

**THE ROCKDALE MUNICIPAL HONOUR ROLL
OF VOLUNTEERS WHO SERVED IN THE 1ST AIF DURING
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The centenary of The Great War, an enormously destructive conflict which deeply traumatized the modern world, is almost upon us. In Australia, however, it will be celebrated as an episode of considerable achievement. A strong consensus exists that Australian nationhood was born as a result of its volunteers fighting in battles of The Great War,¹ especially those of the 8-month Gallipoli campaign, commencing with the landing of 25 April 1915. There is a popular conviction that home-grown talents made the Australian 'digger' an outstanding soldier; and, without doubt, pride in his performances on the world stage gave a decisive boost to the rise of nationalism. Yet, somewhat perversely, there also exists a belief that the behaviour of members of the 1st Australian Imperial Force (AIF) was characterised by a reluctance to take seriously the strict regime which its high command considered a prerequisite for victory. Furthermore, recent (revisionist) historical scholarship suggests that their conduct was not always as benign as Australians are predisposed to believing.²

Amongst other things, this investigation sets out to explore those various propositions, from a local history perspective: through the lives of the residents of a municipality in Sydney's south, extending 11 kilometres along the western shore of Botany Bay, Rockdale, as they were involved in, and affected by, The Great War between 4 August 1914 and 11 November 1918. The centre-piece of the investigation is the Rockdale Municipal Honour Roll of 1st AIF volunteers (located in the foyer of Rockdale Town Hall), and this primary source raises questions such as the following. Who were the Rockdale volunteers: what were their backgrounds? What did they experience in consequence of enlisting in the 1st AIF and serving overseas? How did they conduct themselves? An associated question is: how were their womenfolk affected by the experience? However before those questions can be addressed, the origins of the Rockdale Honour Roll need to be investigated with a view to determining the extent of its reliability and usefulness.

REFERENCING: this investigation is based, in large part, upon the examination of multiple AIF dossiers of individual troops from Rockdale who served in The Great War. Rather than footnote each and every individual as their names appear, a list of those names can be found at the end of the study, together with a guide as to how their details can be retrieved and verified.

Origins of the Rockdale Municipal Honour Roll

The Municipal District of West Botany, proclaimed in 1871, was renamed Rockdale in 1887. Falling within its boundaries at the time of The Great War were the suburbs of Arncliffe, Banksia, Rockdale, Brighton Le Sands and Sans Souci, plus a locality known as West Kogarah. (Immediately to the west of Rockdale were the municipalities of Bexley and Kogarah, with Hurstville only a short distance away. Combined, these four municipalities constit-

¹ For example Head of the Research Centre at the Australian War Memorial, Peter Pedersen (b. 1952), argues in *The Anzacs: Gallipoli to the Western Front*, Penguin, Camberwell, 2007, p. 2, that 'The Australian Imperial Force ... was the instrument of their country's first great endeavour. Their deeds and sacrifice ... transformed Australia from a collection of disparate states into a true nation and earned the esteem of the world. Along the way they established a tradition that gave the nation its soul. Without this inspirational force, Australia would have been a different place'. As regards its members being volunteers, there exists a widespread belief that the AIF 'was the only all-volunteer army in the war of 1914-18', which is false, as is pointed out by John Connor, 'The "Superior" All-Volunteer AIF', which is Chapter 2 of Craig Stockings, (ed.), *12 Myths of Australian Military History: Anzac's Dirty Dozen*, New South, Sydney, 2012.

² Professor at the Australian Defence Force Academy in Canberra, Peter Stanley (b. 1956), in his *Bad Characters: Sex, Crime, Mutiny, Murder and the Australian Imperial Force*, Pier 9, Millers Point, 2010; and Stanley interviewed by Steve Meacham, 'Portrait of the Anzacs: deserters more interested in booze, brawls and sex', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 August 2010, p.3, in which Stanley suggests that '... Australians have preferred to dwell on the positives – on the best commanders, the great battles. And they have been reluctant to ask questions which result in awkward answers'.

ed the St George region. About 18 km to the north was the Sydney CBD.) Living within Rockdale municipality at the time of the *Commonwealth Census* of 2 April 1911 were 14 095 persons, 6734 males and 7356 females. By 31 December 1914 this would rise to 19 120, according to the estimate provided by the *NSW Statistical Register*, and at war's end in 1918, to around 20 900.

Quite early on during The Great War, Rockdale Council set a precedent for erecting memorials to local participants, in the case of Fred Waine. Back in 1903, at the age of 15, Fred had started working for the council; eleven years on, when war broke out, he held the position of Deputy Town Clerk and was also caretaker of the Town Hall. Soon afterwards he signed up with the 1st AIF, for service overseas, on 7 October 1914. Less than seven months later he was dead, at the age of 27, killed at Gallipoli on 1 May 1915. Fred a very typical AIF volunteer: Rockdale-born, he had received a primary school education at the local public school; he was a Protestant, (a member of the Methodist church); he was single, and appears to have lived at home with his parents (at their residence, 'Swindon', in Farr St, Rockdale) until enlisting; he stood 5 foot 8 inches (1.75 m) tall; he would be trained by the army to be an infantryman (as part of 'A' Company of the 4th Battalion) but not rise above the rank of private. Most commendably, Council determined that its former employee was a worthy candidate to be publicly honoured. The meeting of Council on the evening of Thursday 1 July 1915 opened with the tabling of a minute from W.W. Monahan: 'As mayor of the Municipality of Rockdale, I deem it my duty to officially bring before this Council the fact that their deputy Town Clerk, Mr. Frederick C. Waine, has fallen in battle while fighting for his country, at the Dardanelles. I desire to recommend [that] the Council ... place on permanent record its appreciation of his faithful service, and its deep sorrow [at] his untimely death. I further desire to recommend the Council to sanction the affixing to the walls of the Council Chambers of a tablet to his memory'. In an accompanying speech, the mayor made the type of remarks to be expected on such an occasion, including reference to Fred's 'glorious death'. At its meeting of Thursday 18 January 1917 Council would unveil a marble tablet, inscribed '... as a tribute to the memory of Frederick Charles Waine ... who was killed on active service at Gallipoli'. (Confusingly, it carries the date 21 December 1916.) A street in Rockdale would also be named after its fallen employee, Waines Crescent.³

After honouring Fred Waine at their 1 July 1915 meeting, the aldermen immediately embarked upon a larger scheme. They endorsed a proposal of Alderman Alfred E. Green that 'this council keeps a Roll of Honor [sic] of all residents of the Municipality who are killed during the currency of the war and at the termination of which a Memorial Tablet be erected in the hall and their names suitably inscribed on same'. In subsequent proceedings, the purpose of the scheme was reiterated: 'to perpetuate the memory of the men of this municipality who have given their lives for the Empire in this war', i.e. to honour specifically those local volunteers who were killed in action. (Note also that, at this stage of the war, Council considered Australia's involvement could be explained, simply, in terms of a commitment to the British Empire.) Council delegated executive responsibility for the undertaking to its mayor, (together with a suggestion that he might engage in some type of formal public consultation, although no evidence is available that this occurred). At the outset, the intention was that the costs involved would not be met by Council, but by fund-raising activities organized by the mayor, such as concerts. Across the approximately six years it would take to bring the project to completion, the position of mayor would be filled, successively, by four different men: W.W. Monahan, Alfred E. Green, Henry Broe and George E. Fortescue. Somehow, under Monahan, the project became much grander, involving the collection of many more names than just those who were killed in action. And, at a later stage, it became mired in controversy. On 4 July 1918 Mayor Green resigned from Council, following his earlier purchase of two discarded sheets of roofing iron from the council depot, a transaction which, subsequently, was found to be illegal for serving alderman under the Local Government Act. However scandal continued to dog him. Between October and December, questions were asked in Council about money raised for the completion of a second Municipal Honour Roll, from a concert which Green had organized, featuring the St George Amateur Operatic Society; he was in personal charge of the sale of 1500 concert tickets which realised £145 17s 3d, of which only £14 16s 3d was passed on to the council, the remainder being written off as expenses. What evolved over those six years was a disjointed process. The original idea of a marble tablet was abandoned by Council (as was made clear at its meeting of 24 August 1916). In its place, eventually a pair of quite large, matching wooden Honour Rolls would be mounted in the Town Hall, with names of many hundreds of AIF personnel who served during The Great War, additional to those killed in action. There oc-

³ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, meetings of: 8 October 1914, p.371; 1 July 1915, p.493; 18 January 1917, p.342; Municipality of Rockdale, *Rockdale Community Newsletter*, January 2008.

curred an interim unveiling of the (unfinished) first Honour Board on the evening of Sunday 31 October 1915; when completed, it was officially unveiled at a concert on Monday 9 October 1916 presided over by Mayor Monahan. (This must have involved at least the bulk of the initial 622 names that can be seen today, which are arranged alphabetically from A to Y, and extend over more than eight columns). The 'additional', 'Second Honor [sic] Roll' was mounted around mid-1921. (This possibly included some of the first 622 names, and probably the last 253 names, which were quite haphazardly set out, occasionally in alphabetical sequence. Thereby the total number of columns was increased to twelve.) It appears that the cost of the second Honour Board was met largely by Council itself: on 31 March 1921 it accepted a tender of £34 from Mr Tom Tyrer (presumably a cabinet maker) of 93 West Botany St, Arncliffe; in addition, hundreds of names had to be painted on the Roll in columns of 75, letter by letter, and on 9 June Council accepted the offer of a Mr Archie Hill to undertake that, at 1 shilling per name. In its final form, the Municipal Honour Roll would be divided between two quite substantial, rectangular, varnished wooden structures, each bordering six panels of names, painted with gold lettering, set out below declarations of '1914 For King and Country 1918'. (The introduction of 'Country' here suggests that nationalism had become an additional motivating factor in fighting the war in the minds of Council and community, equal in importance with Australia's imperial connection.)⁴

Problems of Reliability with the Rockdale Roll

In total, there are 875 names on the Rockdale Municipal Honour Roll. With but two exceptions (Collier and Gouchard), each consists of a surname followed by initial/s (or, in a small number of cases, a given name) - helping somewhat with identification although not making for a definitive outcome, (because missing are AIF service numbers, which sometimes can only be acquired, tentatively, via the painstaking process of sifting through, possibly, many hundreds of AIF dossiers for each individual surname).*

From a quick perusal of the Honour Roll, it is apparent the surnames are essentially British or Celtic in origin - the most common being Smith and Taylor, followed by Harrison, Robb and Turner. Interspersed with these are some names of Continental European extraction such as Crispo, Dannefaerd, Erickson, Furze, Mendellsohn, Moeller, Ohlson, Oppel, Petschler, Redaelli, Simonetti, Ullman and Wolfenden. But overwhelmingly, at the time of The Great War, it seems the residents of Rockdale shared an Anglo-Celtic heritage, and this goes some way to explaining a willingness to enlist in the Australian *Imperial Force*, viz. in order to fight in support of the British Empire.

As to how the names were selected, some insight can be gained from the following item contained in Council minutes for 23 January 1919:

... it was decided that the Town Clerk should put up a notice in the Town Hall, adjoining the existing Honor [sic] Roll, inviting the parents or relatives of Soldiers to furnish the Town Clerk with particulars with regard to honors [sic] won by Soldiers, and those unfortunate cases in which it is necessary to have stars placed opposite the names of deceased Soldiers...⁵

The wording was quite loose and details scarce: little thought went into what exactly was intended. The project was not being publicised in the conventional sense. It was a procedure dependent upon residents of the municipality somehow becoming aware that a list of soldiers' names was being compiled and, if of relevance to them and provided they were so inclined, approaching an officer of the council with a name. There were no strict criteria as to who qualified for inclusion on the Roll, other than having to be a soldier. The instructions Council gave its Town Clerk, Mr Percival Somerville, were vague, leaving much to his interpretation.[†]

⁴ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, meetings of: 1 July 1915, p.497; 24 August 1916, p.248; 21 September 1916, pp.281-2; 11 July 1918, pp.764-5; 25 July 1918, p.772; 17 October 1918, p.825; 31 October 1918, p.828; 14 November 1918, pp.845-6; 12 December 1918, p.861; 4 March 1920, p.1135; 2 September 1920, pp.1259-60; 14 October 1920, p.1292; 17 February 1921, p.1383; 28 February 1921, pp.1399-1400; 31 March 1921, p.1418; 9 June 1921, pp. 1475, 1477; 5 January 1922, p.1601. Also see 'Trouble in Rockdale Council', *St George Call*, 13 July 1918, p.5.

* Identification cannot be definitive. When working with only a surname plus initials, matches with things such as AIF dossiers can require a certain amount of educated guess work. One can be very confident of a match if the dossier also provides a Rockdale residential address of next-of-kin, or Rockdale as place-of-birth. However this is not always the case, or sometimes initials are not quite right, which necessitates a degree of judgement.

⁵ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, meeting of 23 January 1919, p.874.

[†] In adjoining Kogarah municipality a public meeting was convened on 30 July 1917 'for the pursuit of instituting an honor board'. See 'Honor Roll for Kogarah', *St George Call*, 4 August 1917, p.3. And, for 11 successive weeks, from 4 August until 13

A considerable depth of primary source information can be gathered about individual names on the Rockdale Roll, by matching them with their original service dossiers, compiled by the army's records section. Today in the keeping of the National Archives of Australia, the vast majority of these dossiers are available on-line. In addition to details of military service, the dossiers contain such information as: dates of enlistment and discharge, place of birth, religion, age at time of enlistment (in years and months), marital status, height, occupation, medical treatment whilst in the AIF, name and address of a nominated next-of-kin (which was progressively up-dated, with annotations), notification of a recent (overseas) marriage, etc. Also available on-line (thanks to the Australian War Memorial) is the 1st AIF's Embarkation Roll, a primary source from which it is often possible to identify the residential addresses of volunteers at time of enlistment. (It was only towards the end of the war that a modified enlistment form was sometimes used which contained the question 'What is your permanent address in Australia?', not present on the original application.) Most recently available on-line, the Australian Defence Force Academy's 'AIF Project' draws upon a range of primary source material to present a compilation of information about individual troops. (Occasionally this secondary source provides profiles of troops whose dossiers are not yet available on-line.) Separately, but especially when used in combination, these three caches of information are powerful aids to research. They are invaluable in helping with an understanding of Rockdale's volunteers.

There are, nevertheless, problems with identification of the Rockdale names. For example, some volunteers deliberately used aliases on their enlistment applications. Norman Leslie Agnew gave his name as Sherriff, while Sidney Rust called himself Jackson. Both these volunteers were under 21, the then legal age of consent, and as such the law required that they have their parents' approval to sign up – which they couldn't get. Hence they gave false names, in addition to lying about their ages. This was also the case with Ernest Christian Adkins. Just before being discharged from the army he thought it appropriate to make out a statutory declaration that 'I enlisted under the assumed name of Rogers. For the reason that being under age at the time, I could not obtain my father's consent to enlist'. For motives which at this distance in time cannot be determined, 20-year old Sydney Jones, with no living relatives, gave his name as Theodore Francis Aussel; 21-year-old Perch Pomroy gave Harold Blight as his name when he enlisted; 26-year-old Charles Hohnen used the name Hawkins, plus a false address from out in the country; and 22-year-old Percival Lawrence Williams gave his name as Peter Laurence Williams. Eventually each of these cases was discovered by the military authorities and noted in their official dossiers; but there must have been others who went undetected. Ernest Montague would go AWL (Absent Without Leave), but subsequently was reported as having re-enlisted under another name - which the authorities failed to discover.

Another problem in matching names with their AIF records involves spelling: it would appear that at least 34 names on the Rockdale Roll are misspelt (but there are probably more). Presumably this was a result of poor word-of-mouth communication, but it could also be due to carelessness by the council personnel entrusted with compiling the Roll. Those mistakes which can be detected are: 'Amery' when it should have been spelt 'Amy', 'Ammidy' should have been 'Amidy', 'Becken'/'Beeken', 'Bignell'/'Bignall', 'Degener'/'Dignam', 'Gross'/'Grose', twice 'Gurdler' should have been spelt 'Girdler', 'Haddon'/'Haddan', 'Hannam'/'Hannon', 'Hannam'/'Hannan', 'Hardy'/'Hardie', 'Hopkins'/'Hopkin', 'Hutchison'/'Hutchinson', 'Jackens'/'Jakins', 'Law'/'Lawson', 'Lenny'/'Lenny', twice 'Macdonald' should have been spelt 'McDonald', 'Mackenzie'/'McKenzie', 'Mallett'/'Mallit', 'Mathieson'/'Matheson', 'McAnnally'/'McAnalley', 'McFadgen'/'McFadyen', 'Mendellsohn'/'Mendelsohn', 'Moeller'/'Moller', 'Neldrett'/'Naldrett', 'Sanderson'/'Saunderson', 'Shean'/'Sheen', three times 'Sheriff' is used for 'Sherriff', 'Springhall'/'Springall', 'Stocham'/'Stockman', and 'Stonnell' should have been spelt 'Stonell'.

The various examples cited above do not constitute an insurmountable problem: because they have been identified, it is possible to make appropriate adjustments when dealing with any affected data. A greater problem affecting the Roll's reliability arises from the fact that a significant number of its names cannot, at least for the present, be matched with dossiers. There are 79 names which fall into this category. The use of aliases probably explains why some names cannot be matched. As already suggested, a likelihood is that some were badly misspelt, making it well nigh impossible to trace their origins. Another likelihood is that, sometimes, the same man's name appears twice: a few surnames appear twice with the same initials; alternately, the surname appears twice, but

October, Kogarah Council had an advertisement placed in the *St George Call* (appearing on page 6), inviting 'Relatives and Friends of soldiers and nurses who have enlisted ... to send such names ... for inclusion on the Municipal Honor Board to be erected shortly. Full names, number, unit date and place of enlistment, address (present and past) within the Municipality is desired'. However, unlike Rockdale's, a Kogarah Municipal Honour Board never eventuated.

with different initials, perhaps because the individual was known to his family by his given name and to others by a nickname. Another possibility is that some never existed in the first place – perhaps because, with the best of intentions, members of the public came forward with the names of men they mistakenly believed had enlisted, meaning there is no match to be made. Perhaps some 1st AIF dossiers have been lost, making it impossible to achieve a match; public access has been denied to others. (Another consideration is that it is possible the person whose job it was to paint the names on the Roll made some mistakes with lettering, e.g. working from notes provided, it would be quite easy to mistake a 'G' for a 'C', etc.)

A case of shoddy work on the part of the compilers of the Roll involved the Halloran family of 'Lenore', Station St, Arncliffe. The two sons of Horace Halloran of that address, 22-year-old Cliff and 19-year-old Henry, both volunteered. Their names are up there on the Rockdale Roll. What can also be seen is an asterisk next to the name of Henry, the conventional way of indicating on war memorials that the person in question was killed in action. The problem is that Henry survived the war, returning to Australia to be discharged from the army in October 1919. It was his brother Cliff who was killed: a trooper in the 6th Light Horse Regiment, he was severely wounded by shrapnel on Gallipoli and evacuated to the military hospital at Alexandria in Egypt, where he died on 7 September 1915. Perhaps it was a case of using information provided by the general public without having it verified by next-of-kin. At some time during the war, the Halloran family became a little difficult to contact when it relocated about 17 km away, to New South Head Road in Edgecliffe. Even so, it should not have been too difficult to track them down at their new address; it would have been very easy to contact the father, a member of the state public service, working in the Chief Secretary's Office in the city. But neither of these things appears to have been done.

Asterisks precede 65 (of the 875) names on the Rockdale Roll. Their only obviously mistaken use is in the case of Henry Halloran. Six of those names with asterisks cannot be traced in the records.* Yet even though the others were indeed all killed in action, the use of asterisks is quite misleading. During the long-continuing war, other troops named on the Rockdale Roll would also be killed yet not have this recorded: more than twice as many were actually killed as appears to be the case, based solely on the use of asterisks. This was an almost inevitable consequence of compiling names for a memorial that would be (partly) erected whilst a bloody conflict continued to be fought, rather than waiting until its conclusion. The names of hundreds of soldiers went up in print on the Rockdale memorial whilst they were still on active service. Subsequently, however, some would be killed – but the process established by Council lacked the flexibility to respond to this with the simple addition of asterisks alongside existing names.† (The adjoining municipality of Bexley would also arrange for its own Great War 'Honor [sic] Roll', but it was not unveiled until four years after the war, on 26 November 1922. This was typical of the timeline for such things: it provided sufficient opportunity in which to carefully conduct research, thereby ensuring accuracy and, hopefully, avoiding mistakes. As one might expect, the names on the Bexley Roll all appear alphabetically. Other nearby municipalities considered organizing their own comprehensive honour rolls, only to abandon the task: it was a mammoth undertaking, involving many hundreds of names, and the potential problems were numerous. During the course of the war, however, the newspaper for the surrounding region, the *St George Call*, contains items about various local churches erecting Honour Rolls for members of their own particular congregations who were serving in the AIF.)

There are a few names which leave an impression the compilers of the Roll did not always carry out their task with due diligence or much common sense. An 18-year-old who enlisted on 27 April 1916 (apparently with consent of next-of-kin), was to remain in uniform for less than 5 months. He never got beyond basic training. During

* I.T. Armstrong, L. Howard, F.R. Green, F.C. Lambourne, H.K. Meek, and H.O. Wall. These names are a mystery: there don't appear to be 1st AIF dossiers which belong to any troops with those names, or at least any who have connections with Rockdale; more significantly it has not been possible to match them with anybody (from Rockdale) on the 'Roll of Honour' of those killed in action, compiled by the Australian War Memorial at: http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/roll_of_honour/

† The Rockdale aldermen were quite conscious of this shortcoming at the time. This is apparent from discussions they entered into with photographic businesses to have photographs of the Honour Roll produced (for sale to the public at 1 shilling each). The arrangement Council reached with Messrs Harringtons Ltd involved 'adding stars to the names of soldiers already killed and not so marked together with MM [Military Medal] ...'. See Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, for meeting of 28 June 1917, p.484. It is difficult to comprehend why they would have a photographic 'negative altered' rather than having the problem properly fixed with the addition of asterisks to the Honour Roll itself.

his brief stay in the army, he went AWL on 11 occasions, and also was charged with disobeying orders and using abusive language to a Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO). Eventually the army got rid of him, using the pretext that he was under age. Yet his name was considered appropriate for inclusion on the Roll. After enlisting (with the consent of his parents) on 16 October 1918, 20-year-old Cyril Lloyd of 'Vivadells', Stanley St, Arncliffe, lasted in the army for less than two weeks. He was discharged medically unfit, with flat feet and a wasted left calf muscle. Nevertheless his name was also placed on the Roll. On the same day that Lloyd joined up, he was accompanied by three of his mates from Arncliffe, James Horth, Albert Senior and another young man called Foot, all of whom enlisted. Yet the names of these three do not appear. Getting your name on the Roll could be very arbitrary. Charles McKee from Rocky Point Road, Arncliffe, held the record for the shortest period of enlistment. He signed up on 27 April 1916, claiming that both his parents were dead and that he did not need anybody's consent despite being only 18 years and 2 months. When a check was made, it was found he had lied, as a consequence of which he was discharged after only two days in the army, for providing 'a wilful answer'. Even McKee's name appears on the Roll.

