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CHAPTER 1

'The Empire Strikes Back': Anzacs and the Easter Rising 1916

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As dawn broke across New Zealand and then Australia on 25 April 1916 heralding the first Anzac Day, a day that commemorates what some regard as the defining moment in the birth of these two nations, Irish rebels who had seized the General Post Office (GPO) in Dublin the day before were fighting to establish a nation of their own. When the British government marshalled its forces to strike back, dominion soldiers on leave in Ireland were called on to help put down the Rising.

Many of those dominion soldiers were Anzacs, mostly veterans of Gallipoli who had been evacuated sick or wounded to England and had decided to spend their Easter leave in Ireland. By that time, the first Anzac Corps had arrived on the Western Front and had begun to face the horrors of modern industrialised trench warfare. But for those on leave, Ireland was meant to be a haven far removed from all that. Yet, for them, Ireland itself soon became a battle front. Anzacs, who had enlisted to fight Germans in the fields of France, were given rifles and ordered to fight Irishmen in the streets of Dublin.

Their involvement was recorded in contemporary commentary on the Rising as well as in their own diaries and letters, some of which were published in newspapers in their home countries. Some of the men's accounts are reflective, revealing an ambivalence as to the duties they were ordered to perform; others are full of bravado and hyperbole – ripping yarns of derring-do.

This chapter describes the experiences of some of the Anzacs caught up in the Easter Rising and considers the question asked at the time as to whether those Anzacs added 'lustre to the deeds of the heroes who fought and died in Gallipoli for the "Rights of Small Nations"'.[1]

WHO WERE THE ANZACS?

The initials ANZAC stand for the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, a military formation comprising two divisions of antipodean soldiers that in early 1915 assembled in Egypt before embarking for Gallipoli to fight in the Dardanelles campaign. In time, the initials became the word 'Anzac', which refers to an Australian or New Zealand soldier of the First World War. At the outbreak of the war, a strong bond of friendship existed between the two sister dominions of the South Pacific, which had a shared history. Not only did their soldiers join together in the ANZAC military formation, but, as will become apparent from the stories of some of the soldiers recounted here, many New Zealanders enlisted in the Australian Army, while many Australians enlisted in the New Zealand Army. Their bond of friendship was cemented during the Gallipoli campaign. The two divisions making up the corps were the Australian Division under the command of Major General William Bridges and the New Zealand and Australian Division under the command of Major General Alexander Godley.[2] The latter division comprised two New Zealand brigades and one Australian. After the Anzacs were evacuated from Gallipoli to Egypt in December 1915, reinforcements swelled the ranks, leading to the formation of two corps (I ANZAC and II ANZAC) that transferred to the Western Front in early 1916. There, Australian and New Zealand soldiers continued to fight together until November 1917, when the five Australian divisions were combined into the Australian Corps, while the New Zealand Division transferred to a British corps. So, at the time of the Easter Rising, there existed between Australian and New Zealand soldiers a strong Anzac identity, born of a shared heritage and tempered in battle at Gallipoli.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

A number of contemporary accounts document the involvement of dominion troops in suppressing the Easter Rising, particularly the part they played in the defence of Trinity College, where a few had taken refuge after soldiers in uniform had become targets for the rebels. An Australian soldier, the New Zealand-born Private George Davis, recorded that he and his mate Private Bob Grant had a lucky escape in Dame Street when a bullet struck the nearby kerb.[3] A New Zealand Corporal Finlay McLeod wrote to his mother that he and an Australian soldier were fired on,[4] while a New Zealand Sergeant Alexander Don wrote home, 'I was walking past Dublin Castle and everything seemed alright. Then a couple of shots rang out and two "Tommies" who were in front of me fell over ... One had a bullet through the head and the other through the neck.'[5] An unnamed New Zealander told the press, 'The rebels deliberately fired on us from their loop-holes above the post office, and a bullet went through the sleeve of a civilian a few feet off.'[6] Perhaps the most dramatic account is that of New Zealand Corporal John Godwin Garland. In a letter to his father, he reported that on Easter Monday at about 2 p.m. he and a friend, Sergeant Frederick Leslie Nevin, were standing in Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street):

> All of a sudden a large motor-car whizzed past. In it was the noted countess, dressed in a green uniform. As she went past she fired two shots at us. One went above our heads; the other caught an elderly man in the arm. It seemed to be a signal to the other Sinn Feiners, for bullets started to whizz all round us.[7]

For reasons that will become apparent, Garland's colourful account needs to be treated with some scepticism.

How many Anzacs were caught up in the Rising in Dublin during Easter Week is impossible to say. Contemporary accounts vary as to their numbers; some clearly exaggerate. A Dublin resident, Lilly Stokes, who was in the provost's house at Trinity College taking tea with the Mahaffys on Easter Monday, wrote in her diary, 'Mr. Alton, the Fellow and an O.T.C. Captain, came in to ask for beer for the 30 Anzacs he had

collected to help to defend the College.'[8] Cecil McAdam, an Australian doctor who was serving in the Royal Army Medical Corps, told the Australian press on returning to Melbourne in June that while he was in Dublin's Shelbourne Hotel during the Rising two officers had told him that forty Australian soldiers on furlough had been posted in Trinity College.[9] Yet *The Irish Times*, which published a list of the names of those who served in Trinity College during the Rising, identified only fourteen dominion troops in all: six South Africans, five New Zealanders, two Canadians, and one Australian.[10] In other parts of the city, Anzac soldiers were also involved in the fighting, including Corporal Fred Harvey and Private John Joseph Chapman, who reported at the Royal Barracks (now Collins Barracks), and the aforementioned Australians Davis and Grant, who reported at Portobello Barracks (now Cathal Brugha Barracks).

