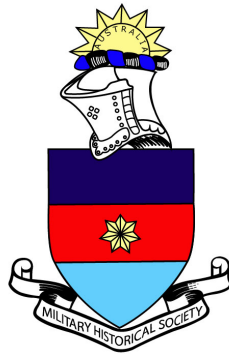


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## THE ARMY MUSEUM OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA TWENTY FIVE YEARS ON

Peter Shaw

This year (2002) marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Army Museum of Western Australia. This article covers the history and development of the museum from its establishment in 1977 in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century building 'Dilhorn' through to its present day location at the Artillery Barracks in Fremantle. The significant role of members of the WA Branch, Military Historical Society of Australia in the development of the museum is also acknowledged.

### The Establishment of the Museum

There had been initial discussions by Headquarters 5 Military District in Western Australia on the establishment of an Army Museum as early as 1975. These early discussions involved representatives from the Western Australian Museum as well as from the Western Australian Branch of the Military Historical Society of Australia. It is interesting to note that during these initial discussions the proposed location nominated by the Army was Artillery Barracks, Fremantle.<sup>1</sup> This was to become home to the museum some 20 years later.

Following the above discussions, it is understood that HQ 5 Military District had made submissions to Army Headquarters in Canberra relating to the feasibility of establishing a museum, however nothing eventuated immediately from these early moves.

In early 1977 the Regimental Committee of The Royal Western Australia Regiment (RWAR) put forward a proposal to establish a Royal Western Australia Regiment Museum with the principal aim of preserving and displaying historical items associated with Western Australia's Infantry units covering from early colonial volunteer forces through to present day. The author, as a former serving member of RWAR and MHSWA representative, was invited to the inaugural meeting of the RWAR Museum Sub-committee held in June 1977.

This initiative of a regimental museum, however, was soon overtaken by what appears to be a revival of the earlier 1975 proposal of a museum to be created at district level. In August 1977 the Commander of 5 Military District, Brigadier W D Jamieson, announced the proposed establishment of an Army Museum of Western Australia, to be located on existing Army property known as 'Dilhorn', situated in Bulwer Street, Perth.<sup>2</sup> This building was only partly occupied at the time by a small Department of Defence Quality Assurance unit and the museum could share the premises with this group.

An inaugural meeting of all interested parties was held in the Conference Room at Swan Barracks in Perth on 31 October 1977 at which the Commander outlined the objectives of the museum and presented a draft constitution. A Board of Management was also appointed, holding their first meeting on 25 November 1977, reporting to a wider Museum Committee comprising of representatives of existing Army units, ex-service organisations, unit associations and other

<sup>1</sup> notes on address to MHSWA (WA Branch) by Major H Canant, HQ 5 MD, on proposed establishment of Military Museum in WA, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1975

<sup>2</sup> 'Dilhorn' was built in 1897 by William Thorley Loton who later became Lord Mayor of Perth and was elected to State Parliament as a member of the Legislative Council. He named the residence after the village of Dilthorne, his place of birth in Staffordshire, England. The Army purchased the property in June 1952 which was used by a number of CMF and later Army Reserve formation headquarters units up until 1976. In 1985 the building became classified by the National Trust as historically significant and was placed on the Heritage Register.

related organisations. (Details of the composition of the initial Board of Management is given in Appendix 1 to this article). The first meeting of the Museum Committee was held at Swan Barracks on 28 November 1977 at which the formal opening date of the Museum at 'Dilhorn' was confirmed to be 18 December 1977.

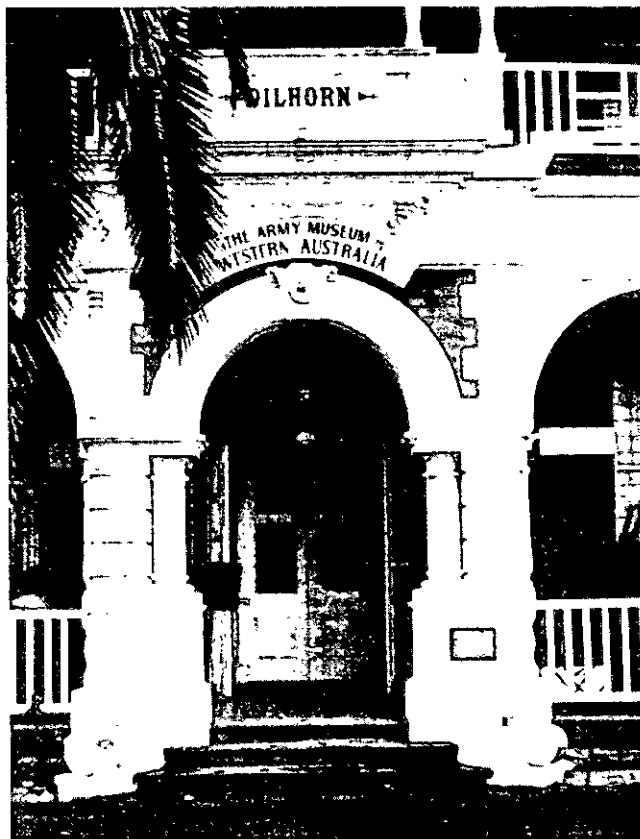
Thus the seeds were sown for what has become one of the most successful establishments within the Army Museum network across Australia.

### Laying the foundations

With the date set for the official opening there was a flurry of activity to generally clean up around the building and to prepare a limited area for display purposes in the two front rooms on the ground floor of the building. The opening on 18 December 1977 was attended by official guests only, with the unveiling of a commemorative plaque at the front entrance carried out by the museum founder and Patron, Brigadier W D Jamieson. It was not until 6 months later, in June 1978 that the Army Museum was open to the general public.

The museum's first appointed Curator, Captain Syd Jenkins, ED, commenced the tasks of acquiring the initial items for the collection and the detailed planning of the location and layout of the displays. The collection soon started to expand with donations from the public coming in and a small-dedicated group of volunteers began to provide additional support in curatorial and other administrative tasks associated with running of the museum. It is appropriate to note here the prominent role amongst these that has been played by members of the WA Branch of the Military Historical Society of Australia. (MHSA)<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the assistance provided by the above volunteers, a very active and enthusiastic Ladies Auxiliary was formed in early 1978 under the leadership of Mrs Norma Jamieson, wife of Brigadier W.D.



Entrance to 'Dilhorn'

<sup>3</sup> The first MHSA members involved in the museum since its inauguration in 1977 were Peter Shaw and Arthur McGrath. Later, Wayne Gardiner, John Sweetman, Malcolm Higham, Mick Malone and Paul Bridges were amongst other MHSA members who became involved. Many of these continue to actively support the museum with Wayne appointed as the current Curator and Paul as Deputy Curator.

Jamieson. Other support groups that came into existence in the early 1980's were the Army Museum Affiliated Members and the Friends of the Army Museum. The former group provided a pool of individuals who could act as volunteer guides. The Ladies Auxiliary held their first fund raising activity for the museum on Saturday 15 July 1978. Included amongst its many guests were the Premier of Western Australia, Sir Charles Court, OBE, MLA and Lady Court as well as the Lord Mayor of Perth the Hon. F.C. Chaney, CBE, AFC and Mrs Chaney.

This was the first of many functions and activities held by the Ladies Auxiliary that provided valuable support in fund raising and associated publicising throughout the 1980's and early 1990's. The highlight of the Auxiliary's yearly activities and their main fund raising function was the Museum's annual cocktail party usually held in the Officers' Mess at Swan Barracks. This annual event proved very popular amongst museum friends and associates. In early 1979 the Ladies Auxiliary established a tearoom in one of the larger rooms on the ground floor of 'Dilhorn', towards the rear of the building. It was officially opened by the Premier Sir Charles Court on 1 April 1979 and continued to function through to the mid 1980's.

To assist in publicity and promotion in the wider community the museum periodically provided small displays of selected items at special public functions and worked in cooperation with several kindred organisations. Examples of this cooperation include the display covering the history of the colony's volunteer defence forces from 1861 through to the turn of the century, jointly organised in September 1979 by the Army Museum and the Royal WA Historical Society. In October 1982 the Army Museum held an open weekend in conjunction with the Western Australian Branch, Military Historical Society of Australia and the Arms and Armour Society of WA, in which these organisations put on special displays at the museum in support of the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of MHSA. Closer links between the WA Branch of MHSA and the Army Museum were established through the museum allowing the group to use its premises for their monthly meetings. This arrangement has continued since the relocation of the Museum to Artillery Barracks, Fremantle in 1995.

In early 1984 the Director of the Australian War Memorial, Air Vice-Marshal Jim Flemming visited the Army Museum of Western Australia and was impressed with the development of the Museum to date and the enthusiasm of the Board and Committee. He offered AWM assistance and advice concerning display, conservation and documentation.

### **Expansion and consolidation**

By 1985 the museum occupied all rooms on the ground floor of 'Dilhorn', with a reasonably comprehensive collection of firearms and edged weapons located in an armoury in the basement, and two rooms on the upper floor of the building were dedicated to displaying memorabilia relating to Women's Services. The remaining rooms on the upper floor of the building continued to be occupied by the Quality Assurance unit previously mentioned.

