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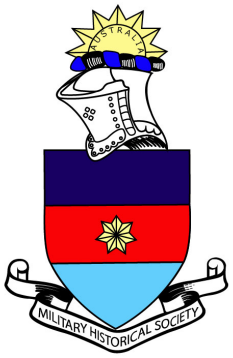

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FRANCIS RAWDON CHESNEY, ROYAL ENGINEERS 1824-1907

Andrew Kilsby[1]

Francis Rawdon Chesney was the son of General Sir George Chesney, older brother of Colonel Charles Cornwallis Chesney and nephew of General F.R. (also Francis Rawdon) Chesney, the Euphrates Valley explorer and discoverer of the Suez Canal route.[2] The outline of his military career, from a cadet at Woolwich in 1840 to retirement as major-general in 1876, has been documented elsewhere, most notably in a brief biography written for the Military Historical Society of Australia's journal, *Sabretache*, in 1978.[3] Somewhat inexplicably, that biography, while noting Irish-born Chesney's service in Hong Kong, New Zealand, Ireland and Mauritius, appears to have missed that Chesney also served in Tasmania between 1862 and 1867. During his posting in Tasmania, Chesney wore a number of hats including Commanding Officer of the Royal Engineers in that colony, Commander of the Southern Tasmanian Volunteers and also President of the Tasmanian Rifle Association.

Captain and Mrs. (Grace) Chesney, their two children, and one servant, arrived from England via Melbourne on 20 June 1862.[4] A month later, somewhat amusingly for the colonials, was the news that his housemaid had stolen a pair of his drawers (among other things). It was less amusing for the housemaid, as this was the evidence which sent her to gaol for six months with hard labour. While Chesney could have believed that he had been sent to a backwater full of convicts or former convicts, his role in the small society of Tasmania demanded that he rise above the incident. This he did with aplomb, and over the next few years he became one of its leading members.

Sent to Tasmania, first and foremost, as Chief Military Engineer, Chesney was initially kept busy with road works. He offered the Hobart Municipal Council stone from the Government Quarry near Battery Point which 'it was at liberty to take for free as long as they did not interfere with the convicts working there'. Chesney found time to travel to Spring Bay, about 50 kilometres north-east of Hobart, to inspect a new quarry which claimed to have superior sandstone to that found in the best quarries in England. In September 1863, he requested support from the City Council (namely, the City Surveyor) to fix the position of boundary stones as he was 'about to fix the boundaries of the war department establishment [lands] in Tasmania'.[5]

Chesney designed the Hobart cricket field for the Southern Tasmania Cricket Club, developed plans for public baths, laid irrigation pipes to the Domain, and improved access roads and paths. He developed the space adjacent to the Engineer Office as a drill yard for the Volunteer parades and Royal fireworks displays (which drew large crowds of Hobartian spectators). But he was most notable for his attention to the fort defences of Hobart, sending reports to Sir John Burgoyne in England with his plans and receiving approval.[6] He was responsible for the improvements of the defence structures at the Queen's Battery at Hobart, among others. In 1866, Chesney also constructed the battery position for three guns at Thompson's Point at Cormiston on the West Tamar River near Launceston, acting as consulting officer to the placement of the

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1 This article originally appeared in *Soldiers of the Queen*, the journal of the Victorian Military Society, Issue 143, Dec 2010, http://www.victorianmilitarysociety.org.uk/ and is reprinted with permission.

2 Both Charles and George Chesney were well known military writers.

3 Williams, J.R., 'Portrait of a Sapper', *Sabretache*, October 1978, pp.36-38.

4 *Launceston Examiner*, 1st July 1862, p.4.

5 *The Mercury*, 8th September 1863, p.2.

6 Field Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne, 1st Baronet GCB of the Royal Engineers (1782-1871).

artillery as well.[7] He advised on rifle range construction and gave advice on the construction of school rooms to the Board of Education.

In early 1863, Chesney was appointed Private Secretary to the Governor of Tasmania, Colonel (later Sir) Thomas Gore-Browne, CB, in the absence on leave of Captain Frederick Gordon Steward.[8] Public duties included accompanying the Governor when he chaired a public meeting 'to make the necessary arrangements for the erection of a suitable Monument in the Sailors' Church ... in memory of Commodore Burnett and the Officers and Crew of Her Majesty's Ship *Orpheus*, who lost their lives by the wreck of that vessel on the coast of New Zealand'.[9] In his new role, Chesney, and Colonel John Francis Kempt, of the 12th Regiment, the senior military officer in New South Wales (and by extension, Tasmania), escorted the Governor into the Chamber at formal openings of the Legislative Council. [10]

In April 1863, as the senior Royal Engineer officer and one of only a handful of British Army officers in the Hobart garrison, Chesney was appointed to a Board of Inquiry set up by the Tasmanian Government to inquire into the condition and efficiency of its Volunteer Force. Other members were Colonel Kempt and the Hon. (later Sir and Premier of Tasmania) James Milne Wilson, member of the Legislative Council. The Board's detailed report, presented in late 1863, was robust, calling for a Volunteer establishment of 1,000 men and a national rifle association. Twice more, in 1864 and 1867, Chesney was appointed to Government commissions to inquire into the efficiency of the Volunteer Force.

With his long previous military service in New Zealand in the 1850s, Chesney was also considered something of an expert on that country.[11] When war broke out there again with the Maoris in late 1863, Chesney became the officer responsible for enlisting volunteers for the Auckland Militia and seeing to their despatch to New Zealand, work noted in Auckland newspapers.[12] Urgent requests also came for regular troops to be released from Tasmania. Over 100 men from the small British garrison, with their officers, were despatched. Chesney was appointed commander of the residue British troops (other than those guarding convicts at Port Arthur). Placing advertising in local newspapers to attract recruits with promises of land for service in New Zealand soon had him busy sorting through over 200 applications.

Bigger things were to follow, for on 28 August 1863 it was announced that he was to command the local Volunteer Force. Chesney became the Commander of the Southern Tasmanian Volunteer Battalion (in addition to this Military Engineer duties), with local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.[13] On the 27 October, 300 Volunteers paraded for drill under their new commander,

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7 Andrews, N.B., 'A Brief History of the Launceston Volunteer Artillery', *Tasmanian Ancestry*, September 1992, pp.82-85 and *The Mercury*, 3rd October 1864, p.2.

8 Gore-Browne had been awarded his CB after commanding the 41st Regiment with distinction in the Afghan war of 1842. See Amos, H.M., 'Browne, Sir Thomas Gore (1807 - 1887)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.3, Melbourne University Press, 1969, pp.269-270. Steward, late Captain of the 59th Regiment, took up his post in December 1861.

9 *The Mercury*, 3rd March 1863, p.2.

10 Kempt held local rank of Colonel. Walsh, G.P., 'Kempt, John Francis (1805 - 1865)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.5, Melbourne University Press, 1974, pp.12-13.

11 Lieutenant Chesney brought 28 Miners & Sappers to New Zealand in August 1850; his wife joined him in June 1854. Captain Chesney and wife left in late 1859, with a daughter who had been born in Wellington in 1856.

12 See for example the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Vol.6, Issue 419, 12th September 1863, p.3.

13 A certain Major the Hon. James Milne Wilson became his staff officer. Later Chesney had to deal with a remonstrance by 21 members of his division protesting against Wilson's promotion to Major. Chesney saw the protest off in short order by suggesting that they were interfering with a prerogative of the Crown.

and in November, a holiday and review of Volunteers was declared to celebrate the 'majority of HRH The Prince of Wales'. Chesney decided to hold a Grand Parade of the Southern Division, ending in a sham fight:

> As a military spectacle, of course, the sham fight was a failure, and a very large number of those who attended in the hope of witnessing combined and concentrated movements were solely disappointed, the accompaniment of a smart shower or two in no way helping to appease their ruffled spirits, and we heard more than one exclamation about "bosh", "humbug", and so forth.14

Nonetheless, Chesney declared himself pleased and took the officers to lunch.

In early 1864, he was called to active service with the Royal Engineers in Auckland, New Zealand and left accompanied by volunteers for the 3rd Waikato Regiment. April 1864 saw the reverted Captain Chesney accompanying a small war flotilla out of Ngaruawahia where his duties were to examine the country about Maungatautari for lines of roads in support of the land forces advancing on that area. By June he was back in Auckland, arriving from Taranaki.15 The next month, the restored Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney arrived in Launceston from New Zealand via Melbourne. For his service he was awarded the New Zealand Medal.16

Chesney relished his command of the Southern Tasmanian Volunteers and regularly took battalion parades on the drill ground behind the Engineer Office building. Occasionally a sham fight would be organised with results dependent on turnout; daytime Volunteer turnout was never high. Public performances by the 2nd Tasmanian Rifles band however, always drew a crowd of onlookers. As a senior British officer, Chesney was also called upon to act as president for the occasional courts martial of errant soldiers of the 12th Regiment; he was also a member of the board holding examinations for volunteer officers.

An invitation to the annual presentation of the Mayor of Hobart's medal for the Volunteer champion shot in 1863 began a long relationship with rifle shooting in the colony.17 Chesney chaired meetings of the nascent Tasmanian Rifle Association (TRA) and designed, in early 1864, its first rifle range. He was a strong public supporter of the need for a rifle association and was elected to the TRA Council in March 1866. Always supportive of Volunteer rifle shooting, Chesney managed minor works for their rifle range at Hobart's Cornelian Bay, attended – sometimes as range officer - the musketry qualifications and champion matches in both Hobart and Launceston (but did not appear to shoot himself), and even offered two telescopes as prizes.18 Shooting prizes were often presented by Mrs. Chesney.

Chesney was elected to the Council of the Royal Society (chaired by the Governor) as a Fellow on 30 January 1864. He was an active member. He displayed dried leaves of a native plant proposed to be used as a substitute for tobacco in sheep washing and commented on tobacco farming and its returns. Based on his New Zealand experience he provided good advice on meteorological registers being kept at lighthouses, gave a lecture on 'Volcanic Action in New Zealand' (illustrated by reference to a large map of North Island), and wrote various papers such as 'On the future home of the Waikato settlers'. He provided samples of new grasses which could be used as fodder, set up a system of time signals using the guns in the forts on the Derwent River, and accepted donations of various plants for planting for beautification of several of his public engineering works. Among items he brought back to the society were 'two

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14 *The Mercury*, 11 November 1863, pp.2-3.

15 *The Nelson and Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Vol.33, Issue 75, 23rd June 1864, p.2.

16 *The Times,* 18 December 1907, p.13.

17 Chesney was to be one of those who were present at the very first and historic meeting of the proposed Tasmanian Rifle Association, on 12 October 1863.

18 The prizes were a 'Hythe' [School of Musketry, England] telescope and a 'reconnaissance' telescope.

specimens of the tribe of the sloth family, popularly known by the designation of native bears' [koala], and a pair of breeding hares. These latter he donated to the Acclimatisation Society of Tasmania.[19]

As senior military engineer and Volunteer commander, ceremonial duties also allowed ample opportunities for entertainment. Chesney accompanied the Governor to a range of events. He attended the Mayor of Hobart's annual banquets, large celebrations such as those for the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1863, and Queen's Birthday celebrations. At the Governor's annual levee, Chesney mixed with the highest society that Tasmania could offer. There were also more informal activities. At the Melton Mowbray Agricultural Association, Chesney allowed that he was 'very fond of agricultural pursuits and also of gardening', and that 'he would gladly turn his sword into a plough-share, but that the country must still have soldiers.'[20] Joining the official party at the annual Southern Tasmanian Agricultural and Pastoral Show for luncheon, Chesney provided his brand of humour:

> He ought, perhaps, to apologise, as a soldier, for being present, but although the Chinaman might live upon rice, or other things which it was unnecessary to mention, and the Arab might subsist upon dates, the Englishman required a more careful commissariat, and could not get on without his roast beef. On this account, [he] held that he had a right to look at the preparations for the beef.'[21]

The Richmond Races, the Clarence Plains Races, the Anniversary Festival of the Ancient and Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the regattas at Hobart and Huon, official openings and balls – the Chesneys were seen at them all.[22]

There was also plenty of opportunity afforded by his society status to attend performing arts, for example, the amateur dramatic performance in aid of the newly organised Band of the (Volunteer) Second Rifles Battalion in the Theatre Royal.[23] The mostly amateur theatricals included performances such as *Belphegor*, *The Wandering Minstrel*, *A Hard Struggle*, *The Wonder or A Woman keeps a Secret*, *The Lottery Ticket*, *The Duke's Motto*, *The Ticket of Leave Man*, *The Spitfire*, *Rural Felicity, Orpheus and Eurydice,* and *Kennilworth.* Chesney also appeared to appreciate the fine arts of musical renditions by 'Monsieur and Madame Heine's concert orchestra', the opera *Oberon*, as well as the more popular entertainments of 'a really clever polyphonist' Mr. W.A. Birch, and his 'Holiday Trip and superb diorama'. [24]

Inevitably, after so much pleasure, Church was next. The Chesneys were leading members of St. David's Anglican Cathedral in Hobart, and represented the Governor at the annual Boxing Day children's concert, put on by children of several united Sunday Schools. At St. David's Sunday

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19 Chesney obtained the hares from Mr. Thomas Austin of Barwon Park during a visit to Victoria on business in May and June 1867. The hares were placed on Franklin island to breed. Chesney may therefore have been responsible for introducing the hare to Tasmania, just as Thomas Austin is credited for the introduction of rabbits to Australia in 1859.

20 *The Mercury*, 9th December 1864, p.2.

21 *The Mercury*, 24th December 1863, p.3.

22 It was surprising that Chesney was not involved in yachting as he had been a founding member of the Auckland Yachting Club in New Zealand in 1851, but perhaps he was too senior now. See the *New Zealander*, 17th December 1851, p.1.

23 That night in Hobart Captain Chesney watched the drama *Helen Oakleigh*.

24 Mr. Joseph and Madame Heine, 'assisted by the Great Tenor, Mr. Charles Stewart', toured Hobart in 1865. See *The Mercury*, 21 February 1865, p. 2. 'Mr. Birch's 'trip' comprises panoramic views of various European cities accompanied by clever and racy descriptions of the peculiarities of their inhabitants' and he also sings 'a number of comic and sentimental songs', accompanied by his wife on the piano. *The Mercury* 27 June 1865, p. 2. In New Zealand in 1857, Chesney had produced and acted in his own amateur production, including painting the backdrops. See the *Lyttleton Times*, 20 June 1857, p.5.

School, books were distributed, a collection was made for the Melanesian Islands' Mission Fund and Chesney gave a brief account of the Melanesians and the Mission's operations around Auckland. Chesney addressed meetings of the Hobart Town Church Union, with lectures on 'Natural Phenomena' including those of New Zealand, and 'Ancient Cities of the World'. Attendance at charitable or philanthropic affairs, especially those graced by the Governor and party, was *de rigueur*, such as the distribution of prizes gained at the annual educational examination by the children of the Queen's Orphan Asylum or the annual distribution of prizes at the High School (Hobart's only high school). Mrs. Chesney supported bazaars 'initiated by the ladies of the garrison in aid of a fund for the support of the wives and families of the soldiers recently removed to New Zealand', held at the Officers Mess at Anglesea Barracks.

Mrs. Chesney delivered a boy and first son on 12 October 1863 at the Government Cottage nearby to the Government House in the Queen's Domain, to be named Henry Rawdon Chesney.[25] Chesney could not have been well off and the expenditure involved with his position and family considerable. He was careful of his money, being quick to complain when his rates assessment foretold an increase. Nonetheless, one Elizabeth Tierney inveigled £1 from him after telling 'a most pitiable tale, saying that her husband was in New Norfolk Asylum, that she had a child lying dead, and was herself in bad health and had no money.' [26] Unfortunately for Mrs. Tierney, Chesney had warned her that he would take steps to have her punished if her story was untrue – and he was true to his word when in September 1863 the judge sentenced her to 12 months with hard labour.

Chesney was in court again in 1864, giving evidence because a shepherd in his employ had been charged with stealing and killing one of Chesney's ewes (51 ewes and 16 lambs were in his care). The shepherd, one John Dell, was found guilty and sentenced to four years imprisonment; the Judge showed little mercy when he realised that Dell was a former convict who had been transported for embezzlement and pig-stealing twenty years before. Chesney was especially incensed to be himself summonsed in February 1866 for neglecting to pay his 'carriage duties'. But the case was withdrawn when Chesney claimed to have paid his licence but couldn't produce it as it was in a box for which he had lost the key – and invited the court to bring the box to court and break into it.