A fundamental question concerning the names on the Roll – although one which, at first sight, seems quite strange because totally unnecessary - relates to where volunteers actually lived before entering the army: what were their Rockdale residential addresses? A search of the relevant records reveals that 74 Honour Roll names, all supposedly 'Rockdale' volunteers, were not actually resident in Rockdale, or even living nearby (in an adjoining municipality), at the time of their enlistment. This somewhat unexpected phenomenon is illustrated by the following, each of whose names appear on the Rockdale Roll. Les Appel, (whose parents happened to be living at Barwon St, Arncliffe, during the war), had been born 600 km to the north, at Glen Innes, and it was from Lambert St, Glen Innes, that he enlisted in the AIF. Fred Arnold (whose parents lived in Arncliffe, where he had grown up) was himself living in Pembroke St, College Park, Adelaide, South Australia, 1400 km to the west, when he enlisted. The Blanchard brothers, Clarrie and Cyril, were both born in Rockdale, but their family relocated almost 600 km north, to Friday Creek in the Coffs Harbour region, where they were working on the family dairy farm when the decision was made by both to enlist. William Calcraft was a manager of the Commercial Bank; he had been born in Rockdale, where his parents still lived, but he, himself, was a resident of Binnaway, 450 km to the north-west, when he enlisted. Robert Critchley was Arncliffe-born, but his father moved around the state as a postmaster and was stationed at Dusidee via Dungog, 200 km to the north, and it was from there that Robert enlisted. Arthur Layton's father was also a postmaster, with his family constantly on the move; Arthur was born at Cootamundra, and at some stage must have lived in the Rockdale area when he was apprenticed to W.A. Dettmann of Arncliffe as a carpenter, but by the time of his enlistment he had moved on with the family to Nyngan, 570 km to the north-west. Lieutenant Bert Currie had been born near Rockdale, but at the time of his enlistment was working as a bank clerk at Marulan, 200 km south. Hemmingway Fisher (who appears on the Roll as Fisher, E.) was born in Arncliffe but when he enlisted in 1915, he was living with his wife and child in Wynnum, a suburb of Brisbane, a thousand kilometres north. Leslie McInerney's parents were living at Tabrett St., Banksia, but Les was living with his wife Helen and their child in another suburb of Brisbane, Sunnybank, from where he enlisted. Another to be born in Arncliffe was Cyril Gough but, subsequently, he moved with his family 3000 km west, to south of Perth, Western Australia, where he was working as an electrician in the mining town of Greenbrushes when he enlisted on 28 August 1914. Chris Hardy's only connection with the Rockdale area appears to be that his sister, Margret, lived in West Kogarah; he had been born at Narrabri, to the north west, and when he enlisted in October 1915, was living in the village of Taralga, 200 km south-west of Rockdale. Lieutenant William Layton probably never lived in Rockdale: he was born at Cootamundra and when he enlisted, was living with his wife, Eleanor, at Lawson in the Blue Mountains, 100 km to the west; the Rockdale connection possibly only eventuated after he was killed in action in 1917, at around which time his wife moved to 'Willella' at 1 Withers St, Arncliffe. George McBean was an itinerant rural worker whose family lived at 334 Botany Road, in the nearby suburb of Botany, just to Rockdale's north; he was working 130 km south at Mittagong when he enlisted. William McGinnity's parents were living in Rockdale during the war, but their son possibly never did: William was born in the Hunter region, a hundred kilometres to the north, and enlisted there, from West Maitland. John Corkery was also living in West Maitland, working as a hairdresser, when he enlisted; he had been born in Rockdale, where his parents still lived, in King Street. Ernest Montague was born in Grafton, 650 km north, and it was from there that he enlisted; in the interim, his parents had moved to Sandringham/Sans Souci. Oscar Adolf Mendelsohn (misspelt Mendellsohn on the Roll) apparently had some past association with Rockdale, but nothing can be found in his dossier to substantiate this; he was working as a schoolteacher at All Saints' College, when he enlisted from Bathurst, 200 km to the west. Arthur Robb, a surveyor, had been born near Lithgow; he sent in his enlistment application from Leeton, about 600 km

south of Rockdale, on 7 August 1915; a connection with the Rockdale area seems only to have eventuated when his parents moved to the suburb of Oatley, just south of Rockdale, in 1916. Spencer Seale enlisted from Thirroul where his family was living, about 60 km to the south; the Rockdale connection eventuated when, later, his parents moved to Station St, Arncliffe. Reg Tuck's parents were living in Tanner's Avenue, Kogarah, but he enlisted 250 km to the west, from 21 Bling St, Orange. Sydney Wright was an Englishman resident at Alextown, 170 km to the west, when he enlisted; he seems only to be connected to Rockdale through his sister, Mrs Catherine Redmond, living in the area. The Town Clerk, Mr Percival Somerville, was the one responsible for the collection of names and, apparently as the arbiter of such things, he could see nothing to object to with these particular names going up on the Roll.

Those mentioned above were included on the Rockdale Roll despite most living hundreds of kilometres away from the municipality when they enlisted in the AIF. Others can be cited who lived in other Sydney suburbs at the time of their enlistment. With the Town Clerk's concurrence, they also had their names included on the Roll, perhaps because they had been born and bred in Rockdale or, more likely, because of some other family connection with the area. Angus Allen, a bank clerk (whose father was the manager of the Bank of NSW at Rockdale) was living 13 km away from Rockdale, in Kensington, when he enlisted. William Brunne (whose parents only later moved to King Edward St, Rockdale) was living 27 km distant, in Fairfield. Ernie Buck (who had served his carpenter's apprenticeship with G & T Hastings of Kogarah) was living 8 km away, at 433 King St, Newtown. Melbourne-born Victor Cohen who was living 16 km away, in Paddington, seems to have had no contact with Rockdale prior to joining up – it was only later that his parents moved to 'New Haven' in Bellevue St, Arncliffe. Ernie Cotterell was born at Marrickville, 6 km away, where he was living with his wife Kathleen when he joined up – she would later take up residence at 'Myree', Margate St, Kogarah. Alexandria-born Roy Cowle enlisted from Junction St, Marrickville, whilst his parents were living in Gloucester St, Rockdale. Born in nearby Botany, Arthur Erickson was living with his parents at the Quarantine Station at Manly, 25 km north of Rockdale. Arncliffe-born Bob Fisher had left the area to live at Westbourne St, Petersham, 9 km away, with his wife Elsie. Andrew Hall, a member of the water police, was living at 44 Henry St, Waverley, 17 km away, with his wife Pinninah – later she moved to Alexandria St, Arncliffe. John Jervis of 78 Abercrombie St, Sydney, had a sister, Mrs Maude Walsh, living 18 km distant, at 8 Bruce St, Brighton Le Sands. Rockdale-born Frank Jones's father was a Methodist minister, the Rev. Charles Jones, and Frank had moved out of the area with his family to North Parramatta, 27 km away. In younger days, Albert Lane had been a member of the 38th Infantry at Kogarah, but had since moved on with his family, 24 km away, to the Methodist parsonage in Ryde. Scotsman Hector McKenzie was living at 330 Liverpool St, Ashfield, 10 km away, when he enlisted – it appears his parents only later took up residence in Derby St, Kogarah. George Mapstone of 448 Harris St, Ultimo, had a foster-brother, George, who lived 11 km away, at 'Rubevear' in Monahan St, Banksia. John Palmer was living with his wife, Florence, 7 km away, in Campsie – she would move to Cooks Park, Sans Souci. Gordon Petschler had left the family home in Rockdale and was living with his wife, Doris, in Wollstonecraft, 23 km away. Rockdale-born Carter Thackeray had moved 10 km away, with his brother, William, to Booth St, Annandale. Frank Welch had left the family home, 'Tara', in George St, Rockdale, to live at 36 Surry St, Darlinghurst, 15 km distant. His job as a schoolteacher had seen Rockdale-born Albert Wright move 28 km away, to Eastwood, from where he enlisted.

The name Clayton exuded social cachet in the Rockdale of the period under investigation. And that name appears twice on the Honour Roll. John Horatio Clayton (1855-1925) was a long-time resident of Rockdale. He lived at 'Myree' on Forest Road at Arncliffe. His achievements were numerous. For many years an alderman, he also served as Mayor of Rockdale. His funeral in 1925 would be attended by the then mayor and other alderman. Also in attendance was the local Member of the Legislative Assembly, businessmen and representatives of the legal and medical professions. A graduate in law from Sydney University, Clayton was admitted as a solicitor in 1879; in 1894 he moved into offices at 164 Pitt St, Sydney, from where he practised until 1919. He was a consummate networker, serving as: secretary of the Old Boys' Union of his old school, prestigious Sydney Grammar; president of the NSW Cricket Association; and vice-president of the Metropolitan Rugby Union.⁶ He had two sons, Hector

⁶ John Clayton's death on 18 May 1925 was followed by reports and death notices in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, see 19 May p.10, 20 May p.9, 21 May p.10. Also see *SMH* reports during the course of the Great War concerning him and his sons: 'Junior Cricketers: Not Playing the Game', 3 September 1915, p.8; 'Australians Honoured', 5 November 1917, p.8. For John Clayton's legacy as a founder of legal firm Clayton Utz, see on-line: 'The making of a national firm, Clayton-Utz', *Lawyer's Weekly*, 2 June 2011; 'Celebrating Clayton Utz 175 years – our history 1833-1920'.

Joseph Richard (b.1885) and Henry John (b.1887), both educated at their father's old school and university, graduating, respectively, in law and medicine. By the time war broke out in 1914, Hector was a partner in his father's law firm and Henry a superintendent at Royal Prince Alfred Hospital. Both signed up in 1914, upon enlistment each being commissioned; Henry would hold the rank of major in the Medical Corps; after being wounded at Gallipoli, Hector eventually rose to the rank of (honorary) lieutenant colonel, performing impressively in an administrative role as commander of the AIF base camp at Étaples⁷ – and Mentioned in Despatches by the British Commander-in-Chief, Haig. (Lieutenant Colonel is the highest rank to be obtained by any of those on the Roll). The enlistment forms for commissioned officers required a postal address, and both brothers gave 164 Pitt St, Sydney. It seems very unlikely they had remained living in the family home at Arncliffe. Nevertheless the names of the brothers both appear on the Rockdale Honour Roll. The Rockdale community would have been very keen to claim such notables as its own.

A range of objections can thus be raised as to the reliability of the Roll. It contains the names of 74 men not actually living in Rockdale at the time they enlisted, some of whom had very tenuous local connections; and the identities of a further 79 cannot be verified. This leaves the names of 722 volunteers who did enlist from Rockdale. The additional question can now be raised as to whether the latter constitute the sum total of those who volunteered from throughout the Rockdale municipality. And the answer is no. This can be demonstrated, for example, with the use of another 'Municipality of Rockdale Honor [sic] Roll', this produced during The Great War by the firm of Mercer & Ramsay of 317 George St, Sydney.* (A firm interested in making a profit, Mercer & Ramsey produced rolls for sale to local organizations that were enhanced with the use of individual photographs of local volunteers, in uniform, and protected behind glass. There are at least three similar examples of this type of commercial product in the St George area: one for Kogarah and two for Hurstville). Mercer & Ramsay's illustrated Rockdale Roll contains the names of 134 local men. It does not presume to be comprehensive, but it is quite reliable when cross-referenced with AIF dossiers. And it provides 16 verifiable names that are not to be found on the municipal roll. More revealing, a suburb-by-suburb investigation of Rockdale municipality using the on-line 'AIF Project' suggests there may well be hundreds more local volunteers whose names do not appear on the Rockdale Municipal Honour Roll.

What the Rockdale Honour Roll represents is a broad sense of community. It contains the names of very many men who were living in the municipality at the time of the war and who enlisted from there; it also includes the names of soldiers who, at some time, had some type of connection with the locals, which, even if quite fleeting, the community wanted to acknowledge - as with the opportunity presented by the Roll. There must have existed an enormous sense of pride in the feats of arms performed by all these men, which the community wanted to express.

The Usefulness of the Roll for Historical Research

For the purposes of historical research, however, the Roll cannot be taken at face value, as definitive of Rockdale's 1st AIF representation. It does not contain the name of every Rockdale resident to enlist during The Great War, and in certain ways it could be considered misleading. On the other hand, the 722-strong sample (constituting perhaps 60-70 per cent of the total number of Rockdale volunteers) is both reliable and, consequently, potentially extremely useful. This kind of representative sample has been used in a wide array of other historical studies that have yielded extremely useful insights. Such large samples provide the raw data for the quantitative analyses employed increasingly by the modern-day historian.

An interesting piece of information about the composition of this 722-strong Rockdale cohort is that not one was a woman. The adjoining municipality of Kogarah could boast a female representative, (Staff Nurse Edith Blake, who can be seen today at the centre of the No.1 Honor Roll with photographs in the Kogarah RSL Club), but not Rockdale. Yet this is not to suggest that Rockdale women played no part in the overall drama that constituted the war. As will be explored at greater length below, females were intimately involved, some very significantly affected by the experience – even if they didn't wear uniforms.

⁷ Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p.80.

* The Mercer & Ramsay Honor Roll is presently located in the *Medal Shop*, 253 Rocky Point Road, Ramsgate. (At time of writing, the proprietor was in negotiations to sell it to Rockdale council.)

The type of thing the Rockdale cohort can be used to determine, with extreme precision, is height.[†] How short and tall were the Rockdale volunteers? They ranged from 5 foot and half an inch (1.54 m), to 6 foot, 2 inches (1.87 m). Back then a male would have been considered very tall if he was about 6 foot (1.83 m), and, of the cohort, 15 were that tall or above. The average height was 5 foot, 6¾ inches (1.67 m). Some of the Rockdale volunteers would have been considered very tall by the standards of the time, but overall, they were not giants among men. (Today's average Australian male is 1.76 m.)

Enlistment papers (except those of officers) had an entry for religion. Just three of the cohort chose not to respond: William Bishop, a married 40-year-old who gave as his occupation 'engineer', of 'Delhi' on the corners of Hirst and Patrick Sts, Arncliffe; Richard Jones, a 19-year-old steam hammer driver of Kingsland Road, Arncliffe; and 36-year-old labourer Leslie Rosen, married, of 'Dunorlan', Victoria St, Arncliffe. (Whatever his reason for not wanting to commit himself, there were those who did want to claim Rosen. His name would be one of those on an Honour Roll unveiled in the Methodist Church at Arncliffe on 30 January 1916.⁸ Rosen would have a successful career in the AIF. He fought at Gallipoli; in the meantime he had been making a steady rise through the ranks, to become a lieutenant in the 2nd Battalion. To cap this all off, in 1918 he was awarded the Military Cross relating to his service in France.) James Ikin, who enlisted twice in the AIF, first in 1914 and, after being discharged because of varicose veins, again in 1917, was obviously something of a practical joker: on his first enlistment application he indicated he was an Anglican, but on the second claimed to be Jewish. Cliff Halloran wrote on his form: 'Christened Church of England' - which suggests little conviction. In all the enlistment papers of the Rockdale cohort, these are the only examples of men indicating anything other than conventional, straightforward membership of one or other of the major Christian denominations.

In terms of religion, Rockdale displayed quite a degree of uniformity. At the *NSW Census* of 1901, 95.42 per cent of residents indicated they were Christian,* of whom 79.97 per cent were Protestant (Anglican 49.79 per cent, Methodist 15.6 per cent, Presbyterian 7.22 per cent, Baptist 1.26 per cent, Congregationalist 5.43 per cent) and 12.78 per cent Catholic. (The Catholic religion which, in that period, one usually associates with those of working class and Irish backgrounds, was considerably weaker in Rockdale than elsewhere in NSW, with 25.63 per cent of the state being Catholic.) Whether committed or simply nominal, the Rockdale volunteers were Christians - and aligned overwhelmingly with British varieties of that religion. Catholics constituted only 10.7 per cent of the Rockdale cohort. The rest were Protestant. On their enlistment papers, some indicated they were Congregationalists, Baptists and Non-Conformists, together forming 5.7 per cent of the total. Methodists represented 11 per cent, Presbyterians 13.1 per cent and Anglicans an enormous 59.4 per cent. In combination with the predominance of an Anglo-Celtic cultural heritage (already alluded to), the local ascendancy of British Protestantism ensured that few residents could conceive of anything other than committing themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of the British Empire in The Great War.

When war broke out, 19-year-old Robert Bradley, of 'Urana' in Kelsey St, Arncliffe, was engaged in theological studies, presumably intending to become a minister of religion. If anyone would be beset by a moral dilemma about taking up arms with a view to killing the enemy, perhaps it should have been him. Someone with his background could easily have chosen not to enlist. In June 1916, at the age of 21, he joined up. One could well imagine him then being allocated a non-combatant role. But contrary to such considerations, his theology actually seems to have emboldened a determination to engage in combat. Not only was he a member of the 19th Infantry Battal-

[†] Initially there was a minimum height requirement for applicants for entry into the 1st AIF of 5 foot, 6 inches (1.87 m), which was lowered, gradually, until eventually it reached 5 foot (1.52 m). See Ernest Scott, *Australia during the War*, which is Volume XI of the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18*, ed. C.E.W. Bean, third ed., Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1938, p.439.

⁸ *St George Call*, 5 February 1916, p.5.

* No figures exist for church attendances during the period. Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914-1918*, Catholic Theological Faculty and Australian War Memorial, Sydney and Canberra, 1980, pp.7-8, argues that, 'while the census showed that the bulk of Australians described themselves as Christians', they were 'nominal Christians, church people in name only, who took no active part in the corporate life of the church'. McKernan cites an influential Anglican layman who believed that 'four out of every nine Australians described themselves as Anglicans. However, he doubted if five per cent of them were regular churchgoers, or attended church at all'. McKernan also cites a Catholic priest of an inner-city working-class locality who lamented that perhaps as many as 75 per cent of his parishioners seldom if ever attended mass.

ion, but with an exemplary record, he rose through the ranks to become a sergeant. Twice he would be wounded while fighting in France. Bradley was an Anglican, born in Londonderry, Northern Ireland.

According to the *NSW Census*, just 0.24 per cent of Rockdale's population were Jews. During the period of The Great War, there was at least one Jewish family living in Rockdale, the Benjamins of 'Penzance' in Parker St. Two Benjamin brothers would join up: 37-year-old David, who was an accountant; and 20-year-old Victor, a law clerk. Neither would get his name on the Rockdale Honour Roll. Was it because they were not considered part of the community? Perhaps the explanation has to do with the fact that the family came from New Zealand, where David was born.

The Rockdale cohort includes 103 persons who had been born outside Australia. Five were born in New Zealand, together with one each in India and Ceylon. (From their names, it appears the latter two were the offspring of British nationals.) By far the biggest group of outsiders were the 96 (13.3 per cent of the total cohort) who came from the British Isles[†] – thereby further strengthening Rockdale's Anglo-Celtic ties. The remainder, 85.7 per cent, were Australian-born.

Only 18.3 per cent of the cohort were married men. The explanation that immediately comes to mind is they had wives and possibly children, and that many considered caring for their families was their most important priority. It would have been so much easier for a young, unmarried man, to uproot himself and embark upon an enterprise which carried with it a significant risk of being killed.

Of the 589 single men, at the very least 411 were still living with their parents when they enlisted – and probably many more. One of the implications is that a decision to enlist was very likely the outcome of quite some discussion and soul-searching by the whole family.⁹ Of those under 21, at least 76.5 per cent were still living with their parents. It also needs to be kept in mind that, if under 21, a young man could not enlist unless he had the permission of his parents – which in practical terms meant their counter-signatures had to appear on their son's (preliminary) application, or one of the parents had to write a note to the military indicating agreement. (Sometimes parents were sent a consent form to sign.)

The average age at which cohort members fronted up to the military and signed on (for the duration of the war, plus four months, as was the norm), was 24 years and 3 months. Those aged under 21 constituted 29.68 per cent of the cohort; those aged 21 to 25 represented 41.7 per cent. The bulk of volunteers thus came from these two groups combined: 71.38 per cent were aged 25 and below. There was a marked drop off in the numbers who enlisted after 25 years-of-age. Those aged 26-30 represented 12.76 per cent; 31-35 constituted 8.18 per cent; 36-40 were 3.88 per cent; and 41-45 year-olds provided just 3.74 per cent of the cohort.

The oldest member of the cohort to enlist was Alf Bedford, married, a railway guard of 'Wonga', Flora St, Arncliffe. He signed up on 29 October 1917, aged 45 years and 6 months (born 6 April 1872). He was given a job behind the lines in transportation, with the 3rd Railway Company. Alf remained in the army until 28 September 1918, when discharged medically unfit, suffering from rheumatism and heart problems – which the military doctors summarized as evidence of 'prem[ature] Senility'. Robert Quine, a horse trainer of Evans St, Sans Souci, was 45

[†] Those of British background, especially if they were single men, can be extremely difficult to locate in terms of residential addresses. This is because, as previously explained, the enlistment papers that were used throughout most of the war did not ask the question: 'What is your permanent address in Australia?' The questions that were contained on the usual enlistment papers were: 'In or near what Parish or Town were you born?' and 'Who is your next of kin? (Address to be stated)'. In the case of young, unmarried men who had migrated to Rockdale from the British Isles, typical answers to both questions often involved only places in the British Isles. An example of this is the dossier of Private George Alexander Aldworth, 56 Battalion, service no.3001, killed 26 July 1916. He was born in Berkshire, England, and his next-of-kin, his father George, lived in Berkshire. His name corresponds with a name on the Rockdale Municipal Roll, but otherwise there is seemingly no Rockdale connection. (However the executor of his will lived in Rockdale, and there were later enquiries about him from the Anglican vicar from Brighton Le Sands.) Private Angus Mitchell, 4 Battalion, service no.1401, was born in Scotland, and his nominated next-of-kin, his mother, still lived there. Again no Rockdale connection is apparent, although the name matches. (In his dossier there is a letter dated 1921 in which a Major C.A. Whyte of Pile St, Arncliffe, indicates he knew him.) The position adopted in this study regarding individuals of British background is to rely on name-matching, and not disqualify them as members of the Rockdale cohort if Rockdale residential addresses cannot be discovered.

⁹ For one interpretation, see Marina Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs: living with the scars of war*, UNSW Press, Sydney, p.31ff.

years 4 months, when he offered himself for military service on 20 September 1915. In total, he would enlist on three separate occasions, at his first attempt remaining in the army for 15 months in the 2nd Remount Unit, and on the second occasion for just over a month; but eventually, on each occasion, he would be discharged for reasons such as being 'over age' and 'thoroughly past military age'. Another member of the cohort, William Griffith of Marines St, Arncliffe, was 44 years and 2 months when he enlisted on 15 February 1916, to be allocated to the 3rd Pioneer Battalion. He was discharged medically unfit on 3 January 1918, the notes on his file reading: 'Senility, Debility, Defective vision'. Also allocated a position in the Pioneers, presumably working well behind the battlefront, was John Stokes, a carpenter from Railway Crescent, Banksia. He enlisted on 23 September 1915 aged 45. On 16 May 1917 he was discharged medically unfit, his medical report reading: 'General Debility' and 'He is over age and strain of active service broke him down'. The oldest to enlist from Rockdale was probably a man whose name does not appear on the Roll, William Denmark, of 'Magnolia' in Bay St. He was an Englishman, born in Lancashire, who gave 'jeweller' as his occupation when he signed up on 5 March 1917. He was 50 years and 8 months old. Bill would serve in the Medical Corps, for some time with the Sea Transport Staff whose job it was to help invalids on their return voyages to Australia. He was demobilized from the army on 26 May 1919. Active service was for fit, young men, although jobs could be found away from the battle zone for which older volunteers like Denmark were seemingly well suited.

The longest serving member of the cohort was Stanley Henry Crawford. He spent over 6 years in the AIF. Stan began as a clerk and rose to the rank of captain, attached to headquarters staff. He signed up (aged 20 years and 10 months) on 17 August 1914, remaining in the army until 22 August 1920.

Under-Age Volunteers

As already touched upon, there were instances of underage young men enlisting, typically in defiance of parents' wishes. Because of the subterfuge involved in such cases, it is a little difficult to determine who the youngest member of the cohort was at time of enlistment. Two likely candidates are Uri Deane (N.C. Deane on the Roll) and Sid Rust.