Throughout this period the rooms had undergone various changes in layout and purpose with displays being added to and improved by the dedicated curatorial staff. With the limited space available it was difficult to strike an acceptable balance between display space, storage space and office administration space. The tearoom mentioned above was eventually used for storage and administration and later used as a meeting room.

A number of additional military hardware items were located on display in the exterior grounds of the museum. These included a Bren gun carrier, a trench mortar and the barrel of a large 6-inch coastal artillery field gun originally located on Rottnest Island as part of the coastal defences. (This is now located at the RAA Historical Society museum site at Buckland Hill, Mosman Park).



Curator, Captain Syd Jenkins, discussing item with a donor

In June 1988 the Quality Assurance Unit vacated the rooms it had occupied since 1977, thus enabling the Army Museum to take over the complete building at 'Dilhorn'. Plans for the usage of the vacated rooms were developed and these included a much-needed reference library as well as a general workroom. One of the other additional rooms made available was used to house a display of post-World War Two items, in particular focussing on the Korean War and South Vietnam.

1988 also saw the culmination of a major project in which the Museum had been involved since 1984. This project, funded under the State Government Bicentennial Program, provided for the restoration and display of the set of CMF Infantry Colours (Queen's and Regimental Colours of 11<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup> and 44<sup>th</sup> Battalions) and the Guidon of 10<sup>th</sup> Light Horse. The infantry colours, held by their successor unit The Royal Western Australia Regiment since 1960, were laid up in display cases in the undercroft of the State War Memorial, Kings Park, in 1964. 10th Light Horse laid their original guidon up there in 1967, following the presentation of their new guidon the previous year.

Concern at the increasing deterioration of the colours was expressed to the State RSL by the Regimental Colonel of The Royal Western Australia Regiment in early 1984. The Army Museum became involved in subsequent discussions with RWAR, the various battalion sub-associations, and the RSL in the possible conservation and relocation of the colours to the museum. Further negotiations were held with the Australian War Memorial and Army authorities, seeking guidelines and paving the way for the museum to make its submission to the Bicentennial Authority. Professional advice was also sought early in the project from the Conservation Department, Western Australian Museum. The Army Museum was successful in being granted \$15,000 from the Bicentennial Program, which was used to meet most of the costs of the conservation work, as well as the manufacture of special storage and display cabinets. A small room located on the ground floor at 'Dilhorn' was set aside as a dedicated colours display

room, being officially opened on 25 October 1988 by the then Deputy Premier of Western Australia, Mr David Parker (formerly Minister for Arts and Minister responsible for the State Bicentennial Program)<sup>4</sup>.

In November 1993 the museum added to the above colours collection when it received three historical colours handed over by Perth City Council. These colours were initially held by 11<sup>th</sup> Battalion (The City of Perth Regiment) who had inherited them from predecessor units and then subsequently laid them up in the Perth Council Chambers in 1930. These colours were:-

- Queen's Colour presented to 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Volunteer Regiment, 1896
  - King's Banner presented to 11<sup>th</sup> Australian Infantry regiment (Perth Regiment) in 1911, in recognition of services of its predecessor units in South Africa 1899-1902
  - Regimental Colour presented to 11<sup>th</sup> Australian Infantry Regiment (Perth Regiment) in 1911
- When Perth City Council moved premises in the early 1960's these colours were placed in storage, although some restoration work on them was completed in 1975. They later went on temporary display in the Council building.

### **Museum Management - Army Museum Network**

The Army took on a more direct controlling role of the museum in 1983 when, under a change in Constitution of the Army Museum of WA introduced that year, the President of the Museum Board was to be the local Army District Commander or an officer nominated by him. In most cases this appointment was usually filled by the currently serving Chief Engineer, 5 Military District.

Overall coordination of the various unit historical collections, corps museums and district museums established throughout Australia came under control of an Army Historical Policy Committee (AHPC) which implemented various policies and guidelines relating to museum collection management and accounting procedures. These policies and guidelines were set out in *Defence Instruction (Army) ADMIN 34-1 - Army Historical Activities*, originally issued in 1981 and revised October 1986. In 1987 the AHPC published further guidelines and specific criteria under which museums could receive accreditation and formal recognition as authorised museums by the AHPC. The Army Museum of WA became an authorised museum under these guidelines.

The Army Historical Policy Committee periodically organised working parties to visit and report on various museums and collections within the network. The Army Museum of WA received its first visit from AHPC representatives in November 1985 with a further visit and review in 1989. The AHPC also arranged for and funded training courses to be held from time to time for Army Museum curators and managers.

In 1985, Lt Wayne Gardiner, who had previously served with 10<sup>th</sup> Light Horse in the Army Reserve, was attached to the Army Museum of WA as part of his continuing Army Reserve service, being appointed as Deputy Curator. (As an interested MHSA member he had carried out some previous volunteer work with the museum). This was the pre-cursor to the appointment of a number of other serving part-time Army Reserve personnel to be allocated to museum duties as administration officers under formal approval from the Army Historical Policy Committee around 1988. These included Captain Sue Jordan (1988-1989), Major Tony Fletcher (1990-1993) and Captain Mick Malone (1993-2000). An additional Army Reserve staff member who commenced work for the museum around 1994 was WO2 Doug Gimm. He had previously been

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<sup>4</sup> Army Museum Historian and MHSA member Peter Shaw played a key role in this project through his historical research on the colours and liaison with the WA Museum and conservation consultants throughout various stages of the project.

appointed to the Museum Board, although not in an Army Reserve staff capacity. As a project officer he provided valuable assistance in the development of displays and general maintenance both at 'Dilhorn' and later at Fremantle until retiring from the Army in 2000.

### **Space problems at 'Dilhorn'**

By the end of 1992 the Army Museum was experiencing critical problems in both adequate display space and administration and storage space in its continued occupation of 'Dilhorn'. Although the building was of historic significance, and had served as an appropriate starting base, it was not ideally suited for museum purposes and as indicated earlier, it was always difficult to balance between allocation of display, storage and administration/work space. The report by the Army Historical Policy Committee, following their visit and review in November 1985, had focussed on the lack of adequate storage space, administration and work areas. Storage problems were also touched on again in the AHPC report following their further review in late 1989. These problems at 'Dilhorn' were also noted as being a serious issue in the Army Museums Review report by Gavin Fry published in 1993.

Some relief to the space shortage problem was found in 1993 when the museum was successful in negotiating with Department of Defence and Defence Housing Authority for making use of a house adjacent to the main building, previously used as a married quarter. This was part of the same land title as 'Dilhorn' and owned by the Commonwealth. Expansion into the married quarter subsequently referred to as the 'Administrative Wing' of the Museum was completed by February 1994. Facilities relocated to this building included a work/conference room, an office for the museum medal mounting service, as well as rooms set aside for relocating the library and a general admin office. This enabled more efficient use of the limited space within the main building.

In addition to the above expansion, secondary storage space was also sought at external locations such as Irwin barracks, Karrakatta. A shed at the rear of the main building at 'Dilhorn' was also overflowing with less frequently used materials such as display stands and other associated equipment.

This acquisition of additional space could only be seen as a partial solution to the museum's ongoing problems at 'Dilhorn' and even back in the late 1980's there had been suggestions of relocating the museum entirely and the disposal of 'Dilhorn'. The Fry report of 1993, referred to above, certainly reinforced the inadequacy of 'Dilhorn' for the continued successful development of the Army Museum of WA.

### **Rationalisation of Defence Properties - Relocation of the Army Museum**

During the early 1990's the Department of Defence commenced rationalisation of its property holdings across Australia. Western Australia certainly was impacted under these developments with an announcement made in 1991 that it was proposed for the existing Army regional headquarters administration in WA to vacate the historic Swan Barracks located in Perth, and to relocate to Leeuwin Barracks at East Fremantle, formerly occupied by the RAN. Swan Barracks was to be sold, possibly to the State Government. The Army had continuously occupied the barracks since 1897 and these proposals came as a shock to many. 'Dilhorn' was also earmarked for disposal, although it was not under immediate threat and the Army reassured that if suitable alternative accommodation could not be identified then the museum could remain for the time being where it was.

One of the options put forward by the Army at the time was for the Army Museum to consider relocating to Swan Barracks and that a suitable lease arrangement could be negotiated with the prospective buyer of the barracks. In September 1992 members of the Army Museum Board were invited on an inspection tour of Swan Barracks to further evaluate the feasibility of this option. Some of the advantages of this option were:-

- Increased museum display and work space
- Location within Perth's heritage and cultural precinct, adjacent to the Western Australian Museum and the State Art Gallery with potential for increased volume of visitors
- Increased public awareness of the museum due to its more convenient location.
- Potential increase in revenue through a larger number of visitors.
- Retention of some military link with the Barracks.

Although initially this option may have seemed to offer more longer term security of premises for the Museum than the uncertainty of continuing as tenuous Defence tenants, the security of tenure under any future leasing arrangements was the major issue that Board members expressed concern and reservations about.

The proposal to relocate from 'Dilhorn' to Swan Barracks met with strong opposition by some Board members and related support groups. One group in particular, the Ladies Auxiliary, mounted a very vigorous campaign against the move during the latter part of 1992, including the distribution of a petition supporting the museum remaining at 'Dilhorn'.