THE ROLE OF THE ANZACS

No Anzac units were in Ireland during Easter Week nor at any time thereafter.[11] The Anzacs involved in suppressing the Rising were individual members of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) and the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) who had decided to spend their Easter leave in Ireland. Most had been evacuated sick or wounded from Gallipoli. However, two New Zealanders, Sergeant Frederick Leslie Nevin of Christchurch and Corporal John Godwin Garland of Auckland, were on leave from the hospital ship *Marama*, on which they were serving as medical orderlies. One Australian soldier on convalescent leave in Dublin was Private Norman Lindsay Croft. He had lost a leg at Gallipoli. He too was asked to shoulder a rifle until it was realised he was an amputee.[12]

Australians and New Zealanders serving in Irish and British regiments were in Dublin as well when the Rising broke out or were sent there soon after. Some belonged to King Edward's Horse (also known as the King's Overseas Dominions Regiment), which was sent from the Curragh late in the afternoon of Easter Monday to reinforce the Dublin garrison. King Edward's Horse was a cavalry regiment originally formed in 1901 and made up of soldiers from the Empire. When war broke out, the regiment

recruited men from the dominions and colonies who were stranded in England and unable to return to their home countries to enlist.[13] Doctors in the Royal Army Medical Corps, such as Cecil McAdam of Melbourne, and antipodean nurses serving in the Voluntary Aid Detachment assisted the wounded as did sundry others who were in Dublin at the time. Edward Oswald Marks, a medical student from Brisbane, treated casualties at Mount Street Bridge.[14]

While, in the overall context of the Rising, the role played by the Anzacs is not significant, they and their dominion comrades made an important contribution to the Crown cause during the first forty-eight hours before reinforcements arrived from England, harassing the rebels and confining them to their initial positions. This was especially so at Trinity College, where six Anzacs had taken refuge, and along the Liffey quays near Kingsbridge Station (now Heuston Station) and at Portobello Barracks near Rathmines.

TRINITY COLLEGE

At Trinity College, the Anzacs teamed up with members of the Dublin University Officer Training Corps (OTC) and other stray soldiers until reinforcements arrived a few days later. They were deployed not only to defend the college should it be attacked but also to keep the rebels pinned down by bringing fire to bear from positions on the roof and upper floors of the main building. Among contemporary accounts that mention the role of Anzac troops in Trinity College is Warre B. Wells and N. Marlowe's *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916*, published a few months after the Rising: 'Stray soldiers were summoned from the adjacent streets and from the Central Soldiers' Club hard by the College to reinforce the garrison; these included some "Anzac" sharpshooters.'[15] Another is an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* by John Joly, Professor of Geology at Trinity, who wrote of his experiences of the Rising. Using the pseudonym 'One of the Garrison', Joly described how he joined the Anzacs on the roof of the college where they had been posted as snipers: 'They were undoubtedly men fashioned for the enjoyment of danger. And certainly it would be harder to find nicer comrades. Alas for thousands of these

fine soldiers who have left their bones on Gallipoli!' Joly claimed, 'There can be no doubt that the accurate fire maintained from the college was an important factor in the salvation of the City.'[16] This was an opinion shared by Robert Tweedy, a member of Trinity OTC, who wrote to his mother,

> A machine gun and a party of sharp-shooters on the roof did good execution down Sackville Street, and TCD may be said to have saved the banks and business premises of the most important thoroughfares of Dublin. Only one shop within range of our rifles was looted ... It is said that TCD saved the city, and I am proud to have been one of the garrison.[17]

Another OTC cadet, Gerard Fitzgibbon, wrote to a friend, '[T]he Anzacs were given all the eligible situations, which it must be allowed they deserved. They were an extraordinary gang. I have never seen their like.'[18] As veterans of Gallipoli, it is little wonder that their service was highly valued. In the first days of the Rising, the garrison at Trinity mostly comprised young officer cadets with no experience of battle.

Despite these contemporary accounts, Irish historiography of Trinity College during the Rising has all but neglected the college's contribution to the defence of the city and the vital part dominion troops played in defending the college. Recently, New Zealand historian Rory Sweetman has challenged this neglect, arguing that Trinity was on the rebels' list of targets and could easily have been captured with potentially disastrous consequences for the college: 'Trinity meant little to soldiers like [Generals] Lowe and Maxwell ... By the end of Easter Week at least some of the university's fine buildings would have resembled the shell-like remnants of the recently refurbished General Post Office.'[19] On Easter Monday night, the rebels occupied buildings overlooking Trinity to provide a covering force for men from the GPO garrison who intended to capture the college. The dominion troops engaged them in a sniping battle, and the next day the rebels withdrew. As it turned out, MacNeill's countermanding order had reduced the number of rebels who turned out on Easter Monday, and faced with armed defenders, the rebels lacked the numbers to seize the college.[20]