Born in Mudgee, 250 km north-west of Rockdale, Uriel Clyde Deane was living with his parents in Wollongong Road, Arncliffe, when, around the beginning of August, 1915, the decision was reached that he would enlist. He gave his occupation as farmer, and claimed to be 18 years and 1 month. If they had any suspicions, it was not unusual for the military authorities to write to next-of-kin for confirmation that permission had been given for young men below the age of consent to join up. With Deane there were no problems, either then or subsequently, which would seem to indicate that his parents were fully informed about what he was doing and supportive. At 5 foot, 2¾ inches (1.59 m), he was far from being physically imposing. Nevertheless Private Deane went on to serve as an infantryman in France, first with the 18th, then the 3rd Battalion. On 23 July 1916 he was wounded in the head and arm by shrapnel and hospitalized, with medical treatment continuing, off and on, until December. Sent back to England, he rose to the rank of (acting) corporal. But soon he got himself into trouble by going AWL, first for 14 days and again for 41 days, this time involving a trip to Ireland, at the end of which he surrendered himself to the Military Police in Dublin, on 18 April 1918. He told his Court Martial, 'I had saved money and was induced to go over to Ireland', adding, 'I am willing to go back to France'. Worried about the severity of the punishment the court would hand down, Deane explained by way of mitigation: 'I was between 16 and 17 when I joined up, nearly 17'. Pleading guilty to the charge of being AWL, he was sentenced to 90 days' detention, which was immediately commuted to a fine of 45 days' pay. By this time he had turned 19, and so remained in the army, until discharged on 4 September 1919.

Sidney Noel Rust was living with his mother at Beaconsfield St, West Kogarah, from where he joined up on 1 May, 1915. For occupation, he gave sawmill hand. At 5 foot 6 inches (1.68 m), he was of medium height. But he was under age and did not have the consent of his mother; he lied, claiming to be 24 years, 2 months. (Born on 16 February 1898, he was actually just short of 17 years, 3 months.) As explained earlier, to hinder the military authorities when he enlisted at Victoria Barracks, Rust gave a false name, calling himself Sidney Jackson. Subsequently, however, all was found out by the mother, by which time Sidney had been about two months in camp, receiving his basic training. Yet somehow Sidney won her over, getting his mother to sign a letter of consent – which satisfied the army. Just over 6 months after enlistment, Private Rust was fighting with the 2nd Infantry Battalion at Gallipoli, where he was hospitalized with frostbite. After recovering, he was sent to fight in the trenches of France, being allocated to a light mortar detachment. On 20 July 1916 an exploding artillery shell resulted in

serious wounds to his back, right thigh and knee, and left hand, causing him to be evacuated to a hospital in England. There, despite their best efforts, the doctors could not prevent the loss of a finger and part of a thumb. On 2 June 1917, Rust was discharged from the army back in Australia, medically unfit, presumably to the great relief of the mother. It seems he then worked as a bread carter. Yet he was determined to get back in uniform, and again sent in an enlistment application, on 17 April 1918. Furthermore, on 1 May an army medical board determined him to be 'Fit for Active Service'! At this point there occurred a decisive parental intervention, armed with a birth certificate, with which it could be demonstrated that young Noel had still not reached the legal age of consent. Thereupon his application was marked: 'Cancelled under age parents refuse'.

Another example of the incompleteness of the Rockdale Municipal Honour Roll involves John Leslie Anderson: it does not contain his name (as a consequence of which, also, he does not form part of the cohort being used here for statistical purposes). He was living with his sister, Mrs Elsie Polazzi, at Oswell St, Rockdale, and working on a dairy farm, when he enlisted on 20 April 1916. At 5 foot, 4 inches (1.63 m) he was slightly below average height. He gave his age as 18, explaining that both his parents were dead – although on his application was written: 'Sister's Consent to be Obtained'. Upon completion of basic infantry training, at Dubbo and Bathurst, on 30 September 1916 he embarked from Sydney on the troopship *Princess Victoria* for overseas service, bound for Europe. During the voyage he was placed on a charge of using insulting language to an NCO and fined 2 days' pay. On 1 January 1917 he joined the 54th Battalion in France. After being exposed to the bitterly cold winter, he was admitted to hospital with frostbite in February. Only in May 1917 was his real age discovered (as a result of information cabled from Australia). He had been born on 7 April 1902, which meant that on enlistment he was just 14 years and 18 days (as someone later calculated and noted on his attestation papers). On 28 June 1917 he was removed from the combat zone, sent to England where he would be placed in the Australian Working Party (and continued to be paid as an army regular). On 15 October 1918 he began the return voyage to Australia, being discharged from the AIF on 28 January 1919. It seems John Anderson was the youngest of the Rockdale volunteers, and his service certainly qualified him for inclusion on the Roll – but that did not occur.

Social Class Composition of the Rockdale Cohort

Analysis of responses to the question 'What is your trade or calling?' on attestation forms, indicates the Rockdale cohort was heavily working class in character. Of 719 responses, only 2.8 per cent could be categorized as those of members of a profession or a businessman. These included: a school teacher, a reporter, a business manager, an importer, two merchants, two building contractors, seven draughtsmen, five surveyors, a civil engineer, three accountants, a chemist, a geologist, a veterinary scientist and a solicitor. To these could be added a university student, a theological student, a dental student and two articled law clerks. About 12 per cent of the cohort were white collar workers or in public administration: 4 described themselves as public servants and 82 as clerks. Printing and publishing employed 19, and 9 were engaged in postal and communications services. Approximately 46 were involved in the retail trade and 54 in the preparation and distribution of food. (Eleven bakers enlisted, and this occupation more than any other translated directly into specialized military jobs, viz. in bakeries.) The railway and tram systems accounted for 5.1 per cent; 8.2 per cent were involved in some way with horse drawn transportation and 2 per cent with the infant motor transport industry. Trades and various other occupations, requiring decreasing amounts of skill, associated with the building industry, accounted for 30.3 per cent, the largest grouping within the cohort. For example 44 described themselves as carpenters, 12 as cabinet makers, 15 as plumbers and there were 10 electricians. By far the single largest group of building workers, (and in the cohort overall), were the 83 who described themselves as labourers, and there were 14 bricklayers. Metal workers of various types numbered 64, 8.8 per cent of the total. A century ago, there might be only a short physical distance between city and country, and 4.5 per cent of the Rockdale cohort could be described as rural landholders or workers. These included 12 farmers, 4 dairy farmers, 2 orchardists, 2 station overseers, plus another 12 variously describing themselves as station hands, bushmen and shearers. The cohort also included 3 boat builders, 6 fishermen and 3 sailors. There was one who described himself as a servant, and there were 2 gardeners. Rounding out the numbers were two hairdressers, a caretaker, a cleaner, a night officer, a bottle blower, a cigar maker, a gas filler, a brush maker, etc.

Given such occupations, with correspondingly basic educational qualifications (in an era when a secondary education was quite the exception), it was unlikely that the Rockdale cohort would provide many military officers. Just 4.8 per cent received AIF commissions, drawn disproportionately from those with a professional background.

Lieutenant Les Rosen from Arncliffe, (mentioned previously as not wanting to provide his religion), demonstrates that even a labourer could rise from the ranks, but such cases were extremely rare.

Officers

Early on, the military authorities seemed quite willing to appoint as officers in the AIF men from middle class backgrounds with military credentials, but which could be quite limited, if indeed not dubious. Two interesting examples provided by the Rockdale cohort are Captain William Henderson and 2nd Lieutenant Charles Phillips. Both were from Britain. Because of the paucity of documentation in their files, one cannot be absolutely certain but it appears both secured commissions thanks to grossly inflated claims to leadership ability, and when their lack of talent became only too apparent, their services were quickly dispensed with.¹⁰

William Francis Henderson lived with his wife, Margret, at 'Nashua' in Watkins St, Rockdale. It appears he applied for a commission with the AIF soon after the outbreak of war, which was approved on 20 November 1914, only for him to resign about 2 weeks later. He applied again for a commission in mid-1915 (although there is some confusion about dates, the application in his dossier being dated 23 June 1915, with another document indicating he had already been commissioned by then, on 15 May). Henderson was a Catholic. He gave his age as 39 years, 2 months and height at 5 foot 9 inches (1.75 m). The spaces on his application next to both 'Educational Qualifications' and 'Present Civil Employment' were left blank. The handwriting is difficult to read, but seems to indicate he had served as an officer with the Royal Navy for two years, with other periods commanding infantrymen. An interview with Colonel McNaughton, 19th Battalion, produced a recommendation he be made a captain. He was commissioned and embarked for overseas service on 25 June 1915. After arriving in Egypt, however, he was not attached to any unit. Rather, he was designated S.N.L.R. (Services No Longer Required) and returned to Australia, his commission being withdrawn on 15 October, when discharged from Liverpool camp as a private.

Charles Herbert Phillips, a 43-year-old accountant, was living with his wife, Margret, at their residence 'Bard of Avon', in Eden St, Arncliffe, when, in mid-1915, he applied for a commission in the AIF. In support of his application he explained he had been educated at Norfolk Grammar and then an English Public School, Malvern College. He added that he had 'Read French'. At 5 foot 10 inches (1.78 m), he was reasonably tall. For 'previous Military Service', he detailed 8 years of various types of involvement, beginning in England (Tower Hawlets volunteer rifles), next South Africa (Orpeus Horse, and Legion of Frontiersmen), and most recently in Ballarat (3rd Battalion, Victorian Rifles). On the basis of such information, followed up by an interview with G.K. Kirkland, commander of Liverpool base camp, it was decided Phillips' background qualified him to be an officer and, on 16 September 1915, he was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant. On 2 November he embarked for overseas service, joining the 55th Battalion in Egypt on 16 February 1916. By 19 March it had been determined by his superiors that, for 'Disciplinary reasons', he was S.N.L.R., to be returned to Australia, immediately, for discharge.

An altogether different type of character was William Cornelius Jennings, a Protestant from Tipperary, Ireland. Through ability and by setting a fine example, he would rise quickly through the ranks of the 53rd Battalion. When war broke out, Jennings was living in King St, Rockdale and working as a clerk in the Chief Accountant's Office of the NSW Government Railways and Tramways in Pitt St, Sydney. Prior to coming to Australia he had served for 10 years in the 1st Battalion, Royal Irish. Less than a month after the outbreak of war he enlisted, aged 36 and quite tall at 5 foot 11 inches (1.82 m). There was no attempt to draw attention to his previous military experience – he simply joined up, like thousands of others, without fanfare, as an ordinary volunteer. But his knowledge of the military stood him in good stead, resulting in promotion to Lance Corporal within 6 weeks of enlistment, to Regimental Sergeant Major in mid-1916 and, in January 1917, to 2nd Lieutenant. Four days after the landing at Gallipoli he received a bullet wound to the thigh; following hospitalization, he returned to the fighting on the peninsula. He proceeded to France in 1916. In January 1917 he was Mentioned-in-Despatches by the British Commander-in-Chief, Haig. On 25 September 1917 he was killed, near Glencourse Wood.

There is a sub-plot involving Lieutenant Jennings' private life worth considering. It seems he might well have migrated to Australia to escape an unwanted domestic situation. On his enlistment papers, he wrote that he was not married, and gave as his next-of-kin, a sister living in Ireland. In Sydney he had become involved with a Miss Emily McIntyre, of 17 Chapman's Steps, Forest Lodge, to the extent that she described herself as his fiancée. (This be-

¹⁰ Also see Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p.40.

comes apparent from her correspondence with the military, enquiring after Jennings.) Yet when he wrote a will in his pay book (as all troops were encouraged to do), he left all his possessions to a wife, Marjorie, of 115 High Holborn St, London. (Upon his death, the wife was quick to claim a widow's pension, which for a soldier of his rank amounted to a sizeable 70 shillings per fortnight.) A vaguely similar social theme runs through the background of 20-year-old, 5 foot 11 inch, Charles Riach Peat, whose name is on the Rockdale Roll. He was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, and it seems his migration to Australia had been motivated by a desire to leave behind the fact that he was illegitimate. In Sydney he secured a job in the police force. Within less than a fortnight of the outbreak of war, he enlisted, to become a corporal in the 4th Battalion. He would die on Gallipoli, fighting at Lone Pine on 6/9 August 1915. What is interesting about both Jennings and Peat is that, apparently because of personal circumstances, they found life at home so uncomfortable they chose to leave, but when war threatened the British Isles, they immediately felt impelled to take up arms in its defence. Their actions were not motivated by any sense of loyalty to Australia; that is not why Peat and Jennings died fighting with the AIF at Gallipoli and in France.

Of the 706 members of the Rockdale cohort whose units can be identified, 357 (50.6 per cent) were attached to the infantry. It accounted for 20 of the 34 members of the cohort to receive commissions; and 261 (37 per cent) served as privates in infantry battalions. As with the AIF overall, it was life as a private in the infantry which typified the experiences of a Rockdale volunteer. (Only 31 would be members of the Light Horse Regiments and Imperial Camel Corps that spent the latter part of the war fighting in the wide expanses of the Middle East.) The second most common type of unit in which they served (and arguably the most crucial to the outcome of the conflict) was an artillery brigade: 11.3 per cent were artillerymen, 68 being privates, drivers or gunners, attached mainly to the field artillery, just a few being involved with heavy artillery. The next most common troop allocation of Rockdale men involved logistics: 9.9 per cent helped maintain supply networks, and deliver materiel and food, etc., to the battlefield. Next came membership of engineer units, which accounted for 9 per cent of the cohort: 45 were sappers, privates or drivers involved with construction and maintenance of facilities, etc. A specialist combat unit (which became increasingly more important as the war progressed) was the machine gun brigade, and 3.7 per cent of Rockdale cohort served there. In addition, 24 members of the Rockdale cohort were involved with providing medical support, 10 were attached to signals, 9 to the Australian Flying Corps, 7 to headquarters staff, 5 were with trench mortars, 4 were military policemen, 3 were tunnelers, 3 were members of the Cyclist Battalion and 2 belonged to the Army Pay Corps. In addition, 9 of the Rockdale cohort would travel to German New Guinea with an Australian expeditionary force.

A very atypical perspective of the war in Europe, from a height of 6000 metres, would be that gained by Norman Leslie Petschler. He was a local boy, educated at Kogarah Superior Public School. The 23-year-old was living with his wife, Gladys, at 'Brabourne' in Ramsgate Road, Kogarah, when he applied for a commission in the infant Australian Flying Corps on 15 September 1916. As his occupation he gave 'Indentor and Importer'. More significantly, for the previous 5 years, he had been a member of Australia's part-time Citizens' Military Forces, serving in the 25th Signal Company. He had risen to the rank of lieutenant and, for the last 18 months, held the position of Chief Instructor at the NSW Signal School. Passed fit by an army doctor, he was commissioned as a 2nd lieutenant on 17 October 1916. Upon arrival in England he underwent training with the RAF, and on 21 October 1917 was promoted to captain, together with the position of commander of 'A' Flight, No.2 Flying Corps Squadron. His job involved patrolling at 17 000 to 20 000 feet. The work was extremely intensive,¹¹ yet for more than 11 months he received no adequate rest. He suffered from earache and deafness, accompanied by increasing bouts of giddiness and nausea. In March 1918 he crash-landed, bringing on a crisis of confidence; in May he needed to be hospitalized with what was diagnosed, variously, as '[poor] vestibular stability', 'flying sickness', 'nervous debility' and neurasthenia. From France he was evacuated to a convalescence home at Hampstead, England. He had become very hesitant and nervous; so disrupted were his sleep patterns that at one stage he could only get to sleep with the use of drugs. His commission was terminated on 21 June 1919.

What Motivated the Men from Rockdale to Enlist?

When Britain declared war on Germany, on 4 August 1914, it also declared war on behalf of Australia, which was still a British colony and not a sovereign nation. It was not until about midday on 5 August that news of the declaration actually reached Australia. And even though they had not been consulted, the nation's political leaders

¹¹ For a discussion of some of the stresses to which a pilot could be subjected, see Pedersen, *The Anzacs*, p.246.

then set about out-bidding each other in their declarations of support for Britain. The leader of the Labor opposition (and soon-to-be-elected Prime Minister), Andrew Fisher, declared 'Australians will stand besides our own to help defend her [i.e. Britain] to our last man and our last shilling'. Australia's Liberal Prime Minister, Joseph Cook, offered to send a force of 20 000 troops to Britain's aid. All would have to be volunteers because it was laid down in Australia's *Defence Act* that troops could not be sent overseas without their consent. Yet such was the public's enthusiasm that, within a fortnight of recruitment commencing on 11 August, 20 000 had volunteered.¹² For the whole war, a total of 416 809 would volunteer for overseas service, of whom 331 781 were actually deployed outside Australia. Of the latter, 64.98 per cent became casualties of war – almost 20 per cent were killed, and nearly 45 per cent wounded.¹³

Following the outbreak of war, the next edition of the regional newspaper, the *St George Call*, carried this appeal for volunteers:

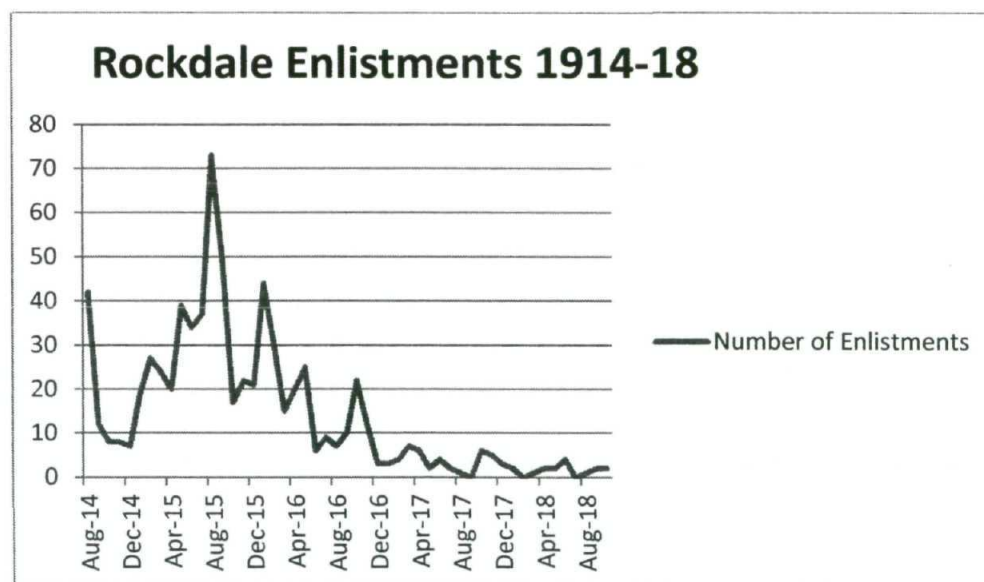
Expeditionary Force

Instructions have been received ... that volunteers are requested for an expeditionary force to be despatched abroad.

Those desirous of offering their services, including men now serving, and those who have been trained, should register their names at Victoria Barracks without delay. Those under nineteen years of age are not eligible.¹⁴

The latter formula was soon replaced, with any men 18 years or older being eligible to enlist in the AIF, but with those below 21 needing the consent of their parents.

The monthly pattern of enlistments by members of the Rockdale cohort closely resembled national trends.¹⁵ In August 1914, 43 locals rushed to enlist, from which point there was a decline, bottoming out at 7 volunteers for the month of December 1914. The trend was upwards for the next nine months, with a spike of 73 signing up in August 1915. From that point, the trend was downwards for the rest of the war, with only single figures enlisting for each of the last 23 months, from December 1916.



The initial rush-of volunteers is easy to explain: it was a clear indication of widespread popular support for Britain in the face of a threat from Germany. One member of the cohort who signed up with the AIF within days of the outbreak of war, on 12 August 1914, was Charles George, who lived with his wife, Laura, in King St, Rockdale. At 5 foot 4 inches, this 39-year-old Englishman had been born in Bath, Summerset. He was a Methodist. He was also the cleaner at Rockdale Town Hall. Immediately upon signing up George wrote to inform Council, his letter being tabled at its meeting of 13 August. It gives a clear, sharp insight into how people were thinking at that particular point in time:

¹² Neville Meaney, *Australia and World Crisis, 1914-1923*, Sydney University Press, 2009, chapter 1.

¹³ Scott, *Australia During the War*, pp. 872, 874; Pedersen, *The Anzacs*, p.454.

¹⁴ *St George Call*, 15 August 1914, p.4.

¹⁵ See Scott, *Australia During the War*, p.873.

As a loyal subject of the King of England and as one who has seen active service in the Imperial Army I today responded to the call for service abroad. I was accepted and having to report myself at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning I shall not for the present be able to carry out my duties as Cleaner at your Town Hall. I hope that the war will be over in a few months' time and that you will then be good enough to allow me to again take up my duties in your service – a position I am leaving for the sake of my King and Country. I will leave the matter in your hands.

The aldermen voted unanimously to 'keep Mr George's position open for him and the Clerk was directed to send Mr George a letter expressing Council's best wishes for his safe return when the war is over'.¹⁶ The hope that the war would be concluded quickly, within a matter of months, was based upon a calculation shared not only by George and the aldermen. At that moment, practically nobody believed the war would go on for anywhere near as long as it did, for 1586 days. Few could comprehend that what was just beginning in Europe was a new type of conflict, industrialized warfare on a massive scale, which would result in the deaths and maiming of literally millions, soldiers and civilians. The early rush signed up for an overseas excursion that they presumed would be over in a matter of months, perhaps by Christmas at the latest being a popular calculation. (Actually George did not go to Europe and fight. Rather, he was assigned to 'A' Company of the 1st Naval and Expeditionary Force which was sent from Australia to occupy German New Guinea. When, filled with imperialistic fervour, he had volunteered for overseas military service, the last place he would have expected to go was the tropics. Such is the unpredictability of the human condition. He was discharged from the army on 15 July 1915.)

Upon the outbreak of war in Europe, its mobilization plan immediately committed Germany to an all-out invasion of a neutral country, Belgium, in total disregard for international law. (Thus Germany presented Great Britain with the opportunity of entering the war in defence of a neutral country, thereby assuming the moral high ground in the conflict.) The German invasion of Belgium was accompanied, throughout August 1914, by much wilful destruction, such as the burning of the medieval university town of Louvain, and the mass executions of hundreds of civilians, with many others being deported to Germany.¹⁷ The Allies would be provided with a large amount of shocking information which they didn't even need to exaggerate to build up a picture of militarism gone amuck: without resorting to propagandistic excess, they could convincingly represent the prospect of a German victory as a grave threat to the whole civilised world.¹⁸ 'Poor little Belgium' became a rallying cry,¹⁹ with the conduct of 'the barbaric Hun' giving rise to a mass humanitarian response, even in far-off Rockdale. The local origins of the movement, which would continue its fund raising activities for Belgium, Australia-wide, throughout the war, can be traced through the council minutes. At its meeting of 24 September 1914, a request was received by Council for use of its Town Hall for a 'concert in aid of [the] Belgian Distress Fund'; the aldermen also agreed 'to open an official depot at the Town Hall Rockdale to receive second hand clothing etc.' for the Belgians. On 25 February 1915 it was agreed that Council would provide 60 chairs to be used at 'the Belgian fete' scheduled to be held at Brighton Le Sands. On 11 March correspondence was received from the 'National Belgian Relief Fund Committee re. assisting on behalf of the Starving Belgians', with responsibility being assumed by the mayor for overseeing the establishment of a Rockdale branch of the organization. At its next meeting, Council received correspondence requesting assistance with the running of Belgian Day, set for 27 March. In April there was a request for the use of the Town Hall for a 'Belgian Fund Dance', and a similar request in May from the Bexley Branch of the National Belgian Relief Fund.²⁰ Attendance at such community activities, with stirring speeches to the fore, would regularly have exposed the residents of the municipality to the idea that Australia was fighting to help defeat a very malevolent force, one guilty of the most heinous of crimes. The torpedoing of the British passenger liner *Lusitania* by a German submarine on 7 May 1915, resulting in the loss of 1201 lives, would have served to steel that resolve.²¹

¹⁶ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, for meeting of 13 August 1914, p.348.

¹⁷ Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*, Oxford University Press, 2007, chapter 1.

¹⁸ For example, see the speech by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, delivered on 19 September 1914, reproduced in the *St George Call* of 9 January 1915, p.2.

¹⁹ 'Belgian Funds', *St George Call*, 20 March 1915, p.3; 'Why Should the Empire Help Belgium?', *St George Call*, 1 May 1915, p.6.

²⁰ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, for meetings of: 24 Sept 1914, pp.365, 366; 25 February 1915 p.443; 11 March 1915 p.447; 25 March 1915 p.450; 22 April 1915, p.463; 6 May, p.470.