All remaining Army elements had vacated Swan Barracks by the end of 1992, and the museum had until around mid 1993 to decide whether to take advantage of the availability of these alternative premises for relocation. The Board however continued to express the reservations it had on security of tenure and the option was not pursued.

During 1994 Army regional headquarters explored further options for the museum's relocation. Under the ongoing defence property rationalisation and relocation of local Army units in WA, several Army Reserve units, including the Western Australian University Regiment, were planned to be moved from their current location at Artillery Barracks, Fremantle, to alternative locations. This presented an opportunity to relocate the Army Museum of WA to these barracks and firm plans to implement this move were put into place. The Artillery Barracks were the second oldest military barracks in the state, having been established in 1910 and continually used by the Army since then. Being still owned by the Commonwealth and under Army control, this presented a much more viable alternative than the Swan Barracks option discussed above.

Over the ensuing 12 months considerable administrative and logistic work was carried out in liaison with Army Facilities Branch to organise the move. The incumbent Museum president at the time, Lt-Colonel Jack McRoberts, together with other museum staff, worked hard to ensure a successful transfer of the museum's assets from 'Dilhorn' to the new location in Fremantle, with a target date set for July 1995. The proposed relocation of the museum enabled the Department of Defence to proceed with plans to dispose of 'Dilhorn' as a defence property.

A relocation sub-committee was established and comprised of Army Museum Board representatives, other Army representatives as well as representatives from the Western Australian Museum, Fremantle City Council, Fremantle Chamber of Commerce and the RAA Historical Association. Also on the committee was a conservation architecture consultant. This sub-committee held its inaugural meeting on 1 February 1995 and reviewed the plans for the initial development of the museum at its new location and emphasised the need to have in place an overall master conservation plan for the site





Artillery Barracks, Fremantle showing wing occupied by Army Museum

As part of the initial plans for the redevelopment of the Museum at its new site a small VC Gallery was planned to house replicas of VC's awarded to fourteen Western Australians.<sup>5</sup> In addition a special Education/display room was to be developed to focus on World War Two activities in WA. This also included a large diorama model of Western Australia showing strategic locations involved in the State's defences during the Second World War, supported by interactive lights and an audio-visual system. This project was to be funded and developed by the State Government as part of the Australia Remembers Year for 1995. Work commenced on these initiatives early in 1995, with the Museum Curator, Captain Syd Jenkins being seconded full time for several months to work with the Premier's Department on the development of this special State Government display.

It needs to be pointed out that at this stage not all Army units earmarked for vacating Artillery Barracks as part of the original proposal were able to do so. The Western Australian University Regiment remained at the barracks, however moved totally into one wing of the main building, leaving a complete wing (at least on the ground floor) vacant for proposed museum use<sup>6</sup>. Other buildings vacated were earmarked for museum administration, archives and library as well as provision for storage and workshops when specific areas became available.

In keeping with the Australia Remembers theme it was decided that in addition to the displays mentioned above, the museum would endeavour to develop its World War Two Gallery as well as a dedicated POW Gallery. This latter gallery was developed with input from the POW Association with a major focus on the life of Australian POW's and the hardships they faced in the harsh conditions of the Burma -Thailand Railway under the Japanese. It also included items relating to POW's within the European and Middle East theatres of operations. These galleries

<sup>5</sup> The Army Museum of WA was already custodian of three significant VC's from WA families: O'Meara (16<sup>th</sup> Battalion), Gratwick (2/48<sup>th</sup> Battalion) and Starceвич (2/43<sup>rd</sup> Battalion).

<sup>6</sup> At the time of writing this article, WAUR still occupy part of Artillery Barracks.



Military vehicles on display outside the museum. Museum Admin building in background

were planned to be completed to a reasonably high level of presentation in time for the proposed relating to POW's within the European and Middle East theatres of operations. These galleries were planned to be completed to a reasonably high level of presentation in time for the proposed official opening of the Museum in August 1995. This was indeed an ambitious objective and both museum staff and other groups involved worked hard in ensuring that deadlines were met.

In parallel with all of these activities, the Army Museum continued to operate and open to the public at 'Dilhorn' until its final closure there on 30 June 1995. The museum's medal mounting service, operated for many years by MHSa member Arthur McGrath, continued to function from these premises for some time after until alternative arrangements were made.

### **Development of the museum at the new location**

The Army Museum was officially opened at Artillery Barracks on VP Day on 15 August 1995 by the Premier of Western Australia, Richard Court, MLA, who also opened the Education Centre as the State Government's contribution for Australia Remembers. Some 700 people attended the ceremony.

The subsequent development of the museum's galleries at Artillery Barracks was done on a staged basis from 1996 through to 1999, when the Post-World War Two gallery was opened. Galleries underwent considerable planning and design of the layouts with the construction of most of the display cabinets being contracted out to professional cabinetmakers. As items from the museum's collection were transferred from 'Dilhorn', they were placed on display in existing galleries if appropriate or were placed in storage, pending the development of new galleries as part of the museum's work program

The only part of the museum's collection not located at Artillery Barracks was the firearms collection, which was located in secure storage at the Regional Army HQ at Leeuwin Barracks, East Fremantle. At the time of writing this article these items still remain in storage at the above location and unfortunately cannot be viewed by museum visitors. The armoury at 'Dilhorn' was certainly one of the museum's popular exhibits and it is hoped that at some stage in the future these items can once again go on public display.

The first of the museum's new displays and galleries to be developed since the opening was in fact an initiative by members of the WA Branch, MHSa, converting a dungeon area coming off

the rear verandah of the main building into a World War One trench scene. Volunteers from MHSA worked hard at planning and developing this display in conjunction with museum curatorial staff. Work involved the installation of framing and cladding and the filling of sandbags to line the walls of the dungeon, and with carefully placed subdued lighting this gave a true underground trench effect. Suitable material from the World War One period was displayed in enclosed areas recessed into the sidewalls, depicting typical field living quarters of the time.

The Trench Gallery was officially opened by the Governor of Western Australia, Major-General Michael Jeffery, AC, MC, on the afternoon of Saturday 2 March 1996. The Trench Gallery opening preceded a special concert/tattoo that was scheduled to be held on the barracks parade ground that evening to celebrate the Army's 95<sup>th</sup> Birthday. This concert was a very successful event, attracting over 2000 people.

With the additional space available in the external grounds of the museum, around the perimeter of the parade ground, the museum gradually increased the number of larger military hardware items placed on display. These included armoured vehicles, trucks and additional artillery pieces. The barracks parade ground also offered more extensive on-site parking facilities for visitors than was ever possible at 'Dilhorn'.

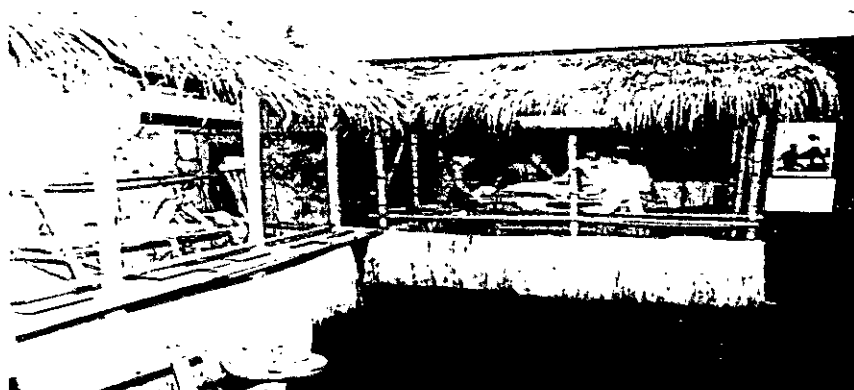
To raise the profile of the Army Museum in the wider community an initiative adopted early in 1996 was the running of a series of public lecture evenings to be held at the museum to be known as 'Back to the Barracks' evenings. These were planned to be held on a bi-monthly basis and the first of the series was held on 27 February 1996 with a talk on the history of the Artillery Barracks. These were held in the Education/display room and were well attended, continuing on a reasonably regular basis, although not always bi-monthly, until the end of 1998.

It was with much regret that the Army Museum's long standing Curator, Captain Syd Jenkins, RFD, ED, passed away on 23 May 1996 after losing his battle with cancer. Syd had worked tirelessly for the Army Museum since its foundation in 1977 and was certainly involved in the early stages of its reshaping at the new location at Artillery Barracks. Lt Wayne Gardiner, the former Deputy Curator who had been acting in the position since late 1995 when Syd was unable to carry on normal duties, succeeded him as Curator later in 1996. To commemorate Syd's contribution to the development of the museum, the Education/display room was renamed the Syd Jenkins Education Centre. A small dedication ceremony was held for this at the Army Museum on 22 February 1997 with a number of Syd's family amongst the invited guests.

On 17 August 1996 the Director of Army History, Mr Roger Lee, officially opened the museum's Pre-1914 Gallery. This gallery was developed in what was the former VC Gallery and contained collection items relating to pre-federation colonial forces, the Boer War as well as Militia forces up to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Since its relocation to Artillery Barracks the Army Museum has certainly seen an increase in the number of active volunteer guides involved. With the continued demand for guided tours of the museum during the week by special groups, including schools, there has been additional demand for volunteer guides to assist with these. A number of volunteers also began making themselves available on Wednesdays to assist museum part-time staff with various administrative, curatorial and maintenance tasks. This eventually led to the museum being open to the public for several hours on Wednesdays, in addition to being opened on Saturday and Sunday afternoons.