One of the rebel leaders, Commandant W.J. Brennan-Whitmore, acknowledged the skills of the Anzacs. In his memoirs of the Rising, Brennan-Whitmore related how the rebels had rigged up a flying fox across Sackville Street in order to convey a tin can carrying messages from the GPO to the rebel position in North Earl Street. After being captured and held in the grounds of the Custom House, Brennan-Whitmore told one of his captors (described as an Australian, but who, in all likelihood, was New Zealander Sergeant Nevin), 'By the way. You British had some pretty good snipers ... We had a cable across Sackville Street and one of your fellows hit the canister from Trinity.'[21]

But it was not only tin cans that fell victim to the Anzac sharpshooters. In his article, Professor Joly related how, early on Tuesday morning, the Anzacs on the roof of the college shot a rebel despatch rider:

> He was one of three who were riding past on bicycles. Four shots were fired. Three found their mark in the head of the unfortunate victim. Another of the riders was wounded and escaped on foot. The third abandoned his bicycle and also escaped. This shooting was done by the uncertain light of the electric lamps, and at a high angle downwards from a lofty building.[22]

The victim of the Anzac marksmanship was Gerald Keogh, a twenty-two-year-old shop assistant from Ranelagh. The youngest of thirteen children fathered by James Keogh in two marriages, Gerald was one of four Keogh boys who joined the rebels. Another brother, John Baptist Keogh, had been killed in 1914 while fighting with the British Army at the Battle of La Bassée. The eldest of the family, Joseph Augustus Keogh, was an actor. He had been working in London when Gerald was killed. He returned to Dublin after receiving news of his brother's death and in August 1916 became general manager and stage director at the Abbey Theatre. Gerald's great-nephew Raymond Keogh poignantly noted in a recent edition of the *Dublin Review of Books*:

> [Gerald] was killed on April 25th, the first anniversary of the landing of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps ... on the Gallipoli peninsula and the troops who shot him were themselves

> Anzacs ... More poignantly, Gerald was killed at dawn on that first Anzac Day – the very hour that Australians and New Zealanders cherish to commemorate their own fallen at Gallipoli.[23]

It is not certain who fired the shot that killed Gerald. In a letter to his parents, published in the press, Corporal Finlay McLeod wrote, '[A]t 3.30 a.m. three Sinn Feins, an advance party, came riding towards us, and we dropped them. Only another Australian and New Zealander were with me at the time. We were cheered by the O.T.C., and the officers were pleased with us.'[24]

Corporal J.G. Garland claimed in a letter to his father that he was one of 'four' snipers who brought Keogh down.[25] In his letter, Garland described other incidents in which the Anzacs were involved. He said that on the Wednesday 'we got two more in Sackville Street [who] were armed with double-barrelled fowling pieces'. He also described how on the Friday 'we six Anzacs' shot and killed two rebel snipers who had been firing on them from the spire of nearby St Andrew's church.[26] He further wrote, 'On Saturday morning we killed a woman who was sniping from an hotel window in Dame Street. When the RAMC brought her in we saw she was only a girl about 20, stylishly dressed and not at all bad-looking. She was armed with an automatic revolver and a Winchester repeater.' Garland then described how that afternoon 'the colonials were given the honour of capturing Westland Row station', in which action, he said, they killed five rebels. He went on to claim, 'Altogether we Anzacs were responsible for 27 rebels (twenty-four men and three women).' Corporal McLeod claimed an even higher body count. In a letter to his mother, published in the press, he wrote, 'During [Tuesday] we killed six in one building, 26 in another, and snipers here and there.'[27]

The veracity of these claims is doubtful. In 2015, the Glasnevin Trust published the 1916 Necrology, a list of the names of 485 men, women, and children killed during or as a direct result of the Rising.[28] That list includes the names of sixty-six rebels, not counting the fourteen leaders who were executed. If Garland's claim is true, the Anzacs would have been responsible for more than 40 per cent of rebel fatalities, while McLeod's claim puts the proportion at over 50 per cent, both unlikely propositions given the extent of the fighting throughout the city.

Furthermore, the 1916 Necrology does not include the names of any women rebels. It is possible that the authorities covered up the deaths of women rebels in order to avoid having to admit that the Crown forces had killed women. But it is also unlikely. In the one hundred years since the Rising, much research has been carried out on Easter Week, including the role of women. If the rebel dead included women, surely their names would have been discovered by now.[29] The most likely explanation is that Garland and McLeod either deliberately inflated the death toll or were mistaken due to 'the fog of war'. If neither is the case, then a troubling conclusion is that the Anzacs might have been responsible for the deaths of some of the 260 civilian men and women whose names are listed in the 1916 Necrology.

The Glasnevin Trust also listed the names of 143 members of the Crown forces who lost their lives during the Rising, including Tipperary-born Private Neville Fryday, a member of the 75th Canadian Infantry Battalion from Toronto. Although Fryday was shot near Trinity College on Easter Monday, he was not one of the garrison. Taken to Mercer's Hospital, he died there six days later. He was just sixteen years old, having put up his age to enlist. He was the only member of the dominion forces killed in the Rising.