²¹ Colin Simpson, *Lusitania*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972; Diana Preston, *Lusitania: an Epic Tragedy*, Walker, New York, 2002.

This had a much more universal appeal than simply fighting for the British Empire, and possibly accounts for the rebound in Rockdale enlistments from the early months of 1915.

Gallipoli

With few exceptions, Australians consider 25 April 1915 to be the defining moment of The Great War, when their troops landed at what we now know as Anzac Cove.²² It was the beginning of a campaign that involved the Australians until the night of 19/20 December 1915, when the last of their contingent were evacuated from the Gallipoli peninsula. Causing some Rockdale residents to focus particularly on these 8 months would be news of the deaths of family members and friends: the Rockdale Honour Roll contains the names of 30 men who died during the Gallipoli campaign – 28 from wounds and 2 from disease. Corporal Charles Allerdice, 4th Battalion, of Carrington Avenue, Hurstville, worked as a linotype engineer for the *Sydney Morning Herald*; he was killed at Lone Pine on 19 August. Private Frank Bancroft, 13th Battalion, of Cameron St, Rockdale, was a fisherman; he was killed on 6 August. Also killed on 6 August was 2nd Lieutenant William Beeken (misspelt Becken on the Roll), of the 3rd Battalion; he was a draper, from 'Woodley', Godwin St, Bexley. Private William Bishop, 3rd Battalion, was the engineer from Arncliffe, who chose not to indicate a religion on his enlistment papers; he would die from a bullet to the head on 15 December. Private Jack Cairncross, 1st Battalion, a labourer of Brighton Le Sands, was killed in the Lone Pine attack, between 6 and 11 August. Private George Cooper, 13th Battalion, was a fisherman from Sanoni Avenue, Sandringham (Sans Souci); he died on 7 July. Lieutenant William Dannefaerd, a school teacher born in Rockdale, died some time between 6 and 8 August, in the Lone Pine attack. Private Edward Gawthorpe, a tuck pointer of Bay St, Rockdale, also died at Lone Pine, on 9 August. As previously touched upon, Trooper Cliff Halloran, of the 6th Light Horse, died of wounds in the military hospital at Alexandria, Egypt, on 7 September, after being evacuated from Gallipoli. Private Peter Hardie (misspelt Hardy) of the 18th Battalion, a labourer, was a Scotsman who lived with his wife in Bestic St, Rockdale; he died on 22 August. Sergeant Robert Henderson of the 1st Battalion, married, of Farr St., Rockdale, gave mechanic as his occupation; he was killed on 25 April, the day of the first landing. Private Stan Hudson of the 17th Battalion was a blacksmith of 'Roseville', Edward St, Arncliffe; he died of enteric fever on 23 October, in the military hospital at Gibraltar. Private George Huthwaite of the 4th Battalion, was a carpenter from 'Grantham', Cameron St, Rockdale; he was yet another to be killed in the Lone Pine attack, between 6 and 9 August. Private Reginald Lambeth, 20th Battalion, had been a printer, living at King Edward St, Rockdale; on 14 August Reg died of wounds aboard *HMT Rewa*, after being evacuated. Private Alex Lamond, of the 13th Battalion, married, of Mills St, Carlton (a suburb adjoining Rockdale) was a quarryman; he was wounded in the chest and died on a ship in the Aegean on 4 May after being evacuated. David and Sidney Lamond were brothers, who enlisted from Harrow Road, Rockdale. Dave was a quarryman, Sid a rubble mason. Both brothers were privates, Dave in the 2nd, and Sid in the 1st Battalion. Both brothers died as a result of the fighting on Gallipoli: Dave was killed on 2 May; Sid received a severe shrapnel wound to his back and died 4 days later on 15 August, after being evacuated to a hospital in Malta. Private Albert Langston, 3rd Battalion, was born in Staffordshire; he was a stone mason who enlisted from 'Gladdis Villa', 98 Spring St, Arncliffe; Bert died between 7 and 12 August. Private Sidney Leer, 1st Battalion, was a draughtsman who enlisted from Far St, Rockdale; Sid was killed at Shrapnel Gully on 4 December. Private Richard Meek, 1st Battalion, lived at Bay St, Rockdale and was a farmer; he was amongst the first to land at Anzac Cove; he received a wound to the head, dying a few days later, on 29 April. Private Gavin Morton was a stretcher bearer with the 3rd Battalion; from Scotland, he was a draughtsman living in Wollongong Road, Arncliffe; he was killed between 10 and 12 May. Sapper James Pantlin, 1st Field Company of Engineers, was a clerk from 'Haseley', Railway St., Rockdale; he was killed at Shrapnel Gully on 5 May. Corporal Charles Peat, 4th Battalion, was the policeman who seems to have left Scotland because of his illegitimacy; he was another victim of the Lone Pine attack, dying between 6 and 9 August. Private Alexander Pert, 19th Battalion, was an apprentice fitter when he enlisted from 'Whangaroa' in Kyle St, Arncliffe; he died in hospital in Alexandria on 31 August, after being evacuated from Gallipoli. Private Jack Piper, 4th Battalion, was a bottle blower from Railway St, Banksia; he died at Lone Pine on 6 August. Sergeant Wallace Ridley, 18th Battalion, was a school teacher who lived at Cliff St, Arncliffe; Wal died on 27 August. Private William Rodden, 18th Battalion, was a cleaner from 'Glenelg', 47 Russell St, Dolls Point (Sans Souci); after contracting dysentery, he was admitted to hospital in Alexandria on 9 September, and was dead 15 days later. Private Alfred Stonnell (misspelt Stonnel), 18th Battalion, of Fitzgerald Hill, Kogarah, gave his occupation as 'lubricator maker'; Alf died on 22 August. Private Fred Waive, 4th Battalion, has already been discussed: he was Rockdale's Deputy Town Clerk who was killed on 1 May.

²² Pedersen, *The Anzacs*, pp.70-71.

Private Peter Whaley, 3rd Battalion, of 'Waterford Cottage', Terry St, Arncliffe, was a dairyman; he died between 7 and 12 August.

For Australians back then, the Gallipoli campaign was an episode of great historical import because, for the very first time, troops representing their entire nation had gone into battle. (Prior to Australia federating, individual contingents from the various colonies had fought for the British Empire in the Sudan, China and South Africa, but never as a unified force.) Throughout history, the type of amphibious military operation in which the Australians had participated has proved notoriously difficult, often disastrous, yet the Anzacs clung on tenaciously to a precarious position for months. Through the 'blood sacrifice' made by Australians such as Rockdale's volunteers, it was considered they had paid their dues and earned a place of honour amongst the great nations of the world. A report of the Gallipoli landing by British war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, in the Saturday 8 May edition of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, would have been read with avid interest by many throughout Rockdale. It laid the groundwork for a narrative that would inform public debate and private conversations, producing a surge of nationalism (evidenced by the spike in enlistments). Ashmead-Bartlett's report read in part:

The Australians, who were about to go into action for the first time in trying circumstances, were cheerful, quiet, and confident. There was no sign of nerves nor of excitement ...

The Australians rose to the occasion. Not waiting for orders, or for the boats to reach the beach, they sprang into the sea, and forming a sort of rough line, rushed at the enemy's trenches ...

It was over in a minute. The Turks in the first trench were either bayoneted or they ran away, and their Maxim [gun] was captured.

Then the Australians found themselves facing an almost perpendicular cliff of loose sandstone, covered with thick shrubbery. Somewhere, half-way up, the enemy had a second trench, strongly held, from which they poured a terrible fire on the troops below and the boats pulling back to the destroyers for the second landing party.

Here was a tough proposition to tackle in the darkness, but those colonials, practical above all else, went about it in a practical way ...

They stopped for a few minutes to pull themselves together, got rid of their packs, and charged their magazines.

Then this race of athletes proceeded to scale the cliffs without responding to the enemy's fire. They lost some men, but did not worry ...

They were happy because they knew that they had been tried for the first time and had not been found wanting ...

There has been no finer feat in this war than this sudden landing in the dark and storming the heights, above all holding on whilst the reinforcements were landing.

In Defence of the AIF's Reputation

By coincidence, on exactly the same day that this report by Ashmead-Bartlett appeared, Saturday 8 May 1915, the *St George Call* published a letter that had been sent back to Australia from Egypt, from a local AIF volunteer, George Campbell (of Oatley). It was intended as a defence of the AIF's reputation, in response to an earlier article, written in February 1915 by (honorary captain) Charles Bean, Australia's one and only official war correspondent (and future official war historian). Bean had criticized Australian troops for getting drunk and whoring in the back streets of Cairo.²³ Suffused with sarcasm, Campbell's letter read in part:

Capt. Has-Bean's letters are a slander on the whole force... Capt. Bean has been speaking with a very small weak self-satisfied voice through an exceptionally large hat. Anyhow his job is reporting, not as a critic. The people of Cairo, the highly educated and refined English and French gentlemen who invite the troops to their homes to meet their wives and daughters, and have seen the behaviour of troops in a garrison town for years are much better able to criticize than a stay-at-home scribe, and their opinion is vastly different from 'Has-Beans' ...²⁴

²³ Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p.35. Also see Pedersen, *The Anzacs*, pp.33, 38-9.

²⁴ *St George Call*, 8 May 1915, p.5. (Like other Australian newspapers, the *St George Call* would publish letters sent home by the troops, under the heading 'From the Front'; the first appeared on 17 April 1915, but were seldom seen by mid-1917. The *St George Call* also began publishing photographs of local volunteers on its front page, the first on 30 January 1915, that of Private Cec Hughes of Sans Souci.) The contempt the 'diggers' had towards Charles Bean would change dramatically, to one of affection, as a result of what transpired on Gallipoli: he himself landed at Anzac Cove on the morning of 25 April, remain-

Here was an indignant rejection of any aspersions on the character of the 1st AIF. Nevertheless, it probably had the effect of raising questions in the minds of at least some Rockdale residents as to the AIF's conduct overseas. Herein are the outlines of an intriguing debate, which has recently assumed a new prominence, about the AIF: were its members crack troops or often drunk, wild colonial boys? One of the purposes of the present investigation is to determine where Rockdale's AIF volunteers are located along such an interpretative continuum.

One particular insight into the debate is that provided by 24-year-old Lance Corporal George McPherson of the 19th Battalion.²⁵ A salesman from 'Alvie' in Clarence Road, Rockdale, according to the *St George Call* George 'was well known in sporting circles, being Hon. Secretary of the St George Amateur Rugby Football Club'.²⁶ He had joined up on 27 February 1915 and served on Gallipoli from 16 August – until evacuated with dysentery, about a month later, to Egypt, where he was hospitalized for 6 weeks, followed by another 6 weeks of convalescence. Thus he would have the opportunity of visiting Cairo, to observe at first hand the conduct of his fellow Australians. In consequence he formed the opinion that there existed 'that very small though rowdy larrikin element', which he implies was responsible for 'such crimes as striking natives, illtreating [sic] natives in the street, drunkenness, etc.' This observation was included in a letter he wrote home, which was subsequently published in the *St George Call*. His letter then contains a passage which gives a decidedly different impression (from that created by Bean's article) as to how certain members of the AIF such as himself conducted themselves:

Yesterday was Sunday, and I tried to find the Presbyterian Church, but lost my way. However I went to the Soldiers' Club, where the Y.M.C.A. were conducting the evening service. It was a splendid meeting and crowded. There are quite a number of places in Cairo apart from the camps where one may go and rest, write letters, play billiards and other parlour games. The Y.M.C.A. control a skating rink and provide entertainment, concerts, boxing contests, skating, band performances, etc. These places are always full, and patronised by those chaps who are always more or less careful of their self-respect.²⁷

Army dossiers record such things as the charges on which troops were placed for misconduct but, understandably, not the type of behaviour that encompasses church attendance. As to how typical it was is hard to tell: what is certain is that it is not the type of information one finds in a present-day treatment of the topic (such as Peter Stanley's *Bad Characters*).^{*} Nevertheless McPherson's observations deserve consideration. Actually an examination of his AIF dossier discloses that, on 28 January 1916, (not all that long after he must have written his letter), he himself was to be charged with being drunk and neglecting duty in Egypt; as punishment, he was confined to barracks for 10 days. But that was the only occasion, in more than 500 days of military service, on which he would ever be put on any charge; not once would he be Absent Without Leave. After Gallipoli he was sent to France, where he transferred to the 4th Field Company of Engineers. On 28 July 1916 he was killed by shrapnel. The *St George Call* carried a report of what happened, written by a fellow soldier, Sergeant Charles Bruce (from Blakehurst, just south of Rockdale): 'George McPherson ... was carrying rations to some of his mates cut off in a trench in front (as a volunteer) when a shell got him. He knew the risk and faced it like a hero'.²⁸ Amongst the personal effects that were returned to his family in February 1917 was a prayer book.

Following evacuation from Gallipoli, some Australian troops would remain in the Middle East, helping defend the Suez Canal zone against the Turks and then move northwards in a campaign which culminated in the occupation of Jerusalem in December 1917. A few of the Rockdale cohort were involved, such as Cliff Berry, a plumber from Cook Park, Sans Souci, who served as a Private in the Camel Corps. He was wounded in the right leg and right forearm whilst fighting near Gaza on 19 April 1917, resulting in him being invalided out of the army.

ing to share with them the dangers and the hardships of the campaign, in the process even being wounded, in the leg. As the driving force behind the publication of *The Anzac Book*, a compilation of contributions by the troops themselves, Bean was instrumental in helping establish the 'Anzac Legend' which presented the 'digger' in a very positive light.

²⁵ For a discussion of how members of the AIF were quite adept at providing a very selective perspective when writing to their loved ones back in Australia, see Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs*, pp.41-60: '... soldiers carefully presented their families with reassuring narratives ...' (p. 59). This needs to be kept in mind when assessing a letter such as that written by George McPherson: just how reliable is it?

²⁶ For a brief commentary on George and his brothers, see 'Gunner J.S. McPherson', *St George Call*, 28 September 1918, p.8.

²⁷ 'From the Front', letter by George McPherson (undated), *St George Call*, 29 January 1916, p.4.

^{*} See below, p.24.

²⁸ *St George Call*, 23 September 1916, p.6.

Casualties

The 722-man Rockdale cohort would suffer a casualty rate of 55 per cent: 17.6 per cent were killed in action, 0.97 per cent died of illness, 35.1 per cent were wounded and 1.8 per cent became Prisoners of War (POWs).

Robert Cameron, of Aboukir St, Rockdale, was a 23-year-old tram conductor when he enlisted on 20 June 1916. Less than five months later he was being buried at sea, the briefest period of enlistment for one of the members of the Rockdale contingent before dying on active service. He had spent most of that time with his 'Reinforcements' group receiving basic infantry training in regional localities, firstly 400 km inland in the Dubbo area, followed by a period at Kiama, 120 km down the south coast from Rockdale. About 10 days prior to embarking for overseas service, he injured his left leg. After just 8 days at sea, on 16 November, he 'died of disease', of toxæmia resulting from a bone abscess.

The most wounded member of the cohort was Charles Dobbie of 'Mascot', Rawson St, Rockdale. He had worked on the railways as a fireman before enlisting with the first rush of volunteers, on 20 August 1914, just a month short of his 21st birthday. Whilst on Gallipoli, on 7 June 1915 a shrapnel splinter hit his left index finger, necessitating evacuation and hospitalization at Malta. In March 1916 he arrived in France where, on 23 July, he was shot in the right hand, requiring evacuation to England, to a hospital in Birmingham, and resulting in the amputation of his fourth finger. On 25 February 1917 he returned to France, only to be wounded again, on 8 March, but this time he remained on duty. Later that year, on 4 October, he was wounded for the fourth time, a bullet hitting his left forearm and then damaging his left eye. Again he was evacuated to England and, after treatment at Chelsea, he would return yet again to France. An infantryman of the 2nd Battalion, by March 1918 Dobbie had risen to the rank of Company Sergeant Major; later in the year he attended an officer training course. Unfortunately a doctor who examined him at the beginning of 1919 discovered an 'almost blind left eye' which he must have been hiding. Three months later he was discharged from the army. Dobbie was decorated for gallantry and devotion to duty with the Military Medal.

Casualty figures can also be used to identify the combat zones in which the cohort mainly served. Of the 127 killed in action, 28 died on Gallipoli. The remainder were all killed on the Western Front, where the vast majority of those evacuated from Gallipoli were sent, to be joined by most new volunteers. It was also there that the 13 POWs were all captured, fighting against the Germans. Just over half the cohort were members of infantry battalions which would be engaged directly in front line action on the Western Front, with many other Rockdale volunteers supporting them, in roles such as with artillery, the engineers, logistics and the Medical Corps. Thus it was not Gallipoli, but northern France and Belgium where the Rockdale cohort saw most action and suffered most of its casualties.

The Western Front

The Western Front was where the war would be decided. Gallipoli was but a sideshow to the main event, and an Allied failure to boot.²⁹ However, thanks to the likes of Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett and, especially, Charles Bean, Gallipoli has assumed such a dominant position in Australia's national consciousness³⁰ that to raise questions about its relative significance is tantamount to sacrilege. Yet it was in France and Belgium, during the last two years of the conflict, that Australians really won their reputation, along with troops from New Zealand and Canada, of being first class shock troops, the best in the business.³¹

The dossiers of the members of the Rockdale cohort are filled with much minute, personal detail, and it can be difficult to acquire from them an overview of the course of the conflict. There is one notable exception: the dossier of William Millard. He was a ledger keeper who enlisted as a 25-year-old on 8 October 1916, from 'Cooee', in Withers St, Arncliffe. Apparently he underwent his basic training at nearby Tempe, with the artillery. He went on

²⁹ Pedersen, *The Anzacs*, pp.116-121; Robin Prior, *Gallipoli: The End of The Myth*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2009, Chapter 15.

³⁰ D.A. Kent, 'The Anzac Book and the Anzac Legend: C.E.W. Bean as Editor and Image-Maker', *Historical Studies*, Vol.21, No.84, April 1985, pp.376-390.

³¹ For example, see Pedersen's discussion of the AIF's contribution to the fighting around Villers-Bretonneux on 24-5 April 1918 and during the 'hundred days' campaign, 'with the Australians playing such a prominent part', in *The Anzacs*, esp. pp.383-4, 437, 440, 451-2. It is Pedersen's assessment (p.450) that 'inadequately trained, the Gallipoli men were essentially enthusiastic amateurs' who needed to undergo thorough military training before they could achieve their true potential.

to become a Driver (in charge of horses, used to pull medium sized, mobile artillery) attached to the 105th Howitzer Battery, 5th Field Artillery Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st AIF. After being discharged from the AIF, Millard must somehow have gained access to his dossier, because he has added to it a type-written page headed: 'Military History [by] ex Gunner W.G. Millard ...'. It provides a brief chronological outline of his own service, signed by himself, which ends with him becoming a member of the RSL, plus the accompanying comment: '[I] have the original Badge with the Date 1919'. That potted history includes these observations:

1917 ... in ACTION, near Ypres, Covering Barrages on the ... Menin Road, over several months ... AUGUST 8th 1918: The big advance into Enemy territory, By the whole Australian Corps: - Commencement of the German retreat to Germany. Constantly covering the infantry in the daily retreat, till the armistice was signed ... daily follow up of the retreating German Army.

Herein Millard gets to the heart of the new tactics that produced the on-going retreat of the German army in the closing phase of the war. Crucial was the skilful use of artillery.³² Millard is explaining how the use of field artillery was closely coordinated with the advance of Australian troops. His howitzer battery was involved in laying down what were known back then as 'creeping barrages' which the infantry followed closely behind as they advanced on the Germans' forward positions. Obviously it was much more complicated than this. For example, simultaneously, Allied long range, heavy artillery was used to neutralize the heavy artillery of its German opponents (located kilometres behind the front line), thereby protecting the advancing Australians from being shelled themselves. There were also other factors at play, such as the use of tanks. Nevertheless what Millard demonstrates is an appreciation of the fundamentals which held the key to unlocking the stalemate that had characterized much of the fighting on the Western Front since September 1914. As an artilleryman, Millard made his own small contribution.

It is possible to identify, with some precision, the particular contributions made to the Allied victory by certain individual members of the Rockdale cohort, through an investigation of military decorations they were awarded and commendations they received. Fifty members (6.9 per cent) of the cohort were to be decorated for bravery or recognized for their distinguished or meritorious conduct, or mentioned in despatches. As with Sergeant Charles Dobbie who was discussed above, 27 Rockdale men were awarded the Military Medal, one with bar (for multiple awards); Military Crosses were awarded to 7; 5 received Distinguished Conduct Medals; 3 Meritorious Service Medals were awarded; and 8 were mentioned in despatches by the commander-in-chief of British forces, Haig. One member of the Rockdale cohort, James Ikin, was also awarded a French decoration, the *Medaille D'Honneur Avec Glaives En Bronze*. For such military honours to be awarded, the usual procedure was for a more senior ranking officer to make a formal, written recommendation, and it is these submissions that help provide an appreciation of the contributions made by individual soldiers. A record has not been kept of them all – for example, the commendation that led to Dobbie receiving his award is missing from the files – but most have been preserved. Copies of some recommendations can be found in the relevant individual dossiers; others can be tracked down on-line, using the Honours and Awards program developed by the Australian War Memorial. Of the recommendations which can be located for the Rockdale cohort, all but one involve actions on the Western Front. What follows is a sample of 10 Rockdale men who were decorated for bravery.

The Military Medal (MM) was instituted in March 1916 for bravery and devotion to duty displayed by those below officer rank, and could be awarded retrospectively. One of those to be awarded an MM was Aldous Cooke, a draughtsman of 'Hayne', Harrow Road, Kogarah, who enlisted as a 20-year-old on 24 June 1915. He served on Gallipoli as a sergeant with the 19th Battalion, and was recognized for his actions there, in August and September 1915, when he 'effected repairs to lines of communication under very heavy rifle and M.G. fire'.

Robert Pearce, of Railway Crescent, Arncliffe, was a 23-year-old iron worker who enlisted on 17 July 1915. A private in the 30th Battalion, he was awarded his MM for 'conspicuous courage' displayed in his role as a runner, in October 1917 at Broodseinde Ridge in Belgium: he 'was constantly out under extremely heavy shell fire carrying messages to the front line in daylight, displaying an utter contempt for snipers whom were very active...'

Private George Hayden, 18th Battalion, had been a tanner, living in Botany, when he enlisted as a 21-year-old on 29 February 1916. He was awarded his MM for an episode on 9 October 1917 when, at a location in Belgium referred to as Flint Copse, he 'dashed forward in advance of his comrades and bombed the first enemy strong point [to be] captured. The 6 enemy survivors of the bombing surrendered'. (In April 1918, Hayden would become a Prisoner of War of the Germans.)

³² On the increasingly important use made of artillery, see Pedersen, *The Anzacs*, pp.161-2, 255, 269-70, 399.

Lieutenant Leslie Rosen, (the labourer from Arncliffe who has been discussed previously, being one of the very few not to indicate his religion), was awarded the Military Cross (the decoration available for junior officers) for his great effectiveness as a Quartermaster between September 1917 and February 1918, 'in sending up supplies of all kinds, and it is mainly due to his energy and personal supervision that the troops in the Line were kept so well supplied'.

Alfred Farleigh was educated at Sydney Boys' High and, before the war, had been a member of the part-time NSW Lancers and, later, a lieutenant, in the 24th Infantry. He owned a tannery and was living with his parents at 'Cairns-foot', Loftus St, Arncliffe, when, as a 29-year-old, he applied for a commission with the AIF on 28 January 1916 and, four days later, was made a lieutenant with the 33rd Battalion. Fred was awarded the Military Cross for the 'splendid courage and determination' he displayed leading a raid – presumably at night - on the enemy front line, as a result of which 'his party killed several of the enemy, obtained identifications, captured a machine gun, and destroyed a dug-out'. On 18 April 1918 Fred was gassed whilst in the front line on the Somme, needing to be evacuated back to England for hospitalization at Wandsworth; it was about three months later that he returned to France. Within 9 days of re-joining his unit he was killed in action, on 22 August 1918.

