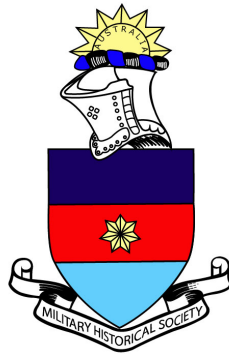


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Military Historical Society of Australia
PO Box 5030, Garran, ACT 2605.
email: webmaster@mhsa.org.au

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“Caught the Cycling Craze” AIF Cyclist Units 1916-1919

Graham Wilson

“’Twas Mulga Bill from Eaglehawk, that caught the cycling craze.”
A.B. “Banjo” Patterson - “Mulga Bill’s Bicycle”

In the New Year of 1916, the Australian units in Egypt, recently withdrawn from the chaos and horror of the Gallipoli Campaign, were reinforcing, rearming and re-equipping. At the same time, the AIF was undertaking an enormous process of reorganisation. At the request of the British high command, the AIF was more than doubling its size. The 1st and 2nd Divisions in Egypt were to be joined in due course by the 3rd Division forming in Australia. In the meantime 1st Division split to form the 13th, 14th and 15th Brigades. Of these, the 14th and 15th Brigades, along with the previously unattached 8th Brigade, formed the 5th Division. The 4th Brigade of the old NZ & A Division split to form the 12th Brigade and these two brigades were joined by the newly raised 13th Brigade (from 3rd Brigade, 1st Division) to form the 4th Division.¹

In expanding the AIF, the Australian authorities were guided by the directions of the British high command’s requirement that Dominion formations adhere to British Army orders of battle.

Much of the responsibility for forming the new divisions fell on the shoulders of that brilliant staff officer, Cyril Brudenell White. From White’s Cairo office a veritable blizzard of paper cascaded as he showered the AIF with letters, minutes and memoranda covering all aspects of the minutiae of the reorganisation. Much of the direction was contained in a series of so-called “AIF Circular Memoranda”, of which over 50 were issued. On 10 March 1916, “Circular Memorandum No. 32 - Establishment of Cyclist Companies A.I.F., March, 1916” was issued.² Circularised to Divisions and Brigades, the memorandum stated:

1. Approval is given for the organization of a Cyclist Company in each Australian Division. The Company will be of the establishment laid down in Part VII War Establishments 1915.
2. The Company will form a distinct organisation, but Officers appointed to it will be seconded from units, and their promotion will be regulated accordingly.”³

Background

At first glance, the military use of bicycles might appear odd, even ridiculous. Bear in mind, however, that at the time of the First World War, armies were at a technological cross road, caught between the eras of horse power and mechanical power. Although contemporary armies still clung stubbornly to horsed cavalry, most sensible observers recognised that the day of the horse in war was numbered. But mobility was still vital to warfare, mobility for transport, scouting, and communications.

By 1914, the bicycle had quite a long military history. As far back as 1872, the Italian Army had used high-wheelers for communications on military exercises. In 1885 the Brighton Rifles, a British volunteer unit, used high-wheelers during their annual training manoeuvres. The very

¹ Bean, pp 41-42

² A&NZ Forces C.R. No. 136/117 (from AWM27 303/2)

³ This changed later in the war when junior officers were gazetted straight to the Cyclist Corps. Officers appointed to the Cyclist units in 1916 and 1917 continued to be carried against their parent units as “detached” for the duration of the war.

first specific cyclist unit in the British Army, the 26th Middlesex (Cyclist) Volunteer Rifle Corps, was raised in 1888.

Two year later, the British Army carried out trials on an astonishing eight-wheeled monster contraption designed to carry supplies, machine guns or small cannon. Dubbed the "hernia horror," the eight-wheeled, eight man-cycled monster was a failure. In 1891, the Swiss Army Cycle Troops were established.⁴ Peugeot of France produced a folding bicycle for the French Army in 1892. In the same year, the Japanese made wide use of cycles during annual military manoeuvres. The following year, 1893, saw the formal establishment of the German Army cyclist troops. In 1894, the Colorado Militia in the United States used bicycles for communications and liaison work during operations connected with the Cripple Creek Strike. Between 1896 - 1898, the US Army's all black 25th Infantry Regiment carried out a remarkable experiment to prove the utility of bicycle mounted troops. The experiment included a 1900 mile, 41 day bike ride from Missoula Montana to St Louis Missouri in 1897. Then, in 1898, the unit, now raised from 25 to 100 men, was taken to Cuba at the end of the Spanish-American War by its white commander, Lieutenant James A. Moss. In Cuba, the cyclists performed excellent work on riot control duty in Havana following the end of hostilities.⁵

The Anglo-Boer War from 1899-1902 saw widespread use of bicycles by both sides. The British Army fielded a cyclist battalion of the City Imperial Volunteers as well as two bicycle-mounted battalions of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. In addition, local volunteer units fielded cyclist troops, including the Rand Rifles, Cape Cyclist Corps, Kimberley Cyclist Corps and "E" Troop Southern Rhodesia Volunteers.⁶ Despite initial doubts, the cyclists performed well and surprised observers by their ability to maintain mobility on the veldt, even during the wet season. Maree records an incident (with no dates given unfortunately) near Hammanskraal in the Transvaal where a cycle mounted patrol of 11 New Zealanders encountered, pursued and captured ten horse mounted Boers.⁷ On the Boer side, one of the most famous of Boer fighters was the scout Danie Theron.⁸ Theron had been the driving force before the outbreak of the war in forming a bicycle mounted scouting unit, the Wielrijders Rapportgangers Corps. Theron managed to win over the sceptical President Kruger and Commandant-General Joubert by staging a cross-country race over a distance of 75 kilometres between champion cyclist "Koos" Jooste and a horse mounted man. Jooste won the race. During the war, Theron's cycle scouts performed excellent service and in fact were so successful that the British authorities confiscated or strictly controlled the use of bicycles in occupied territory.⁹

In 1900, Dursley Pedersen produced a folding bicycle for use by the British Army but it was not accepted. Bianchi of Italy produced a military bicycle for Alpine use in 1905 which is regarded as the forerunner as today's mountain bikes. The success of the bicycle in South Africa led to the development of a military bicycle for the British Army (see below) as well as the establishment of a number of specifically raised cyclist units. The latter occurred in 1908 when the Territorial Force was raised. Although there were approximately 8,000 cyclists in the British volunteer units in 1908, these troops were raised unofficially by their units. The new Territorial Army included,

⁴ The Cycle Grenadiers remain on the order of battle of the Swiss Army and are in fact viewed as the elite unit of the Swiss Army.

⁵ <http://www.geocities.com/Pentagon/5265/militaryhpvhistory.htm>, *Military History of Human Powered Vehicles*

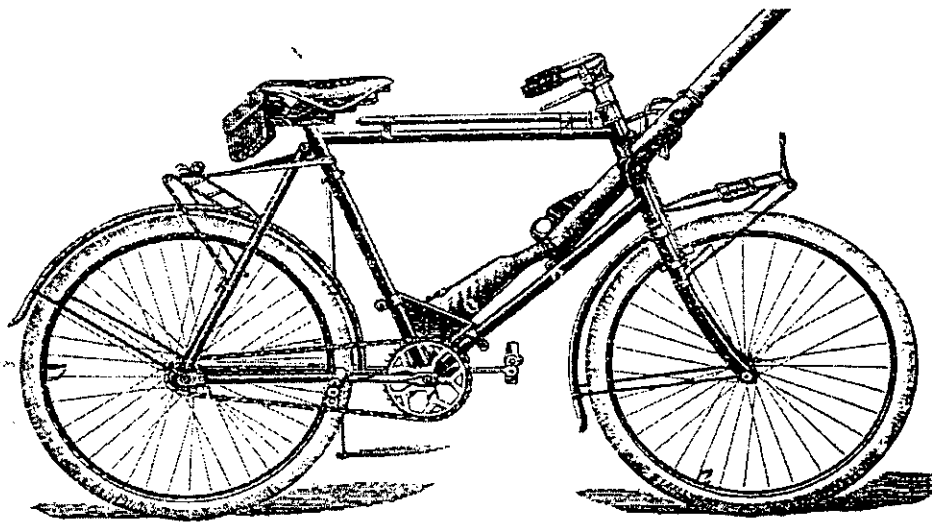
⁶ Maree.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Theron holds such an exalted place in South Africa's military ethos that the Army's main field training establishment was called, at least in the pre-apartheid days, the Danie Theron Combat School.

⁹ Maree, *op. cit.*

as from 1908: 7th (Cyclist) Battalion the Devonshire Regiment; Essex and Suffolk Cyclist Battalion; Highland Cyclist Battalion; 7th (Cyclist) Battalion the Welsh Regiment; 10th (Cyclist) Battalion the Royal Scots; 25th (City of London) Cyclist Battalion the London Regiment (formerly the 26th Middlesex VRC); 6th (Cyclist) Battalion the Norfolk Regiment; Northern Cyclist Battalion; and 5th (Cyclist) Battalion the East Yorkshire Regiment.¹⁰



During the First World War, France and Belgium would field over 150,000 cyclists; the British Army Cyclist Corps would eventually total 100,00 men; and the German Army would field 125,000 cyclists. Although the US Army was to bring 29,000 bicycles with it to France, these were used for communications and message carrying only and there were no cyclist units in the *AEF.¹¹

Interestingly, there had been some military involvement with cycling in Australia before the war. Senior officers as Bridges were adamantly opposed to the idea of formed cyclists units, believing, with some cause, that the best way to employ cyclists was as individual scouts and guides. Nevertheless, in 1909 the Department of Defence agreed to stand as patron for the Dunlop Military Dispatch Cycle Ride. More a publicity exercise for Dunlop rather than anything else, the 1839 kilometre ride by 68 two-man relay teams in less than 80 hours was quite an achievement. At the start point in Adelaide, a military despatch was handed to the first rider by the Adelaide District Commandant. Just under 70 hours later the despatch was handed over to Captain Brand at Sydney's Victoria Barracks. The relay was repeated in 1912, again with military patronage. This time, however, the cyclists competed against teams of motorists and motorcyclists. This time, the cyclists bettered their 1909 time by three minutes and despite taking almost 24 hours longer than the motor car teams and 18 hours more than the motorcyclists, easily won the event on handicap.¹² From a military point of view, however, these events were little more than stunts.

¹⁰ <http://www.huntcycles.co.uk/>, Huntingdonshire Cyclist Battalions

¹¹ Military History of Human Powered Vehicles, op. cit.

¹² Fitzpatrick, Jim 1980 *The Bicycle and the Bush*, pp.214-220.

Formation

Officers and men for the Australian cyclist companies were to be found from volunteers from existing units and from reinforcements. On 11 March, HQ 1st Australian Division called for a return showing the names of "Officers, Warrant Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers to fill the following positions" in 1st Div. Cyclist Coy. - 8 officers, 1 warrant officer, 7 staff sergeants and sergeants, 2 artificers. The strength and organisation of the Cyclist Company was laid down in the British Army publication "War Establishments, Part VII., New Armies, 1915" the relevant table being "Cyclist Company, Divisional Mounted Troops." Total establishment strength of a cyclist company was 201 organised into a HQ and 6 platoons as shown in Table 1.

	Officers	WO	SSGT/SGT	Artificer	OR	Total	Bicycles
Capt (OC)	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Capt/Lt (Adjnt)	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Interpreter	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
WO2 (CSM)	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
SSGT (CQMS)	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
Artificer	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
Driver	-	-	-	-	2	2	-
Med Orderly	-	-	-	-	2	2	2
CPL (Sig)	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
PTE (Sig)	-	-	-	-	4	4	4
PTE (Batmen)	-	-	-	-	2	2	2
Total	3	1	1	2	11	18	16
Platoons x 6							
LT	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
SGT	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
CPL	-	-	-	-	2	2	2
PTE	-	-	-	-	26	26	26
Batman	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Total	1	-	1	-	29	31	31

Table 1. Establishment - Cyclist Company 1916

The two drivers were attached from the Divisional Train while the two medical orderlies were attached from the divisional medical units. Note that the table calls for an interpreter who, if not a member of the forces ranked as an officer. The drivers were responsible for the company transport that consisted of one Cooks Cart and one GS Wagon (SAA). In addition, two more GS Wagons with drivers were to be temporarily attached from the Divisional Train as required when the company undertook movements. The total strength of the company with attachments was 204. The total number of bicycles authorised was 202. The two drivers obviously did not need bikes. The actual final strength of the companies was about 230 as each newly raised company was to include a reinforcement element of 10% - 20%.

The new Cyclist Companies began to form and organize at the end of March 1916. Volunteers were not hard to find. Among those volunteering were a draft of over 200 officers and men of the

4th Light Horse Regiment. This draft appears to have been made up of most of the 14th Reinforcements of the 4th Light Horse.¹³ These were men who had arrived in the Middle East too late to take part in the Gallipoli campaign. Many of them obviously decided to transfer to the 2nd Divisional Cyclist Company in the belief that the Middle East was to be a sideshow and that if the only way of getting to the Western Front to see action was to swap their Walers for bicycles, then, so be it! It is quite likely, however, that many also elected to transfer to the Cyclists in the hope that once the squadrons of the 4th Light Horse which were earmarked for the Western Front began to suffer casualties, then they would be able to transfer back to the light horse. This in fact proved to be the case as, following later reorganisations of the cyclist units in Europe, many officers, NCO's and men who had volunteered from the Light Horse ended up back in either the 4th or 13th Light Horse Regiments.

The 1st and 2nd Division Cyclist Companies were both raised in the second week of March 1916. The 4th and 5th Division Cyclist Companies were raised in the third week of April 1916. Back in Australia, the newly formed 3rd Australian Division added a cyclist company to its establishment in late March 1916.¹⁴ Although no problems were encountered in finding enough NCO's and private soldiers to fill out the unit establishments, officers were a little harder to come by. The War Diary of the 5th Cyclist Company, for example records that on 14 May 1916, four NCO's, SGT S. Diamond, SGT P.C. Reid, CQMS H.K. Love and S/SGT H.J. MacLennan, were appointed 2nd Lieutenant to make up officer deficiencies.¹⁵

Early problems for the newly raised cyclist companies included both a lack of bicycles for training and also a lack of bicycling experience on the part of many of the volunteers, particularly among the "Mulga Bills" of the light horse. For example, the unit War Diary of the 5th Divisional Cyclist Company, which was raised at Ferry Park in Egypt on 16 April 1916, recorded on 28 April 1916 that the unit's complement of bicycles was only "40 machines" and that "many men had never been on a bike before and a great deal of time is wasted in teaching them."¹⁶ Still, training went on, concentrating on bicycle riding, marching, musketry and simple tactical exercises.

Training was based on the British Army's *Cyclist Training Manual 1907 (As Revised 1911)*. Apparently CAPT Hindhaugh's only preparation for command of a cyclist unit was being given a copy of this manual. The manual is replete with such items as how to salute while standing by, sitting on and riding the bicycle; drill movements such as "Ground Cycles," "Take Up Cycles" and "Stack and Unstack Cycles;" and helpful advice on care of bicycles such as "Bicycle tires should be wiped with a damp cloth after a march, so that all grit, which if left might cause a puncture, may be removed."¹⁷

The Western Front

The 1st and 2nd Division Cyclist Companies departed Egypt for France on 21 and 22 March 1916 respectively, just over a week after they were raised. They arrived at Toulon on 28 and 29 March and entrained for the north. The 3rd Division Cyclist Company departed Sydney for the United Kingdom on 13 May 1916. The 4th Division Cyclist Company sailed for France from Egypt at the end of May 1916, while the 5th Division Cyclist Company embarked at Alexandria

¹³ Smith.

¹⁴ The officer appointed to command the 3rd Aust. Div. Cyclist Coy. was Captain Henry Egerton Clunies Ross, a distant relative of the Clunies Ross family of the Cocos-Keeling Islands.

¹⁵ Unit War Diary, 5th Australian Division Cyclist Company. AWM4 12/5/1 - 12/5/4 Roll 128.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ *Cyclist Training Manual 1907 (As Revised 1911)*. Quoted in Fitzpatrick *The Bicycle in Wartime an Illustrated History*, pp.105-106.

on 17 June 1916. An interesting embarkation table for the move of the 5th Division Cyclist Company survives in the War Memorial's archives. The table indicates that the unit's assigned transport, HMT *Manitou*, carried 201 officers, 5091 OR, 61 wagons, 58 2-wheeled carts, 36 4-wheeled carts, 175 tons of baggage, 590 horses, 355 bicycles and 3 motor cars. The company was assigned to travel from Moascar to Alexandria aboard "4th Train Emergency 832A/747 (8 officers, 192 OR, 202 bicycles and 2 tons of baggage).¹⁸ The unit war diary notes that departure from Moascar was timed for 2115 with arrival at the Alexandria docks timed for 0445. In the end, the train actually pulled in to the docks at 0515 - half an hour late.¹⁹ This was an extremely creditable performance considering that the division was lifted in nine trains and it says a lot for both the excellence of the military staff work and the efficiency of the Egyptian railways.

Corps Cyclist Battalions

Following arrival in France, the newly arrived cyclist companies had not even time to draw breath when they found that another change was in store for them. With the decision to group the Australian divisions and the New Zealand division into two corps, a major reorganisation of the divisional mounted troops had been undertaken. As a result, it was decided to withdraw the mounted troops from divisions and to group them into corps assets. This was again in line with the requirements of the Imperial military authorities as outlined in GHQ O.B 1517 of 2 May 1916.²⁰ The organisation of a cyclist battalion is shown in Table 2.

	Officers	WO	SSGT/SGT	OR	Total	Bicycles
HQ	3	2	4	15	24	21
Attached	1 (a)	1 (b)	-	3	5	2
A Coy	4	1	5	89	99	99
B Coy	4	1	5	89	99	99
C Coy	4	1	5	89	99	99
Total	16	6	19	285	326	320

Table 2. Establishment - Cyclist Battalion 1916

As can be seen in Table 2, the newly created Cyclist Battalions now consisted of a HQ and three cyclist companies, each of which was about half the strength of the previously independent Cyclist Companies. The officer listed as "Attached" (1(a)) was the unit medical officer while the attached WO (1(b)) was the unit armourer, responsible for the maintenance of both weapons and bicycles. Companies were organised as shown in Table 3.