ROYAL BARRACKS

Dominion troops at the Royal Barracks took part in the fighting along the Liffey quays. There, the rebels had seized buildings on either side of the river to prevent reinforcements from the Curragh Camp in County Kildare, who would be arriving at Kingsbridge Station, from marching into the city. Ballarat-born Private John Joseph Chapman, with the brevity that characterises his diary, wrote, 'Given rifle and ammunition and had to fight enemy in the streets. Nearly got hit several times. Only a few casualties on our side.'[30] Corporal Fred Harvey from Burra in South Australia was more effusive in his descriptions of the fighting. In a letter to his parents, published in the press, he said that he, a Canadian, two South Africans, and two Australians were ordered to guard and patrol Ellis Street and the lanes running into it:

> Well here the fun began, bullets were going in all directions ... All went well during the day, but as soon as the darkness approached things began to very get [*sic*] exciting but though we all had narrow escapes, I was the only one to get hit, but not with a bullet. As I was walking up one of the lanes somebody kindly knocked my hat off with a bottle, but to my disgust did not see which window it came from so, was unable to retaliate.

The next morning Harvey was included in a raid on the Mendicity Institution, held by the rebels under the command of Seán Heuston. The raid, which Harvey described in detail, was successful, resulting in the rebels surrendering this important position.[31]

PORTOBELLO BARRACKS

Portobello Barracks was home to the 3rd Reserve Battalion Royal Irish Rifles. As elsewhere, it welcomed an influx of sundry British and dominion soldiers, including Privates Davis and Grant. On Easter Monday, after having been fired upon by rebel snipers, they had taken refuge in a furniture store where they fell in with a family who lived in Rathmines. Covering their uniforms with civilian clothes, the two Australians tagged along with members of the family as they walked through the streets to their home. After dinner the Australians reported at Portobello Barracks, where they were informed that there was no transport back to England. Given a rifle and ammunition, they were told to protect themselves and the barracks.

That night, they joined a party of seventy men detailed to escort arms and ammunition to Dublin Castle. They set out on a roundabout route that brought them down near the Liffey. As they passed under a street lamp, a volley of rifle shots rained down on them 'from a dozen rifles across the river from the windows of the upper storeys of the Four Courts Hotel'. The troops scattered, and Davis and Grant made their way to Kingsbridge Station, where they stayed the night and for the next few days were assigned to guard duty. While there, Davis went with a party escorting stores to various parts of the city, including Trinity College,

where he records that he 'noticed a digger and several "Enzedders" among the armed guard'.[32]

At Portobello Barracks was another Australian who wrote of his experiences in a letter to Richard Garland, the Dublin-born chairman of the Dunlop Rubber Co. in Australia; this letter was published in the Melbourne *Age*.[33] The soldier described a series of events in which members of the Crown forces committed atrocities against Irish civilians. Although admitting no personal part in killing or wounding innocent civilians, the tone of the letter suggests indifference rather than outrage at the conduct he witnessed. As a result, the letter provoked a strong reaction in Australia, particularly from Catholics of Irish descent already incensed by the British government's methods of suppressing the Rising and the execution of its leaders. Although *The Age* did not identify the officer, who remained nameless during the controversy that followed in the Australian press, he was in fact Richard Garland's eldest son, Charles, who in April 1915 had enlisted as a trooper in the 2nd Regiment of King Edward's Horse and had served on the Western Front before being posted to the Curragh for officer training.[34] When Charles was given leave over Easter Weekend, he visited Dublin and stayed with an uncle. After observing the outbreak of the Rising and finding it impossible to return to the Curragh, Charles reported at Portobello Barracks on Tuesday morning.

Queensland's John Oxley Library holds a typescript of Charles' letter among the papers of Canon David John Garland, Richard's brother and reputed founder of Anzac Day.[35] The typescript version, initially dated Thursday, 27 April, but with postscripts that extend to Thursday, 4 May, is longer than the version printed in *The Age*, and there are differences of wording, some of which are significant. In the letter, Charles described how he participated in a patrol on the Tuesday night to raid a nearby shop suspected of harbouring rebels.[36] The officer leading the patrol was Captain John Bowen-Colthurst. On the way to the shop, the patrol encountered three men in Rathmines Road. According to the letter as published in *The Age*, 'The captain wanted to know their business, and one answered back, so the captain just knocked him insensible with the butt of his rifle. The other two ran, and one shouted something about

"down with the military", and the captain just shot him dead.' The published letter then describes the raid and the taking of prisoners who were marched back to the barracks, adding, 'Two were let go. The three others turned out to be head men of the gang and were shot.' The three men shot the next morning on the orders of Bowen-Colthurst were not rebels but the well-known Dublin pacifist and eccentric Francis Sheehy Skeffington and two journalists named Dickson and McIntyre.

