1915*, p. 10.
- 23 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1916*, p. 4. Readers had still to request a few special works, such as Sapper Moore-Jones' *Anzac Sketches*, and the fine edition of Dutch caricaturist Raemaekers' fiercely anti-German war cartoons, presumably contained in the first of the Library's two-volume *The Great War, a Neutral's Indictment: One Hundred Cartoons*, by Louis Raemaekers (London: Fine Arts Society, 1916–17).
- 24 *Argus*, 21 Nov. 1917, p. 10.
- 25 Victor Gray, *Bookmen: London: 250 Years of Bookselling*, London: Henry Sotheran Ltd, c. 2011, p. 246. Presumably the Library was buying out-of-print and antiquarian books.
- 26 Gray, *Bookmen*, esp. pp. 220, 222.
- 27 These figures, calculated from the monthly invoices tabled at Library Committee meetings 1916–18, represent actual costs, not the 'value' of acquisitions contained in the Trustees' annual reports, which, being lower, presumably reflect depreciation. The figures do not include sums paid for special purchases of individual items.
- 28 *Argus*, 31 May 1917, p. 4.
- 29 We have assumed Turner was speaking of hard-cover volumes, and not of pamphlets as well. Total accessions have been estimated from the Library's [Reference] Accession Books, August 1914 – May 1917. The number of 'war books' received cannot be verified from the current catalogue because of the vagaries of its subject classifications, and because the catalogue counts pamphlets as books. An exhaustive count from the Accession Books has not been possible.
- 30 Calculated from the *Pamphlet Accession Book of the Public Library of Victoria 1913–1919*, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.
- 31 The Political Economy pamphlets is a very large collection of 2658 items, with the catalogue dating only 140 to the years 1914–18 and a mere five as relating to World War I surely undercounted. The series warrants further study.
- 32 The European War pamphlets were recatalogued by retired librarian Ken Fraser, part of his many years of voluntary work from 1993 on 59 pamphlet

- collections, containing over 15,900 pamphlets.
- 33 The European War collection gathers in some prewar items from the 1900s, and also postwar material that recorded the aftermath and legacy of 1914–18, published almost to the eve of Britain's second war with Germany in 1939. Our total of 2252 is reached by excluding these, and a few that have no date of publication.
- 34 It has not been possible to include the 17 folio volumes of European war pamphlets in our later analyses. We are grateful to Afsana Khan of State Library Victoria for preparing the spreadsheets for this study.
- 35 War Pamphlets: 1444 items in 203 volumes, found at S and SF 355.04 W19. All except about 40 of the 211 Great War-related items are technical manuals and guidebooks. There is also a small collection of four pamphlets, grouped by State Library Victoria as Pamphlets on the European crisis, part of a somewhat larger series published by Macmillan. There are other collections, including Patriotic pamphlets (14 titles published by Critchley Parker of Melbourne), and a series of eight French 'Studies and documents on the war', with duplicates of the former, and most of the latter, to be found in the European War collection.
- 36 As revealed by PLV Accession Books, in which they were entered as bound volumes: volumes 1–147 in early 1918, bound at a cost of £52 8s 9d, volumes 148–95 in mid-1918, at a cost of £12 7s 6d, and volumes 196–225 in May 1919 at a cost of £4 10s. Thereafter the pamphlets were bound in smaller lots.
- 37 Although Armstrong's words in his 1915 Report (quoted earlier) imply that he considered the pamphlets to be part of the 'special collection of books on the war'. The Library's use of the words 'book' and 'pamphlet' was ambiguous; some items entered in the Pamphlets Accession Books were transferred, after binding, to the reference Accession Register, while others of similar size (around 100 pages) remained part of the pamphlet collection and were bound in volumes.
- 38 It is hard to know why, in the absence of the pamphlets! Some, like the war cartoons of Bruce Bairnsfather, *Fragments from France*, and *More Fragments from France*, recording the doings of 'Old Bill' on the Western Front, were later reinstated, bound in one volume with two further numbers, acquired in 1917 and 1920.
- 39 *Age*, 26 May 1915, p. 8.
- 40 'Books on the war: aids to study', *Argus*, 21 Nov. 1917, p. 10.
- 41 Of his own library, and in the Library itself. It is not possible to say what war books Turner acquired, as there exist only partial lists of his library (Professor Wallace Kirsop, conversation with the authors, 1 May 2016), but Turner's copy of *White Book: The European Crisis Official Correspondence / Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty*, Melbourne: Gordon & Gotch, 1914, (accessioned as number 281451) was one of 343 of his books that came to the Library after his death in 1920 (PLV MS Accession Book 1921–1922), together with 538 pamphlets (PLV MS Pamphlets Accession Book 1920–26). Very few of the books, and only some 10 pamphlets, were war-related. In selecting from Turner's library, Armstrong did not eschew duplicates.
- 42 Henry Gyles Turner, *The War: With Some Thoughts on its Aftermath in Australia. A Lecture Delivered in the Public Library, Melbourne, 7th June, 1916. PUBLISHED BY REQUEST*, Melbourne: George Robertson and Company, 1916, p. 9. This from a man who had earlier been a trenchant critic of British imperialism (Iain McCalman, 'Turner, Henry Gyles (1831–1920)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/turner-henry-gyles-4760/text7909](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/turner-henry-gyles-4760/text7909), published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed 30 May 2016).
- 43 *Age*, 11 Jul. 1916, p. 6.
- 44 *Australasian* (Melbourne), 12 May 1917, p. 51, for illustrations. Presumably these were the 'French War Posters' offered by Sotheran's and considered by the Library Committee on 22 February 1917 (Response: 'Yes – at moderate prices'), and the 'specimens of French Recruiting posters' to the value of £10 approved on 27 March 1917 (Library Committee Minute Book, May 1912 – Feb. 1918).
- 45 *Age*, 16 Jul. 1917, p. 6; *Argus*, 16 Jul. 1917, p. 11.
- 46 *Argus*, 23 Feb. 1917, p. 6.
- 47 Library Committee minutes, 22 Feb. 1917, Minute Book, May 1912 – Feb. 1918, Trustees of the Public Library, Gallery and Museum, Minutes – vol. 47. Quotation from the *Argus*, 24 Feb. 1917, p. 17.
- 48 *Age* and the *Argus*, 7 Aug. 1918. *Weekly Times*, 10 Aug. lists 'the National Gallery and Public Library' among the bodies represented.
- 49 See, for instance, Jason Peacey's path-