Chesney was keenly interested in gold. In 1865 he put in a strong claim for a local gold discovery prize in New Zealand on the basis that he had discovered this very gold bearing district near Thames in North Island when first on duty in New Zealand in the late 1850s.[27] In Tasmania, he was a shareholder of the Fingal Quartz Crushing Company and was an enthusiastic spruiker for the prospects of the mine.[28] He also owned shares in the Alliance, and Union Quartz, Crushing Companies, although neither prospered. In July 1866 Chesney took up land in the remote north-west of Tasmania and ordered *'gutta percha'* boats from England to explore the Arthur River district – no doubt for gold.[29] Despite offering to lead a wider exploration of the area at public expense, it is not clear whether the exploration went forward.

Increasingly attracted by commercial opportunities, Chesney's shareholding in another speculative company, the Seymour Coal Mining Company, showed his interest not just in its

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25 *The Mercury*, 13 October 1863, p. 1.

26 *The Mercury*, 30 September 1863, p. 2.

27 *Wellington Independent*, Vol.20, Issue 2278, 31st October 1865, p.7.

28 Shareholders in April 1866 included several Volunteer officers, including Chesney's erstwhile staff officer and MLC, Major J.M. Wilson.

29 These boats were constructed of the flexible *'gutta percha'* wood from India and made famous by the 1850 expeditions to find the missing Sir John Franklin in the Arctic. Coincidentally, Franklin had also been an early Governor of Tasmania.

coal and brick making operations but also in its potential for shale oil.[30] In May 1867 he sailed for Melbourne, to market his new 'clear, light and non-explosive' illuminating oil. Taking out a patent for 'Crude Hydrocarbon Oil for illuminating, lubricating, and other purposes', he founded a company in Victoria - the Australian Coal and Kerosene Company - to develop manufacturing of the oil in Seymour.[31] He returned from Melbourne to present his product to the Royal Society:

> COL. Chesney exhibited several products, both in the crude and refined state, obtained by the distillation of our shales and bituminous deposits. The illuminating power of the refined, as shown in a lamp, was apparently equal to that of kerosene. Colonel Chesney observed that for some time past he had been engaged in experiments for the purpose of discovering the best mode of obtaining useful products from these shales ... as he thought it one of considerable importance to the future interests of Tasmania.[32]

Chesney obviously felt that he was onto something. But news of Chesney's oil did not appear to bolster Seymour Company's fortunes and it could not find the capital it needed to continue.[33] In effect, this collapsed Chesney's cherished oil project, or at least hopes for short term profit, for his company was dependent on the Seymour Company's coal for its final product. His investment in the Fingal Quartz Crushing Company was also coming unstuck, although the Union Quartz Crushing Company decided to try and extend its operation rather than wind up. Chesney remained upbeat at all times, encouraging further investment and exuding confidence at the promised final outcomes. Perhaps providing some insight into Chesney's focus on commercial enterprises in 1866 and 1867, *The Mercury* noted that he had not been paid as Commandant of the Southern Volunteers, 'for some time past'.

In January 1867, news had finally reached Tasmania that Chesney had been promoted to Brevet Major, with effect 28 October 1866. By September 1867, Chesney's replacement, Captain Richard Warren, R.E., had arrived.[34] *The Mercury* noted that 'because of illness in the family', Chesney would not be leaving immediately. On the 13 October 1867, Henry Rawdon Chesney, Chesney's only son, died from scarlet fever, aged four years and one day.[35] Chesney had booked passage for his family – his wife, two daughters, Master Chesney and two servants – on the S.S. *Southern Cross*, for Melbourne and England, on 29 October 1867. He evidently believed that his son would be well enough to travel, but with his death they had to leave without him. Henry Chesney was buried in Hobart.

The day before the ship sailed, Volunteer officers led by Major Wilson presented Chesney with a farewell address in which they said:

> We desire to assure you that we have been fully sensible of the ability, zeal, and energy, with which, under circumstances of difficulty and discouragement, you have at all times and in all ways endeavoured to further the welfare and promote tho efficiency of the division under your command,

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30 In February 1867, Chesney and a partner, Algernon Horatio Swift, was granted a 21 year lease on 50 acres of land at Seymour. Swift formed the Seymour Coal Mining Company in 1863 followed by the Australian Coal and Kerosene Company in 1868 and was probably the money behind Chesney's technical knowledge. See Bacon, C.A., and Calver, C.R., 'The Seymour Coalfield', *unpublished MS*, 17 February 1984.

31 *The Mercury*, 19 July 1867, p.2. The patent was lodged with the office of the Colonial Secretary, which protected the invention for six months. It is not known whether the patent was extended. Seymour is located about 200 km. north-east of Hobart.

32 *The Mercury*, 22 June 1867, p.2.

33 The company staggered on, under-capitalised until its demise in 1923.

34 Warren became the last British officer to serve in Tasmania, departing in 1871.

35 *Tasmania Births Deaths and Marriages*, Death Registration No.10/1867 and *The Mercury*, 25 October 1867, p. 2.

> and that we have ever gratefully appreciated the courtesy and gentlemanly tone which have invariably characterised your demeanour on all occasions when our duty required us to hold intercourse with you.36

In reply, Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney read a written response:

> His heart had been too full of sorrow lately to enable him to be present or to join in any kind of festivity. He was very pleased to meet them all once more, and to reflect that they had never had any real unpleasantness during his connection with the force. The occasion was a gratifying one, and would be remembered by him as long as he continued in Her Majesty's service.

Brevet Major Francis Rawdon Chesney experienced a rich and varied assignment to Tasmania. He engaged with the ruling class of the colony and played a central role as a society leader, patron of the performing arts, Fellow of the Royal Society, member of St. David's church, entrepreneur, father, and explorer. While in Tasmania, he was also deployed to active service in New Zealand. Chesney was an experienced R.E. officer; some of his works as Military Engineer survive in Hobart to this day. But his engineering duties were never demanding and commanding 150-300 Volunteers could only satisfy him so far. Chesney's intelligent interest in all matters of the physical sciences invariably engaged him in commercial opportunities in which he was an enthusiastic, if not always lucky, investor. Like other British Army soldiers who lived and worked in colonial Tasmania, Chesney contributed much to civil society and in his case, left behind his young son, ever to be remembered by him.

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SOCIETY BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
Canberra, Saturday 3 and Sunday 4 November 2012

Ian Stagoll, the President of the ACT Branch, takes great pleasure in announcing that the Society's next biennial conference will take place in Canberra on Saturday 3 and Sunday 4 November 2012. The conference organising committee is being formed and further details will be advised in *Sabretache*.

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36 *The Mercury*, 29 October 1867, p. 2. Among the officers present were Captain John George Davies, whose family owned *The Mercury* newspaper, and 1st Lieutenant David Lewis, a future Treasurer of Tasmania.

CAPTAIN ARNOLD WIENHOLT DSO MC
Bush Scout and Intelligence Officer

Harry Fecitt

Early days and the South African War

Arnold Wienholt was an Australian, born in Queensland in 1877, and in the Great War East African campaign he became an outstanding British intelligence officer. His father was a farmer who sent him to Eton for his education and then employed him on the family estates. During the South African (Boer) War Arnold enlisted in the 4th (Queensland Imperial Bushmen) Contingent, serving from May 1900 until August 1901. He was soon promoted to the rank of sergeant and established a reputation for firmness and fairness.

Lion hunting in Angola

He then resumed life as a farmer and also entered politics in 1909, holding a seat in the Legislative Assembly until 1913. That year he failed to win a political position and decided to visit Portuguese West Africa (now Angola) to hunt lion. Sailing to Capetown in South Africa he then took a coastal boat to Luderitz in German South West Africa (now Namibia). From there he used the German rail system to the northern inland town of Grootfontein and then trekked north with a wagon to the Okavango River and crossed over into Angola. Arnold spent nearly a year north of the Okavango hunting for food and attempting to track lion, something which his African helpers could not understand – food yes, but lion, why? Finally Arnold shot and wounded a lion but on following it up next day the lion charged and savaged him, biting and breaking his right wrist and damaging his shoulder before leaving him. When he had persuaded his Africans to come down from the trees that they had climbed Arnold got back to camp, cleaned his twelve wounds with carbolic soap and set his broken wrist and injured arm on a piece of pine board.

Arnold then withdrew across the Okavango and through the Caprivi Strip, learning that war had been declared in Europe. At Schuckmansburg in the east of the Caprivi Strip he met a party of Rhodesian troops who had occupied this former German post. A military doctor there operated on his wounded hand, and Arnold continued to Livingstone in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) where a railway line led south to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. Arnold offered his services as a scout as he had recent knowledge of northern German South West Africa, which South African troops were shortly to invade, to both the Southern Rhodesian and South African authorities.

However his application was dismissed by General Smuts in South Africa and Arnold returned to Australia.

Enlistment as a Rhodesian Border Scout

After being told by an eminent surgeon that his right wrist and arm could not be improved (pieces of splintered bone kept working out) Arnold returned to South Africa seeking military service. He failed again, but moving up to Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia he was successfully enlisted as an Intelligence Scout along with three other men that he knew. They were all signed on as special service troopers in the British South African Police and tasked with scouting the Rhodesian, Angolan and German South West African borders. Arnold was now squeezing his rifle trigger with his second finger. The four men split into pairs but unfortunately one man in the other pair named Sinclair shot a charging lion and wounded it, but it attacked again and killed him just as Sinclair himself killed the lion with his knife.

Arnold worked north of the Okavango River again and struck up a good relationship with the Portuguese authorities in their isolated posts.

Although Portugal was at that time neutral German troops crossed the Okavango and destroyed several Portuguese forts. The reason for this seemed to be retaliation because the Portuguese authorities were not allowing (at the request of the British) any kind of supplies to cross their border into German South West Africa. The Scouts collected information from the Portuguese and from friendly Chiefs and Headmen in African villages. German patrols in Angola were not the only enemy as some South African Afrikaaner rebels who had joined the Germans also crossed into Angola as the South African invasion force pushed its way northwards through German South West Africa.

On 9 July 1915 the enemy forces in German South West Africa surrendered to the South African General Botha. A number of German soldiers and more South African rebels crossed the Okavango to seek sanctuary and internment with the Portuguese and Arnold and the other Scouts managed to capture some of the rebels. However the Scouts also gathered information about a group of eight Germans who were planning to ride camels (the Germans had used an effective Camel Corps in German South West Africa) across Northern Rhodesia to join the German forces in German East Africa (now Tanzania). Major Robert Gordon DSO, the Head of Rhodesian Intelligence (and himself a Queenslander from Australia), came to join Arnold as they tracked the enemy party for eight days across 135 miles of bush. The Germans were surrounded and captured on 17 September 1915 and taken as prisoners to Livingstone.

For his duties as a Border Scout Arnold received a mention in the Despatch sent by Lord Buxton, the High Commissioner for South Africa.

Now that all the former enemy troops in German South West Africa had been accounted for Arnold was discharged from the Rhodesian forces and he sailed from Cape Town to Bombay, India. From there he took the train to Delhi to seek military employment in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) where British and Indian troops were fighting the Turks. But the recruiters at Delhi only wanted men for Mesopotamia who were able to navigate and manage river-boats and motor launches, so Arnold was advised to go to East Africa where a hard campaign was being fought against determined German forces under the command of Colonel Paul Von Lettow-Vorbeck.

Enlistment in the East African Mounted Rifles

Sailing to Mombasa in British East Africa (now Kenya) Arnold enlisted in the East African Mounted Rifles. This was a volunteer unit of Europeans who had settled in British East Africa and it was based at Longido, a mountain in German East Africa positioned just across the border to the south of Nairobi. Arnold was serving in the Scout Troop of the East African Mounted Rifles and on 5 March 1916 he took part in the advance of the British 1st Division from Longido to Moshi, and then moved on to observe some stiff fighting at Kahe, a few miles to the south. Here, after defending well from good entrenched positions in thick bush, the Germans skilfully broke contact and withdrew, a tactic that the British were to see repeated time after time. The East African Mounted Rifles then rode to Arusha and the Scouts assisted in forcing the surrender, on 6 April 1916, of over 130 Germans and their Askari (African soldiers) plus 300 porters at Lolkisale, a hill on the route to Kondoa Irangi. The seasonal and extremely heavy rains now set in and the East African Mounted Rifles went into camp until mid-May.

Transfer into the East African Intelligence Department

At this point, May 1916, Arnold and five other Scouts were posted to the East African Intelligence Department as Warrant Officers Class I.

He subsequently wrote: ' for then began the happiest and most interesting part of our war service in East Africa'. Arnold was teamed up with another Australian Ivan Lewis who had been

accompanying him and with an East African settler Scout called Buster Brown (who later wrote a book about his intelligence exploits under the name of Christopher J. Thornhill). These three, along with a small party of armed African Intelligence Scouts, would ride ahead of the British advance down the Pangani River, seeking information about German dispositions and movements from local villagers. Regular return visits were made to the vanguard of the British advance to report useful information and observations. This was dangerous and also hungry work. Ration supplies were generally inadequate as the British commander General Smuts took no interest in logistics, and shooting game was not possible without alerting the enemy. Most supplies were carried from the nearest railhead on African porters' heads and there were never enough porters as their work was hard and dangerous. The tsetse fly also killed a massive number of British animals. During

1916 the British lost many thousands of horses, whilst oxen and mules in tsetse fly areas were expected to live only six weeks. The animals died from disease, overwork and from lack of proper fodder and oats.

The Scouts themselves regularly contracted malaria, and health conditions were so bad that for every British soldier killed ten others needed hospitalisation for tropical diseases. During the last four months of 1916 around 12,000 white troops were medically evacuated to South Africa, seriously weakening the strength of the British forces in East Africa.

A bonfire and a capture

In June 1916 the trio of Scouts set off on mules across the Wami River and patrolled towards the German Central Railway that ran from Dar Es Salaam on the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika in the interior. The Germans were still using the railway to move troops and supplies and the Scouts were in an exposed situation. In mid-July they came across a main track upon which hundreds of African porters were carrying loads for the Germans, who were once again skilfully fighting rear-guard actions and withdrawing ahead of the British advances.

Arnold decided that he must break cover and take direct action. The three Scouts approached the endless line of porters, and posing as Germans, ordered the porters and the handful of Askari with them to drop their loads onto a bonfire. The Africans were allowed to take whatever they wanted for themselves first. Arnold reckoned that around 200 loads were burned: clothing, cases of schnapps and vinegar, bags of rice, beans and flour and 20 loads of sugar. The Scouts had taken the precaution of cutting the enemy telephone wire that ran along the road and were able to withdraw from the scene without meeting a German.

The Germans were not amused, particularly at losing a consignment of trousers that was urgently needed because of wear and tear on clothing due to thorn trees in the bush. The enemy tracked the Scouts and attacked their camp from two directions. Lewis and Brown got away unscathed and six days later arrived back at a British position.

Arnold was wounded in the hip and jumped in a nearby river to escape.

Having avoided the attentions of crocodiles he got out of the river lower down, meeting one of his Intelligence Scouts, and they walked through the bush by night taking vegetables from villagers' patches of farm land. On the fifth night they entered a small village mid-way between the British and German lines and were given food by the headman who promised to guide them to the British forces. However the headman alerted the Germans instead who ambushed the British pair next day, killing the Scout whilst Arnold bolted into the bush. He kept going although his wound was now slowing and fatiguing him, and that evening, after following the guidance of African villagers again, he walked into another enemy ambush and was captured by local Afrikaaner settlers who had enlisted with the Germans.

An escape and a gallantry award

Arnold was taken to the main German camp where a doctor dressed his wound. He was fed well and introduced to Colonel Von Lettow-Vorbeck who was affable towards him. Then followed four days of marching under escort to the Central Railway and a rail journey to Dar Es Salaam. This was followed by a march down the coast to Kilwa and then a twelve-day march inland was made to Liwale where a camp had been established for Allied officer prisoners of war. A German doctor here healed Arnold's wound, but the British occupation of Kilwa led to all prisoners being marched for 14 days to a more distant camp at Mangangira on the Luwego River.

By January 1917 Arnold was fully fit and on a night of very heavy rain and thunderstorms he led three other escapees out of the camp. A Royal Navy officer in the camp had donated a compass that the Germans had failed to find on him, and with this a route was struck hopefully to hit the coast north of Kilwa. After 15 days of marching and this time helped by villagers who could see that the Germans were losing in East Africa, the escapees reached a post held by the British force based at Kilwa. Arnold was awarded a Military Cross and his citation read:

> For conspicuous gallantry and endurance as leader of a patrol. The patrol covered some 200 odd miles of the most difficult country and obtained valuable information.