After initial reluctance, the military authorities eventually court-martialled Bowen-Colthurst for the murders. On 10 June 1916, he was found guilty, but the court also found him to be insane, with the result that he was detained in Broadmoor asylum for the criminally insane at the king's pleasure.[37] After less than two years, Bowen-Colthurst was released, and in 1921 he emigrated to Canada.[38] In addition to the court martial, a Royal Commission was held under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon from 23 to 31 August 1916, during the course of which Timothy Healy, counsel for Hanna Sheehy Skeffington (Francis' widow), tendered *The Age* article that quoted the Australian officer's letter.[39]

Garland's letter described another patrol in which he and a Canadian soldier raided the home of 'a Russian Countess, who was a keen rebel' – presumably Countess Markievicz, second-in-command of the rebel forces at St Stephen's Green.[40] He wrote, 'In town we didn't see a single civilian – just as well for them, as they would have been shot – and the houses had to be in darkness too. One house had a light in the front window, but one of the officers put half a dozen shots into it, and it soon went out.'

Following publication of the letter in *The Age*, Catholic newspapers published comments from readers highly critical of the Australian officer's account. H.A. Meagher wrote to *The Advocate*, 'This reads like an account of rabbit battues that used to be held in the Western District till common humanity objected to them.'[41] Under the pseudonym 'Innisfail', a correspondent to *The Tribune* wrote, 'As a specimen of cold-blooded atrocity I venture to say that the Hun in his worst alleged excesses has not equalled it ... The letter of this "Australian officer on leave", which is a disgrace to Australian manhood ... stirs up rebel instincts that I thought had perished.'[42] 'Innisfail's' hyperbole illustrates the passion which the

letter aroused. It would have been even greater had the editor of *The Age* not sanitised it. According to the typescript, the letter actually said, 'the three others turned out to be head men of the gang and so we shot them', rather than 'and were shot'.[43]

Sydney's *Catholic Press* joined the chorus of outrage, reproducing *The Age*'s article and 'Innisfail's' response, richly sprinkled with sub-headings as if to give editorial endorsement to 'Innisfail's' anger: 'Specimen of Cold-Blooded Atrocity', 'Smashing Brains out of Women and Children', 'Talk of Prussian Militarism', etc.[44] But it was not only Catholic newspapers and their readers who were outraged. A few months after the Rising, the socialist activist D.P. Russell published a 95-page pamphlet entitled *Sinn Fein and the Irish Rebellion*. In the preface, Russell wrote that his pamphlet was 'an attempt to explain the Irish problem from the standpoint of the class struggle'. Russell was a socialist who stood for election to the Australian federal parliament as a candidate for the Labor Party in 1910 and 1913. In 1910, he lost to Prime Minister Alfred Deakin in the seat of Ballarat by only 400 votes out of 20,000 after gaining a 15 per cent swing. He unsuccessfully stood for election to the Victorian parliament in 1911 and 1917. He was one of six delegates from Victoria at the federal conference of the Labor Party in Hobart in 1912.[45] In his pamphlet, Russell reproduced *The Age*'s version of Charles Garland's letter as well as the exaggerated claims of Corporal John Garland (who does not appear to be related). Russell added the comment, 'Did Australia's sons in Dublin add lustre to the deeds of the heroes who fought and died in Gallipoli for the "Rights of Small Nations"?'[46]

Some Australians were not as critical of the letter as the Catholic newspapers or D.P. Russell. A.T. Saunders wrote to Adelaide's *Register* expressing his anger at the 'armed band of cowardly assassins [who] suddenly began a murderous attack on innocent and in most cases unarmed men [and] also killed innocent women and children'. Saunders was referring not to Bowen-Colthurst or the British soldiers who ran amok in North King Street but to the rebel leaders, whom he described with bitter irony as 'gentle dreamers', adding,

> I am glad to say that some Anzacs had the honour of assisting to put down the 'dreamers'. The Anzacs were in Trinity College, and

> *Blackwood's Magazine* gives an excellent account of the defence of the college by the Anzacs, the troops, and civilians. One of the 'gentle dreamers' was Mr Sheehy Skeffington, and he was one of [those] who were rightfully shot.[47]

Neither Bowen-Colthurst's court martial nor the Royal Commission that later investigated the murders considered Sheehy Skeffington to have been 'rightfully shot', with both tribunals finding that the killings were unlawful and the journalists innocent of any involvement in the Rising.[48]

The controversy might have been even greater had it been known at the time that another Australian was involved in the journalists' murders, and in a much more direct way. Like Charles Garland, William Dobbin, a native of Maldon, Victoria, had enlisted in the British Army. He was commissioned into the 3rd Battalion Royal Irish Rifles in June 1915. On the morning that Skeffington, Dickson, and McIntyre were shot, Dobbin was the officer in charge of the guard room. It was to him that Bowen-Colthurst went demanding that the prisoners be removed from their cells and shot. Although Dobbin acceded to that demand, he did not participate in the firing squad. However, on entering the yard where the men had been shot, he noticed Skeffington's leg moving. He reported this to Bowen-Colthurst, who ordered that they be shot again, whereupon Dobbin gave the order to fire.