Harold Beer had been a carpenter, living at 'Truro', Railway St, Rockdale. He joined up on 22 March 1915, and like Driver Millard, was attached to the field artillery. He rose to the rank of lieutenant and would be awarded the Military Cross. He received his decoration in recognition of actions at Estrees and Villers Carbonnel on 28-29 August 1918, during early stages of the ultimately victorious Allied push, later referred to as 'The Hundred Days' offensive. Beer was performing in the role of a Forward Observation Officer for his artillery unit, accompanying a first wave of AIF infantry as it pushed forward into No Man's Land. He used a land line to report back to his artillery brigade about its accuracy, about such things as the 'creeping barrage' intended to fall a short distance ahead of the infantry as it advanced, and about potential new enemy targets. It was reported that Beer's behaviour displayed 'energy and disregard of danger'.

Leonard Walter Collett, a 2nd Lieutenant in the 10th Battalion, was awarded his Military Cross for 'conspicuous gallantry' in leading his platoon 'through very heavy shell and machine-gun fire' to capture three machine guns and take 7 prisoners. An Englishman, he had been a grocer's assistant when he joined up as a 23-year-old from 'Canowindra', Mitchell St, Arncliffe.

Sergeant John/'Jack' Emanuel was twice decorated with the Military Medal. On 8 August 1918, the first day of the Battle of Amiens (which also marks the beginning of the 'Hundred Days'), he took it upon himself to capture a machine gun post which was holding up the advance, in the village of Warfusee-Ahancourt, east of Villers Bretonneux. Then, on 31 August, after 150 of the enemy broke through the Allied line, Jack showed great initiative in organizing a response, which resulted in the deaths of 20 of the enemy, the capture of 5, together with two machine guns. Jack Emanuel had been a bookmaker's clerk when he enlisted as a 21-year-old from Railway St, Rockdale.

Horace Barnidge, a 21-year-old carpenter/cleaner of Carrol St, Kogarah, was a lance corporal in the 53rd Battalion. He was awarded the MM for displaying 'resource and courage of a very high order' between 30 September and 2 October 1918, near Bellicourt. Part of an infantry advance into No Man's Land, he was operating a Lewis Gun, (a light machine gun). Despite the members in his support team becoming casualties, he continued on alone, supporting others by taking up a position in the open to fire on an enemy strong point. At 5 foot 1 inch (1.55 m), Horace was just fractionally taller than the shortest member of the Rockdale cohort; indeed on his enlistment form, he indicates having been rejected previously when he sought to enlist, because of his height.

Englishman John Fulthorp had been a railway conductor living at 'Lancashire Cottage' in Frederick St, Rockdale, when he enlisted, aged 21, on 4 May 1916. As a private in the 17th Battalion he was awarded his MM for actions on 3 October 1918, north of St Quentin. He was a Lewis Gunner, and his citation reads: 'on two occasions [he] rushed his gun forward under heavy fire and engaged enemy machine guns and strong points, silencing them on both occasions'.

Historical Interpretations

Charles Bean (1879-1968) would make extensive use of the type of information just outlined in his position as Australia's official historian of The Great War. He was editor of the 12 volume *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18*, upon which he began work 10 months after the war's conclusion and was not completed until 1942. Bean personally wrote the two volumes of the *Official History* on Gallipoli and the four on the Western Front. As regards interpretation, Bean was of the belief that a key to an understanding of outstanding performances by Australia's troops was their rural backgrounds: growing up in 'the Bush' resulted in the Anzacs having the requisite skills of a good soldier, e.g. self-reliance and the ability to innovate, expert marksmanship, etc.³³ However there is a fundamental problem with such an interpretation: by the time of The Great War, Australia was one of the most urbanized countries in the world, and bushmen were very much in the minority in the AIF. Much more typical of its membership were the men of the Rockdale cohort who were essentially urban working class in origin, with only a relative handful having any rural connections. Another interpretation regarding the Anzacs that can be traced back to Bean is the idea that they were often giants of men, whose height and physical presence left a lasting impression on the puny specimens they would encounter at Gallipoli and in Europe; this proposition also contributes to an explanation of the effectiveness of Australians as shock troops. The origins of this proposition can be found with Bean's handling of a very early episode in the war that occurred in the Indian Ocean, when the Australian Navy accounted for the raider *Emden* and took its German crew captive. According to Bean's account, the Germans were astonished 'at the physique of our force'.³⁴ Evidence provided by the Rockdale cohort can be cited which disputes the impression created by the official historian. There were 15 Rockdale men who were 6 foot (1.83 m) or taller, but there was one who was as short as 1.54 metres; their average height of 1.67 metres did not make for an overwhelming presence. Bean's work is good at providing the reader with an infantryman's perspective of The Great War, and is considered far better than most official war histories in seeking to convey a thoroughly factual account; yet, to some degree, it also indulges in myth making.

Bean also grew up with the conviction that race was a factor in accounting for whatever successes were achieved by Australian troops. His father was an Englishman and Charles departed Australia with his family for England in 1889, to be educated at Clifton College, before moving on to Oxford University's Hertford College. He then returned to Australia in 1904. Bean believed that the British ancestry of Australians (and also New Zealanders) was important in making them good soldiers.³⁵ Perhaps one might be tempted to believe that the Rockdale cohort, with its strong Anglo-Celtic background, provides evidence for this. Recent historical writing on the subject out of the Australian Defence Force Academy in Canberra, for example by Craig Stockings, totally rejects such a proposition. Stockings is unimpressed by 'traditional Anzac and ethnically oriented explanations of Australian success', by the 'heroic theme' in Australian war writing, warning that 'national mythology has obscured accurate interpretations of Australian military achievement'. Rather, he argues that 'Australian soldiers ... were ordinary men. Their place of birth, or nationality, was no indication of martial potential or capability'.³⁶ At the end of the day, the effectiveness of Australian troops such as Rockdale's Lance Corporal Horace Barnidge had very little to do with ethnicity, certainly nothing to do with physique, but much to do with how well they had been trained by the AIF. In Barnidge's case, the instruction he had received in the operation of a Lewis Gun and its tactical use on the battlefield were crucial. It is now argued that the AIF performed so effectively in the closing stages of the war on the Western Front because its members had assimilated so well the lessons learned earlier by the British Army, such as the way to employ artillery to best effect.³⁷ An example of this involved the Forward Observation Officer Har-

³³ E.M. Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian Relations during World War I*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1993, pp.61-2.

³⁴ Quoted by P.A. Pedersen, 'The AIF on the Western Front: The Role of Training and Command', in M. McKernan & M. Browne, eds., *Australia: Two Centuries of War & Peace*, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1988, p.167. It suits Larsson's purpose to endorse Bean's proposition thus: 'Australian recruits embarking for the battlefields of Europe [were] farewelled as god-like heroes with magnificent physiques...', *Shattered Anzacs*, p.66.

³⁵ For example, see Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion*, pp.31-2, 144-5.

³⁶ Craig Stockings, ed., *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History*, New South, Sydney, 2010, pp.5, 93-5; Craig Stockings, ed., *Anzac's Dirty Dozen: 12 Myths of Australian Military History*, New South, Sydney, 2012.

³⁷ For example, see Elizabeth Greenhalgh, 'Australians Broke The Hindenburg Line', in Craig Stockings, ed., *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History*, pp.70-91. For a broader discussion of the evolution of the British Expeditionary Force, of which the AIF formed a part, into a complex, battle-winning organization, which made a decisive contribution to the winning of the war in northern Europe, see Simon Robbins, *British Generalship on the Western Front 1914-18: Defeat into Victory*, Frank Cass, London, 2005.

old Beer. The Australians were being thoroughly trained in the new tactics needed in the mass, industrialized warfare of the period, by commanders such as Major General John Monash. Their new-found tactical understanding, combined with the determined, 'cocky' spirit they had displayed subsequent to the Gallipoli operation,³⁸ made the AIF a very formidable force indeed. And integrated into that force were to be found members of the Rockdale cohort.

According to Bean, the story of the AIF involved both 'the good and the bad'. Yet, not surprisingly, when it came to writing its history, he all but ignored 'the dark side'. That some Australian troops could be far from exemplary in their behaviour is the subject of an important recent study by Canberra historian and ADFA professor, Peter Stanley, his August 2010 publication *Bad Characters: Sex, Crime, Mutiny, Murder and the Australian Imperial Force*. This revisionist history, which was joint winner of the Prime Minister's Prize for Australian History in 2011, raises a range of issues which need to be taken into account if a comprehensive, up-to-date assessment of the Rockdale cohort is to be achieved. Stanley concurs with other historians that the AIF has a deserved reputation as an extremely effective fighting force. However, unlike other armies of the time, it was not made up largely of conscripts; it was a volunteer army. As such, Professor Stanley argues, its members 'brought with them into uniform the same ideas, attitudes and beliefs they had as civilians. Right to the end of the war, the Australians still responded to the army as if it was an annoying employer'. He draws to our attention numerous examples of poor discipline and insubordination within the AIF: 'They were enterprising in battle but they were also enterprising in getting out of the things the army wanted them to do'. Stanley: 'Australians were 10 times more likely to go absent in the Great War than British soldiers, or the Canadians or New Zealanders'; 'The central idea of Anzac was (and remains) "mateship". An article on "The Digger" by Bean and published a week before the war's end, was sub-titled "Never deserts a mate". And yet throughout the war Australians did desert their mates, by the hundreds at any time'. Australian soldiers were three times more likely than British troops to contract a sexually transmitted disease. Some Australian troops were thieves and others behaved insolently towards officers. Stanley argues that 'the AIF became one of the war's most effective forces *despite* its wrong-doers'.³⁹

Historical revisionism of this type can involve, to quote Stanley, 'the unpleasant, the shameful or the crude'. And there are those, especially when it comes to local history, who adopt the attitude that nothing should be discussed about their community's past which falls into any of those categories. But what should be of utmost importance, according to Stanley, is to acquire 'a better, more honest understanding of ... Australia's past'.⁴⁰

Following the conflict, officials estimated that almost as many members of the AIF as died in action (60 000) during The Great War were infected with sexually-transmitted/venereal diseases (VD), 55 000 or 17 per cent – it was a condition also known back then as the 'red plague'.⁴¹ A search of their dossiers discloses that 97 members (13.43 per cent) of the Rockdale cohort were treated for VD. Of these, 13 were married and 84 single. At least one had been suffering from VD before enlisting in the army, having contracted it a decade earlier; another contracted it whilst in the army, but before embarking for overseas service. Details are available for 94 which indicate they were hospitalized (to be placed in isolation wards) for a combined total of 6380 days, averaging 68 days per patient. (The most common place to handle these cases in England was the euphemistically named 1st Australian Dermatological Hospital, at Bulford camp in Wiltshire; in Egypt it was the 14th Australian General Hospital at Abbassia, Cairo.) The five highest periods of accumulated hospitalization for individual patients were: 187, 214, 268, 337 and 484 days. This was more than simply an embarrassment for those soldiers who were infected, it constituted a condition that rendered them incapable of performing their duties and, as a result, was of much concern to the authorities. Even so, the infection rate for the cohort as a whole was roughly equivalent to that for metropolitan populations of the time.⁴²

For varying lengths of time, 226 members of the cohort would be charged by the AIF with being Absent Without Leave. Of these, 80 per cent were AWL for less than an accumulated 10 days across their whole period of enlistment (of, perhaps, 3-4 years). This could happen quite easily. A not untypical occurrence was for a soldier on

³⁸ Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p.55.

³⁹ Stanley interviewed by Steve Meacham, 'Portrait of the Anzacs ...', p.3; Stanley, *Bad Characters*, pp.82, 174, 190, 212, 216.

⁴⁰ Stanley, *Bad Characters*, pp.13, 244.

⁴¹ Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs*, pp.82, 179.

⁴² Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p.36: '... in London, Paris, Berlin and Melbourne, the incidence of VD in the general population ... [was] between 12 and 15 per cent'.

leave to have his return to base interrupted, by a day or two, and this resulted in a fine for being AWL for the number of days he was late to report. If somebody over-slept, failing to turn out for church parade, he would be reported AWL. Too much significance should not be attributed to the 80 per cent figure. Being absent for 11 to 20 days accounted for 9.3 per cent of AWLs; 10.6 per cent were AWL for more than 20 days. Four individuals went AWL for, respectively, an accumulated 109, 267, 445 and another with 445+ days. It is no wonder that the military authorities took an extremely dim view of these latter cases. However to put things in perspective, it needs to be kept in mind that 68.7 per cent of the Rockdale cohort never went AWL. This was not a phenomenon that was out of control. If anything, it demonstrates what a well-disciplined group of largely virile young men the Rockdale cohort was – especially when one considers the temptations that were offered by cities such as Paris and London.

Albert Church had scant regard for military discipline and appeared regularly before military courts. However he could not be considered criminally inclined. He had been a clerk, living at 'St Andries' in West Botany St, Arncliffe, and signed up as a 21-year-old on 22 January 1915, to become a private in the 19th Battalion. In May 1915 he was up on a charge of being AWL for 5 days. Within 12 months he had been promoted to sergeant. In November he was again charged with being AWL, for three days, and also with being drunk. On 23 November 1916 he was drunk in the orderly room and fined three days' pay, with a severe reprimand. On 26 September 1917 he used the name of a fictitious officer, A.E. Gooch, who supposedly censored his letters, to evade having them properly censored. He overstayed his leave in London by four days in January 1918, was fined 4 days' pay and reduced in rank to private. Less than three weeks after this verdict had been handed down, he was promoted Company Quarter Master Sergeant. Then, on 10 April, he went AWL from the support line trench at the Front, as a result of which he was sentenced to 28 days' Field Punishment No.2 and fined 30 days' pay. He completed his service as a private.

The misdemeanours committed by members of the Rockdale cohort varied, but apart from being AWL, they were generally few in number. Stanley argues that the consumption of alcohol constituted a major problem for the AIF.⁴³ Such appears not to be the case with the Rockdale cohort: of the dossiers of the 722 cohort-members, just 27 (3.74 per cent) record charges of drunkenness. Four soldiers were twice charged with being drunk; the other 23 were each only ever charged once throughout their entire military careers. Furthermore, 5 of the charges were laid in 1919, after the war. Other charges brought against the troops were extremely diverse, from 'failing to salute an officer', and attempting 'to pass through the post a letter improperly censored', to 'trotting a horse on the paved roads contrary to orders' and 'depriving his comrades of food he was entrusted to cook'. Coming under the general rubric of Conduct to the Prejudice of Good Order and Military Discipline was a range of offences, of a somewhat trivial nature, such as 'smoking on the march without permission', but their incidence amongst the cohort was infrequent, and could not be taken as indicative of any widespread, wilful non-compliance with military regulations. One offence that appears occasionally in dossiers, but not especially often, was 'appearing on parade unshaven', which would result in a fine, perhaps of two days' pay. A private of the 13th Battalion was confined for three days to barracks for 'Failing to answer his name correctly'. A private of the 35th Battalion was fined a day's pay for 'neglecting to obey lawful command given by his superior officer in that he appeared on Parade wearing two hats and when ordered by Mjr. Carr to remove one of the hats from head, he failed to do so'. A truck driver attached to the Australian Flying Corps was fined three days' pay for driving a lorry in a dangerous manner, at a speed exceeding 10 miles/16 km per hour. Occasionally charges resulted from insufficient diligence whilst on sentry duty: for example, a trooper in the 12th Light Horse was fined 10 days' pay when 'he left his rifle leaning against the wall when on Sentry'.

Courts Martial

An examination of the transcripts of courts martial is helpful in providing a greater depth of understanding of the nature of some of the transgressions with which members of the cohort were charged. The following two cases, involving charges brought against Stu Kennedy and Tom Brocklesby, enable a particularly good insight into the character of the Rockdale volunteer.

⁴³ In his interview with Steve Meacham, 'Portrait of the Anzacs ...', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Stanley advanced the argument that '... the AIF was male Australia in uniform. Drink was an important part of life out of uniform, so it was a big part of life in uniform too'. Nevertheless he conceded that there are no statistics to support his argument. In *Bad Characters*, p. 90, Stanley argues that 'during the war drink remained the most common cause of crime'.

Private Stuart Kennedy, 3rd Battalion, from Bayview St, Arncliffe, gave his occupation as 'engineer' when he enlisted as a 22 year-old, within a month of the outbreak of war, on 31 August 1914. He landed on Gallipoli on 19 July 1915, and just over 3 weeks later he received a shrapnel wound to his left forearm, necessitating evacuation and hospitalization. Subsequently he would receive a special mention for conspicuous gallantry. In total he was a member of the AIF for more than 4 years, and in all that time would never be AWL. Nor would he be found guilty of any other charge. In none of this is he especially different from most other members of the Rockdale cohort. At the beginning of his career, however, he would be charged with a serious offence and brought before a court martial on 14 January 1915. The charge was: 'using insubordinate language to a superior officer', viz.

At Mena Camp on the 14th day of January 1915 at 11.15 A.M. when on company parade an order was given by Captain Lamb, Private Kennedy immediately said "Yes, you bastard". This was in response to Captain Lamb's command. On return to Camp Captain Lamb ordered Private Kennedy into arrest.

Kennedy's defence was that:

I am not accused rightly by saying I called Captain Lamb a bastard, I called my mate Pte. Henri Masurier a silly bastard for hitting me on the head with his rifle.

Kennedy called Masurier as a witness, and the following exchange occurred:

Accused: Was I (accused) struck by a rifle?

Witness: Yes.

Accused: What remark did I make to you at the time?

Witness: He said: "You bastard".

Prosecutor: Was it your rifle that hit accused?

Witness: Yes it was my rifle.

Prosecutor: Did you think that remark referred to you?

Witness: Yes.

Prosecutor: Do you (accused) hold any ill will towards Capt. Lamb?

Accused: No.

Prosecutor: If you were struck by a rifle is that the proper language to use?

Accused: No but it is often used among us.

Prosecutor: Did you use the language referred to in the charge?

Accused: Yes.

The court found Kennedy not guilty. Then the story has an interesting twist. Subsequently Kennedy transferred to the Anzac Provost Corps, i.e. he became a policeman whose job it was to enforce military regulations! This case demonstrates more than simply Kennedy's innocence: on the surface it exudes an appealing sense of naiveté that seemingly characterized his behaviour and that of his mates; the particular episode invokes pictures of a type of slap-stick comedy that a modern audience would associate with an earlier, more innocent age. And it sits well with the popular image of the 'digger' that has been passed down to the present: a bit of a larrikin, laconic, understated, with a dry sense of humour, basically honest, with a sense of mateship.

Private Thomas Brocklesby had been a public servant: before enlisting he worked for the NSW Public Works Department for about 8 years. He lived with his wife, Elsie, at 39 Farr St, Rockdale. It was during the general euphoria surrounding the Gallipoli landing that he signed up, on 4 May 1915, as a 31-year-old. On 14 July he embarked for overseas and fought on Gallipoli with the 3rd Battalion for almost four months, from 29 August until 17 December 1915. On 23 January 1916 he went AWL from the camp at Tel-el-Kebir for 47½ hours – for which he was fined two days' pay and sentenced to 14 days Field Punishment No.2. Very relevant here is the context: he had only just been in combat for an extended period, and the desire for some Rest and Recreation would have been overwhelming. Despite the conviction, his old company commander, Lieutenant Leo Palmer, would provide an affidavit as to his 'good character'. On 29 January Brocklesby was then posted permanently to the Middle East, with 2 Company, Imperial Camel Corps.

On 20 June 1916, Brocklesby faced a court martial convened in Sollum, Egypt, charged with one of the more serious offences imaginable in the armed forces: when on active service striking a superior officer. About three weeks earlier, on 29 May, he had punched Sergeant J.K. Williams in the face, leaving him with a bloody lip. Neither of the parties disputed that this had happened, although they diverged widely about the circumstances that led to the altercation. Brocklesby: 'I did it in self-defence as we Privates are often compelled to do'. But the court returned a guilty verdict and sentenced him to a year's imprisonment with hard labour. Brocklesby's defence rested in large measure on an incident that had occurred a few weeks earlier. It appears that Sergeant Kennedy, (who, at a

guess, was probably an Englishman), was out to assert his authority over his new squad, filled with colonial boys. And a traditional way to achieve Kennedy's purpose was to challenge anybody to a fight, as an example to the rest. The ultimate test of the tactic came if the challenge was actually taken up: success depended upon the ability to be able to put any up-start in his place, preferably on the seat of his pants. This, apparently, is what transpired, as one can deduce from the court transcript. This exchange begins with Brocklesby questioning a witness he had called to support his defence, a Private H. Kean:

Q. Have you ever heard Sergt Williams challenge me to fight.

A. Yes in the sense that after beating L/Cpl Unsworth of his section in a fight, he issued an open challenge to any man in his section.

EXAMINED BY COURT.

...

Q. Was it a fight or a boxing match between Sergt Williams and L/Cpl Unsworth.

A. A fight.

Q. When did this fight take place?

A. About six weeks ago [i.e. approximately three weeks before the alleged 29 May assault].

The 29 May episode began with the return to camp of a patrol which had been out for the previous 5 days, with its camels needing to be watered. Apparently Sergeant Williams took charge of proceedings. There was, nearby, a group of 13 men which included Brocklesby. He had not been a member of the patrol: a fortnight earlier, he had fallen from his camel, injuring his shoulder, and needed medical treatment until 28 May, when he was returned to light duties. The confrontation with Williams began when he ordered Brocklesby to take his camel, which had been ridden on the patrol by another trooper named Rosengreen, to the water trough. Brocklesby had already watered four other camels, and he objected, replying that it was Rosengreen's responsibility. From the transcript of evidence given to the court, the conversation progressed along the following lines. Williams: 'Well it's up to you to do something, you've had a bloody fine time malingering around here lately'. Brocklesby responded that 'if he had a fine time he had'nt [sic] Sergt Williams to thank for it'. Williams: 'Don't give me any cheek; cut that out'. Brocklesby: 'I'm not giving you any'. Williams: 'Cut it right out or I'll knock your bloody head off as I've done others'. It was suggested that this was not the first time Brocklesby had been talked down to thus – it had been going on for some time. Nevertheless, after an extended interval, he complied with the sergeant's order. It was at the water trough that the confrontation really heated up. Sergeant Williams returned to inform Brocklesby that he was under arrest. The accounts as to what happened next totally contradict each other. According to Williams, 'as I turned away from him, having both my hands in my pockets, the accused struck me in the mouth. Being slightly dazed from the effects of the blow I did not realize immediately I had been struck'. The version given to the court by Brocklesby seems the more probable:

I then went and got my camel followed by Sergt Williams, and when I reached the water trough he said, "see if you are as good with your hands as you are with your tongue", and straight way he [led] at me [with his fist], when I ducked and hit him on the mouth.

William's account as to what then ensued is probably quite accurate:

... The accused said "come and fight like a bloody man"... The accused then called me "A brothel bred bastard", the term bastard being used several times during the flow of filthy language. He also said "You're one of those bastards that gets decorations 'for bravery' are you?" Pte Cooper checked the accused for his language telling him that it would only make matters worse for him.

Although other troops were within close proximity, they were very reticent to back up even those parts of William's account which probably accurately reflected what had occurred. As best they could, they tried to reduce the severity of the predicament in which Private Brocklesby had found himself. It was their inclination to display solidarity with him – it was a show of what might possibly be considered 'mateship'. Nevertheless the court handed down a guilty verdict. (The panel of judges consisted of one Australian and two British officers. The court's president was Major J. Arthur Pemberton, 1/4 Cheshires.) Brocklesby was sent back to Australia to serve his 12 months of hard labour in a civilian prison. On appeal, a review of the case was conducted at Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, which ordered that the 'unserved portion of the sentence to be remitted'. Brocklesby served just short of 6 months of the sentence. He was discharged from the army on 12 April 1917 SNLR, Services No Longer Required.