	Officers	WO	SSGT/SGT	OR	Total	Bicycles
HQ	1	1	2	2	6	5
1 Platoon	1	-	1	29	31	31
2 Platoon	1	-	1	29	31	31
3 Platoon	1	-	1	29	31	31
Total	4	1	5	89	99	98

Table 3. Establishment - Cyclist Company (Battalion Sub-Unit) 1916

¹⁸ 5th Aust. Div. C.R. 18930/Q/8 of 14 June 1916, "TRAIN ALLOTMENTS 5TH AUSTRALIAN DIVISION."

¹⁹ War Diary, 5th Cyclist Coy., op. cit.

²⁰ AWM27 303/30, "Organisation Cyclists and Mounted Troops."

The WO in Company HQ was an artificer responsible to the unit armourer for the maintenance of company weapons and bicycles. One of the two OR listed under Company HQ was the unit driver who was not issued with a bicycle.

Reorganisation of the cyclists into battalions led to a surplus of 10 officers and 397 OR, a total of 407 excess personnel or almost enough to form two additional cyclist battalions! The 1st and 2nd Division Cyclist Companies were used to form the I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion. The 3rd Division Cyclist Company was disbanded on arrival in the UK in July and its members distributed to infantry and artillery units. The 4th Division Cyclist Company provided some members for I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion, with the bulk of the unit being employed as infantry and artillery reinforcements. Finally, the 5th Division Cyclist Company went on to form the Australian Company of the II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion.²¹

I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion. The War Diary for I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion was opened on 9 May 1916. Orders issued by HQ I Anzac directed that the battalion was to be formed from the 1st and 2nd Division Cyclist Companies. Command of the unit was vested in MAJ D.M. Davis, formerly OC 1st Division Cyclist Company. I Anzac further directed that excess personnel were to remain attached to the new battalion pending further instructions.²² In his battalion headquarters, MAJ Davis had LT H. Dawson as Adjutant, 2LT R.H. Herd as QM, WOI A.E. Simon as RSM and WOI C.X. Hart as BQMS. A Company was under command of CAPT J.E. Hindhaugh with LTs W. Ross, H.H.H. Locke and H. Thornton as Platoon Commanders. B Company was under command of CAPT J.J.S. Scouler; his platoon commanders were LTs G.H. Butler, F.L. McDougall and O.S. Symon. C Company was commanded by CAPT J. Harrison with LTs S.P. Ashton and P.J. Bayliss and 2LT H. Raphael as Platoon Commanders.²³

On 15 May, the battalion moved by road from Sercus to Bouvelinghem. A month's training under the tutelage of 2 Cavalry Division followed. Training progressed from platoon to company to battalion and covered scouting, navigation, field sketching, forward, flank and rear guards, route marches and musketry. The battalion's officers took part in several staff rides and the unit's signallers undertook intensive training. The unit returned to Sercus on 18 June and continued training, with emphasis on musketry and physical fitness.²⁴

The first operational activity was carried out on 29 June when the battalion provided bicycle mounted patrols of one officer and eight other ranks for Corps tasks. These patrols were carried out successfully and Corps Headquarters favourably commented on the conduct of the troops.²⁵ In June, MAJ Davis was appointed OC Cyclist Details and command of the battalion passed to MAJ R.F. Fitzgerald who was attached from 20th Battalion. Two moves were carried out in July, the first to Vignacourt and the second to Contay. These moves placed the battalion under command of divisions of the Corps and while in these locations, the unit divided its time between training and carrying out various tasks as directed by divisional headquarters. Large parties were detached to the APM of the divisions at various times to carry out traffic control duties. Other tasks included ammunition fatigues, salvage work, water control piquets and assisting with local harvests. The battalion also provided guards for Corps and Divisional Headquarters.²⁶

²¹ *ibid.*

²² War Diary I ANZAC Corps Cyclist Battalion.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ Letter from OC I ANZAC Corps Mounted Troops to CO I ANZAC Corps Cyclist Battalion included as annex to June 1916 section of I ANZAC Corps Cyclist Battalion War Diary.

²⁶ I ANZAC Corps Cyclist Battalion War Diary, *op. cit.*

At the end of August, the battalion moved from Contay to Wallon Cappel, occupying new billets on 4 September. From 5 - 13 September, the unit carried out much needed overhaul and maintenance of bicycles, vehicles and equipment. Once again, various tasks in support of I Anzac Corps and divisions of the Corps took up a large part of the battalion's time and effort. Traffic control duties and ammunition fatigues in particular placed a heavy burden on the battalion. Command of the unit changed again on 30 September. MAJ Fitzgerald was promoted to T/LTCOL and posted to command 24th Battalion. In his place, CAPT Hindhaugh, OC A Company, was promoted to T/MAJ and appointed CO I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion.²⁷

On 20 October, the battalion moved again, this time to Becordal-Becourt where they took over the billets and duties of XV Corps Cyclist Battalion. Duties taken over included salvage work. While engaged in this work, the battalion suffered its first battle death when, on 30 October, 947 LCPL C.G. Leslie was killed by German shellfire.²⁸ The following day, a German aircraft bombed the battalion's camp and one soldier was wounded.²⁹

As the weather turned colder and winter approached, in addition to various operational and support tasks levied on the battalion, a great deal of time was devoted to improving the unit's camp at Becordal-Becourt. In particular, the tented accommodation taken over from XV Corps Cyclist Battalion was progressively replaced by huts.³⁰ Enemy shellfire continued to take its toll of killed and wounded. On 9 November 1179 PTE C. Stephenson died of wounds received while carrying out salvage work.³¹ MAJ Hindhaugh's promotion and appointment as CO were confirmed on 25 November.³² Less than a month later, the battalion suffered another battle death when LT C. Hales was killed by shellfire while conducting reconnaissance.³³ Two soldiers were wounded in the same incident. It should also be noted that there was a constant trickle of men being evacuated sick to hospital, the war diary recording an average of two to three men per day. A number of these men were struck off strength having beend were evacuated back to Australia.³⁴

The battalion saw in the New Year of 1917 still at Becordal-Becourt. On 4 January, another man was lost to enemy action when PTE E.A. Millar was suffocated when an enemy shell blast buried him.³⁵ Several members of the battalion were wounded by shellfire throughout the month. On January 28, the battalion moved to Henencourt.

In February 1917, the British High Command became aware of the German plan to carry out a strategic withdrawal to the Siegfried Line to reduce the "bulge" in their line between Arras and Soissons.³⁶ As soon as I Anzac Corps became aware of the German withdrawal, urgent orders went to the Cyclist Battalion to send a company forward to carry out scouting and reconnaissance across the Corps front. In accordance with this order, A Company deployed to Millencourt on 25 February.³⁷ When the scale of the German withdrawal became apparent, half

27

ibid.

28

War Diary, op. cit. Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. LCPL Leslie is buried in Bernafay Wood British Cemetery, Grave No. E.32.

29

War Diary, op. cit.

30

ibid.

31

ibid. Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. PTE Stephenson is buried in Heilly Station Cemetery, Mericourt-L'Abbe, Grave No. V.D.27.

32

War Diary, op. cit.

33

ibid. Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. LT Hales is buried in Dartmoor Cemetery, Becordal-Becourt, Grave No. I.F.19.

34

War Diary, op. cit.

35

ibid. Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. PTE Millar is buried near LT Hales in Dartmoor Cemetery, Grave No. I.F.11.

36

Bean, C.E.W., 1946 *ANZAC to Amiens*, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, pp.316-317.

37

I ANZAC Corps Cyclist Battalion War Diary, op. cit.

company detachments of both B and C Company were attached to 7th and 15th Brigades respectively and began active patrolling and scouting forward of the brigade positions. The cyclists remained detached until the end of May, at which point they were released and returned to the battalion. The last of the cyclists had rejoined the battalion by 1 June. In the meantime, on 7 May, the battalion had been advised that UK leave had been approved for the unit, on the basis of four men absent on leave at any one time.³⁸

I Anzac Corps Mounted Troops, consisting of the Corps Cavalry Regiment and the Corps Cyclist Battalion, were inspected by the Corps Commander, LTGEN Sir W.R. Birdwood, on 7 July. The inspection was specifically carried out as a mark of appreciation to the Corps Mounted Troops for their efficient and valuable service in the preceding months. Two days later, on 9 July, the battalion moved to Hazebrouk. Once the unit was settled into billets, a large number of officers and men were sent off on training courses at various army schools. Officers and men attended courses on gas, salvage, Lewis Gun, musketry instruction, intelligence, signals, bombing and armourers.³⁹

Following specialist training at the 2nd Army Lewis Gun School, the battalion's Lewis Gun teams began training in anti-aircraft defence on 24 August. On 6 September, the battalion undertook what was to be its last move as an independent unit when it moved to Devonshire Camp in the vicinity of Caestre. A piquet of one NCO and 5 men remained at Hazebrouk to guard the bicycles, 69 in number, of members of the battalion who were absent on leave, course or detachment at the time of the move. Once settled, the battalion's Lewis Gun teams were sent out to provide AA defence for various dumps and installations around the area. The remainder of the battalion was employed on ammunition fatigues under the control of I Anzac Corps Heavy Artillery. The battalion was to remain employed on these two tasks until the end of October. Although no men were killed, the battalion lost a steady stream of men wounded by shellfire and bombing throughout September and October. To these were added the constant drain of men being evacuated sick.⁴⁰

With winter coming on again, November and December were taken up with camp improvement on top of the constant round of other tasks directed by Corps. While those men available worked on improving accommodation and facilities in the camp, men were constantly being detached to carry out a bewildering array of additional tasks, including: traffic control, POW control and escort, headquarters guard, water control, route reconnaissance and marking, ammunition fatigues, train unloading, AA defence, headquarters guards, track making, wire laying and repair, cable laying, the list seems almost endless. And it was to be on this unglamorous but entirely necessary note that I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion ended its existence. With the decision to dissolve I and II Anzac Corps and create the Australian Corps in January 1918, the battalion ceased to exist. One of the last events in the battalion's existence, however, was a sumptuous Christmas Dinner paid for out of Regimental Funds at which the officers and senior NCO's waited on the men in accordance with Army tradition.⁴¹

II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion. It is impossible to detail the history of II Anzac Cyclists without discussing in some detail the New Zealand Cyclists which were comprised two thirds of the strength of II Anzac Cyclists and a New Zealanders commanded the battalion.

At the time the AIF was going through its expansion in Egypt, the NZEF was also expanding to create the New Zealand Division. As with the Australians, so the New Zealanders undertook to

³⁸ ibid.
³⁹ ibid.
⁴⁰ ibid.
⁴¹ ibid.

organise their new formation in line with the war establishments laid down by the British high command. Thus the NZEF found itself suddenly burdened with the need to raise a hitherto unthought of unit. The New Zealand Cyclist Company was raised in New Zealand with orders for the raising of the unit going out at the end of March 1916. Appointed to command the company was Major C. Hellier Evans of the 13th Mounted Rifles (13 MR), a pastoralist, pre-war territorial officer and noted amateur cyclist.⁴² He immediately selected his platoon commanders from volunteers from 11th, 12th and 13th Mounted Rifle

Regiments and the Reserve Squadron, all then at Featherston Camp. Volunteers for the new company were called from among the reinforcements at Featherston on 5 April. As part of the selection process, Evans instituted "riding tests" and a number of otherwise promising candidates were rejected in place of volunteers who proved themselves skilled, or at least competent, bicycle riders. The newly formed company passed a hectic few weeks as they were to depart New Zealand at the end of April and had, in the intervening weeks, to pass final medical boards, receive inoculations and qualify at musketry tests, along with the myriad other details which accompany the raising and overseas despatch of any military unit. But it was all accomplished by the time the unit departed as a part of the 12th Reinforcements on 29 April. The company sailed with a strength of 8 officers and 196 other ranks, plus 10% reinforcements for a total strength of 225 (but less bicycles).⁴³

The company disembarked at Suez on 22 June and marched into camp at Tel el Kebir. They departed Alexandria on 11 July and disembarked at Marseilles on 17 July. From Marseilles, the company proceeded by train to Sercus where they arrived on 19 July and went into billets alongside 2nd Australian Division Cyclist Company. The unit had not had time to even begin training when, on 20 July, Evans was informed by GOC II Anzac Corps that the NZ Cyclist Company was to be the basis for the Corps Cyclist Battalion and that he was to command the unit.⁴⁴ The new battalion was officially raised on 22 July with a strength of 15 officers and 302 other ranks. These were organised into a battalion HQ and three companies. No.1 (NZ) Company and No. 2 (NZ) Company were raised from the NZ Cyclist Company, while No. 3 (Australian) Company was raised from 5th Australian Division Cyclist Company.⁴⁵ While most of the battalion appointments were New Zealanders, the Adjutant, 2LT H.K. Love, BQMS, SSGT C.G. Forrest, and Signals Sergeant, SGT N.J. Ward, were Australians. The company commander, adjutant and platoon commanders of No.3 (Australian) Company were Australians.

The 5th Division Cyclist Company had arrived in France on 25 June 1916. Following what seems to have been a very uncomfortable three-day train trip from Marseilles, the unit arrived at Steenwerk at 0300 on 29 January. Platoon training consisting of PT and route marching commenced immediately. Training then progressed to semaphore, musketry, map reading and field sketching.⁴⁶ The training topics are of interest as they show conclusively that the cyclist units were intended for use as reconnaissance and scouting troops. The company had barely got into its training program, however, when news was received of the formation of II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion and the allotment of 5th Australian Division Cyclist Company to the new unit as No. 3 (Australian) Company. This news came in the form of II Anzac Corps General Staff Circular No. 1 ("Formation of 2nd Anzac Corps Light Horse Regt. and 2nd Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion") of 4 July 1916 and advised that pending arrival of two companies New Zealand Cyclist Battalion, 5th Divisional Cyclist Company remained with the 5th Australian Division.

⁴² History of the New Zealand Cyclist Corps.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ 2nd Australian and New Zealand Army Corps Order No. 15 of 22 July 1916.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ War Diary, 5th Cyclist Coy., *op. cit.*

The new battalion, officially raised on 22 July, began sub-unit training in its billets at Sercus. Bicycles were not issued until 16 August. On that day, the battalion drew their machines at Bac St. Maur and "cycled back to La Belle Hotesse."⁴⁷

In August/September 1916, II Anzac Cyclist Battalion was employed on training with several detachments being employed on traffic control duties and on trench works. On 16 September, the battalion embarked on ten days front line duty as infantry attached to 55th Australian Infantry Battalion at Fleurbaix. On 24 September the battalion command transferred to 60th Australian Infantry Battalion at Petillon and four days later suffered its first combat death when CPL F.S. Des Barres (No. 2 (NZ) Coy.) was KIA during a German bombardment of the battalion's trench lines.⁴⁸ On 18 September, a member of No. 3 (Australian) Company, 4094A PTE H.M. Conway, received wounds from which he died in hospital in October.⁴⁹

Withdrawn from the front line at the beginning of October, the cyclists were tasked with providing the Corps HQ Guard, companies taking turns to find the guard of one officer and 42 OR. On 13 October, control of the battalion passed from 5th Australian Division to the NZ Division. At about this time, a detachment of one officer and 10 OR was sent to the NZ Division Reinforcement Camp to constitute "Cyclist Reinforcement Details."⁵⁰

At the end of October, the battalion returned to the front lines, taking over a company sector in the vicinity of Houplines, attached to the 25th Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers. The "highlight" of what was to be a month long period in the line was a battalion trench raid conducted on the night of 18 November, commanded by 2LT J.G. Jamieson, an AIF officer. The raid was counted a success but cost the lives of PTE A.F. George and T.P. Milne, both New Zealanders.⁵¹ One AIF member, 4275 PTE W.B. Duncan, was killed during this period in the trenches, on 21 November, less than a week before the battalion was withdrawn.

Withdrawn from the line on 27 November, the battalion collected its bicycles from storage at Bac St. Maur and cycled to billets at Doulieu. A period of training, guard duties, traffic control and trench works followed until January 1917. In that month, the battalion was issued with Lewis Guns to replace its Hotchkiss Guns and the battalion machine gunners were sent to the GHQ Lewis Gun School at Le Touquet for training.⁵²

From January to March 1917, the battalion carried out a variety of task including: reconnaissance of Corps front; HQ Guard; traffic control; anti-aircraft defence of ammunition dumps (Lewis Gun detachments); provision of guides; trench works; and tree felling.⁵³ On 1 April, the battalion moved to Regina Camp near Ploegstreet and was placed under command of the NZ Working Battalion for cable laying duties in preparation for the Battle of Messines. CO II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion, MAJ Evans, was in fact placed in command of the NZ Working Battalion on 3 April. By the time the work was completed on 19 May, the cyclists had dug, laid and filled in 56 miles of cable trenches, seven feet deep and containing a total of 56,000 miles of cables.⁵⁴

For the Battle of Messines itself, the battalion was employed on traffic control; POW reception; guiding; wire clearing; lane marking; obstacle clearing; track making; bridging; and cable

⁴⁷ History of the New Zealand Cyclist Corps.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ AIF Nominal Roll and AIF Roll of Honour Database.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, CAPT H.D. McHugh was appointed OC Cyclist Reinforcement Details.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ *ibid.* The NZ Working Bn. was an ad hoc unit raised at the end of March specifically to carry out Corps and Army level works in preparation for the Battle of Messines. When the works were completed on 19 May the battalion was disbanded.

burying in newly taken territory. In recognition of its efforts and achievements, the battalion was inspected by the Corps commander on 6 July.⁵⁵

The battalion had acquired such a level of expertise in the all-important task of cable burying that it was to be employed on this until the end of the year. From this point on, however, the role of the Cyclist Battalion was to provide expert guidance and oversight while the actual work was carried out by men drawn from pioneer battalions, works battalions and infantry battalions. Cable burying was carried out for II Anzac Corps throughout August. From 8 to 17 September, the battalion supervised cable burying for X (British) Corps). Back with II Anzac Corps, the battalion carried out cable burying from 24 September to 4 October east of Ypres. The Canadian Corps relieved II Anzac Corps on 17 October and the Corps Cyclist Battalion moved to billets at Ambricourt. After a brief rest, the battalion returned to cable laying on 17 November and was to remain employed on this task in the vicinity of Ypres until the end of the year.⁵⁶

On 1 January 1918, II Anzac Corps ceased to exist and the formation became XXII (British) Corps. From that time on, the Corps Cyclist Battalion became a totally New Zealand unit, the former Australian Company's place being taken by a newly raised NZ Company. Although the history of XXII Corps Cyclist Battalion is no longer relevant to this article, it is worth noting the following NZ statistics. A total of 22 officers and 686 OR of the NZEF served with II Anzac/XXII Corps Cyclist Battalion. Casualties totalled four officers and 55 OR KIA and seven officer and 252 OR WIA. The New Zealanders earned one DSO, 10 MC (plus one bar), two DCM, 39 MM (plus five bars), four MSM, eight MID, 12 Commendation Certificates, one Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur, four Medaille Militaire, two Croix de Guerre, two Croix de Guerre (Belgian) and one Chevalier of the Crown of Roumania.⁵⁷

The Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion

In November 1917, following continuous representations from both the Australian government and the senior command of the AIF, the decision was made to regroup the five Australian divisions into a single command. Thus, I and II Anzac Corps ceased to be and were replaced, in January 1918, by the Australian Corps. The former II Anzac Corps, now shorn of the 3rd Australian Division, became XXII Corps (British Army), although the New Zealand Division remained with it.

