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## SOLD OR SHOT? THE FATE OF THE LIGHT HORSE'S MOUNTS – 1919

**Jean Bou**

In 1919 in a book called *Australia in Palestine*, Major Oliver Hogue, using his *nom de plume*, Trooper Bluegum, published a poem entitled 'The horses stay behind'. A heartfelt reflection of the realisation that the light horse's mounts would not be returning to Australia, in part it read:

I don't think I could stand the thought of my old fancy hack  
Just crawling round old Cairo with a 'Gyppo on his back.  
Perhaps some English tourist out in Palestine may find  
My broken hearted waler with a wooden plough behind.

No, I think I'd better shoot him and tell a little lie:-  
'He floundered in a wombat hole and then lay down to die.'  
Maybe I'll get court martialled; but I'm damned if I'm inclined  
To go back to Australia and leave my horse behind.<sup>1</sup>

To saddle this poem with burden of being a starting point is perhaps too onerous, but in the years since the end of the First World War the themes expressed in it have echoed and there has developed a persistent notion that light horsemen surreptitiously shot their horses in significant numbers so that they would not be sold to the local population who, the soldiers felt, would treat them with cruel indifference. This, however, is a myth.

Though establishing accurate numbers for such things is an inherently difficult thing to do, the most authoritative source, the Australian official history of the war, found that Australia shipped 39,348 horses overseas to serve with the AIF. Shipments to Egypt for this purpose began with the first convoy in October 1914 and, after a hiatus for much of 1916, ceased with the 26th convoy in October-November of that year.<sup>2</sup> Shipping limitations, which by that stage of the war were becoming acute, were the main cause for the cessation (Australian wheat being more important to the war effort than Australian equines), but concerns that the standards of Australian horses were beginning to slip may have played some part, as might a realisation by the War Office that it was considerably cheaper to buy and ship horses from North America than Australia, particularly for use in Europe.<sup>3</sup> Shipments to India for military use continued throughout the war, however, with over 80,000 being sent there.<sup>4</sup>

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1 'Trooper Bluegum', 'The Horses Stay Behind', Gullett, *Australia in Palestine*, p. 78. Gullett had written an article of the same title in the AIF's Middle East troop newspaper, *The Kia-Ora Cooe*, in November 1918 to explain the decision and also to commiserate with the readers, Gullett, 'The Horses Stay Behind', *The Kia-Ora Cooe*, 15 November 1918, p. 10.

2 Scott, *Australia During the War*, p. 543; Sea Transport of the AIF, AWM: AWM27: 397/1; see Yarwood, *Walers*, pp.180-81 for different figures based on remount purchases.

3 Scott, *Australia During the War*, p. 543; War Office to AIF Administrative HQ, London, 12 February 1919, AWM: AWM: 25, 29/3.

4 Scott, *Australia During the War*, p. 543. The figure for horse shipments to India given by the official history is 81,976. Both this figure and that for the shipments for the AIF were, not surprisingly, difficult to ascertain with certainty. The figures for the AIF can be taken as quite accurate (though the

Of the AIF's mounts about 10,000 went to France with the bulk of the force in 1916 and the remainder were used in Egypt for the AIF and the empire's army. Remounts, mostly from the Americas, continued to come to Egypt, but shipping limitations caused this to stop too in late 1917 and thereafter the EEF had to ensure that its existing horse pool was kept healthy.<sup>5</sup> Upon the armistice in 1918 the AIF in the Middle East possessed 9,751 horses of all types.<sup>6</sup> It was soon evident that these horses would not be returning to Australia due to the disease threat they posed to the Australian livestock industry and because the expense of their transport would be more than their value.<sup>7</sup> That the horses might be sold to the local population, as was done by various means in England, France and Belgium, was contemplated but quickly dismissed, partly because of opposition to the possibility that the horses might go to those of an 'Eastern Nationality', but also because the market for horses in Egypt and Palestine was thought to be limited (camels and donkeys being more attractive to buyers there).<sup>8</sup> Thus the Australian government agreed in early 1919 that the animals would be classified with a view to the younger and fitter animals being either passed directly to imperial units or 'pooled' in remount depots for imperial reissue or, failing that, sale. Older and unfit horses were to be destroyed.<sup>9</sup>

Accordingly in February 1919 the horses of the AIF in Egypt, Palestine and Syria were classified by veterinary officers. All riding horses over 12 years old, all draught horses over 15 years old, all unsound horses and those so sick as to require more than two months treatment were to be destroyed. Those horses so categorised were shorn of their manes and tails (horsehair being a commodity), had their shoes removed and were then taken to selected spots by working parties made up of men from the units which, under the direction of a veterinary officer, shot the animals with pistols, gutted them and salted their skins.<sup>10</sup> Only a minority of horses were disposed of in this way and most horses, being fit and under the prescribed age limits, went to the imperial authorities. The Australian Mounted Division spent the months after the war camped near Tripoli and its fit horses were handed over either directly to the largely Indian Army 4th and 5th Cavalry Divisions, or to local remount depots supporting them.<sup>11</sup> The Anzac Mounted Division was further south in

number may have been somewhat lower at around 36,000 or 37,000) but those for India are open to more debate as the imperial authorities used several channels for horse buying and were not always obliged to inform Australian authorities about the export arrangements. For much correspondence on the matter see AWM: AWM 27, 397/1.

- 5 Preston, *The Desert Mounted Corps*, p. 95, 311–21.
- 6 Again establishing accurate figures for such things is somewhat difficult but the 1932 figures were based, it seems, on the financial adjustments at the end of the war which can be considered as accurate as possible for accounting purposes. Finance Secretary to Secretary of Defence (for the Minister), 15 March 1932, NAA: B1535, 799/3/39. The figures in correspondence in 1919, though more often concerned with 'animals' generally rather than horses specifically, differ only by slightly, see AWM: AWM 25, 29/1.
- 7 Gullet, 'The Horses Stay Behind, *The Kia-Ora Cooee* 2:5 (15 November 1918) 10.
- 8 Copy of cable from Chauvel to AIF Administrative HQ, London, 21 November 1918, AWM: AWM25, 29/62; Notes on disposal of AIF animals in Egypt and Palestine, AWM: AWM 25, 245/112.
- 9 Finance Secretary to Secretary of Defence (for the Minister), 15 March 1932, NAA: B1535, 799/3/39; Disposal of AIF Horses in Egypt, AWM: AWM 25, 29/3.
- 10 Commandant AIF HQ Cairo to ADVS, AIF in Egypt and HQ A&NZMD, 7 February 1919, and DADVS AMD to 4th LH Bde, 15 February 1919, 4th LH Bde war diary, appendix, February 1919, AWM: AWM 4, 10/4/26; Olden, *Westralian Cavalry in the War*, pp. 295–307.
- 11 Finance Secretary to Secretary of Defence (for the Minister), 15 March 1932, NAA: B1535, 799/3/39; 4th LH Bde war diary, February 1919, AWM: AWM 4, 10/4/26.

Palestine and its fit horses were mostly sent to the remount depot at Moascar in Egypt.<sup>12</sup> For both divisions the entire process was complete by the end of February. All this was somewhat complicated, however, by the outbreak of the Egyptian Uprising within days of the last horses being handed in, whereupon mounts had to quickly be re-issued for use in putting down the rebellion. Considered a temporary issue by the imperial authorities, these horses were then handed back in May upon the completion of the light horse's final duties in Egypt.

Of the horses passed to the Indian cavalry divisions in Syria they were immediately absorbed and used for the occupation duties which took up these formations after the war.<sup>13</sup> Their ultimate fate is unknown but it was presumably little different to that experienced by hundreds of thousands of walers sold to the Indian Army before and after. Of the horses returned to the remount depot at Moascar it became clear even before the Egyptian Uprising that the imperial forces would use most of the riding and light draught horses to police this often-restive country. Again their ultimate fate is not clear, but it seems possible that some may have ultimately been sold in Egypt. The medium and heavy draught horses were not so easily accommodated, however, and the remount authorities eventually sent the bulk of them to the south of France where they found ready buyers.<sup>14</sup>

#### **The horses of the AIF in Egypt and their fate in 1919<sup>15</sup>**

<b>Fate of the horses</b>	<b>Number</b>
Transferred to imperial authorities for military purposes	6057
Transferred to 'pool' for sale	72
Destroyed by the AIF due to age or debility	2569
Destroyed by imperial authorities due to age or debility	490
Died (i.e. normal wastage during disposal period)	67
Lost	1
Evacuated sick to imperial veterinary hospitals	495
<b>Total horses (held by AIF in Egypt upon the armistice)</b>	<b>9751</b>

How the rather ordinary, if unpleasant, administrative process of horse disposal became largely forgotten and then transformed into the idea the large numbers of light horsemen quietly slipped away from camp to secretly, and illegally, shoot their horses is by no means obvious. There is no doubt that there was much regret amongst the light horsemen about the fact the horses would not return to Australia. The horse is clearly one of those animals that humans are capable of forming a strong bond with and regimental histories, troop newspapers and personal records make clear the general distress felt at the decision to leave the horses in the Middle East. Even more upsetting was the possibility that the local

<sup>12</sup> Horse returns, AWM: AWM 25, 29/61 pt1 and pt 2.

<sup>13</sup> Finance Secretary to Secretary of Defence (for the Minister), 15 March 1932, NAA: B1535, 799/3/39; 4th LH Bde war diary, February 1919, AWM: AWM 4, 10/4/26.

<sup>14</sup> Disposal of AIF animals in Egypt, AWM: AWM25, 29/3.

<sup>15</sup> Finance Secretary to Secretary of Defence (for the Minister), 15 March 1932, NAA: B1535, 799/3/39

population, to which most light horsemen had a strong antipathy, might end up owning and perhaps mistreating them. The military authorities quickly dismissed the suggestion that they be sold locally, however, and Chauvel, as commander of the AIF in Egypt, made his objections to the idea clear to the Australian authorities and the War Office within a few weeks of the armistice.<sup>16</sup> Rumours and speculation may have lasted longer of course, but that this possibility was discounted as all but a last resort must quickly have become apparent within the light horse regiments. Its role as a possible motivation for killing horses must therefore be open to some doubt, though it does seem possible that the destructions which took place came to be seen in these terms – that is a way of saving these horses from the hands of the Arabs.

When the official destructions were authorised in February 1919 there was some fear that officers and men might attempt to have their horses falsely classified and destroyed, but the process was carefully managed by veterinary officers and there is no evidence to suggest, that if this was tried, anyone was successful.<sup>17</sup> Nor is there any evidence to suggest, that during this period when horses were being officially moved for destruction or being sent to other units, men took the opportunity to kill their horses. The horse returns for the AIF in the Middle East for 1919 have largely survived and an examination of them reveals no spike in 'lost' or 'died' horses as might be expected, and the meticulousness with which the official destructions and horse transfers are documented belie the suggestion that men could have gotten away with such behaviour without it being noticed. Nor is there any evidence of disciplinary action being taken against men or that killings might have been ignored as it is unlikely that widespread action would have been overlooked by commanders faced by a serious matter of indiscipline. Nor by the higher military authorities who, aware that financial adjustments between the British and Australian governments were at stake, were most concerned that the administrative requirements be observed.

Indeed the evidence that any light horseman surreptitiously shot his own horse simply does not exist. Ion Idriess wrote in 1946 that many horsemen shot their 'faithful friends' rather than see them go to 'fellaheen and the Arab', but he had been returned to Australia and discharged by mid-1918 so he certainly was not witness to any end-of-war horse deaths and it seems he was carelessly referring to the official process, or what he knew of it.<sup>18</sup> Three years later George Berrie, who had served with the 6th Light Horse Regiment, wrote something similar in his novel *Morale* and though he was present in 1919 whether, in writing a novel, he was accurately portraying the events or perpetuating sentimental tall stories seems open to question.<sup>19</sup> In *First to Damascus* the Duchess of Hamilton tells a story of her father, a trooper in the 10th Light Horse Regiment, taking his horse from camp and shooting it, but particulars and supporting evidence are not provided. The story appears more family lore than historical evidence and she mentions elsewhere in the book that an

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16 Copy of cable from Chauvel to AIF Administrative HQ, London, 21 November 1918, AWM: AWM25, 29/62.

17 Berrie, *Morale*, p. 235; Commandant AIF HQ Cairo to ADVS, AIF in Egypt and HQ A&NZMD, 7 February 1919, 4th LH Bde war diary, appendix, February 1919, AWM: AWM 4, 10/4/26; Starr and Sweeney, *Forward*, p. 154, as this history notes, the horses' teeth and brandings were guide enough for veterinary officers to establish age.

18 Idriess, 'Stout Hearts that never failed', p. 110; Service record, IDRIESS, Ion Llewellyn: service number 358, NAA: B2455, IDRIESS ION LLEWELLYN.

19 Berrie, *Morale*, p.235; Service record, BERRIE, George Lachlan: service number 724, NAA: B2455, BERRIE, G.L.

aunt passed the story to her.<sup>20</sup> Many similar stories fit into the same category – the historian’s netherworld of anecdote, hearsay and hazy memory. In *Red Dust*, J.L. Gray (using the pseudonym Donald Black) touchingly writes of taking his horse, Blackboy, out of the lines for a quiet few last hours together, but then returns with him so that he can be taken away with the other animals marked for destruction.<sup>21</sup> The only clearly established case of a light horseman shooting his own horse is that of Henry Bostock who recalled the experience in his book *The Great Ride*. From his description, however, it is clear that he did this as part of the official process in 1919 when he was detailed to be a member of one of the destruction parties and was unfortunate enough to shoot his own horse (or did he volunteer?).<sup>22</sup> For some years the Australian War Memorial contended that between 200 and 250 horses were destroyed without permission by their light horse riders at the end of the war. It was a statement which was repeated regularly, particularly on the internet, but a recent investigation into these figures was unable to discover where they originated and the assertion has since been removed from the Memorial’s online encyclopaedia.<sup>23</sup>

There is no doubt that a significant number of the AIF’s horses in the Middle East were destroyed in 1919. These destructions were, however, fully sanctioned by the military authorities and carried out on animals specifically chosen due to their age or debility. Moreover men acting under the direction of veterinary officers undertook those destructions in a controlled manner. There are no known recorded instances of men carrying out unauthorised destructions and the common idea that they did so simply to avoid the horses being sold to the local population is erroneous.

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<sup>20</sup> Hamilton, *First to Damascus*, p. 11, 197.

<sup>21</sup> Black, *Red Dust*, pp. 293–95.

<sup>22</sup> Bostock, *The Great Ride*, pp. 202–03. We can only wonder if he in fact volunteered to carry out this melancholy duty.

<sup>23</sup> For the way this statement has cropped up on the internet see [http://www.diggerhistory.info/pages-conflicts-periods/ww1/lt-horse/stout\\_hearts.htm](http://www.diggerhistory.info/pages-conflicts-periods/ww1/lt-horse/stout_hearts.htm), as well as various discussion threads on the Australian Light Horse Association forums, <http://www.lighthorse.org.au/forum/>. The investigation was undertaken by Jennie Norberry of the Memorial’s Research Centre upon my inquiry as to where it had originated. Searches of the likely sources by her, as well as my own examination of a wide range of sources, cannot find where the figures might have originated. See <http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/horses/index.asp>.