- breaking study of the role of the press and propaganda in English political life and culture 1640–60, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).
- 50 These rounded figures disguise a small number without publication dates.
- 51 Henry McGeachin, Managing Director, Henry Sotheran, to Walter Struve, 1 Apr. 2016, State Library Victoria. A guide to Library correspondence held by the Public Record Office Victoria (PROV) would permit the study of the Library's relationships with its suppliers, including Sotheran's, and assist in elucidating the creation of key State Library collections. Library Committee minutes (for example, of 26 April and 15 May 1917) reveal correspondence received from Sotheran's concerning the supply of German books (Library Committee Minute Book, May 1912 – Feb. 1918).
- 52 Gray, *Bookmen*, p. 222. The 'good' books were JA Cramb's *Germany and England* [1914], the Blue Book on the war's origins, and the classic *Tom Brown's Schooldays*; the 'bad' books were Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* [1915], Heinrich von Treitschke's *History of Germany* [1915] and Friedrich Bernhardt's *Germany and the Next War* [1912, 1914]
- 53 Again, the answer may lie in the PLV correspondence files at PROV.
- 54 Gray, *Bookmen*, p. 222. This order, queried by the university, was confirmed by the Librarian, who expressed 'absolute faith in the good judgement and the absolute honesty of the dealer'. State Library Victoria also holds the 179-reel microfilm collection known as the War Reserve Collection (WRA-WRE) from Cambridge University Library, comprising ephemeral, manuscript and printed sources relating to the World War I, including propaganda pamphlets, in English and a variety of other European languages. This offers another basis for comparison.
- 55 The 93-page Wellington House list of more than 1000 items was kindly supplied by the Imperial War Museum, London.
- 56 In fact, the stock that Sotheran's consigned to Leipzig for the first International Exhibition of Book Design and Graphics was impounded as enemy property on the outbreak of war (see, Gray, *Bookmen*, pp. 219–20).
- 57 Our thanks to John Arnold for this analysis. According to copac.jisc.ac.uk/about: 'Copac brings together the catalogues of over 80 major UK research libraries: national, academic, and specialist. From these catalogues we create the c. 40 million records on the Copac database.'
- 58 There exists an extensive literature on Great War propaganda, the most useful modern studies being Kate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War*, London: Allen Lane, 1977; and Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914–1933*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977.
- 59 The few resisters included George Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell. Again, Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words*, offers the best account.
- 60 Christian Graf von Krockow, *The Germans in their Century, 1890–1990*, Reicke Schweitzer (trans.), Manchester University Press, 2009, p. 80.
- 61 Erich von Kahler, *Der vorige, der heutige und der künftige Feind*, Heidelberg: Weiss, 1914.
- 62 Ferdinand Tönnies, *Deutschlands Platz an der Sonne: Ein Briefwechsel englischer Politiker aus dem Jahre 1915*, Berlin: Julius Springer, 1915; and, *Englische Weltpolitik in englischer Beleuchtung*, Berlin: Julius Springer, 1915.
- 63 Max von Grapow, *Die deutsche Flagge im Stillen Ozean*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1916.
- 64 Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, Anthea Bell (trans.), London: Pushkin, 2009 (1942).
- 65 Ferdinand Tönnies, *Germany's Guilt Disproved: Russia's Responsibility as Instigator of the Great War established by Documentary Evidence of the Year 1914*, Amsterdam: C.L. van Langenhuyzen, 1919.
- 66 Oswald Spengler, *Pessimismus?*, Berlin: Georg Stilke, 1921, pp. 12, 19.
- 67 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1919*, p. 8.
- 68 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1920*, p. 3.
- 69 Gray, *Bookmen*, p. 228.
- 70 *Report of the Trustees ... for 1918*, p. 2. The Library Committee meeting of 27 July 1916 approved Armstrong's suggestion for an appeal through the press 'for donations [from] returned soldiers and members of the public who are in possession of documents of importance relating to the war' (Library Committee Minute Book, May 1912 – Feb. 1918).
- 71 'Report of the Board of Inquiry into Library Services in Victoria [the Jungwirth Report]', Melbourne: Government Printer [1964], p. 17, Jungwirth Papers, Box 2/1, MS 11656, SLV. See also Miles Lewis (ed.), *A Library in Peril: A Report to the Government and Community of Victoria*, Melbourne: State Library Development Council, 1989.