He was subsequently separated from his patrol, severely wounded and captured by the enemy. He ultimately escaped, and made his way back to our lines across 100 miles of unknown bush.

Arnold was weakened by his privations in the bush and became seriously ill with dysentery. After initial treatment at Kilwa he was moved back to Nairobi for convalescence. In mid-1917 he was passed fit and was back in the bush again near Kilwa, tasked with tracking German movements and with destroying enemy stores and food dumps that had been sited in the bush to sustain enemy companies as they withdrew south. By this time most Africans in German East Africa were actively helping the British forces, and so reliable information could be obtained. Arnold and his Scouts had several contacts during which a number of German European prisoners were taken. For this work Arnold was awarded a Bar to his Military Cross but a citation was not published.

Portuguese East Africa

Colonel Von Lettow Vorbeck was determined to keep fighting as long as the war in Europe lasted. His refusal to surrender had tied up over 100,000 Allied troops in East Africa, plus the large tonnage of shipping that was required to supply them. Slimming down their forces the Germans crossed the Rovuma River into Portuguese East Africa (now

Mozambique) in late 1917 and immediately began raiding Portuguese forts to obtain weapons, ammunition and supplies (Portugal was now one of the Allies). Portuguese rule was rough on the Africans under them and the Germans went out of their way to be friendly to villagers, obtaining food by paying for it with bolts of cloth seized from Asian-owned village stores.

By early 1918 nearly all British white and Indian infantry units had been posted out of the East African theatre for health reasons. The local British black regiment, The King's African Rifles, had been rapidly expanded as Africans could put up with the climate and bush conditions relatively easily, and their logistic requirements were simple when compared with the requirements of European and Indian troops. Columns of King's African Rifle Askari, and the Gold Coast Regiment from West Africa, now concentrated in Portuguese East Africa to try and track the Germans down.

Arnold, now a Lieutenant, took a group of 40 Intelligence Scouts into Portuguese East Africa and began scouting. However the local villagers strongly supported the Germans and would not

supply information. One day the location of the Scouts' camp was advised to the Germans who immediately attacked it with two rifle companies and two machine guns. Arnold and his men had to abandon everything except their rifles and sprint into the bush to get away. The Scouts withdrew towards the Indian Ocean coast to obtain fresh supplies from the British base at Pemba.

The German resistance lasted until late November 1918 (two weeks after Armistice Day in Europe), and by that time Colonel Von Lettow Vorbeck had marched his remaining men out of Portuguese territory back into German East Africa around the east of Lake Nyasa, and he had invaded Northern Rhodesia. If news of the Armistice had not arrived from Europe then the Germans were in a strong position to destroy the Northern Rhodesian and Belgian Congo Katangese copper mines, and march on into Portuguese Angola. During the last half of 1918 Arnold had been scouting for the most active and successful British column in Portuguese East Africa and for that work he received a promotion to Captain and was awarded a Distinguished Service Order. His citation read:

> For continuous gallant conduct and endurance under most trying circumstances during a period of six months in the bush. He performed a most arduous march, during which his party were more than once attacked by superior enemy forces, through the unknown country which he had to reconnoitre and report on; and finally succeeded in gaining touch with a column as ordered.
>
> He performed many other successful reconnaissances during which he had several encounters with the enemy, and furnished valuable information with regard to their movements. Throughout he showed great courage and endurance, and rendered most valuable service.

Australia, and then back to Africa

On demobilisation Arnold returned to Australia in early 1919, became married, and resumed farming and political activities. When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 Arnold went to Addis Ababa as a war correspondent but he soon joined the Ethiopian Red Cross as a front-line transport officer. After the Italians had conquered Ethiopia Arnold went back to Australia and publicised Ethiopia's plight, but failed to change any political opinions in Britain or Australia. When the Second World War broke out Arnold sailed to Aden where he waited for Italy's entry into the war by learning the Amharic and Arabic languages.

Military Mission 101

After Italy declared hostilities against Britain in June 1940 Arnold was called to Sudan and commissioned at the age of 62 as a Second Lieutenant. He and a few other British and Australian officers were recruited into Mission 101 (later re-named Gideon Force). The task was to march small units named Operational Centres into Ethiopia to foster rebellion against the Italians. Each Operational Centre consisted of a commander, four British Non-Commissioned Officers and around 30 Ethiopians.

Arnold was the Mission Intelligence Officer and he led the third Operational Centre across the border, using mules to carry heavy equipment and supplies. However the Italian border troops had received information about Mission 101's activities, and Arnold's group was tracked by Italian troops using local Gumz tribesmen as irregular scouts. Probably on 10 September 1940 the enemy attacked as Arnold's group packed up its camp. Two versions of what happened next exist. One states that Arnold was severely wounded and scrambled into the bush where he died of wounds, and the second states that Arnold was captured and executed by the Italians.

Whichever version is correct, we do know that a very courageous and uncompromising Australian intelligence officer and bush fighter was killed in enemy territory when he was at an age that exempted him from active service. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission commemorates Arnold on the Khartoum Memorial, Sudan.

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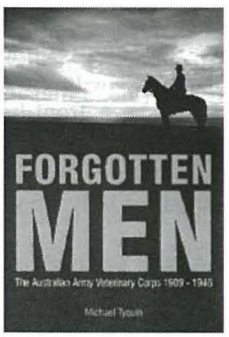
NEW RELEASES

Publisher's information on recent or forthcoming publications

Michael Tyquin. *Forgotten men: the Australian Army Veterinary Corps 1909-1946*, Big Sky Publishing, Newport, NSW, 2011, ISBN 978 0 9808140 8 8, hardback, 480 pages.



Forgotten Men is the long overdue account of the significant contribution to the Australian Army of the Australian Army Veterinary Corps in two world wars. One of the army's smallest and least recognised corps, its humble beginnings and quiet work in the background belie the crucial role of the corps in supporting wartime operations and dealing with logistical issues never envisaged before 1915.

While their place in military history is often overlooked, the men of the Australian Veterinary Corps deserve recognition. Stoic and hardworking, they unselfishly worked among the horrors of war, to provide the support needed for army units and their animals.

While the Veterinary Corps reached its peak during the Great War, its role did not end when the guns fell silent in 1918. Instead, the corps continued to support military activities across Australia until horsepower finally gave way to mechanisation in World War II. The corps' success in enabling the Australian Imperial Force to fight in two theatres, each with its own peculiar veterinary problems, is an achievement worth recording.

In *Forgotten Men*, Michael Tyquin provides a full account of the corps' operation from inception to dissolution and shows the magnitude of their contribution to the combat effectiveness of the Australian Army from 1909 to 1946. Importantly, this book finally brings the achievements of the officers and men of the Australian Veterinary Corps out of the shadows.

Dr Michael Tyquin is a consulting historian based in Canberra. He has published extensively in the areas of Australian social, medical and military history. He is a serving member of the Australian Army Reserve which he joined as a medical assistant with the 4/19th Prince of Wales Light Horse. He is the official historian of the Royal Australian Army Medical Corps and is an Adjunct Professor at the University of Queensland's Centre for Military and Veterans' Health.

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THE LIVES OF RILEY: A HISTORY OF THE TENTH LIGHT HORSE GUIDON

Barry Bamford[1]

Visual symbols such as flags, banners and pennants have long been a part of military units. Roman legions invading Britain in pre-Christian times carried an emblem proclaiming their allegiance to the Senate and people of Rome. More recently, during World War Two, US marines stormed the heights of Suribachi on 'bloody' Iwo Jima and raised the American flag on top of the mountain to claim dominance of the island. Australian military history is relatively short compared to nations such as these, but even so, British influences on Australian military organisations have firmly established traditions of unit colours and standards in the Australian armed forces. The West Australian armoured unit, Tenth Light Horse (10LH) follows this tradition and the 'story' of the unit's colours cannot be told without including details of two remarkable clergymen, Archbishop Charles Owen Riley and his son, Bishop Charles Lawrence Riley. Together, these two men contributed to the welfare of 10LH for a period in excess of sixty years and are inextricably linked to the history of Western Australia. The evolution of the 10LH colours and the contributions made by the Riley clerics is the story related here.

In Western Australia,[2] the Tenth Light Horse Regiment was formed as part of the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF) in November 1914 and as part of the 3rd Australian Light Horse Brigade.[3] Many of the officers and men of the new regiment had been members of the 25th Light Horse Regiment (25LH), a militia unit existing in Western Australia at that time and which was, as will be described shortly, the descendant of earlier units stretching back into the colonial history of the state. On Sunday 24 January 1915, fifteen days before the bulk of the regiment embarked at Fremantle for overseas service, a Regimental Standard was presented to the unit:

> An impressive event during the sojourn of the Regiment at Rockingham was the consecration of a Regimental Standard, a generous gift of Mrs P. Law-Smith. In the presence of the whole Regiment, mounted and in review order, the impressive ceremony was conducted by his Grace Archbishop Riley, Chaplain-General of the Forces, following which the beautiful emblem was handed into the keeping of the Regimental Sergeant-Major by Mrs. Law-Smith in person.[4]

Little evidence exists as to the exact nature of the new emblem, but photographs suggest it was a traditional infantry style banner, rectangular in shape and bearing a black swan in the centre of a crown shaped symbol. The black swan was consolidated as characteristic of the Regiment's emblems from that time on. Archbishop Riley who conducted the ceremony had already been of considerable influence in the fledgling state of Western Australia.

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1 Dr Barry Bamford is a retired lecturer in Education at James Cook University, north Queensland. He has a long term interest in the history of the Australian Light Horse, particularly the tenth Light Horse, of which he was a member between 1960 and 1979, during which time he rose to the rank of captain.

2 'Western Australia' is entered here redundantly to separate the formation of Tenth Light Horse (AIF) from an earlier light horse regiment in Victoria also designated 'Tenth Light Horse.' This original regiment was a militia unit, part of the 1901 organisation of the Australian Army and designated 'Victorian Mounted Rifles' or 10LH (VMR). As with the light horse unit formed in Western Australia at the same time, 10LH (VMR) was subsumed in later organizations of the Australian Army.

3 The other two regiments of the 3rd Australian Light Horse Brigade were the 8th Light Horse Regiment from South Australia and the 9th Light Horse Regiment from Victoria. While focus in this article in on 10LH, if should be remembered that any reference to 10LH (AIF) is always in context of its operation within this Brigade and along side its accompanying regiments.

4 Olden, A.C.N. (nd) *Westralian Cavalry in the War: The story of the Tenth Light Horse Regiment, AIF, in the Great War, 1914-1918*. Melbourne: Alexander McCubbin (Reprint with supplement), p. 20.

Presentation of a Regimental Standard to 10LH (AIF), at Rockingham, Sunday 24 January, 1915. Archbishop C.O.L Riley is partially hidden behind the emblem in the centre of the photo. originally published Olden p.19

Charles Owen Leaver Riley was born in Birmingham, England in May 1854. He was the eldest child of William Riley, a Cheshire vicar and his wife Emma. He was christened in the Anglican Church and following his father's calling, Charles attended Cambridge University from where, in 1894, he graduated with a Master of Arts degree and was later awarded a Doctor of Divinity. He was ordained an Anglican deacon in 1878 and a priest in 1879. He was vicar of Preston in Lancashire in 1894 when he was offered the Bishopric of Perth in the colony of Western Australia, a position he accepted. He was consecrated bishop in Westminster Abbey on 18 October 1894 and arrived in Perth in December of that year to take up his ministry. His family joined him in February 1895.

At that time, Western Australia was in a process of rapid change. Gold had been discovered in payable quantities two years prior to his arrival and the state's population was expanding rapidly as prospectors from other Australian colonies and overseas were attracted to the goldfields. In 1901, a pipeline carrying water from Mundaring Weir, near Perth, to the goldfields at Kalgoorlie was opened, an event that not only served to consolidate the booming goldfields, but also to open up agricultural land along the five hundred kilometres of pipeline. Administering religious services to a predominantly Anglican population spread over the vast area of Western Australia presented continual problems for the neophyte bishop, but in the years that followed, by hard work, extensive travel and active participation in civic affairs, Bishop Riley consolidated Anglican influences in the state. In reference to this growing influence, a local newspaper article made this observation:

> The Church under his mitred jurisdiction and favoured by circumstances of the time gained rapidly in numbers and influence. For some years the demand for clergy was greatly in excess of the recruits available so rapidly did congregations and Church building spring into existence. 5

By 1914 three dioceses had been created, Perth, Bunbury and Kalgoorlie with a fourth, North West due to be included in the state following the general synod due to be held that year. The advent of these organizations entitled Western Australia to be classified a 'Province' of the Anglican Church, and in 1914, Charles Owen Riley was elevated to archbishop, the first such position in Western Australia—and head of the Province.

From the start of his ministry in Perth Bishop Riley was involved in military affairs. On his arrival in the colony he was appointed senior chaplain to the West Australian Defence Force and this appointment continued after centralisation of military administration following federation of the Australian colonies in 1901. With the advent of war in 1914, Archbishop Riley continued his military service, having been nominated Chaplain General of West Australian militia forces in 1913. In August 1916, he was formally attested as a member of the AIF, with the rank of colonel and immediately appointed senior Anglican chaplain. Only days later he was appointed

5 *The West Australian*, 24 June 1929, p.15.

temporary Chaplain-General and embarked for England with the task of visiting Australian camps, depots and hospitals in England and France. His task was, in company with representatives from other denominations, to enquire into the administration of religious procedures of the Australian Chaplains' Department in these countries, and report his findings to the Department of Defence on his return to Australia.

His appointment in the AIF was intended to be only a temporary one—for the duration of the enquiry, but it was not without mishap. Following completion of the enquiry in France, further requirements stipulated his return to Australia via Egypt to gather similar information about the conduct of the Chaplains' Department in that country as well. To this end, Archbishop Riley embarked at Marseilles on HT *Ivernia* on 28 December, 1916. At 10:12 am on 1 January 1917, some 90 kilometres south-east of Cape Matapan in Greece, the *Ivernia* was torpedoed by the German submarine UB-47 and sank within an hour. As fate would have it, Archbishop Riley was not amongst the 120 passengers and crew who perished, but amongst those in lifeboats towed by armed trawlers to Suda Bay in Crete. He subsequently returned to Australia, via Alexandria, and his AIF appointment was terminated. He was re-appointed to the AIF briefly between May and October 1919, but the reasons for this are not clear and may have been associated with the large numbers of soldiers returning to Australia during that period.

In post war years Archbishop Riley continued his energetic lifestyle. As well as continuing the expansion and influence of the Anglican Church in the state, between 1916 and 1922 he also became the second Chancellor of the fledgling University of Western Australia, having campaigned vigorously with Lord John Forrest and Sir Winthrop Hackett to have the university established. He was a founding member of the Freemason's Grand Lodge in Western Australia and in 1904 was elected Grand Master of the Lodge, a position he held for all but two of the years from then until his death. In the midst of these commitments, Archbishop Riley and his wife Elizabeth (nee Merriman) raised six children, three sons and three daughters, everyone of whom 'has borne evidence of the efficacy of his training and example'.6

Archbishop Riley died on 23 June 1929, at the age of seventy-five. One of the last official duties he undertook as his health and strength declined was to consecrate the first 10LH Guidon. Following the end of World War One (WW1) the Tenth Light Horse Regiment (AIF) was disbanded soon after returning to Western Australia. Shortly thereafter a decision was implemented that ensured the honours won by the AIF regiment were perpetuated by a local unit of the same name. To facilitate this the 25LH, that had continued to parade on the home front during the war, was transferred (in name) to the eastern states and the local militia regiment assumed the title, Tenth Light Horse (West Australian Mounted Infantry). In March 1927 the official battle honours won by the AIF regiment were promulgated and formally passed on to the militia regiment.7

Little is recorded of the activities of the regiment in the years following WW1, but it is clear the unit experienced wide support and strong membership, with sub-units spread across the south-western corner of the state.8 It is not clear what happened to the regimental standard presented in 1915, but in 1928 the next part of the story of the 10LH Guidon was enacted. On 10 March 1928, the first official guidon was presented to the Regiment. At a ceremony conducted on the Esplanade in Perth, the Regiment, fully mounted and formed into a hollow square, watched as the new emblem was trooped for the first time, laid on a pile of drums and blessed by Archbishop Riley. The emblem was then formally handed to the regiment for safe keeping.