Questioned at the Royal Commission as to why he had not protected his prisoners, Dobbin conceded that he did not think that ordering the men to be shot was the right thing for Bowen-Colthurst to have done. His evidence, as a whole, indicates that this nineteen-year-old newly commissioned second lieutenant with no experience of battle had been overborne by his thirty-five-year-old, battle-experienced senior officer.[49]

ANZACS AND THE EASTER RISING

So, what do we say in response to Russell's question? Certainly, in the first days of the Rising, the Anzacs made a significant contribution to the efforts of the Crown forces to contain the rebels, especially at Trinity College, a position of tactical importance, where the Anzacs played a crucial role. But Russell's question challenges us to look beyond military

considerations: to ask, how is it that the Anzacs allowed themselves to become involved in the suppression of a nationalist rising? After all, they had enlisted and travelled halfway round the world to fight Germans, not Irishmen. As one New Zealander told the press, 'It was hard lines to have to fight foes in Ireland, while we are putting forth our best efforts in Flanders and France.'[50]

In some cases at least, the dominion troops had a choice. In his letter, Corporal Harvey wrote, 'Next morning we all paraded and volunteers were asked for. I, of course, in common with all Colonial troops, volunteered and again took up arms to defend the King and country.' For some, their participation in the fighting was an adventure. Corporal Finlay McLeod concluded his letter, 'I am back in England, feeling A1, and none the worse for the fun we had.' Others were unhappy about what they had been asked to do. Private Davis recorded in his diary, 'We were in a very unenviable position, for we personally had no quarrel with the rioters ... We are making the best of a bad job, but would prefer to be anywhere but in this unenviable city.' Some may have refused to serve. New Zealand researcher Hugh Keane has come across a souvenir card of the Manchester Martyrs on which is written the words, 'Bought by Mr Collins NZ Army in Dublin 1916 (refused to report to barracks and fight rebels)'. Mr Collins' identity and the circumstances of his refusal are yet to be ascertained, but we can infer from his name an Irish heritage that might have influenced his thinking.

In contrast, Private McHugh, a Catholic whose parents had emigrated from Ireland, was on the roof of Trinity College when Gerald Keogh was shot. Unfortunately, McHugh did not leave a diary or letters indicating what he felt about his role in the Rising. In fact, he does not seem to have spoken much about it, if at all. Members of his family were unaware of 'Uncle Mick's' Easter leave in Ireland until I told them about it when I began researching this topic. Along with other defenders of Trinity College, McHugh was given a silver cup. But the family has never seen it.

CONCLUSION

It is easy with the benefit of hindsight to regard the Easter Rising as embodying the aspirations of the Irish people to govern themselves and

therefore to conclude that in opposing the rebels the Anzacs were on the wrong side of history. But in the first flush of the Rising, few saw it in those terms. Even Irish nationalists regarded the actions of the rebels as treacherous – a threat to the hard-fought campaign for Home Rule that had all but succeeded with the enactment of the Home Rule Bill, albeit suspended until the end of the war. Moreover, in the first days of the Rising, it was Irish troops who did most of the fighting against the rebels.[51] And the Irish regiments serving on the Western Front received the news of the Rising and its aftermath without any breakdown in discipline or morale.[52]

Although the Anzacs might not have liked doing what they were ordered to do, they would have seen it as their duty as loyal soldiers of the king. On enlistment they had sworn an oath to 'cause His Majesty's peace to be kept and maintained', and in Ireland during Easter Week, a band of the king's subjects were in open revolt and threatened that peace. Today we might cringe at such thoughts, but that was then. Attitudes were different. Ingrained in the Anzacs was a strong sense of duty, something that would keep them going for the four long years of the war.[53]

18 King, *Penguin History*, pp. 316–17: 'In 1917, however, former Baptist minister Howard Elliott formed the Protestant Political Association (PPA) with the active support of the Grand Orange Lodge, of which William Massey was a member. It was opposed to "rum, Romanism and rebellion", and it used such events and issues as the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Dublin, Joseph Ward's Catholicism and Catholic opposition to the Bible-in-Schools campaign to whip up anti-Catholic feeling.'

19 James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A history of New Zealand from the 1880s to the year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), pp. 221–3; James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The settler revolution and the rise of the Anglo-World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). James Belich's two other volumes, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (1986) and *Making Peoples: A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (1996), deal with earlier periods.

Chapter 1: 'The Empire Strikes Back': Anzacs and the Easter Rising 1916

1 D.P. Russell, *Sinn Fein and the Irish Rebellion* (Melbourne: Fraser & Jenkinson, 1916), p. 71. Russell's question was ironic, appearing in the text after quotations from Anzac letters that appeared to glorify the brutality with which the Rising was put down. For a detailed description of the role of the Australians in the Easter Rising, see Jeff Kildea, 'Called to Arms: Australians in the Irish Easter Rising 1916', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, vol. 39, 2003, https://www.awm.gov.au/journal/j39/kildea/, and Jeff Kildea, *Anzacs and Ireland* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007), ch. 2. For a discussion of the New Zealanders, see Rory Sweetman, *Defending Trinity College Dublin, Easter 1916: Anzacs and the Rising* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019) and Hugh Keane, 'New Zealanders at Trinity College Dublin Easter Week 1916', 5 December 2012, http://theirishwar.com/new-zealanders-at-trinity-college-dublin-easter-week-1916/.

2 Although born and educated in England, Godley was of Anglo-Irish stock, from County Leitrim, and regarded himself as an Irishman. His autobiography is entitled *Life of an Irish Soldier*. He was commissioned in the Royal Dublin Fusiliers and, among his many postings, served in the Irish Guards.