The reorganisation of the Australian divisions into a single corps of course resulted in a reorganisation of the cyclists. The AIF members of II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion were transferred to the Australian Corps and their former unit became an all New Zealand unit as XXII Corps Cyclist Battalion.⁵⁸ The former I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion was now retitled the Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion. While a few members of the former II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion were absorbed into the Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion, most members of the unit were posted to infantry or artillery units as reinforcements.⁵⁹ Command of the new battalion went to MAJ Hindhaugh, previously commander of I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Although the AIF cyclists left XXII Corps, the two squadrons of the 4th Light Horse who had formed part of the II ANZAC Corps Mounted Regiment remained to form half of XXII Corps Cavalry Regiment. General Godley, formerly GOC II ANZAC and now GOC XXII Corps expressly requested this of General Birdwood and his request was granted. See Smith, *Men of Beersheba*, also Bean, *Official History Vol V*.

⁵⁹ D.A.G. A.I.F. 25/150 of 6 and 10 January 1918 (AWM27 303/25).

The first weeks of January were spent reorganising the new battalion, integrating those men from the former II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion who had been selected for service with the battalion, making arrangements for the departure of excess personnel drafted to infantry and artillery units, accounting for and returning excess stores and equipment and all of the other dull but vital details which go to make up military life. From the middle of January a large portion of the battalion was employed on duty at "R.E. Dump." Initially, the men were employed simply on fatigue tasks, loading and unloading trucks and train cars. As with all AIF units, however, the Cyclist Battalion contained many tradesmen and it was not long before the bulk of the party were employed on more skilled tasks including laying track for a light railway and running a sawmill. This in turn released trained engineers who had been working at the Dump for other tasks.⁶⁰ Work at the Dump continued throughout February, as well as the normal tasks which fell to the cyclists - traffic control, POW control, headquarters guards, etc. The report of work at the R.E. Dump for February, prepared by LT O.S. Symon, states that the: "enemy has registered on the dump." But work went on despite this and there were no deaths or injuries in the month.⁶¹

On 21 March 1918, the Germans launched their great "Michael" offensive, their last throw of the dice. As the British, Dominion and French armies reeled back in first reaction to the onslaught, the AIF Cyclists were not involved in the first days. By the first week of April, however, as Allied resistance stiffened and stabilised, the cyclists became actively involved. Besides providing detachments for traffic control and POW reception, on 6 April, Australian Corps headquarters directed OC Corps Mounted Troops to detach one troop of Light Horse and one platoon of Cyclists to 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Australian Divisions. An additional troop of Light Horse and platoon of Cyclists were to be held in readiness for detachment to 5th Australian Division on order from Corps. The Corps order stated that the mounted troops were allotted for patrol and reconnaissance, flank protection and communications. The order quite pointedly directed that the troops were "not for administrative duties."⁶² The platoon on standby for service with 5th Division reported to that formation on 12 April.⁶³

The cyclists did good work patrolling forward of their formations, manning piquets, providing guides, maintaining flank communications and carrying messages. A number of men were wounded or gassed and on 18 April 1086 CPL E. Callanan was killed in a skirmish while on patrol serving with 3rd Division.⁶⁴ A few days later, on 23 April, 4790 PTE S.J. Crosbie was killed by enemy shellfire while serving with 5th Division.⁶⁵

An interesting instruction originated by 5th Division indicates how seriously that formation took Australian Corps' directive on employment of attached mounted troops. The instruction, addressed to 8th, 14th and 15th Brigades with information copies to the attached Light Horse and Cyclist sub-units, directed that small parties of light horsemen and cyclists would be attached to each brigade on a nightly basis for front line patrol work. The instruction goes on to direct that selected personnel from the Division would be attached to the Light Horse and Cyclists for instruction in scouting and observation and report writing.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion War Diary.

⁶¹ "Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion Report of Personnel Working at R.E. Dump During February 1918," by LT O.S. Symon, Officer I/C Cyclist Working Party, included as Annex I to February 1918 Section of War Diary.

⁶² Australian Corps Order No. 55 dated 6 April 1918.

⁶³ War Diary, Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion. Also see "Report by LIEUT. I.G. Trout on work done by platoon attached to 5th Australian Division."

⁶⁴ War Diary. Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. CPL Callanan is buried in Aubigny British Cemetery, Grave No. B.16.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* PTE Crosbie is buried in Bonnay Communal Cemetery Extension, Grave No. B.17.

⁶⁶ 5th Australian Division G16/175 of 17 April 1918.

Detachment of the cyclist platoons to divisions continued through May. In addition, the Cyclist Battalion continued to provide detachments for a bewildering array of tasks. A return dated 31 May 1918 reveals that in addition to the five platoons attached to divisions, the battalion had troops serving with: Corps Signals; Corps Heavy Artillery Signals; Signals of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Divisions; APM 1st, 2nd and 5th Divisions; 1st, 2nd and 5th Division Salvage Companies; Corps Reinforcement Camp; Headquarters 4th Division; Corps Chemical Adviser; Corps APM; Area Commandants Frechencourt, Cagny, Camon, Ecole Normale Amiens and Coissy; Assistant Area Commandant Renancourt; Corps Staging Depot; Corps Lewis Gun School; and XXII Corps Mounted Troops. These detachments totalled 12 officers and 318 ORs out of a unit strength of 16 officers and 340 other ranks.⁶⁷ In mid-May MAJ Hindhaugh issued an operation order detailing the battalion's responsibilities and tasks for the defence of the bridges and approaches to Camon and Cagny. This very well written document would seem to be a trifle ambitious considering, in the light of the battalion's multitudinous detachments, that Hindhaugh would have been able to call on less than 30 officers and men to carry out the defence!⁶⁸ On 20 May 2699 PTE F.W. Hitchens died of wounds received while working as a runner.⁶⁹

The wholesale detachment of the battalion continued throughout June and July and it was not in fact until August that the numbers on detachment began to fall. Troops were serving with such diverse units as the Corps Agricultural Officer and the War Trophies Section!⁷⁰

Reports from the commanders of cyclist platoons attached to divisions reveal that the cyclists carried out valuable work during the Australian Corps attacks in early August. On 8 August, LT Raphael's platoon attached to 58th Battalion of 15th Brigade, 5th Division, took part in a battalion attack on the German held village of Bayonvilliers. The platoon formed part of the left-hand front company in the assault.—The attack found the enemy, fortunately for the attackers, demoralised and not willing to put up much of a fight. The town was captured and cleared in just over forty minutes. Two cyclists were wounded in this action.⁷¹ The platoon's actions were commended by the Division Commander who sent a signal that stated: "The Div. Commander most heartily congratulates and thanks you for your share in magnificent result of today's action."⁷²

Platoons detached to divisions were released at the end of the second week of September and returned to the battalion. The cyclist platoons had done some extremely good work while attached to the divisions. September was largely given over to rest, training and overhaul of arms and equipment. The battalion's leave schedule, which had been upset by "Michael" and its aftermath was now reinstated and number of 1914 men were released for home leave.⁷³ Despite the decrease in the tempo of operations, however, the battalion continued to be called to provide detachments for such tasks as traffic control and POW reception and control. The battalion lost its last man to enemy action on 1 September when 2016 PTE R.B. Fontana was killed by

⁶⁷ "Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion Statement Showing Personnel on Detachment as at 31st May 1918." Included as Appendix 1 to May 1918 Section of War Diary.

⁶⁸ "Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion Operation Order No. 1." Included as Appendix 3 to May 1918 Section of War Diary.

⁶⁹ War Diary. Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. PTE Hitchens is buried in Etaples Military Cemetery, Grave No. LXVII D.30.

⁷⁰ "Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion Personnel on Detachment" for the months of June, July and August 1918. Included as appendices to relevant sections of War Diary.

⁷¹ "Report of Lieut. H. Raphael whilst I/C of Platoon of Cyclists attached 5th AUSTRALIAN Division, during month of August, 1918." Included as Appendix 3 to August Section of War Diary.

⁷² 5th Australian Division G.234 AAA of 8 August 1918.

⁷³ Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion War Diary.

shellfire. PTE Fontana had the bad luck to be killed as his platoon was withdrawing following relief.⁷⁴

Unfortunately, leave plans and all other schedules were again thrown into disarray when the battalion was hastily moved back into the line to support the Australian operations following the breakthrough on the Hindenburg Line. Once again, platoons were attached to each of the Australian divisions taking part in the operations. The remainder of the battalion provided detachments to serve as guides, for traffic control and for POW reception and control. The entire battalion was involved.⁷⁵ It was at this point that the cyclists finally came into their own, operating over well made roads and open country on wide ranging scouting and patrol missions. A number of skirmishes were fought with retreating Germans and several cyclists were wounded. On 17 October, the battalion lost its last man in action when 1335 PTE P.H. Norman was drowned crossing a canal during a scouting mission.⁷⁶

Even while the battalion was heavily involved in the closing battles of the war, a start had been made on preparing the men for the post war world. In October, CAPT McDougall, QM and unit Education Officer, submitted a report in which he outlined the battalion's "education scheme."

McDougall reported that 167 men had signed up for education courses with bookkeeping and agricultural science courses already started and mathematics, English and French classes planned.⁷⁷

In October, MAJ Hindhaugh had proceeded on Anzac Leave and his place as CO was taken by MAJ R.F. Fitzgerald, former commander of I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion who returned from 24th Battalion. Fitzgerald had been awarded the DSO for his services as CO 24th Battalion. Fitzgerald's battalion continued to provide support to the Australian divisions throughout October and into November. The War Diary for November records that the men were "extremely fatigued" and that bicycles were in desperate need of maintenance.⁷⁸ When the Armistice came into effect on 11 November, as with the rest of the AIF, the cyclists took the news of the cessation of hostilities in a very anticlimactic way. Also, as with much of the rest of the AIF, it took a while for the fact of the end of hostilities to sink in. On 17 November, MAJ Fitzgerald issued an operation order for a battalion reconnaissance to "make good the MONTBREHAIN - JONCOURT Road." The order mentions "the enemy" on a number of occasions and the troops were ordered to parade in fighting order with first line ammunition.⁷⁹ By the end of the month, however, as the reality set in and longer serving men began to be released for home leave and discharge, things began to ease off. The unit training syllabus for the last week of November specified two hours of various military activities - salvage, route marches, battalion rides - in the morning, with the afternoon of each day being given over to sports.⁸⁰

The battalion rapidly reduced in strength as men were formed into home drafts. By April 1919, the unit strength had been reduced to five officers and 128 men. Bicycles, unit transport and most unit equipment had been handed back by this stage. On 13 April the last large draft, consisting of

⁷⁴ War Diary. Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. PTE Fontana is buried in Herbecourt British Cemetery, Grave No. A.9.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁶ *ibid.* Also AWM Roll of Honour Database. PTE Norman is buried in St. Pierre Cemetery, Amiens, Grave No. XIV.C.3.

⁷⁷ "Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion Report on Education Scheme for Month of October, 1916." Included as Appendix 2 to October 1918 Section of War Diary.

⁷⁸ War Diary. Also AIF Staff and Regimental List November 1918.

⁷⁹ "Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion Operation Order No. 1." dated 17 November 1918. Included as Appendix 4 to November 1918 Section of War Diary.

⁸⁰ "Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion Syllabus of Training for the Week Ending 30th November 1918." Included as Appendix 7 to November 1918 Section of War Diary.

two officers and 113 other ranks, marched out as part of AIF Demobilisation Quota No. 33. Finally, on 30 April 1919, the last War Diary entry records: "Remainder of personnel of unit (2 officers & 13 OR's) marched out with Demob. Quota No. 44. Weather report - wet."⁸¹ The AIF Cyclists were no more.

Uniforms, Weapons and Bicycles

Before concluding this short account of the AIF Cyclists, it is in order to briefly look at their uniforms, weapons and "mounts."

Uniforms. AIF cyclists were virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the AIF. The standard AIF service dress jacket and trousers were worn, the latter with puttees and ankle boots. Although technically mounted troops, cyclists were not issued with mounted troops boots and leggings as the cyclists tended to spend more time marching than riding. And besides, boots and spurs would look a bit ridiculous on a bicycle! In addition, the very philosophy behind the creation and employment of the cyclists was that they were intended to scout on foot and fight as infantry when the need arose.

Headdress consisted of the khaki SD cap (worn on enlistment and during training in Australia and rarely after), slouch hats and, of course, helmets when necessary.

One item of dress that set the cyclists apart was their personal equipment. Cyclists were issued with leather mounted troops equipment, including light horse bandoliers, rather than dismounted troops web equipment. This of course made eminent sense.

While it has not proved possible to locate a list of what Australian cyclists carried, the history of the Canadian Corps Cyclist Battalion contains such a list dated 1916, the year the Canadian battalion and the Anzac battalions were formed. Since the organisation of the Canadian and Anzac battalions were identical and based on British standards, we can accept that what Canadian cyclists carried was what Anzac cyclists carried. The list reveals that in marching order a cyclist was equipped with or carried:

bicycle, rifle, cap, steel helmet, tunic, pants, puttees, boots, socks (2 pairs), underwear, great coat, rubber cape, blanket (1), ground sheet, coat, pull through, oil bottle, 6 oz. oil tin, web equipment, 120 rounds of ammunition, haversack, water bottle, mess tin, entrenching tool, entrenching tool handle, bayonet, kit bag, iron ration, two gas helmets, goggles, satchel, capsules, housewife, holdall, razor, comb, brush, knife, fork, spoon, clasp knife.⁸²

In the Australian case, we would of course substitute "hat KFF" for "cap" and the gas helmets and goggles would eventually be replaced by box respirators. Spare clothing, extra blankets, rations and personal items would have been either stored or carried in unit transport.

Unlike British, Canadian and New Zealand cyclists, AIF cyclists did not have special cap and collar badges and shoulder titles. The AIF cyclists wore the general issue AMF cap and collar badges and the "AUSTRALIA" shoulder title. The only unique identifying feature for the cyclists was their colour patches. AIF Circular Memorandum No. 52 of 20 April 1916 authorised colour patches for the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th Divisional Cyclist Companies.⁸³ No patch was authorised for the 3rd Divisional Cyclist Company. The colour patches followed the normal AIF practice of using a combination of the divisional shape with corps colours, in this case, red on white. With the disbanding of the divisional cyclist companies and the creation of the I and II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalions, AIF Order 179 (ii) of 25 July 1916 directed that the colour

⁸¹ War Diary.

⁸² Ellis, p.53.

⁸³ Glyde. See also Colour Patch Register.

patch of the former 1st Division Cyclist Company was to be worn by the I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion and the patch of the former 2nd Division Cyclist Company was to be worn by II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion. With the creation of the Australian Corps in January 1918, the new Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion wore the patch of the I Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion i.e. the original patch of 1st Div. Cyclist Coy. Oddly enough, although it was an Australian item, the colour patch of the former II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion continued to be worn by the now all New Zealand XXII Corps Cyclist Battalion after that corps unit was formed from the former II Anzac Corps Cyclist Battalion. The wearing of this Australian colour patch was regularised by NZEF Order No. 495 of 31 January 1918.⁸⁴

Cossum illustrates a small oddity in his book on Australian Army cloth insignia. The illustration is of a "winged wheel badge" which Cossum attributes to "Cyclist Company A.I.F."⁸⁵ Unfortunately, no authority is cited for this badge and despite an exhaustive search of war diaries, AIF orders and instructions and cyclist related files in the AWM no authority, or even mention of the badge has been found. Similarly, a search of the AWM's photographic database has not turned up a single image of the badge being worn. This is not to say that AIF cyclists did not wear the badge, but this remains unproven at the moment.

Weapons. The AIF cyclists were issued with the Short Magazine Lee Enfield rifle as their standard personal weapon. Bayonets were issued but were apparently not carried when the cyclists operated mounted but were carried when on dismounted duty. War Memorial photograph E03919 shows a member of the Australian Corps Cyclist Battalion searching German prisoners. He is armed with a bayoneted .303 rifle, slung over his shoulder, and was probably employed on dismounted duty for POW reception and control. In reference to comments above about appearance, this soldier is totally indistinguishable from a standard AIF infantryman, except for his colour patch.

Officers were issued with pistols but photographs and war diary entries indicate that they carried rifles in the front line areas. This was fairly standard practice in the AIF. When first formed, the Anzac Cyclist Battalions were issued with Hotchkiss machine guns. These were withdrawn after only a very short period of issue and replaced by Lewis guns. Machine guns were originally carried in unit transport when on the march. In 1917, however, a modification to the unit bicycles permitted the guns to be carried on the cycles themselves (see below).