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6 *The West Australian*, 24 June 1929, p. 15.
7 Australian Army Order, 9 March, 1927, pp. 164-171.
8 In 1928 for example, the Regiment had subunits in Perth, Northam, Toodyay, Pingelly, Narrogin, Tambellup, Katanning, Donnybrook, Harvey and Bunbury. (The Daily News, 1928, March 9, p.6)

10LH had received its first official guidon—but there is more to the background of the ceremony than related above, the details of which need to be made explicit.

Archbishop C.O.L.Riley (centre) consecrated the first Tenth Light Horse Guidon at a parade on the Perth Esplanade, 10 March 1928. Other figures shown are not identified, but the person nearest the camera on the right hand side is probably the Commanding Officer at the time, Lt Col A.H Sweetapple.
Photo: Courtesy Battye Library

It is pertinent to explain why this emblem is described as the 'first' guidon. The emblem consecrated at Rockingham in 1915 was a typical infantry flag—relatively large, rectangular in shape and designed to be unfurled on a flagstaff carried on foot. In symbolic terms, the standard reflected the fact that light horsemen of the time were viewed as mounted infantry, soldiers who fought on foot, but who used horses as a means of rapid transport to the battle area.9 Light horse operations in Palestine during WW1 changed this perception, and the issue of swords particularly, a typical weapon of more traditional mounted troops, to some light horse regiments instilled the notion that light horsemen should more accurately be designated as 'cavalry'.10 A guidon, such as that presented to 10LH in March 1928, is a smaller emblem, usually swallow tailed in shape and originally intended to be carried on horseback by units such as dragoons or cavalry.

Archbishop Riley's consecration of this emblem was his last official duty relating to 10LH and it is fitting that he should have participated in the 'birth' of the AIF Regiment in 1915 and confirmation of the Regiment's antecedent as an integral part of Western Australian society in 1928.

However, to consider the consecration of the Regimental standard in 1915 and the subsequent presentation of the 1928 Guidon as the 'birth' of 10LH is misleading. The Regiment owes its existence to events that occurred much earlier than 1915 – and which involved another flag. The

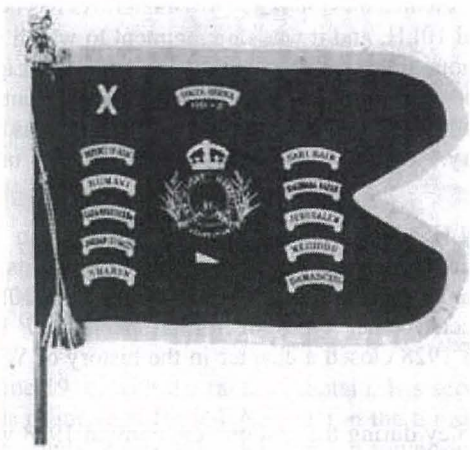
9 Support for this contention that Light Horsemen were viewed essentially as infantry is made by pointing out that the term 'Mounted Infantry' was an integral part of unit titles. As well, the basic small arms carried by light horsemen, the .303 in Short Magazine Lee Enfield rifle and bayonet where the same as those carried by the Australian Infantry. Additionally, WW1 light horse equipment did not include a rifle bucket on the horse itself. Light horsemen were expected to carry their weapons the same as the infantry.

10 For example, Lieutenant Colonel A.C.N. Olden's history of the Tenth Light Horse during WW1 is titled, 'Westralian *Cavalry* in the War.' (Italics inserted)

existence of this earlier flag is alluded to in a local press item published the day prior to the Guidon ceremony in 1928.

> At 3 pm. tomorrow (Saturday) the Guidon of the 10th Light Horse Regiment will be consecrated at the Esplanade, Perth, by his Grace the Archbishop at a mounted ceremonial parade … On the same parade the King's Banner (South Africa) which was presented to the Western Australian Mounted Rifles after the South African war, will be 'trooped' and then handed over formally to the Cathedral authorities for lodgement in the soldiers' Memorial Chapel, St George's Cathedral.11

By tradition, when new colours are issued to an Australian army unit, the old colours are 'trooped,' that is, unfurled under escort and paraded up and down the ranks of the assembled unit, often to the tune of 'Auld Lang Syne'. They are then marched off the parade ground and laid up in a place of honour, usually a church or war memorial. In the extract above, reference is made to the 'King's Banner (South Africa)' which was to be trooped in front of the Regiment and then laid up in the Soldier's Chapel in St George's Cathedral. No mention is made of the standard presented to Tenth Light Horse in 1915. The naming of this South African honour as that to be trooped for the last time, forms a link back to the Western Australia's colonial past, well before the formation of the AIF in 1914.



Facsimile of the first Guidon presented to 10LH Saturday 10 March, 1928. The representation is taken from a program of events for the day.

'The design of the Guidon is similar to those sanctioned for dragoon regiments of the British Army, and is generally rectangular with two swallow tails on the outer edge with a slit in between them.

This design is different to the banners of Household Cavalry Regiments and the King's regimental colours of infantry battalions which are almost square.'

The Daily News, 9 March 1928, p. 6.

In the decade preceding the federation of Australian colonies in 1901, an increasing number of mounted units were formed in West Australian towns, mainly in the south west area of the colony.12 The impetus for these units probably emerged from a report to the British Horse Guards in 1885 that suggested the nature of warfare was changing, the end result of which was that:

> the trooper of the future will be practically a mounted infantry-man and, like a foot soldier, his weapon will be a rifle, the arms blanche occupying a secondary place.13

The value of such mounted infantry was enhanced by Australia's participation in the Boar War (1899-1902). During that conflict Western Australia provided a total of 52 officers and 871 other ranks in a variety of military units, including several contingents of mounted infantry, for military operations in South Africa.14 In South Africa mounted infantry experienced considerable success15 against the elusive Boer fighters and, as a result, mounted units became highly desirable inclusions in army formations of the day. Following Federation,

11 The Daily News, 9 March 1928, p. 6.

12 Perhaps the most significant of the mounted units formed during this period was the South-West Mounted Infantry Company. This unit was formed in late 1899 and had subunits at Pinjarra, Harvey, Brunswick, Boyanup, Busselton and Bunbury. See *The West Australian*, 25 Dec1900, p.9. A delegation of 25 members from this unit was part of the West Australian contingent sent to the Commonwealth Celebrations in Sydney in 1901.

13 *The West Australian*, 5 February 1885, p. 3.

14 Campbell, J. (1910). *WA Contingents in South Africa 1899-1902*. Perth, Government Print., 1910, p. 32.

15 Though some argue the success is highly exaggerated. See for example Alford, G (ed), 2008, pp.93-97

military districts were created in all Australian states and a designated military establishment which included both permanent military forces as well as militia units was promulgated. In this organization Western Australia was allocated one militia mounted infantry regiment and accordingly existing mounted units in the state were consolidated into one regiment, designated the 18th Australian Light Horse Regiment (18LH), and came under the command of Captain N J Moore.

In 1904, two years after the end of the Boer War, as part of birthday celebrations for the British monarch, Edward VII, eighteen Australian Light Horse regiments, the Australian Artillery and Australian Army Medical corps, antecedents of units represented in the South African hostilities, were awarded the King's Colours for service in South Africa. The 18LH was listed amongst this group and the regiment was represented at a ceremony in Melbourne by now Major N J Moore, Regimental Sergeant Major Bullock and Quartermaster Sergeant Johnston.16 To date, no record has been found as to exactly when these colours were first paraded by the 18LH, but evidence confirms that the King's Colours were presented to the regiment and maintained as its official flag.

Following a Commonwealth re-shuffle of military units and titles in 1912, the 18LH was re-designated the 25LH and came under command of Lieutenant Colonel N M Brazier. As has been related, following the war, 25LH was redesignated 10LH, and it was this regiment to which the guidon was presented in 1928. There are continuous links between 18th, 25th and 10th Light Horse Regiments. This, together with the fact that the King's Colours were trooped in front of the Regiment in 1928, are the grounds for asserting the King's Colours of 1904 remained as the Colours for the West Australian Mounted Infantry, under its different names from 1904 until 1928.

In fact, Archbishop Riley's association with 10LH commenced many years earlier than his consecration of the AIF standard in 1915. As senior chaplain to West Australian army units he played an important role in any, perhaps all, events in which the antecedents regiments of 10LH formally paraded the King's Colours or conducted other types of formal parades.17 His overseeing of the last trooping of those colours in 1928 closed a chapter in the history of West Australian Mounted Infantry that started in 1904.

One of the clergymen who assisted Archbishop Riley during the guidon ceremony in 1928 was his son, the Reverend Charles Lawrence Riley. By this time, the younger Riley had also established himself as an energetic citizen of Western Australian, and a person well known to men of the 10LH.

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16 See: General Orders No 258 of 8 November, 1904. The soldiers shown are those listed on the Order to attend the presentation -- whether they did in fact attend is difficult to establish. Given the order is dated 8 November and the ceremony was scheduled for 14 November, together with the means of communication and transport at the time, there is a good chance they may not have. According to District Order No 34 of 24 October 1905 Major N J Moore and two NCO's were to travel to Melbourne on the SS *Grantala* leaving Fremantle on 5 October. This data increases the probability they did attend but does not substantiate the fact. Their names could not be found on the *Grantala* passenger list leaving Fremantle on that date.

17 In April 1906, for example, while 18 LH was conducting its annual Easter Camp on the Claremont Show grounds, (then) Bishop Riley delivered a sermon at a Good Friday church parade in such a manner that a subsequent newspaper article described him as truly 'the soldiers' Bishop.' (*The West Australian*, 14 April 1906, p. 9.)

Charles Lawrence Riley. The collar badges on the uniform are not identifiable as those of the Australian Army Chaplain's Dept, photo is probably of him as a Captain in the CUOTC, circa 1912.
Photo: Courtesv Mrs M.Walters

Charles Lawrence ('Tom') Riley18 was born in Lancashire, England in October 1888, before his parents migrated to Western Australia. In Perth, he attended Hale School and in 1906 returned to England to attend Cambridge university, from where he subsequently graduated as a Bachelor of Law, Master of Arts and Doctor of Theology. Like his father and grand-father, he was christened in the Anglican Church and in 1912 became Curate of Stoke-on-Trent in the Diocese of Lichfield in England. In 1914 he was ordained as a priest and the same year returned to Western Australia to become Rector of St Hilda's Church in North Perth.

Tom Riley's association with military establishments commenced during his time at Cambridge. Seemingly out of character for a young man bound for the priesthood, he joined the Volunteer Cambridge University Rifle Corps in 1906, rose to the rank of captain and spent four years as a 'Territorial Captain with CUOTC.' With the outbreak of WW1 he was appointed Chaplain 4th Class in the Australian Military Forces, and formally attested into the AIF in June 1918, with the rank of captain. His service record also shows that in June 1918 he passed his riding test! He left Australia in the transport Port Lyttleton on 24 June 1918 and was taken on strength at AIF headquarters in Egypt on 3 August thereafter. His experience as a frontline chaplain started when he was posted to 15th Light Horse Regiment. After a period in hospital with a serious bout of malaria, he was posted to 10LH as chaplain on 31 January 1919. At that time the fortunes of 10LH were in a state of extreme flux. Hostilities against the Ottoman forces had ceased in October 1918 and by mid-January 1919 the regiment, along with the 8th and 9th Regiments—and other brigades, had established a camp near the Mediterranean coast, about three kilometres south of Tripoli in Syria. Here the frenetic lifestyle sustained by the men during the previous three years of mobile warfare had to be channelled into a more sedentary and peaceful existence. Military training schedules were re-introduced, particularly in the use of swords, a weapon only recently issued to light horse units, and as well, concerts, football games, sports days, debating teams and study facilities were set up. Olden (nd, p.299) records that Tom Riley was centrally involved in these activities.

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18 According to Charles Lawrence Riley's daughter, Mrs Molly Walters, and some of the articles written about Bishop Riley, as he became, Charles Lawrence was known affectionately by his family, and by many of the soldiers with whom he came in contact, as 'Tom.' It is not clear how this pseudonym came into being, but it was certainly well established by the time Chaplain Riley arrived at 10LH in January 1919. The 10LH war diary of 31 January 1919, records, 'Chaplain Rev *T.* Riley marched in from 5th LH Brigade.' (The initial 'T' for Tom rather than his correct initials of C.L) I use the name here to differentiate Charles Lawrence from his father, Charles Owen.

> A large marquee, generously donated to the Regiment by Canon Garland (administering the Church of England Overseas Fund in Egypt) served as a 'lecture-room' and here daily the men could be seen at their various classes, over which Lieut. A. Hopkins and the Rev C L Riley (our new padre) presided.19

There were two other events that significantly influenced the morale and well being of the regiment at that time. A few days before Tom Riley commenced his official duties with 10LH, the regiment was notified of the death in Egypt of Lieutenant Colonel T J Todd, the regiment's commanding officer. Colonel Todd had assumed command of the regiment in November 1915, towards the end of the disastrous events of Gallipoli, and had led the regiment with distinction in the years that followed. The 10LH war diary states that news of his death created a 'very deep feeling of gloom' throughout the entire Australian Mounted Division, and that a memorial service held in his honour on the regimental parade ground on 26 January, attracted the largest attendance since the regiment first assembled at Heliopolis—and included many officers and men from other brigades and British units.20

Another blow soon followed. In mid-February 1919, disposal of the regiment's horses was affected with brutal haste. Because of quarantine restrictions, horses were not permitted to return to Australia and had to be disposed of, either by sales to local inhabitants, handing over to other units or by being destroyed. Like most Australian light horse regiments in the area, 10LH considered the first option unacceptable and subsequently horses were graded according to their condition, large numbers of fit animals were handed to other, mainly British units, and the remainder were shot. In this latter unpleasant task, 10LH drew the short straw when it became the 'killing' regiment for the 3rd Light Horse Brigade.21 Between 23 and 25 February 1919, teams of Tenth Light Horsemen destroyed eighty-four of their own 'rides,' together with over a hundred and eighty 'rides' and thirty-two pack-horses received from the 8th and 9th Light Horse Regiments.22 In some literature this event assumes a somewhat romantic image—a noble light horseman rides into the sunset and returns on foot with his saddle over his shoulder.23 This certainly didn't happen, the fact being it was a gruesome occurrence and an emotional one for some of the men, particularly as a number of horses had been with their riders for the entire campaign.

Tom Riley's induction as chaplain to 10LH came at a difficult time—and more disappointment was to follow. The haste that brought about the rapid disposal of horses was precipitated by notification of the 3rd Brigade's imminent withdrawal to Egypt, as a precursor for return to Australia. The 8th Light Horse Regiment, which was the first unit of the brigade to leave Tripoli, was given less than two days' notice to dismantle their camp, dispose of their horses, return stores and leave by ship. The other two regiments followed, with 10LH being the last to leave. As well as the rapid disposal of horses, all equipment, heavy weapons and tentage were returned to Q stores and the regiment made ready to leave the area. The last entry of the 10LH War Diary for February 1919 states '28/2/19 ... The last of the equipment etc was handed to Ordinance. The Regiment ready to embark at short notice'.24

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19 10LH War Diary AWM4 10/15/43 January 1919, 23/1-26/1.

20 Ibid., pp. 8-9.

21 A 3rd Light Horse Brigade War Diary for February 1919 is not available. Whether the onerous task of destroying horses was designated officially, or whether it fell to 10LH because it was the last regiment of the Brigade to leave the area is not clear. But it is clear from the various Regimental War Diaries that 10LH completed the task.

22 These figures were determined by conducting a reconciliation of numbers shown in the war diaries of the 8th, 9th and 10th Light Horse regiments.

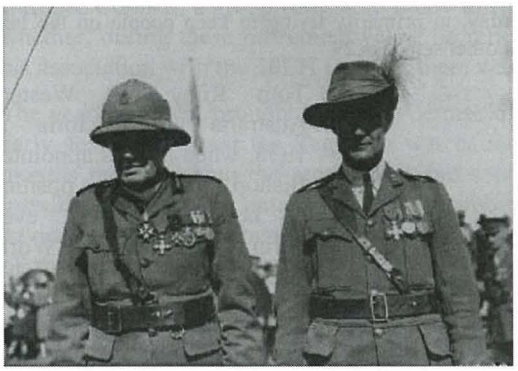
23 For example the poem by 'Trooper Bluegum'(Major Oliver Hogues) *The Horses Stay Behind* in Gullett and Barrett (eds) 1919, p.78.

24 10LH War Diary AMW4, Item 10/15/44, p. 10.