Although at times it has been difficult to provide the desirable number of guides, the museum is fortunate with the current number of volunteers it has. To recognise their efforts volunteer guides and all other museum staff are invited to the Army Museum's annual Christmas cocktail party that has been held since 1996. Initially these were held in the grounds of the museum at



View of part of POW gallery

Artillery Barracks, however since 1998 they have been held at the Officers Mess, Leeuwin Barracks.

Following the concentration of development throughout 1995-96, it was not until late in 1997 when the museum's next major new gallery, the World War One Gallery, was opened. The development of this gallery was dependent on another barracks building, formerly used as a Cadet Officers Mess, being made available to the museum late in 1996. This building, which was initially a barracks kitchen, consists of a main room plus three to four smaller adjoining rooms, and is located at the rear of the main barracks building, connected to a common entry area with the POW Gallery.

The planning and development for this gallery took considerable effort and the final result was a credit to the curatorial and other support staff involved. In addition to the usual range of display items, this gallery featured diorama models developed specially by one of the volunteer staff as well as a life sized model horse donated from the 10th Light Horse Historical Collection. The World War One Gallery was officially opened by the Commander Western Region, Brigadier Gerry Warner, LVO, ADC on 11 November 1997 (79<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Armistice Day). Other guests included the Director of Army History, Roger Lee, Mayor of Fremantle, Richard Utting and the Founding Patron of the Army Museum of WA, Brigadier Bill Jamieson and Mrs Jamieson.

In parallel with these major developments there were of course continuous ongoing improvements and enhancements being made to existing galleries and a variety of important administrative functions being performed to ensure the museum kept functioning. On 1 March 1997 the Australian Army celebrated its 96<sup>th</sup> Birthday with a special gala concert held on the parade ground at Artillery Barracks, attended by over 3000 people.

The last of the museum's chronological series of galleries to be developed was the Post-World War Two Gallery, which was located in the Syd Jenkins Education Centre. A temporary display of items relating to the history of the Royal Australian Regiment formed the basis for the proposed Post-War displays. Over the next 6 months this was expanded to encompass many other display items relating to BCOF, the Korean War, Malayan and Borneo campaigns, Vietnam as well as Australian involvement in UN peace keeping operations in various countries

including Cambodia and Somalia. The gallery was opened on 18 July 1999 by Mr Reg Bandy, MBE, a veteran of both the Korean and Vietnam wars.

The WA diorama model originally located in this room had been subsequently removed and in addition to being used for the 'Back to the Barracks' talks previously mentioned the room had also been used for the Museum's Annual General Meetings. The Post-World War Two Gallery displays were mounted in movable cabinets that could easily be shifted to the side and back of the room to enable it to still function as an education/meeting room when required. This gallery has subsequently had items added relating to Australia's involvement in East Timor.

### **New Army Museum Operational Arrangements and Management Structure**

Following the Fry Report (1993), Army Office, through the Chief of General Staff Advisory Committee carried out some further reviews of museum policies. These were aimed at determining the way forward for the future conservation, interpretation and promotion of Army heritage in museum-style activities, bearing in mind that the Australian Army would be celebrating its centenary in the year 2001. Central to these reviews was the agreement that the responsibility for resourcing and managing Army museums and historical collections was to be incorporated into and identified within Army's forward programs and financial structures. The implementation of this was to be achieved through Project 'Army Heritage' which was to be managed by the Army Historian through the period 1995-97.

In February 1996 Department of Defence released a new instruction, *Defence Instructions (General) ADMIN 54-1 - Policy and Procedures for the Establishment and Management of Defence Museums and Historic Flights*. This document set out a number of changes in museum financial management requirements as well as defining different categories and modes of operation for museums. In May 1996 the Director of Army History convened a meeting of representatives of Army Museums and Historical Collections to brief them on the implications of these new instructions and policies. During 1997 Army History Directorate staff visited various museums to further discuss proposals in more detail. Also during this year Army History Directorate underwent reorganisation, becoming redesignated as Army History Unit. (This took on all previous functions performed by the original Army Historical Policy Committee and subsequent Army History management elements).

Under proposed new operational arrangements, museums electing to remain within Defence control would be operated on behalf of the Army by a separate company 'Limited by Guarantee'. This company would be responsible for administering all museum volunteers. All monies received by the museum were to be treated as public monies and processed and accounted for in accordance with DI ADMIN 54-1 requirements, however these monies would come back to the company for use in operating the museum. This was felt to be a somewhat convoluted process, however appeared to be necessary to comply with the new DI requirements.

The first steps by the Army Museum of WA to come under these new arrangements were taken in February 1998 with the formation of the Army Museum of Western Australia Foundation which replaced the existing body corporate of the Army Museum of Western Australia (Inc). The Foundation's first elected Chairman was Lt-Colonel John Deykin, RFD ED, who had served continuously as Secretary on the initial Army Museum Board since 1978.

Those Army staff who were allocated for part-time duties with the museum were to continue in their existing roles, however they were not members of the new Foundation and did not have voting rights at Foundation Board meetings. Captain Mick Malone, OAM, the existing Administration Officer, was appointed Museum Manager. There was now a more direct line of

responsibility between these staff and the Army History Unit, although for general administrative purposes they came under control of the local 5 Training Group.

By mid 1998 the Army Museum of WA had received new computer hardware and software from the Army History Unit to support its collection catalogue recording. This system, which was selected by AHU after considerable evaluation of a number of different products, was distributed to all Army Museums and Historical Collections throughout Australia. In 1999 some additional computer items were supplied. This type of direct support demonstrated to the museum the benefits of the new operational arrangements.

### **The 'battle for the Barracks'**

In early 2000, much to the shock of museum staff and supporters, it was learnt that Department of Defence intended to sell Artillery Barracks as part of its ongoing program of disposing of surplus defence properties. From subsequent information received it was confirmed that plans for the sale of the barracks had been put forward as early as 1998 and that the local Fremantle based University of Notre Dame had requested first preference to buy. (Notre Dame had made previous approaches to Department of Defence expressing interest in the barracks during the late 1980's).

As part of these current plans the Western Australian University Regiment and the Army Museum of WA were earmarked for relocation to other Defence sites. The alternative site that had been finally recommended for the relocation of the museum was Hobbs Hall at Irwin Barracks in Karrakatta. This had been home for many years of the 7<sup>th</sup> Field Battery, RAA and the local RAA Historical Collection and it was felt by AHU that it had potential for redevelopment to suit the Army Museum.

After the major commitment in time and resources that had already been made in the Army Museum's re-establishment at Artillery Barracks, members of the Foundation decided that they were not prepared to face yet another relocation and became determined to put up a significant fight to remain at the barracks. The Museum Foundation mounted a very active campaign to save the barracks which continued throughout 2000 with extensive public and political support, including major marches and rallies held in the Fremantle area. The campaign received wide coverage in the local press and certainly both State and Federal Parliament became aware of the issues through museum members, friends and kindred organisations writing to their local members of parliament. There were also petitions presented with twelve thousand people signing these, objecting to the sale of the barracks.

The latter part of the campaign focussed on the preservation of the whole Cantonment Hill precinct, of which Artillery Barracks was a significant heritage component. Cantonment Hill is the main feature overlooking the entrance into the Fremantle area and includes open space and reserve areas as well as the original Fremantle Port signal station. In addition to the barracks, other Defence properties located in the precinct include former married quarters cottages, the historic Gun House, previously used as Army Commander's quarters, the adjoining Rifle Cottage, and a former Navy store building, later used as an Army workshop. During 2000 Fremantle City Council released a land use policy document covering the whole precinct. This was subsequently used as the basis for joint discussions between the Council and the Museum Foundation for the creation of an overall master plan for the future management of the precinct in public ownership and ensuring the continued existence of the museum at the barracks.

Sufficient concern had been raised at the Federal Parliamentary level that in September 2000 the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee initiated a Senate Inquiry into the disposal of defence property. The terms of reference for this inquiry included, amongst others, the importance and value of the Army Museum of Western Australia and the Fremantle

Artillery Barracks, and whether the Fremantle Artillery Barracks was the most appropriate and suitable location for the museum.

Following receipt of written submissions, the Committee visited WA in October 2000 and inspected Artillery Barracks, including the Army Museum of WA as well as the proposed site for the museum's relocation at Hobbs Hall, Irwin Barracks, Karrakatta. The committee then held two days of public hearings at Artillery Barracks, with a further day of hearings in Canberra in November 2000. The Committee produced an interim report in January 2001 focussed on the above initial terms of reference relating to Artillery Barracks. The two key recommendations coming out of this report were:

- *The Australian Government supplements the Centenary of Federation Fund to enable the Fund to make a grant to effect the transfer of the Artillery Barracks to the Western Australian Government*
- *The Minister for Defence review the Department's decision to relocate the Army Museum of Western Australia to Hobbs Hall and examine the possibility of retaining the Museum at Artillery Barracks*

The outcome of the Senate Committee's interim findings did give the Museum Foundation some optimism, however there was no guarantee that the Federal Government or Department of Defence would adopt these recommendations. The battle was therefore not considered over yet and the campaign continued into 2001.