Bicycles. Turning now to the all-important matter of the cyclist's "mounts." When first formed, the AIF Cyclist units were supposed to be issued with the Birmingham Small Arms (BSA) Bicycle (Mk. IV) General Service. War diary entries and quartermaster records reveal that in the early days the Australian cyclists were issued with a motley collection of Mk. II, Mk. III and Mk. IV cycles, even a few obsolete Mk. I machines.⁸⁶

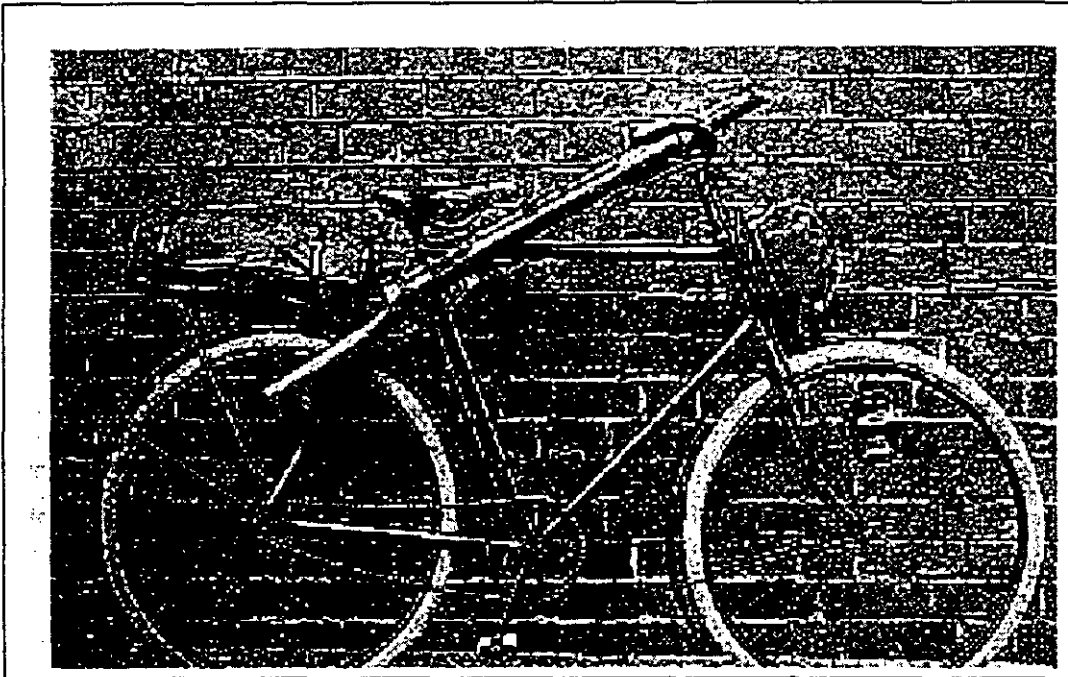
To step back slightly in history, the first military bicycle officially taken into British Army service was the BSA Bicycle (Mk. I) GS, which was adopted into service in 1901. Prior to this, bicycles used in the British Army had been whatever could be procured under local purchase arrangements. Widespread and successful use of bicycles on active service, by both sides, during the Anglo-Boer War convinced the British military hierarchy of the need for a standard machine. Even while the war raged in South Africa, trials conducted in the UK resulted in the introduction of the BSA manufactured bicycle.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ History of the New Zealand Cyclist Corps, op cit. See also Thomas and Lord.

⁸⁵ Cossum, p30.

⁸⁶ AWM25 103/3 "Correspondence Relating to Bicycles for the Australian Corps."

⁸⁷ Munitions of War: B.S.A. & Daimler.



A rugged and apparently very reliable, single gear, steel frame cycle, the Mk. I was fitted with carrying clips for the .303 Magazine Lee Enfield rifle, as well as carrying frames and straps at front and rear for personal equipment.⁸⁸

The Mk. II version of the BSA bicycle was introduced in June 1902. It was differentiated from the Mk. I in having a free-wheel hub, a hand applied back wheel brake and a shorter wheelbase than the Mk. I (25½ inches as opposed to 27½ inches). Most of the components of the Mk. II were interchangeable with the Mk. I and the clips for the older Magazine Lee Enfield fitted the Short Magazine Lee Enfield when it was introduced into service in 1907.⁸⁹

The Mk. III version of the bicycle was introduced in 1908. The new version had a Coaster Hub "Military Pattern" in place of the freewheel back hub of the Mk. II. Alterations were also made to the frame, front forks, inside stem, tool bags, steering lock, cranks, handlebars, pedals and saddle. Nevertheless, many components remained interchangeable with the Mk. II and even the now obsolete Mk. I. A Mk. III* version was introduced in 1909, the "*" advance in nomenclature denoting construction techniques used, rather than any change of design.⁹⁰

The definitive British military cycle of the Great War and later was the BSA Bicycle (Mk. IV and Mk. IV*) GS, introduced into service in June 1911.⁹¹ The main difference between the Mk. IV and the Mk. III* and earlier marks was that the Mk. IV came in one frame height only (24 inches). Prior to this, BSA military bicycles had been made in three frame heights to

⁸⁸ List of Changes in British War Material 1901-1917.

⁸⁹ *ibid.* Although the bicycles were fitted with carrying clips for the rifle, photographic evidence suggests that cyclists, both Australian and British, preferred to carry their rifles slung across the shoulder. This makes eminent sense, especially in the forward areas.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ Photos of British and Indian troops between the wars and as late as 1941 riding or wheeling bicycles, show them using what are immediately identifiable as BSA Bicycle (Mk. IV) GS machines. This is a tribute to the durability and longevity of these rugged machines.

accommodate different sized men. There were a number of other differences between the Mk. IV and the Mk. III* but this had generally to do with construction methods and materials rather than marked design differences. On 13 July 1915, a Mk. IV* was approved. This penultimate mark was fitted with a free-wheel hub in place of a coaster hub and a rear hand-operated brake was fitted. The final development to the Mk. IV* was the approval of carriers for machine guns in May 1917.⁹² The BSA Mk. IV and Mk. IV* became the standard mount of the AIF cyclists for the war.

An interesting exchange of correspondence between Commander I Anzac Corps Mounted Troops and CO I Anzac Corps Cyclist Bn. from January 1917 indicates that the Cyclist Bn. had become, by default, "Cycles-R-Us" for the Corps. In response to an information request from Corps Mounted Troops, Major Hindhaugh provided a detailed list of bicycles on charge to his unit which showed that he was responsible for 708 machines as opposed to a unit requirement for 317. Hindhaugh included in his list details of 11 missing bicycles on loan to various units and unaccounted for. In a follow up letter Hindhaugh put a somewhat plaintive request for excess machines to be taken off his charge. Unfortunately, no response to this request has been located.⁹³

Conclusion

The AIF Cyclists constituted one of the smallest and at the same time least known sections of the AIF. Approximately 1,600 officers and men served with the cyclist units between March 1916 and April 1919.⁹⁴ Eleven cyclists were killed in action, died of wounds or died as a result of enemy action or accidents in action. A further 17 men died of disease. Not a large number, but that is still 25 Australians who now sleep far from their native land.

Reading the war diaries and other sources related to the AIF Cyclists, one cannot help but get the feeling that the only reason that the AIF had cyclist units was because the British authorities insisted on it. Despite this, the cyclists did the best job they could under the conditions prevailing. Rarely employed in the role for which they were established the cyclists nevertheless did a great deal of useful if unspectacular and unglamorous work. One can only admire the extraordinary flexibility of the cyclists in turning their hands to whatever task the army thrust upon them. Discipline and morale in the various units always seems to have been of a high standard. And when finally called upon, in the closing stages of the war, to carry out the role for which they were raised, the cyclists did an excellent job. Their memory, as with the memory of the rest of the AIF, deserves to live on.

⁹² *List of Changes*, op cit. See also AWM25 385/23 "Correspondence Referring to Tests for Fitting Lewis Guns to Bicycles."

⁹³ AWM27 235/1

⁹⁴ The best figure I have been able to come up with is 1621, based on original unit establishments, War Diary entries and later embarkation rolls. There was an inordinate amount of turmoil in the cyclist units, however, throughout their existence and thus the figure quoted is very much speculative.

Acknowledgement

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New Zealand's Colonial Defence Force (Cavalry) and its Australian Context, 1863-66

Jeff Hopkins-Weise

This article is not designed to be a comprehensive history of New Zealand's Colonial Defence Force (CDF), but rather to provide an exploration into the history of a Corps rarely dealt with, and in this process shed light upon the significance and presence of Australian material and personnel contributions.¹ Australian manpower involvement or war material support greatly aided the formation and operations of this Corps, as it did so many other colonial units during the many conflicts that occurred in New Zealand during 1860 into 1872.

Origins and Development of the Colonial Defence Force

New Zealand's CDF formally came into existence with a proclamation issued by Governor George Grey on 5 May 1863. This proclamation brought into operation the *Colonial Defence Force Act, 1862*, and was proclaimed and declared so as to raise "a Force for the internal Defence of the Colony".² On 14 August 1863, Grey authorised the following initial officer appointments in the CDF to be gazetted under the provisions of the *Colonial Defence Force Act, 1862*:

Marmaduke George Nixon³, to be Commandant.
James Walmsley, to be Inspector.
Charles Pye, to be Inspector.
Maurice Norman Bower, to be Sub-Inspector.
Archibald Cambell [sic.?] Turner, to be Sub-Inspector.
Charles James Wilson, to be Sub-Inspector.
Thomas McDonnell, to be Sub-Inspector.
Richard George Clarke Spence, to be Surgeon.⁴

In addition to these personnel, the following were also gazetted as CDF officer appointments:

Charles James Anderson, to be Sub-Inspector, on 24 August 1863.⁵
J.S. Wright, of Napier, to be Assistant Surgeon (commission dated 22 September 1863)⁶
Alexander Johnston, of Wellington, to be Assistant Surgeon (commission dated 8 Aug 1863)⁷

¹ This author's article is an edited version of the original previously published in New Zealand as: "A History of the Colonial Defence Force (Cavalry): and the Australian Context", *The Volunteers: The Journal of the New Zealand Military Historical Society*, Vol.26, No.1, (July 2000), pp.5-25. Also refer to, Jeffrey Hopkins [now Hopkins-Weise], *Further Selected New Zealand War Medal Rolls of Applications Granted up to 1900: Volume 2* (Brisbane, Qld: J.E. Hopkins, & supported by the Victoria Barracks Historical Society, Brisbane, Qld, 1998), pp.14-24. This 1998 source provides New Zealand War Medal recipient rolls compiled from published government sources from 27 March 1871 to 24 September 1896, which indicate that at least 125 men who were associated with the CDF, later became entitled to the War Medal (up to 1900), see Rolls on pp.48-59. These rolls list these men as either Colonial Defence Force, Wellington Colonial Defence Force, Napier Colonial Defence Force, Auckland Colonial Defence Force, Hawke's Bay Colonial Defence Force, & sometimes indicate service with other New Zealand colonial units.

² *The New Zealand Gazette* [hereafter abbreviated as *NZG*], No.17, 12 May 1863, p.167.

³ On 14 July 1863, the Governor had included amongst the appointments in the 'Royal Cavalry Volunteers', "Lieutenant-Colonel Marmaduke Nixon, to be Lieutenant-Colonel. Date of Commission-3rd April, 1860." *NZG*, No.31, 22 July 1863, p.286.

⁴ *NZG*, No.41, 19 August 1863, p.344.

⁵ *NZG*, No.43, 27 August 1863, p.360. Sub-Inspector C.J. Anderson was subsequently appointed to the rank of Inspector on 2 September 1863. *NZG*, No.46, 12 September 1863, p.380.



On 5 October 1863, additional officer appointments were gazetted:

Chief Inspector George Stoddart Whitmore, to be Commandant (commission dated 1 July 1863)
 James Townsend Edwards, to be Commandant (commission dated 30 July 1863)
 Richard Blackburn Leatham, to be Inspector (commission dated 15 July 1863)
 William Robertson, to be Inspector (commission dated 14 August 1863)
 Samuel Deighton, to be Inspector (commission dated 1 September 1863)
 Herbert Vernon Lillicrap, to be Sub-Inspector (commission dated 31 July 1863)⁸
 John Alexander Percy, to be Sub-Inspector (commission dated 2 August 1863)
 Paul Kingdon, to be Sub-Inspector (commission dated 3 August 1863)
 Maillard Noake, to be Sub-Inspector (commission dated 11 September 1863).⁹

Subsequent appointments into 1864 also included:

Assistant-Surgeon Clarence Hooper, of the Auckland Militia, to be Assistant-Surgeon (commission dated 24 October 1863)¹⁰
 Ensign Andrew Macpherson, of the Auckland Militia, to be Sub-Inspector (commission dated 19 January 1864)¹¹
 Lieutenant David Hutchison, of the Howick Troop Royal Cavalry Volunteers, to be Sub-Inspector (commission dated 20 January 1864)¹²
 George Ross, to be Sub-Inspector (commission dated 3 May 1864)¹³

One aspect rarely noted or analysed is to ascertain the presence, significance, and contributions of personnel who had been former British officers, non-commissioned officers or men within the CDF. In both Australia and New Zealand, most Volunteers Units had a small cadre of retired or discharged Military personnel who provided the experience, enthusiasm, and military structure around which colonial units were formed, trained, and operated. In the Australian context, one of the few historians to draw attention to this phenomenon has been Peter Stanley in his "Heritage of Strangers". In discussing the impact of such former or seconded British personnel upon the development of the Australian Colonial Volunteers, Stanley has pointed out:

The colonial volunteer forces were not established in emulation of the red-coated regular regiments which they supplemented and later replaced, but, rather, on the model of the British rifle volunteers, whose character and motivation was altogether different from those of the infantry of the line. The regulars drew on men who were supposed to have no option but to enlist, who served and fought under rigid unthinking discipline. ... Colonial Troops, respectable men, serving voluntarily and finding restrictive discipline and rigid tactics unnecessary, nevertheless still needed military skills, and called upon former regulars to provide both commissioned and non-commissioned direction.

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- 6 NZG, No.51, 30 September 1863, p.434. Assistant Surgeon J.S. Wright's resignation of his commission in the CDF was formally cancelled on 22 January 1864. NZG, No.3, 26 January 1964, p.22.
 7 NZG, No.51, 30 September 1863, p.434.
 8 The resignation of the commission of Sub-Inspector H.V. Lillicrap, was formally cancelled on 3 May 1864. NZG, No.16, 6 May 1864, p.189.
 9 NZG, No.52, 5 October 1863, p.339.
 10 NZG, No.58, 7 November 1863, p.488.
 11 NZG, No.3, 26 January 1864, p.22.
 12 NZG, No.3, 26 January 1864, p.22. A later erratum gazettal stated that Sub-Inspector David Hutchison's commission date should be 26 October 1863, instead of 20 January 1864. NZG, No.13, 16 April 1864, p.166.
 13 NZG, No.16, 6 May 1864, p.190.

Of equal importance to shaping the military force ... [were] the non-commissioned officers and warrant officers who joined colonial forces after their retirement from the British Army. Other British NCOs sought or accepted secondment to the colonial forces, often becoming officers ...¹⁴

The CDF was one such Corps that gained invaluable knowledge, experience and leadership from personnel within its ranks who had such prior military service. One example of men in this category is of course Lieutenant-Colonel M.G. Nixon, a former Major in the 39th Regiment, who saw active service in India, before settling in New Zealand in 1852. With the rumours of war, the settlers in his immediate neighbourhood [Auckland district] looked to him as their leader in any defence they might be called upon to make; while he, on his part, as readily responded with all the energy and promptitude of his nature to their appeal. He quickly embodied and trained two troops of volunteer yeomanry cavalry, composed principally of the sons of country settlers, who were soon in a high state of efficiency; proud of their corps, and of their commanding officer.¹⁵

In 1863, Nixon was sought by the New Zealand government to enrol a slightly different body of mounted troops, the CDF, which he similarly launched himself into, taking an active roll in its expansion and operations up till his fatal wounding in action on 21 February 1864.¹⁶

Another example of a former British regular is Maurice Norman Bower. Bower had seen extensive service in the Crimea, before arriving in New Zealand in June 1863. Shortly after, he was appointed Sub-Inspector in the CDF, and served until the force was disbanded.¹⁷ Bower "was [also] adjutant of the flying column under General Carey, accompanied the column, under General Cameron, from Te Rori to Te Awamutu; was present at the attack and capture of the village of Rangiaohia, and was with Colonel Nixon when wounded."¹⁸ Bower later served with the 1st Waikato Regiment at Tauranga and Opotiki, as well as serving in other capacities and colonial forces into the late 1860s.¹⁹ Another important example was Maillard Noake, a former British cavalryman and officer who had not only Crimean War service (serving in the Scots Greys), but in India in the latter stages of the Indian Mutiny. Whilst in India, Noake was invalided for the second time because of a re-occurring wound sustained back in the Crimea, and transferred into a home regiment, eventually leaving the service and deciding to settle in New Zealand in 1863.²⁰ Gudgeon records that:

Finding the war in the Waikato was likely to continue, he applied for service and was appointed captain of militia and transferred to the Wellington Defence Force²¹, which company as adjutant he materially assisted in organising. ... Noake afterwards commanded the force stationed in Rangitikei, which command he retained until it was disbanded.²²

14 Peter Stanley, "Heritage of Strangers: the Australian Army's British Legacy", *Australian Defence Force Journal*, No.87, (March/April 1991), p.24.

15 T.W. Gudgeon, *The Defenders of New Zealand: being a short biography of colonists who distinguished themselves in upholding her Majesty's supremacy in these Islands* (Auckland, NZ: H. Brett, 1887), p.157.

16 M.G. Nixon was appointed Commandant of the CDF on 14 August 1863. *NZG*, No.41, 19 August 1863, p.344; & also see Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.157.

17 M.N. Bower was appointed Sub-Inspector in the CDF on 14 August 1863. *NZG*, 19 August 1863, p.344.

18 Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.475.

19 *Ibid.*, pp.474-475.

20 In 1860 Noake was recorded as the riding master, 3 years service, appointed 20 February 1857, with the 15th (The King's) Regt. of Lt. Drs. (Hussars). H.G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, and Militia List, for 1860* (London: John Murray, 1860), p.152.

21 Appointed Sub-Inspector in the CDF, commission dated 11 September 1863. *NZG*, No.52, 5 October 1863, p.339.

22 Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.342.