## MILITARY HEROES – FACT AND FICTION

Tom Johnstone

Bernard Cornwell's readable series on Richard Sharpe in his rise from gutter-bred private soldier to battalion commander make fascinating, if sometimes incredulous reading. During the course of twenty years soldiering in every British theatre of war between 1795 and 1815; from India through the Iberian Peninsula to France and the Low Countries, Sharpe's many escapes from death in battle border on the miraculous. But Cornwell was not the first in depicting the rise of boys from poverty and obscurity to high rank in the Navy and Army. More than a century ago George Alfred Henty did exactly the same between 1868 and 1902 in a long series of books for boys. G.A. Henty's works in superb English and precisely accurate historical detail covered most spheres of military campaigning from the Punic Wars to the South African War. First editions of Henty's books have become collector's items.

Given the accepted, if somewhat inaccurate, view of the British officer system before 1939 as utterly snobbish and class ridden, the rise of such boys as Sharpe and Henty's many heroes could easily be dismissed as incredulous. Yet there were some British private soldiers who did rise in such a fashion. Here are but two examples.

During the course of the second Afghan War 1879-80, Sergeant Hector MacDonald of the 92<sup>nd</sup> (Gordon) Highlanders, by his bravery in repeated actions was awarded a battlefield commission. In 1892 Macdonald became one of a group of British officers who under Kitchener's command reorganised the Anglo-Egyptian Army in preparation for the reconquest of the Sudan. Commanding a battalion of Sudanese blacks, Macdonald, in company with other seconded officers transformed wild natural warriors into battalions and brigades of steadfast disciplined soldiers. Following the destruction of the Mahdists at Omdurman and the reconquest of the Sudan MacDonald went to South Africa and took command of the Highland Brigade where he became known as Fighting Mac. After the war Maj-Gen MacDonald, was posted to Ceylon as Commander in Chief. There, 'Fighting Mac' came to grief. Becoming enamoured of a Ceylonese boy of good family, he was exposed, and returning to Europe he took 'the gentleman's way out' and shot himself in a Paris hotel.

For his outstanding bravery during the encounter battles of 1914, Sergeant Major Joseph Frederick Plunkett, Royal Irish Regiment, was recommended for the Victoria Cross but received the DCM. Like many warrant officers in the expanding British Army of 1914-1915 Plunkett was commissioned and, following army policy, was transferred into another regiment. In his case the Royal Dublin Fusiliers with whom he was awarded the Military Cross being successively promoted from 2nd lieutenant to captain and brevetted major. Attached to the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers following the Cambrai 1917 battle, known to his commander as 'good old Plunkett', he was again recommended for the Victoria Cross; but received a bar to the DSO. In June 1918 he raised and trained the 13<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the Inniskillings and led it during the "advance to victory", Aug to Nov 1918, at Landeck, Lys and Scheldt for a third DSO. In all Plunkett was awarded the DSO and two bars, MC, DCM and six mentions in despatches. Unsurprisingly, the French awarded him the *Croix de Guerre avec Étoile et Vermeil*. In the reduced post-war Army, Major Plunkett was gazetted into the East Lancashire Regiment. He later became Lieutenant-Colonel in the elite Military Knights of Windsor. He died in 1954.<sup>1</sup>

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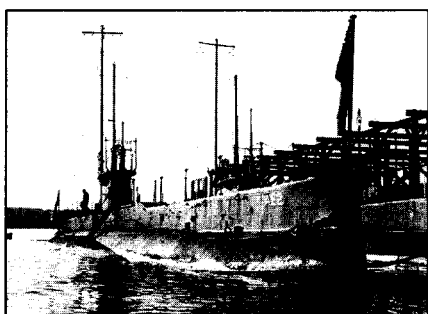
<sup>1</sup> Fox, Sir F. *The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers in the Great War*. Constable. London, 1928, London Gazette, 27 Oct 1920 and 5 Feb 1954

## FROM THE SEA OF MARMARA TO THE NORTH GATE OF BAGHDAD

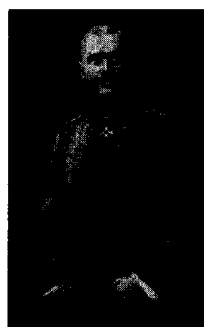
### The story of four HMAS AE2 crew members

**Colonel Marcus Fielding, Australian Army**

The story of HM Australian Submarine AE2 in the Dardanelles campaign typically ends on 30 April 1915 when the stricken submarine, after penetrating the Narrows and 'running amok' against the Turkish warships was severely damaged and forced to surface. The valiant crew abandoned ship before scuttling it in the Sea of Marmara. The vessel itself has been the subject of searches and debate ever since its discovery in 1998, but as the brave crew was taken into captivity by the Turks another less known chapter of the story was set to unfold. A chapter that for three members of the crew would curiously end in northern Baghdad.



**HM Australian Submarine AE2**



**General Otto Liman von Sanders**

AE2 crew member Able Seaman Albert Knaggs kept a diary and from this account and other sources it is possible to partly reconstruct their experiences in captivity.<sup>1</sup>

The Turkish torpedo boat *Sultan Hissar* took the 32 crew members on board and proceeded to Gelibolu (Gallipoli). They made fast alongside a hospital ship and were interviewed by General Otto Liman von Sanders who was the German General in command of the Ottoman Army. At 8 pm they proceeded on the *Sultan Hissar* to Constantinople where they arrived the next morning, 1 May 1915.

Able Seaman Knaggs' diary provides a detailed account of the crew's experiences on arrival in Constantinople.

After being nearly eaten alive with bugs and lice which this country is noted for. Before leaving the boat we were supplied with soldier suits, overcoats, slippers and red fezzes to march through the streets of Constantinople to prison. The officers rode in a carriage. On arrival we were put into a small room in the basement and food brought in which was not fit for pigs. Some of us were taken out one by one to be interviewed by an officer who spoke English for information regarding our movements while in the Sea of Marmara and questions about the boat, but he didn't learn anything good for him. So about 10 of us were interviewed out of the crew, but we were not allowed back into the same room. As each man finished he was marched into another room and we were not allowed to see or speak to the remainder. That evening we were served out with Turkish sailor suits and a pair of socks. We had nothing to sleep on but the bare floor and our overcoats to cover us.

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://homepage.ntlworld.com/jeffery.knaggs/diary.html> accessed on February 11, 2009.



The crew traded the dark confines of their submarine to the dark confines of small rooms and cells. The next day they each had their hair shorn close. On 3 May they were assembled on a parade ground and photographed individually and as a group.



The crew of HMAS AE2 in Constantinople on 3 May 1915.  
Note the new sailor suits, short haircuts and the Turkish Guards 2

On 5 May the crew departed Constantinople and was transported by train over the next three days to a POW camp at Afyon Karahisar in the central highlands of Anatolia. There they met Russian merchant sailors and the crew of the French submarine *Saphir*, as well as the surviving crew members of HM Submarine *E12* who had been captured at the southern end of the Dardanelles on April 17, 1915.

Living and sanitary conditions at the camp at Afyon Karahisar were poor and the POWs were largely confined to cramped buildings. Only after two months of confinement were they allowed out for two hours exercise each day. A photograph of Australian and British POWs at Afyon Karahisar taken about this time shows them wearing beards due to the scarcity of soap and the cold weather.



Australian and British POWs at Afyon Karahisar circa 1915 3

In early June 1915, as the weather warmed, the POWs were put to work constructing roads. Long days of manual labour were followed by cold nights camped in tents. When food was not provided by their Turkish masters the group refused to work. In late July they returned to the camp at Afyon Karahisar where they discovered an outbreak of typhoid amongst the Russians. In

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2 AWM A01408.

3 AWM A02255.

order to stem the outbreak the POWs were inoculated and given new clothes. Accommodation blocks were disinfected washed with lime and new hay filled mattresses were issued.

In early August Knaggs recorded a visit to the camp by the United States Ambassador. The ambassador inspected their living conditions and listened to their complaints. He also brought them soap, pipes, tobacco, underclothes and a quantity of insect powder. Knaggs also notes that they received some Turkish money, which likely came from the Red Cross Society.

In late August 1915 they recommenced work constructing the roads, but a few days later stopped due to another typhoid outbreak. They were placed in quarantine for two weeks and undertook more whitewashing and disinfecting in an effort to stamp out the disease.

Knaggs' diary picks up again in early October when the crew was moved by horse van to Angora (Ankara) about 200 kilometres east of Afyon Karahisar. It is not entirely clear but it is possible that only the ratings departed and the officers of HMAS *AE2* remained at Afyon Karahisar. Staying temporarily in a prison at Angora the crew met up with other French and British POWs including the crew of HM Submarine *E7*.

On 14 October, 274 Allied POWs began a four day 80 kilometre long march to Cankiri north east of Angora. Knaggs recorded "Many of the prisoners were suffering from wounds, not having been long out of hospital and the march being on bread and water. Many of the best amongst us fell out with some of them to help along the way." At Cankiri the POWs occupied an old training barracks which Knaggs found to be "very acceptable, but cold and draughty and full of vermin, lice etc. as usual. The barracks had one water tap in the yard for all hands to wash, no soap being provided and no working clothes." That night they gratefully found beds and quilts to lie on.

At the end of November a heavy snow fell. On 22 December 1915 a representative of Red Crescent Society visited the camp to find out what clothes were needed and to hear all complaints. Snapshots were taken of the POWs.



HMAS *AE2* Crew Members circa 22 December 1915 <sup>4</sup>

During Christmas the Muslim Turks were clearly prepared to let their Christian prisoners celebrate. Knaggs recorded that

Christmas Day was made as bright as possible by our Turkish officers who gave us permission to play football outside in a field. We played a match Navy versus Army in which Army won 4 goals to 1. A concert was held amongst ourselves in the evening. On Boxing Day another football match took place between *AE2* versus *E7* which ended in a drawn game. On New Year's Day the Commandant visited us and wished us a Happy New Year and hoped we would soon be home with our families. The Australians played rugby against the Scottish Borderers, and the Australians won 6 points to 3. In the

<sup>4</sup> <http://homepage.ntlworld.com/jeffery.knaggs/submarine.html> accessed on February 12, 2009.

evening another concert was held. On January 4 we received £1 from Camp Commandant and also received Xmas puddings, sweets and cigarettes from the Red Cross Society.

On 6 January 1916, Knaggs records news that British and French forces had evacuated the Gallipoli Peninsula. Given that the withdrawal of the Anzacs was only completed on 20 December 1915 and Cape Helles remained occupied until 9 January 1916 it seems that the Turks must have been quick to relay this news to the POWs. After such news, morale within the POW community must have dropped.

After only a couple of months at Cankiri the POWs began a march back along snow covered roads to Angora on January 17, 1916. On arrival they were housed in different quarters around the town. A week later in the evening they were marched down to the train station and began a three day journey to the town of Pozanti standing at the entrance of a pass across the Taurus Mountains in southern Anatolia. Knaggs records:

Here we are under German and Swiss engineers for work and receive 8 piastres per day for food which we buy our own doing away with the Turkish food. We are allowed plenty of Liberty no sentries are allowed to interfere with us as long as things run smooth. The work here consists of drilling and blasting tunnels, navying [laboring], clerks, carpenters, electricians etc and odd jobs, extra money being paid monthly according to abilities at work. The name of the place being Belemedik.



Enver Pasha 5

Belemedik is 15 kilometres from the township of Pozanti and was one of about a dozen camps set up in southern Turkey to have POWs work on building sections of the Berlin to Baghdad Railway. Construction of the strategically important and controversial railway began in 1903. By the start of the First World War many sections had not yet been completed and this hampered the Ottoman Empire's efforts to supply and reinforce the Mesopotamian Front. The unfinished sections through the Taurus Mountains were technically difficult and required considerable effort to construct. Allied POWs were put to the task of blasting tunnels, milling timber and laying railroad track. As an indication of the railway's significance, Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister for War, visited on 18 February 1916 to inspect the works.

In April Knaggs records a rumour that Lieutenant Commander Stoker (the AE2's Captain) and two other officers escaped from Afyon Karahisar on 10 April. On 8 May Knaggs notes word that Stoker has been recaptured. This was one of two failed escape attempts that Stoker made and partial evidence that the officers may have remained at Afyon Karahisar for the duration.

On Easter Monday, 24 April, Knaggs records that he managed to get "plenty drunk". On 30 April he notes the anniversary of their capture and his wife Annie's birthday. Over the months Knaggs records a steady stream of deaths from illness and accidents on the worksites. Welfare packages are received sporadically from the Red Cross Society, the US Ambassador, the Ladies Emergency League, as well as from home. Pay days are regular and there appears to have been the opportunity to buy and sell goods.

His diary entries regularly record the war news and rumours that were passing through the POW population. In hindsight we can recognise that much of the information that was circulating was grossly inaccurate. Germany apparently surrendered on two occasions in the course of 1916. In

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5 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enver\\_Pasha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enver_Pasha) accessed on 11 February 2009.

April 1916 Knaggs records that “five English warships are in the Sea of Marmara, and England has given Turkey 10 days to consider what she is going to do, or Constantinople will be bombarded. Great excitement in the camp.” Knaggs records a rumour that America declared war on Germany a full year before it actually occurred.

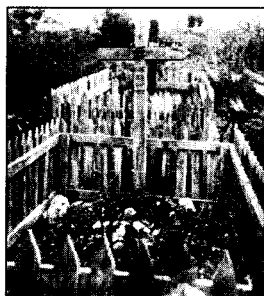
To his credit, Knaggs caveats his later entries with “rumour has it...” and regularly commentates that some rumours just seem fanciful. But it must have been difficult for them to discern fact from rumour as other news was uncannily accurate and arrived relatively quickly after the event. For example, on 29 April 1916 the Allied forces besieged at Kut in Iraq surrendered and 8,000 soldiers were taken prisoner. The news of this event and the same figure of captives reached the camp only five weeks later on 9 June, quite possibly directly from Allied prisoners captured at Kut.



Original grave of Chief Stoker Varcoe 6

Arduous and dangerous work, poor diet and disease associated with communal living in rough conditions were all features of their experience in captivity. Unfortunately, some weren't able to survive. On 18 September 1916, Chief Stoker Charles Varcoe died of meningitis at age 38. Meningitis is a medical condition that is caused by inflammation of the protective membranes covering the brain and spinal cord. He was buried at the Christian Cemetery in Belemedik.

In the later part of summer in 1916, typhoid and malaria swept through the camp at Belemedik. Typhoid is a disease transmitted by the ingestion of food or water contaminated with faeces from an infected person. Typhoid is characterized by a sustained fever, profuse sweating, gastroenteritis and non-bloody diarrhoea. Malaria is an infectious disease caused by protozoan parasites and usually transmitted when bitten by an infective female *Anopheles* mosquito. The parasites multiply within red blood cells, causing symptoms that include symptoms of anaemia (light-headedness and shortness of breath), as well as other general symptoms such as fever, chills, nausea, flu-like illness, and, in severe cases, coma, and death.



On 9 October 1916, Petty Officer Stephen Gilbert died of malaria and typhoid at age 39. On 22 October 1916, Able Seaman Albert Knaggs died of malaria and typhoid at age 34. Knaggs' diary entries end three months earlier on 19 July which might indicate that he suffered a prolonged illness. Both Gilbert and Knaggs were also buried at the Christian Cemetery in Belemedik.