Announcements made early in 2001 by State and Federal Governments appeared to confirm that the entire Cantonment Hill precinct would be handed over to the Western Australian Government by way of a Centenary of Federation gift from the Federal Government as originally recommended. This certainly was encouraging news indicating that the main battle could be over.

The subsequent change of government, following the WA State election in 2001, had the Federal Government backtracking on part of the deal, indicating that Gun House, the historic Commander's residence, was not included. The Museum Foundation continued to argue that what was being offered was not what was understood to be in the original agreement. With the re-election of the Federal Government in November 2001 however, it became quite clear that the land to be handed over to the State Government would not include Gun House, as this was to be retained for Defence use.

At its Board meeting held in January 2002, the Army Museum Foundation accepted this outcome and agreed that at least the main objectives of the battle appeared to have been won and that the museum would continue at Artillery Barracks as its permanent home.

### **Activities continue on the 'home front'**

From the preceding section, it can be seen that a major focus of the Army Museum Foundation's activities over the period 2000-2001 was on the campaign to save the barracks. The museum itself continued to function throughout this period, however the threatened disposal of the barracks and possible relocation of the museum did cause a great deal of anxiety and uncertainty for museum staff and volunteers. Perhaps some positive benefits coming out of the campaign was that it increased the profile of the Army Museum within the community resulting in increased visitors and also to some extent raised its profile within political circles.

During 2000 the POW Gallery underwent a major upgrade and refurbishment and this was officially opened in July 2000 by the Federal Minister for Veterans Affairs, Bruce Scott, MP. Also amongst the guests in attendance were the RSL National President Major-General Peter

Phillips, State RSL President, Lt-Colonel Ken Bladen, Dr Carmen Lawrence, MP, Federal Member for Fremantle, and Graham Kierath, MLA, State Minister for Heritage.

With the retirements of the Museum Manager, Captain Mick Malone, and Project Officer WO2 Doug Gimm during 2000, it was not until early in 2001 that new part-time Army Reserve staff replaced them. Major Jenny Tilt became appointed as the new Museum Manager with WO2 Geoff Craggs becoming the Project Officer. They certainly came up to date with the current situation regarding the Barracks campaign, however together with the Curator, Captain Wayne Gardiner, ensured that the museum kept running.

Initiatives commenced by the new management team during 2001 included the development of a fire and evacuation safety plan as well as focussing on other occupational health and safety issues and general museum security. They also worked to strengthen links with the Army at the local level as well as with Army History Unit. During 2001 AHU representatives visited the Army Museum and upgraded the computer catalogue management software. In July 2001 Major Tilt, together with the Museum Foundation Board representative Dale Olson, attended the AHU biennial Conference for Museum managers and Liaison officers.

March 2001 saw the completion of work on a Collection Management Plan for the museum by an external museum consultant engaged to carry out this with funding from a WA Lotteries Commission grant received by the Museum in November 2000. This Management Plan developed for Army Museum of WA was subsequently passed on to AHU who used it as a model to develop a set of Standard Operating Procedures for use by all army museums.

Also during 2001 the Army Museum Foundation received from AHU a copy of a draft Museum Operating Agreement which had been distributed to all museums within the network. This agreement sets out the basis upon which the Company is to deliver services to the Army in the running of the museum and is still in the process of being finalised, as a number of issues require further clarification with AHU.

### **The Way Forward**

After confirmation in early 2002 of the final agreement by Federal Government to hand over the land within the Cantonment Hill precinct, a reference group has been set up including representatives from the Army Museum Foundation, Department of Defence, WA State Government and Fremantle City Council. This group has been given the task to determine terms of reference for the development of a final management plan for the whole precinct. It is aimed at having the plan finalised by May 2003, after which final leasing arrangements by Department of Defence for the continued occupation of Artillery Barracks by the Army Museum of WA can then be determined.

It is also anticipated that some time during 2003 the Western Australian University Regiment will relocate to another Defence site. This will enable the Army Museum to develop plans for concentrating most of its main display and administrative facilities all within the main barracks building as well as allowing for future expansion needs.

With its tenure at Artillery Barracks now ensured, the Army Museum can continue to provide a museum of high professional standards that will be of valuable service to the community and the Army. The museum's continued presence at Artillery Barracks will also ensure that the military significance of this historic site will be retained.



**APPENDIX 1****FIRST BOARD OF MANAGEMENT ARMY MUSEUM OF WA 1977**

President:	Major R Willox, ED	16RWAR/28 Ind Rifle Coy RWAR
Vice President	Lt-Col W D Lessels	CE 5MD
Secretary:	Major R Hinde	Adj, 16RWAR/28 Ind Rifle Coy RWAR
Treasurer:	Captain D Blair	16RWAR/28 Ind Rifle Coy RWAR
Curator:	Captain S Jenkins, ED (RL)	RWAR Committee
Deputy Curator:	Mr A McGrath	WA Branch, MHSA

**APPENDIX 2****LIST OF PAST PRESIDENTS, ARMY MUSEUM OF WA**

Years	Name	Unit/Posting/organisation
1977-1980	Lt-Col R Willox, ED	16RWAR/28 Ind Rifle Coy RWAR
1980-1983	Lt-Col R Everington, ED	RL
1983-1984	Lt-Col A Coyle	CE, 5 MD
1984-1987	Lt-Col J Tick	CE, 5 MD
1987-1990	Lt-Col G Kelly	CE, 5 MD
1990-1992	Lt-Col D J Martindale	CE, 5 MD
1992-1993	Lt-Col BE Gardiner	CE, 5 MD
1993-1997	Lt-Col J A McRoberts	JOPS, Defence Centre-Perth
June 1997	Lt-Col W N Forbes, AM	Defence Centre-Perth
July 1997 - Feb 1998	Maj P Boza	5 Trg Gp
	Army Museum of WA Foundation	
Feb 1998 -	Lt-Col J Deykin, RFD,ED	RL

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## New Zealand's Armed Constabulary and its Australian Context, 1867-72

Jeff Hopkins-Weise

### Introduction

This is another article designed to explore an aspect of New Zealand's military history, which in turn sheds light on the significance and presence of Australian born or derived personnel within the ranks of this colony's Armed Constabulary (AC). These Australian derived men were especially valuable in the late wars crisis period of 1868-69.<sup>1</sup> This Australian involvement greatly aided the expansion and development of this force, as it had already done for so many other New Zealand colonial units in the conflicts that occurred throughout the earlier 1860s.

### Origins and Development of the Armed Constabulary

The New Zealand AC formally came into existence with the proclamation by Governor Sir George Grey on 19 October 1867, 'that the said 'Act to provide for the Establishment and Maintenance of an Armed Constabulary' shall come into operation on and after the first day of November next.'<sup>2</sup> This newly raised force was New Zealand's first colony-wide police force. The personnel who initially composed this force largely transferred from, or had previous service with other New Zealand colonial forces such as the Forest Rangers, the Taranaki and Waikato Military Settler Regiments, as well as discharged soldiers from Imperial regiments who had served in New Zealand or elsewhere. 'For the first two or three years the armed constables' duties more nearly resembled those of soldiers than of civil police.'<sup>3</sup> This was especially true when taking into account the unrest and conflict that occurred in 1868-69 on both the East Coast and West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand; and sporadic fighting did not cease till 1872, though tensions and incidents continued to occur in border regions.

In a comprehensive history of New Zealand policing, Richard Hill described the structure and role of the AC:

The Armed Constabulary, in conception a combined standing army and occupation/pacification police, was designed essentially for North Island use. Its brief as a mobile militarised constabulary however covered the entire colony, ... Taking over the tasks of several military and quasi-military bodies, the Armed Constabulary was nevertheless intended to be-in line with a state re-evaluation of the situation of socio-racial control-more a constabulary proper than a fighting corps per se. This projected state move at fairly rapid pace along the coercive continuum away from the repressive pole was to be retarded by renewed outbreaks of insurrection on both North Island coastlines, but from 1869 Government strategy could get back on track again. With the Armed Constabulary

<sup>1</sup> This author's article is an edited version of the original published in New Zealand. This original article also contains complete nominal rolls of the five contingents of Melbourne Armed Constabulary recruits, refer to: Jeff Hopkins-Weise, 'The Armed Constabulary of New Zealand: and the Australian Context', *The Volunteers: the Journal of the New Zealand Military Historical Society*, Vol.27, (July 2001), No.1, pp.5-42.

<sup>2</sup> *New Zealand Gazette* [hereafter abbreviated as NZG], No.55, 22 October 1867, p.405. For a detailed history of the establishment & development of the AC in the period 1867-68, see section, 'The Establishment of the Armed Constabulary', in R.S. Hill, *The Colonial Frontier Tamed: New Zealand Policing in Transition 1867-1886* ([NZ]: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, GP Books, 1989), pp.10-17.

<sup>3</sup> J. Rorke, *Policing Two Peoples: A History of Police in the Bay of Plenty 1867-1992* ([Tauranga, NZ]: Jinty Rorke & the New Zealand Police, 1993), pp.1 & 2; see also, H.W. Salmon, 'The Armed Constabulary in the Waikato', *Journal of the Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies*, No.22, (April 1973), p.32.