**Bracey: Personal records of World War I**

- 1 'Australians in action', *Great Southern Star* (Leongatha), 25 Aug. 1916, p. 2.
- 2 Leo Tennyson Gwyther service record, National Archives of Australia.
- 3 Pen Roberts, 'A collection of First World War fundraising badges', Australian War Memorial, 2010, [www.awm.gov.au/blog/2010/06/11/a-collection-of-first-world-war-fundraising-badges/](http://www.awm.gov.au/blog/2010/06/11/a-collection-of-first-world-war-fundraising-badges/), accessed 20 Nov. 2015.
- 4 Fergus Read, 'Embroidered silk postcards', Imperial War Museum, [www.iwm.org.uk/history/embroidered-silk-postcards](http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/embroidered-silk-postcards), accessed 27 Jan. 2016.
- 5 For details of this and other correspondence from Eric Chinner, see this issue, Ann Carew, 'Matchless son and brother: Eric Harding Chinner', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 98, Sep. 2016, pp. 145–51.
- 6 TP Bennett, 5 Sep. 1915, Letters & diary of Captain Chaplain TP Bennett, *Following the Twenty-Second*, [www.anzac-22nd-battalion.com/diary-of-captain-chaplain-tp-bennett/](http://www.anzac-22nd-battalion.com/diary-of-captain-chaplain-tp-bennett/), accessed 6 Jan. 2016.
- 7 'The Kodak season', *Queenslander*, 9 Dec. 1916, p. 40.
- 8 *Age*, 14 Sep. 1915, p. 8.
- 9 *Bendigoian*, 16 Mar. 1916, p. 31.
- 10 'Art on a gum leaf: a very Australian view of WWI', Museum Victoria, [museumvictoria.com.au/about/media-centre/news/april-2014/galipolli-gum-leaves/](http://museumvictoria.com.au/about/media-centre/news/april-2014/galipolli-gum-leaves/), accessed 25 Jan. 2016.
- 11 Allan Box, *The Best Fellows Anyone Could Wish to Meet: George Auchterlonie and the 8th Light Horse Regiment, A.I.F.*, Leongatha: The author, 1993.
- 12 *Table Talk* (Melbourne), 25 Nov. 1915.
- 13 Rowan Webb, 'Coates, Sir Albert Ernest (1895–1977)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/coates-sir-albert-ernest-9772/text17269](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/coates-sir-albert-ernest-9772/text17269), published first in hardcopy 1993, accessed 2 Jun. 2016.
- 14 Arthur George Stephenson service record, National Archives of Australia
- 15 Arthur George Stephenson service record, National Archives of Australia
- 16 JD Fisher, 'Stephenson, Sir Arthur George (1890–1967)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stephenson-sir-arthur-george-8646/text15117](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stephenson-sir-arthur-george-8646/text15117), published first in hardcopy 1990, accessed 2 Jun. 2016.
- 17 Alice Kitchen, diary, 3 May 1915, MS 9627, Papers of Alice Kitchen 1914–1918, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