'Bad Characters'

Nothing in the Brocklesby case serves to challenge the received impression we have of the 'digger'. All it really does is strengthen the notion that he was a basically decent fellow, one who was prepared to stand up for himself if, according to his uncomplicated sense of right and wrong, justice was being denied. There are, however, other examples which can be cited which support Professor Stanley's thesis that the AIF did indeed contain some 'bad characters'. The following four cases all involve members of the Rockdale cohort. However, at the outset, it must be emphasized that their behaviour was atypical.

The first case involves a bricklayer who enlisted from 'Brocklyn' in Bay St, Rockdale, as a 24-year-old on 1 July 1915. He would frequently go AWL, for a total of 69 days. And he was frequently on charges for behaviour designed to be nothing other than disruptive. He was first charged for deserting his post as a sentry; next for falling out of line of march; then for 'throwing down his shovel'. When he refused to fire his rifle as ordered, he was sentenced to one year's hard labour. Next he was charged with 'Causing Barrack Damage' and 'Hanging washing in hut'. After three months in H.M Prison Wandsworth, he was put aboard a ship for return to Australia, to serve out an accumulated period of two years' hard labour. But when his ship put in to Cape Town, he went AWL and could not be found when the ship sailed. Eventually he was returned to Australia, shortly afterwards appealing for a release from prison on the basis that his period of hard labour had expired. In addition to being constantly disruptive, he was a bit of a 'bush lawyer'. (It is unclear what then became of him.)

The next case involves a carpenter from Cameron St, Rockdale, who enlisted as a 20-year-old in the first rush of volunteers, on 31 August 1914. He became a private in the 1st Battalion. On 11 June 1916 he used a counterfeit pass to go AWL from his base into Cairo, until apprehended, whereupon he attempted to escape custody. He threatened the arresting officer, Sergeant Ferguson, thus: 'You cold footed bastard ... You won't always be a soldier ... I'll fix you'. The subsequent court martial sentenced him to 90 days hard labour. His dossier is full of appearances before the courts. On 21 September 1917, by which time he was in France, he 'broke out of camp ... did enter the house of Madame Pigne, 42 Rue Racine, Havre, & in company with other soldiers behaved in a riotous manner whereby damage was done to the extent of 20 Francs ... when arrested ... did break arrest & run away'. For this he was sentenced to 90 days' Field Punishment No.1. Previously, on 18 November 1916, he was absent from his unit when it departed Marseilles. As a result of contracting VD, he would be hospitalized for an accumulated total of 268 days.

The third case involves a butcher from Wollongong Road, Arncliffe. He was 18 when he signed up on 15 August 1915 and rose to the position of Staff Quarter Master Sergeant, 4th Australian Butchery, in charge of a Sub-Ration Dump at Meursqueville in France. At a time when food shortages were a major problem in war-torn Europe, he stole large amounts of food from army supplies, selling them to persons involved with the black market. In February/March 1918 he was observed carrying 'bundles' from his Dump to premises in the nearby village which, when searched, were found to be storing large amounts of tinned food. Our butcher then appeared before a court martial, was found guilty of theft, reduced to the ranks and sentenced to 9 months' hard labour.

The final case attracted some publicity in England at the time. On 7 October 1918 London's *Evening News* carried this story:

STOLE SOLDIERS PARCELS

A Corporal of the Australian Postal Service at the G.P.O. named Wm. H. Burgess Wilkins pleaded guilty at Guildhall to-day to stealing postal packets containing cigarettes and other gifts addressed to soldiers at the front.

It was stated that he had been suspected and had been kept under special observation. He was seen to take the packages and re-address them to a friend of his in the Australian Expeditionary Force.

At his home a quantity of new pipes, pouches, cigarettes and tobacco were found but he asserted that he had bought them himself.

He was sentenced to three months imprisonment without hard labour.

When viewed within the context of the Australian public's perceptions of the 'digger', this story about how a member of the AIF was stealing from fellow troops should have been particularly shocking. It constituted an attack on the key component upon which the perception was based: mateship. To steal from an army supply dump,

in order to make a profit on the black market, was one thing, but to steal from one's Aussie mates was unthinkable.⁴⁴

Why the newspaper story was not reprinted in the Australian press probably had much to do with local editors deciding that it would have been unpatriotic to do so. Even so, one would think it should not have been too difficult for next-of-kin to get some inkling of such carryings-on. That this story and the other cases mentioned above caused no public outcry in Rockdale, or in Australia for that matter, demonstrates just how effective the AIF was in covering up such things. The general point to be made is that the army was a past master at evasion and obfuscation. This was patently the case with soldiers hospitalized with VD. It was standard procedure for army records in Melbourne to notify next-of-kin whenever a soldier was hospitalized. It reached ridiculous proportions with a letter being sent to one family advising that the son had been admitted to hospital because of a 'mild ... dental deficiency', and to another family because their son was 'suffering from piles' and had been admitted to the 4th London General Hospital at Denmark Hill. The exception to the rule was when they were hospitalized with VD: no notification was given in such cases. An informative case involves a lance corporal in the 2nd Battalion. Because it was some time since she had heard from him, his mother wrote to the AIF Base Records in Melbourne on 26 December 1916, thus: 'Last time I heard of him he was in Egypt sick ... If possible I would like to know the nature of his sickness. Being his mother I am very anxious to hear news of him. Thanking you in anticipation'. One gets a sneaking suspicion here, perhaps due to reports that had been coming out of Egypt since early 1915 (such as 131 badly behaved Australians, some suffering with sexually transmitted diseases, being sent home aboard the hospital ship *Kyarra*) and culminating in the so-called 'Battle of The Wazza' of 2 April,⁴⁵ that the mother suspected her son had contracted VD. And it is highly unlikely that the major who responded to her enquiry did not have to hand the information that the son had been hospitalized earlier in the year at Abbassia in Egypt, for 33 days with VD. The major replied promptly: '... no recent report to any effect has been received here respecting him. I must add that cases of mild illness are not reported by cable unless likely to develop seriously or dangerously. According to the records here, he was transferred to the 14th Training Battalion [in England], on 22/6/16'. That was just 10 days after he had been released from Abbassia hospital. Due in part to such efforts by the AIF itself, the image of the 'digger' would remain largely unexamined and effectively unassailable.

The Womenfolk

How were the Rockdale volunteers' womenfolk affected by The Great War? As previously explained, the Rockdale Honour Roll does not contain the names of any women. It appears that not one woman from the municipality went off to war as a nurse, to cater for the medical needs of AIF personnel. That is the conventional way of approaching the gender dimension of the topic, to discuss the contributions made by nurses, but it goes nowhere in the case of Rockdale. Nor were any local women involved in war-related industries, as would be the case in World War II. Nevertheless it is argued here that women in Rockdale were vitally affected by the war, in their roles as mothers, wives and next-of-kin, having to manage domestic circumstances which could undergo significant disruption in the wake of the enlistment of their men. (And, as will also be seen, women would be involved as girlfriends, etc., when the arrival of a man in uniform from Rockdale brought about a fundamental change in their lives.) The AIF dossiers contain some interesting correspondence between army records and women who were intimately involved with the Rockdale volunteers. It is information provided by the dossiers that will now form the basis of a response to the question of female involvement.

Almost 30 per cent of the Rockdale cohort were younger than the then legal age of consent, 21. When it came to enlisting in the AIF, these young men could only do so legally if they had the consent of their parents. The dossiers still contain some of the notes and forms signed by fathers and mothers. It must have been a step that many mothers took with a great deal of trepidation for what would be the fates of their sons. Nevertheless the figures

⁴⁴ For a broader context, see Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p.113.

⁴⁵ Stanley, *Bad Characters*, pp. 29-30, 35; see also Suzanne Brugger, *Australians and Egypt 1914-1919*, Melbourne University Press, 1980, pp.145-7; and C.E.W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18*, Vol.1, *The Story of Anzac: The First Phase*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1935, p.130 footnote 12. A letter sent home from Egypt by one of the local volunteers, Corporal William G. Brown of Kogarah, reproduced in the *St George Call* of 17 April 1915, p.3, contained this cryptic passage: 'There are a fair number of physically unfits being sent back as well as "others" but the latter are in a much smaller proportion than exaggerated accounts led one to believe...' Such references would have served to alert those at home to the issue of the AIF and sexually transmitted diseases.

suggest that something like 200 Rockdale mothers must have given their consent. On the other hand we know that other mothers refused, evidenced by the subterfuge that some under-age young men needed to employ in their attempts to gain entry into the AIF. As to how many mothers effectively blocked the enlistment of their sons cannot be determined. There is an interesting case which shows how one mother tried to stop her son. John Gillespie had been born in Rockdale – that is apparently why his name would be included on the Honour Roll. At the time of enlistment, however, he had taken up residence in Manly, quite some distance away, possibly to get away from his mother, but she then moved to live with him, supposedly because of his poor health. Previously two of her sons had attempted to join up, only to have their applications rejected on medical grounds. When, on 19 August 1918, John sent in his enlistment application, he was three months short of his 21st birthday. The mother refused to give her permission and drew attention to his poor health, citing a defective left eye and an episode of rheumatic fever in his past. Despite her efforts the son was passed medically fit and taken into the army, presumably based on the calculation that he would not get to the battlefield until after he turned 21.

In a brief note of 29 December 1915, Mrs Lilian Lucas, of 'Eureka' in Farr St, Rockdale, gave consent for her son Ernest (b. 14 January 1900), aged 17 years and 11 months, to join the AIF – he falsely claimed to be 18 years and 1 month. He proceeded overseas as a private in the 57th Battalion, to serve at the Front in France from late 1916. In March 1917 he suffered shell shock. On 17 December 1917 a request was made on his mother's behalf that Ernest be discharged from the AIF: 'I beg to ask for the return to Australia on compassionate grounds of her youngest son ... His mother is seriously ill owing to shock caused by the news of one of her sons being killed at the front last January'. In the meantime, yet another of his brothers was also killed. The mother's request was granted, with her youngest son being discharged, 'under age', from the army in February 1918. (Despite all this, he managed to win his mother over again, and applied to re-enlist in September 1918.)

In October 1915 Clara Singleton, of Margate St, Kogarah, the wife of Private Willie Singleton, 42nd Battalion, applied 'for the discharge of my husband on the ground that I have two children, one being at present in the Hospital and I cannot manage without him'. He was granted leave 'to go home'. But in December 1916 he re-joined the AIF, to be killed in October 1917.

The vast majority of Rockdale volunteers were single young men, still living with their families when they enlisted. When asked to nominate a next-of-kin whom the army could contact, occasionally it was a father whose name was given. But most of the time it was a mother's name and address that was written on enlistment papers. This reflected the nurturing role that mothers perform, and evidences the strong, life-long emotional bonds that often endure between mothers and sons. As a result, it was highly likely that the mother would be the one to write whatever letters a Rockdale family needed to send to army records in Melbourne. Some volunteers were married, a few with children, and it would be their wives who would be the letter writers. For them, the emotional distress caused by a husband's incapacity or death could be considerably intensified by the permanent loss of his income, for which a pension was an inadequate substitute.

A large amount of army correspondence with next-of-kin took the form of telegrams advising of a soldier being wounded, and providing details of the hospital to which he had been admitted and where he could be contacted; or telegrams breaking the sad news of a death on the battlefield. Next in volume would be letters written by mothers and wives seeking follow-up information about the well-being of their sons and husbands. Women were the ones who had to manage a family's traumas that arose in the event of injury or death. What the letters often provide is evidence of the anguish experienced in such circumstances, especially when there was a degree of uncertainty about the fate of a soldier, perhaps because he had been reported missing but whose death would not be verified for many months.

Henry Barber, married, a 39-year-old tailor of Gibbes St, Rockdale, enlisted on 8 January 1915, and was dead 8 months later, killed in the Lone Pine attack at Gallipoli on 10 August 1915. On 5 September a telegram was sent informing his wife he had been wounded, but 'not reported seriously [injured]'. In response to an enquiry from the wife seeking further details, Base Records advised on 29 September: 'He is not reported as seriously wounded ... and the Egyptian authorities advise in the absence of further reports in such cases, it may reasonably be considered that satisfactory progress is being made'. A Court of Inquiry held in France on 5 June 1916 determined that her husband had indeed died in the Lone Pine attack.

On 30 May 1916 the mother of 21-year-old Private Albert Langston, 3rd Battalion, a stone mason of Spring St, Arncliffe, wrote to Base Records in Melbourne drawing attention to the considerable time that had elapsed since advice was received that her son had gone missing in action, in early August 1915, and to the absence of any further information: 'I cannot get no more news of him. Am I to think my son is dead or may I hope he will return some time. [Surely] I think something could be done to ease a mothers mind for ten months the 7th of this month he as being missing. I would be more than pleased if you could give me some idea about him'. A little over a month later the army's (standard) reply would arrive, logical but devoid of empathy: 'When a soldier is reported missing and cannot be satisfactorily accounted for a Court of Inquiry is held at a later date to collect all evidence of the case and record an opinion as to whether it is reasonable to suppose he is dead. It is not known here whether such Court has been held in the case of Private Langston'. A finding of killed in action had already been delivered by a Court of Inquiry convened in France, three weeks previously.

A very particular case is that involving Private Dave Lamond, 2nd Battalion, of Harrow Road, Bexley, (mentioned previously, with his brother Sid, because they were both killed on Gallipoli). According to his dossier, Dave was reported missing on Gallipoli on 2 May 1915 – although the date was possibly wrong, due to a high number of casualties at the time, contributing to administrative confusion. His mother later wrote that, on 11 June, she received a telegram advising he was 'missing' (although she almost certainly meant killed). On 6 July a second telegram arrived explaining that information had since been received and that the original telegram should have read 'missing'. To clear up the confusion, the mother made the trip in to Sydney's Victoria Barracks, only to be told 'it was just as they got it'. In a follow-up letter, the mother would write: 'I would be very grateful if you please explain the telegram as I am very anxious to know if you have any trace of him'. Mrs Lamond added that she had had four sons 'at the front', two of whom were now dead, with 'one still in France'. Dave Lamond was also married, to Elsie, who was pregnant and about to give birth (to their daughter Sheila), when the telegrams arrived. (It appears they were married after he enlisted, but before embarking for overseas service.) Later, on 5 September 1915, she wrote to the Officer-in-Charge, Base Records, Barracks Melbourne, thus:

... could you tell me anything further of my Husband as he was at first missing and not [sic] a late report he is sick so could you let me know if he is in hospital and if so what one so I might be able to get word to him as he is anxiously waiting the news of the Birth of our little daughter so could you let me know all concerning him as soon as possible as I am dreadfully anxious not having had word from him for over three months and if possible I want to let him know that myself and young babe are well.

Almost a year later she wrote again, on 29 August 1916:

I am writing you concerning my husband ... He has been on the missing list for fifteen months now and the suspense is terrible. I would like to know if possible the truth where he is. It is so unsatisfactory in every way as I have been placed on a widow's pension now for months and I am unable to go out to work with a young baby and while there is no settled statement if he is alive or not I am unable to obtain any widow's assistance [for the daughter]. So if you can enlighten me at all. I would be most grateful if he is still living I will be happy to know it and if I am among the unfortunate ones I must be prepared to bear it bravely but you will see it is a great obsticale [sic] in my way of getting any assistance besides the worry of the uncertainty. I received letters from him up to the time he was reported missing 11th June 1915. I feel I cannot bear this terrible suspense much longer so I do hope you will be able to give me some little hope... I have searched and written everywhere but have been fruitless. But I trust you will be able to help me to clear the cloud it will be better for me to know something definite...

On 12 September a major replied, amongst other things advising that 'Private Lamond's name has not appeared in any list of prisoners of war received to date', suggesting that it should be presumed he was dead, despite there being 'no definite official report of this soldier's death'. On-going enquiries conducted by the army indicated he must have been killed in action on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Nevertheless hope springs eternal. A photograph had appeared in the *Sydney Mail* of 22 March, 1916, of a large group of New Zealand troops in Cairo, and Elsie convinced herself that one of them was her husband: 'it is the living image of him'. Despite evidence to the contrary, she maintained the hope that her husband was still alive and, on 10 July 1917, forwarded a copy of the photograph to Base Records in Melbourne for confirmation of her interpretation: '... now this unexpected news has arrived it seems too good to be true and this last two years have been very anxious and trying to me. And if you would kindly let me know anything further that might come through... I thought perhaps he may have lost his memory'. An investigation turned up nothing. In May 1921 Elsie received a standard enquiry from the military, with a name handwritten in the appropriate space:

I regret very much that ... we have so far been unable to obtain any traces of the last resting place of *the late No. 1584 Private D. Lamond, 2nd Battalion* and, so that no possible source of information shall be overlooked, I shall be much obliged if you will let me have on loan any letters or communication that contain any references to the circumstances surrounding his death particularly the exact locality at which it occurred, or where he was last seen alive.

Until September 1915 Elsie was living with her mother-in-law, when she moved out. According to Elsie, Dave's mother was 'addicted to drink' (which well may have been the consequence of having two sons killed in action, and another still at the Front). Subsequently the daughter-in-law would have major problems getting any information, apparently because Dave had nominated his mother as next-of-kin (prior to getting married), as a result of which the army sent correspondence to her. It would take some time for this to be rectified, contributing considerably to Elsie's distressed state. She was of the understanding she was entitled to a lump sum of money on the death of her husband, but 'I am led to believe my gratuity has been paid out to his mother'. Elsie married again in 1919, to an ex-soldier (which apparently disqualified her from continuing to receive the widow's pension); he then deserted. The last information that can be gained from her dead husband's dossier points to the dire straits in which she found herself in 1922: she was out of work, in-and-out of hospital, and her only source of income was a meagre allowance she received for her young daughter, as the child of a dead serviceman.* She was not even in a position to pay for an inscription on Dave's grave, having to request an extension of time. (It appears that her husband's remains had finally been located.) Whilst the circumstances are extreme, this case gives a clear indication of the range of problems that a wife might encounter.

The death of loved ones did not simply produce emotional trauma, as the case of Private Peter Hardie demonstrates. On 26 January 1916 his wife, Inez, wrote to AIF Base Records in Melbourne thus:

In regard to my husband ... reported missing six months ago ... I would like this matter cleared up and something [sic]. I have four small children depending on me, surely in 6 months something [sic] ought to know whether [he is a prisoner] or dead and I received nothing of my husband belongs [sic] or money due to him he enlisted on February 27 1915 twelve months ago ...

Beginning in March 1916, Inez would receive a pension, plus allowances for her children (to be cancelled when they reached 16). On 30 April 1917 she wrote again:

Why is it I cannot get his deferred pay. I always am told in 3 month I will get it but is two years now. I have four young children and find it hard enough to manage, and that 13 weeks money would be some good help to me. I have been put off so many times that I am sick of it – my husband was killed August 22, 1915, so it is quite time it was settled up.

Inez's husband, Peter, had been born on Scotland. He was a labourer. They had been living in Bestic St, Rockdale, when he joined up on 27 February 1915, to be attached to the 18th Battalion. He was killed by shrapnel fire, whilst participating in a suicidal attack attempting to retake Hill 20 in the Ypres salient in Belgium. His body was never recovered, and he was posted missing for over 17 months, during which time his wife had to endure much financial hardship.

On 28 February 1918 AIF Base Records, Melbourne, received a request from another wife:

Could you kindly give me any particulars about my husband as my military pay has been stopped now for two months & they cannot give me any information here at Victoria Barracks [in Sydney] concerning same. Will you please let me know as soon as you can the reason why. I am very anxious to know.

A reply was promptly despatched, dated 1 March:

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter concerning your husband ... and to state that according to advice received, he has been absent without leave on two occasions. This probably accounts for the stoppage of his allowance.

The subject of this correspondence was the behaviour of a member of the 3rd Battalion, a boot maker from Regent St, Kogarah, who had joined up as a 24-year-old on 4 August 1915. As a member of the 3rd Battalion, he

* For a private such as Dave Lamond, his widow was entitled to a pension of £52 per annum, plus £13 for each child. See Letter to the Editor of the *St George Call* of 17 July 1915, p.3, from the state parliamentary representative for St George, W.R. Bagnall, under the heading 'Our Defenders' Children'. Bagnall goes on to comment: 'Such provision can only mean penury and distress... What a price their dependents pay, to be thrown from comfort and in many cases luxury to poverty and distress with the attendant blighting of the children's status and prospects in life's battle'.

fought in France, where he received a wound to his right arm in July 1916, and went on to be awarded the Military Medal. The citation read:

For devotion to duty near HARCOURT on 18th Sept., 1918. BREEN showed splendid courage and determination in carrying messages under heavy machine gun and shell fire. He carried out many dangerous and difficult tasks and set a splendid example of fearlessness.

One of the pertinent pieces of information that may be overlooked in this passage is the soldier's rank, that of private. He had been a sergeant, until demoted on 11 April 1918, for going AWL so frequently as to be declared an 'illegal absentee' by a court martial. There may well have been some who laughed off his conduct as yet another example of the larrikinism they associated with the AIF. But for his wife Nora, back home in Australia, this was no laughing matter. She was dependent on the 'allotment' received from his army pay, and her husband's indiscipline resulted in her allowance being suspended. He may have been praised for his devotion to duty on the battlefield, but his general conduct betrayed a disregard for his wife's wellbeing. In this instance, and in every case where a married man went AWL, it was not simply the soldier who would suffer, having to appear before a court martial, fined, awarded a field punishment of some type, etc., the wife was also made to suffer financially.

In addition to wives effectively being 'punished' for their husbands going AWL, the same could also be the case with married men who contracted VD. There was the possibility of the wives of the 13 married men of the Rockdale cohort hospitalized with VD having their 'allotments' suspended.⁴⁶ It will be recalled that the average period of hospitalization with VD for a member of the Rockdale cohort was 68 days. So their frolics could result in an average income-loss for their wives of almost 10 weeks' allowance. Thus the contraction of VD in Cairo, London, Paris, etc., had a potentially quantifiable economic impact back in Rockdale.

And a soldier didn't necessarily have to embark for overseas in order to contract VD,⁴⁷ as the following case demonstrates. On 22 June 1917 a letter was sent from 18 Farr St, Rockdale, to the authorities at Liverpool Camp, to Sydney's west, with this request: 'Could you kindly inform me ... when [my husband James] is allowed out or what has become of him as I have not seen or heard anything of him for nearly a fortnight and I think there is something wrong'. The letter was written by Gladys, enquiring about her husband, a 36-year-old motor body builder, who had enlisted just over 7 weeks previously, and was in training at the camp. He was originally from Staffordshire, in England, and it appears that his wife was also from thereabouts, and had come out with him to start a new life in Australia. At the time of James's enlistment the couple had at least two children. Apparently someone who became aware of Gladys's letter not only took it upon themselves to investigate her request, but then to break to her the news that her husband had contracted VD, together with some of the details. This is apparent from another letter contained within the husband's AIF dossier, written by the wife thanking the helpful individual. It is worth quoting at length, because of the way it illustrates how a woman's life could be thrown into turmoil as a result of an episode precipitated by The Great War. The letter is dated 7 October 1917:

... I am very thankful to you for letting me know about Jim as I have been in suspense for over a fortnight not knowing where he was but I have found it all out to my heart's content. [He] brought me out from home from my Mother and all I held dear to a land of strangers and this is how he has served me almost deserted me I can call it that for he seems as if he does not care what becomes of me or his dear babies. He was not at the [military] hospital when I got there [at Liverpool?] he has been transferred to Milsons Island [c.80 km north of Sydney, near the mouth of the Hawkesbury River, where a medical facility had been established, to isolate patients with contagious diseases] I will leave you to judge for yourself the reason for that. I have just got enough trouble to drive me mad and not a friend in the world to turn for sympathy, I would be thankful to you if you could let me know the name of the woman at Dulwich Hill I have her address it is a very sad state of affairs he ought to have had more respect for himself he is not a young man he is old enough to have more sense he is much older than myself I am only 24 years of age and for him to spoil my life like this. It is almost too much for a woman to bear but I should not let my troubles fall on anyone else ... would you be kind enough to tell me whether my pay still goes on and if there is any pay of his which I could get ...