'demilitarised' under Former [Victorian Police Officer &] Otago Commissioner St John Branigan, its evolution from a constabularised military operation into a semi-military police force proceeded apace.<sup>4</sup>

James Cowan had earlier compared the AC with that of the North-West Mounted Police of Canada, a frontier force which in organization resembled the AC Field Force:

The Armed Constabulary Field Force remained in existence until 1885, and that year saw also the end of the occupation of redoubts on the frontier. Officered by a splendid set of frontier soldiers the Force had been the mainstay of the colony's defences during the dark years of the last war. Its semi-civil foundation did not prevent it carrying through regular campaigns with success in wild, almost impregnable country.<sup>5</sup>

### Contribution of Australian experienced Officers

There are numerous examples of individuals (officers in particular being well documented) who had varied imperial or colonial experiences such as former British regular, and, or, New Zealand colonial forces service, before their employment in the AC. One individual with diverse Australian and New Zealand colonial experience was Stuart (also as Stewart) Newall.<sup>6</sup> He was born in Dumfries, Scotland in 1843, and came to New Zealand from Victoria in 1863. After trying his hand at gold mining in Otago he enlisted as a military settler in Dunedin in December 1863 and served in the 3rd Waikato Regiment. Newall saw service with this military settler regiment doing garrison duty at Drury, Papakura, and Queen's Redoubt, was appointed colour-sergeant in July 1864, 'and in 1865 became Regimental Orderly-room Clerk, and so remained till the 9<sup>th</sup> March 1868, when the regimental records were wound up.'<sup>7</sup> After this service he went on to join the AC as a sergeant in No.4 Division, whereupon he proceeded to Wanganui in February 1869 and took part in the campaign against Titokowaru on the West Coast. Shortly after Newall was appointed 2nd Class Sub-Inspector on 10 June 1869,<sup>8</sup> and thereafter continued to serve in the AC till 1883 when he transferred to the New Zealand Defence Force. This continued role with the New Zealand Army led to his command of the 5th New Zealand Contingent to South Africa in 1900.<sup>9</sup>

Another individual whose family and personal career also had Australian and New Zealand experience was Cholwell Dean Pitt. C.D. Pitt's father was Lieutenant-Colonel George Dean Pitt, an officer of the 80th Regiment, who was especially instrumental over the years 1859-62 in the redevelopment and expansion of the volunteer movement in Victoria. G.D. Pitt had previously served in New Zealand in 1848 as private secretary to his major-general father (also named George Dean Pitt) who was a provincial Lieutenant-Governor and also the first General Officer

<sup>4</sup> R.S. Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier: The Theory and Practice of Coercive Social and Racial Control in New Zealand, 1767-1867: Part Two* (Wellington, NZ: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1986), p.940.

<sup>5</sup> J. Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Vol.II: The Hauhau Wars, 1864-1872* (Wellington, NZ: W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1923), p.481.

<sup>6</sup> Another example of an individual with both Australian & New Zealand police & military experience was Arthur Tuke. He had Australian gold escort service in the late 1850s, then in New Zealand saw service in the Hawke's Bay Militia, & later the AC. G.H. Scholefield, ed., *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Vol.II: M - Addenda* (Wellington, NZ: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), pp.400-401.

<sup>7</sup> 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.189 (& also see photo of Newall on p.188, & full section entitled 'Major Newall', pp.189-190).

<sup>8</sup> *The New Zealand Army List: Corrected to 29<sup>th</sup> February, 1872* (Wellington: George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1872), p.15.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*; Scholefield (*Volume II: M - Addenda*, 1940), *op.cit.*, pp.118-119; & The Earl of Ranfurly, *Roll of Honour, 1840 to 1902: Defenders of the Empire Resident in New Zealand* (Wellington, NZ: 'The New Zealand Times' Company, 1902), p.36.

Commanding in New Zealand (1847-51). In February 1862 G.D. Pitt was ordered by the Horse Guards to return to New Zealand from Victoria. On 10 July 1863 G.D. Pitt was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 'for special service' (commission dated 27 June 1863) in the 1st Battalion Auckland Regiment of Militia. From here he became prominent (especially in Victoria) in the enlistment of military settlers for the New Zealand government in Australia in 1863 and 1864.<sup>10</sup>

Cholwell Dean Pitt was to continue the family's military orientation and followed his father to New Zealand. On 3 July 1863 he was commissioned an ensign in the First Battalion of the Auckland Regiment of Militia, and subsequently served in the initial group of military settlers raised by his father which became commonly known as 'Pitt's Militia' and was the nucleus of the 1st Waikato Regiment.<sup>11</sup> Ensign Pitt was then promoted Lieutenant 'vice [Lt. T. A.] Norman, killed in action [Mauku, 23 October 1863]', with a commission dated 5 November 1863.<sup>12</sup> Frank Glen noted:

Posted to St. Brides Church at Mauku a day or so after Perceval [& Norman] was killed, Pitt commanded the 4<sup>th</sup> Company, 1st Waikato Regiment. Later he was stationed for some time in Tauranga. On the disbanding of his regiment Pitt decided to follow a professional soldiers career and enlisted ... in the newly formed Armed Constabulary. Pitt's skills lay in his ability to train and organise friendly Maoris who were employed against the Hauhaus.<sup>13</sup>

On 27 October 1867 Lieutenant Pitt was commissioned Sub-Inspector in the newly formed AC.<sup>14</sup> On 16 March 1869, Sub-Inspector Pitt was appointed to the rank of Inspector, though this commission was initially cancelled on 8 May of the same year. Pitt's appointment to the rank of Inspector was then reconfirmed with a commission dated 1 December 1869.<sup>15</sup> He later resigned his AC commission on 3 March 1874, after eleven years military service, nine of which were on active field service. Pitt's last appointment had been as commandant at Poverty Bay of the Wairoa Militia District.<sup>16</sup>

### Earlier Australian derived New Zealand Police Presence

One should remember that the Australian colonies were also the locale from which personnel were similarly obtained in the 1840s. Amongst the various civil service and other government personnel supplied by New South Wales to assist with the establishment and policing of the new colony of New Zealand in 1840, were 'a Serjeant and four Troopers of the Mounted Police' of New South Wales.<sup>17</sup> This small detachment was later placed under the command of Lieutenant Henry Dalton Smart, 28th Regiment, formerly commander of the Mounted Police division

<sup>10</sup> *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 22 March 1862, p.19; *Argus*, 9 January 1863, p.4 (editorial); *NZG*, No.28, 11 July 1863, p.271; J. Bryant Haigh, 'The 80th Foot in New Zealand', *Bulletin of the Military Historical Society* (Great Britain), Vol.26, (1976), pp.82 & 83; Scholefield (*Vol.II: M - Addenda*, 1940), *op.cit.*, p.170; & G.F. Ward, *Victorian Land Forces: 1853-1883* (Croydon, Victoria: G.F. Ward, 1989), p.24.

<sup>11</sup> *NZG*, No.26, 4 July 1863, p.258; Frank Glen, *For Glory and a Farm: The Story of Australia's Involvement in the New Zealand Wars of 1860-66* (Whakatane, NZ: Whakatane & District Historical Society, 1985), p.84; & Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.211 (& also see photo on p.210).

<sup>12</sup> *NZG*, No.58, 7 November 1863, p.487; *The New Zealand Army List [1863]*, p.2; & *The New Zealand Army List: 30 November 1864*, p.4.

<sup>13</sup> Glen, *op.cit.*, p.95.

<sup>14</sup> *NZG*, No.17, 25 March 1868, pp.159-160.

<sup>15</sup> *NZG*, No.22, 17 April 1869, p.192; No.25, 13 May 1869, p.219; & No.71, 18 December 1869, p.667.

<sup>16</sup> *NZG*, No.15, 12 March 1874, p.195; *The New Zealand Army List: Corrected to 29<sup>th</sup> February, 1872* (Wellington: George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1872), pp.2 & 15; Glen, *op.cit.*, pp.84 & 95; Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, pp.210-211; & also refer to, The Earl of Ranfurly, *op.cit.*, p.39.