The original grave of Petty Officer Stephen Gilbert7

6 AWM P01645.003

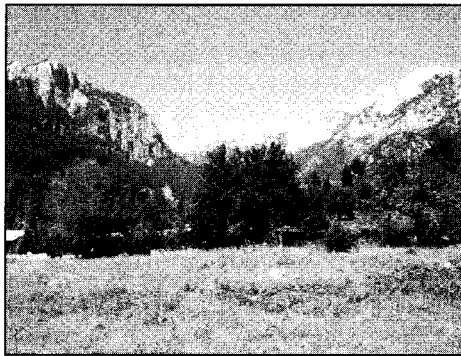
7 AWM P01645.004 These photographs were part of an Australian Red Cross Wounded and Missing Enquiry Bureau file. The Bureau, which commenced operation in October 1915, sought to identify, investigate and respond to enquiries made regarding the fate of Australian personnel. It investigated the majority of personnel posted as wounded and missing on official Army lists, as well as written enquiries from concerned relatives and friends. Approximately 32,000 individual case files were opened for Australian personnel who were reported as wounded or missing during the First World

Stoker Michael Williams died on September 29, 1916. The cause of his death is not known, but it is recorded that he was buried in Pozanti likely because there was a hospital there where he may have received treatment.

It is not known whether other members of the crew became ill and recovered from these persistent diseases, or were at any stage injured, but it would seem that life in captivity at Belemedik became routine. A photo of Australian and British POWs taken in 1918 shows them in good physical condition, well dressed, in good spirits, and apparently living in a reasonable standard of quarters complete with picket fence and chickens.



Australian and British POWs outside their quarters at Belemedik in 1918 8



A Recent Photo of Ruins at Belemedik 9

Following the Armistice, after three and half years in captivity the remaining 28 crew members of HMAS AE2 were repatriated in late 1918. The photo below is typically associated with the crew's capture in 1915, but given the clothing, the number of beards and moustaches, and most tellingly, the fact that there are only 28 people in the photo, it is most likely that this photo was taken in late 1918 as the crew were being repatriated, and possibly in London.

War. The Bureau employed searchers to operate both at the front and in Britain. They searched official lists of wounded and missing, interviewed comrades of missing soldiers in hospitals and wrote to men on active service. Altogether 400,000 responses were sent back to those who placed enquiries with the Bureau.

8 AWM H19414.

9 <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/6479716> accessed on 14 February, 2009.



The 28 remaining crew members of HMAS AE2 probably taken in late 1918 10

After the war, the Imperial War Graves Commission considered that it was impractical to look after the many isolated graves of British and Commonwealth servicemen buried in several locations across Turkey, so their remains were disinterred and reburied in selected cemeteries. One of those selected Cemeteries was in Baghdad.

In 1922, Gilbert's, Varcoe's and Knaggs' remains were reburied in the Baghdad North Gate War Cemetery where they remain to this day. For reasons unknown, Stoker Michael Williams was not reinterred in Baghdad, but he is listed on the Pozanti memorial in the Baghdad North Gate War Cemetery.

Eighty seven years later I came across the graves of these three brave sailors who had endured so much hardship and made the ultimate sacrifice on behalf of our nation. On behalf of all Australians I thanked them for their service.



The Gravestones of Chief Stoker Charles Varcoe (left), Petty Officer Stephen Gilbert (centre) and Able Seaman Albert Knaggs in the Baghdad North Gate War Cemetery

10 <http://cas.awm.gov.au/photograph/P00371.001> accessed on February 11, 2009.

## The Crew of HMAS AE2

## Officers

- Lieutenant Commander Henry Hugh Gordon Dacre Stoker, DSO, RN
- Lieutenant Geoffrey Arthur Gordon Haggard, DSC, RN
- Lieutenant John Pitt Cary, MID, RN

## Ratings

- Chief Petty Officer Harold Abbott, DSM, RN (No. 8268)
- Chief Petty Officer Charles Vaughan, MID, RAN
- Chief Engine Room Artificer 2nd Class Harry Burton Broomhead, DSM, RN (No. X278)
- Chief Stoker Charles Varcoe, RN (No. 8275)
- Petty Officer Cecil Arthur Bray, RAN (No. 7296)
- Petty Officer Stephen John Gilbert, RAN (No. 8053)
- Engine Room Artificer Class I Peter Fawns, RN (No. 8285)
- Leading Seaman Charles Holdernes, RN (No. 8270)
- Leading Seaman George Henry Nash, RAN (No. 8056)
- Leading Signalman Albert Norman Charles Thomson, RN (No. 8271)
- Leading Stoker John Kerin, RAN (No. 7391)
- Able Seaman John Harrison Wheat, RAN (No. 7861)
- Able Seaman Benjamin Talbot, RAN (Ex-RN) (No. 8221)
- Able Seaman Alexander Charles Nichols, RAN (No. 7298)
- Able Seaman Albert Edward Knaggs, RAN (No. 7893)
- Able Seaman William Thomas Cheater, RAN (No. 7999)
- Able Seaman Lionel Stanley Churcher, RAN (Ex-RN) (No. 7970)
- Telegraphist William Wolseley Falconer, RAN (No. 1936)
- Stoker James Cullen, RAN (No. 2826)
- Stoker Horace James Harding, RAN (No. 7216)
- Stoker William Brown Jenkins, RAN (No. 2080)
- Stoker Charles George Suckling, RAN (No. 214X)
- Stoker Thomas Henry Walker, RN (No. 8289)
- Stoker Michael Williams, RAN (No. 2305)
- Stoker Thomas Wishart, RN (No. 8277)
- Engine Room Artificer 1st Class James Henry Gibson, RN (No. 8273)
- Engine Room Artificer 2nd Class Stephen Thomas Bell, MID, RN (No. 8272)
- Stoker Petty Officer Herbert Alexander Brown, DSM, RAN (Ex-RN) (No. 8096)
- Stoker Petty Officer Henry James Elly Kinder, MID, RAN (No. 7244)

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## THE AUSTRALIANS AT JUTLAND

Greg Swinden<sup>1</sup>

The Battle of Jutland on 31 May 1916 was the major naval battle of World War I. For a few short hours on that day the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet came into contact with each other for the only time during the war. Over 200 ships, ranging from destroyers to battleships, and 60,000 men took part in the battle off the Danish coast. By the end of the day over 9,500 British and German sailors were dead and 25 ships (14 British and 11 German) were sunk with many others badly damaged.

Whilst this was the largest engagement at sea during the war it has been considered by many historians and naval officers to have been inconclusive. Germany claimed a tactical victory due to the simple arithmetic of ships sunk and lives lost while Britain claimed a strategic victory as the German High Seas Fleet never sought to challenge them again and stayed in port for the remainder of the war.

Due to a twist of fate some five weeks before no Australian ships were present at this great sea battle. The only RAN ship operating in the North Sea in early 1916 was the battle cruiser HMAS *Australia* which was part of the 2nd Battle Cruiser Squadron, comprising *Australia* and HM Ships *New Zealand* and *Indefatigable*, under the overall command of Rear Admiral William Pakenham, RN. On 22 April, the squadron was on patrol off the Danish coast when they encountered a thick fog bank. The ships had been zig-zagging regularly due to the perceived submarine threat and at the required time *Australia* altered course to conform with previous orders. *New Zealand* maintained her course due to the poor weather conditions and as a result both ships collided.

*Australia* was badly damaged above the waterline as a result and was sent to the Naval Dockyard at Devonport for repairs, which were not completed until early June; and thus she missed the Battle of Jutland. *New Zealand* received less damage and so took part in the battle along with *Indefatigable* some five weeks later.

### The Battle of Jutland

This article is not intended to explain the full history of the Battle of Jutland and its aftermath and those interested are encouraged to read one of the numerous books on the subject. Noting the heavy British losses during the battle (14 ships and over 6,000 men killed) it is perhaps a good thing that *Australia* was not involved. While HMS *New Zealand* emerged from the battle unscathed the *Indefatigable* was hit by several German shells. One shell penetrated the forward turret and the flash ignited cordite in the magazine which caused a massive explosion which blew up the ship with the loss of over 1000 lives (only two survivors were recovered from the water).

While no RAN ship took part in the action this does not mean that the RAN, and *Australia*, was not represented at the battle. At least four members of the RAN were at the battle and another Australian serving in the Royal Navy were also present (and there may have been more). In the grim irony of war of the five Australian's known to have served at the Battle of Jutland; three were to lose their lives and all from the same ship.

Chaplain Patrick Gibbons was a Roman Catholic Chaplain serving in HMAS *Australia* and following the collision he was loaned to old battle cruiser HMS *Indomitable* which was part of

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<sup>1</sup> The author of this article would be interested to hear from readers who might know of other Australians who served at the Battle of Jutland. He can be contacted on [greg.swinden@defence.gov.au](mailto:greg.swinden@defence.gov.au).



the 3rd Battle Cruiser Squadron attached to the main Battleship Squadrons. *Indomitable* survived the battle with no damage or casualties but Gibbons later ministered to the dying and wounded Catholic sailors from the fleet. Gibbons had joined *Australia* in 1913 and, apart from his brief sojourn in *Indomitable*, served in the Australian battle cruiser until 1920 when he resigned from the RAN.

Another Australian officer on loan to the Royal Navy was Gunner (Warrant Officer) John Henry Gill who served in the Battleship HMS *Benbow* which was the flagship of the 4th Battleship Squadron under the command of Vice Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee (who had destroyed the German East Asia Squadron at the Battle of the Falklands in 1914). *Benbow* fired about 100 rounds during the battle with little or no effect and escaped without damage or casualties.

Gill was a veteran of the 1900-01 Boxer Rebellion in China where he had served in the South Australian warship HMCS *Protector* (South Australian Navy) which was on loan to the RN. He later joined the Royal Navy but in 1914 transferred to the RAN. John Gill retired from the RAN in 1921 with the rank of lieutenant and then served as a civilian Assistant Inspector of Naval Ordnance from 1922 until 1946.

The loss of HMS *Defence*

The three Australians who lost their lives at the Battle of Jutland were all serving in the armoured cruiser HMS *Defence* which was part of the 1st Cruiser Squadron. At 1800 the Squadron, under the command of Rear Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot, spotted a group of German cruisers and turned to engage them, but a few minutes later German battle cruisers appeared through the haze and opened fire on the leading British ships (*Defence* and *Warrior*). *Warrior* was badly damaged, set on fire and had over 100 men killed or wounded but managed to limp away.

*Defence* was less fortunate. One eyewitness later wrote:

The *Defence* was heavily engaged, salvoes dropping all around her. At 1815 a salvo hit her abaft the after turret and a big red flame flashed up. The ship heeled, then quickly righted herself and steamed on. But almost immediately another salvo struck between the foremast turret and the foremost funnel, and she was lost to sight in an enormous black cloud which, when it cleared showed no signs of a ship at all.

*Defence* was sunk with the loss of her entire crew of 903 men. Among those killed were Sub Lieutenant George Paterson, RAN (a 20 year old who had been born in England but had joined the RAN in March 1914) and 19 year old Midshipman Joseph Mack, RAN who hailed from Berry Bank, (near Lismore), Victoria. Both men had joined the RAN but were loaned to the RN for further training. Also killed in the sinking of HMS *Defence* was Stoker 2nd Class Mortimer Hugh Froude.

Froude, from Balmain, had joined the RAN on 1 June 1912 as a 14 year old Boy 2nd Class and received his initial training in HMAS *Tingira* before being posted to HMAS *Australia*. He was an Ordinary Seaman when he deserted from the RAN in June 1915, when *Australia* was in British waters. He tried to join the British Army but was rejected due to his height. Froude then joined the Royal Navy as a Stoker and was posted to the cruiser *Defence*. On 31 May 1916, when the smoke cleared Paterson, Mack and Froude had simply ceased to exist.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Some authors have claimed that Flight Commander Frederick Rutland (later known as Rutland of Jutland) who flew a sea plane from HMS *Engadine* during the battle was born in Australia but no proof of this has been found

# ORDERS, DECORATIONS AND MEDALS OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

## Part 2: Decorations

Paul A Rosenzweig<sup>1</sup>

Philippine decorations and medals may not figure prominently in many Australian collections, but there are a few Australian connections that make them an interesting series to consider. The Philippine Legion of Honor and the Outstanding Achievement Medal have both been awarded to members of the Australian Defence Force in recent years. Australia played a significant role in the liberation of the Philippines in 1944-45, and Australian naval and air force personnel have been awarded the Philippine Liberation Medal. A total of 92 Australian Service personnel were recorded as missing or killed during operations in the Philippines<sup>2</sup>, and a further 785 Australians are known to have died when the Japanese freighter *Montevideo Maru* was sunk by a US submarine 70 nautical miles northwest of Cape Bojeadó at the northernmost tip of the Philippine island of Luzon on 1 July 1942<sup>3</sup>. In the post-war years, Filipinos and Australians served side-by-side in Korea, Vietnam and on various peace-keeping operations, and some 500 Filipinos earned the INTERFET Medal, the first award within the Australian Honours System to be issued to foreign nations.

Most highly ranked in the Philippine honours and awards hierarchy are a number of orders, based on the European structure and clearly drawn from the country's Spanish colonial past. The first paper in this series reviewed these higher decorations available to members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Among them is the only honour available to military personnel which has different grades for different ranks and levels of achievement in the sense of a traditional order – the Philippine Legion of Honor (PLOH). The Legion of Honor was established in 1947, based very much upon the American Legion of Merit which had been established in 1942. And like the US Legion of Merit, the Philippine Legion of Honor comprises four grades or 'Degrees' which reward meritorious and valuable service to the Philippines: Chief Commander, Commander, Officer and Legionnaire.

This paper reviews the decorations available to military members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines for exceptional and meritorious service and achievement, acts of valour and heroism, competence and excellence, and acts of heroism not involving actual combat.

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- 1 Paul Rosenzweig is a medal collector and non-professional military historian and biographer. He has contributed to *Sabretache* and various other historical journals and Defence publications on a voluntary basis regularly over the last twenty-five years. He is a Life Member of the Philippine Australian Defence Scholars Association Incorporated (PADSA). The next paper in this series will review the campaign medals available to members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and allied forces for service during World War 2.
  - 2 Two Australian Army personnel were killed in 1943 (escaped prisoners who joined the guerrilla force in the southern Philippines); twelve RAAF members were killed or recorded as missing, and 76 officers and men from HMAS Australia and HMAS Arunta were buried at sea or recorded as missing.
  - 3 She was carrying 1,053 prisoners to Hainan Island, China, including 30 Scandinavian seamen from the MV Herstein and 208 civilians and missionaries. The *Montevideo Maru* remains submerged northwest of Luzon, a grave for members of Lark Force (the 2/22nd Battalion Group AIF) and the 1st Independent Company. Refer: "Rabaul 1942: the Sacrifice of John Eshott Carr (1922-1942)". *Sabretache*, XLV (April-June 2004): 11-18.

## Decorations

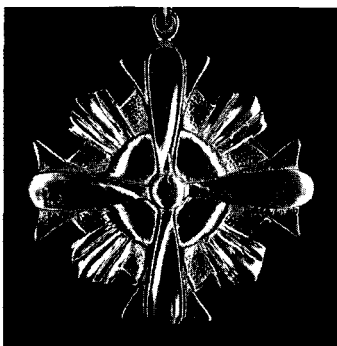
Philippine military doctrine states that “awards and decorations are tangible proofs of meritorious service and achievement, heroic acts, display of skills and efficiency, competence and excellence. They serve as memorabilia and inspiration to the recipients”.