**Oliver: Jessie Traill's war**

- 1 Melanie Oppenheimer, *Red Cross VAs: A History of the VAD Movement in NSW*, Walcha, NSW: Ohio Publications, 1999, pp. 5–13.
- 2 Roger Butler (ed.), *Stars in the River: The Prints of Jessie Traill*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2013, p. 150.
- 3 Jessie Traill to Tom Roberts, 1912, Tom Roberts Manuscripts, ML 2480, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- 4 Jessie Traill to Victorian Artists Society, 28 Dec. 1914, Letter books from July 1914 to February 1915, Records of the Victorian Artists' Society, 1856–1995, MS 7953, 576/2 MSM 476, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (SLV).
- 5 Sue Light, 'Voluntary Aid Detachments (VADs)', *ScarletFinders*, p. 1, [www.scarletfinders.co.uk/181.html](http://www.scarletfinders.co.uk/181.html), accessed 26 Nov. 2012.
- 6 Oppenheimer, *Red Cross VAs*, p. 22.
- 7 Light, 'Voluntary Aid Detachments (VADs)'.
- 8 *Lost Hospitals of London*, 2010, [ezitis.myzen.co.uk/giffordhouse.html](http://ezitis.myzen.co.uk/giffordhouse.html), accessed 31 Jan. 2014.
- 9 Jessie Traill, 1915, 'Gifford House', Box 796/1(a), MS 7975, p.1, Jessie Traill Papers, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
- 10 Traill, 'Gifford House', pp. 1–11.
- 11 Jessie Traill photograph album, Box 805 F, MS 7975, Traill Papers.
- 12 Traill, 'Gifford House', pp. 1–11.
- 13 Jessie Traill, diary, Aug. 1915 – Dec. 1916, Box 796/1(a), MS 7975, Traill Papers.
- 14 Chris Baker, 'The base hospitals in France', *The Long, Long Trail*, 2012, [www.1914-1918.net/hospitals.htm](http://www.1914-1918.net/hospitals.htm), accessed 20 Feb. 2015.
- 15 Presumably Waratah Bay, near Wilson's Promotory, Victoria.
- 16 Traill, Aug. 1915 – Dec. 1916.
- 17 CEW Bean (ed), *The Anzac Book*, London: Cassell, 1916, [www.awm.gov.au/people/P10676272/#biography](http://www.awm.gov.au/people/P10676272/#biography), accessed 23 May 2015.
- 18 CEW Bean, 'The arrival in France', *The Official History of Australia in the War 1914–1918*, vol. 3, *The Australian Imperial Force in France, 1916*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 12th edn, 1941, pp. 69–70.
- 19 The initial day of the offensive, 1 July 1916, remains the most costly day in the history of the British army, which suffered almost 60,000 casualties, a third of whom were killed. See 'Somme Offensive', Military Events, Australian War Memorial, [www.awm.gov.au/military-event/E158/](http://www.awm.gov.au/military-event/E158/), accessed 28 Feb. 2016.

- 20 Jessie Traill, diary, Jan. 1917 – Mar. 1919, Box 805 F, MS 7975, Traill Papers.
- 21 RH Croll, *Tom Roberts*, Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens Ltd, 1935, p. 93.
- 22 '1918: final victory and armistice', 1918 Australians in France, Exhibitions, Australian War Memorial, [www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/victory/](http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/victory/), accessed 23 Apr. 2015.
- 23 Jessie Traill, 'Armistice Day 1918 by a V.A.D.', pp. 1–2, Box 796/1(a), MS 7975, Traill Papers.
- 24 1918: Australians in France – Influenza Epidemic, 1918 Australians in France, Exhibitions, Australian War Memorial, [www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/victory/influenza/](http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/victory/influenza/), accessed 28 Feb. 2016.
- 25 Jessie Traill, Untitled [description of the former battle areas, Amiens, Villers-Bretonneux, Hamel, The Somme, Corbie], Box 795/6(d), MS 7975, Traill Papers.

#### Molloy: JG Roberts and the memory of the Great War

- 1 For biographical details on Roberts, see John D Keating, 'Roberts, John Garibaldi (1860–1933)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/roberts-john-garibaldi-8226/text14399](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/roberts-john-garibaldi-8226/text14399), published first in hardcopy 1988, accessed 1 Jun. 2016.
- 2 For an affectionate portrait of Roberts and his property at Kallista, see 'Good-Bye Sunnyside!', in RH Croll, *I Recall: Collections and Recollections*, Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens Ltd, 1939, pp. 125–27.
- 3 Dale Collins, 'Fascinating library. Home-made encyclopaedia. Mr J G Roberts' books', *Herald* (Melbourne), 5 Aug. 1928. For details on Collins, an aspiring novelist, see Stuart Sayers, 'Collins, Cuthbert Quinlan Dale (1897–1956)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/collins-cuthbert-quinlan-dale-5735/text9707](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/collins-cuthbert-quinlan-dale-5735/text9707), published first in hardcopy 1981, accessed 1 Jun. 2016.
- 4 There is no surviving catalogue of Roberts's collection.
- 5 Exact details on this figure can be found in a 1931 article, 'Rich store of literature. Collection of over 4000 volumes. In midst of Dandenong Range. Home-made encyclopaedia of Federation', *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*, 26 Jun. 1931, p. 3, reproduced from the Melbourne *Argus*.
- 6 'Rich store of literature', p. 3. It would perhaps be appropriate to gloss Dale Collins's use of the term 'soul' by substituting the word 'memory'. The Roberts family was not religious, while Collins was from an Irish–Catholic background.
- 7 The scrapbooks, diaries and papers, approximately 138 volumes in total (MS 8508, MS 5782–5786, MS 8183, MS 9105), were donated to State Library Victoria in 1940 by Mr Bertrand Roberts and Mrs WJ Roberts. One further volume (MS 15303) was donated by another family member in 2012.
- 8 'Scrapbooks. JG Roberts', MS 8508, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (SLV). Extending over 12.6 linear metres, the scrapbooks are distinct from Roberts's seven volumes of personal diaries, which also include pasted in ephemera, letters and other documents, but which are smaller items. The diaries cover the years 1915–21 (MS 5782–5786, MS 8183, MS 9105).
- 9 See Barbara A Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, Berkshire: Open University Press, 2003.
- 10 Their most influential publication was Richard Johnson, et al. (eds), *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics*, London: Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham 1982.
- 11 Richard Johnson & Graham Dawson, 'Popular memory: theory, politics, method. Popular Memory Group', in Robert Perks & Alistair Thomason (eds), *Oral History Reader*, London: Routledge, 1997, p. 78.
- 12 James Wertsch, 'Collective memory: a term in search of a meaning', in James V Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 35.
- 13 Bart Ziino, 'A lasting gift to his descendants. Family memory and the Great War in Australia', *History and Memory*, vol. 22, no. 2, Winter 2010, p. 125.
- 14 Johnson & Dawson, 'Popular memory', p. 76.
- 15 Alistair Thomson, 'Anzac memories: putting popular memory theory into practice in Australia', in Perks & Thomson, *Oral History Reader*, p. 301.
- 16 Joy Damousi has looked more closely at the psychological aspects of both the Great War and World War II: see *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia*, Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- 17 JG Roberts, 'Diaries and correspondence, 1915–1921', 7 vols, MS 5782–5786, MS 8183, MS 9105.