The regiment sailed from Tripoli on 4 March 1919, disembarked at Port Said two days later and entrained to a camp at Moascar, near the Suez Canal, south of Port Said. A number of soldiers were listed for immediate on-going passage to Australia and a similar number were granted leave to England. Those remaining settled into a camp routine, during which similar activities to those in Tripoli were organised. Expectations were high that movement to Australia by the remainder of the regiment was imminent. On 16 March, a 10LH patrol sent by train to Miniet el Qa'am on the main Ismailia-Cairo railway, about 70 kilometres to the south-west of Moascar, to investigate a civil disturbance, was attacked by a large group of armed local inhabitants. The patrol opened fire, killing twenty-nine local inhabitants. This action was part of escalating civil unrest in post-war Egypt which resulted in orders being issued for troops remaining in the area to deal with the problem.25

In remarkably quick time, remaining troops were re-equipped and re-mounted. On 18 March, a large composite force under command of Brigadier General L C Wilson entrained from Moascar to Zagazig, about 100 kilometres north-east of Cairo, and set up camp there the next day. During the ensuring fifteen weeks 10LH was engaged in continuous patrols, guards and minor skirmishes until the unrest died down. Olden states that military operations during this time, 'reminded one more forcibly of Fire Brigade rather than Army tactics' but even so, the regiment sustained further casualties, including the deaths of Sergeant John Mathieson, a Distinguished Conduct Medal recipient and Lance Corporal James Ferguson, both of whom were members of the original regiment that left Fremantle in 1915.26

On 1 July 1919, 10LH returned to Moascar and once again handed in weapons, equipment and horses. This time there was no delay and on 10 July the regiment left Moascar for Kantara, boarded HMT *Oxfordshire* and sailed for Australia. After leave in Columbo (Sri Lanka) the regiment disembarked at Fremantle on 4 August 1919.



Chaplain General Charles Owen Riley (L) and his son, Rev Charles Lawrence Riley. Both men are wearing the insignia of Officer of the Order of the British Empire, which suggests the photo was taken at the time of their presentation circa 1921.Photo: Courtesy Mrs M Walters

During this time in Egypt, Tom Riley stayed with the 10LH. At a time when it might have been convenient for a clergyman to argue that his time could be better spent amongst the sick and wounded in Australia, the regimental chaplain remained at the frontline. Little is recorded of what he did, but records that do exist suggest a continuous interaction with the troops. The 10LH war diary records that regular church services on Sundays were conducted and, as mentioned previously, Tom Riley was involved in education classes established in Tripoli as part of soldier repatriation schemes. Also while in Tripoli, the Reverend Riley presented a lecture on Baalbek, a location which many soldiers visited on sight-seeing tours to the Cedars of Lebanon. In Egypt, Tom Riley conducted the burial services of Sergeant Mathieson and Lance Corporal Ferguson, both of whose headstones can still be viewed today in the Tel el Kebir Memorial Cemetery in Egypt. During the return voyage to Australia, Tom Riley presented a talk on

25 It is useful to remember that at this time Egypt was a British 'Protectorate' -- the British having summarily deposed the pro-Turkish Egyptian leader Abbass Hilmi when war was declared against Turkey in November 1914.

26 Olden p. 306.

'England before the war,' as part of a series of talks to which the brigade commander Brigadier-General Wilson and the war correspondent Captain H S Gullett also contributed. Four days after the regiment returned to Perth, with the restrictions of war-time censorship lifted, the *West Australian* newspaper featured an overview of achievements of some of the returning 10LH personnel. The article concludes with a statement by Major Timperley, who was the officer in command of the returning troops, expressing appreciation to the public of Western Australia for its support of the regiment and also made specific mention of the part played by Tom Riley.

> He [Major Timperley] also pays a tribute to Chaplain-Captain Riley, for his work amongst the men on the trip home. Captain Riley embarked when just recovering from a serious illness, and as administrator of the goods placed on board by the Australian Comforts Fund, used himself unsparingly in the service of the men throughout the voyage.27

After the war, in October 1920, Tom Riley was appointed an Officer in the Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire (OBE), the citation for which reads, 'For services in connection with the Soldiers' Comfort Fund'.28 Tom Riley's contribution to the welfare of the men of 10LH and to soldiers in general during WW1 was, arguably, more substantial than is recorded.

Returning to civilian life, Tom Riley resumed his duties as an Anglican priest. In 1921, he moved to St Mary's Church of England in West Perth and in September of that year founded St Mary's Anglican Girls' School, becoming Chairman of the First Board of Governors. He also became Governor of Hale School. A list of his responsibilities during this time, obtained from his family indicates that by 1930 he was involved in over twenty clerical, educational and civic memberships and associations. In 1930 he was appointed Archdeacon of Northam which gave him authority over all Anglican parishes in the diocese outside the metropolitan area of Perth. Of this latter task, an undated newspaper article, also obtained from his family, states:

> He must have been a good man for his last job (Archdeacon of 76,000 square miles in Western Australia), which consisted, he admitted yesterday, in primarily trying to keep people on the land cheered up in the face of years of depression and other setbacks.29

Chaplain Tom Riley with a group of unidentified 10th Light Horsemen, probably at Swanbourne circ 1935. Photo: Courtesy Mrs M. Walters.

Tom Riley left Western Australia for Victoria in 1938, when he was appointed Bishop of Bendigo, a position he held until 1957, even during the years of World War Two (WW2).

In the years before moving to Victoria he remained chaplain to 10LH and, as described previously, assisted his father the Archbishop of Perth in the consecration of the first 10LH Guidon in 1928. Amongst a number of other military duties he also acted as the 'Sports' secretary for the 10LH, was a member of the

27 *The West Australian*, 8 August 1919, p. 7.

28 *London Gazette*, 19 October 1920, p.10096. The actual award is dated 15 October 1920. Tom Riley's father, Archbishop Charles Owen Leaver Riley was appointed into the same award at the same time.

29 The undated cutting was originally obtained from Bishop Riley's daughter, Mrs Molly Walters, in Perth. The article was copied and used with permission of the family, but subsequent searching of recently promulgated on-line digitised Australian newspapers revealed that the article was published on page 8 of *The Argus* in Melbourne, on 22 August 1938.

committee of the 10LH Association and spent four and half years as senior vice-president of the West Australian Branch of the Returned Servicemen's' League (RSL). His departure from Western Australia ended his time as chaplain to 10LH, a tenure that had prevailed for nineteen years.

With the advent of WW2 he again enlisted in the AIF. In April 1940 he was appointed Chaplain 2nd Class to the AIF and a few months later was called up for full time duties. In April 1942 he was promoted to Commander of the Order British Empire (Military Division) (CBE) for his contributions to the Chaplains' Department during the turbulent months in North Africa in the latter half of 1941.30 He was subsequently promoted Chaplain 1st Class with the status of Lieutenant-Colonel and on 6 January 1942 was appointed Anglican Chaplain-General First Australian Corps. His travel record during the war years indicates constant trips to where Australian troops were fighting or training. A brief list of destinations taken in sequence from his service records includes, HQ AIF Palestine, Perth, Brisbane, Fremantle, Melbourne, Townsville, Merauke, Horn Island, Cairns, Moresby, Lae, Madang, Torokina, Morotai, Balikpapan—and for some of these destinations there are multiple visits.31 It seems that during this time, Tom Riley did the same as he had done during WW1, chose to take the messages of his profession, in person, to front line troops.

In February 1946 he ceased duty with the AIF, reverted to part-time duty with citizen forces, but remained as Anglican Chaplain-General. After a further eleven years in this capacity and as Bishop of Bendigo, he retired from ecclesiastical duties, returned to Western Australia and settled at Waterman's Bay. His retirement was no less active and he assisted with local parishes, acted as guest speaker to various institutions, became a Commissioner for the Rover Scout organisation and pursued his lifelong interest in stamp collecting, for which he had gained a considerable reputation. At seventy-eight years of age he became president of the Barracks Arch Defence Council, a group formed to lobby for the retention of the Barracks Arch.32 It is unclear whether, during these retirement years, he renewed contacts with 10LH, but in this regard and his association with the 10LH Guidon, there was still one notable event to come.

The years of WW2 brought about the demise of 10LH as a horse-mounted regiment. During the early years of the war the Regiment was called up for full-time militia duties and spent many months moving about the areas north and south of Perth, conducting coastal surveillance and installation protection duties. For a short time the Regiment warranted the coveted 'AIF' label, having sufficient members volunteered for overseas service to justify the title. But the attraction of more active participation in the AIF caused a dwindling of numbers and, as well, the emergent dominance of mechanical weapons brought an almost inevitable decision that the days of the horse as a weapon of war were numbered. When 10LH was formally disbanded on 4th April, 1944 it was the last of the WW1 horse-mounted regiments in Australia. Shortly before the disbandment, the regiment assembled and was addressed by the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Colonel Doncon.

> He said we had carried on the proud traditions of the 10 Australian Light Horse plus many more metaphorical pats on the back. The Regimental Guidon was then paraded before us and we were told

30 *London Gazette*, 16 April 1942, p. 1691.
31 NAA Series B2458, Item No. 350000: Service Record: Riley, Charles Lawrence.
32 The Barracks Arch, which stands at the western end of St George's Terrace in Perth, is the remains of the main entrance to what were the original barracks built for garrison troops during the colonial era. The barracks themselves were demolished to make way for freeways through Perth and the Barracks Arch was left as a memorial to the colonial era. Over a period of time it was allowed to fall into dis-repair, some say deliberately, and this was used as an excuse by City authorities to propose the removal of the Arch completely. The proposal caused a public outcry and a formal committee was convened by citizen groups to lobby for the retention of the building. The Arch was retained.

of its significance, of the heroic deeds in Beersheba and other places and that it would be kept in Saint George's Cathedral in Perth.33 (Edwards, 1993, p.79)

The guidon remained sequestered in St George's Cathedral for the next six years and when it emerged again, it was to commence a new era in the history of 10LH.

With the advent of the 'new' army in post-WW2 Australia, the Federal Government re-established the peace-time volunteer Citizens Military Forces (CMF) that had provided the nucleus of trained personnel for Australia's expeditionary forces in war. Amongst the first of these post-war CMF units were regiments of the Royal Australian Armoured Corps, raised in traditional light horse areas throughout Australia. One of these regiments was a 'new' 10th Light Horse. In September 1949, notification appeared in a local Northam newspaper that a CMF armoured car squadron, designated 'A' Squadron, 10th West Australian Mounted Infantry, together with a headquarters component, was to be formed in the town, and that recruiting would commence the following week.34 10LH was to become an armoured unit. Recruiting began in earnest and in the years that followed, after some wrangling about the official title, the new unit was again designated '10th Light Horse' and expanded to regiment size, with other sabre squadrons in Waroona and Geraldton.

On Sunday 12 November 1950, the 10LH Guidon was removed from St George's Cathedral and marched on foot, under escort to the Esplanade in Perth. In a formal ceremony the guidon was trooped for the last time in front of members of the 'old' regiment, formed up for the occasion, and then a former commanding officer of the regiment, Lieutenant Colonel M W B P Tweedie, handed the guidon to the new regiment. A link between 1928, 1944 and 1950 was created.35

During the following years the new regiment expanded to full strength. It was well equipped with armoured vehicles, based on British-made Ferret Scout Cars and after some shuffling of locations a stable organisation emerged with Regimental Headquarters, Headquarters Squadron, 'B' and 'C' Squadrons at Karrakatta in Perth and 'A' Squadron in Northam. Members of the Regiment wore the black beret and silver 'brass' of the Australian Army Armoured Corps, and behind the hat badge over the left eye, wore a tuft of the distinctive emu plume that had been the mark of Australian light horsemen for over forty years.

Lt Col M W B P Tweedie transfers the 1928 Guidon to the new 10LH Regiment.
Photo: Unknown scrapbook, courtesy 10LH Museum.

Late in 1965 information was promulgated that a new guidon was to be presented to the regiment the following year. Starting in February 1966, an intense period of training was implemented to ensure the presentation and consecration ceremony would be conducted without mistakes. As with the guidon ceremony

33 Edwards, R. (1993) *A Trooper's Story. The 10th Australian Light Horse Regiment (AIF) 1941-1944.* Bunbury, Western Australia: Individual Publication, printed by A&L Printers Pty Ltd.

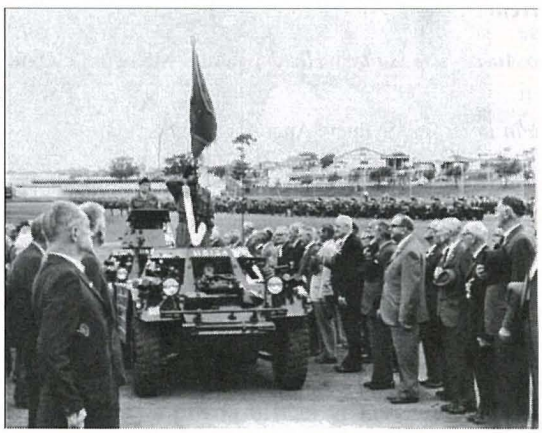
34 *Northam Advertiser*, 9 September 1949, p. 1.Northam is a semi-urban township 100 km east of Perth, on the edge of the West Australian Wheatbelt. It has a long history, stretching back into colonial times, associated with mounted troops in Western Australia.

35 The chaplain officiating at the handing-over ceremony was Chaplain S.J. Spratling. By this time Tom Riley had returned to Perth, as described, but there is no official record of him attending this ceremony. It is improbable that he did not attend.

Bishop Tom Riley (third from right foreground), now retired, watches as the Governor of WA, Major-General Sir Douglas Kendrew, presents the new Guidon to 10LH. The Guidon bearer is WO2 Alan Harris.
Photo: AA Public Relations

in 1928, the emergent ceremony was to be conducted 'fully mounted', but now instead of horses, over thirty Ferret Scout Cars and support vehicles would provide the mounts. The event was to be conducted on the Claremont Show Grounds and there, as well as other large open spaces around the metropolitan area, over the next two months, the air resounded to shouted commands and the roar of large Rolls-Royce engines as the skills of advancing line-ahead, line abreast and in review order with large groups of armoured vehicles were practiced over and over again.

Eventually, on 1 May 1966, 10LH received the new guidon. The old guidon was marched onto the parade ground under escort, uncased and trooped in front of the assembled regiment for the last time. It was then marched off through an avenue of ex-Tenth Light Horsemen, some of whom were WW1 veterans. In due course, the new guidon was marched on, draped on a pile of drums and blessed by clergymen representing various religious affiliations. Consecration of the new emblem on behalf of the Anglican Church was conducted by Bishop Charles Lawrence Riley. Tom Riley's participation in this ceremony represented over sixty-five years of the Riley family's association with 10LH, and it is an historical loss that his thoughts at the time were not recorded.



The 1928 Guidon is marched off the parade ground for the last time. The Guidon carrier in WO2 B.K.Williams. The Guidon passed through an avenue of ex-10th Light Horsemen, some of whom were WW1 veterans.
Photo: AA Public Relations

Twelve months later, with due ceremony, the old 10LH Guidon was laid up in the under-croft of the War Memorial in King's Park and later moved to the army museum at Fremantle—where it lies today (2010). The new guidon remains with the unit and is still uncased on ceremonial and social occasions.

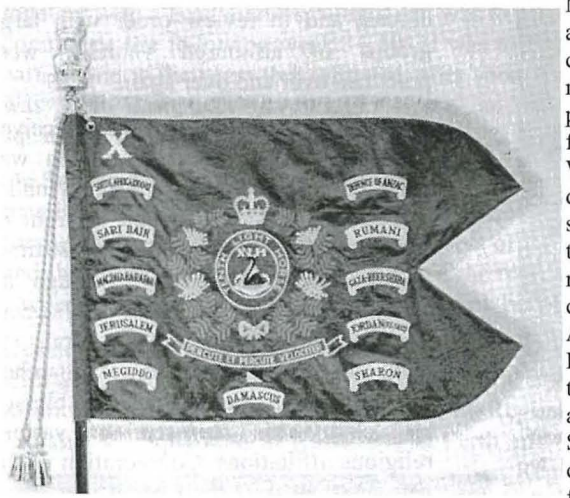
Tom Riley died on 1 April 1971, and it is perhaps testimony to Western Australia's development into a populous, multi-cultural society that his death, unlike his father's, attracted only passing interest in local media. It is also perhaps ironic that his passing occurred as the fortunes of 10LH

declined. During the early 1970's successive government cut-backs on vehicle movement and availability of equipment, as well as an increasing public concern over the war in Vietnam, brought about a drastic and continual decline in membership. By 1976 numbers were such that the once proud regiment was officially reduced to squadron size. 'A' Squadron in Northam, which had in many respects been the 'cradle' of light horse in Western Australia over several decades, was disbanded and the remaining units at Karrakatta were re-grouped into troops and re-named 'A' Squadron 10LH. 36

But regardless of size – 10LH continues to exist, and the squadron's history into the 21st century is another story.