Apart from the senior orders and decorations previously discussed, there are a further thirteen decorations available to military members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP)<sup>4</sup> for bravery and service, listed below according to the order of precedence<sup>5</sup>:

- *Gawad sa Kaunlaran*
- Distinguished Aviation Cross
- Distinguished Navy Cross
- Bronze Cross
- *Kagitingan sa Barangay*
- Military Merit Medal
- Silver Wings Medal
- Military Commendation Medal
- Wounded Personnel Medal
- Military Civic Action Medal
- Armed Forces Conduct Medal
- *Sagisag ng Ulirang Kawal*
- Long Service Medal

These decorations are generally bestowed personally by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines (CSAFP) or subordinate commanders, but in special circumstances may be conferred by the Secretary of National Defense (SND). The most common occasion for presenting awards is during the Service’s anniversary celebrations. In addition to these, the Civilian Employee Honorary & Incentive Award can be awarded to civilian members of the AFP<sup>6</sup>.

The suspension ribbon or service ribbon of each decoration may bear an ‘appurtenance’ (ribbon device), awarded for each succeeding act or period of service that justifies a repeat award of the same decoration. There are four different types of appurtenances (each of which can be awarded in bronze, silver or gold): the Anahaw Leaf, Equilateral Triangle, Service Star and Spearhead Device.



### *Gawad sa Kaunlaran*

The *Gawad sa Kaunlaran* (‘Award for Progress’) is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines, Area Commanders and Major Service Commanders to any citizen of the Republic of the Philippines for conspicuously meritorious and valuable achievement in the pursuit of socio-economic and other non-combat activities, or for conspicuously exceptional service which has contributed to accomplishing the peaceful objectives of the AFP, or in improving the quality of life of the people within the military

4 Pobre, C P (2000) History of the Armed Forces of the Filipino People. New Day Publishers, Quezon City; among the many available references, this is the definitive history of the AFP.

5 Armed Forces of the Philippines Regulations G 131-053 dated 1 July 1986; [http://www.army.mil.ph/About\\_the\\_army/army/history/Medal\\_Awards\\_Decorations.html](http://www.army.mil.ph/About_the_army/army/history/Medal_Awards_Decorations.html); <http://www.paf.mil.ph/GALLERY1/gallery1.html>; <http://www.pn.mil.ph>

6 Awarded in three grades by CSAFP: (1) Distinguished Honor Medal; (2) Superior Honor Medal; and (3) Civilian Merit Medal.

establishment.

The medal is struck in the form of a silver disc, comprising eleven sunrays in relief (symbolising conspicuous achievement), with a tapering depressed background between each ray in blue (representing nobility of purpose). The obverse bears a golden five-pointed star in the centre (representing achievement or service), with a single branch of green laurel leaves superimposed diagonally across the star (representing the peaceful nature of the achievement or service). The reverse is plain. The insignia is worn as a normal medal; the suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in dark blue with a green central stripe edged in gold.

By way of an example, in September 2007 the *Gawad sa Kaunlaran* (and also the Military Civic Action Medal; see below) was conferred upon Royal Brunei Armed Forces personnel who had served with the 3<sup>rd</sup> contingent to the International Monitoring Team in Mindanao (IMT-M) following a 12-month tour of duty in Cotabato, central Mindanao. The IMT-M (comprising 60 military personnel from Brunei, Libya and Malaysia) and the bilateral Joint Committee on Cessation of Hostilities oversee a ceasefire in Mindanao brokered by Malaysia in July 2003 between the Moro Nationalist Liberation Front (MNLF)<sup>7</sup>, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)<sup>8</sup> and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP). The ongoing conflict in Mindanao represents one of the longest-lasting and most active armed conflicts of the last 40 years, yet is perhaps the least understood in Australia. In 1998, a “top-ten” list of flashpoints in East Asia listed the Mindanao Conflict at number 8, despite the recent GRP-MNLF Peace Agreement of 1996. The situation in Mindanao remains intractable, despite the involvement of the international community in the verification of the ceasefire<sup>10</sup>.

### Distinguished Aviation Cross



The Distinguished Aviation Cross is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines, Area/Unified Commanders and Major Service Commanders to military personnel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines serving with the Philippine Air Force (PAF) or with the air components of the Major Services, for distinguished heroism or extraordinary achievement while participating in aerial flight. The deed must comprise voluntary action in the face of great danger above and beyond the call of duty, and the accomplishment must be exceptional and outstanding.

- 7 The MNLF is a Moslem separatist group dating back to a rebellion of the Moro people in 1974 on the island of Jolo (province of Sulu, southern Philippines). A Peace Accord with the Philippine Government in 1996 saw Nur Muisari installed as Governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). Although the MNLF signed this peace agreement, it did not disarm or demobilise and has remained militarily active; its armed wing is titled ‘Bangsamoro Armed Forces’ (BAF).
- 8 The MILF, the predominant Moslem separatist group in the Philippines, has been waging a rebellion in Mindanao since 1977 seeking an Islamic homeland for the Moro people of the Philippines. The MILF was formally established in 1984 as a breakaway faction of the MNLF after they accepted autonomy rather than independence for Mindanao. Its armed wing is titled ‘Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces’ (BIAF). The MILF rejected the MNLF’s 1996 Peace Accord with the Philippine Government and refused to become involved with the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARRM), but agreed to the revived ceasefire brokered by Malaysia in July 2003.
- 9 Economist, “East Asia’s New Faultlines”, 14 March 1998, p.13.
- 10 See for example, *Autonomy & Peace Review*, Institute for Autonomy and Governance, 4 (1), Jan-Mar 2008.

The first Filipinos to undergo flight training were 10 Philippine Constabulary Officers and 23 men from the National Guard in the Curtiss School of Aviation-run facility at Camp Claudio in Parañaque in 1920. The Philippine Constabulary Air Corps (PCAC) was established on 1 January 1935; this later became the Philippine Army Air Corps (PAAC) when the Philippine Constabulary was incorporated as a unit of the Philippine Army. Shortly before war broke out in 1941, the PAAC was inducted into the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE). On 1 July 1947, the PAAC became the Philippine Air Force, operationally and administratively independent of the Philippine Army, a major command of the AFP.

The Distinguished Aviation Cross is struck in gold metal in the form of a Maltese cross (symbolising the risk of life in the face of the enemy). The obverse comprises a golden sunburst of four rays (drawn from the Philippine flag and representing the deed performed), resting upon a diamond in gold (representing the aerial formation of planes in flight). Superimposed upon the Maltese cross is a propeller with four blades, which signifies aviation and aerial flight. The reverse of the medal bears the title "DISTINGUISHED AVIATION CROSS". The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in alternating stripes of white, blue, gold and red.

A Bronze Anahaw Leaf (BAL) ribbon device is awarded for the first, second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the Distinguished Aviation Cross. A Silver Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BAL, and a Gold Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Anahaw Leaf.



#### **Distinguished Navy Cross**

The Distinguished Navy Cross is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines, Area/Unified Commanders and Major Service Commanders to military personnel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines serving in any capacity with the Philippine Navy (PN), for distinguished heroism and extraordinary achievement while participating in naval operations. To justify the award for heroism, the deed must be evidenced by voluntary action in the face of great danger above and beyond the call of duty; for extraordinary achievement, the deed must be so exceptional and outstanding. The Distinguished Navy Cross

has been awarded to just 47 officers of the Philippine Navy and Philippine Marine Corps<sup>11</sup>.

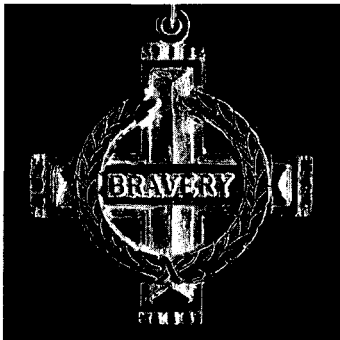
The Filipino has been considered as a natural seafarer, living in an archipelago of over 7,100 islands. After World War 2, the fledgling navy known as the 'Off-Shore Patrol' was re-designated 'Philippine Naval Patrol' by President Roxas. On 23 December 1950, President Quirino reorganised the armed forces, and the Naval Patrol became the Philippine Navy, a major command of the AFP. At the same time, the Philippine Marine Corps was created as a component of the Philippine Navy.

The medal is struck in the form of a golden cross (symbolising sacrifice and the risk of life) with a grooved border in gold between the arms of the cross (representing shining performance). The obverse features a central disc in blue enamel (representing sincerity and devotion), containing a sea lion superimposed on an anchor (the symbol of the Philippine Navy), holding a dagger in its right hand and sampaguita flower (signifying dignity) in the left. Around the disc is a garland of

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.pn.mil.ph>.

laurel leaves in gold signifying gallantry. The reverse of the medal is plain. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in blue with three white stripes in the centre, representing the three major island groups of the archipelagic nation – Luzon in the north, the Visayas in the centre, and Mindanao in the south.

A Bronze Anahaw Leaf (BAL) ribbon device is awarded for the first, second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the Distinguished Navy Cross. A Silver Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BAL, and a Gold Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Anahaw Leaf.



### **Bronze Cross**

The Bronze Cross is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines, commanders of Area and Unified Commands, Major Services, Philippine Army (PA) divisions and brigades or their equivalent in the PAF and PN, to military and civilian personnel of the AFP and armed forces of friendly foreign nations for heroism not involving actual conflict with an enemy. The performance or act(s) of heroism must involve risk of life under conditions other than those of conflict with the enemy.

The Philippine Army dates its origins to 22 March 1897, at the height of the Philippine Revolution against Spanish colonial rule. During the Commonwealth period (1935-57), the Philippine Army adopted an insignia based on the badge of the United States Army; this insignia was still used long after the Philippine Army was reorganised following World War 2. In 1946, the Philippine Military Training Command was designated 'Philippine Ground Force' by President Roxas. After President Quirino reorganised the armed forces by an Executive Order signed on 23 December 1950, the Ground Force became the Philippine Army with effect from 1 January 1951 (Headquarters Philippine Army was created on 25 September 1957).

The medal is struck in the form of a cross in gold, symbolising sacrifice and the risk of life. The medal features a wreath (representing honour) consisting of two tendrils of green laurel leaves tied at the centre base, superimposed over the flanges of the cross. A golden bar is superimposed over the horizontal flanges of the cross with the word "BRAVERY". The reverse of the medal is plain. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in white with blue stripes (representing sincerity and devotion to duty), with a red stripe in the centre (representing the risk of life).

A Bronze Anahaw Leaf (BAL) ribbon device is awarded for the first, second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the Bronze Cross. A Silver Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BAL, and a Gold Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Anahaw Leaf.

### ***Kagitingan sa Barangay***

The *Kagitingan sa Barangay* ('Hero of the Village') award is bestowed upon civilian officials or members of a Citizen's Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU). This award particularly reflects the nature of the ongoing internal security operations within the Philippines, whereby regionally-based CAFGU Active Auxiliary personnel and civilian volunteers regularly find themselves engaged with nationalists and terrorist dissidents, including members of organisations

such as the New Peoples' Army (NPA)<sup>12</sup> and the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)<sup>13</sup>. The *Kagitingan sa Barangay* comprises three grades or 'Categories': *Lakan*, *Datu* and *Maginoo*. The key features of the insignia, common to all categories, are as follows:

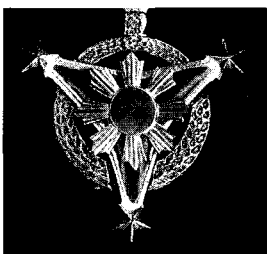
- The medal is struck in the form of a silver shield, symbolising protection from those that would disturb the peace.
- Central on the obverse is the Philippine sun with eight sunbursts, representing the eight original provinces of the Philippines that revolted against Spanish rule in 1898 leading to independence. This image appears on widely on Philippine military insignia (such as the rank insignia of field grade officers), on decorations including the Medal for Valor, the Legion of Honour and the Military Merit Medal, and medals such as the Jolo Campaign Medal 1972-77.
- The sun is surmounted by three golden stars (representing the three major island groups), and is surrounded by a green laurel wreath of narra branches, representing natural strength.
- This medal is suspended from a neck ribbon in green-blue with a central crimson stripe.

The *Kagitingan sa Barangay* in the category of *Lakan* is awarded by the President of the Republic of the Philippines to reward a deed of conspicuous personal bravery or self-sacrifice, at the risk of life, in action against an armed enemy. An award in this category is distinguished by a pair of crossed bolo knives at the base of the obverse.

An award in the category of *Datu* can be made by the Secretary of National Defense to reward an act of conspicuous courage and gallantry, at the risk of life, in action against an enemy. An award in this category is distinguished by a pair of crossed spears at the base of the obverse.

An award in the category of *Maginoo* can be made by the Chief of Staff AFP to reward a single act of gallantry or meritorious service, either in a duty responsibility or in direct support of military operations. An award in this category is distinguished by a crossed bow and arrow at the base of the obverse.

A Bronze Anahaw Leaf (BAL) ribbon device is awarded for the first, second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the *Kagitingan sa Barangay*. A Silver Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BAL, and a Gold Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Anahaw Leaf.



#### **Military Merit Medal**

This award was instituted during the pre-war period of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. The Military Merit Medal (MMM) is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines, Area/Unified Commanders, Major Service Commanders and division and major subordinate unit commanders with a rank of

12 The NPA was established in 1969 as the militant wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which had been founded in 1959. The CPP is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and its intention is to use a 'Protracted People's War' (PPW) to build the organs of 'Red political power'. The CPP-NPA comprises small armed cadres operating in rural Luzon, Visayas and parts of Mindanao.

13 The ASG is a Moslem militant group which operates on several islands in Mindanao. It was launched as the 'Mujihadeen Commando Freedom Fighters' in the mid-1980s and assumed its current name in 1992, fighting for a separatist Moslem state in Mindanao. Since 1998, it has degenerated into a criminal syndicate involved in extortion and kidnap for ransom operations, predominantly operating in Zamboanga (Mindanao), Jolo (Sulu) and a series of islands south to Tawi-Tawi.

Brigadier-General or higher, to military personnel of the AFP for heroic achievement in combat or for meritorious achievement not involving participation in combat.

The medal is in the form of an equilateral triangle in red with a silver star at each point, superimposed upon a wreath of green laurel leaves. The triangle represents the three Services which comprise the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the three stars represent the three major island groups of the country, and the wreath represents honour. Superimposed upon the red enamelled triangle is a golden sun, drawn from the Philippine national flag, symbolising liberty and the revolution against Spanish rule.

The reverse of the medal bears the text "FOR MILITARY MERIT". The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in green with three crimson stripes in the centre representing the three major island groups. When awarded for the first time, the MMM has no ribbon device ('appurtenance'), so the nature of the award cannot be distinguished. For all subsequent awards, a Spearhead Device or Anahaw Leaf ribbon device is presented in lieu of the medal.

**Military Merit Medal with Bronze Spearhead Device.** A Bronze Spearhead Device (BSD) is awarded for the second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the MMM when it is awarded for heroic achievement in combat. A Silver Spearhead Device is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BSD, and a Gold Spearhead Device is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding Silver Spearhead Device awarded to the MMM for heroic achievement. 'Heroic achievement' is defined as specific acts of bravery or outstanding courage, or a closely related series of heroic acts performed with a short period of time. The MMM may be awarded posthumously to members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines who are killed in action by the enemy of the Philippines, or as a direct result of an act of the enemy.