3 Diary of Private George Edward Davis, AWM, Canberra, AWM PR88/203.

4 *D*, 12 July 1916, p. 4; *Glen Innes Examiner*, 10 July 1916, p. 3.

5 *BA*, 9 August 1916, p. 3.

6 *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2 May 1916, p. 5.

7 *Wanganui Herald*, 1 July 1916, p. 8. Presumably, the 'noted countess' was Countess Markievicz.

8 'Easter Week Diary of Miss Lilly Stokes', in Roger McHugh (ed.), *Dublin 1916* (London: Arlington Books, 1966), p. 66.

9 *SMH*, 15 June 1916, p. 8.

10 *1916 Rebellion Handbook* (Dublin: Mourne River Press, 1998), pp. 260–1. This work was originally published in 1916 by *The Weekly Irish Times* as the *Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook: Easter 1916*, with an augmented edition appearing in 1917. It coincides with a list prepared by Trinity College (TCD MS 2783, p. 132).

11 In his biography of Michael Collins, Tim Pat Coogan refers to an Australian unit, but he does not name the unit or provide any details of it, nor does he cite a source for his assertion. *Michael Collins: A biography* (London: Arrow Books, 1991), p. 44.

12 Croft was a native of Glen Innes, New South Wales, and his parents lived in Dunedin. *The Ohinemuri Gazette* (Paeroa), 4 August 1916, p. 4.

13 Australians in England were not permitted to enlist in the Australian Imperial Force (*The Age* [Melbourne], 1 July 1916, p. 3). At the time of the Rising, two reserve squadrons of King Edward's Horse (KEH) were stationed at the Curragh and Longford. Accounts of individual Australian members of the KEH involved in the Rising appeared in the press; for example, those of Trooper F.M. Battye of Sydney (*The Age*, 23 September 1916, p. 20); Trooper Harry Hill Brooker of Woodville, South Australia (*The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 5 December 1917, p. 7); Sergeant Jack Crowley of West Wyalong, New South Wales (*The Mirror* [Sydney], 30 September 1916, p. 7; *Wagga Wagga Express*, 12 October 1916, p. 2); Lieutenant Walter Gordon Helpman of Warrnambool, Victoria (*A*, 4 July 1916, p. 7); Sergeant Ian Bryce MacBean of Claremont, Western Australia (*The West Australian* [Perth], 4 July 1919, p. 6).

14 Kildea, 'Called to Arms'; *A*, 15 June 1916, p. 6; *The Critic* (Adelaide), 5 July 1916, p. 17; *Port Pirie Recorder*, 5 August 1916, p. 3; *Victor Harbor Times*, 20 December 1918, p. 5; Lynn Meyers, 'Ted Marks and the Dublin Easter Rising, 1916', 30 March 2016, http://blogs.slq.qld.gov.au/ww1/2016/03/30/ted-marks-and-the-dublin-easter-rising-1916/.

15 Warre B. Wells and N. Marlowe, *A History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916* (Dublin: Maunsel, 1916), p. 154.

16 The article was republished as 'Inside Trinity College', in Roger McHugh (ed.), *Dublin 1916* (London: Arlington Books, 1966), pp. 158–74.

17 'Letter from Robert Tweedy to his Mother, 7 May 1916', accessed 3 December 2019, http://letters1916.maynoothuniversity.ie/item/910.

18 Gerard Fitzgibbon to William Hugh Blake, 10 May 1916, TCD Manuscripts, MS 11107/1.

19 Sweetman, *Defending Trinity College*, p. 78. Sweetman comments on the little attention paid to Trinity College's role in Easter Week and the neglect of 'the men who helped to save Trinity from potential disaster' (p. 18).

20 Witness Statement of Frank Thornton, BMH, WS 510, p. 14; Witness Statement of Thomas Slater, BMH, WS 263, pp. 14–15; *SMH*, 7 July 1916, p. 12; *BA*, 9 August 1916, p. 3.

21 W.J. Brennan-Whitmore, *Dublin Burning: The Easter Rising from behind the barricades* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1996), pp. 116–18. The conversation is set out in detail in Max Caulfield, *The Easter Rebellion*, 2nd edn (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1995), p. 250. See also Brennan-Whitmore's account in *An tÓglach*, 6 February 1926, p. 5, and P. de Rosa, *Rebels: The Irish Rising of 1916* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992), p. 330. Seamus Daly, who was with Brennan-Whitmore at the Custom House, refers to a New Zealand sergeant in his witness statement to the Bureau of Military History (WS 360, pp. 50–2).