After this Noake was appointed Resident Magistrate in the Upper Wanganui District, but saw additional active service in the relief of Pipiriki in 1865, and then again during 1868-69.²³

Australian Logistic and Commissariat Support, 1863-64

On 19 October 1863, Governor Grey reported to the New Zealand Legislative Council on the military preparations being undertaken, including the CDF:

... active measures had been taken in the colony itself for the defence of the settlements of the Northern Island. The Militia and Volunteers have been called out, armed, and trained, to the number of upwards of nine thousand men. Volunteer companies, both in horse and foot, have been formed in the different provinces - some of them in Auckland and Taranaki - for the especial purpose of scouring the forest country. Mounted forces, under the Colonial Defence Force Act of last session, have been raised and stationed in Auckland, Hawke's Bay, Wellington, and Wanganui.²⁴

Further elaboration upon the scale of military mobilisation being undertaken by New Zealand during 1863 can be gauged from a 'Ministerial Statement' by Mr Fox to the House of Representatives on 3 November. This speech also made reference to the CDF, not only indicating the size of the force at that time, but also the Australian origins of many of its personnel. It should be pointed out here that there is no evidence of any formal recruiting mission carried out for the CDF in any of the Australian colonies during 1863 or 1864. Although there was no formal recruiting for the CDF in Australia, the press definitely informed the public early in 1863 of the measures associated with the expansion of this force, conditions of service and pay, and enlistment.²⁵

These "Australian" personnel either arrived in New Zealand on their own initiative, or else had actually transferred from those who had already arrived as part of the military settler recruiting mission in late 1863 or early 1864:

In Auckland there are 5,937 men, including the Waikato Volunteers, under the command of Colonel Pitt; in Wellington, including Wanganui, 1,768 men armed - leaving a balance of a few hundreds more, who are not, I believe, yet armed and trained, but who will be speedily so; in Taranaki, the whole of the male population, numbering 812; in Hawke's Bay, also, the whole of the male population, about 750; and the Colonial Defence Force, which has been enlisted in the Australian colonies, and numbers 375 men, chiefly mounted.²⁶

In the process of rapid militarisation of forces in the North Island in 1863, the New Zealand government found itself deficient in a whole range of military materials such as uniforms, tentage, weaponry, accoutrements and ammunitions. The Australian colonies became the logical and convenient locale from which to obtain the requisite military materials to supply the newly created and expanded New Zealand colonial forces including the CDF:

Among the difficulties which embarrassed the Government at the commencement of hostilities, the want of arms for upwards of three thousand men, of suitable clothing, - such as boots, trousers, great coats, and other necessaries - for the Militia and Volunteers on active service, was

23 *Ibid.*, pp.340-342.

24 *New Zealand: Parliamentary Debates: 1861 to 1863* (Wellington: G. Didsbury, Government Printer, 1886), p.734. For other details pertaining to the expansion of the CDF in 1863 in the provinces of Auckland, Wellington, Wanganui, & Hawke's Bay, also refer to: "A.-No.6: Further Papers Relating to the Military Defences of New Zealand: Memorandum on Measures of Defence in Northern Island", pp.1, & 3-5. *Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand: 1863*.

25 An example of this can be found within the "New Zealand" news of the *Sydney Morning Herald* [hereafter abbreviated as *SMH*], entitled "Auckland Division Of The Colonial Defence Force". *SMH*, 24 July 1863, p.5.

26 *New Zealand: Parliamentary Debates: 1861 to 1863*, op.cit., pp.759-760.

especially felt. It was impossible to procure these supplies by the ordinary means of purchase. All that could be got, in Auckland, were procured; and additional supplies of the best available substitutes were obtained from Dunedin and the Australian Colonies.²⁷

William Fox, in *The War in New Zealand*, published in 1866, commented upon this situation:

One hears of large fortunes made in England by contracts for victualling and clothing Her Majesty's forces, and furnishing other supplies for the public service; but military expenditure is to the bulk of the population of New Zealand a thing never thought of, or wished for. Indeed if the colonists had been more anxious for it than they were, they would have been much disappointed; for great part of the supplies were got direct from other countries by the commissariat; flour from Adelaide, horses from Sydney, hay (much of it worthless) and corn from England, while the meat contract was held for a long time by a grazier in Gipps' Land, Victoria. A very small number of persons in the Colony could derive any pecuniary advantage from the expenditure of troops.²⁸

Examples of New Zealand turning to the Australian colonies to supply some of these vast military needs are evident with the tenders published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in September 1863 for 3000 forage caps and 100 military circular tents.²⁹ Similarly, the New Zealand Office in Melbourne in January 1864 authorised the publication of tenders for the New Zealand Local Forces for 7000 pair boots, 6000 blankets, 3000 pair blue serge trousers, 5000 blue serge shirts, 5000 haversacks, 2000 forage caps, 500 waterproof coats, and 200 tents.³⁰

Australian colonies such as South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and New South Wales in 1863-64, as in 1860-61, were also the locale from which quantities of commissariat stores, ammunitions, thousands of rifles, carbines, pistols and revolvers, and associated accoutrements were made available to the war effort in New Zealand. Tasmania supplied around 100 tons of Commissariat stores including tents to New Zealand per the vessel *Louisa* in June 1863.³¹ In August 1863, Tasmania was also able to provide 500 short rifles and accoutrements and a quantity of smooth-bore pistols via the *Reliance*.³² In November 1863 the South Australian government consented to supply 500 long Enfield rifles following a written request from the New Zealand government³³; and then in January 1864, a further 120 rifles were despatched to New Zealand via Melbourne.³⁴

In August 1863, the New South Wales government directed the Colonial Storekeeper to despatch 1000 rifles and 200 breech-loading carbines following a request from the New Zealand government.³⁵ These weapons appear to have been despatched aboard the *Claud Hamilton* which

27 "A.-No.6: Further Papers Relating to the Military Defence of New Zealand: Memorandum on Measures of Defence in Northern Island", p.1. *Journal of the House of Representatives of New Zealand: 1863*. Auckland. Also refer to, Frank Glen, *For Glory and a Farm: The Story of Australia's Involvement in the New Zealand Wars of 1860-66* (2nd Edition. Whakatane, NZ: Whakatane & District Historical Society, 1985), p.38.

28 William Fox, *The War in New Zealand* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1866), p.13.

29 *SMH*, 12 September 1863, p.9.

30 *Argus*, 15 January 1864, p.7.

31 *Mercury*, 10, 15 & 16 June 1863; & *South Australian Register* [hereafter abbreviated as *SAR*], 25 June 1863.

32 *Archives Office of Tasmania*: CSD 4/85/411. Colonial Secretary: Gore Browne Period. Correspondence File: 411; & *Mercury*, 5 & 6 August 1863.

33 *SAR*, 30 November 1863; & also refer to *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia: 1866-7: Volume I* (Adelaide: W.C. Cox, Government Printer, 1867), pp.2, 3, & 5; & *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia: 1866-7: Volume II* (Adelaide: W.C. Cox, Government Printer, 1867), "No.34. Receipt and Disposition of Small Arms".

34 *SAR*, 13 January 1864.

35 *SMH*, 17 August 1863, p.4.

was also conveying Lieutenant-Colonel Carey as passenger, and a detachment of fifty-three rank and file of the 12th Regiment for active service in New Zealand, commanded by Lieutenant Phillips and Ensign Bolton. "Before proceeding to sea one hundred and fifty barrels of cartridge powder were taken on board ... from the powder magazine at Goat Island."³⁶ Amongst the cargo listed for New Zealand aboard the *Claud Hamilton* there was "1 case revolvers, 56 cases arms, 30 cases accoutrements, 102 cases rifles, 21 cases carbines, [from the] Colonial Storekeeper; ... [&] 3 cases ammunition, 200 barrels powder, 12 cases, [from the] Commissariat".³⁷ On 24 September 1863 the *Novelty* departed Sydney for Auckland with "72 packages ammunition"³⁸, and then on 25 September the *Lord Ashley*, apart from conveying the New Zealand government officials and recruiters, the "Hon. F.D. Bell, Mrs. Bell, and family (7), Captain Harrison, Messrs. Brown, Hubbard, Manvary, and 40 [Sydney military settler] Volunteers", also carried forty cases of firearms.³⁹ These examples provide some idea of the variety and magnitude of arms, ammunitions and accoutrements that were being despatched to New Zealand from Australia during 1863-64.

Australian Military Horse Trade with New Zealand, 1863-64

Apart from these crucial military materials, in relation to the CDF and the Imperial Commissariat Transport Corps (CTC) especially, the Australian colonies were also the place from which both draught and cavalry horses were sought and procured. In late 1863 a contract was also let to a Sydney saddlery firm to supply saddles and other associated mounted troop equipment to compliment this availability of horses.⁴⁰

The New Zealand government selected Edward Mayne in Sydney to be their remount agent. He commenced this work in August 1863 by attending the "Burt & Co's Horse Bazaar" on Thursdays and Saturdays. The initial advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 20 August sought "Troop Horses", noting Mayne's job to select for purchase horses suited for "cavalry work", with "Geldings preferred; must be quiet to ride, sound, not under fifteen hands high, or over seven years old".⁴¹ Further advertisements over the ensuing days continued to seek such "Troop Horses", but at the same time also sought "Cavalry Horses for New Zealand". This separate advertisement stated: "Wanted to purchase, for the Government of New Zealand, horses adapted for cavalry purposes. They must be broken to saddle, up to weight, with good action, sound, and ages ranging from 4 to 6 years."⁴² Here Mayne directed attention that he would inspect such horses when attending the "Martyn's Horse Bazaar, 246, Pitt-street", Sydney, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, until further notice.⁴³

Apart from these advertisements, one other appeared at the same time that sought "100 Horses" for the New Zealand government. Here the requirements were stated as: "They must be well bred, active and compact, sound, and quiet to ride, 15 hands to 15 hands 2 inches high, and from 5 to 7 years old." Persons with such horses were invited to apply daily to "Mr. Armstrong, veterinary surgeon, [located at] 260, Pitt-street", Sydney.⁴⁴

36 *SMH*, 20 August 1863, p.5.

37 *SMH*, 20 August 1863, p.4.

38 *SMH*, 25 September 1863, p.4.

39 *SMH*, 26 September 1863, p.6.

40 Glen, *op. cit.*, p.24.

41 *SMH*, 20 August 1863, p.1.

42 *SMH*, 24 August 1863, p.1.

43 *Ibid.*; & also see continuation of advertisements for "Troop Horses" & "Cavalry Horses for New Zealand" in Sydney in *SMH*, 25 August, p.1; 26 August, p.1; & 27 August 1863, p.1. References to "Cavalry Horses for New Zealand" also found in *SAR*, 9 September 1863.

44 *SMH*, 24 August, p.8; & 25 August 1863, p.8.

On 15 September 1863 the vessel *Claud Hamilton*⁴⁵ departed Sydney for Auckland with part of its cargo consisting of eighty horses exported under the name of "F.D. Bell", one of the New Zealand government representatives sent to assist in the initial military settler recruiting.⁴⁶ Such horses were made available for the CDF, or similarly the large needs of the CTC. William Morgan's journal entry dated Drury, Saturday night, 31 October 1863, for instance recounted:

A long procession of horses and drays arrived this evening. On enquiry I found it was No. 5 company of the Transport Corps on the march from Penrose with commissariat stores. There were 131 men, 140 horses, 43 drays, and they were in command of Lieut. Lawry of the 2nd, and Lieut. Hay of the 3rd Waikato Regiment. Most of the horses seemed first class, many of them being those lately imported from Sydney.⁴⁷

To assist in the purchase of suitable horses for the requirements of the Imperial government in New Zealand, "Mr. Anderson, Veterinary Surgeon, R.A." arrived in Sydney from Auckland aboard the *Claud Hamilton* on 5 October 1863.⁴⁸ The arrival of such individuals did not always sit well with Sydney residents associated with or already accredited and engaged in such work. In a letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 24 December 1863, "S. Wooller" expressed concerns, whilst also indicating fraudulent horse selling practices which had taken place with the inexperienced or unwary:

The latest advices acquaint us of the dispatch hither of an officer from home for the purpose of purchasing horses for an additional mounted force that is under orders to proceed at once to New Zealand, from which colony we have already had two officials accredited for a like duty.

Now, without insinuating anything against the fitness of these gentlemen, giving them indeed every credit for the performance of their arduous task, under (to them) peculiarly adverse circumstances, I am desirous of asking, through the instrumentality of your pages, whether the expensive absurdity of these reiterated arrangements ever struck the promoters of them? ...

It must be patent to the employers of these gentlemen that our Government are large purchasers of horses for their own requirements, and they are, or should be, aware that like them we obtain the needed animals finally through the auxiliary agency of a resident and duly appointed veterinary surgeon, enquiry should have satisfied them that the individual at present thus serving acquires himself to the satisfaction of his superiors, has long held his present situation, and has passed nearly a lifetime in this city. I unhesitatingly affirm that I write the sentiment of all whose opinions on the matter are worth having, when I declare that, from his intimate acquaintance with every important breeding stud, and his knowledge of the exact description of horse to be desired for all military purposes, his matured judgement and superiority to all the artful, and in some cases purely *local*, dodges of the *cooper* tribe, the veterinary surgeon of our police is the gentleman on whose shoulders should have devolved the nice task of procuring suitable animals for the New Zealand Government.

... If the Government concerned are anxious to expend their money to the best advantage, let them take the hint now offered in all sincerity, keep their immediate servants at home to do good service in the field; through and with the sanction of our authorities, employ our police veterinary surgeon to

45 The *SMH* was to later report (via account extracted from the *Southern Cross*) on this particular voyage & the reputation of this vessel in its transport of Horses to New Zealand: "The *Claud Hamilton* brings eighty horses for the Commissariat Department, that being the number shipped in Sydney. The "luck" this vessel has in the transport of horseflesh is something wonderful. Out of between three and four hundred shipped on board this vessel only one has been lost". *SMH*, 6 October 1863, p.4.

46 *SMH*, 16 September 1863, p.5. This trip by the *Claud Hamilton* is also thought to have contained 25 Sydney enlisted Military Settler Volunteers. Forbes Eadie, *Troopships Engaged in the Maori Wars ... 1840-1865, South African War ... 1899-1902, The Great War ... 1914-1918* (New Zealand: Auckland Historical Centennial Research Committee, [1940?], p.2.

47 Nona Morris, ed., *The Journal of William Morgan: Pioneer Settler and Maori War Correspondent* (Auckland, NZ: Libraries Department, Auckland City Council, 1963), p.108.

48 *SMH*, 6 October 1863, pp. 4 & 5. See also, Glen, *op.cit.*, p.24.

supply the war demands, and in lieu of the *halt, the lame, and the blind*, so craftily prepared and so unsuspectingly purchased of late by the gentlemen in question, a sort of animal will be forwarded that cannot fail to give unbounded satisfaction.⁴⁹

In early 1864, the Commissariat Department at Melbourne, Sydney and at Hobart Town were notified of the requirements for "Sound Horses" for both draught and lighter types for riding or pack animals for the Commissariat Department in New Zealand.⁵⁰ The extent of the trade which emerged out of Tasmania, is not clear, but it may have been effected by the stipulation that horse "purchases would be made in New Zealand, the owners shipping at their own risk, the Department not being bound to purchase."⁵¹ It was reported though that the barque *Chrishna* at Hobart had been "rapidly fitted up for the conveyance of horses &c., to New Zealand."⁵²

In February-March of 1864, advertisements in the *Sydney Morning Herald* authorised by Edward Mayne again reappeared seeking "Troop Horses For New Zealand". These advertisements specifically sought horses for the requirements of the CDF:

TROOP HORSES FOR NEW ZEALAND. - The Inspector of Horses for the Colonial Defence Force at Auckland, New Zealand, begs to notify that he will be prepared to purchase animals suitable for their above service, viz.: Geldings, not under 4 or over 7 years old, over 15 hands high, sound, quiet to ride, and with good action, and will attend at Messrs. BURT and CO.'S stables, 272, Pitt-street [Sydney], every day after Monday, the 15th instant, to inspect horses as may be offered.

Parties having suitable horses may communicate with Messrs. BURT and CO., Mr. CHARLES MARTYN, 240, Pitt-street; or, Mr. ARMSTRONG, V.S., Pitt-street.⁵³

As evident here, the trade and supply of various types of horses from Australia was considerable and obviously of enormous value to the scale of military operations then being undertaken in New Zealand during 1863-64. The size of this trade out of Sydney alone can also be ascertained from a summary of the "Sydney Horse Market" in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 23 May 1864:

MESSRS. BURT and CO. notice that with the approach of winter the supply of broken-in horses is fast decreasing below the demand, and fresh lots in good condition readily bring top market rates. At present there are numerous orders for horse teams to go north ... It is, however, difficult to meet these requirements, nearly all our available cart stock having been cleared off to meet the New Zealand demand in the summer months, and our own carriers who were tempted by prices then to sell out have a difficulty to replenish their teams. We estimate that one thousand horses were shipped to New Zealand in the first four months of the present year, of which 800 were cart stock, and would leave £30 per head here. The other 200 would cost about £20; adding freight and forage, not less in round numbers than £30,000 for horse stock alone.⁵⁴

Enlistment, Numbers, and Australian derived Personnel

From a "Return of Militia, Volunteers, Military Police, and Other Forces (Exclusive of Regular Troops) in New Zealand, Made Up to 31st December, 1863", the number of troops and horses of the CDF can be ascertained. In the province of Auckland there were 117 officers and men and 112 horses; in the province of Wellington there were 179 officers and men and 172 horses; whilst in Napier the CDF consisted of 115 officers and men and 102 horses. These CDF

49 *SMH*, 24 December 1863, p.4.

50 *Argus*, 15 January 1864, p.7, & 30 January 1864, p.7; *SMH*, 1 February 1864, p.2; & *Mercury*, 22 February 1864.

51 *Mercury*, 22 February 1864.

52 *Mercury*, 30 January 1864.

53 *SMH*, 13 February 1864, p.12. These advertisements for horses for the CDF continued in *SMH*, on 15 February, p.8; 18 February, p.2; 19 February, p.6; 22 February, p.2; 4 March, p.6; 7 March, p.6; & 14 March 1864, p.6.

54 *SMH*, 23 May 1864, p.3.

elements were all remarked upon as being part of the "Permanent force" of the Northern Island serving under the *Colonial Defence Force Act, 1862*. The CDF within these three provinces at this juncture therefore totalled 411 officers and men and utilised some 386 horses.⁵⁵ Overall command of the CDF was by Major-General T.J. Galloway in Auckland (commission dated 20 September 1863). The commandants in these three provinces were M.G. Nixon in Auckland (commission dated 4 June 1863), G.S. Whitmore in Napier (commission dated 1 July 1863), and J.T. Edwards in Wellington (commission dated 30 July 1863).⁵⁶

On 29 September 1864, the following *Colonial Defence Force Regulations* were approved and gazetted. These outlined the pay scale as: Troop Serjeant-Major 13s. 6d. per diem; Serjeant 12s. 6d. per diem; Corporal 10s 0d. per diem; and Troopers and Trumpeters 7s. 6d. per diem. These regulations also set out:

The men will be expected to bear the whole expense of subsistence for themselves and their horses, of providing and maintaining their uniform, equipments (except arms and ammunition), and horses; and will be liable to the Mutiny Act and Articles of War, and such regulations as may from time to time be authorised by the Government.