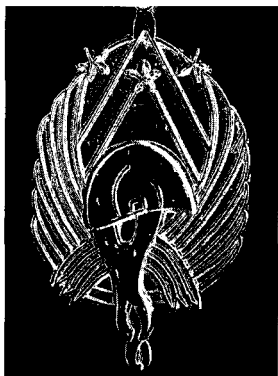
**Military Merit Medal with Bronze Anahaw Leaf.** A Bronze Anahaw Leaf (BAL) is awarded for the second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the Military Merit Medal when it is awarded for meritorious achievement not involving participation in combat, in connection with military operations against an enemy of the Philippines, or for a single act of meritorious service either in a duty of responsibility or in direct support of military operations. A Silver Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BAL, and a Gold Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Anahaw Leaf to the Military Merit Medal.

The Military Merit Medal was awarded to Ernesto H De Leon AFP<sup>14</sup> a total of thirteen times during his service with the Philippine Navy; he finished his military service as a Vice Admiral – as the Flag Officer in Command of the Philippine Navy. On his retirement from this assignment, he was appointed as the 12<sup>th</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of the Philippines to the Commonwealth of Australia. During his naval career, he received the Distinguished Service Star five times (one of 118 recipients within the Philippine Navy and Philippine Marine Corps), the Philippine Legion of Honor (twice), the Outstanding Achievement Medal (twice) and the Distinguished Navy Cross (twice), as well as the French *Legion d'Honneur* in the Degree of Officer and the French National Order Merit in the Degree of Officer. Ambassador De Leon's current diplomatic appointment is not his first time in Australia: he had previously undertaken a Project Management Course with the Australian Department of Defence under the auspices of the Australian Defence Co-operation Program with the Philippines. Ambassador De Leon is a Life Member of the Philippine Australian Defence Scholars Association Incorporated (PADSA).

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14 Philippine Military Academy Alumni Register 2004, PMA Alumni Association Inc. De Leon served as FOIC PN from 3 March 2003 to 8 December 2005; <http://www.philembassy.org.au/content/view/15/27/>.



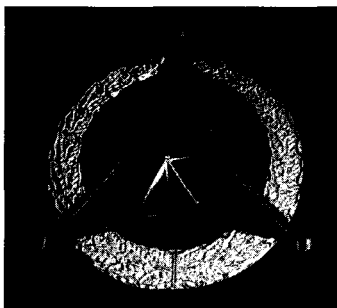


### Silver Wings Medal

The Silver Wings Medal (SWM) is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines, the Commanding General Philippine Air Force, Area/Unified Commanders and Major Service Commanders to military personnel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines for meritorious achievement while participating in aerial flight or for participation in sustained operational activities against the enemy whilst in aerial flight.

The medal is struck in silver metal, in the form of a pair of silver upturned wings forming the flanks of the medal. The medal features an airborne helmet in relief in the centre, superimposed with three arched bands and three stars in relief in an inverted triangular formation (representing the three major island groups of the Philippines). Between the wings is the upper tip of the diamond logo of the Philippine Air Force. The reverse of the medal is plain. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in blue, white and yellow, with a red stripe in the centre.

A Bronze Anahaw Leaf (BAL) ribbon device is awarded for the first, second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the Silver Wings Medal. A Silver Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BAL, and a Gold Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Anahaw Leaf.

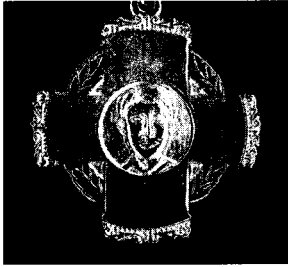


### Military Commendation Medal

The Military Commendation Medal (MCM) is awarded by commanders of Major Services, Area/Unified Commands, PA divisions and brigades or their equivalent in the PAF and PN, to military personnel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines for demonstrated exemplary efficiency, devotion and loyalty to duty assignments. Five letters of commendation under one command are convertible to one MCM.

The medal is struck in the form of a circular sampaguita wreath in gold consisting of 46 leaves and 20 buds. The medal features an anodised silver equilateral triangle (representing good deeds) with a small disc at each tip (representing the three major island groups of the Philippines – Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao) superimposed over the wreath, with a central five-pointed star (representing notable achievements). The reverse of the medal is plain. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in green with three white stripes (representing the three major island groups of the Philippines).

A Bronze Equilateral Triangle ribbon device ('appurtenance') is worn to denote the first, second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the Military Commendation Medal. A Silver Equilateral Triangle is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding Bronze Equilateral Triangle, and a Gold Equilateral Triangle is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Equilateral Triangle awarded to the Military Commendation Medal.



### **Wounded Personnel Medal**

The Wounded Personnel Medal (WPM) is awarded by Commanders of major subordinate units down to PA battalion commanders or their equivalent in the PAF and PN, to military personnel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and civilian citizens of the Philippines serving with the AFP wounded or killed during an action against an enemy of the Philippines.

The Wounded Personnel Medal can also be awarded to those wounded or killed as a direct result of an act of the enemy provided such wound necessitates treatment by a Medical Officer. In the case of combat patients evacuated to an AFP hospital, the hospital Commanding Officer is authorised to award this medal. Not more than one award can be made for multiple wounds or injuries received at the same instant or from the same missile, force, explosion or agents. The Wounded Personnel Medal may be automatically awarded to the next-of-kin of any person entitled to a posthumous award.

The medal is struck in the form of a cross in gold, signifying the risk of life while in combat. The medal features the portrait of General Gregorio del Pilar (representing achievements that resulted in being wounded by an armed enemy), within a wreath of light green laurel leaves superimposed on the cross (symbolising honour); the green colour represents nobility and devotion to duty. The reverse of the medal is plain. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in white with a central purple stripe.

During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, General Gregorio del Pilar was a member of the Katipunan [‘Association of the Sons of the Country’] established by Andres Bonifacio and his associates in 1892. The Katipuneros took up arms against Spain on 23 August 1896, with Bonifacio as Supremo [‘President’], and commenced military action in Manila on 29 August. Del Pilar, a 20 year old Colonel, was noted for a successful guerrilla attack on the Spanish at Paombong on 31 August 1896, and commanded Filipino forces in the Bulacan region in central Luzon. After General Emilio Aguinaldo assumed leadership of the Revolution and proclaimed Philippine independence on 12 June 1898, del Pilar (then aged 23) was a General during the Philippine-American War. He commanded sixty soldiers at the top of Mount Tirad, defending the pass which gave access to General Aguinaldo’s headquarters in Ilocos Sur. The American attack on Mount Tirad on 2 December 1899 was so ferocious that del Pilar and all but seven of his men died. The name of Gregorio del Pilar (‘the Boy General’) was forever associated with sacrifice of life, and the name of ‘Fort del Pilar’ was given to the site of the Philippine Military Academy (PMA) when it was established in Loakan near Baguio City on 24 May 1950.

A Bronze Anahaw Leaf (BAL) ribbon device is awarded for the first, second, third and fourth succeeding deeds in lieu of the Wounded Personnel Medal. A Silver Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth succeeding BAL, and a Gold Anahaw Leaf is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Anahaw Leaf.

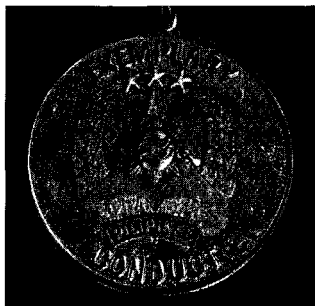


### **Military Civic Action Medal**

The Military Civic Action Medal (MCAM) is awarded to military personnel of the AFP and friendly foreign nations to recognise meritorious achievement in the field of civic action in duty responsibility or in direct support to military operations. The medal is a disc

struck in gold metal, with a garland in green forming the circumference of the disc, superimposed over a multi-pointed cross. The obverse features a pair of upturned hands supporting a machinery gear wheel, symbolising assistance to civil development. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in blue, red and white with a central green stripe – the blue represents security, the red represents knowledge and communication, the white stands for progress, beauty and aspiration, and the green stands for hope and the richness of the nation.

A Bronze Service Star ribbon device ('appurtenance') can be awarded for each succeeding award of the Military Civic Action Medal. A Silver Service Star is awarded in lieu of the fifth Bronze Service Star, and a Gold Service Star is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Service Star.



#### **Armed Forces Conduct Medal**

The Armed Forces Conduct Medal is awarded to enlisted personnel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines by commanders of Major Services, Area/Unified Commands and PA divisions/brigades and their equivalent units in the PAF and PN. To earn the award, an enlisted member must have served two successive enlistment terms with no records of punishment, conviction or derogatory information.

The medal is struck in the form of a bronze disc, with an embossed triangle and three stars superimposed in the centre, representing the major island groups of the Philippines – Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. A golden sun with eight sunbursts is placed over the triangle, symbolising liberty and the revolution against Spanish rule in 1898. The medal features a scroll in bronze at the lower portion of the disc, supporting a wreath of sampaguita flowers and buds arching toward the top of the medal (symbolising meritorious and outstanding achievement). The reverse of the medal is plain. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in white with a central green stripe.



#### **Sagisag ng Ulirang Kawal**

The *Sagisag ng Ulirang Kawal* ('Symbol of a Model Soldier') Medal is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines, Area/Unified Commanders and Major Service Commanders to military personnel of the AFP. To earn the award, a military member must have distinguished himself conspicuously in the performance of non-military activities and community development programs and other related activities, which merit public recognition.

The medal is struck in the form of a rectangular block in gilt metal, bearing a bust of a soldier in relief wearing a golden helmet (indicating that the awardee is a 'model soldier'), superimposed on the centre of a heart in gold (signifying sincere and honest effort in extending assistance to the awardee's fellow men). The heart is superimposed on an anodised silver triangle (representing the three Services which comprise the Armed Forces of the Philippines), surrounded by a wreath of green sampaguita leaves. A pair of clasped hands in silver shows one arm in a uniform sleeve and the other arm in a long-sleeved barong (symbolising the effort of winning the confidence of civilians). The reverse of the medal is plain. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in blue with a central white stripe and two red stripes.

**Long Service Medal**



The Long Service Medal is awarded by the Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines and Major Service commanders to military personnel for the completion of 20 years of faithful and honourable service with the AFP. The medal is struck in the form of a gold cross with the arms of the Republic of the Philippines in the centre (representing the services rendered by the individual to the country). Below the crest is a scroll bearing the title “REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES”. The reverse of the medal bears the title “FOR LONG SERVICE”. The suspension ribbon is 34 mm in width, in dark red.

A Bronze Service Star ribbon device (‘appurtenance’) is worn to denote each additional five years’ service. A Silver Service Star is awarded in lieu of the fifth Bronze Service Star, and a Gold Service Star is awarded in lieu of the fifth Silver Service Star.

<b>Philippine designation</b>	<b>Australian equivalent</b>
Secretary of National Defense (SND)	Minister for Defence
Department of National Defense (DND)	Department of Defence
Chief of Staff Armed Forces of the Philippines (CSAFP)	Chief of the Defence Force (CDF)
Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP)	Australian Defence Force (ADF)
Major Service Commanders: Flag Officer in Command Philippine Navy (FOIC); Commanding General Philippine Army (CGPA); Commanding General Philippine Air Force (CGPAF)	Service Chiefs: Chief of Navy (CN); Chief of Army (CA); Chief of Air Force (CAF)
Unified Commander: a Lieutenant General (equivalent) commanding a unified (‘joint Service’) command: North Luzon Command, South Luzon Command, National Capital Region Command, Visayan Command, Western Command, Eastern Mindanao Command and Western Mindanao Command	No equivalent
Philippine Military Academy (PMA)	Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA)
Citizen’s Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU)	The Australian Army Reserve, particularly, Regional Force Surveillance Units (RFSU)

**Table of Equivalents**

## OBITUARY - TED KENNA VC

**Anthony Staunton**

Ted Kenna VC, the last Australian VC of World War 2, died on Wednesday 8 July 2009 two days after his 90th birthday. He has been failing for some time and the death was not unexpected.<sup>1</sup> A state funeral was held in St Patrick's Cathedral, East Melbourne, on Thursday, 16 July 2009, followed by a burial service at St Mary's Catholic Church, Lonsdale Street, Hamilton, on Friday, 17 July. Kenna was buried in the Hamilton Lawn Cemetery, Victoria. Sadly, just six weeks later, his widow Marjorie died on 27 August 2009.

In 1945, Kenna was serving with the 2/4th Battalion of the 6th Australian Division and was awarded the Victoria Cross at Wewak on northern coast of the Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea on 15 May during the attack on the Wirui Mission feature. On his own initiative and without orders he immediately stood up in full view of the enemy less than fifty meters away and engaged a bunker, firing his Bren gun from the hip. Undeterred at the enemy fire, he remained completely exposed and continued to fire at the enemy until the bunker was captured. His magnificent bravery, in the face of concentrated fire, allowed the company attack to proceed to a successful conclusion, many enemy being killed and numerous automatic weapons captured. Kenna was invested with his Victoria Cross by the Governor General of Australia, The Duke of Gloucester, at Melbourne, on 6 January 1947.

Kenna enlisted in the Citizen Military Forces, the part time militia forces of the Australian Military Forces (as the Australian Army was known as in World War 2) on 9 August 1940 and was allotted service number V55955. In early 1941, Kenna joined the 23rd/21st Battalion and in December 1941, the Citizen Military Forces including the 23rd/21st Battalion was called up for full time service for the duration of the war. In May 1942, the veteran 19th Brigade of the 6th Australian Division moved to Darwin but its 2/11th Battalion remained in Perth where the 3rd Australian Corps had been formed and was being reinforced with two infantry and one armoured divisions. To take the place of the 2/11th Battalion, the Victorian based 23rd/21st Battalion joined the 19th Brigade in Darwin on 9 May 1942. The other battalions of the brigade, the 2/4th and 2/8th had seen service in the Middle East, Greece and Crete. About a month after arriving in Darwin, Kenna volunteered in June 1942 to join the AIF. He was allotted new service number VX102142 but remained in the 23rd/21st Battalion. After more than a year in Darwin, the 19th Brigade in early June 1943 moved to Queensland although the 23rd/21st Battalion first returned to Melbourne. The battalion was disbanded in Queensland in August and Kenna like many of the men of the 23rd/21st joined the 2/4th or the 2/8th Battalions of the 19th Brigade.<sup>2</sup>

With the death of Ted Kenna there is just seven surviving Victoria Cross recipients including one RAF and two Gurkhas from World War 2 and one each from Korea, Confrontation, Vietnam (Australian Keith Payne) and Iraq. Trooper Mark Donaldson is the only recipient and only living recipient of the Victoria Cross for Australia, the highest award of the Australian Honours System.

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- 1 Obituaries have appeared in Australian and British newspapers. The Times (London) at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article6676325> described the role of the 6th Australian Division as "Eight US and seven Australian divisions with supporting air forces were assigned for the assault on General Adachi's Japanese 18th Army on the north coast."
  - 2 The reference for the movements of the 23rd/21st Battalion is Graham R Mackenzie Smith. *Australia's Forgotten Army: Volume 2, Defending the northern gateways, Northern Territory and Torres Strait, 1938 to 1945*, 1995, ISBN 0 646 24404 3.