<sup>17</sup> *Historical Records of Australia: Series I. Governor's Despatches To and From England: Volume XX. February, 1839 - September, 1840* (Sydney: The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), pp.493-494; & T.L. Buick, *New Zealand's First War, or the Rebellion of Hone Heke* (Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1926), pp.13-14.

stationed at Bathurst, who arrived in New Zealand in March 1840 with additional mounted police personnel and troop horses aboard the storeship *Westminster*.<sup>18</sup> This detachment was utilised as part of a force including a detachment of the 80th Regiment despatched by Lieutenant-Governor Captain William Hobson R.N. to Port Nicholson to restore the sovereignty of the Queen and to subordinate the New Zealand Company to Hobson's Government in May 1840.<sup>19</sup> Mounted Police troopers were volunteers who were selected from various British regular regiments such as the 80th then garrisoned in New South Wales.<sup>20</sup> So even in this initial period of colonial emergence, New Zealand relied upon Australia for some of its initial police requirements.<sup>21</sup>

### Australian Contribution to New Zealand Provincial Police

One aspect of Australian involvement in New Zealand that rarely merits acknowledgement, is the role and influence of former police officers and other ranks. This cross-Tasman migration of police personnel saw individuals come particularly from Victoria, but also from other colonies such as New South Wales, who were sought for the creation and development of the provincial police forces of New Zealand, and particularly in the South Island. These experienced men were of great importance to the emergence and expansion of such Police Forces, especially on the gold fields in locations such as Otago in the early 1860s. What is not then recognised is such individuals also tended to later serve in other New Zealand colonial military forces, or else were absorbed from their provincial police forces into the newly created AC in 1867 onwards. In this manner, some of these men were also to play a role in the wars of the late 1860s. Similarly, the conditions of service and pay of the restructured AC appears to have continued to draw recruits from Australia, and again mainly from the Victorian police force up to the early 1870s at least.<sup>22</sup>

One example of an individual with both Australian and New Zealand extended police and military service was Jackson Keddell. Keddell was a former Victorian Policeman who went to Otago to assist Commissioner St John Branigan, another former Victorian Police Officer colleague and personal friend:

Although English and Anglican rather than Irish and Catholic, Keddell's career was similar to that of his superior: army service, Victorian police, rapid rise to commissioned officer rank. On leave of absence from the Victorian force, he had come privately with Branigan to the province to sound out prospects. The Commissioner secured a backdating of Keddell's appointment as Sub-Inspector in Otago to 20 August [1861], the date the pair had left Melbourne along with two

<sup>18</sup> R.S. Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier: The Theory and Practice of Coercive Social and Racial Control in New Zealand, 1767-1867: Part One* (The History of Policing in New Zealand, Volume One. Wellington, NZ: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1986), p.127.

<sup>19</sup> Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832 - 1852* (Wellington, NZ: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1968), pp.41 & 47.

<sup>20</sup> H. King, 'Some Aspects of Police Administration in New South Wales, 1825-1851', *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, Vol.42, Part 5, (1956), pp.224-225. A regimental history of the 80th Regiment states: 'The Mounted Police, formed by selecting the most active and well conducted men from the Regiments serving in the Colony, although a useful and very necessary body of men, was not regarded with favour by regiments which lost the services of good men who had so enlisted. These men might for misconduct be returned to their Corps, otherwise their appointment was permanent. The 80th furnished fifty-six men for this service.' J.P. Jones, *A History of the South Staffordshire Regiment: (1705-1923)*. (Wolverhampton: Whitehead Brothers Ltd., 1923), p.55. See also, W.L. Vale, *History of the South Staffordshire Regiment* (Aldershot, Great Britain: Gale & Polden, 1969), p.111.

<sup>21</sup> For additional information on the NSW Mounted Police Detachment in New Zealand, refer to, Hill (Part One, 1986), *op.cit.*, pp.237-239.

<sup>22</sup> Hill (1989), *op.cit.*, see especially pp.13, 24-25, 54, & 308-309.

policemen who had been originally sanctioned, Peter Sheridan and Hugh Bracken (whose terms of employment also applied from the day they had left Victoria).<sup>23</sup>

In November 1863 Keddell was appointed Captain in the 4th Waikato Military Settler Regiment, later becoming second-in-command to Colonel William Moule.<sup>24</sup> In January 1864 Captain Keddell accompanied Colonel G.D. Pitt to Victoria to assist in the second military settler recruiting mission.<sup>25</sup> After his return in early 1864, and now a Major, Keddell commanded and cared for some seventy families at Otahuhu who were without their men-folk currently serving in the field in the 4th Waikato Regiment. In October 1864, Major Keddell took over at Onehunga, and Colonel Moule was able to depart for Hamilton.<sup>26</sup> H.C.M. Norris surmised:

Jackson Keddell, the second in command of the Fourths [4th Waikato Regiment], was appointed paymaster to the Waikato Forces. Although his name has not appeared very often ... his special qualities and ability no doubt were useful in the early days of the [establishment of the military settlement] town [of Hamilton]. He had served as an officer in the Victorian Police from 1853 to 1861. He then became an assistant to Commissioner Brannigan who he helped organise the mounted police for escort duty in the Otago gold rush. In Otago also he had acted as Resident Magistrate and Mining Warden. W. Seed, Under Secretary for Defence, confirmed his reputation as an efficient and zealous officer. His previous history, however, does not suggest that he would have been likely to adopt farming as a livelihood.<sup>27</sup>

In 1867, Major Keddell sold out of the lands he acquired in and around the military settlement of Hamilton, and not long after this ceased to act as paymaster to the Waikato forces. He was thereafter appointed Resident Magistrate and Warden at Thames, another gold producing region, where he also became interested in business as a mining agent. The rest of Keddell's career was as Resident Magistrate and Warden, largely in the South Island from whence he had first come from Victoria, and where he died in 1910.<sup>28</sup>

### Armed Constabulary Recruitment in Melbourne 1868-69

Into the make up of New Zealand's AC must also be included the 205 men recruited and embarked by Captain William Griffin Stack in Melbourne in December 1868 and January 1869. This particular Australian contribution to New Zealand's military forces has not been effectively acknowledged nor detailed; a somewhat strange situation when once again these recruits show the importance of the Australian colonies as a locale from which to obtain military personnel in times of New Zealand crisis. Although considerably smaller in number to the thousands obtained during the military settler recruiting in 1863 and 1864, these men were a vital contribution to a government

<sup>23</sup> Hill (*Part Two*, 1986), *op.cit.*, p.555.

<sup>24</sup> Jackson Keddell was initially appointed captain in the 3rd Regiment Waikato Regiment with a commission dated 28 August 1863, before later service in the 4th Waikato Regiment, where he was subsequently appointed major on 25 February 1864. *The New Zealand Army List [1863]*, p.3; *The New Zealand Army List: 30 November 1864*, p.8; & *NZG*, No.8, 3 March 1864, p.94.

<sup>25</sup> On 14 January 1864 the steamship *Hero* brought Colonel G.D. Pitt to Melbourne, accompanied by Captains William Magee Hunter, Jackson Keddell & William Fraser (former Geelong Volunteer officer & 1863 recruiting officer), as well as Lieutenants William Percival & Cholwell Dean Pitt. These officers arrived from New Zealand (via Otago) to undertake a second mission to enlist military settlers & each was to be 'allotted certain districts for the purpose of recruiting'. *The Argus*, 15 January 1864, p.4; & *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 25 January 1864, p.13.

<sup>26</sup> H.C.M. Norris, *Armed Settlers: The Story of the Founding of Hamilton, New Zealand, 1864-1874* (Hamilton, NZ: Paul's Book Arcade, 1956), pp.20-21, 27, & 53.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.126-127.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.157-158.

scrambling to outfit and deploy adequate forces to contend with events taking place on the West and East Coasts of the North Island.<sup>29</sup>

On Saturday 28 November 1868, Captain Stack arrived in Hobson's Bay, Melbourne, aboard the steamship *Omeo* which had departed Wellington with stops at Greymouth, then Hokitika, before sailing from that latter port on 20 November.<sup>30</sup> Stack's arrival in Victoria marked the commencement of a fresh recruitment drive by the New Zealand government to obtain 200 men for the AC, a move not seen in the Australian colonies since the military settler recruiting missions in 1863 and 1864.

Stack had been appointed captain in the First Battalion of the Auckland Regiment of Militia, with a commission dated 22 June 1863.<sup>31</sup> Following this appointment he served in command of a company of the 1st Waikato Military Settler Regiment, 1863-67.<sup>32</sup> During the Waikato Campaign, his company initially moved from headquarters at Otahuhu to Drury, and from there was recorded as departing for the front on 28 October 1863.<sup>33</sup> Later after seeing active service in the Tauranga Bush Campaign (January-February 1867), he was appointed paymaster for Colonial Defence Services at Tauranga and Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty on 26 December 1867.<sup>34</sup> It was in this region that the establishment of military settlements for many of the members of the 1st Waikato Regiment took place. From review of the military service of Captain Stack it can be seen that he was not only an experienced military officer but also had significant involvement with the Australian volunteer component associated with the 1st Waikato Regiment. This experience would no doubt have placed him in good position when ordered to recruit personnel for the AC in Victoria in 1868. Following his recruiting services in Melbourne, he continued to have connections with this force into the 1870s.<sup>35</sup>

The Melbourne *Argus* provided a very lengthy commentary on the events associated with Captain Stack and his recruiting mission to Victoria:

Another attempt is being made to obtain Victorian recruits for military service in New Zealand. This is the third effort of the kind. In the two previous instances Colonel Pitt ...