When forage and provisions cannot be otherwise obtained, the Government will supply the regulated Military ration of each, and the men will be placed under a stoppage, to be fixed from time to time by a Board of Officers appointed by the Government for that purpose, but until the 1st January next to be Three Shillings per diem.

Should the men desire to purchase their horses from the Government, or to obtain advances for the purchase of horses, or saddlery, uniform, &c., they will be permitted to do so, refunding the amount by monthly instalments-which may vary at their own option, from £2 10s. to £5 per month.

When convenient, working passes, and furloughs, will be granted to men of good character, on their private affairs. While so absent, if for more than three days in any one month, they will receive half-pay only.

Men will not be discharged with less than three month's notice, except as an indulgence at their own request, or unless physically unfit for service or of a bad character. They will be enlisted for any period for which they may be required, not exceeding three years, and will be liable to serve, if required, in any part of New Zealand.

On being attested for the force, the men will sign the engagement attached hereto.

Declaration.

I, _____ hereby engage to serve in the Colonial Defence Force, for the daily pay of Seven Shillings and Sixpence, in any part of New Zealand, and for such period as the Government may require my services, not exceeding three years; to bear the whole expense of providing my uniform, saddlery, equipment, and maintaining them in a state of efficiency; of providing my own provisions; of providing, feeding, and maintaining a horse, subject to the approval of my Commanding Officer; and, should my horse become non-effective, I engage to replace it at my own cost, unless captured, injured, or killed by the enemy, in which case the Government will bear the cost of replacing the animal,

55 "E.-No.3: Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection", pp.34, 35, & 36. *Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand: 1864*.

56 "Colonial Defence Force.", *New Zealand: Army List [1863]*, p.10.

I fully understand that, while serving in the above Force, I render myself liable to the Mutiny Act and Rules and Articles of War, for the time being in force in this Colony, and to such Laws, Rules, and Regulations as may be authorized for the better government of the Force.

Furthermore, I understand that, if under exceptional circumstances, or in the field, I am unable to obtain supplies of provisions and forage, the Government will supply these requisites at a price to be fixed, from time to time, by a Board of Officers appointed by the Governor for that purpose; that if I absent myself without permission, or am sentenced to imprisonment by Court Martial, my pay will cease during such period of absence or confinement; that I shall be entitled to half pay only when absent on leave or furlough, while undergoing minor punishment by order of my Commanding Officer, or, if my horse becomes non-effective, until it is recovered or replaced.⁵⁷

The well-known historian of the New Zealand wars, James Cowan (1922), described the CDF Cavalry as a "highly useful arm of the colonial service ... armed with sword, carbine, and revolver. There were two troops of Nixon's Cavalry, as this corps was locally known, in the Auckland District. There were also troops in Hawke's Bay, at Wellington, and at Wanganui".⁵⁸ At least seventy Australian Waikato military settler volunteers applied to join the Defence Force Cavalry in late 1863. They did this in order to try and see early action, as well as to escape the mundane routine of redoubt life and garrison duties which most military settlers found they faced upon arrival in New Zealand. Small numbers similarly transferred to the Forest Rangers,⁵⁹ while the largest number volunteered for service with the Imperial CTC.⁶⁰ Of those seventy who tried to enlist with the Defence Force Cavalry, some were rejected as this force enlisted personnel under far different terms to the military settlers and were not entitled to land grants. The only applicants that were accepted from these military settlers volunteers were those who were willing to surrender their rights to land grants for which they were initially enlisted.⁶¹

One of these individuals was William Fraser (also as Frazer),⁶² former Drill-Instructor of the Reedbeds Cavalry, a South Australian volunteer unit, who went on to serve in the New Zealand. On 28 September 1863, the *South Australian Register* reported that Fraser "has shipped for the seat of war in the Tomatin, and Captain Egerton and Serjeant-Major Hawke, formerly of the Kapunda Rifles, are said to have left with the same gallant intention."⁶³ These individuals left Adelaide on their own initiative, as no formal military settler recruiting took place in Adelaide until January 1864. This particular band of South Australian volunteer officers and non-commissioned officers therefore provide an excellent example of the military fervour of some Australian colonial volunteers who saw the wars in New Zealand as their opportunity of seeing

57 NZG, No.38, 7 October 1864, p.385.

58 J. Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Vol.1 (1845-1864)* (Wellington, NZ: W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1922), p.237.

59 J.E. Hopkins [now Hopjkins-Weise], *Selected New Zealand War Medal Rolls of Entitlements, Rejections, and Applications Granted up to 1900* (Brisbane, Qld: J.E. Hopkins & the Victoria Barracks Historical Society, Brisbane, Qld, 1997), pp.2-3 (see Footnote 2 on p.3 especially); & refer also to, R. Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers during the New Zealand Wars* (Hamilton, NZ: Richard Stowers, 1996).

60 From assessment of official published New Zealand government papers, it seems that a total of 1,942 men served in the Imperial Commissariat Transport Corps. Of these, approximately 1,397 men came from one of the 4 Waikato Regiments & served in some role as part of the CTC. This was especially prevalent in the 3rd Waikato Regiment where at least 616 officers, non-commissioned officers & men volunteered their services for duty with this Corps. Hopkins (Vol.2, 1998), *op.cit.*, pp.5-6 (& see Footnote 7 on p.6 especially).

61 Glen, *op.cit.*, p.39; & L.L. Barton, *Australians in the Waikato War: 1863-1864* (North Sydney, NSW: Library of Australian History, 1979), p.25.

62 This William Fraser was most likely the following individual who was entitled to the New Zealand War Medal: Sergeant William Fraser, Auckland Defence Force (issue of Medal approved 2 June 1871; Roll A: for Services prior to 31 Dec.1866). Hopkins (Vol.2, 1998), *op.cit.*, refer to Rolls on p.49.

63 SAR, 28 September 1863.

real action and doing their part for Empire. It was not uncommon for Australian volunteers personnel to enlist in the military settlers, or else depart for New Zealand on their own initiative. Many examples of such persons are known to have left who had been members of the Queensland, New South Wales, Victorian, South Australian and Tasmanian volunteer forces.

In New Zealand in late 1863, William Fraser wrote back to South Australia with information that he had "joined the No.5 Company, 2nd Regiment of the Waikato Militia, in which he had been promoted to be Sergeant."⁶⁴ A later letter dated 27 June 1864, received by the *South Australian Register*, published an account of Fraser's service and experiences, under the caption of "A South Australian in the New Zealand War", indicating that he was now serving in the CDF:

Mr. Fraser was then at Tauranga, and in his letter gives a spirited account of the affair of the 20th June [presumably referring to the engagement at Te Ranga, on 21 June 1864], in which the Maories, having acted on the offensive, sustained a signal defeat. ... After they were driven into their pa, many of their dead were recognised as *soi-disant* friendly natives, to whom arms and ammunition had been served out by the Government. Mr. Fraser's horse was shot under him in the engagement, but he managed to extricate himself and joined the infantry until the fight was finished. The Colonial Defence Force are armed with Terry breech-loaders, which are stated to be nearly useless in actual warfare, as they get clogged after having been discharged 20 or 30 times, and cannot be loaded again until they are cleaned. They answer admirably for holiday work, when they can be cleaned after each discharge, but for active service the men rely upon their revolvers. As a large number of the force were about to leave, their time having expired, Mr. Fraser entertained expectations of promotion, which we trust will be speedily realized.⁶⁵

Another example of an Australian colonial in the CDF, was Private Alexander (also as Edward) McHale. He enlisted as a military settler in Melbourne on 14 September 1863, and was later killed in action at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864 as a member of the CDF Cavalry.⁶⁶ The former Forest Ranger, William Race, makes reference to Trooper McHale in his *circa* 1895 reminiscences. Race remembered the "melancholy affair" of McHale's death at Rangiaowhia, and noted him as having been a "shipmate from Victoria" aboard the *Star of India*, part of the first Victorian detachment of military settler recruits in 1863.⁶⁷

In a report on "The New Zealand War" by the *Sydney Morning Herald's* own correspondent, dated Auckland, 9 February 1864, the origins and the value of the CDF were further elaborated:

The Colonial Defence Force Cavalry are of great service to the General [Cameron], who expresses himself highly delighted with their efficiency, and relies much upon them in case of the natives taking to flight for following up and cutting off the retreat of many. I observe that a false impression has got abroad in Australia to the effect that this is part of the volunteers from your colonies formed into a cavalry force. The mistake is a natural one, but its nature will be apparent when I say that the Colonial Defence Force is a permanent body of troops enrolled under an Act of the Assembly of 1862, as a body of military police I suppose, although in all respects like soldiers in their organisation and equipments. They are now enrolled in this province to the number of some three hundred men, while there are about two hundred more in the other provinces of Wellington and Hawke's Bay. In addition to this force, of cavalry, there are now no less than about a hundred and thirty men of the Artillery

64 SAR, 29 December 1863.

65 SAR, 19 July 1864.

66 Barton, *op.cit.*, p.32.

67 Under The Flag; Reminiscences of the Maori Land (Waikato) War by a Forest Ranger [William Race, c. 1895]: CY POS 127: *Mitchell Library*: reel p.124. In Race's reminiscences, he provides an account of the death of Trooper McHale, as well as the mortal wounding of Colonel Nixon who was commanding the CDF at Rangiaowhia on 21 Feb.1864 (see reel pp.124-126). There is also an overall account of the attack on Rangiaowhia (see reel pp.127-130 & 132-140). He also provides information on the services & bravery of Sergeant Kenrick of the CDF in late February or early March 1864, as well as noting his later wounding at the siege at Orakau (see reel pp.118-123).

force, well mounted and trained, to act as cavalry. All are under command of Colonel Nixon, who is now at Piko-Piko with the General.⁶⁸

Field Service, 1863-66

One of the earliest involvements of the CDF in the field was the participation of one captain, two subalterns, three sergeants and forty-nine rank and file as a component of the Thames Expeditionary Force in November-December 1863.⁶⁹ This force was commanded by Colonel George J. Carey and also contained detachments of Imperial troops from the Royal Engineers and the 12th, 70th and 18th Regiments, and colonial troops from the 1st Waikato Military Settler Regiment and Auckland Naval Volunteers. This expedition sought to, and accomplished, the establishment of a line of military posts and communications between the Firth of the Thames and the Waikato River.⁷⁰

The Defence Force Cavalry commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel M.G. Nixon was also an important element in the invasion of Rangiaowhia, which commenced on the 20 February 1864. This was part of a campaign to outflank the heavy Kingite Maori defences at Paterangi and Rangiatea:

Soon after the fall of Rangiriri the Kingites began work on their third line for the defence of Waikato. This ambitious complex of fortifications was located about twenty-five miles south of Ngaruawahia, and for convenience we may call it the Paterangi Line, after its largest *pa*. The purpose of the Line was, in general, to stop the British advance and, in particular, to protect the agriculturally rich Rangiaowhia district. Rangiaowhia ranked with the Hanganaki and Matamata-Peria districts as a major economic base for the core Kingite tribes, and its loss would be a considerable blow.⁷¹

In recent years, another historian of the New Zealand wars, James Belich, has reassessed this campaign and its objectives, and provides an interpretation of events:

Historians imply that the British simply aimed to seize the Rangiaowhia district, and indeed this area was sufficiently important to be an object of attack in itself. But [General] Cameron's primary objective was nothing less than the destruction of the Kingite army. By outflanking the Line, he hoped he could force the Maori to fight a pitched battle for Rangiaowhia. In daylight, on open ground, and with his men prepared, Cameron was understandably convinced that he could win such a battle so decisively as to end the war. ...

On the night of 20 February, with a column of 1,230 men, he set off ... A masking force of about the same strength was left in front of Paterangi, and 600 men of the supply column held themselves ready to move. ... Cameron reached Te Awamutu at day break and immediately pushed on to Rangiaowhia. He found the town 'nearly deserted'. The few people in the place were mainly women and children, but a dozen warriors put up a gallant fight ... before being overwhelmed. Having made his presence felt, Cameron withdrew to Te Awamutu to await the Maori reaction.⁷²

The CDF component of General Cameron's column consisted of: one field officer (Nixon), two captains, three subalterns, two staff, three sergeants and thirty-six rank and file. This mounted force was also complimented with a Royal Artillery Mounted Corps comprising one subaltern, one staff, three sergeants, one drummer and thirty-five other ranks.⁷³ The CDF suffered a number

68 *SMH*, 20 February 1864, p.7.

69 *NZG*, No.64, 16 December 1863, p.537.

70 *NZG*, No.64, 16 December 1863, pp.535-537; Cowan, *op.cit.*, pp.313-314; & Glen, *op.cit.*, p.53.

71 James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars: and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books, 1988), p.160.

72 Belich, *op.cit.*, pp.162-163.

73 *NZG*, No.8, 3 March 1864, p.89.

of casualties in the engagement at the Maori settlement of Rangiaowhia on 21 February.⁷⁴ Those killed were Corporal H. Alexander, aged 24, with seven months service ("gunshot wound of head"), and Private Alexander McHale, aged 20, with two months service ("gunshot wound of head"). Three other members of the CDF were wounded in this engagement: Private Brady, aged 20, with seven months service ("gunshot wound of hand", "slight"); Corporal Dunn, aged 20, with seven months service ("gunshot wound of body", "severe"); and Lieutenant-Colonel Nixon, aged 50.⁷⁵ Nixon later died from the severe wounds ("penetrating wound of chest, lungs injured") sustained at Rangiaowhia.⁷⁶

On the following day the Defence Force Cavalry was also involved in what became known as the battle of Hairini, near Rangiaowhia. The CDF component in the advance on Hairini consisted of two captains, three subalterns, two staff, four sergeants and thirty-eight rank and file, with this mounted force again complimented by "Royal Artillery Cavalry" of one subaltern, one staff, three sergeants, one drummer and thirty-one rank and file.⁷⁷ On this engagement Belich has stated:

As Cameron had hoped, a Maori force left Paterangi and reoccupied Rangiaowhia early on the morning of 22 February. With Paterangi virtually emptied, Cameron ordered up strong reinforcements from the masking force. But before these could arrive, his scouts reported that the Maoris had begun entrenching a position - Hairini Ridge - between the British and Rangiaowhia. Cameron decided to attack before this defensive works could progress too far, ...

Cameron launched his cavalry (forty Colonial Defence Force and thirty-five men seconded from the Artillery) in pursuit. These were checked by the disciplined volleys of the Maori reserve, ... The Maoris then withdrew. Though some British commentators tried to make a notable victory of it, the 'Battle' of Hairini was an anti-climax. ...

It seems clear that in entrenching at Hairini the Maoris simply intended to delay the British, while Rangiaowhia and the Paterangi Line were evacuated with all supplies that could be carried.⁷⁸

During this engagement the Defence Force Cavalry carried out one of the few practicable cavalry charges of the New Zealand wars.⁷⁹ Two members of the CDF were wounded on this day -

74 Another account of the engagement at the village of Rangiaowhia & the casualties sustained, entitled "The Fight At Rangiaowhia. (By One Who Was There.)", was set down in later life by the then Sub-Inspector Charles James Wilson of the CDF, who was present during this engagement. Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, pp.175-177 (& also see "Mr. Rusden's Account Of The Rangiaowhia Affair: With the Maori Contradiction.", on pp.177-179).

75 For distinguished services in the field, Lt.-Colonel Nixon's name was brought to the notice of the Governor, who directed the promotion (dated 9 April 1864) "In the Auckland Militia" of "Lieut.-Colonel Marmaduke George Nixon, of the Royal Cavalry Volunteers, and Commandant in the Colonial Defence Force, to be Colonel. Date of commission 21st February, 1864." *NZG*, No.12; 9 April 1864, p.157.

76 *NZG*, No.8, 3 March 1864, pp.89-93; "G.-No.1a.: Further Papers Relative To The Issue Of The New Zealand War Medal: ROLL E: Nominal Return of Officers and Men of the Colonial Forces who have been Killed in Action or who have Died of Wounds prior to the 11th July, 1868", p.7. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand: Vol.II: 1871*; also in, *NZG*, No.55, 12 October 1871, p.553. Also see Australian press item entitled "Death Of Colonel Nixon", *SMH*, 8 June 1864, p.5.

77 *NZG*, No.8, 3 March 1864, p.90.

78 Belich, *op.cit.*, pp.163-164.

79 For other accounts of the invasion of Rangiaowhia (including the engagements at the village of Rangiaowhia & Hairini), refer to: Belich, *op.cit.*, pp.163-165; Cowan, *op.cit.*, pp.341-351; & Barton, *op.cit.*, pp.31-33. For Australian press coverage of the lead up to, & subsequent invasion of Rangiaowhia, refer to: *Argus/Supplement To The Argus*, 24 February, p.5; 5 March, p.5; 9 March, pp.5-6; & 16 March 1864, p.2; & also *SMH*, 5 March, p.5; 7 March, p.5; 22 March, p.2; & 29 March 1864, p.5.

Corporal E.B. Gilmer ("flesh wound of fore-arm", "slight"), and Corporal Thomas Little, whose "severe" wound ("gunshot wound of thigh") later proved to be fatal.⁸⁰

A few weeks later (30 March to 2 April 1864), elements of the CDF were also involved at the siege at Orakau. Brigadier-General Carey was shortly after to speak "highly of the conduct and gallantry of all the officers and men engaged, both of the regular and colonial forces, who appear to have vied with each other in the zealous discharge of their duty".⁸¹ On the last day of the siege (2 April) the surviving Maori defenders, which included women and children, abandoned their fortifications and attempted to reach safety. Many though were to be cut down in the charge by the Defence Force Cavalry and mounted Royal Artillery troopers, who were also followed up by the Forest Rangers and other troops all vying to cut off this mass escape.⁸² In a report dated 3 April 1864, Carey detailed this particular incident with its 'appropriate' excuse for the casualties amongst the Maori women:

As it was known that women and children were in the pa, the enemy was called upon to surrender, previous to the concentrated fire of the Armstrong gun and hand grenades on their work; they were told that their lives would be spared, and if they declined, they were requested at least to have compassion on their women and children, and send them out. They replied that they would not do so, but would fight to the last. The pa was then carried; the enemy effecting his escape from the opposite side of the work, dashed through a space from which the troops had been thrown back under cover, to enable the gun to open. They were however speedily followed up, and suffered a severe loss during a pursuit of nearly six miles. Lieutenant Rait, Royal Artillery, with his troopers, and Captain Pye, Colonial Defence Force, with a small detachment, having headed them and kept them back until the infantry came up.