Acknowledgements

No story such as this can be an individual effort and I thank all those who have assisted me in completing the account. What is written here is my responsibility but I single out a number of people who made significant contributions to the final product. First and foremost, to Mrs Molly Walters for allowing me access to family documents and photos, and who read and suggested changes to the original draft. I hope the text that emerges conveys the increasing respect for her father that I developed during the course of this writing. My thanks to Mrs Kaye Attrill, curator of the 10LH museum at Karrakatta, who made a special effort to open the museum allowing me access to documents and photo during the limited time I had in Perth. Some of the documents viewed in the museum changed significantly my understanding of the formation of the 18LH. My thanks also to Mr Michael Tognolini and my wife Val who both read the final draft and suggested further changes.



The 'new' 1966 10LH Guidon
Photo: From the event program.

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36 By this time only Regimental Headquarters, Headquarters Squadron and 'B' Squadron remained at Karrakatta. 'C' Squadron had been disbanded in the latter half of the 1960's.

THE LAST OF THE LAST: CHIEF PETTY OFFICER CLAUDE CHOULES (3 March 1901 – 5 May 2011)

Greg Swinden

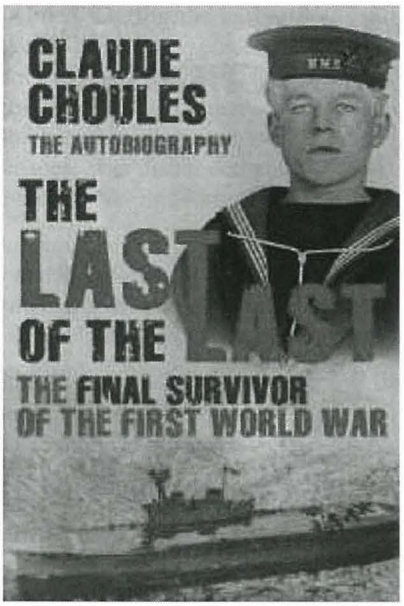
Claude Choules was the last of the last. When he died recently, in Western Australia, our last tangible link with World War I was severed. Thus a man who had served in the Royal Navy Grand Fleet, in 1917-18, as an unknown and obscure Boy Seaman became the last of the many millions of men and women who saw active service in what became known as the Great War.

Claude was born on 3 March 1901, in the town of Perhore, Worcestershire but grew up in the small village of Wyre Piddle a few miles away. In April 1915 at age 14 he joined the nautical training ship Mercury, moored at Southampton, and it was in this three masted sailing ship that he learned the mariner skills he was to require for a career at sea. When he turned 16 he was accepted into the Royal Navy and joined his first sea going ship the battleship HMS Revenge. He served in her throughout 1917 – 18, on operations in the North Sea, and was present at the surrender of the German High Seas Fleet on 21 November 1918. Of note is that while Claude served in the Royal Navy during World War I, his two older brothers who had immigrated to Australia served in the 1st AIF.

1914–1920, the Victory Medal and the Naval Long Service and Good Conduct Medal

After the Armistice, Claude continued to serve in the Royal Navy and by 1923 had been promoted to Leading Torpedoman. In early 1926 he accepted an offer to serve on exchange with the Royal Australian Navy as it would mean early promotion to Petty Officer and a chance to visit his older brothers and sister. While traveling to Australia he met Ms Ethel Wildgoose, who was going to Melbourne to become a nanny, and within a year they were married. He also made the bold decision to transfer to the RAN and later became a member of the commissioning crew of the cruiser HMAS Canberra.

In early 1931, at age 30, Claude left the Navy in order to provide more family stability as he had a wife and two young children. He helped his brother run a fruit and vegetable business and also spent a year as a prison officer at Fremantle Gaol. But in late 1932 he rejoined the Navy as a Chief Petty Officer Instructor at the Naval Training Depot in Fremantle.



When World War II broke out in 1939 he was still serving in Western Australia and became the Torpedo Officer for the port of Fremantle. His duties over the next six years of war included demolition work, maintaining mine sweeping equipment and mine disposal on the WA Coast. In 1942, when there was a distinct possibility of a Japanese invasion, he was responsible for preparing demolition charges for the destruction of the port of Fremantle and its supporting infrastructure. After the war Claude stayed on in RAN as an instructor and explosives specialist.

In 1950, he turned 50 years of age and would normally have retired from the Navy but instead was offered the opportunity to transfer to the Naval Dockyard Police whose retiring age was 55; so he did. After finally retiring from the RAN in 1955 after 41 years service in naval uniform he went on to live for another 55 years in which he enjoyed cray fishing, sailing and spending time with his wife, children and grand children. In 2007 his wife of 80 years died and in 2009 his autobiography *The last of the last: The final survivor of the First World War* was published. Claude passed away in the Gracewood Hostel in Perth on 5 May 2011, survived by his three children, 11 grandchildren and 22 great-grandchildren.

Vale Claude Choules - a man who lived life to the fullest.

His medals include:

British War Medal 1914 - 1920
Victory Medal
War Medal 1939 – 1945
Australia Service Medal 1939 – 1945
Queen Elizabeth II Coronation Medal
Australian Defence Medal
Centenary Medal
Naval Long Service and Good Conduct Medal with Clasp

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NEDERLANDSE ONDERSCHEIDINGEN 1945-62 (DUTCH COMBAT AWARDS 1945-62)

Graham Wilson

One of my particular areas of collecting interest is Dutch medals. Without going into too much of the background on why and how I became a collector in such an admittedly esoteric field, I have found that the historical background to Dutch medals, especially those of the latter half of the 20th century, is as fascinating and bloody as that of the medals of any other country.

There is, unfortunately here in Australia, an accepted myth of military ineptness on the part of the Dutch, largely fostered by misconceptions about Dutch performance during the invasion of the Low Countries in 1940, and this most definitely is misconception. Certainly the Dutch forces did not hold out for very long and certainly the Dutch forces did lay down their weapons after only what appeared to be a short period of fighting. However, it needs to be recignised that the Dutch forces did not break and run as the Belgians and many of the French forces did and did not surrender with hardly a shot fired as the Danes did. The Dutch army, navy and air force, ill-equipped, ill-armed and ill prepared for a modern war, fought well and fought on until ordered to lay down their arms by a government that recognised that future resistance was useless and would only lead to further death and destruction.

For their part, the Germans were astonished by the level of resistance put up by the Dutch and shaken by the losses they suffered in the invasion of The Netherlands. Dutch forces indeed did fight hard and fight well, not just during the invasion of 1940, but for the rest of the Second World War. However, my talk tonight is not about the Second World War, it is about the two decades after the war and hard fighting that Dutch troops were involved in during those decades.

During the period 1945-1962, Dutch troops were engaged in combat in:

- The Netherlands East Indies (1945-1949)
- Korea (1950-1953)
- Netherlands New Guinea (1949-1962)

Each of these conflicts will be looked at, but only in a cursory manner, as the main aim of the article is actually to discuss the medals of the conflicts, both decorations for gallantry and distinguished service and also campaign awards.

First of all, the Netherlands East Indies, the archipelago of islands that forms most of modern day Indonesia. The Indies had been the jewel in the Dutch colonial crown and when the mother country was overrun and occupied in 1940, the colony gave the Dutch government-in-exile much more clout than it would have had if it had not had the economic and human resources of the Indies to draw upon. This of course all changed in 1942 with the invasion of the Indies by the Japanese and the eventual surrender or withdrawal of Dutch forces. The Indies then faced almost four years of brutal occupation, finally ended by the dropping of atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima and the surrender of Japan.

The Japanese in the Indies, however, did not go entirely quietly. During the years of the occupation the Japanese had supported and encouraged Indonesian nationalists, largely 9(I personally believe) under the façade of promising independence within the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' at some time in the future. I personally don't believe that the Japanese really had any intention of granting Indonesian independence, however, that is not itself the subject of this article. What did happen, in 1945, is that the Japanese occupiers, faced with the fact of defeat and surrender, in what can really only be described as an act of pure spite, granted

'independence' to the Indonesia nationalists, thus creating a huge problem for the returning legitimate colonial government. And it must be clearly understood that, whatever one might personally think about the pros or cons of colonialism, the Dutch were the legitimate government of the Indies, recognised as such in every world forum.

For various reasons, the Dutch government was not prepared to accept the fait accompli presented to them by the defeated Japanese and would fight a bitter four year war to retain possession of the Indies. The conflict itself was fairly complex and I will simply put up a simple time line to try to give and idea of the scope of the conflict.

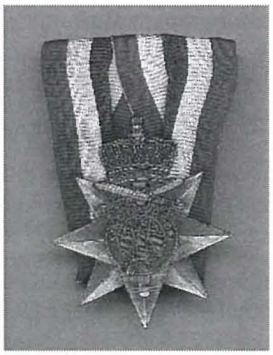
- 1945 – Japan surrenders, Dutch return
- 1946 – escalating clashes between Dutch and Indonesian nationalists
- 1947 – First Dutch 'Police Action' (Operation 'Product')
- 1948 – Second Dutch 'Police Action' (Operation 'Kraai' or 'Crow')
- 1949 – UN and US pressure force Dutch to grant full independence

That is a very, very brief overview of a very bitter four years of war, a war that saw:

- 150,000 Dutch troops deployed
- 6,000 Dutch fatalities
- ± 150,000 Indonesian fatalities

Before I go on to discuss medals connected with the war, I'll dwell for a moment on this figure, i.e. approximately 150,000 Indonesians killed. Doubtless most readers would agree that a comparison of 6,000 dead Dutch to 150,000 dead Indonesians is gruesomely impressive; and it is, for in terms of normal military operations, a kill ratio of 1:8 is considered to extremely high. So it would have to be said that a kill ratio of 1:25, which is what 6,000:150,000 translates to, is quite awesome. Realistically, given the nominal 1:8 ratio, it would be expected that 6,000 dead Dutchmen would translate to 48,000 dead Indonesians at most. So, how to explain the discrepancy of 102,000 dead Indonesians? Does this figure mean that every Dutchamn who died in Indonesia killed 25 Indonesians before he himself died? Hardly. Does it mean that every one of the 150,000 Dutchmen who served in the Indies campaign killed one Indonesian each before they went home or were killed? Again, hardly. However, if these didn't happen, then who killed those additional 100,000 odd Indonesians? After all, despite the indisputable fact that the Dutch well and truly won the war militarily and were light years ahead of the Indonesians in the field, they weren't **that** good.

The answer to the question of who killed those extra 100,000 dead Indonesians is, the Indonesians did it themselves. One of the aspects of the Dutch-Indonesian War that is rarely and one that the Indonesians themselves rigorously suppress, is the fact that the so-called 'Indonesian revolutionaries' were not a unified front. At any one time the Dutch were facing as many as four competing groups and more often than not these groups were at war with each other, so that rather than being a two way war between the Dutch and the Indonesians, the war was actually a three, four and even at times a five way war, as competing groups of Indonesian 'nationalists', each with their own view of their own legitimacy and each determined to come out of the war as the eventual ruler of Indonesia, fought not just the Dutch, for eventual victory, but also each other for political and ideological dominance. Those additional 100,000 Indonesians were either killed by other Indonesians in internecine fighting, died as a result of sickness or starvation resulting from the displacement caused by internal fighting or were massacred in bouts of 'ethnic' or ideological cleansing. The wonder in fact is not that so many Indonesians died, but in fact that so few died.



Turning now to the medals awarded to Dutch service personnel during the war, first of all, the campaign medal issued is the *Ereteken voor Orde en Vrede* or *Star for Order and Peace* (see Figure 1). As can be seen, the medal is a bronze seven point star surmounted by a Dutch crown with two crossed swords below the crown. The reverse is plain except for the maker's mark (Kon. Begeer). The ribbon is equal stripes of red, white, blue, white, red in imitation of the colours of the Dutch flag.

Figure 1 – *Ereteken voor Orde en Vrede* (*Cross for Order and Peace*)

The medal:

- Was established in 1947.
- Was awarded to members of the KNIL, KL, KLLM, KM, police and certain civilians.
- Was awarded posthumously.
- Could be issued with five official clasps, i.e. 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948 and 1949.
- Is also seen with two unofficial clasps, i.e. 1950 and 1951
- Required actual service in combat for issue of the medal with official clasp.

The two unofficial clasps were added to their Star by Dutch officers and NCOs who served in the new nation of Indonesia in 1950 and 1951 as part of the Dutch Military Mission. In undress uniform, when ribbon bars only are worn, entitlement to a clasp is signified by an eight pointed star worn on the ribbon, one star for each clasp.

Figure 2 shows the *Ereteken voor Orde en Vrede* being worn as part of a Dutch officer's group.

Figure 2

The awards in this group, reading from left to right, are:

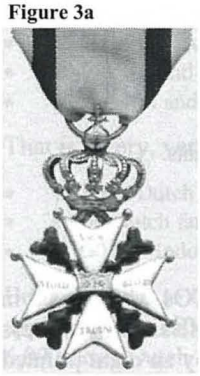
- *Officer of the Order of Orange Nassau.*
- *Oorlogs-Herinneringskruis* (*Commemorative War Cross – WW2*) with clasps 'NEDERLANDSCH-INDIË 1941-1942' and 'OOST-AZIË-ZUID-PACIFIC 1942-1945'..
- *Ereteken voor Orde en Vrede* with clasps '1946', '1947', '1948' and '1949'.
- *Officer's Long Service Cross* with clasp for 25 years.
- *World War One Mobilisation Cross.*

This officer had seen a lot of service.

Turning now to decorations for gallantry and distinguished service, a number of awards of all Dutch military decorations were made, not surprisingly, for service in the Indies and included awards of (see Figure 3a - e):

- *Militaire Willems Orde* or *Military Order of William* (MWO - the highest Dutch award for gallantry), of which 28 were awarded.
- *Bronzen Leeuw* (BL) or *Bronze Lion*, 161 awarded.
- *Bronzen Kruis* (BK) or *Bronze Cross*, 380 awarded.
- *Kruis van Verdienst* (KV) or *Cross of Merit*, 3 awarded.
- *Vliegerkruis* (VK) or *Flying Cross*, 4 awarded.

Figure 3a



***Willems Orde* (*Military Order of William*)**

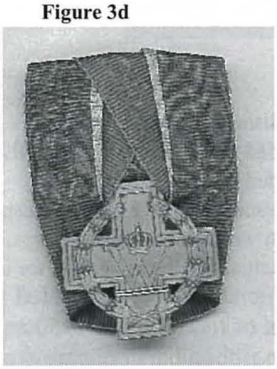
Figure 3b

***Bronzen Leeuw* (*Bronze Lion*)**

Figure 3c

***Bronzenkruis* (*Bronze Cross*)**

Figure 3d



***Kruis van Verdienste* (*Cross of Merit*)**

Figure 3e

***Militaire Vliegerkruis* (*Flying Cross*)**

Table 1 gives a breakdown of the numbers of awards made to the various services. Not surprisingly, the Army, which was the largest service involved, received the largest numbers of awards followed by the KNIL or Indies Army, the much smaller purely colonial arm of the Army. Note, however, the relatively large number of awards to the Marines, the smallest of the services, which includes 8 awards of the MWO. The single MWO Grade 2 was an upgrade of a lower grade of the Order, made to Lieutenant General Spoor, commander-in-chief of Netherlands forces in the Indies, and basically indicates a bar to the award. Spoor had been awarded the MWO 4 in 1944. One of the most interesting awards, and one that is frustrating the author mightily due to the inability to find out any details on it, is one of the five awards of the *Bronze Lion* made to civilians. The BL is a purely gallantry award and in Imperial terms is equivalent to an award of the DSO or DCM for gallantry. The mystery civilian award is that made to Sister Maria Joseph van Scheijndel, a Catholic nun. God knows what she did to earn the award of a *Bronze Lion*.