- 18 Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War*, Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2004, p. 135.
- 19 Peter Stanley, *The Men of Mont St Quentin: Between Victory and Death*, Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2009, p. 170.
- 20 For biographical details on RH Croll see, Geoffrey Serle, 'Croll, Robert Henderson (Bob) (1869-1947)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/croll-robert-henderson-bob-5824/text9889, published first in hardcopy 1981, accessed 30 May 2016.
- 21 Stanley, *Men of Mont St Quentin*, p. 170.
- 22 Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 17.
- 23 'Australian engineers laying down a telephone cable', Villers-Bretonneux, 11 Jul. 1918, Book 6, JG Roberts Scrapbooks, MS 8508.
- 24 This includes photographs of German officers and soldiers. Letters written by Frank Roberts, 9 & 11 Jul. 1918 (JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 6, MS 8508), detail the taking of items from dead or surrendering German soldiers; others detail acquiring items when trench positions were overrun, especially paper for the writing of letters. For details on the practice of souveniring during the Great War see Tim Cook, "'Tokens of Fritz': Canadian soldiers and the art of souveniring in the Great War', *War and Society*, vol. 31, no. 3, Oct. 2012, pp. 211-26.
- 25 Stanley, *Men of Mont St Quentin*, p. 169.
- 26 Julia Kristeva, 'Word, dialogue and novel', in Toril Moi (ed.), *The Kristeva Reader*, Oxford: Blackwood, 1986, p. 37.
- 27 Luckins, *Gates of Memory*, p. 139.
- 28 JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 26 (vol. F111), p. 211, MS 8508, documents the memorial in progress. For details on Gilbert see, G. Sturgeon, 'Gilbert, Charles Marsh Web (Nash) (1867-1925)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gilbert-charles-marsh-web-nash-6377/text10893, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed 1 Jun. 2016.
- 29 Luckins, *Gates of Memory*, p. 43; Stanley, *Men of Mont St Quentin*, p. 47.
- 30 See typescript report, 'C. Coy. 21st Battalion at Mont St Quentin (sic.)', signature indecipherable, JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 11, pp. 136-38, MS 8508.
- 31 Copy of 'Diary of Frank Roberts', 4 Jul. 1918; letter from Frank Roberts, Blangy-Tonville, France, 11 Jul. 1918, JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 6, MS 8508.
- 32 Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 25-26.
- 33 On this theme, see Jeff Kildea, *Anzacs and Ireland*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1977.
- 34 'Memoir of John Pounder Roberts', JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 1, Part 3, p. 3, MS 8508.
- 35 'Memoir of John Pounder Roberts', Book 1, Part 3, p. 3.
- 36 'Diary of Frank Roberts', 4 Jul. 1918, p. 71
- 37 John Pounder Roberts considered the 1798 Rebellion to have been engineered by the British Government in order to end the independence of the Anglo-Irish parliament.
- 38 Frank Roberts to Ruby Roberts, 3 Nov. 1917, JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 6, MS 8508.
- 39 Frank Roberts to JG Roberts, 27 Dec. 1917, JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 6, MS 8508; 'Copy of the diary of the late FW Roberts, Private, C Co., 9th Platoon, 21st Battalion Australian Imperial Force, 1 Jul. - 30 Aug. 1918', JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 7, MS 8508.
- 40 Frank Roberts to Ruby Roberts, extracts, 20-25 Aug. 1918, JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 7, p. 60, MS 8505.
- 41 Testimony of Private NJ Norwood, No. 6364, C Company, 21st Battalion, AIF. JG Roberts Scrapbooks, Book 7, p. 92, MS 8508.
- 42 Peter Stanley, 'Ten kilos of first world war grief at the Melbourne Museum', *The Conversation*, 27 Aug. 2014, theconversation.com/ten-kilos-of-first-world-war-grief-at-the-melbourne-museum-30362, accessed Dec. 2015.
- 43 'Copy of the diary of the late FW Roberts'.
- 44 Stanley, *Men of Mont St Quentin*, pp. 168-70; Luckins, *Gates of Memory*, p. 137.
- 45 Luckins, *Gates of Memory*, p. 39.
- 46 As well as wanting to complete a history on the battle of Mont St Quentin, JG Roberts was involved with Charles Gilbert in providing images of Frank Roberts for the dioramas prepared for the Australian War Memorial and the monument that was eventually erected at Mont St Quentin (see Stanley, *Men of Mont St Quentin*, pp. 166-68). Ziino describes in detail the 1920s industry centred on the publication of war narratives and letters,