## RACECOURSES AND GIs: AUSTRALIA—WW2—THE AMERICAN INVASION

**Raymond W Clarke**

Australians who lived in Brisbane during the war years have special memories of the city as a hub of military activity with major transit camps established throughout the area by United States forces from 1941 until 1945. Approximately one million Americans were quartered at these camps, at one time or another, either waiting to move north into the war zones, returning on R and R from the battles or performing support roles. These young American soldiers would forever change the pattern of life for the citizens of Brisbane and its image as a 'sleepy country town'.

### **The Arrival**

It was a typical Queensland warm summer's day on 22 December 1941 when the *Pensacola* convoy of American transports, escorted from Pearl Harbour by USS *Pensacola* and USS *Niagara* arrived off the Queensland coast. Australian warships HMAS *Canberra* and HMAS *Perth* led the convoy up the fourteen kilometres of the Brisbane River to the berthing at Bretts Wharves in the leafy suburb of Hamilton. The *Pensacola* convoy carried approximately 4,500 American troops forming the Plum Task Force, originally intended for Manila but the Pearl Harbour attack, 7 December 1941, resulted in the diversion of the convoy via Suva to Brisbane. These troops were the first American forces to be stationed in the Australia although there had been previous US Navy goodwill visits to Australian ports, the most recent being in March 1941.

### **Brisbane, Australia WW2**

The 'racecourse camps':

- Camp Ascot (Eagle Farm)
- Camp Doomben (Doomben)
- Camp Raceview (Hendra)

Brisbane was the home of:

- US 32nd Division 1942-1944 at Tamborine (Camp Cable)
- US 1st Cavalry Division 1943 at Strathpine (Camp Strathpine)
- US 1st Marine Division 1943 (Camp Cable)

Brisbane became General MacArthur's HQ from July 1942 until July 1944. The city building is now named MacArthur's Chambers.

At one time, there were approximately 75,000 American military personnel stationed in the greater Brisbane area.

Stan Baldwin recalls the convoy arrival. 'I was a kid in '41 but I have never forgotten those ships and the thousands of American soldiers lining the rails and waving. One big ship had trouble berthing. The Yanks threw coins into the shallows and the local kids dived in to find them. It was great. The GIs were like Gods to us awe-struck youngsters.' The embarked soldiers marched in force from the docks up Racecourse Road, Ascot, impressing and probably scaring the more nervy onlookers. The GIs would have had their first glimpse of the Hamilton Hotel, The Hammo, on their left, destined to become one of the best-known and most colourful 'watering holes' of the war.

### **To the Racecourse**

The troops moved through the heritage-listed gates at the end of Racecourse Road into the Eagle Farm racecourse grounds and immediately seconded buildings and grandstands. Horse racing was suspended. The Americans took total control of the entire racecourse area, which they officially named US Camp Ascot. The member's car park became the home of the US Special Intelligence Section and designated US Camp Ascot Park. Fibro-clad buildings were erected and the area fenced off, providing visible confirmation to the locals that the war had indeed come to Brisbane.

**Camp Doomben**

Doomben racecourse, opposite Camp Ascot, across busy Nudgee Road, was next to be taken over with hundreds of tents covering the racecourse proper and buildings and grandstands converted into offices. US Camp Doomben was born.

**Camp Raceview**

The tent city of US Camp Doomben expanded northwards from Raceview Avenue and the vacant land amongst the residences of Hendra became US Camp Raceview. Today, the Gateway highway cuts through the eastern section of that area but the Commonwealth government land where the Americans camped is still vacant, resting peacefully among surrounding residences with horses grazing contentedly on the block. Nothing remains to indicate that the Americans were ever there. Only the elderly locals would remember US Camp Raceview after sixty plus years.

**Other major camps**

American GIs poured into Brisbane in 1942-43 and the insatiable demand for accommodation resulted in American service establishments all over Brisbane with particularly large holding depots, in addition to the racecourse camps, at Camp Columbia at Wacol, Camp Logan at Logan and Camp Cable at Tamborine. There were many others. In fact, American military occupation was in almost every Brisbane suburb of the time.

**Reminiscences of the locals**

Local resident John Finglas has clear memories of the American presence. His mother ran a laundry service from her home in Ure Street, Hendra for Camp Raceview and he used to take his billy-goat cart into the camp for pickup and delivery. He recalls the Americans that his family regularly invited home for dinner. 'They were always beautifully dressed, creases in their trousers, polite and well behaved, and bought gifts like Babe Ruth chocolates. They were young and lonely and a long way from home.'

He remembers the tents, hard floor, thick canvas, timber framed, fold-up sides, four or six to a tent. Coins dropped through cracks in the floor. 'After the Yanks left, I got a lot of pocket money that way,' he laughs. 'Camp Raceview had an open-air theatre that showed movies and ran top-class stage shows, locals always being invited.' John recalls social functions at the Ure Street Other Ranks Club, built from airplane crates by the enterprising Americans, where he worked most mornings and was paid ... in Coca Cola.

Noel Jarrett, another local resident, also remembers the racecourse camps. He worked for the 898th Signal Corps Company doing electrical installations all over Brisbane, in particular at Camps Ascot and Doomben. 'My boss was Sergeant Jim Neill. He was a great bloke.' As a civilian, Noel worked initially in the American mess then for the US 898th Signal Corps Company at Camp Ascot and at many American camps including General MacArthur's Headquarters. The tents that the GIs used were so strong that he could easily and safely crawl up the sides to run cables and maintain the lights. 'I used to buy a carton of cigarettes at the PX for 4 bob (shillings). The PX sold everything. You name it. They had it. One place that I particularly recall was a small stockade at Eagle Farm for the GI prisoners. I was told they had to wear greatcoats in summer and shorts in winter. I always felt sorry for them as I passed by.'



Eagle Farm heritage-listed gates and the entrance to US Camp Ascot

### **Chocolates and Ice-cream**

Other fascinating memories of Eagle Farm racecourse (Camp Ascot) during those traumatic years of the war have survived. The late Ngaire Jones, ex Weather Observer in the WAAF, had fond memories of her uncle, Arthur Herring, a gatekeeper at the main entrance gates, taking a 'gladstone' bag to work and bringing back 'goodies' from the PX. 'Beautiful dark chocolates,' she recalled, with relish.

Kevin Brazel sold newspapers around the Eagle Farm area and inside Camp Ascot. He also has fond memories of the PX mouth-watering chocolates and ice cream. Raymond Germain, as a young lad, used to join the mess queue at both racecourse camps. The GIs never seemed to mind. He entered Camp Doomben via the drain that ran under Nudgee Road. The food was very good and the Yanks friendly. He corresponded with an American sailor from that period. Ian Waddell, then a 12 year old, also gained entrance to Camp Doomben via the Nudgee Road drain. The GIs were easy-going.

Like many civilians, Ian used to attend the open-air theatre in the centre of Camp Ascot until the then local movie houses, Savoy in Clayfield and the Arcadia in nearby Racecourse Road, objected. As a consequence, civilians were banned from entering the camp theatre.

A special day in Ian Waddell's childhood was the day he sat in a Japanese Zero. 'A friend and I used to go everywhere around the camps. One day we got into this big compound near the Eagle Farm railway station that was full of Japanese planes, mostly in bits and pieces. I sat in this Zero firing imaginary machine guns. Contrary to what we were led to believe, the Zeros did have oxygen tanks. The Yanks never knew we were there or at least I don't think they did.'

June Sullivan attended Hendra State School and remembers the Americans camped at the rear of the school. They were always friendly and polite. Once, however, walking along Nudgee Road



past Camp Doomben, she got quite a shock when a beaming black face appeared over the fence and shouted 'Hello, Sunshine.' She hurried along the footpath to the amusement of the African-American soldier.

### **Pocket money for the local kids**

Well known Public Relations Officer for the Queensland Turf Club, Jim Anderson, remembered those days as exciting for a youngster. He used to take orders for sandwiches and milk from the GIs at Camp Doomben and get them prepared at Bannister's General Store, where the Duka now stands. There was good pocket money to be made. Jim also delivered newspapers to the Doomben PX, at the end of Raceview Road (the present Gateway), and joined the mess queues at will. In particular, he remembers, like many others, the fantastic ice-cream. To a young boy, it was Utopia!

Maureen McCarthy's father, Sgt Richard Donnelly of the Australian Army, was the first manager of the large and busy Doomben PX. She remembered the long hours that he worked but would always be grateful to the American Army for treating him with the same kindness and respect they gave to their own officers. Cpl Reg Jennings set up an Australian Army Signals Office in the Members Stand at Camp Doomben and worked closely with the American Army Signal Corps. Reg has many clear visions of those days ... trucks working 24 hours a day with earth fill for the airport, Air Cobras on the N/E runway, gung-ho pilots with 45's at the hip, a black soldier burnt when a 'dixie' wash tub blew up, the different accents of the GIs from the expressive sibilants of the New Yorkers to the softer dialect of North and South Dakota, the lifelong friends he made and the unforgettable colourful band of the 147th Field Artillery. Unique memories from very special times.

### **Bill Bentson looks back**

U.S Camp Ascot holds vivid memories for many US servicemen, no more so than for Major William A Bentson, US Army (ret.) now living in retirement in Brisbane. Bill's collection of U.S Military memorabilia is extensive and historically valuable. 'I came out to Australia as a Sergeant with 6,000 others on the Queen Elizabeth berthing in Sydney on the 6th April 1942 and was assigned to Headquarters US Army Forces in the Far East located in Melbourne. When MacArthur became the CIC of Allied Forces in April 1942, it became known as Headquarters Southwest Pacific Area. On the 21st July 1942, GHQ SWPA moved to Brisbane, to the AMP building, now known as MacArthur's Chambers. Camp Ascot was the focus point, a hive of military activity up to 1944,' he recalls, smiling. 'We made it comfortable but never really got used to the honey buckets.' (The night pans).

### **The Dance Halls**

The American Officers Mess at Kenyon St, Eagle Farm was a local dancing and dining area but the most popular dancing places were in the city area. The Trocadero (South Brisbane), City Hall and Blue Moon (Fortitude Valley) were packed with eager GIs. Many of the 'racecourse GIs' accepted the hospitality of the locals, who opened their homes and their hearts to the young soldiers on leave. The family sing-song around the piano was always a happy and emotional reminder to the young GIs of their own families and loved ones back in the States.

### **The Departure**

Most of the GIs had left Australia by the end of 1944. John Finglas summed up the departure of the American war machine from the area of the racecourse camps: 'I will never forget as long as I live the day the Americans soldiers left. There was a never-ending line after line of big vehicles, the 6WD's, the GMCs, the Studebakers and Dodges. All the great FWD vehicles of the day were there. One by one, they drove down the road, fully loaded, tarpaulins up top, soldiers

on top of that again, waving as they went. I remember thinking that it was like a death, despite all the truck noise, the horns blowing and the locals cheering and waving. There were tears here and there. Then they were gone ... forever. There was an eerie quiet. It was the end of something, a unique experience, that was then and is now unforgettable. We were saying goodbye to our friends.' The lifestyle of Brisbane citizens was forever changed in 1945, even though the horses began to run again, almost immediately. Signs of the 'US invasion' by thousands of young American soldiers remained for sometime as Brisbane gradually recovered from the war.

The last Americans left Australia in May 1947. They were the 1,260 servicemen who died on active service and were interred in the United States Military Cemetery at Ipswich. Their bodies were recovered and returned on USS *Gauchec*. Victory after a sad procession through the streets of Brisbane to the docks at Newstead. Finally, they were going home.

Sixty plus years have passed in the leafy suburbs of Ascot, Eagle Farm, Doomben and Hamilton. Today, only a dwindling number of local residents who lived through those times and interacted with or observed the Americans on a day by day basis remain to cherish those special memories of the war ... when the GIs came to the racecourses.

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### Appendix A: United States - Major military camps in Brisbane 1941-1945<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. The racecourse camps:

Camp Ascot (Eagle Farm racecourse)  
Camp Ascot Park (Ascot)  
Camp Doomben (Doomben racecourse)  
Camp Raceview (Hendra)

#### 2. Other northside camps:

Camp Chermerside (Chermerside)  
Camp Luna Park (Bowen Hills)  
Camp New Farm  
(New Farm Park-US Navy)  
Camp Victoria Park (Herston)  
Camp Seebee (Eagle Farm-US Navy)  
Camp Strathpine (Strathpine).

#### 3. Southside Camps:

Camp Bulimba (Bulimba)  
Camp Cable (Tamborine)  
Camp Chelmer (Chelmer)  
Camp Coopers Plains (Coopers Plains)  
Camp Cootha (Mt. Cootha-US Navy)  
Camp Columbia (Wacol)  
Camp Freeman (Inala)  
Camp Moorooka (Moorooka)  
Camp Muckley (Archerfield)  
Camp Real Park (East Brisbane)  
Camp Tabragalba (Beaudesert)  
Camp Whinstanes (Whinstanes)  
Camp Yeronga (Yeronga Park)

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### Acknowledgments

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<sup>1</sup> P. Charlton. *South Queensland WW11 1941-1945*

## THE BISLEY BOYS

### The Victorian Rifle Team at Bisley 1897<sup>1</sup>

Andrew Kilsby

When the Victorian Mounted Rifles Contingent for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations left for England on the RMS *Oratava* in late April 1897, another Victorian colonial detachment had already departed - the Victorian rifle team. Its quest was to win the Kolapore Cup. Victoria had a robust rifle club network, aligned with the Victorian defence establishment which provided the rifles and ammunition for practice as well as free rail passes to get to matches. Permanent soldiers, militiamen, some mounted rifle and ranger volunteers as well as civilian riflemen were active in these clubs. Some of the clubs had been in existence since the 1860s in one form or another and they came to be regarded as an essential line of defence for the colony against enemies real and imagined. The Australian colonies experienced a number of war scares in the period after the departure of the last Imperial troops in 1870. However, with the recession which began around 1890 the Victorian Rifle Association (VRA) was in somewhat dire straits financially.<sup>2</sup> A dedicated cadre of riflemen and their supporters including among them leading militia officers such as the Officer Commanding Rifle Clubs, Colonel Tom Price of the Victorian Mounted Rifles, kept the rifle clubs alive through those difficult years. Success at Bisley in 1897 was critical to give the rifle clubs and the VRA itself new momentum.

**Templeton's Selection.** The Kolapore Cup did not, in fact, exist – at least as a cup. The Kolapore Cup was actually two silver vases, created in the typically ornate style of the day. Since 1870, when £100 presented as a prize by the young Rajah of Kolapore during a visit to England was transformed by the NRA (National Rifle Association) into the Kolapore (or Imperial Challenge) Cup, the Cup became the 'Holy Grail' among colonial riflemen. A Victorian team had competed at the NRA's then main base at Wimbledon in 1876, but not for the Cup. It was a team event and there were not enough of them to register for the match. In 1886, however, an all-Australian team had competed for the Kolapore Cup for the first time and came in a credible fourth. Since then, no rifle team from Australia (then consisting of individual Colonies) had returned to England to try again for the prize.<sup>3</sup>

The main reason for the allure of the Kolapore Cup was that it was the only one of the NRA's annual matches in England which allowed teams of eight colonial riflemen from across the Empire to compete both against each other *and* against the best team of the British Army. The pinnacle of NRA individual rifle competition was the Queen's Prize – and nearly 2,000 men competed for it. However, to win the Kolapore Cup was the ultimate team competition for colonials. And it was in the form of an all-comers match, so that the colonial team could include civilian rifle club members, militia and permanent soldiers in its ranks.