The dossier also contains a note from the Senior Medical Officer at the Military Hospital, Milsons Island, advising that the husband was a patient there for 28 days, from 5 November, as a result of being infected with gonorrhoea. He was subsequently discharged from medical care, 'Free from *active* disease' (emphasis added). What

⁴⁶ Stanley, *Bad Characters*, pp.31, 197.

⁴⁷ Stanley, *Bad Characters*, pp.25, 228.

makes this case somewhat different from other VD cases was its close proximity to home, to Rockdale. It was more likely that if a soldier was to contract VD, it would be whilst in Egypt or in northern Europe. But an inescapable point is that, sooner or later, when he returned to Rockdale, as he probably would, the possibility was that a domestic crisis such as that described above, could ensue. And the problem was potentially many more times disruptive than one involving the 13 married men in the Rockdale cohort with VD. There were also 84 single members of the cohort who received medical treatment for VD during The Great War, most of whom would probably find their way back to the municipality. One of the possibilities was an increase in births of children with severe disabilities such as blindness.⁴⁸

AIF dossiers contain notifications of troops marrying whilst serving overseas; even when such notification was not provided, it is possible to work out from other documentation that a marriage had occurred. This is also the case with soldiers marrying in Australia, before embarking for overseas service. As best as can be determined, 45 members of the Rockdale cohort (6.23 per cent) were married during their period of enlistment: 13 were married in Australia and 32 overseas – 28 in England and 4 in Scotland. Most of the overseas marriages came in a rush, in the last year of the war or in 1919, while the troops were preparing to be transported back to Australia.

Sometimes there were suspicions that an Australian serving overseas might already be married, without telling the woman with whom he was keeping company. An example of this involved 24-year-old Stanley Taylor, from Russel Avenue, Sans Souci. He had enlisted on 2 March 1915 and, as a private in the 19th Battalion, was wounded, gassed and the victim of shell shock, before being discharged from the AIF in England, on 14 April 1919. Then in March 1920 the AIF received enquiries as to whether the young man was unmarried, as he claimed, because of the interest he was showing in an English girl. Her parents were concerned. A check made of his records found that Taylor was not already married. In other cases, however, there was a degree of deceit. One of those whose name appears on the Rockdale Honour Roll answered 'Yes' to being married when he enlisted on 25 November 1916. Then, on 20 August 1917, he married Mabel Bartholemew in London. A note in his file dated 16 July 1920 reads: 'It would appear he has committed bigamy'. A married man from Railway Crescent, Banksia, who enlisted on 19 May 1915 and served as a sapper with the 3rd Signal Company, returned to Australia to be discharged from the army on 2 October 1918. About three months later a letter from London arrived for him, via Base Records, written by Mademoiselle Anne Marie Landrain (presumably French), advising that on 7 October she had given birth to his son: 'Now I am a terrible mess'. Earlier, in mid-1917, the soldier had been hospitalized for 26 days for treatment for VD; the file notes read that it had been contacted from a London prostitute. (Sometimes it was recorded in medical notes that an 'amateur' was the cause of infection.) What these examples demonstrate is that the notion of the womenfolk of Rockdale men was elastic, it could be extended to include women they met up with whilst overseas, and that there existed a possibility their lives could be quite disrupted as a consequence of the encounter.

In her 2009 publication *Shattered Anzacs: living with the scars of war*, Melbourne historian Marina Larsson of Latrobe University provides us with a very particular perspective of Australians and The Great War. She reminds us that the 'dominant' perception Australians have had of the members of the 1st AIF, 'the national foundational narrative of Anzac', is one of 'a young independent bushman with a perfect physique'. For her part, Larson is critical of 'the nation's conspicuous public cultures of remembrance', of 'the selective nature of Australia's national memory of war', specifically when it came to the sorry fate that often awaited disabled ex-servicemen, which was effectively ignored, and of how 'historians have been slow to understand war disability...'. She focuses upon those members of the AIF who returned to Australia with various types of 'physical, mental or psychological impairment sustained or aggravated during a serviceman's period of enlistment, whether or not it was officially recognised'. As best as is possible at this distance in time, her study investigates the lives 'of Australia's "shattered" Anzacs and their families ... It brings to light the shared lives of disabled soldiers and their kin who struggled with the consequences of physical and mental war disability ... After soldiers were invalided home, families were called upon to manage the often devastating emotional, economic and social effects of disablement'. A system evolved of family-home-based nursing-care which 'implicitly relied on women's unpaid caregiving': 'many female family carers were selfless and dutiful, and embodied ideals of nurturing womanhood'. 'Yet this history of "domestic heroism" does not fit easily into Australia's commemorative traditions of war. Within the Anzac legend there is little room to valorise "shattered diggers", much less pay tribute to the "maternal sacrifice" of their mothers or "mari-

⁴⁸ Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs*, pp.136-8, 165-6; Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p.238.

tal sacrifice" of their wives'.⁴⁹ Whilst it is outside the scope of this study to go beyond the period of The Great War, into the 1920s and 30s as Larsson does, the dossiers of the Rockdale volunteers do contain leads that some future researcher might care to follow up.

At war's end there were 134 members of the Rockdale cohort who would not be returning to Australia, those who had either died in battle or of disease. There would be returning home many who had been injured and were in need of care which, it was likely, would be provided by compassionate mothers, sisters and wives. Alec Clark of 'Verona' in Station St, Rockdale, seemed to have had a promising future before him: he was attending university, a very rare opportunity for a young man from the municipality. Then, as a 19-year-old, he signed up on 20 September 1915, to become an infantryman. In April 1916 he disembarked at Marseilles and entered the battle zone in June. Eight weeks later he received severe shrapnel wounds to his left leg and back, to be evacuated to a hospital in London. Over the next two months he underwent two operations on his leg, leaving him with just a third of his thigh. He was returned to Sydney and discharged from the army on 4 October 1917. A similar fate awaited William Harper. He had come to Australia from Scotland, and when the war broke out was a train driver, living with his wife at 'Cramlington' in Rocky Point Road, Sans Souci. He joined up as a 35-year-old on 27 June 1915, becoming a private in the 53rd Battalion. On 10 May 1917 he was wounded by shrapnel, which fractured his left leg. It turned gangrenous and had to be amputated 6 months later. He was discharged in Australia on 9 August 1918. From the details provided by Cecil and George Hughes upon their enlistments, it can be worked out they were twin brothers, born in 1889. When war broke out, they were living with their parents in Harris St, Sans Souci. Cecil, a railway clerk, joined up on 19 September 1914 (eventually to be promoted to sergeant, with the 1st Railway Supply Detachment), and George, a brass finisher, enlisted a year later, on 26 August 1915 (to be promoted to lieutenant, in the 56th Battalion, and decorated with a Distinguished Conduct Medal). George married in England, in August 1918. Both brothers would be wounded by shrapnel shells in France, and both would need amputations: Cecil's right leg was amputated, and the lower third of George's right arm. (George was wounded less than a month after his marriage.) They were discharged within months of each other, back in Australia in 1919. (Subsequent correspondence would seem to indicate that George's English wife returned with him to Rockdale.) Lance Corporal Jesse Hurst, 30th Battalion, had been a cabinet maker before the war. He was living with his parents at 'Rockley' in Bay St, Rockdale, when he enlisted as a 24-year-old, on 2 August 1915. After arriving in Marseilles in June 1916, he joined the fighting in France. In November he was admitted to hospital with Trench Foot; as a result of becoming gangrenous, both his feet needed to be amputated in May 1917. He was returned to Australia and discharged from the army on 11 November 1917. Private George Naldrett, 55th Battalion, a train guard who had lived with his parents in Bellevue St, Arncliffe, joined up as a 23-year-old on 12 August 1915. Multiple wounds he received in May 1917 resulted in the amputation of his left foot. Albert Oppel, a hairdresser, who served as a private in the 19th Battalion, survived the war. Discharged from the army in 1916 because of a hand wound, he returned to Sydney, but not to his wife in Parliament Terrace, Arncliffe. She would relate how he is 'very funny in the head at times & I am very anxious about him'. Later he changed his name to Taylor and went to New Zealand.

War's End

Memories of dead soldiers were not easily put to rest; at least in the short term they necessarily remained an active topic of conversation. Confirmation of a soldier's death did not usually bring closure for a family, with an exchange of correspondence between next-of-kin and the military authorities continuing for some time. Communications could go well into the 1920s regarding burial arrangements in some distant military cemetery, with relatives having to decide what brief inscriptions they wanted on graves or memorials (in cases where a body had not been recovered), and with the authorities eventually providing them with a collection of photographs of the grave sites. The mother of Company Sergeant Major Harry Stead of the 3rd Battalion would write to Base Records in March 1925 complaining that the information with which she had been provided, that her son's grave could not be located, was wrong: she, herself, had travelled to France and, after some investigation, had found his grave in the war cemetery at Pozieres. There was also the procedure of returning to next-of-kin any personal possessions that belonged to a soldier killed in action. The present investigation began with a discussion of Fred Waive, Rockdale council's Deputy Town Clerk who was killed in the fighting on Gallipoli. In September 1916 the army despatched a parcel to his family at 'Swindon', Farr St, Rockdale, containing a gold wedding ring, a gift box and pho-

⁴⁹ Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs*, pp.16-22, 122, 265-6, 245, 269-72.

tographs. His sister Beatrice was entrusted with responding to Base Records on behalf of the family, which she did thus: 'I have received a parcel ... which is supposed to be the property of my late brother who was killed in action at Gallipoli on May 1st 1915. But the contents did not belong to him... According to one post card in the parcel these have to do with some people in Geelong... Could you kindly let me know how to set about getting his right belongings'. Eventually Fred's personal effects were located and despatched to Rockdale, arriving on Thursday 18 January 1917. (The parcel contained a hair brush, clothes brush, a New Testament, purse, money belt, pipe, two books, letters and post cards.) So emotional were his parents that they had to send apologies to Council for not being able to attend the unveiling of their son's memorial tablet scheduled for that very evening.⁵⁰ The original mistake which had seen the wrong personal effects being delivered must have been especially distressing for them.

The conclusion of The Great War was marked by the Mayor of Rockdale, Henry Broe, with a minute which he tabled at the opening of Council's meeting on Thursday 28 November 1918:

The War declared upon Germany by Great Britain in defence of Belgium in August 1914 terminated on the 11th instant ... The Victory achieved by our Nation and its allies after 51 months of terrific warfare against an unscrupulous and powerful foe ... is undoubtedly the greatest in history...

Alderman Monahan then moved a motion:

That this Council express its profound gratification at the glorious victory won by the Empire and its Allies over the Central Powers and places upon record its deep gratitude to the Armies and Navies who have heroically upheld the Allies' cause throughout the course of the War.

Upon this being carried unanimously, the aldermen stood and sang the national anthem, 'God Save the King'. The mayor went on to report that 'in connection with the good war news', he had granted free use of the Town Hall for a 'united thanksgiving Service' on 13 November.⁵¹

That Thursday evening's Council meeting went on to discuss, as part of its general business, correspondence received from the St George Amateur Operatic Society regarding recent entertainment it had provided in the Town Hall, as a fund-raiser (organized by ex-mayor Green) for the construction of the second Honour Roll. Because of what was considered to be its unreasonable 'delay in submitting the statement of receipts and expenditure', the Town Clerk was directed to inform the Society that 'the Council will expect the statement to be submitted at its next meeting'.⁵² At that meeting, Council would be informed that considerable expenses had resulted in only a quite meagre profit. This was considered 'so unsatisfactory the Clerk was directed to hand the [Society's financial] statement over to the press for publication, so that the public might know the reason why the second Honor [sic] Roll could not be proceeded with'.⁵³ (As explained above - on page 2 - the second Honour Roll would eventually be mounted in the Town Hall in mid-1921, with Council probably meeting most of the costs.)

CONCLUSION

If there was such a person as the average Rockdale volunteer who served with the AIF during The Great War, he was Australian-born (with a British background), having lived his whole life in the Rockdale area. He was a Christian, a member of the Anglican Church, although not necessarily a regular church-goer. He had received a basic, primary school education, but not much more. He entered the work-force at a relatively young age, the building industry being a possible source of employment, perhaps as a tradesman or labourer. At the time when he decided to enlist, he was living at home with his parents; he was not married. On enlistment he was a little over 24-years-of-age and stood 1.67 meters tall. Then he was trained by the army to be an infantryman. It was unlikely he would rise much above the rank of private, if at all. His experience of the world was broadened enormously as a result of overseas military service, presenting as it did the opportunity of visiting cities such as Cairo, London and Paris. In the meantime, our average Rockdale volunteer served as a member of an increasingly effective Allied war-machine. There was, however, about a one-in-three chance he would be wounded by rifle or machinegun fire, or shrapnel from an exploding artillery shell, or, in the latter stages of the war, poisoned by gas; the chances of him being killed in action were almost one-in-five.

⁵⁰ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, meeting of 18 January 1917, p.342.

⁵¹ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, meeting of 28 November 1918, pp.849, 856.

⁵² Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, meeting of 28 November 1918, pp.851-2.

⁵³ Municipality of Rockdale, Council Minutes, meeting of 12 December 1918, p.861.

In his address on the occasion of Anzac Day in 2002, the mayor of Rockdale advanced the following interpretation:

Anzac Day is a celebration of that fateful day on 25 April 1915 when the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Anzacs fought a losing battle that burnt itself in the history and fabric of our nation and triggered the coming of age of Australia as a Nation...

The Anzac's [sic] were on the Gallipoli Peninsula for only eight months, yet around 8,000 of them died there. This battle in many ways was a defining moment for Australia as a new nation and proudly referred to as the "Coming of Age" of our Nation.⁵⁴

That address effectively summarizes what The Great War means for the vast majority of Australians. Yet, with the approach of its centenary, perhaps it is time to revisit that earlier period, to make a reassessment of what it meant for Rockdale, like other Australian communities, to be involved in that enormously destructive conflict.

Initially Rockdale men were motivated to enlist in the AIF to help the British Empire in its hour of need. It would appear that, subsequently, that motivation was supplanted by a humanitarian response, by a determination to oppose German militarism. Eventually a strong sense of nationalism asserted itself, in consequence of reports describing the heroic role played by the AIF in the Gallipoli campaign. The average Rockdale volunteer would have enlisted during 1915, and may well have missed serving on Gallipoli.

The landing at what would become immortalized as Anzac Cove and the eight month campaign that followed, was the first in which Australian troops fought as a unified force, representing all parts of their continent. Yet it was on the Western Front, in France and Belgium, where the vast majority of Australians fought between 1916 and 1918, that they really established their reputations as elite troops. That was where the men from Rockdale spent most of their time in uniform, and contributed, variously, in their own particular ways, to the eventual victory over the German army that would determine the outcome of The Great War.

Recent historical revisionism has brought into focus the 1st AIF's conduct outside the battle zone, suggesting that during The Great War there was drunkenness, quite a degree of lawlessness with a considerable number going AWL, and with many afflicted and incapacitated by VD. Evidence of these negative factors can be found in the behaviour of Rockdale volunteers. Yet a case-by-case investigation of the 722-man Rockdale cohort finds the incidence of such things to be quite minor. Only 27 were ever put on charges of being drunk. Whilst there was about a 1-in-3 chance of them going AWL, it was likely to be for less than 10 (accumulated) days, across periods of enlistment of roughly 3 years or more; there were few serial absenters, with only 24 being AWL for more than 20 (accumulated) days. There was a slightly higher than 1-in-7 chance of a Rockdale volunteer contracting VD which, back then, was simply on a par with the rate of infection for the populations of cities such as London and Paris. The cohort did include a few 'bad characters', but they were very few. Perhaps Rockdale's Lance Corporal George McPherson got it right when he wrote of misconduct being the work of 'that very small though rowdy larrikin element'.* On balance, it could be argued they conducted themselves more like the traditional figure of the good-natured 'digger' with which Australians are so familiar.

What is particularly deficient with received wisdom about The Great War is the role allocated to Australia's women. They are notable by their absence from the male-centred Anzac Legend. Some Rockdale women had an especially hard time of it, having to manage the psychological distress resulting from the injuries and deaths suffered by their menfolk, together with accompanying financial strains, in their efforts to maintain the cohesion of their families. Women made an important contribution to Rockdale's war effort. They did not need to be in uniform to do so.

⁵⁴ 'General Report for Council Meeting 24/04/2002 – Commemorating Anzac Day', Municipality of Rockdale, file number A13/0004.

* See p. 19 above.

THE ROCKDALE MUNICIPAL HONOUR ROLL OF 1ST AIF VOLUNTEERS

875 names, rearranged alphabetically, with addition of AIF service numbers

Asterisks (*) as found on original Roll, indicate that these men were killed whilst on active service. (As discussed in text, these are very incomplete; many more than those thus designated actually died.)

+ indicates membership of the 722-strong 'Rockdale cohort', i.e. those actually living in Rockdale when they enlisted (and not simply nominated for the Roll for other reasons, such as a family connection with the area).

These names (when used in conjunction with service numbers) can be matched, on line, with their:

- 1st AIF dossiers at: http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/SeriesDetail.aspx?series_no=B2455
- names on the 1st AIF Embarkation Roll at: http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/nominal_rolls/first_world_war_embarkation/
- Military Honours and Awards at: http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/honours_and_awards/
- personal details as compiled by the AIF Project at: <http://www.aif.adfa.edu.au/index.html>

+ABBOTT, K.F. 13735	+BANNISTER, M.C.R. 2801	+BISHOP, W.R. 2492
+ADKINS, E.C. 17296	+BARFORD, J. DEPOT	+BLACKABEY, J.T. 1880
+ADKINS, L.K. 59842	+BARKER, L.W. 6610	BLANCHARD, CLARENCE.
+*AGATE, G.E.A. 10117	+BARLOW, J.H.H. 2184	3896
+*AGNEW, N.L. 2319	+BARNIDGE, H. 376	BLANCHARD, CYRIL. 3897
+*ALDWORTH, G.G. 3001	+BARRETT, L. 2 nd LIEUT	+BLAXELL, J.W.R. 6818
+ALEXANDER, W. 7437	+BARTLETT, A.G. 3758	+BODDINGTON, H. 3026
ALLARD, C. 4069	+BATTERSBY, J. 503	+BODDINGTON, J.S. 3010A
ALLARD, C.H. 816	+BAXTER, G.W. 3013	+BOLIN, L.M. 2989
ALLEN, A.S. CAPT	BEARDALL, H. ?	+BOOTH, A.H. 25527
+ALLEN, GUY. 87782	+BEARDALL, W.H. 3037	+BOOTH, W. 2356
ALLEN, M. ?	+BEATTIE, A. 2918	+BOURKE, F.J. 2312
+*ALLERDICE, C. 291	+*BECKEN (BEEKEN), W.C.	+BOWER, W.A. 21
AMERY (AMY), F. 5781	LIEUT	+BOWERS, W.H. 1912
+AMMIDY (AMIDY), B. 2866	+BEDFORD, A.W. 2255A	+BOWLES, A.A. Junr. 23
APPEL, L.A. 1880	+BEDFORD, R.T. 9524	+BOWYER, H. 32948
+ARGENT, P. 3004	+BEEHAG, ROY. DEPOT	BRADLEY, F. ?
*ARMSTRONG, I.T. ?	+BEER, C.C. 30316	BRADLEY, F. ?
+ARMSTRONG, N.L. 4336	+BEER, H. LIEUT	+BRADLEY, R.F.C. 6283
+ARMSTRONG, P. 8183	+BEER, Wm. DEPOT N20179	+BRADSHAW, E. 4749
*ARNOLD, F.M. 573	+BELL, A. DEPOT	+BRANDT, J. 17294
+ARNOLD, R.A. 151 4159	+BELL, G. 1988	+BRASIER, H.J. 4007
+ASHE, C.Mc. 1651	+BELL, J. 505	+BRESSINGTON, W.J. 52556
ASHLEY, A. ?	+BELL, R. 2346	+BRICKWOOD, G.W. 3688
ASHLEY, S. ?	+BELL, Wm. 2312	+BRIDGE, S. 8991
+ASQUITH, J. 2777	+BENHAM, H.G. 5046A	+BRIGHT, R.C. 354
+ASTRIDGE, E.S. 8365	+BENNETT, C.W. 5972	+BRIGHTEN, F. 2788
+ATKINS, A.R. 9638	+BERRY, A.C. 3464	+BRITTAI, H.W.J. 2128
+ATKINS, O.J. 14711	+BERRY, C.J. 1741	+BROADLEY, J. 1712
+*AUBUSSON, J. 31151	+*BERRY, J.J. 4010	+BROCKLESBY, T.V. 2331A
AUNDY, A. ?	+BERRY, S.M. 5046	+BROE, H.C. 613
+AUSTIN, E.H. 11294	BEVAN, J. ?	+BROMWICH, W. 1879
AUSTIN, L. ?	+BEVERIDGE, D. 2576A	+BROOKS, F.J. 2559
+BADDOCK, A. 3599	BIGNELL, C. ?	+BROOKS, ROY. 12858
+BADGER, M. 2106	+BIGNELL (BIGNALL), C.R.A.	+BROOKS, W.C. CAPT
+BAIGENT, W. 3688	51a	+BROOME, S. 280
+*BANCROFT, F.O. 472	BINK, H. ?	+BROWN, J. 93944
+BANNISTER, E.S. 19	+BISBY, J. 6708	

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 WW2
 +BROWN, P.G. 2142
 BRUNNE, W. 319
 BRUNTON-SMITH, J.F. ?
 BRYANT, D.A. 284
 +BRYANT, H. 497
 +BRYANT, H. 2339A
 BUCK, C. 571
 +BURFITT, A.J. 1284
 BURNS, F.N. 382
 +BURREINGTON, H. 314 4338
 +BURTT, H.J. N77861 –
 WW2
 +BUTCHART, L. 18432
 +BUTLER, C.H. 1028
 BUTLER, J. 4449
 +CAIRNCROSS, J. 1935
 +CAIRNCROSS, W.D. 5922
 CALCRAFT, W.F. 27340
 +CALLAGHAN, R. 5117
 +*CAMERON, R.S. 2885
 +CAMPBELL, D.S. 2293
 +CAMPBELL, I.S. 1502
 +CAMPLING, A.G. 2772
 +CAMPLING, J. 668
 +CAMPLING, R. 2831
 +CARMALT, E. 1496
 +CARR, G. 3055
 +CARR, H. 3252
 +*CARROLL, W.F. 4465
 +CARY, W. 12860
 +CATMUR, D.S. 637
 CHAPMAN, J.L. 1533
 CHAPPLE, J. ?
 CHAUNCEY, A.J.M. ?
 +CHEDGEY, H.V. LIEUT
 +CHESHIRE, E. 3277
 +CHURCH, A. 822
 CHURCH, B. ?
 +CLARK, A. 3974
 +CLARK, L.N. 1539
 +CLARKE, L. 27186
 +CLARKE, W.A. 415
 CLAYTON, Dr.H. MAJOR
 CLAYTON, H.J.R. MAJOR
 +CLIFFORD, A.B. 2280
 CLINO, L. ?
 +COCKETT, L. 516
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 +COLES, E. 4458
 +COLLETT, L.W. 2835
 +COLLIER. 1172
 +COLLINS, E.L. 476 2106
 +COLLINS, H.V. 2146
 +*COLLINS, ROY. 2047
 +COLLIS, H.F. 16189
 +COLLIS, H.H. 1761
 +COLLIS, R.S. 4801
 +CONGDON, G. 1745
 +CONGDON, H. 1361
 CONNOLLY, M.J. ?
 +COOK, R. 2349
 +COOKE, A. 15 90
 +COOMBES, C.A. 10134
 +COOMBES, F.G. 2578
 +COOMBES, W. PRIVATE
 +COOPER, G. 997
 +CORK, E.E. 2472
 CORKERY, J.L. 3102B
 COTTERELL, E. 1716
 +COWAN, R.J. 8370
 +COWDEN, A. 844
 COWLE, F.E. ?
 COWLE, P.S. 3069
 COWLE, W.C. 1302
 +COX, F.C.A. 517
 CRANE, G. ?
 +CRAWFORD, J.C. 2473
 +CRAWFORD, S.H. CAPT
 +CRISPO, C.H. 4349
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 +CROUCH, E. 3023
 +*CUDDEFORD, R.S. 3710
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 +*CUTTING, H.R. 4280
 +*DANNEFAERD, W.J. LIEUT
 +DAVIES, W. 2624
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 +DAVIS, E.S. 2810
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 +DE PLATER, R.K. 6973
 +*DEAN, C.A. 4475
 +DEANE, C. 3103A
 +DEANE, N.C. 3051
 +DEEVES, O. 558
 +DEGENER (DIGNAM), O.
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 +DICKIN, W.A.W. 5328
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 +DOUGLAS, J. 3821
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 +DOUST, C.B. 37864
 +DOWNES, A. 16077
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 +DYE, F.C. 2049
 +DYER, A. 6005
 +EAMES, P.W. 621
 +EDMAN, E. 852
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 +ELDRIDGE, A.J. 3757
 +ELDRIDGE, P.N. 39420
 +ELLERY, C.G.B. 5939
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 +EMERY, F.W. 5869
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 ESKRIGGE, J.E. ?
 +EVANS, R.J.M. 13747
 +FAHY, C.W. 1504
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 +FALCONER, A.G. 18683
 FANOOGAN, F. ?
 +FARLEIGH, F. LIEUT
 +FARLEIGH, G. LIEUT
 +FAULKNER, W.T. 3034
 +FAVELL, A. 2643
 FELTON, G.D. 13966
 +FENTON, W.E. 2774
 +FIELD, L.A. 15702
 +FIELDING, H. 7469
 FIFIELD, G.N. ?
 +FILLINGHAM, C.O. 3301
 +*FILLINGHAM, G.P. 4583
 +FILLINGHAM, H. 531
 +FILLINGHAM, H.C. 60216
 +FINCH, E.C. 26358
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 +FITTON, A.H. LIEUT
 +FITZHENRY, A.J. 14551
 +FLEET, G. 6508
 +FLETCHER, H.O. 1745
 +FLETCHER, L.O. 3341
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 +FOOTE, C.J. 6058
 +FOSKETT, C. 18228
 +FOUNTAIN, A.A. 18660