Award	Army	KNIL	KNIL Aviation	Navy	Marines	Civilian	Total
Military Willem's Order 2	1						**1**
Military Willem's Order 4	11	7			8	1	**27**
Bronze Lion	80	59	3		14	5	**161**
Bronze Cross	183	123	4	6	24	39	**379**
Cross of Merit	3						**3**
Flying Cross			3	1			**4**

Table 1 – Breakdown of Gallantry Awards by Service Indies Campaign 1945-1949

Turning now to the second Dutch military involvement post-World War Two, this was the Korean War. The Dutch government was one of those that responded to the call to provide

troops to fight the North Koreans and Chinese in Korea. With its primary commitment being to NATO and the need to find troops to maintain two corps in Holland for home defence and a corps in Germany, The Netherlands was hard pressed to find additional assets for Korea, but did manage to maintain both naval and ground forces in Korea from the beginning of the conflict until the end. At any given time between August 1950 and December 1954 there was always one Dutch warship on station in Korean waters. 1,360 Dutch naval personnel served in Korea and two men died (neither in action). Ships provided included the destroyers 'Eversten', 'Van Galen' and 'Piet Hein' and the frigates 'Joahn Maurits van Nassau', 'Dubois' and 'Van Zijl'.

The Dutch ground commitment consisted of an infantry battalion, referred to as the Netherlands UN Detachment - Nederlandse Detachmentse Verenigde Naties or NDVN. The NDVN was formed in October 1950 and the battalion, which saw 26 rotations of volunteers to keep it up to strength, saw 3,972 men pass through its ranks. Of these 116 were killed in action, 1 died as a POW, 3 are still listed as MIA, 1 DOW on return to The Netherlands, 1 DOW en route to The Netherlands (and is buried in Singapore) and 1 man died accidentally.

The NDVN's finest hour undoubtedly was the Battle of Hoengsong, 12-15 February 1951. The battalion was in a rest camp after having been withdrawn from the line and was attacked by North Korean troops on the night of 12 February, the North Koreans having infiltrated the battalion area disguised as South Korean troops. The battalion was in danger of being overwhelmed but, despite the chaos of a surprise night action, rallied magnificently and carried out a fighting withdrawal to pre-designated rally points. Here the battalion reorganised, repelled several heavy attacks and then fought its way back onto to its old position. Two of the heroes of the initial action were the battalion's chaplains, Protestant and Catholic, who gathered up a about a platoon's worth of leaderless soldiers and led them out of the battalion area.

While to my eyes and probably to the eyes of anyone else with a military background similar to my own, the Dutch action at Hoengsong was nothing short of superb, not everyone agreed. The NDVN was subordinate to the US 2nd Infantry Division and in April 1951 the division Inspector General issued a confidential report on the performance of the Dutch unit. While admitting that the Dutch had done well to extract themselves in good order from a perilous position and in doing so had taken their wounded and even some of their dead with them, as well as almost all of the battalion's support weapons, the truck bound Americans were shocked that the Dutch had not only deliberately abandoned their vehicles but had immobilised or destroyed most of then during the withdrawal. The Americans could not come to terms philosophically with the notion that Lieutenant Colonel den Ouden, the CO of the Dutch battalion, had developed SOP that specified that in the event of just such an action as occurred at Hoengsong, the battalion was to abandon its vehicles, immobilise or destroy them if possible, and withdraw to predesignated rally points on foot, taking with them their support weapons, radios and ammunition, as well as their dead and wounded where possible. The 2nd US Div IG was extremely critical of what they saw as a flaw in Dutch doctrine. Needless to say, the IG report, totally fixated on the actual loss of the motor vehicles, ignored the fact that neighbouring US and ROK units that had also been overrun fled their areas in vehicles, only to run into pre-positioned vehicle ambushes down the road, which saw great loss of life and the loss of the vehicles anyway. Den Ouden had developed his battalion SOP based on just such an eventuality. No matter what the US IG might have thought about it in the wash up, the Dutch colonel wasn't about to have his unit slaughtered in a totally avoidable vehicle

Figure 4 – *Kruis voor Recht en Vrijheid* (*Cross for Justice and Freedom*)

ambush, regardless of what the IG might have to say about his lack of devotion to the unit's vehicles. Sadly, Colonel den Ouden was not around to accept the US criticism – he was killed in a rear guard action covering the withdrawal of the battalion headquarters during the fighting on 12 February.

To recognise service in Korea, the Dutch government established the Kruis *voor Recht en Vrijheid* or *Cross for Justice and Liberty* (see figure 4). This medal, which I personally believe is by far the most attractive of all the medals established for Korea, is a solid silver Maltese Cross. Behind the cross are two crossed swords and in the centre of the obverse is an oval plaque with an ornamental 'J' for Juliana, surmounted by a crown. The Dutch lion appears on the reverse. The ribbon is dark blue with a centre stripe of orange and thin white stripes at each edge.

The *Kruis voor Recht en Vrijheid*:

- Was established by Royal Decree of 23 July 1951.
- Was awarded to both Army and Navy.
- Was accompanied by a clasp 'KOREA 1950'
- Was awarded posthumously.
- Was awarded with an additional clasp for each rotation (516 double awards and 38 triple awards)

In addition to the *Kruis voor Recht en Vrijheid*, Dutch Korean War veterans were entitled to the Dutch language version of the *UN Korea Medal* (Figure 5a) and the *Republic of Korea War Service Medal* (see Figure 5b).

UN Service Medal for Korea
(Dutch version)

Republic of Korea
War Service Medal

As a digression there is a small piece of trivia associated with the Dutch language version of the UN Korea Medal and South African Korean War veterans. South African Korean War veterans were issued with the English language version of the *UN Korea Medal* to accompany their South African Korean War Medal, however, a number of Afrikaner veterans are known to have thrown their English language medals away and replaced them with privately purchased Dutch language versions. There is no end, it would seem, to the lengths a dedicated Afrikaner will go to distance himself from the hated Rooineks!

Figure 6 shows the medal group of a veteran of both the Dutch-Indonesian War and the Korean War.

Figure 6

Reading from left to right his medal group consists of:

- *Ereteken voor Orde en Vrede without clasp*
- *Kruis voor Recht en Vrijheid* with one clasp
- *Long Service Medal* for NCOs in Gold (Army version) (indicating 36 years service as an enlisted man)
- *UN Korea Medal* (Dutch language version)
- *ROK War Service Medal*

As with Indonesia, a number of gallantry awards were made to Dutch service personnel in Korea, including:

- *Military Willem's Order*, 3 awarded.
- *Bronze Lion*, 5 awarded.
- *Bronze Cross*, 21 awarded.
- *Cross of Merit*, 4 awarded.

All Korean War awards were to soldiers. One of the MWO awards was a posthumous award to LTCOL Den Ouden, CO of the Dutch Battalion, who died during the Battle of Hoengsong.

The final conflict that Dutch troops were involved in post World War Two was in the former Netherlands New Guinea in 1961-62, now the troubled Indonesian province of West Papua.

When sovereignty of the Indies was transferred to Indonesia in 1949, the status of the Netherlands New Guinea was left undecided. From the Dutch point of view, and a point of view that I agree with, Netherlands New Guinea had never been an integral part of the Netherlands East Indies, having its own governor, colonial administration and police force, all separate from the colonial apparatus in the Netherlands East Indies and thus the Dutch believed that New Guinea did not and should not form part of the new nation. With that in mind, the Dutch set about preparing their part of New Guinea for eventual independence. The Indonesians on the other hand argued that as West New Guinea had been administered by The Netherlands, then it was theirs – which, given the historical, geographical and ethnographical realities, made about as much sense as the Indonesians saying that since Aruba and Curacao in the Caribbean were administered by The Netherlands, then they should be transferred to Indonesian control.

The Dutch civil and military administration in the former East Indies was transferred to New Guinea in 1949, with the Governor of New Guinea being invested with the authority of the former Governor-General of the East Indies. Dutch-Indonesian wrangling over the eventual

status and disposition dragged on for ten years from 1950-1960. In 1954, following a review of the defence needs of the colony by the Ministry of Defence, responsibility for defence was transferred from the Army to the Navy and military command was vested in a naval officer. The garrison was now based around a small but powerful and modern flotilla of warships, a mixed squadron of aircraft from the Fleet Air Arm, a battalion of Marines and small Army and Air Force elements.

Indonesian incursions into the colony by armed troops began early in 1961 and the Dutch reinforced the garrison with additional ships, aircraft, marines and an Army infantry brigade group. A number of armed clashes between Indonesian and Dutch forces occurred throughout 1961-1962, in all of which the Indonesians always came off a very poor second best. However, in August 1962, having won convincingly in the field, The Netherlands bowed to international pressure (largely American) and agreed to a cease-fire and negotiations. As a result of the latter, transfer of sovereignty of the former colony from The Netherlands to Indonesia was affected on 1 October 1962 and all Dutch forces withdrew from New Guinea. Withdrawal was followed by the Indonesian run (many would say, not without justification, Indonesian rigged) 'act of free choice' in 1963, which saw the indigenous population of West New Guinea assure their independence by voting to be incorporated into the Republic of Indonesia. For those who might think this last line gratuitously sarcastic, it is in fact a quote direct from former Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Ali Alatas! The so-called 'act of free choice' was in fact so rigged that even the UN noticed – however, given the combination of US pressure and the anti-colonial, post-'Winds of Change' stance of the UN, Dutch efforts to ensure the eventual independence of West New Guinea were totally doomed.

Turning back to the matter of medals, to recognise service in New Guinea between 1949 – 1962, the Dutch established the *Nieuw-Guinea Herinneringskruis* or *New Guinea Commemorative Cross* by Royal Decree on 29 September 1962. The medal is a gilt St George Cross with elongated arms. In the centre of the obverse is a disk with a five-pointed star surmounted by a Dutch crown and surrounded by the legend 'NEDERLAND/NIEUW GUINEA'. The reverse features the Dutch coat of arms and the medal is suspended for a ribbon of green with narrow borders of red, white and blue. Eligibility criteria was thirty days service in New Guinea between 1949 and 1962, however, any person who served in New Guinea for thirty days or more from 1 January – 1 October 1962, i.e. the period of Indonesian aggression, is entitled to add a clasp "1962" to the ribbon of the medal (see Figure 7). In undress uniform when ribbons only are worn, entitlement to the clasp '1962' is signified by a gilt five pointed star worn on the ribbon.

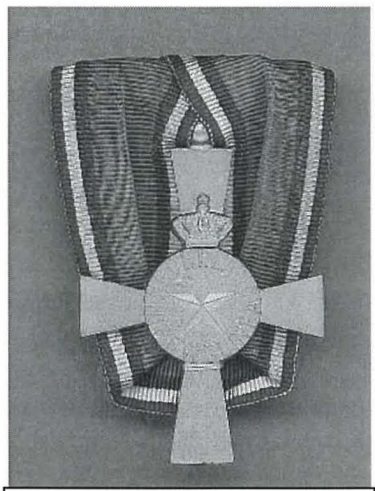


Figure 7 – *Nieuw-Guinea Herinneringskruis* (*New Guinea Commemorative Cross*)

Figure 8 shows the *New Guinea Cross* being worn in a Dutch medal group.

Figure 8

Reading from left to right the medals are:

- *Silver Medal of the Order of Orange Nassau*
- *Ereteken voor Orde en Vrede* with clasps '1946' and '1947'
- *Nieuw-Guinea Herinneringskruis* with clasp '1962'
- *Long Service Medal* for NCOs (Gold – 36 years)
- *Four Day March Medal*

The Dutch awarded the following decorations for bravery or distinguished service during the campaign:

- *Bronze Lion*, 3
- *Bronze Cross*, 20
- *Cross of Merit*, 8

Table 2 shows the breakdown of awards by service. Note the large number of awards that went to Marines compared to the other services. This is a reflection of both the larger number of Marines in the garrison compared to other branches and the fact that the majority of action was on land.

Award	Army	Navy	Naval Air	Marines	Civilian	Total
Bronze Lion	2			1		**3**
Bronze Cross	4	1		13	2	**20**
Cross of Merit	1		1	5	1	**8**

Table 2 – Breakdown of Gallantry Awards by Service New Guinea 1962

In conclusion, it is fashionable in Australia to dismiss the Dutch as militarily inept and even useless. History does not bear this concept out. Certainly the Dutch forces in the Indies campaign from 1945-49 performed extremely well and any balanced assessment of the outcome would say that they handily won the military war, being eventually beaten at the diplomatic table. The Dutch forces in Korea performed superbly, no matter what the Inspector General of the 2nd US Infantry Division might have to say. Finally, once again in New Guinea in 1962 the Dutch consistently outfought and outperformed the Indonesians at sea, on land and in the air and once again it was only diplomacy that beat them.

Acknowledgement

I acknowledge the assistance and advice of my friend and fellow collector, Captain Jaap Schuuring, Royal Netherlands Marine Corps (Retired) in the preparation of this article.

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THE AUSTRALIANS WHO TACKLED THE DAMS

Derek Roylance AM[1]

The roar of bombers rising in the late evening air and heading east was not an unusual sound for the people of the English county of Lincolnshire in the spring of 1943. The air bombardment of Hitler's Reich was in full swing and the flat, Lincolnshire countryside had been turned into a massive bomber base. But on 16 May those travelling along the Fosse Way, an arrow straight road built by the Romans, and which skirted the RAF Station at Scampton, were witnessing the start of a raid that was very different from those that normally set out to attack the German heartland. This raid was one which would grab the imagination of a war-weary Britain, and indeed of the free world: it was raid still regarded, despite modern 'smart' bombs, as the most daring example of precision bombing in the history of air warfare.

The 19 specially adapted Avro Lancaster bombers that roared away from Scampton that night were taking part in what was known officially as Operation Chastise, but which has been known since simply as "The Dams Raid". The 133 hand-picked men who formed the crews of the aircraft were charged with destroying the great dams that provided water for Germany's industrial heartland, the Ruhr Valley. If they could be breached it was believed that the German war effort would be disrupted. That two of the dams, the Mohne and the Eder were breached and a third, the Sorpe, was damaged, is now history.

Whether the raid should have been attempted; whether the damage was a great as had been anticipated; whether the cost to the aircrews was worth it have been matters of argument since. What has not been questioned is the brilliance of the concept and the man who devised the weapon – which could be described as the first 'smart' bomb – to breach the dams and the raw courage of the men who set out on the great adventure that night.

The idea of an attack on the dams, in the event of war with Germany had been placed on the agenda by the RAF in 1938. The objective was to cut off essential water supplies to German industry: cause flood damage to industrial plant, railways and other infrastructure and to starve the inland waterways system of water. The dams remained on the target list after the war began. All that was needed was a suitable weapon with which to attack them, an aircraft that could carry such a weapon. Such a weapon sprang from the mind of Dr Barnes Wallis. Briefly he believed that the dams could be destroyed by using shockwaves from explosions to create such pressure on the walls that they would give way. Month after month he worked with his formulae and models. In February 1943 he was advised the idea of attacking the dams should be forgotten. He resigned but Prime Minister Winston Churchill was fascinated by the idea and ordered the attack on the dams to be prepared. Barnes Wallis was reinstated.

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1 Author's note: I wrote this article to mark the 50th anniversary of the raid in 1993. My sources included information provided by the UK Department of Defence who kindly provided crew lists and a chart showing the route taken by the three waves of the attack and details of where each of the aircraft that did not return crashed; the Australian branch of the 617 Squadron Association, letters from people who became aware of my research, newspaper articles, books on the Bomber Offensive, and, most informative, an interview with Pilot Officer Tony Burcher DFM. My original manuscript was submitted to Burcher for comment. He made three minor amendments and was kind enough to write to me in March 1993 saying: "Apart from these minor inaccuracies I think the story is correct in detail, so far as I can see. I think also, that it is an excellent account and without any doubt the best and most accurate and detailed short story of the raid I have seen". Needless to say the inaccuracies he identified were corrected. At that time only three of the Australians were still alive. Burcher, and one other who did not wish to talk about the raid lived in Tasmania, and the third, Shannon, lived in London. The last of the three passed away in 1998.

What Barnes Wallis devised was a bomb which has been described as looking like the front wheel of a steamroller. It was to be given a reverse spin by a hydraulic motor 10 minutes before being released. Spinning at 500 rpm when released at a height of 20 metres between 400 and 500 yards (366 and 457 metres) from the target with the aircraft travelling at 240-250 miles per hour (400-418 kilometres per hour). It was designed to bounce along the surface of the water and sink against the dam wall, exploding at a depth of 30 feet (9 metres). The bomb was 60 inches (1.52 metres) long and 50 inches (1.28 ,metres) in diameter and detonation n would be by three hydrostatic pistols. It weighed 9,250 pounds (4,111.1 kilograms) of which 6,600 pounds (2,933.3 kilograms) were explosive.

So the British planners had their weapon (although trials were not yet complete): the new Avro Lancaster bomber was identified as the delivery aircraft, although for this raid the aircraft would need to be modified to take the unusually shaped bomb and its hydraulic spinning device. All that was now needed were the men to do the job. Experience was required and it was decided that men who had just completed, or were about to complete a tour of operations (then between 25-30 missions against the enemy) would form a new squadron. It was to be given the number 617 and would operate from Scampton, a few kilometres to the north of Lincoln, in eastern England.