ranging from Oliver Hogue's *Love Letters of an Anzac*, to Bean's *Official History* of the 1914–18 war, see Ziino, 'A lasting gift to his descendants', p. 129.

### Arnold: The Great War honour board at State Library Victoria

- 1 The 12 were from the Library and one (Towl) from the National Museum. The National Gallery had a separate honour board now housed at the Victorian College of the Arts. The names of the four killed in action (along with those of five other Australians) are also recorded in an Honour board at the British Library headed 'In Memory of the British Librarians Fallen in the War MCMXIV-MCMXVIII'.
- 2 Recorded in the 'Trustees general account: statement of receipts and expenditure for financial year 1916–1917', *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria for 1917*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1918, p. 8. See also Edmund La Touche Armstrong & Robert Douglass Boys, *The Book of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, 1906–1931*, Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, 1932, '1916', p. 33. Carter also designed the honour board for the National Gallery noted above. Little is known of him but see: Thomas Carter, Australian Prints + Printmaking, Centre for Australian Art, [www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/artists/550/](http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/artists/550/)
- 3 E La Touche Armstrong, letter to the editor, *Argus*, 31 Jan. 1917, p. 6. I am grateful to John Lack for pointing out this letter to me.
- 4 *Report of the Trustees... For the Year 1923*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1924, p. 6. Although the singular is used, this figure may have been for the cost of both the Library and the Gallery honour boards (see note 1). There is also no mention of the installation of the honour board in Armstrong & Boys, *The Book of the Public Library ... 1906–1931*.
- 5 See this issue, Gwen Rankin, 'A battle on the home front: choosing the commemorative mural for the Library', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 98, Sep. 2016, pp. 141–144.
- 6 'Embarkation and deaths taken from 'Enlistment statistics , First World War', Australian War Memorial, [www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/enlistment/ww1/#embarkations](http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/enlistment/ww1/#embarkations)
- 7 To search the World War I Nominal Honour Roll, go to [www.awm.gov.au/people/roll-search/nominal\\_rolls/first\\_world\\_war/](http://www.awm.gov.au/people/roll-search/nominal_rolls/first_world_war/)

- 8 [discoveringanzacs.naa.gov.au](http://discoveringanzacs.naa.gov.au).
- 9 [www.awm.gov.au/people/roll-search/roll\\_of\\_honour/](http://www.awm.gov.au/people/roll-search/roll_of_honour/).
- 10 There is a brief profile on Figgis on the State Library Victoria website; see [blogs.slv.vic.gov.au/such-was-life/war-such-was-life/samuel-figgis-librarian-and-soldier/](http://blogs.slv.vic.gov.au/such-was-life/war-such-was-life/samuel-figgis-librarian-and-soldier/).
- 11 About 25,000 of these were awarded to soldiers fighting in the British and Empire Services. For non-commissioned officers and other ranks, only the Victoria Cross was higher. See [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Distinguished\\_Conduct\\_Medal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Distinguished_Conduct_Medal): 'During the war ... concern arose that the overwhelming number of medals that were being awarded would devalue the prestige of those already awarded. The Military Medal for bravery in battle on land was therefore instituted on 25 March 1916, as an alternative award to the Distinguished Conduct Medal. The lesser Military Medal was usually awarded for bravery from this date and the Distinguished Conduct Medal was reserved for exceptional acts of bravery.'
- 12 [www.awm.gov.au/images/collection/pdf/RCDIG1068299--20-.pdf](http://www.awm.gov.au/images/collection/pdf/RCDIG1068299--20-.pdf)
- 13 Prepared by David Flegg; see [blogs.slv.vic.gov.au/family-matters/research-tips-tricks/museum-to-memorial/](http://blogs.slv.vic.gov.au/family-matters/research-tips-tricks/museum-to-memorial/).
- 14 John Young, 'Selleck, Sir Francis Palmer (1895–1976)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/selleck-sir-francis-palmer-11654/text20819](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/selleck-sir-francis-palmer-11654/text20819), published first in *hardcopy* 2002, accessed 1 Jun. 2016.