I regret to say that in the pa and in the pursuit some three or four women were killed unavoidably, probably owing to the similarity of dress of both men and women, and their hair being cut equally short, rendering it impossible to distinguish one from the other at any distance.⁸³

In reference to this Maori break-out from Orakau and the bloody pursuit which followed, Belich's reassessment looks at this event in more sobering terms. "The British, enraged at losing their prey at the last moment, followed the fugitives with all possible energy. Though they had split up, the Maoris continued to resist in an organized fashion. ... the British - particularly the small force of cavalry and the fast-moving Forest Rangers - did considerable execution. The Maoris suffered most of their losses during this pursuit."⁸⁴ The "Nominal Return of Killed and Wounded of the Troops at Orakau, from March 31st to April 2nd, 1864", shows that the CDF sustained three casualties: Sergeant Richard Kendrick [*sic*. Kenrick?] ("left knee, severely"), Private William Coady ("left temple, slightly"), and Private James Tully ("right thigh, slightly").⁸⁵

On the East Coast in the Bay of Plenty, a small detachment of the CDF and Forest Rangers had been garrisoned at Maketu since March 1864. Following the attempted ambush of Major Colville, 43rd Regiment, and Ensign Way, 3rd Waikato Regiment, at Waihi Lagoon near Maketu on 21 April 1864, skirmishing took place for several days after involving both Imperial and

80 NZG, No.8, 3 March 1864, pp.89-93; "G.-No.1a.: Further Papers Relative To The Issue Of The New Zealand War Medal: ROLL E: Nominal Return of Officers and Men of the Colonial Forces who have been Killed in Action or who have Died of Wounds prior to the 11th July, 1868", p.7. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand: Vol.II: 1871*; also found in, NZG, No.55, 12 October 1871, p.553.

81 NZG, No.12, 9 April 1864, p.153.

82 Cowan, *op.cit.*, pp.355-397.

83 NZG, No.12, 9 April 1864, p.155; refer also to pp.153-157.

84 Belich, *op.cit.*, pp.172-173.

85 NZG, No.12, 9 April 1864, pp.156-157.

Colonial troops including Forest Rangers and the CDF.⁸⁶ On 27 April a Maori attack upon Fort Colville, Maketu, led to further retaliatory operations and pursuit by colonial forces including the Forest Rangers, CDF, and Native Contingent of Arawa Maori ("friendly Natives") over 28-29 April. Major G.D. Hay, Commanding the Native Contingent, noted in his report on 1 May: "The men of the Defence Force and Forest Rangers attached to the Native Contingent were so fatigued with the march, having far more than the natives to carry, that they were only able to join in the pursuit."⁸⁷

Another instance of the role and service of the CDF is evident in the reconnaissance on 20 June 1864 by Sub-Inspector A.C. Turner and three troopers beyond the area of the Gate Pa, Tauranga, the scene of the military disaster on 29 April. "He returned late in the afternoon, reporting a large number of natives near the Waimapu river, transporting supplies. This resulted in an order being given after tattoo for a march out in the morning [21 June], consisting of Artillery, portions of the 68th, 43rd, and 1st Waikato Regiments, Flying Column, and Mounted Colonial Defence Force."⁸⁸ This force was commanded by Colonel H.H. Greer, 68th Regiment, and it advanced to [Te Ranga] where it "found a large force of Maoris (about 600) entrenching themselves about 4 miles beyond Pukehinahina [Gate Pa]. They had made a single line of rifle-pits ... across the road, in a position exactly similar to Pukehinahina-the commencement of formidable pa."⁸⁹ CDF troops were involved initially by being "dismounted and flanked to the left, until relieved by a company of the 68th; while the remaining portion of the 68th and 43rd [Regiments], supported by the 1st Waikato Regiment, formed the attacking party."⁹⁰ Following the bayonet charge by elements of these three regiments, the rifle-pits were carried after a few minutes of desperate struggle that left sixty-eight Maori dead in the trenches alone, before the Maori defenders were routed. The Maori position at Te Ranga was favourably placed to allow their retreat, though the "Defence Force pursued them several miles, but could not get well at them, owing to the deep ravines with which the country is everywhere intersected."⁹¹

Following this Te Ranga engagement the CDF continued to play a vital reconnaissance role. Colonel Greer, Commanding the Tauranga District, elaborated upon this in a report from Camp Te Papa, Tauranga, dated 4 July 1864:

... since the engagement at Te Ranga, on the 21st ultimo, I have constantly patrolled both on this and the Wairoa side without seeing any signs of hostile natives in either direction.

On the 23rd ultimo, Captain Pye, whilst patrolling with his Defence Force, came upon a large and very strong pa, situated about 14 miles due south of this station. It was an old one repaired and strengthened with a palisading of ti tree and post and rails, and an embankment of about 20 feet high and rifle-pits between it and the palisading. The pa extended completely across a tongue of land with a ravine on either side of it, and from the rear of it there was a path leading direct to the woods, which were distant about half-a-mile.

86 NZG, No.15, 27 April 1864, pp.177-178; Cowan, *op.cit.*, p.408; & Stowers, *op.cit.*, p.118.

87 NZG, No.17, 9 May 1864, p.211.

88 Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.320; & for an account of the action at Te Ranga on 21 June 1864, refer also to pp.319-321.

89 NZG, No.23, 25 June 1864, p.277.

90 Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.320.

91 NZG, No.23, 25 June 1864, p.277 (& refer to entire Report, pp.277-278). For other information or accounts of this engagement at Te Ranga, including mention of the role & service of the CDF, & as part of the reinforcements called for by Colonel Greer, refer to: NZG, No.26, 9 July 1864, pp.292-296; Fox (1866), *op.cit.*, pp.118-120; R.G.A. Levinge, *Historical Records of the Forty-Third Regiment, Monmouthshire Light Infantry, with a Roll of the Officers and their Services from the period of Embodiment to the Close of 1867* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1868), pp.287-289; & J. Featon, *The Waikato War: 1863-4* (Reprint [1879]. Christchurch, NZ: Capper Press, 1971), pp.95-97.

Captain Pye had the whole of the wood-work pulled up and burned.⁹²

The New Zealand government reduced the size of the CDF in the Provinces of Auckland and Hawke's Bay in October of 1864, and then in the Province of Wellington in November 1864.⁹³ The Australian press also informed its readership of the reduction or disbandment of the various detachments of the CDF in the provinces of Auckland and Wellington. In respect to the situation in the province of Wellington, on 25 November 1864 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

The sudden disbanding of some 125 officers and men of the Defence Force in Wellington is still much talked of, and a very strong feeling is manifested against the Government for pursuing such an unjust course towards men who had acted all along in good faith. Some try to put the blame on Sir G. Grey's shoulders, but the general impression is that the Ministry alone are responsible. The men held a meeting, and they have determined to petition the Assembly with a view to obtaining compensation for the treatment they have received.⁹⁴

As of 30 November 1864, the CDF was still commanded overall by Major-General Thomas James Galloway.⁹⁵ The commandants of the CDF at Napier and Wellington remained the same as in 1863, but in Auckland, James Walmsley (commission dated 2 June 1864) replaced the mortally wounded Nixon.⁹⁶

From a government return on expenditure for the purpose of colonial defence, dated 23 October 1865, it is possible to gauge the reduced size and distribution of personnel associated with the CDF in this late 1865 period. Personnel were recorded as being employed in the following districts at this time: Auckland – twenty-six; Wairarapa – twenty-seven; Poverty Bay – twenty-seven; and at Opotiki – fifty-three.⁹⁷ Despite the diminishing size of the CDF, elements were to continue to provide both a mobile force capability, as well as the crucial communications and reconnaissance role on the East Coast into 1865-66 in districts such as the Bay of Plenty and Poverty Bay.⁹⁸ Similarly, the CDF also continued to play a role in operations on the West Coast. Colonel H. Weare, 50th Regiment, and Commanding the Patea District Field Force, reported upon one West Coast engagement at Te Awi on 13 March 1865:

... the Field Force under my command moved out from our position on the Patea river at 7 a.m., on the 13th instant, with the object of advancing to this village. After advancing some three miles the right flank of our line of march was commanded by a range of hills, affording a very strong position, which the enemy did not fail to occupy and from which they opened fire. The advance guard, ... advanced upon the enemy and drove them from their position, after a stout resistance, ...

92 NZG, No.29, 30 July 1864, pp.316-317.

93 "B.-No.11: Return Showing the Whole Cost of the Colonial Defence Force, for Provinces of Wellington, Auckland, and Hawke's Bay. [Return to an Order of the House of Representatives, dated 9th December, 1864.]" *Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand: 1865*. Wellington.

94 *SMH*, 25 November 1864, p.8. Other references to the reduction of the CDF can be found in the following press sources: *Argus*, 26 November 1864, p.5; & *SMH*, 21 November 1864, p.3.

95 Major-General Galloway tendered his resignation of the command of the Local Forces in the province of Auckland in 1865 (officially accepted on 6 February). *NZG*, No.4, 6 February 1865, p.27.

96 "Colonial Defence Force.", [*New Zealand*] *Army List: Colonial Forces: Corrected to 30th November, 1864* (Auckland), pp.26-27.

97 "B.-No.6: Return Showing the Existing Expenditure on account of Colonial Defence", p.3. *Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand: 1865*. Wellington.

98 See brief information on Lt. C.A.M. Hirtzel, CDF, 1863-66, & reference to service on East Coast & at Poverty Bay, 1865-66. Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.215. Another example of a CDF officer, who saw service on the East Coast was F.W. Gascoigne. He joined the CDF as a lieutenant in 1863, served with the East Cape expedition in 1865, & "was present at the attack on Hatepe, and at the storming of Pakairomi-romi; assisted in the assault of Pukemaire and several other minor engagements." Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.295.

During the whole of the skirmish the Mounted Military Train and the few Wanganui Defence Corps attached to them, under the command of Captain Witchell, were to be seen with the advance availing themselves of all ground that admitted of their closing with the enemy.⁹⁹

On 2 October 1866, one captain, one sergeant and ten rank and file of the Wanganui Defence Force were a component in the force assembled by Major Thomas McDonnell, Commanding the Colonial Forces in the Patea District, which took part in an engagement at Pungarehu. This force also included Patea and Wanganui Rangers, Wanganui Yeomanry Cavalry, and the Native Contingent.¹⁰⁰ In this action, McDonnell formed a rear-guard under Captain Leatham of the Wanganui Defence Force, for which he was to later submit in a despatch dated 4 October 1866, that the "behaviour of Captain Leatham and his detachment of the W.D.F. was most praiseworthy."¹⁰¹

Conclusion

This article has sought to provide an historical framework around which to show the context and importance of the CDF in the military operations in New Zealand in the period 1863 to 1866. This force also had significant elements of its personnel who derived from the Australian colonies, either born, or else the locale from which they departed for New Zealand shores, such as via the military settlers volunteers of 1863-64. The other crucial Australian contribution here was of course the supply of a vast array of military equipment, stores and uniforms, as well as arms, ammunitions and accoutrements, and especially draught and cavalry horses. All of these elements were essential to the formation and expansion of New Zealand colonial forces such as the CDF. It was not only the personnel from Australia which assisted in these wars, it was also the logistic staging point and military storehouse and commissariat function of the Australian colonies that were so crucial to military operations, which so often get ignored or passed over as irrelevant or minor. This article has therefore attempted to rectify this historiographical myopia and show that Australia was in fact significantly involved in the wars that occurred in New Zealand during the 1860s, as evident in this case study of the CDF.

Doctor of Letters - Major Warren Perry

The Society expresses its congratulations to Honorary Member and former MHS Federal President Major Warren Perry MBE ED who earlier this year was awarded, by examination, the degree of Doctor of Letters by the University of Melbourne. Major Perry, in his 94th year, is a much published author of military history and biography who has 24 articles listed in the *Sabretache Index* published in March.

Richard Murison

99 *NZG*, No.12, 8 April 1865, p.76 (& one member of the Military Train was also severely wounded, see p.77).

100 *NZG*, No.54, 11 October 1866, p.379.

101 *Ibid.*, p.380.

THE BRITISH GARRISON IN AUSTRALIA 1788-1841

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE SOLDIERS

Clem Sargent

It is unfortunate that the commonly accepted assessment of the British soldier in the period of transportation to New South Wales should have formed on the widely quoted description by the Duke of Wellington that his soldiers were 'the very scum of the earth' without an awareness of the Duke's following words '--- it really is wonderful that we should have made them the fine fellows they are---'.¹ It is a matter of greater wonder that the garrison soldier should have been so rewarded with the Duke's admiration as the conditions of service of the Other Rank soldier in the British Army in the 18th and 19th centuries, his pay, rations, accommodation and discipline were, by current day standards deplorable and abhorrent. They were conditions which encouraged drunkenness as an escape from drudgery. Those sent to New South Wales on garrison duty lived in many cases a not much better existence than the convicts they were sent to guard. In spite of the conditions in Australia and elsewhere they did their duty. This can only be attributed to the strength of regimental tradition.

RECRUITMENT

The New South Wales Corps

Unlike the regiments which followed it, the New South Wales Corps was recruited specifically for duty in the colony. The CO and three Company Commanders each raised one company of 75 other Ranks for which they were entitled to payment of £3-3-0 for each recruit and those, in turn, were paid £1 on embarkation. The recruits to the Corps included new enlistments, men with previous service and military convicts from the Savoy Military Prison who joined to avoid punishments to which they had been sentenced. Regulations of 1816, the earliest available to the author, state the 'Regulations to be observed regarding the Transferring of Soldiers to Corps Serving Abroad, in Commutation of Punishment'. These regulations would, no doubt, have been in force at the time of recruitment of the NSW Corps; They included requirements that the soldier, himself, request the transfer and that he be medically fit. In NSW Marines from the First Fleet Marine detachment transferred to the Corps in preference to returning to England. Ex-convicts were also recruited and there were some enlistments from free men in the Colony.

Chapter 7, the Register, from *A Colonial Regiment, New Sources Relating to the New South Wales Corps 1789-1800*, Pamela Statham (ed), lists the 1640 members of the Corps who served in NSW and, where known indicates the category from which the recruit was drawn. An examination of the Register shows that 67 Marines transferred to the Corps². Forty seven recruits were provided by the Savoy Military Prison (an additional 40 Savoyards deserted before the Corps sailed). The strength of the Corps varied with the arrival of guard detachments on transports including a reinforcement of 225 men in 1808; of these 198 were from Veteran Battalions; many of them remained in NSW.

Members of the Corps continued to serve in NSW after it departed as the 102nd Regiment, some transferring to incoming regiments until as late as the 1820s. Thomas William Evans, ex-Savoy,

¹ P H Stanhope, Notes on Conversations with the Duke of Wellington, p 18.

² Sabretache Vol XL No 2 lists 50 Marines who transferred; further research has identified the names of a further 17 Marines. These are: Brown John, Browning William, Chip(p) George, Dukes Thomas, Evans Humphrey, Gowan John, Gunn George, Kirby James, *Knight Richard, Lewis Joseph, McManus James, Murphy Michael, Ryan Robert, Stanfield Daniel, Strong William, Tunks William, Woodman William.



served from 1793 to 1824 as a member of the Governor's Bodyguard. Charles Whalan, transported in 1791 for poaching, was enlisted in 1793 and not discharged until February 1822, as Sergeant of the Governor's Bodyguard.

Although recruits were to be of the minimum age of 16 years, many boys were enlisted under age, as was the custom, in NSW as drummers. The youngest of these was William Jamieson, son of Sergeant Jamieson (ex-Savoy), enlisted in 1796 at the age of five years. The first NSW born recruit was William Mitchell, son of ex-Marine Mitchell, enlisted in 1800 aged eleven years. At least another eight boys were recruited, including both sons of Obediah Ikin.

The men of the NSW Corps served under the same conditions as the remainder of the British Army. The one advantage they enjoyed was to serve in a healthier climate than units serving in the East or West Indies or West Africa and they were spared the trauma of field service in the Napoleonic campaigns.

The Line Regiments

Soldiers joining the Line Regiments, that is those garrison regiments from the 73rd which relieved the 102nd in 1810, to the 1870s, were recruited by a variety of methods. The popular conception of the recruiting team of be-ribboned sergeants and drummers 'beating up' through the countryside and persuading gullible yokels to accept the King's shilling is not always correct. During the Napoleonic Wars, and there were many veterans of those campaigns who came to Australia well into the 1800s, efforts were made to persuade members of the Militia, embodied only for Home Service, to volunteer for full-time service by payment of bounties and skilful presentation to the militiamen on parade of the history and traditions of the regiment seeking recruits. In addition, Pensioners, working under the supervision of the recruiting staff, received a bounty for every man they were able to bring forward for enlistment.

Physical standards related mainly to height, 162.5 cm in 1790 and 167.5 cm in 1837, and to observable physical fitness. Recruits were examined by the regimental surgeons on marching in to the depots but there were no routine medical examinations before attestation. However serving soldiers joining convict transports were examined in England, usually at Deptford, before joining the ship.³ In 1790 enlistment was for life, unlimited, but in 1806 enlistment for the limited period of seven years was introduced with the options of re-engaging for two further periods of seven years with a retiring daily pension of a little less than a day's pay.⁴

Pay

In 1792 a new warrant established the pay of the private soldier at the following rate:

	£	s	d
Pay at sixpence a day per annum	9	2	6
Poundage		12	2
Bread Allowance at 10½ per week	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7½</u>
Total	12	0	3½
from this was deducted:			
Food at three shillings per week	7	16	0
Stoppages for Necessaries	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	11	1	5
Net annual pay	£0	18	10½

³ *Society For Army Historical Research Journal*, Vol XXXI, 1953, p 93; M Austin, *The Army in Australia 1840-1850*, Canberra, 1979, p 55.

⁴ Hon J W Fortescue, *A History Of The British Army*, London, 1923, Vol V, p 302.