On the night that decision was made Wing Commander Guy Gibson, a Regular RAF Officer, flew the last mission of his third tour. A few days later he was asked if he would do "one more trip" and when he agreed he was appointed to command the new squadron and lead the raid on the dams – although he at that stage he did not know the target. Gibson selected 21 crews, 147 men in all, but only 19 crews, 133 men, actually took off to attack the dams.

Mostly from Britain, their number included one American, two New Zealanders, 25 Canadians and 13 Australians. Twelve of the Aussies were serving with the RAAF and one, "Micky" Martin, was in the RAF. The Australians were a mixed bunch. All were wartime flyers and came from most States. Four of the pilots on the raid were Australians. One of them, Dave Shannon, a South Australian Bank Clerk, arrived from Gibson's previous Squadron, No 106. A very young looking 20 year old he already wore the purple and white diagonally striped ribbon of the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC). When he joined 617 he had already flown 36 missions.

Les Knight and Micky Martin were from 50 Squadron. Twenty-two years old Knight was from Camberwell, Vic. He had flown 26 missions and been recommended for a DFC. Martin was from Edgecliffe in Sydney, He held the DFC having completed 36 operations. Knight's navigator was another Australian, Bob Kellow, a shop assistant from Hamilton, Newcastle, NSW. Bob Barlow was the fourth Australian pilot. A 32 year old from Carlton, Vic, he joined the RAAF in 1941 and had completed 29 operations with 61 Squadron before joining 617. His DFC for this tour was Gazetted two days before the Dams Raid – his last operation.

Joining 617 from 60 Squadron with Barlow, was his wireless operator, Charles Williams, 34, from Torrens Creek, Queensland. He, too, had joined the RAAF in 1941. He had flown 29 operations but his DFC was not Gazetted until July 1945. His promotion to Flying Officer took effect from 16 May 1943. The day he was killed. The remaining seven Australians, gunners, bomb aimers, navigators and wireless operators were scattered throughout the crews.

Gibson's bomb aimer, Fred (Spam) Spafford came from Wayville SA. A fitter, he joined up in 1940. As a Flight Sergeant he had been awarded an immediate Distinguished Flying Medal (DFM) after 15 operations. He was commissioned in January 1943. The most Antipodean crew was Martin's. Apart from himself there were four Australians and one New Zealander in his seven-man crew. His navigator – designated navigator leader for 617 Squadron – was Jack Leggo, 27, a Sydney Bank Clerk who joined the RAAF in 1940. He held the DFC for 26 previous operations. Bob Hay,29, the bomb aimer came from Gawler, SA. He also held the DFC

and was appointed bombing leader for the squadron. The front gunner was Toby Foxlee, DFM, of Ashgrove, Brisbane and the rear gunner was Thomas Simpson, of Hobart. He flew 37 operations with 50 Squadron and was commissioned three days after the Dams Raid. Rear gunner in Flight Lieutenant John Hopgood's crew was Tony Burcher. Born in Sydney, he joined the RAAF in 1940 he was awarded the DFM for 27 operations with Gibson's former squadron, 106. Lance Howard of South Fremantle, WA, was the navigator in Flight Sergeant Bill Townsend's Lancaster and had flown 25 missions before joining 617 Squadron.

Once formed at Scampton the crews trained hard. Low flying was the order of the day but the problems of dropping the bomb from the right height at the right distance from the dams remained. The height problem was solved by fixing spotlights below each aircraft, one in the nose and one in the rear. They were angled so that when the spots met on the surface of the water the aircraft was at exactly the right height. A simple device, but flying into enemy gunfire with two spotlights showing exactly where you were was not regarded as a healthy occupation. The release point was devised by use of a wooden Y-shaped device with a nail in each of the arms of the "Y". The idea was if the bomb aimer held the foot of the "Y" to his eye, when the nails lined up with the towers at each side of the Mohne Dam, the aircraft was at the spot to drop the bomb. Some bomb aimers used this device, others scratched marks in the plexiglass nose of their aircraft, lining these scratches with the towers marked the correct release point for the bomb. Although Gibson and his flight commanders were aware of the target, the crews were not told until the morning of 16 May. Scampton was sealed. Security was paramount. Tony Burcher had been into Lincoln the night before. He met a member of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) whom he had met when serving at Coningsby, a few kilometres south of Lincoln. They were to be married on 12 June. They were not to meet again for another two years. The attack was devised to go in three formations One was to attack the Mohne and Eder; the second to go for the Sorpe and the third to act as a mobile reserve.

The second group of Lancasters in fact took off first. They were to fly a longer route to attack the Sorpe Dam. They would also act as a diversion to the lead group which was to go for the Mohne and the Eder. The designated leader of this group, Joe McCarthy, the American serving in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), was delayed because he had to change aircraft. It was perhaps fortuitous because none of the other four aircraft in his group reached the target.

First away was Flight Lieutenant Norman Barlow from Carlton, Vic. His aircraft lifted from the airfield at 9.28pm. Apart from himself his crew comprised four Englishmen, a Canadian and another Australian. Charles Williams, a Queenslander who was his navigator. One minute behind him a New Zealander, Les Munro, lifted his aircraft into the air and the other two piloted by Canadian, Vernon Byers and Englishman Geoff Rice followed at similar intervals. It was one hour and 27 minutes after leaving Scampton that the first casualty occurred. Byers' aircraft was hit by flak at Waddenzee in Holland and crashed, killing all on board.

Barlow and his crew pressed on, flying at around 30 metres. They crossed Holland but just over the German border, near Emmerick, they, too, were hit by flak and perished. The time was 28 minutes past midnight. They had been in the air exactly three hours. Their special bomb did not explode and the Germans were able to recover it and learn its secrets. All too late because the bombs were not used again after that night.

Eight minutes later the Kiwi, Munro, and his crew landed safely back at Scampton. Munro's aircraft was also damaged by anti-aircraft fire. With his intercom and radio out of commission he passed a piece of paper round to seek the crew's opinion on whether they should press on or not. One member wrote he thought they would be a "bloody menace" over the target with no communications. Munro agreed and reluctantly turned for home. The last of the first group, Rice, also had to turn back. Flying 20 meters above the Zuider Zee, he dropped too low and the

bomb, which protruded below the level of the fuselage, hit the water and was ripped off. A great rush of water tore up through the bomb bay and into the aircraft, nearly drowning the rear gunner. Rice managed to keep control of the aircraft. With no bomb there was no point in going on. They returned safely to Scampton.

Eight minutes after the first four aircraft left Scampton, three more Lancaster roared into the air. They were the first of three sections of the lead group. Their route to their target was more direct. The prime objective was the Mohne Dam with the Eder as a secondary target. There were seven Australians in these three aircraft. Gibson had South Australian Fred Spafford as his bomb aimer and John Hopgood had Sydneysider Tony Burcher in his rear gun turret. The third aircraft had five Australians on board. Martin, the captain, Leggo the navigator Hay the bomb aimer and gunners Foxlee and Simpson. The wireless operator was New Zealander Len Chambers.

The second group to leave included the aircraft captained by South Australian Dave Shannon and the third section included Les Knight's aircraft in which George Kellow was the wireless operator. This group had more luck the first. Only one aircraft, piloted by Englishman George Astell, did not reach the target. Fifteen minutes after midnight his Lancaster paid the penalty for low flying. It hit a pylon near Achling AArbek, 10 kilometres into Germany. There were no survivors. The five Lancasters remaining at Scampton were designated the reserve force. They took off between nine and fifteen minutes past midnight and were destined for the Sorpe Dam.

At 1.53 am Canadian Lewis Burpee was dazzled by searchlights, hit some trees and crashed onto the airfield at Gilze Reijen. His son was born on Christmas Eve that year. One other aircraft of the reserve group was lost. After bombing Lister Dam (an alternate target), it was hit by flak on the way home and crashed north of the German City of Hamm. One crew member survived and was taken prisoner. The second last aircraft to leave Scampton had West Australian Cecil Howard as its navigator.

Twelve minutes past midnight Gibson reached the Mohne Dam. He was soon racing across the black waters of the Mohne See at the prescribed height of 20 metres. As he bored in his front gunner hosed the flak towers on the dam wall. The backward spinning bomb hit the water, bounced three times and smacked against the dam wall. A huge geyser of water was flung into the air as the bomb exploded. But the wall, 112feet (30.8 metres) thick at the base, 130 feet (30.9 metres) high and 25 feet (7.62 metres) thick at the top, holding back 130 million tons of water, remained firm. If Barnes Wallis' theory was correct, however, the weakening process had begun.

Second aircraft to attack was that piloted by John Hopgood, with Tony Burcher in the rear turret. Evading searchlights over Holland Hopgood flew right under some power lines. It was the first time the lucky stone in Burcher's pocket worked that night. The stone had been given to Burcher by a boy in Lincoln who told the flyer his parents had been killed in a German air raid. "next time you are over Germany throw it at the Germans for me. I hope it kills some bastard", he said. Burcher did not throw it away but kept it as a lucky charm. After avoiding the power lines Hopgood's aircraft was raked from end to end by fire from the ground. Shell splinters hit Tony Burcher in the groin and stomach. He could smell the cordite and years later exclaimed that when you could do that it was "too damned near". Another burst alongside the aircraft and Burcher heard the flight engineer say the port outer motor had lost power and the glycol (an engine coolant) was leaking. Hopgood and the flight engineer, Sergeant Charles Brennan, managed to keep the damaged engine going and the Lancaster continued its wild journey through the night.

Hopgood had been hit in the head and ordered his flight engineer to stand behind him and staunch the flow of blood with a handkerchief. The wounded pilot insisted he was OK. Tony Burcher also believed that the front gunner, Scotsman Pilot Officer George Gregory, was either

killed or seriously wounded when the aircraft was first hit. "He did not reply to Hoppy and crew members calling him on the intercom, nor did he fire at the ground defences during our run into the target," he said. The Lancaster dropped lower and lower as it raced across the Mohne See. Finally the two spotlights came together and Burcher heard the "bomb gone" shout from the bomb aimer. But the bomb had been released a fraction of a second too late, it bounced over the dam wall and exploded on the power house in front of the dam. At this time there was another crash and Burcher saw flames streaming past his turret from the inner port side engine. The extinguisher was activated and the engine feathered, but Burcher recalled that it was soon blazing again. Hopgood was so low he had no option but to order his crew to bale out.

The scene in the stricken Lancaster was desperate. With the hydraulics gone, Burcher was hand cranking his turret into the correct fore and aft position so he could get into the aircraft to get his parachute. He managed this and plugged into the intercom to ask how things were in the front of the aircraft. Burcher said Hopgood shouted "get out you bloody fool". Burcher said he saw the wireless operator, Englishman John Minchin, dragging himself down the fuselage towards him. One of his legs was almost severed. Whether he had sustained this terrible wound over Holland and had been sitting at his post in excruciating pain for more than an hour, or whether he suffered it during the run in to the target is not known. Burcher clipped a parachute on the injured man and pushed him out of the aircraft pulling the parachute release as he did so. Minchin did not survive. Burcher then pulled his own parachute release while still in the aircraft. He bundled the canopy under his arm, thinking this is not in the text books, and again plugged into the intercom to tell his skipper he was abandoning the aircraft. "For Christ's sake get out," yelled Hopgood.

At that instant the main fuel tank exploded and Burcher felt a rush of air. He was blown out and hit the fin of the Lancaster, breaking his back. He landed safely and lying helpless in the soft earth was taken prisoner, remaining in POW camps until the war in Europe ended in 1945 and he would return to marry his fiancée. The bomb aimer, Canadian Jim Fraser, also got out of the crashing aircraft and was taken prisoner. The rest perished when Hopgood's Lancaster crashed at Ostonnen, three miles (5 Kms) west of the dam. The other crews had watched in horror as Hopgood's aircraft was hit, caught fire and crashed. They believed all seven men on board were dead. But the dam was still intact and Martin was ordered to attack next.

Gibson lined up alongside Martin as he flew towards the dam wall, drawing some of the enemy's fire. Martin's aircraft was hit several times. His starboard fuel tank (luckily empty) was pierced and ailerons damaged. Tony Foxlee in the front turret was spaying the defences as they attacked and, with the bomb gone, Tammy Simpson in the rear turret did likewise as they swept over the dam wall. There was another huge explosion and water spout. The dam seemed undamaged.

Next in was Young. His bomb also smacked against the wall and exploded in the correct position. Still the dam appeared firm but when the fifth Lancaster attacked its pilot, Dave Maltby, saw a small breach. At five minutes to two that morning, 17 May 1943, Maltby dropped his bomb. When the spray and smoke from the explosion cleared, a large hole, getting bigger by the second, was seen in the dam wall and tons of water poured into the valley as the wall collapsed. The Mohne was gone. It was now on to the Eder.

Dave Shannon was lining up to follow Maltby when the Mohne Dam burst. He was told to abort his attack. He flew on to the Eder and made his first run at the dam. He flew over a hill and dived steeply to the required 60 feet. It was not satisfactory for his bomb aimer so he pulled away. As Shannon was preparing to try again Gibson ordered the next Lancaster, piloted by Henry Maudsley, to attack. Maudley's bomb appeared to leave the aircraft late. It overshot the dam and exploded on the parapet as the Lancaster flew over it. Maudsley sounded weak in a

brief message on the R/T. He headed for home and struggled with the mortally wounded aircraft for 40 minutes before, nearing Emmerich, it was hit by flak and crashed near a place called Netterden. Again there were no survivors. Shannon attacked the Eder again. His bomb bounced against the dam wall and exploded causing a small breach of about nine feet at the eastern side of the dam. Les Knight came in next after a dummy run. He dropped his bomb successfully and a large hole appeared ten metres below the top of the wall. This widened and for the second time that night a thundering tidal wave swept down a quiet German valley.

The reserve group was still on its way. Brown made eight runs in a swirling mist around the Sorpe, attacking across the dam because of its clay bank construction. McCarthy, who had taken off well behind the rest of his number one group also attacked the Sorpe. He caused a small breach which Brown widened to about 100 metres. Townsend, with the Australian, Howard on board, attacked the Ennepe Dam, an alternative target, he dropped his bomb but reported no apparent damage. He turned for home and was back at Scampton at 6.15 am. Another aircraft ordered to attack the Sorpe had difficulties because of the mists and returned to Scampton with its bomb. Young, the fourth aircraft to attack the Mohne was shot down as he crossed the Dutch coast on his homeward run. None of his crew survived.

It was over. Nineteen aircraft had set out and eight were lost, five on the way out, one on the target and two on the flight back. In all 56 men had not returned. Fifty-three of them, including two Australians were dead. Although it was not known at the time the other three, including one Australian, were prisoners of war. Later that day Guy Gibson sat down to write 56 letters to the next of kin of his men who did not return. He also drove to the RAF base at Coningsby to break the news to Tony Burcher's fiancée. Joan. He told her the aircraft seemed to blow up and there was really no hope. Later, when Joan received a letter from Tony, Gibson found it hard to believe and again drove to Coningsby to check the handwriting. The casualties were high, but high casualties were commonplace in Bomber Command at that time and these men knew the score, they had already seen many of the friends die in the bitter war fought by the bombers.

It was time to celebrate. Dave Shannon proposed to the WAAF he had been dating and on 27 May, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth (later the Queen Mother) visited Scampton to talk to the survivors. Before that decorations had been announced. Gibson received the Victoria Cross (VC). Of the Australians, Knight, Martin and Shannon were awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO); Hay and Leggo each received a Bar to their DFC, and Howard and Spafford each received the DFC and Simpson the DFM.

Some of the Australians did not survive the war. Spafford and Knight died in a raid on the Dortmund-Ems canal on 16 September 1943, four months to the day after they set forth on the Dams raid. Bob Kellow, who was still Knight's radio operator, survived. He evaded capture and returned to England via Holland, France, Spain and Gibraltar on 4 December 1943. He was killed in a raid on the Antheor Railway Viaduct in Italy in February the following year.

Tony Burcher transferred to the RAF after the war and served for many years. On retirement he lived first in Cambridge, England, before finally settling in Hobart. He died in 1995. Tammy Simpson returned to his law firm in Hobart and passed away in 1998. Toby Foxlee died in England in 1985 and Jack Leggo also passed away. Mick Martin served on with the RAF and became Air Marshal Sir Harold Martin. He died in 1988. Lance Howard died in Perth in 1989 and Shannon died in 1993.

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