### Rankin: Choosing the commemorative mural for the Library

- 1 For Hall's understanding of this relationship, see L Bernard Hall, *College Quarterly*, 1900, p. 11.
- 2 Minutes of the Felton Purchase Committee, 13 & 26 Sep. 1921, MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria (SLV).
- 3 For the terms of Alfred Felton's Bequest, which were always scrupulously observed by the Bequests Committee, see PD Phillips to Trustees, 12 Jan. 1904, Felton Papers, National Gallery of Victoria.
- 4 George Bell to Edmund La Touche Armstrong, 18 Apr. 1922, Incoming Correspondence File of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery (PLMNGV), Public Record Office Victoria (PROV). Bell notes that his submission alone would take at least five months to complete.

- 5 L Bernard Hall to Hilda Rix Nicholas, 30 Mar. 1922, Hilda Rix Nicholas Papers, MA 9877, National Library of Australia (NLA).
  - 6 'Artnotes', *Australasian* (Melbourne), 24 Sep. 1921; 'General news', *Age* (Melbourne), 3 Dec. 1921.
  - 7 L Bernard Hall to Hilda Rix Nicholas, 19 Apr. 1922, Hilda Rix Nicholas Papers.
  - 8 L Bernard Hall to Hilda Rix Nicholas, 19 Apr. 1922; Hilda Rix Nicholas to Bernard Hall, undated draft, Hilda Rix Nicholas Papers; George Lambert to Edmund La Touche Armstrong, 26 Jul. 1922, Incoming Correspondence File of the PLMNGV, PROV.
  - 9 L Bernard Hall, draft report to the Trustees, MS 10549, Hall Papers, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV. Despite the use of pseudonyms, it is hard to believe that the judges did not know the identities of the artists concerned. All three had successfully submitted work for purchase by the Bequests Committee in the months preceding the competition, something few other Australian artists could claim.
  - 10 Report of the Mural War Memorial Committee, 14 Aug. 1922, Minutes of the National Gallery of Victoria, MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
  - 11 'Unsuccessful artists complain', *Age*, 5 Oct. 1922; 'Artnotes'.
  - 12 John Longstaff to Edmund La Touche Armstrong, Apr. 1922, Incoming Correspondence File of the PLMNGV, PROV; Longstaff asks if the trustees have yet accepted his suggestion that the doorframe be completed in marble.
  - 13 A photograph of Rix Nicholas's sketch is reproduced in this issue on p. 144, and in John Pigot, *Hilda Rix Nicholas: Her Life and Work* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2000, p. 39). Pigot, who attributes the artist's failure to secure the commission to an aggressively nationalist and masculinist ethos, does not explore the complexity of the practical criteria involved.
  - 14 The Australian War Museum opened on Anzac Day, 1922, in the Exhibition Building, Melbourne. Although Lambert's submission has not been located, *Anzac, the landing 1915* (1922), painted for the opening and which would have fit is almost certainly related. To see this work go to: [nga.gov.au/exhibition/lambert/Detail.cfm?IRN=144768](http://nga.gov.au/exhibition/lambert/Detail.cfm?IRN=144768)
  - 15 Alexander Colquhoun, Review, *Herald* (Melbourne), 4 May 1922.
  - 16 H Septimus Power to Edmund La Touche Armstrong, 14 Jan. 1924, Incoming Correspondence File of the PLMNGV, PROV; Minutes of a Conference between the Felton Bequests Committee and the Felton Purchase Committee, 29 Jan. 1924, MS 12855, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV.
  - 17 H Septimus Power to Edmund La Touche Armstrong, 21 Jun. 1922, Incoming Correspondence File of the PLMNGV, PROV; this letter, written after the new door was installed, was Power's first enquiry about the mural completion, while his failure to submit a full-scale figure study also suggests a very late beginning.
- Carew: Eric Harding Chinner**
- 1 Eric Chinner, France, to his parents (transcript), 13 Jul. 1916, MS 10191, Papers of Eric Chinner (1894–1916), Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (SLV).
  - 2 HE Elliot, *The Battle of Fleurbaix*, Melbourne: the author, 1930, p. 12.
  - 3 These are the names used by the family, the official names were Leslie Mervyn Chinner (1883–1964), Wilfred Clive Chinner (1884–1967), Cyril Henry Chinner (1887–1965), Ivy Vivean Eleanor Chinner (1889–1983) and Thomas Lloyd Chinner (1895–1976)
  - 4 Ann Carew to John Guest, 2012.
  - 5 Eric Chinner to his parents (transcript), commenced on 15th day at sea, Chinner Papers.
  - 6 Eric Chinner, 'Here Now', to Dear Eggshellsa-de-pieface-isky (Clive) (transcript), 2 Apr. 1916, Chinner Papers.
  - 7 Eric Chinner, 'Out in the desert', to Dear old Blob (Mervyn) (transcript), 1 Apr. 1916, Chinner Papers.
  - 8 Eric Chinner, Tel El Kebir, 'Out in the desert', to Viv, Jim, Lawrence and Rollo (transcript), 1 Apr. 1916, Chinner Papers.
  - 9 Eric Chinner, Egypt, to Dick (Cyril) (transcript), 15 May 1916, Chinner Papers. Hagan is Lieutenant Percival Charles Hagan.
  - 10 Eric Chinner, France, to Clive (transcript), 15 Jul. 1916, Chinner Papers.
  - 11 LM Chinner to Secretary, Department of Defence, 20 Apr. 1920, p. 33, p. 35; LM Chinner to JM Lean, Major Officer in Charge of Base Records, Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, 30 Oct. 1919, p. 43, Service Record for Eric Harding Chinner, B2455, National Archives of Australia.
  - 12 CEW Bean, Victoria Barracks, Sydney, to Mervyn Chinner, 21 Sep. 1927, Chinner Papers.
  - 13 Pia Akerman, 'Locket reunites lost digger Eric Chinner with Gladys Dunn', *Australian*, 14 Jun. 2008, [www.theaustralian.com.au/](http://www.theaustralian.com.au/)