The NRA in England, formed in 1860 and ensconced in its Surrey headquarters at Bisley since 1890, was determined to hold a bumper competition in 1897. It was Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee year and the entire Empire was girding up for 'pomp and circumstance'. The NRA had powerful military and Royal patronage. It could not let the opportunity pass to demonstrate its loyalty to the Crown as well as increase its influence among the military establishment, both at

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<sup>1</sup> This article has been adapted from Kilsby, A.J., *The Bisley Boys: The Colonial Contingents to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee 1897 – the Victorian Rifle Team*, A.J. Kilsby, Melbourne, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> *The Age*, 27 February 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Corcoran, J.E., *The Target Rifle in Australia 1860-1900*, Dolphin Press, Sydney, 1975, pp.97-108 and pp.151-154.

'Home' and throughout the Empire. It therefore invited the rifle teams of the colonies to participate in its annual competition, to be held in the last two weeks of July 1897.

A leading influence in the development of the rifle clubs in Victoria was John Montgomery Templeton.<sup>4</sup> He was a senior militia infantry officer and an actuary in his civilian life, who by 1897 was a Colonel, Commander of the Victorian militia Infantry Brigade. He was also President of the VRA and was a representative for Victoria in the Federal Council of the Australian Rifle Associations. His authority was backed by his record as an excellent rifle shot in his own right. Templeton was: 'a very efficient and difficult man'<sup>5</sup> but the perfect advocate for the rifle club movement. He was also a promoter of talented marksmen, a distinguished public figure and highly regarded within the rifle club movement. Other prominent military supporters (and ex-officio members of the VRA) like Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas Kelly of the Field Artillery Brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Tom Price, commander of the VMR (Victorian Mounted Rifles) and Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Otter, commander of the Victorian Rangers, stood behind Templeton.

Sending an Australian or Victorian rifle team to Bisley rapidly quickly became *the* topic for discussion among various experts and newspaper columnists in Victoria. Not only did Victoria have the vast majority of rifle clubs in the country overall, but as a result it also had the best rifle shots. It only stood to reason that Victorian riflemen would compose the majority of any Australian team – if an Australian team was to be sent. By 16 February 1897, the Victorian Government and in particular its Defence Department was still dithering about what to do in response to the Imperial invitation to send a military contingent to represent the colony in England, let alone a rifle team to go to Bisley. The invitation, from the Imperial Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, had noted that the NRA would offer 'special prizes for colonial rifle shots' at the Bisley matches starting from 13 July.<sup>6</sup>

Templeton needed £1,500-2,000 to take the team to England. The Victorian Government did not want to give it and the Premier, Sir George Turner, as Treasurer, informed the VRA that for reasons of economy the Victorian Government would not meet the costs of sending a Victorian team to Bisley. Two days later the riflemen's despair was replaced with cheering as all was resolved thanks to David Syme, the owner of *The Age* newspaper. Syme was '...a combative, ruthless, emotionally violent man...[but who] 'was capable of many private acts of generosity'.<sup>7</sup> Apparently this was one of those acts of generosity - and it did help to sell papers. The Government, with remarkable alacrity and incredible grace, accepted the offer and agreed to: 'arrange that the riflemen shall be put on exactly the same terms while in England as the Mounted Rifles' (passages to England and accommodation, uniforms, a basic per diem and not much else).

A series of six test matches, to be fired under the same conditions and three stages as the Queen's Prize in England, was agreed to be held at the Williamstown range of the VRA. More than one hundred riflemen attempted selection, but in the last stage, only the top 30 marksmen were involved and by then the aggregate scores gave some good indications as to who would form the final team.<sup>8</sup> A committee of VRA officials in Colonel Templeton, Lieutenant-Colonel

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4 See Templeton's biography in Jordens, A., 'John Montgomery Templeton', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.6., Melbourne University Press, pp.252-253.

5 Serle, Geoffrey, *The Rush to be Rich*, Melbourne University Press 1970, p.34.

6 *The Age* 17 February 1897.

7 *The Rush to be Rich*, pp.26-27.

8 *The Age* 22 March 1897.

Kelly and Captain T.S. Marshall (VRA Hon. Secretary) agreed that the top eleven marksmen by aggregate would be chosen.<sup>9</sup>

The team was declared, in descending order of scoring aggregate, as:

Lance-Corporal William TODD	3 <sup>rd</sup> Infantry Battalion, Ballarat Rifles
Thomas KIRK	Melbourne Rifle Club
Corporal Hugh Louis Zephyr DOWNEY	Victorian Permanent Artillery
Gunner Daniel REILLY	Victorian Permanent Artillery
Philip FARGHER	Melbourne Rifle Club
William SLOANE	Yarrowonga Rifle Club
Gunner McNEICE	Victorian Permanent Artillery
Bombardier Ambrose Thomas CARTER	Geelong Battery, Garrison Artillery
Sergeant George HAWKER	'C' Battery, Field Artillery Brigade
Edward WALKER	Melbourne Rifle Club
Joseph GRUMMETT	Melbourne Rifle Club

Appointed as Team Captain was Colonel Templeton and appointed as Team Adjutant was Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly. Gunner McNeice was later to drop out at the last moment, actually on the day before departure, for unknown reasons. He was replaced by Sergeant John Alexander Ross of 'C' Battery, Field Artillery. Templeton gave some words of advice to the newly selected team, urging them 'to do their level best to keep themselves in their best form, by taking appropriate exercise on board ship.'<sup>10</sup> Templeton was going ahead of the team, departing on the SS *Thermopylae*, via Cape Colony, on 1 April, to make preparations for their arrival.

The team was made up from a diverse group of men. Most were immigrants from the British Isles. Only Hawker, Sloane, Kirk and Ross (who replaced McNeice) were Victorian born. Downey was a first generation Tasmanian, but had lived much of his life in New Zealand. Todd, Carter, Walker and Grummett were English born, Templeton was from Scotland and Reilly and Kelly from Ireland. Fargher was a Manxman (from the Isle of Man). However they all saw themselves as Victorians first and foremost and increasingly, as Australians. Like many colonials, most kept ties with their origins – Templeton was an ardent imperialist; others, like Fargher, an ex-seaman, thought little of Royalty but maintained extensive family ties back 'Home'.

Some were of an engineering bent. Hawker was a blacksmith who later built a steam powered car while Grummett held a successful patent for doors to the popular horse-drawn Hansom cabs. Others like Kirk and Carter were railways men of trades – coach builder and carpenter respectively. The team included practical men like Todd, a miner, and Sloane, a young stockman and grazier (albeit with some education at Scotch College in Melbourne). Kelly was a railway man and auctioneer. Templeton was an accountant and actuary. Only Templeton and later team member Ross had an office job. However, even Ross, a clerk in the Crown Solicitor's Office, was expert in the physics of trajectory and elevation and was a keen field artilleryman. In fact almost all of the team were either serving in the militia or had served in volunteers or militia.

Walker had started service in the Victorian Naval Brigade back in 1867, then in the Sandridge Volunteer Artillery, then the Field Engineers – and was a recipient of the colony's Victorian Volunteer Long and Efficient Service Medal (awarded in 1887), as was Kirk. Grummett, Kirk and Fargher had all served in infantry or artillery volunteers or militia. Some dropped out of service when the volunteer force in Victoria was replaced by the paid militia in 1884, but joined

<sup>9</sup> *The Age* 29 March 1897.

<sup>10</sup> *The Age* 29 March 1897.

rifle clubs where they still served as *de facto* reservists. Downey and Reilly were 'permanent' professional soldiers and Templeton and Kelly, although militiamen, were virtually full-time soldiers because of the demands placed upon them by their professional militia and VRA duties.<sup>11</sup>

It was probably a feature of this group that despite the economic depression which began in 1890 and which ended Australia's (at least eastern Australia's) prosperity after the gold rush era, without exception they all had steady jobs and income. Nonetheless, the prize money they won at rifle matches would still have been welcome. Some of the men were not well off and the cost to them of being away for up to six months from their jobs, with families to support, meant a real financial burden quickly recognized by their friends and comrades who took up collections on their behalf. Despite the challenges this group of men kept their focus and enthusiasm.

They had, with few exceptions, long-standing ties as riflemen. Templeton and Kelly (both excellent shots in their own right) had watched, nurtured and even recruited some of the team into the 'cult of the rifle' when individuals with out-of-the-ordinary rifle skills became known to them. For example, Templeton had been Chairman of the first Public Service Board in Victoria between 1883 and 1888 – it is speculative, but not too much so, to suggest that he might have supported the appointment of young rifleman Ross to the Public Service in 1886 and in turn pointed out his rifle skills to the then Major Kelly, commanding 'C' Battery of the Field Artillery, who was always on the lookout for good shots.

Ross joined 'C' Battery in 1889, following Grummett who had joined 'C' Battery from the Infantry in 1887. Hawker also came to a new appointment in 'C' Battery as a Farrier Sergeant from the Victorian Rangers (infantry) in 1895 – perhaps a role just made for Hawker, for the appointment did not exist before he joined and disappeared when his time-expired service ended in 1908. And Walker would not likely have been allowed such long absences from his employ at the Swallow & Ariell Ltd. biscuit company to shoot at interstate and overseas matches if his employer had not been a well known officer of the volunteer artillery and a keen rifleman himself.

The team knew each other very well. They had shot against each other and with each other in a wide variety of circumstances in matches both in Victoria, interstate and in New Zealand. Like all good teams they forgave each other their foibles - with the occasional exception- knowing that their strengths would help them pull together to win the big matches. As well, there were Irish Catholics in the team at a time when the Victorian militia establishment was overwhelmingly Protestant. This perhaps indicates that this was an unusually representative team for its time; it was the rifle that they cared about. A man's social standing, background or religion mattered for nothing as long as they could shoot at the highest standards. They were on the whole, mature, steady family men – and they were very serious about their rifleman craft.

By 10 April, assembled in Melbourne, the team was ready at last to depart for England on their quest for the Kolapore Cup, aboard the Orient Steamship Company's 6,814 ton SS *Ophir*. Before going on board, the team agreed to separate the smokers from the non-smokers for 'their mutual comfort while at sea'.<sup>12</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly: 'expressed himself as particularly pleased with the steady habits of every member of the team, "there not being ... a weak man among them."' Talking to the press at dockside, Kelly made a passing remark:

<sup>11</sup> Biographies of each of the team members can be found in *The Bisley Boys*, pp.61-112.

<sup>12</sup> *The Age*, 12 April 1897

If opportunities offer they may also fire off matches against the English teams, but are determined not to enter any contests of this character which may involve their attendance at social dinners. Banqueting is to be rigorously eschewed until the Bisley meeting is concluded.<sup>13</sup>

It is unlikely that the team heard this remark or even knew of it, but they certainly did by the time they set foot in England. By the time the *Ophir* arrived in England – via Adelaide, Colombo and Port Said - on 20 May 1897, Kelley's remarks had preceded them by telegram, much to the amusement of cartoonists in Australia and less-earnest competitors in England. However, they had arrived and the real work would begin.

**Bisley Camp - The Diamond Jubilee.** The Victorians were billeted at Bullhousen Farm, about 2½ miles from Brookwood Station and its spur connection to the Waterloo-Southampton line run by the London & South Western Railway Company. A light tram line moved men and supplies between Brookwood Station and Bisley Camp. By 1897 Bisley was a large and well-ordered camp devoted to rifle shooting.<sup>14</sup> There the Victorian colonials found themselves in an endlessly fascinating cross-section of all levels of British and Imperial society, in which the ultimate leveler among the shooters at least was success on the ranges. The team quickly settled into two months of the familiar rituals and routine of regular practice on the short and long ranges at Bisley. When they wanted a break from the constant range practice, they kept their eye in with practice at the Morris Patent Aiming Tube miniature ranges in the Camp. Weekends were mostly spent in London, sightseeing, breaking the monotony of farm food and generally soaking up the atmosphere of London as the Diamond Jubilee celebrations approached:

They men knew that they needed to quickly gain intimate familiarity with their new Lee-Metford rifles (it was also the first meeting at Bisley to use the new .303 calibre service rifles). They also needed to understand the conditions of the Bisley ranges – the light at different times of the day, the winds and the unpredictable daily weather, from hot, clear days to thunderstorms, rain and hail. The NRA used a procedure called 'squadding' to manage riflemen throughout the practice shooting prior to the main competitions starting on 12 July and for many of the competitions themselves. This meant that riflemen were allocated different ranges at different parts of the day (other than the team matches), usually alongside complete strangers. There was no guarantee that the most favourable time of the day for shooting, whenever that was, would match up with the allocated time and place. As riflemen knew then, and know now, the conditions in the morning could be vastly different to those in the afternoon or in the evening. Added to that, their neighbours on the firing mounds did not offer advice on wind and so on and even when they did, not knowing them personally meant that the advice had to be taken carefully.

Colonel Templeton came and brought visitors, but mostly, like an anxious father looking out for his boys, looked over their shooting practice, pleased with the consistently high results. Some of the team went to get match practice at the Scottish Rifle Association competition matches at Darnley near Glasgow ahead of the Kolapore Cup.<sup>15</sup> On their return, the Bisley routine went on – practice, practice and more practice – at different times of the day and in all weathers. Throughout Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly stayed with the team, watching and mentoring them as they continued to compete with one another to be chosen as one of the final eight. Kelly took careful note of each team member's scores and made careful notes about how each performed under different conditions, no doubt reporting to Templeton when the opportunity arose. Country

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13 'Banqueting is to be rigorously eschewed': *The Age* 12 April 1897 and *The Australasian* 29 May 1897, p.1088.

14 <http://www.nsc-bisley.co.uk/>

15 Fargher, P., *Diary*, June 1897, MS9086, National Archives of Australia, Canberra; and Sloane, W., *Letters 1897*, Sloane Collection.

walks and forays into London broke the routine along with dances at the Farm in the evening, entertaining visitors and writing letters home.

Meanwhile, the auspicious day of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was fast approaching. Its centrepiece, indeed of the entire Empire, was the Grand Procession through London on Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1897. The Victorian rifle team, being out of sight at Bisley miles from their fellow Victorians in the VMR (who had been quartered at Chelsea Barracks along with the SA, WA and other Contingents from around the Empire) were almost forgotten. Colonel Templeton, who had brought his family with him to England and was also the senior Australian colonial officer at the celebrations was kept busy with constant social and formal engagements; on the eve of the Jubilee procession, Templeton was invested with the Order of St. Michael St. George (CMG), a singular honour for him personally and for the Victorians that he represented.<sup>16</sup> The team meanwhile, only managed to attend one formal garden party, missed the Military Review at Aldershot, the Naval Review at Spithead (due to 'grudging and ungraciously granted' invitations)<sup>17</sup> and missed the Maxim-Nordenfeldt Company's demonstration of quick-firing light guns when the invitation came the day after the event, which must have rankled.