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 +*FRANKLIN, A.V. 2002
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 +FULTHORP, J. 5818
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 +GALE, J. 2409
 +GALLAGHER, A. 1449
 +GALLAGHER, W.E. 2598
 +GANNON, W.F. 2182
 GARDINER, J.A. ?
 +GARLAND, R.F. 4496
 +GARLICK, H. 1113
 GAUDRY, R. ?
 +GAUDRY, W. 11329
 +*GAWTHORPE, E.E.H. 2134
 +GEORGE, A.T. 9909
 +GEORGE, C. 86109
 +GEORGE, CHAS. 115
 +GIBBINS, R. 3783
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 +GILKES, E.J. 93 7260
 +GILKES, G.A. 7359
 +GILLARD, W. 3283
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 +GILLESPIE, J.R. 12999
 +GILLON, B.C. 18462
 +GLOVER, H.R. 697
 +GOGGIN, T.A. 1215
 +GOGGIN, T.W. 1353
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 +GOODE, A. 11515
 +*GOODE, E. 2836
 +GOODE, W. 3798
 +GOODMAN, J. 1197
 +GOODWIN, G. 601
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 +GOUGH, E. 1058
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 +GRAVES, F. 1556
 +GRAVES, J.W. 4170
 +GRAVES, V.G. 5689
 +GREEN, A.H. 11490
 *GREEN, F.R. ?
 +GREEN, S.A. 2359
 +GREEN, V.R. 6758
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 +GRIFFITH, W.H. 429
 +GROSE, N.H. 2907
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 +GUESS, N.C. 417B
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 2287 7534
- GURDLER (GIRDLER), W.
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 +GUTHRIE, A. 6558
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 +HADDON (HADDAN), L.
 3058
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 +HALL, H. 18352
 +HALL, J.H. 7502
 +HALLETT, A. 2616
 +HALLETT, C. 8181
 +HALLETT, N. 2615
 +HALLEY, J. DEPOT
 +HALLIDAY, F. 14439
 +HALLORAN, C.R. 139
 +*HALLORAN, H.B.M. 8415
 +HANKIN, F. 8182
 +HANKIN, G. 1357
 +HANNAM (HANNON), A.
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 +HANNAM (HANNAN), E.
 1098
 +HANNAM, J. 2497
 +HANNAM, W.G. 37415
 +HANNAY, T. 2240
 +HARDIE, A.G. 4844
 +HARDMAN, G. 5574
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 +HARDY, C. 119
 +HARDY, J.H. 2835
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 +*HARDY (HARDIE), P. 568
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 +HARPER, W. 2843
 +HARRIS, H. N.A.
 +HARRIS, W.G. 7523
 +HARRISON, C.A. 3031
 +HARRISON, F. 2668
 +HARRISON, S.A. 6767
 +HARRISON, S.J. 6746
 +HARRISON, T.J. 2380
 +HARRISON, W.H. 58575
 +HARRISON, W.W. 1487
 +HARROWER, O.McD. 2761
 +HART, A.H. 2291
 +HART, R.A. 5698
 +HARVEY, L.T. 396
 +*HATTERSLEY, H.W. 6318
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 +*HAWKINS, A.C. 4794
 +HAYDEN, C. 5344
 +HAZELL, C.E. 2680
 +HEAVENS, G. 4431
- +HEMMINGS, A.C. 7499
 +*HENDERSON, R. 553
 +HENDERSON, W.F. CAPT
 +*HERBERT, H. 32135
 +HICKEY, A.C. 9911
 +HILL, E.R. 2425
 +HILL, E.W. 2022
 +HILL, R.H. 4162
 +HILLMAN, A.W. 2144
 +HILLMAN, G.H. 4722
 +HILLMAN, J.S. 4723
 +HINES, R.W. 6568
 +HINGSTON, R. 2177
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 +HODGEN, J. 250
 +HODGEN, W.D. 491
 +HOHNEN, C.S. 3122
 +HOHNEN, C.W. 459
 +HOLLAND, A.T. 724
 +HOLLAND, C. 9422
 +HOLYOAKE, H. 5716
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 +HOPKINS (HOPKIN), E.
 29290
 +*HORNBY, W. 4196
 +HORSINGTON, A.C. 3118A
 +*HORSINGTON, A.H. 3119
 +HORSNELL, S.H.A.W. 2031
 +HOWARD, J.E. 2921
 +HOWARD, J.H. 9888
 *HOWARD, L. ?
 HUDSON, A. ?
 +*HUDSON, S.C. 917
 +HUGGETT, W. 28881
 +HUGHES, CECIL RN 2581
 +HUGHES, G.J. 3126
 +HUME, F. 30228
 +HURST, H.H. 3810
 +HURST, J. 11577
 +HURST, J.T. 1232
 +HURST, W.D. 187
 +HUTCHINGS, W.E. 1935
 HUTCHISON, J. ?
 +HUTCHISON
 (HUTCHINSON), J.W. 4603
 +*HUTHWAITE, G.J. 2178
 +*HUTHWAITE, V.R. 4196
 +HYNDMAN, J. 16891
 +IKIN, D. 4463
 +IKIN, F. 4464
 +IKIN, J. 14904
 JACKENS, G. ?
 +JACKSON, W.J. 1313
 +JAKINS, G.A.C. 7538

+JAMES, H. 25609
 +JEFFERSON, C. 748
 +JENNINGS, W.C. LIEUT
 JERVIS, J. 1216
 +JOHNSON, C.H. 22089
 JONES, F. 16675
 +JONES, R.E. 3551
 JONES, S. 2468
 +JOSEPHSON, O.L.G. 10265
 +*JOSEPHSON, R.R. 2877
 +JOYCE, R.J.L. 6576
 +JUDD, E.G. 3103
 +KAY, S.D. 3154
 KEITH, W.R. ?
 +KELSO, J.A. 1718
 +KENNEDY, H.M. 325
 +KENNEDY, S. 1352
 +*KENNEDY, V. 2862
 +KENT, E.C. 3410
 +KERR, W.S. 2595
 +KEY, S.N. 4815
 +KILLIBY, R.A.S. 7623
 +KILLIBY, T. 1233
 +KING, A.E. 19100
 KING, C.R. ?
 +KING, E.W. 19101
 +KING, O.D. 1381
 +KITCHEN, S.J. 7602
 +KLINE, M.H. 7562
 +KNIGHT, W.G. 3552
 +KNOWLES, J.S. 1596
 +LAMB, G.A. 2010
 +*LAMBETH, H.C. 8077
 +LAMBETH, R.W. 1791
 *LAMBOURNE, F.C. ?
 +*LAMOND, A. 1201
 +LAMOND, D. 1584
 +*LAMOND, S. 1450
 +LAMOND, STUART. 8187
 LANE, A.L. 1490 37428
 +LANGRIDGE, C.J. 2631
 +LANGSTON, A.C. 2053
 +LAW, E.J. 705
 +LAW (LAWSON), J.H. 2630
 LAYTON, A. 1973
 LAYTON, W. LIEUT
 +LEE, B. 854
 +LEE, J.A. 720
 +LEER, A.E.J. 2963
 +LEER, J.A. DEPOT
 +LEER, N.L. 4048
 +*LEER, S.C. 967 2607
 +LEESE, J.T. 4180
 +LENNY (LENNY), H.E. 2536
 +*LESTER, C.H. 3506
 +LEWIS, A.E. 10273
 +LLOYD, C. DEPOT
 +LLOYD, C.M. 6613
 +LLOYD, J. 1357 6965
 +LOBB, J. 19313
 +*LUCAS, A.T. 2730
 +LUCAS, E. 1935
 LUCAS, E. ?
 LUCAS, H. 687
 +LUMB, H. 5123
 +LYNCH, A. 4129
 +LYNCH, A.L. 3108
 +MACAULEY, R.O. 4248
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 +MACDONALD (McDON-
 ALD), D.A. 3362A
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 MACKIE, R.B. ?
 +MACKIN, C.T. 448
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 +MACKIN, W.J. 398
 +MACKINNON, D. 3096A
 +MAGUIRE, H.E. 2645
 +MAHONEY, C.R. LIEUT
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 +MAIN, S. 14593
 +MALLET (MALLITT), T. 573
 +MANSON, E.F. 6588
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 +MARR, G. 2171
 +MARSDEN, P.F. 4036
 +MARSDEN, P.F. 3374
 +MARSH, B.S. 1207
 +MARTIN, C. 2646
 +MARTYN, H.W. 19320
 +MASHMAN, G.B. 19114
 +MASHMAN, H.W. 15495
 MASON, H. ?
 +MASON, W. 2872
 +MASTON, H. 2167
 +MATHESON, A.H. 6597
 +MATHIESON (MATHESON),
 A. 3420
 +McANNALLY (McANALLEY),
 H. 2861
 *McBEAN, G.L. 889
 +McBRIDE, J. 8449
 McCALL, J.T. ?
 +MCDONALD, A.F. 9294
 +McEVOY, P.J. 5177
 +McFADGEN (McFADYEN),
 K.R.D. 3869
 +McGARVEY, S. 721
 McGINNITY, W.J. 2105
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 +McINTOSH, C. CAPT
 +McKEE, C.P. DEPOT
 +McKEE, J.E. 21315
 +McLAREN, A. 2247
 +McMINN, F. 1562
 +McMINN, R.W. 5846
 +*McPHERSON, G. 291
 +*McPHERSON, T. 1062
 +McRONALD, G.R. 6149
 +MEEK, H.A. 95695
 *MEEK, H.K. ?
 +*MEEK, R.S. 653
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 SOHN), A. 25636
 +MILLARD, W.O. 32094
 MILLER, A. ?
 +MILLWOOD, F. 715
 +MILNE, G.S. 17388
 +MILTON, K.E. 2113
 +MITCHELL, A.B. 920
 MITCHELL, A.F. 1401
 +MITCHELL, G.W. 912
 +MITCHELL, W. 486
 +MOELLER (MOLLER), J.
 1398
 MOLONEY, G.T. ?
 MONTAGUE, E.A. 3930
 +MONTAGUE, H.L. 4478
 +MOORE, C.H. 11470
 +MOORE, W.W. 7532
 +MORGAN, C.W. LIEUT
 +MORGAN, R.J. 1070
 +MORRIS, J.M. 38
 +MORRISON, J. 6771
 +MORRISON, W. 2152 2102
 1763
 +MORSE, C. 8442
 +MORSE, I. 517 183
 +MORTON, G. 1577
 +MORTON, W.G. 2701
 +MOYES, R.G. 720
 +MUIRHEAD, R. 6297
 +MURPHY, J. 4347
 MURRAY, B. ?
 +MURRAY, J.R. 2453
 +*MYLES, K. 2875
 +MYLES, W.H. 6779
 +NAESS, G. 428 1542
 +NAPPER, F.R. 4256

- +NELDRETT (NALDRETT), G.
3141
NELSON, E. ?
+NEVILLE, H. 748
+NEWMAN, C. Nx123440 –
WW2
+NEWMAN, E. 3684
+NEWMAN, F.A. 1105
+NEWMAN, F.G. 1106
+NICHOLAS, G. 3866
+NICHOLSON, A.J. 33964
+NIELD, A.R. 7219
+NIVEN, R. 16627
+NOBLE, M. 32997
+O'CONNOR, O.T. 33861
+O'KEEFE, A. 1904
O'SULLIVAN, J.J. ?
+OHLSON, A.A. 3221
+OHLSON, ALBERT. 18521
+*OLDS, N. 1054
+OPPEL, E.A. 1262
+OWENS, M.F. 3143
+PACKENHAM, W.L. 1189
PALMER, J. 6553
PANTLIN, F.W. 17
+*PANTLIN, J.R. 74
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+PARKINS, A.J. 3492
+PARKINS, R.T. 2045
+PARNELL, P.W. 18560
+PARRY, S. 4042
+*PARTRIDGE, W.M. 2758
+PASCOE, F.J. 8096
+PASCOE, H. 8121
+PATTERSON, R. 4289
PAYNE, A. 6318
+PAYTEN, J. 1327
+*PEARCE, A.B. 4274
+PEARCE, J.H. 5435
+PEARCE, R.J. 1600
+PEARCE, T.D. 19552
+PEARSON, C. 153
+PEAT, C. 99
+PERRY, S.J. 1817
+*PERT, A.H. 1387
PETSCHLER, G. 10543
+PETSCHLER, N.L. CAPT
+PETTIGREW, A. 1510
+PHILLIPS, C.H. LIEUT
+PIPER, J.W. 2118
+POBJOY, C.J. 4613
POMROY, O.F. 2187
POMROY, P.H. 1392
+POOLEY, E. 3187
- +POOLEY, F. 550
+POWELL, A. 3600
+PRATTIS, J. 6300
PRESSLEY, A. ?
+PRESSLEY, E.A. 6560
+*PRIEST, C.A. 5884
+PRIEST, P.A. 5883
+PYEMONT, H.C.H. 7384
+PYEMONT, N.C. N255064 –
WW2
+QUINE, H.C. 1523
+QUINE, R.C. 1383
+RAYNOR, G.C. 1053
+REDAELLI, A.L. 1859
+REDMOND, A. 80
+REEVES, J.R. 292
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+REILLY, N. 2763
+RICHARDS, A. 2062
+RIDLEY, W. 305
+RIDLEY, W.J. CAPT
+RIORDAN, J.B. 3238
+RITCHIE, G. 309
ROBB, A.N. 8469
+ROBB, ALAN. LIEUT
ROBB, C. ?
+ROBB, H.D. LIEUT
+ROBB, L.A. 1401
ROBB, R. LIEUT
ROBB, W. 457
+ROBERTS, W.H. 3221
+ROBERTSON, ALEX.
N89744
+ROBINSON, A. 2908
+ROBINSON, A.G. 3161
+ROBINSON, A.J. 25532
+ROBINSON, T. 6818
+RODDEN, A. 632
+ROSEN, L. LIEUT
+ROSS, J.W. 3899
ROSS, J.W. ?
+ROY, B. 2380
+ROYALL, R.H. 1287
+ROYALL, S.R. 7254
+RUSSELL, A. 1702
+RUSSELL, REG. 3901
+RUSSELL, S. 3610
+RUST, S.N. 2464
+SANDERSON (SAUNDER-
SON), R. 32961
SANDS, M. ?
+SCALDWELL, T.W. 1624
6585
+SCALES, J. 71
- SCHOLES, E. ?
+SCOTHERN, S. 631
SCOTT, J. 11531
+SCOTT, JAMES. 3269
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+SEARLE, B. 6586
+SECCOMBE, A. 1579
+SECCOMBE, C. LIEUT
+SEDGERS, J. 5208
+SEWARD, G. 4058
+SHARP, J. 3704
+SHARPE, J. 2806
+SHEAN (SHEEN), A. 1277
+SHERIFF (SHERRIFF), A.M.
2320
+SHERIFF (SHERRIFF), J.L.
1635
+SHERIFF (SHERRIFF), PE-
TER. 1797
SHERIFF, SIDNEY. ?
+SHUTTLEWORTH, D.W.
2828
SIMMONDS, J.E. ?
+SIMONETTI, A.P. 2001
+SINGLETON, G. N100764 –
WW2
+SINGLETON, W. 3444
+SKELLY, J.L. 3235
+SKELTON, A.R. 2750
+SKIDMORE, H.E. 3295
SKIPPER, A.J. ?
+*SMALL, C. 3918
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+SMALL, R. 3023
+SMART, H.T. 1842
+SMITH, A.W. 2557
+SMITH, B. 15515
+SMITH, C.V. 13315
+*SMITH, G.H. 2363
+SMITH, H.A. 33954
+SMITH, H.F. 541
+SMITH, L.C. CAPT
+SMITH, M.E. 4530
+SMITH, N.R. 14177
+SMITH, P.L. 12314
+SMITH, R.A. 3624
+SMITH, R.P. 3904
+SORRELL, C. 2667
SOUTHEE, E.A. ?
+SPAIN, F.G. 2677
+SPAIN, L.N. 2678
+SPARGO, R.T. 9986
+SPENCE, Wm. 2030

- +SPITHILL, A.J. 2756
 +SPITHILL, ARTHUR. 1367
 +SPITHILL, H.E. 3127
 +SPRINGHALL (SPRINGALL),
 R. 1882
 +STANNARD, C. 2964
 +STANNARD, G. 5397
 +STEAD, H.F. 539
 +STEAD, S.S. LIEUT
 +STEWART, E.C. 17052
 +StJOHN, S.S. 2445
 +STOCHAM (STOCKMAN),
 W. LIEUT
 +STOKES, L. 4079
 +STOKES, S. 1824
 +STOKES, S.C. 1616
 +STONE, R.M. 3915
 +STONE, T.G. 11270
 +STONNELL (STONELL), A.
 749
 STRATTON, T.J. 11134
 STUBBINS, J.W. 1177
 +SUTHERLAND, H.J. LIEUT
 +SUTHERLAND, J. 565
 +SUTHERLAND, N.J. 1225
 +SWINFELD, A. 3462
 +TALBOT, H. 9598
 +*TAMSETT, W.H.J. 119
 +TANNER, W. 6322
 +TARR, T.W. 2418
 +TATE, C.W.S. 4606
 +TATE, W. 5459
 +TATE, W.J. 26440
 +TAYLOR, A.J. 3942
 +TAYLOR, A.S. 243
 +TAYLOR, C.J. 587
 +TAYLOR, J.T. 5465
 +TAYLOR, L. 3897
 TAYLOR, N. ?
 +TAYLOR, P.J. 4906
 +TAYLOR, R. 3431
 +TAYLOR, S.P. 1316
 +TAYLOR, Wm. 527
 +TAYT, N.A. 2920
 THACKERAY, C. 289
 +THACKERAY, R. 1831 1750
 THOMAS, A.G. ?
 THOMAS, F. ?
 +THOMPSON, G. 19368
 +THOMPSON, G. 18398
 +THOMPSON, H. 226
 +THOMPSON, H.J. 6338
 +*THOMSON, A.E. 769
 +THORNTON, P. 6361
 +THORPE, J. 2817
 +*TISBURY, C. 1623
 +TISBURY, F. 1622
 +TODD, G.H. NX147718 –
 WW2
 TOLLIS, T.W. CAPT
 +TOMLINSON, W.J. 662
 TUCK, REG. 138
 +TUCKWELL, S. 1001
 +TUFFY, H. 7451
 +TURNER, A.H. 5452
 +TURNER, BERT. DEPOT
 T4257
 +TURNER, J. 3498
 +TURNER, L. 3136
 +TURNER, N. 1497
 TURNER, R. ?
 +TURNER, W.L. 3940
 +TWISS, G.A. 6139
 +ULLMAN, J. DEPOT
 +UPTON, E.K. 16655
 +URCH, N. 2066
 +VALE, H.E. 5248
 +VANCE, D. 1822
 +VENESS, C.R. 11420
 +WAGHORN, C. 1304
 +*WAINE, F.C. 1337
 +WALDEN, H. 8204
 WALDERN, B. ?
 +WALES, G. 27249
 +WALKER, A. 8
 +WALKER, ARTHUR. 792
 WALKER, CHAs. 2447
 *WALL, H.O. ?
 +WALSH, W.A. 1041
 +WARBRICK, A. 1050
 +WARDROP, A.T. 2208
 WARNES, E. 14037
 +*WATSON, C.S. 3654
 +WATTS, E.F. 4640
 +WEBB, L. 1011
 WELCH, F.A. 4934
 +WERRY, A. 2224a
 +WEST, A. 57292
 +WEST, V. 456
 +WEST, W.V. 3030
 +WHALEY, L.W. 1067
 +*WHALEY, P. 2043
 WHIFFEN, P. 5215
 +WHITAKER, A. 2322
 +WHITE, C. 2019
 +WHITE, F.R. 397
 +WHITE, R.T. 5963
 +WHITEHURST, D. 2027
 +WHITEHURST, H. 1906
 +WHITEHURST, ROY. 8501
 +WHITEHURST, RUS. 2751
 +WHITWELL, B. 1104
 +WHITWELL, F.E. 831
 +WHITWELL, N. 1103
 +WIGGLESWORTH, H. 5459
 +WILCOCK, T. 6834
 +*WILDS, S.J. 2669
 +WILKINS, W. 42
 +WILLETT, A.R. 6814
 +WILLIAMS, F.C. 33009
 +WILLIAMS, FRED. 1415
 +WILLIAMS, J. 6838
 +WILLIAMS, P.O. 7449
 +WILLIAMS, P.T. 54290
 +WILLIAMS, R. 1026
 +WILLIAMS, R. 2585
 +WILLIAMSON, H.B. 336
 +WILLIAMSON, J.L.
 NX35095 – WW2
 +WILLIAMSON, L. 1025
 +WILLIS, A.E. 1852
 WILLIS, H.P. 3459
 +WILSON, A. 5512
 +WILSON, D.G. 19
 +WILSON, E.McG. 18403
 +WILSON, G. 1375
 +WINN, A.A. 4544
 +WITHERS, E.S. 2444
 +WOLFENDEN, E.L. 16243
 +WOOD, H.C. 54
 +WOODHILL, F.M. CAPT
 +WOODS, H. 2584
 +WOONOUGH
 (WOOLNOUGH), J. 2806
 +WORBOYS, C.D. 5905
 +WRIGHT, C.L. 2923
 WRIGHT, E.S. 2485
 WRIGHT, F. ?
 WRIGHT, L. 501
 WRIGHT, S. 1755
 +WRIGHT, W.D. 5143
 +WYLLIE, J. 1626
 +YORK, ROLAND. 42
 +YOUNG, A. 420
 +YOUNG, D.A. 2241

ADDITIONAL ROCKDALE MEMBERS OF 1ST AIF USED*whose names do not appear on the Municipal Honour Roll***ANDERSON, J.L. 2366****BARBER, H.J. 1746****BENJAMIN, D.H. 2795****BENJAMIN, V.B. 20021****BREEN, F.L. 2567****DENMARCK, W. Home Service****LITTLEFIELD, J.C. 6086****McCREANOR, F. 3180****WILLISON, R.E. 1197**

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