- news/nation/locket-reunites-lost-digger-with-love/story-e6frg6nf-111116631086, accessed 23 Feb. 2015); Emma Sleath, 'A locket, a soldier and a broken heart', ABC Broken Hill, [www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2008/06/16/2275978.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2008/06/16/2275978.htm), accessed 22 Mar. 2016.
- 14 JM Hutchens to Gladys Dunn (transcript) 20 Aug. 1916, Chinner Papers.
  - 15 The remains of three British soldiers were found in the burial ground.
  - 16 LM Chinner to Secretary, Department of Defence, 20 Apr. 1920.
  - 17 Mike Chinner to Ann Carew, 12 Aug. 2014.
- Dewar: Collecting World War I personal papers at State Library Victoria**
- 1 See this issue, John Lack, Steven Kafkaris & Walter Struve, 'A universal collection of literature on the European war?' Great War pamphlets in State Library Victoria', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 98, Sep. 2016, pp. 77–91; and Kevin Molloy, 'From Kallista to Mont St Quentin: JG Roberts and the memory of the Great War', *La Trobe Journal*, no 98, Sep. 2016, pp 125–35.
  - 2 *Argus* (Melbourne), 28 Jun. 1916, p. 8. The Belgian documents were accessioned into the State Library of Victoria (SLV) in July 1919 at M 903– M1157; M 1159–1431.
  - 3 *Argus*, 3 Aug. 1916, p. 8.
  - 4 *Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, Report, 1918*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1919; *Argus*, 6 Aug. 1919, p. 10.
  - 5 CEW Bean, 'The writing of the Australian Official History of the Great War: sources, methods and some conclusions', *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1938, pp. 85–112; CEW Bean, 'The technique of a contemporary war historian', *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 2, no. 6, Nov. 1942, pp. 65–79.
  - 6 *Age* (Melbourne), 15 Mar. 1919, p. 12.
  - 7 Ann Millar, 'Gallipoli to Melbourne: The Australian War Memorial, 1915–1919', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 10, 1987, pp. 33–42.
  - 8 Anne-Marie Condé, 'Capturing the records of war: collecting at the Mitchell Library and the Australian War Memorial', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 37, no. 125, Apr. 2005, pp. 134–52; Tanja Luckins, 'Collecting women's memories: the Australian War Memorial, the next of kin and Great War soldiers' diaries and letters as objects of memory in the 1920s and 1930s', *Women's History Review*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 21–37; Sue Jamesion, 'WWI letters & diaries at the memorial', 18 Apr. 2011, [www.awm.gov.au/blog/2011/04/18/7988/](http://www.awm.gov.au/blog/2011/04/18/7988/), accessed 26 Apr. 2016.
  - 9 *Australasian* (Melbourne), 19 Feb. 1916, p. 38; Condé, pp. 136–42; *Age*, 28 Jan. 1919, p. 6; *Australasian*, 6 Sep. 1919, p. 50; *Age*, 2 Dec. 1919, p. 8.
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  - 13 Jock Murphy, 'Library profile: Patsy Adam-Smith', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 69, Autumn 2002, pp. 69–72.
  - 14 Geoffrey Serle, 'Notes', *La Trobe Library Journal*, no. 4, Oct. 1969, p. 96.
  - 15 For 'Bill' Tipping, see Graeme Davison, 'Tipping, Edmond William (Bill) (1915–1970)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tipping-edmond-william-bill-11868/text21249](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tipping-edmond-william-bill-11868/text21249), published first in hardcopy 2002, accessed 2 Jun. 2016.
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