22 'Inside Trinity College', p. 161.
23 Raymond M. Keogh, 'Death of a Volunteer', *Dublin Review of Books*, 16 February 2016, http://www.drb.ie/blog/dublin-stories/2016/02/16/death-of-a-volunteer.
24 *Glen Innes Examiner*, 10 July 1916, p. 3; *The Farmer and Settler* (Sydney), 18 July 1916, p. 2.
25 *AS*, 28 June 1916, p. 8. Garland also claimed that two of the despatch riders were killed, which is not corroborated by other sources.
26 Sergeant Don also mentioned the duel with the rebels in the St Andrew's spire (*BA*, 9 August 1916, p. 3).
27 *D*, 12 July 1916, p. 4.
28 '1916 Necrology 485', accessed 12 November 2019, http://www.glasnevintrust.ie/visit-glasnevin/news/1916-list/.
29 One woman who is sometimes claimed as a rebel woman fatality is Nurse Margaret Keogh, who was shot on the first day of the Rising in or near the South Dublin Union while treating a wounded Volunteer. The 1916 Necrology lists her as a civilian fatality under the name Margaret Kehoe. For a discussion of her status, see Donal Fallon, 'A Hero Nonetheless: Nurse Margaret Keogh and the Easter Rising', 12 January 2016, http://comeheretome.com/2016/01/12/a-hero-nonetheless-nurse-margaret-keogh-and-the-easter-rising/.
30 Diary of Lieutenant John Joseph Chapman of the 9th Battalion, AWM 1DRL/0197.
31 *Burra Record*, 12 July 1916, p. 4. For a description of the capture of the Mendicity Institution, see Michael Foy and Brian Barton, *The Easter Rising* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000 [1999]), p. 180.
32 Diary of Private George Edward Davis, AWM PR88/203.
33 *The Age*, 1 July 1916, p. 11.
34 Although described as an Australian, Charles was born in Canada, where his father was general manager of Dunlop Rubber Co. When Charles was a small child, the Garlands moved to Australia, where Richard set up a branch of the company (*The Australasian* [Melbourne], 29 November 1919, p. 22).
35 Canon David John Garland Papers, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Brisbane, OM71-51/13. See John A. Moses and George F. Davis, *Anzac Day Origins: Canon DJ Garland and trans-Tasman commemoration* (Canberra: Barton Books, 2013). I am grateful to Marg Powell of the John Oxley Library for bringing the typescript copy of the letter to my attention. See her article, 'Charles Garland, Easter Rising 1916', 28 March 2016, http://blogs.slq.qld.gov.au/ww1/2016/03/28/charles-garland-easter-rising-1916/. So far the original letter has not been located.
36 Both versions of the letter give the time of the patrol as 10.30 a.m., but it is clear from the activities preceding the raid that are described in the typescript version that the time should have read 10.30 p.m.
37 For details of the court martial, see *1916 Rebellion Handbook*, pp. 108–14.
38 For further information on Bowen-Colthurst, see Bryan Bacon, *A Terrible Duty: The madness of Captain Bowen-Colthurst* (n.p.: Thena Press, 2015) and James W. Taylor, *Guilty but Insane: J.C. Bowen-Colthurst – villain or victim?* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2016).

39 *1916 Rebellion Handbook*, pp. 213–31.
40 The typescript letter describes her as a 'Prussian Countess'.
41 *The Advocate* (Melbourne), 8 July 1916, p. 23.
42 *The Tribune* (Melbourne), 6 July 1916, p. 4.
43 The words 'so we shot them' are ambiguous. They could mean that Garland was a member of the firing squad or that 'we' (i.e. the military) shot the journalists, not Garland personally. But it is unlikely that such a fine distinction would have been made by the letter's critics, particularly as that meaning might better have been conveyed by 'so they shot them'.
44 *CP*, 13 July 1916, p. 17.
45 *Official Report of the Fifth Commonwealth Conference of the Australian Labor Party* (Sydney: Worker Trade Union Printery, 1912), p. 5. For an obituary, see *BA*, 4 December 1918, p. 5.
46 Russell, *Sinn Fein and the Irish Rebellion*, pp. 69–71.
47 *The Register*, 30 September 1916, p. 5.
48 *1916 Rebellion Handbook*, pp. 108–14, 213–22.
49 *The Times* (London), 1 September 1916, p. 3. The testimony as reported in *The Times* differs somewhat from that set out in the *1916 Rebellion Handbook*. When the Royal Commission began, Dobbin had been serving in France with the 2nd Royal Irish Rifles. He was brought back to give evidence to the commission. After giving his evidence, Dobbin returned to the front, where on 1 January 1918 he was awarded the Military Cross for gallantry. On 21 March 1918, he was killed during the German breakthrough that overran his battalion's position. Dobbin's service record is at The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, WO 339/55777.
50 *The Weekly Telegraph* (London), 6 May 1916, p. 7B.
51 P.J. Hally, 'The Easter 1916 Rising in Dublin: The military aspects', *Irish Sword*, vol. 7, 1965–6, pp. 313–26; *Irish Sword*, vol. 8, 1967–8, pp. 48–57; Neil Richardson, *According to Their Lights: Stories of Irishmen in the British Army, Easter 1916* (Cork: The Collins Press, 2015), ch. 1. Richardson calculates that 35 per cent of the British military fatalities in the Rising were Irishmen.
52 Timothy Bowman, *Irish Regiments in the Great War: Discipline and morale* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 127–9.
53 'In the war as a whole, on all sides, most men simply did what they conceived to be their duty ... The reasons for this lay in their sense of patriotism, duty, honour and deference to authority; all much more important concepts [then] than they are today.' John Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell: The Western Front, 1914–18* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), p. 190.

Chapter 2: Women of the Rising in the Australian and New Zealand Press

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1 Scrapbook of Dr Nicholas O'Donnell. My thanks to Val Noone for access to the scrapbook prior to its digitisation. The scrapbooks are now available at https://www.snac.unimelb.edu.au/collections/.