By 1797 daily rates had been increased to:	s	d
Sergeant-major	2	0¾
Quartermaster Sergeant	2	0¾
Paymaster Sergeant	1	6¾
Sergeant	1	6¾
Corporal	1	2¾
Drummer	1	1¾
Private-	1	0

After seven years' satisfactory service the private received an increment of one penny a day and an additional one penny at the completion of fourteen years' satisfactory service. He was still required to pay for his rations at three shillings a week, for his necessaries and for washing, reducing the private soldier's effective pay to sixpence a day. This rate continued until 1866. In 1837 the pay of a Sergeant-Major was increased to three shillings a day and the Colour Sergeant received two shillings and fourpence.

Accommodation

Quarters in the major garrisons in Australia were of a better standard than the barracks in Britain. They were shared by the soldiers' wives and families who enjoyed a minimum of privacy, separated, perhaps by a canvas screen, from the main barrack room. There was no running water and ablution facilities were non-existent. It is recorded that in Britain, until well into the 19th century, the men were required to wash in the same tubs which had been placed in the barracks overnight as urinals.⁵ It is probable that the same conditions prevailed here.

Rations

The soldier's daily ration was:

- 1 pound (454 gms) bread
- 1 pound (454 gms) fresh or salt meat
- ⅓ pint (0.2 litre) spirits, usually rum

In barracks there were no regimental cooks, soldiers were formed in messes of six or eight and took turns in cooking. Two coppers, one for meat and one for vegetables, were provided; there were no ovens for roasting or baking. Meat, fresh or salted was boiled, the liquid portion served as broth and the solid as boiled meat with or without vegetables. Remote detachments were supplied with flour or wheat instead of bread, the wheat to be ground and both wheat and flour to be cooked as hearth cakes.

Soldiers, particularly married men, frequently sold their spirits ration, using the proceeds to purchase tea and sugar. When the opportunity occurred vegetables were grown to supplement hard rations.

In barracks meals were served twice daily, breakfast at 7.30 am and dinner at 12.30pm. No evening meals were served so the soldier could be nineteen hours between meals. A General Order of 1840 instituted in Britain an evening meal at the soldiers expense. A canteen operated in the barracks in Hobart during the service there of the 48th and although there are no known records of canteens operating in other garrison regiments it can be assumed that this was a common practice. The long wait between dinner and breakfast would frequently be

⁵ Ibid, Vol XI, p 10.

spent by off-duty soldiers drinking in the canteen. For those on outpost duties there was recourse to the taverns and grog shops, which abounded.

Discharge and Pensions

In the early 1800's the soldier, nominally enlisted for life, could be discharged after 21 years' service and receive a pension which, in 1821, was limited to an amount no greater than his full active pay. The pension was also payable for physical disability which rendered the soldier unfit for service. A soldier could leave the service before expiration of the period of enlistment by paying £20.

The discharge and pension system was changed in 1829. Every private soldier worn out in satisfactory service became entitled to a pension of one shilling a day after 21 years' service and a additional half-penny for every year over 21 years. The system of purchase of discharge for the sum of £20 was also changed and a graduated system introduced, as shown in Annex A - Table No 4 from the Regulations of 1837.

Pensions were paid quarterly by the Commissariat in Sydney and, from 1824, at Parramatta, Windsor and Emu Plains. Payment at out settlements was, no doubt, dependant on the location of Commissariat officers.⁶

There were provisions, up to 1831, for discharged soldiers to receive grants of land, a hut, tools, a cow and rations for himself and family for a year. Grants varied from 40 to 100 acres or a town allotment for those wishing to resume their pre-enlistment trades. The land was often unsuitable for intensive farming and distant from prospective markets. Grants in these categories were frequently sold to local land-owners who consolidated these with their own holdings. Soldiers were not regarded as good settlers, particularly during Governor Macquarie's administration.⁷

In August 1831, Government Order No 22 promulgated that on discharge a sergeant would be granted 200 acres and the Rank and File 100 acres. This was amended by a Government Order of 7 December 1831 which stated that discharged soldiers would be required to purchase their land, in conformity with newly introduced regulations for disposal of Crown land. The purchase money was then to be remitted to the soldier at £50 for senior NCOs and £25 for R&F. The soldier had then to reside in the colony for seven years. The land was granted free of Quit-rent and if not exceeding 320 acres was to be in one of the areas reserved for small settlers.

By Royal Warrant of 15 November 1829 soldiers, who on discharge had been granted the gratuity for good conduct and meritorious service were awarded a silver medal for Long Service and Good Conduct.(see Table 4 Regs 1837 shown below).

Discipline

In the period 1790 to 1840 the maintenance of discipline in the British Army was dependant largely upon the infliction of corporal punishment and the fear it engendered, although soldiers could be imprisoned or elect to serve in penal regiments to avoid some punishments.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century corporal punishment had been inflicted by use of the *picket*, *riding the wooden horse*, *bottling*, *blistering*, *cobbing* and, more universally, by the lash. After 1790 the principal punishments were death, flogging with the cat o'nine tails

⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, 6 May, 1824.

⁷ *HRA I*, 10, p 344.

(the lash) or by imprisonment in penal settlements. Minor punishments were reduction in rank, for NCOs, and imprisonment in the guard house or 'black hole'.

Punishment by flogging could be severe with sentences up to 1500 lashes. In 1807 a General Order limited the number of lashes which could be inflicted to 1000.⁸ In 1812 the award by a Regimental Court Martial was restricted to 300 lashes and by a General Court Martial to 500.⁹ The Mutiny Act of 1832 restricted the power of the Regimental Court Martial to 200 lashes and in 1836 the awards were again limited to 200 lashes by a General Court Martial, 150 by a District Court Martial and 100 by a Regimental Court Martial. In 1840 branding with the letter 'D', by tattooing, was introduced as a punishment for desertion. In 1868 flogging in time of peace was abolished and restricted to 50 lashes on active service. Flogging was not abolished in the British Army until 1881.¹⁰

The cat consisted of nine whip-cords 38 to 61 cms long, each knotted with three knots, attached to a handle of about equal length. Flogging was carried out by the drummers of the regiment who inflicted 25 lashes in turn under the supervision of the Drum-Major who would cane the drummers if he felt that they were not laying on hard enough. The recipient of the flogging was held by his arms tied above his head to a tripod formed of sergeants' spontoons; the regiment's adjutant witnessed the punishment and kept count of the number of lashes applied, and one of the surgeons was present to determine when the prisoner could endure no more. The soldier was then taken down, hospitalised until his back had healed when the remainder of the punishment was inflicted. In many cases the soldier was spared the remaining lashes.

A typical example was the sentence on Private Andrew Tibbs, 48th Regiment, in Sydney by Regimental Court Martial on 14 June 1818, for 'Making away with or thro' [sic] neglect losing a part of his Regimental Necessaries' awarded 150 lashes of which 50 were inflicted and 100 remitted; but he was also sentenced to 24 days solitary confinement for 'Refusing to go to Practice when ordered by the Drum Major'. Again he only suffered a part of the sentence, serving 14 days in the Dark Hole.¹¹

In evidence to the British Parliamentary Select Committee on Transportation in May 1837, Lt Col Henry Breton, who served with the 4th Regiment in New South Wales, stated that while a Police Magistrate at Goulburn, the first 100 lashes he saw inflicted on a convict were not the equivalent of five given to a soldier, due to the cat o'nine tails used and the technique of the scourger. Breton obtained a 'proper' instrument and with the lashes properly applied a lesser number of convicts appeared before him for sentencing.¹²

Some soldiers serving outside Australia were sentenced to transportation and arrived in the colony as convicts. These included Lieutenant George Bellasis of the East India Company's Artillery from Bombay, transported for 14 years for having killed a fellow officer in a duel, but pardoned in 1803; Rifleman Peter Septon, 2/95th Regiment, found guilty of desertion to the enemy at Cadiz was transported to Van Diemens land for life; as late as 1833 Private John O'Donnell, 51st Regiment, was also transported to Van Diemens Land from Corfu for seven years. Soldiers sentenced in New South Wales served their time at penal settlements at Port Macquarie, Macquarie Harbour, Moreton Bay or Norfolk Island. When Major Joseph Anderson, 50th Regiment, arrived at Norfolk Island in March 1834 to take up the appointment of

⁸ Scott Claver, *Under The Lash*, London, 1954, p 31.

⁹ Fortescue, *A History Of The British Army*, Vol XI, p 451.

¹⁰ Claver, *Under The Lash*, pp 206, 263-4.

¹¹ Regimental Court Martials in the 48th Regiment, 9 August 1817 to 20 December 1820, CO 201/132.

¹² *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1837, Vol 19, pp 144 & 147.

Commandant he found about 100 former soldiers from regiments in Australia and India, transported for assaulting or threatening the lives of their officers, generally while drunk, amongst the prison population of 1700. Anderson segregated the military prisoners from the others and endeavoured to rehabilitate them. He had some success as one from his own regiment, Daniel Shean, was eventually recommended for and received a pardon, rejoining the regiment. At Cawnpore, in India in 1842, while swimming in the Ganges, Shean was eaten by a crocodile.¹³

During Sir Ralph Darling's term as governor of New South Wales (1825-1831) several soldiers either maimed themselves or committed transportable offences, both actions directed towards procuring early discharge from their regiments. When Privates Sudds and Thompson, 57th Regiment, with this aim in view, deliberately carried out a theft and were sentenced to seven years transportation, Darling, in confirming the sentences, increased the punishment to hard labour in a chain-gang. The two men were paraded before their regiment on 22 November 1826, stripped of their uniforms and then dressed in yellow convict garb; iron collars were fixed around their necks and linked by chain to their leg irons. They were then marched out of the barracks to the *Rogues' March* and handed to the civil authorities. In prison the condition of Sudds, who had been ill before being ironed, deteriorated and he died five days after the parade, in hospital. Darling was attacked in the Sydney press, particularly in W C Wentworth's *Australian*, for the severity of the punishment he had inflicted. He was ultimately held not responsible for the death of Sudds and although his decision to increase the punishment was held illegal the matter lapsed.¹⁴

Duties

The duties of senior NCOs and the details of the general administration of a regiment are to be found in the Standing Orders of the Seventeenth Regiment, to be published latter.

Records

In common with all military organisations the British Army maintained a comprehensive set of records. These consisted of returns concerning the operation of the regiment as a component of the military establishment and regimental records relating to officers, soldiers, wives and children, maintained in the regiment. The requirements for both types of records were laid down in *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, amended from time to time by Horse Guards General Orders. Such a General Order, No 497, dated Horse Guards 14 October 1830 is of particular interest as it introduced for the first time the use of Regimental Numbers. The Order is reproduced here because it defines the personal details of each soldier which were to be recorded and this may be of interest to researchers seeking information on individual soldiers;

'The *Register Book* [previously referred to as the Description Book] is to contain the Entry of the Name of every Non-Commissioned Officer, Trumpeter, Drummer and Private Soldier in the Regiment, shewing the Date and Term of his Enlistment, and of his Attestation, the *Number* by which he is designated in the Regiment; his Age, Size, Description, former Trade or Occupation &c.; the Nature and Extent of his Service, The Place and Date of his Discharge, Decease, Desertation, or Transfer; his character &c., &c., according to prescribed Form.' [italics as published].

This Order appears with wording unchanged in the 1837 edition of *King's Regulations*. There is no mention of Regimental Numbers in the preceding *Regulations* of 1822, so the General Order

¹³ Lt. Colonel Joseph Anderson CB, KH, *Recollections of a Peninsular Veteran*, London, 1913, pp 162-4, 167.

¹⁴ Brian H Fletcher, *Ralph Darling*, Melbourne, 1984, pp 245-9.

No 497 becomes the first record of the official universal use of Regimental Numbers in the British Army. Unfortunately, not all the Register or Description Books for the regiments which served in Australia are held by The Public Record Office, Kew, Britain.

There is evidence to suggest that the use of Regimental Numbers was introduced in November 1929 but no supporting authority has been quoted.¹⁵

Table 4 Regulations 1837

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH DISCHARGES MAY BE OBTAINED.

His Majesty having been pleased to direct that Soldiers may be allowed to *purchase or obtain their Discharges* under certain conditions and limitations, the terms are to be regulated by the following Scale, viz. :-

Period	For Men serving in The	
	CAVALRY	INFANTRY
Under 7 Year's actual Service	£30	£20
After 7 Years ditto	25	18
“ 10 “	21	15
“ 12 “	15	10
“ 14 “	12	5
“ 15 “	6	Free Discharge at Home, and in addition Three Month's Pay Abroad.
“ 16 “	Free Discharge.	Free Discharge, and in addition Three Month's pay at Home, and Six Month's Pay Abroad.
“ 17 “	Free Discharge, and Three Month's Pay.	Free Discharge, and in addition Six Month's Pay at Home and One year's Pay Abroad.
“ 18 “ and to 21 “	Free Discharge, and Six Month's Pay.	Free Discharge, and in addition One Year's Pay at Home, and One and a Half Year's Pay Abroad.

DISCHARGES

Soldiers of *Good Conduct*, who may be permitted to purchase, or to obtain free Discharge, at their own request, are allowed, by His Majesty's Warrant of 26th May, 1837, to receive their Discharges upon the following terms, instead of those prescribed in the foregoing Table; viz:-

	Cavalry	Infantry
Under 5 years service	£30	£20
After 5 years service, and with two years' absence from the Defaulters' Book	25	18
After 7 years, with one distinguishing mark.	20	15
After 10 do. with do.	15	10
After 12 do. with do.	10	5
After 14 do. with do.	5	Free.

¹⁵ Major T J Edwards. *Military Customs*, Aldershot, 1954. pp.190-191.

After 16 years, with one distinguishing mark

Free with the right of registry for deferred pension of 4d. a day

After 16 years, with two distinguishing marks, having possessed the second at least 12 months

Free, with the right of registry for deferred pension of 6d. a day

Serjeants, if permitted to purchase their Discharges, or to obtain free Discharges at their own request, will be admitted to the benefits above stated, provided their *Good Conduct* shall entitle them thereto under the Regulations of Majesty's Warrant.

Silver Medal, with Gratuity in addition to Pension.

HIS MAJESTY has been graciously pleased to command, that a SILVER MEDAL be granted to such Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers as shall, on discharge, receive the Gratuity for Good Character and Meritorious Service, authorized by the 50th Article of the Regulations annexed to the Royal Warrant of the 14th of November, 1829.

The Medal is to bear upon the obverse *the King's Arms*, with the rank and name of the Soldier, and the Year in which it is delivered ; and on the reverse the words, "*For Long Service and Good Conduct.*"

The General Commanding-in-Chief desires, that, on all such occasions, Commanding Officers of Regiments transmit to the Adjutant-General a Return of each individual so recommended, according to the Form prescribed in Page 214.

In cases where the recommendation is made by the Officer Commanding the Depot of a Regiment, it will be necessary for him to state in his letter, enclosing the Return, that he has communicated with, and obtained the concurrence of, the Officer Commanding the Service Companies.

In all cases Commanding Officers will take care that the Grant of this honourable distinction be announced in Regimental Orders, to the end that every Man who obtains it may be held up as an object of respect and emulation to the Non-commissioned- Officers and Soldiers of the Regiment in which he has served.

57TH WEST MIDDLESEX REGIMENT 1825 - 1832

The Die Hards

Background

1756	Raised as 59 th Regiment.
1757	Renumbered 57 th .
1756-1775	Gibraltar, Minorca, Ireland.
1776-1791	N America.
1782	Designated West Middlesex Regiment.
1792-1795	England, Low Countries.
1796-1803	W Indies.
1803-1809	England, Gibraltar.
1809-1814	Peninsular War.
1814-1815	N America.
1815-1818	Army of Occupation in France.
1819-1824	Ireland.

In New South Wales

22 February 1825	First detachment reaches Port Jackson.
8 February 1826	HQ detachment reaches Port Jackson.
March 1826	57th relieves 40th at Norfolk Island.
September 1826	57th relieves 3rd at Moreton Bay; Capt Patrick Logan Comdt.
25 Nov 1826	Two 57th privates drummed out of regiment for theft giving rise to the Sudds and Thompson case.
25 Dec 1826	Major Lockyer, 57th, with detachment of 39th, establishes first settlement in WA at Frederickstown, King Georges Sound.
1827	Fifty convicts at Norfolk Island overpower guard and attempt to escape to Philip Island. Recaptured by Captain Donaldson of the 57th.
2 July 1827	QM Macrae advertises flannel shirts for sale in Sydney Gazette.
August 1827	relieved by 39 th at Norfolk Island.
November 1827	relieved detachment Buffs at Western Port
19 Nov 1827	Regimental band divided to enable part to attend Roman Catholic chapel.
3 March 1828	Detachment returns Sydney from abandoned settlement at Western Port.
June 1828	Detachments at Moreton Bey, Melville Island, Bathurst, Wellington Valley, Port Stephens, Cox's River, Weatherboard Hut, Fish River, Molong Plains, Longbottom, Glebe Farm, Mounted Police.
18 August 1828	Detachment to VDL as part relief for 40th.
27 August 1828	The Sydney Gazette reports the 57th Regt has a good name in the Colony.
27 January 1829	Officers import brandy and wine.
14 February 1829	Exercise in Hyde Park woke residents with a discharge of musketry.
19 May 1829	Officers' Mess dinner to celebrate anniversary of Battle of Albuera.
1830	Mutiny of convicts on transport to Norfolk Island carry off ship to New Zealand and are retaken there.
September 1830	Soldiers of 57th in Mounted Police shoot bushranger "Wild Jack Donohue" at Bringelly.
18 October 1830	Captain Logan killed by natives while on exploration from settlement at Moreton Bay.
March 1831	First detachment embarks for India.
April 1832	Last detachment embarks for India.

Exploration

Aug-Oct 1825 Major Lockyer explores Brisbane River for 150 miles.

References

H. H. Woolright, *History Of The Fifty-Seventh Regiment Of Foot, 1755-1881*, London, 1893.

Obituary - Ronald Selwyn Garland MC

MHSA member Ron Garland who was born on 18 November 1921 died on 18 June 2002. In 1944 he was awarded the Military Cross for gallantry with the 2/3rd Independent Company. The following year he became one of only 15 Australians awarded a bar to the Military Cross in World War II. In 1960 with 3RAR in Malaya he was mentioned in dispatches. In 1997 he produced the hard cover book *Nothing is forever: the history of 2/3 commandos*.

Anthony Staunton