For 22<sup>nd</sup> June, Templeton did send a telegram inviting the team to march on foot at the rear of the procession, but it should have come as no surprise to Templeton that the idea of having to travel to London the night before with no accommodation provided and then march on foot among the other 'lesser' colonials, did not appeal. The Team agreed to forgo the 'pleasure' of marching and decided to watch from the sidelines. As Fargher later related:

The Queensland Rifle Team were the last of all – immediately in rear of the Chinese – trudging along with their rifles held at different angles, looking forlorn and neglected, and entirely out of place in a Show of that kind. When we saw them, and the position they were placed in, we heartily congratulated ourselves on having escaped such humiliation.<sup>18</sup>

Colonel Templeton rode at the right of the front rank of the colonial officers in the parade. Naturally his view of the experience was very different from that of others in the team. William Sloane described what happened in letters home and the irrepressible Philip Fargher saw through the pomp and circumstance with his usual amusing and iconoclastic commentary. For Templeton, riding behind that hero of the Empire, Field Marshal Lord Roberts of Khandahar and being right in the middle of the event, it was 'one thrilling, bewildering acclamation...' <sup>19</sup> For Sloane, 'when I saw our Mounted Rifles come along I found myself yelling out "Advance Australia". I believe some other members of our team tried cooees with great effect.' <sup>20</sup> Fargher, the tramway engineer saw it both eyes open:

Great military swells...were cavorting on horseback...Princes and Nabobs of every nationality and every shade of colour were there...Hundreds of these Great People were simply covered in gold lace and medals of all kinds...To give an idea of the magnificence of some of the dresses, they were to the ordinary Australian staff officer in full fig, what a thousand candle power electric light is to a farthing dip....In fact, one could only catch glimpses of some of the living things in the show through chinks and crevices in the gold lace...I have often wondered where all the gold in Australia and California

<sup>16</sup> *The Times*, 22 July 1897, p.10.

<sup>17</sup> Fargher, *Diary*.

<sup>18</sup> Fargher, P, *To Bisley and back with the Kolapore Cup ('BKC')*, Advance Australia, Melbourne, 1898.

<sup>19</sup> 'one thrilling, bewildering acclamation': Templeton, J.M., *The Consolidation of the British Empire: The Growth of Citizen Soldiership and the Establishment of the Australian Commonwealth*, Sands & McDougall, Melbourne, 1901.

<sup>20</sup> 'tried coo-ees with great effect': Sloane 23 June 1897. The coo-ee – 'One of the first of the consciously nationalist calls, it was perhaps the first national anthem...': Blainey, G., *Black Kettle and Full Moon*, Penguin Australia, Sydney, 2003, pp.127-128.



had gone. I know now. It was being prepared for the Diamond Jubilee procession, and it all appeared in that magnificent Show.<sup>21</sup>

**The Bisley Matches Begin.** The formal program of the Bisley matches – the annual event of the NRA – began on Monday, 12 July 1897. Several thousand riflemen, their support teams and the Camp and Ranges staff were on hand. They represented the British Army regulars, Territorials and some Volunteers and a wide range of colonials from throughout the Empire. The Bisley Camp was abuzz with activity – from the scheduled hospitality of the NRA to the comings and goings of individuals and VIPs from London who both participated in and observed the match firings. The Camp also had a number of special marquees, pavilions and tents set up to display the prizes, allow approved commercial firms to sell camp supplies to the competitors (everything from whiskey to soap and camp chairs to reading books) and run ‘side-shows’ for all and sundry to ‘blow off steam’ and enjoy themselves after the intense match firing during the day.

All of the Victorian team, even Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, entered the wide variety of matches available to individuals during the Bisley meeting. All of the matches entered had prize-money available, always an attraction, but also gave the men further valuable match practice for the Kolapore Cup (to be shot on Friday 16 July). The matches varied from the prestigious pinnacle of individual marksmanship, the Queen’s Prize, for which the best 1,960 riflemen from the British forces and Empire competed, to the “Aggregates”, which combined scores over several matches to determine winners. Many matches offered additional prizes to cash. These were offered by commercial companies, newspapers and individuals and were often supplemented by the NRA with cash from takings from entry fees. Prizes included silver cups, guns, cases of whiskey and framed sketches.

Despite the challenges of weather, the ‘Bisley tremor’ (which described the psychological and physical pressure on the individual as they shot)<sup>22</sup> and the high standard of competition Carter, Walker and Todd all managed to reach the top 300 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage of the Queen’s Prize, out of the 1,960 who began the competition. Carter then went on to reach the 3<sup>rd</sup> Stage where he came in 17<sup>th</sup> out of the last 100 left standing – it was a superb outcome and he was the first Australian to ever win an NRA Queen’s Badge. Similarly both Walker and Carter made the final 100 ‘Volunteers or Retired Volunteers’ to enter the 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage of the ‘St. George’s Challenge Vase’ match. Despite these impressive performances against the best of the British Empire, the real test was scheduled for 16 July 1897 – the competition for the Kolapore Cup.

The Kolapore Cup team match was a very different competition than the individual matches they shot in before and after the 16<sup>th</sup>. It was the sole purpose of two months at Bisley, another two months at sea to get to and from England and six months of separation altogether from family and loved ones. Fargher wrote: ‘For days before the Bisley matches we thought and spoke of little else and some of our fellows got quite excited – one of our oldest shots going to the range one day and leaving the bolt of his rifle at home.’<sup>23</sup> One can only imagine how intense the feelings were on the eve of the Kolapore Cup itself.

**The Kolapore Cup Match.** The pocket-sized Bisley Program for 1897 issued to each rifleman described the Kolapore Cup match as follows:

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21 ‘It was a great Show in every respect’: Fargher, *BKC*, 1898.

22 The ‘Bisley Tremor’: Sloane, *Letters*, 22 July 1897.

23 ‘leaving the bolt of his rifle at home’: Fargher, *BKC*.

The " RAJAH OF KOLAPORE'S " Imperial  
Challenge Cup (S.R.). [Service Rifles]

(Single Entries.)

To be shot for on Friday, 16<sup>th</sup>.

Open to Teams of EIGHT as follows :-

One Team of Volunteers from the Mother Country.

One Team from the Militia or Volunteers of each British Colony or Dependency.

One Team from Members home on leave of the Indian Staff Corps, or of the Covenanted or Uncovenanted Indian Service or Indian Volunteers, or of all four.

Given in 1871 by H.H., the late Rajah of Kolapore.

Distances .. .. 200, 500, and 600 yards (aggregate).

NO. OF SHOTS .. .. SEVEN } At each distance

Time Limit .. .. One hour } At each distance

Entrance Fee .. ..£1.10s. from each Team, to be paid before 2.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 13<sup>th</sup> July. Post Entries, £2.2s., till 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday , 14<sup>th</sup> July.

The Captain of the Mother Country team shall send in to the Secretary, on or before Tuesday, 13<sup>th</sup> July, the names of the twenty Volunteers from whom he will select his "eight". 24

According to NRA history, the first match for the Cup was held in 1872 between teams of 20 from Canada and the Mother Country. Canada won. Teams were then reduced to eight men. In 1886 a scratch Australian team from various Colonies competed and came in a credible fourth. In 1897 teams entered from the Mother Country, New Zealand, Canada, Cape of Good Hope, Guernsey, Natal, India, Queensland and Victoria. *The Times* wrote:

Of all of [the competitions] the Kolapore was from every point of view the most interesting. In the first place, it showed a record entry. Among the men of many uniforms and many tongues who thronged the firing points were New Zealanders, Victorians, Scots and English and Welsh...Canadians, Cape Colonists, Guernsey men, men from Natal, Jersey men, Queenslanders, Indian soldiers; some of them talked English in various forms, and some French and some Dutch.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the Kolapore Cup, there was a special prize on offer – the 'Colonial Prize'. This was: 'A Silver Bugle, given by John Dewar & Son, Ltd., Distillers, Perth and London; and £80 added by the N.R.A. To be awarded to the team, exclusive of the Mother Country team which makes the Highest Aggregate Score in the competition.'<sup>26</sup>

The various rifle teams had been sizing each other up for weeks, but now the actual team of eight men to compete for Victoria had to be chosen from the eleven riflemen who had come to England. An inner circle of Ross, Sloane, Walker, Todd, Grummett and Fargher were consulted by Templeton and Kelly the night before. Opinions on who should be left out and who should be included were requested and discussed. After two months of practice, it must have been clear to Kelly in particular as to which of them would make the best team. However, it was left to Templeton to make the final decision before the match got underway the next morning. After much deliberation, it was decided to leave out Downey, Kirk and Reilly. Later Templeton described what happened:

24 An original 1897 Bisley program Book is held in the Sloane Collection.

25 'a record entry': *The Times* 15 July 1897.

26 The 'Colonial Prize': *NRA Bisley Program 1897*, p.141.

The night before the match was a night of great anxiety to him. It was his profession to calculate probabilities ...and he thought that among those 11 men of the team there were eight who would win the cup or go very near it if he could only discover who the eight were. He had averaged their shooting in many different ways, so that he could tell their averages in bad weather, in good weather and in medium weather. As the selection was left to him alone he did not decide until five minutes before the men began to fire who were to be the eight. But the team trusted him, and the three who were left out did as much to win the match as the eight that did the shooting.<sup>27</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup> July began as ‘... an anxious time to all of us. The day was all we could desire, hot & bright – in fact almost like an Australian day. We ate breakfast in a mood of silence and then walked slowly down to the targets. Colonel Templeton told us afterwards that when he saw the grim look on our faces – he expected good scores.’<sup>28</sup> The Victorians opened their account at the 200 yards range. There were two targets. Hawker and Ross, Todd and Fargher, Sloane and Grummett and Carter and Walker shot as pairs, each firing alternately in their pair at one target, so there were four men resting at any one time. The one not firing in the pair helped with observations, especially on wind, while Kirk acted as coach behind one pair and Reilly as coach behind the other.

After the 200 yards shoot, the Victorians led by 6 points from New Zealand. At 500 yards New Zealand drew level. At 600 yards ‘the excitement was enormous’ but the Victorians triumphed over New Zealand, ‘other teams nowhere’, winning by three points and setting a new record score of 751, with Todd and Sloane each scoring 97 in the process. It was a sensational win:

I fired the second last shot, & I was placed in a very trying position, as the wind suddenly changed. I sent for Colonel Kelly to consult with him as to what I should do & his advice was – “wait” after about a minute the wind came almost back to the full quarter – I allowed a foot less windage & got the bulls-eye – this was the only time I was really in doubt & luckily for the team, asked advice. Carter made the same allowance that I had, and got an inner – these two shots won us the match. I got up from the mound to find we had actually won the Kolapore Cup & at the same time broken the record for a teams match of eight men. You may imagine I could scarcely believe it.<sup>29</sup>

A large crowd had gathered to watch the shoot which grew even larger as the word spread across Bisley that an exciting competition was underway. Press, riflemen, ladies and gentlemen, range staff – all crowded in around the firing mound. With the final shot, bedlam ensued. ‘There was great cheering, and much enthusiasm, and everyone wanted to shake hands with us – and did’ wrote Fargher.<sup>30</sup> After the excitement had died down the team returned to Bullhousen Farm for lunch. Fargher wrote:

there was much suppressed excitement amongst the team. Reilly was using sugar with his mutton, instead of salt, and did not know it until someone called his attention to what he was doing. He said that he thought the meat had a queer taste.<sup>31</sup>

THE BISLEY MATCHES went on despite the great excitement of the 16<sup>th</sup>. With the completion of the Queen’s (England won) and therefore of the NRA competition for 1897, the Duchess of York then presented the prizes won during the two weeks of matches, including the Kolapore Cup, in the large pavilion tent:

27 ‘but the team trusted him’: *The Age* 18 December 1897.

28 ‘he saw the grim look on our faces’: Sloane, 22 July 1897.

29 ‘You may imagine I could scarcely believe it’: Sloane, 22 July 1897.

30 ‘everyone wanted to shake hands with us – and did’: Fargher, *BKC*.

31 ‘Reilly was using sugar with his mutton’: Fargher, *BKC*.

When we went on to the platform the clamours of enthusiasm from the spectators was simply immense. Some of the Australians cooeed to us. We also won a lovely bugle given by the Dewars Whisky people to the champion colonial team.<sup>32</sup>

That night the Victorians celebrated at Bullhousen Farm in a night of 'jollification and fun' with a case of champagne courtesy of Colonel Templeton, who was 'in great form', filling the Cup (vases) with champagne to accompany the dancing with the 'people of the farm and a few of their friends. Some of the ladies sang songs & everything went off well – we broke up early & retired (at 1:30 am) thoroughly knocked up – having borne the brunt of a long day.'<sup>33</sup>

**Returning Home – Postscript.** The team returned at different times to Australia over the next few months. Templeton, who kept a residence in Kensington while in England, spent more time there in the social circles on official leave before returning later in the year with his family. Kelly stayed on for a month long attachment with the British Army's Brigade of Field Artillery at camp at Overhampton.<sup>34</sup> He returned to Victoria with the Kolapore Cup in hand (it was to return to Bisley in time for the competition in 1898). The Permanent Artillery-man Downey attended a flag signalling course at the School of Artillery at Shoeburyness, along with Reilly.<sup>35</sup> Others like Ross and Fargher visited their places of origin, to Edinburgh and the Isle of Man respectively, catching up with relatives and basking in the glory of their return 'home' as part of the Victorian team which had won the Kolapore Cup.

Finally, on 17 December 1897, a public banquet was held at the Melbourne Town Hall to welcome home and congratulate the Victorian Rifle Team which had triumphed at Bisley. The team were presented with Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee Medals,<sup>36</sup> The riflemen dispersed to their home towns and districts, and were feted on all sides. The Kolapore Cup adventure was over, at least for 1897. The team members returned to the rhythm of their individual daily life and family duties, while continuing to shoot with their clubs or units in the VRA. Most tried out again for the Kolapore Cup team in 1898 and seven of them - Sloane, Grummett, Todd, Ross, Fargher, Carter and Hawker – were selected. However, the team was beaten by Guernsey by three points and the Kolapore Cup lost. They were to wait four long years before they had a chance to re-contest it.

THE 1897 KOLAPORE CUP Team members were certainly outstanding in their field. They were Victorians first and foremost, but straddled that great time of change in Australian society as it transitioned from the Colonial to Federation periods. The members of the team were, by all accounts, a remarkable set of men. In the end, they won the Kolapore Cup in 1897 not because of their individual shooting talents, although these were formidable enough, but because collectively they harnessed those individual talents to win as a team. Given the highly variable weather in Bisley that year, unfamiliar rifles, the largest number of teams ever assembled to compete against, the very high quality of their competitors and the incredible pressure they fired under on the day, this team was perhaps one of the finest ever to leave Australia for Bisley. Their record score in 1897 was later surpassed by the victorious Australian win in 1902 (a team which included five of the 1897 team), but they had set a standard of behaviour and discipline ever to be looked up to. As Sloane remarked: 'We ... all know each others methods & have been amicable all through. I believe this is the sole reason why Victoria won the Kolapore Cup'.<sup>37</sup> --oOo--

32 'Last Saturday was the great day at Bisley': Sloane, 31 July 1897.

33 Celebration at Bullhousen Farm.: Fargher *Diary* 24 July 1897 and Sloane, 30 July 1897.

34 Kelly attached to Brigade of Field Artillery: *Ballarat Courier* 19 August 1897.

35 Downey's course certificate courtesy of Maurice Downey.

36 Public banquet in Melbourne: *The Age* 18 December 1897.

37 'We...all know each others methods' : Sloane 22 July 1897.