<sup>29</sup> Limited references to the AC recruiting in Victoria can be found in: A. Bairstow, 'Constable Thomas Kelly, A Hero of the Colonial Frontier', *The Volunteers: The Journal of the New Zealand Military Historical Society*, Vol.23, No.2, (Nov.1997), pp.126-127; N. Bartlett, 'Their Promised Land: Australians and the Maori Wars 1840-1870: A Study of Australia's Involvement in the Maori Wars, also an Examination of British Colonial Policies during the 19th Century', pp.430-431; MSS1048, Australian War Memorial; J. Belich, 'I Shall Not Die': Titokowaru's War New Zealand, 1868-9 (Wellington, NZ: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Limited in association with the Port Nicholson Press, 1989), pp.181 & 255; J. Belich, *The New Zealand Wars: and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books, 1988), p.253; B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand: 1855-1870* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967), pp.268-269; T. Gibson, *The Maori Wars: The British Army in New Zealand 1840-1872* (London: Leo Cooper, 1974), p.219; Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.251; Hill (1989), *op.cit.*, p.25; & E. Holt, *The Strangest War: The Story of the Maori Wars 1860-1872* (London: Putnam & Company Ltd, 1962), p.254.

<sup>30</sup> *Argus*, 30 November 1868, p.4.

<sup>31</sup> *NZG*, No.24, 25 June 1863, p.241.

<sup>32</sup> *The New Zealand Army List [1863]*, p.2; & *The New Zealand Army List: 30 November 1864*, p.3. Stowers cites Stack's company as No.3 Company, 1st Waikato Regiment. R. Stowers, *The New Zealand Medal To Colonials: Detailed medal rolls of officers and men in colonial units who received the New Zealand Medal for service in the New Zealand Wars 1845-1872*. (Hamilton, NZ: Richard Stowers, 1998), p.91.

<sup>33</sup> N. Morris, ed., *The Journal of William Morgan: Pioneer Settler and Maori War Correspondent* (Auckland, NZ: Libraries Department, Auckland City Council, 1963), pp.106-107; & Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.211. Stack's application for the New Zealand War Medal was approved for services with the 1st Waikato Regiment prior to the 31 December 1866. J.E. Hopkins [now Hopkins-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, 1997), p.59; also refer, Stowers, *op.cit.*, p.91.

<sup>34</sup> *NZG*, No.2, 11 January 1868, pp.17-18.

<sup>35</sup> This followed his appointment as 'Instructor of Musketry' to the AC with the rank of Inspector. This appointment was backdated to commence from 1 February 1871. *NZG*, No.19, 18 March 1871, p.141; & *The New Zealand Army List: Corrected to 29<sup>th</sup> February, 1872* (Wellington: George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1872), p.15.

came here to enrol men to serve as a species of military settlers. ... The present recruiting officer is Captain Stack, district adjutant of the Western District of the Middle Island, including the districts of Hokitika, Greymouth, West Port, and Ross. ... He arrived in Melbourne ... under the following circumstances. While at Hokitika he received a telegram from the Central Government at Wellington, directing him to proceed to Melbourne to raise a force of 200 men to join the armed constabulary force now engaged in coping with the rebellious Maories. We are not allowed to know the terms of this telegram, which at present is Captain Stack's sole credential, further that that it was dated November 18, directed him to start at once, and expressly stated that the attempt to raise recruits was to be made 'with the sanction of the Victorian Government.' As might be expected, Captain Stack lost no time, and waited upon Mr. M'Culloch on Monday last. Upon the whole, his proposition was very unfavourably received. He got no decided answer, however, nor did he ask for one, being eager that time should be allowed for the arrival of despatches from the New Zealand Government ... which is expected shortly. Mr. M'Culloch said that, at all events, the matter must stand over for a day, as a Cabinet Council would meet in the afternoon, when the question would be duly considered. Yesterday Captain Stack waited on Mr. M'Culloch again, when that gentleman said that the Government had decided upon adopting a memorandum setting forth their willingness that the 400 men of the 14th Regiment stationed here should go to the seat of war at once, supposing the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief gave their consent. This was a view of the case which Captain Stack was not authorised to act upon, and so the second interview terminated, leaving matters in status quo. ... We may state, according to the information we have received, that the New Zealand armed constabulary ... the conditions of which are, it is said, more liberal than those allowed by the Imperial Government. We believe that though nothing has been done save the publication in the Government newspaper of a very partial account of Captain Stack's errand and reception, no hope of being allowed to set to work recruiting has been held out to him.<sup>36</sup>

### Medical and Private Detective assistance

To assist Captain Stack in his recruiting mission, a Doctor Dermott was also despatched from Hokitika to provide medical inspections of prospective AC recruits. Dermott arrived in Melbourne aboard the Otago on 4 December 1868.<sup>37</sup> Despite this provision of a medical practitioner, it was revealed via New Zealand papers in January 1869, that some Melbourne recruits were not truly medical fit for service and were promptly discharged in Wanganui:

The doctors have been making a raid among the newly enrolled men of the force-men chiefly from Melbourne and the West Coast. About fifty of them have been discharged on account of permanent and organic disease of one kind or another. It was too bad of the officers entrusted with the enrolling of constabulary to have exercised so little pains in selection. No doubt, a few unhealthy subjects might pass, even after strict scrutiny, but this percentage is much too large, and the result of conveying men here and then turning them adrift is both expensive to Government and unpleasant to the settlers of their district.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately the reportage of this situation provided no analysis of how many of the fifty discharged men were actually Melbourne recruits as opposed to those from those obtained from the various recruiting missions around New Zealand's North and South Islands.

<sup>36</sup> *Argus*, 2 December 1868, p.4; also refer to, 11 December 1868, p.4. The *Argus'* commentary from 2 December was also reprinted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* [hereafter abbreviated as *SMH*], 7 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>37</sup> *Argus*, 5 December 1868, p.4.

<sup>38</sup> *SMH*, 1 February 1869, p.5; & also reported in, *Gympie Times*, 18 February 1869.



One other individual was to be involved in the process of selection from amongst the men who offered their services to Captain Stack. Joseph Tuckwell was formerly a detective in the Victorian Police in the late 1850s until 1861. In November 1861 he departed for Otago, New Zealand, where he had been sought to 'organize a detective force' for the Otago district.<sup>39</sup> Tuckwell is another example of former Victorian Police officers and men who departed Australian shores to assist with the development of the various New Zealand provincial police forces. Richard Hill, in his massive history of New Zealand policing, directed attention to this significant Victorian contribution:

The outbreak of interracial warfare in 1860 reconfirmed ... the need for a strategic policing approach of harsh coercion. Secondly, the burgeoning of social turbulence with the opening of the goldfields in 1861 led to the creation of a number of paramilitarised police forces, mostly in the South Island. These were not only modelled on that of Victoria, but also utilised the services of many men trained in the Victorian force.<sup>40</sup>

Tuckwell in December 1868 was reported as a private investigator engaged by Captain Stack 'to aid him in selecting the right men' for the New Zealand AC force.<sup>41</sup> This requirement was especially necessary as the Victorian government denied Stack any formal recognition or assistance from its own detective force in weeding out any criminal elements who might try to engage for New Zealand. Tuckwell as both a former Victorian and Otago detective, and more recently Gaoler at Auckland's Mount Eden Prison, was to prove an important component in the procurement of the 'right type' of personnel in Melbourne.<sup>42</sup>

### Terms and Conditions of Service

On Saturday 5 December 1868, the *Argus* directed attention that it would publish in its Supplement the terms and conditions of the AC for 'the service of the New Zealand Government in their present strait'. The location for this recruiting was to be Meagher's Hotel on the corner of Lonsdale and Swanston Streets, Melbourne. It was noted that recruits so enlisted would then embark on Wednesday next for New Zealand.<sup>43</sup> Later on this same day the *Argus* Supplement became available in which a very detailed, near full page government advertisement, was taken out by Captain Stack:

#### NEW ZEALAND ARMED CONSTABULARY.

Office-Meagher's Hotel, corner of Lonsdale and Swanston streets.

200 unmarried MEN, of good character, under 40 years of age, and of sound health, are REQUIRED, for the above force, to serve for three years, subject to discharge at the option of the Government. Any men discharged within 12 months with good conduct certificate, to receive a bonus of £15. When on service in the field they will be subject to the Mutiny Act and Articles of War. They will serve generally under the provisions of the Armed Constabulary Act, 1867, and the regulations made under its authority. They will be entitled, when, used as a military force, to the benefits of the Military Pensions Act-pay, 5s. a day without rations, or 3s. 6d. a day when rations are supplied. The Armed Constabulary Act

<sup>39</sup> *Argus*, 16 November 1861, p.5.

<sup>40</sup> Hill (1989), *op.cit.*, p.xi. For other information dealing with the personnel, material & policing methods derived from Victoria to New Zealand in the 1860s-70s, see Hill (1989), *op.cit.*, pp.40, 42-43, 47-48, 54, 137-138, & 309; & Hill (Part Two, 1986), *op.cit.*, pp.536-549 & 554-556; Scholefield (Vol.1: A-L, 1940), *op.cit.*, pp.90 & 96-97; & The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Volume One: 1769-1869 (Wellington, NZ: Jointly Published by Allen & Unwin & the Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), pp.36-38, 41-42, 393-394, 536-537, & 581-582.

<sup>41</sup> *Argus*, 9 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>42</sup> Hill (1989), *op.cit.*, p.25.

<sup>43</sup> *Argus*, 5 December 1868, p.5.

and Regulations, with an extract from the Military Pensions Act, are herewith published for general information.

I propose enrolling men for the above service on Tuesday, the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 4 p.m., and all men enrolled on that day will embark for New Zealand on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant.

Men desirous of joining the force will call at this office on the 5th and 7th instant, between the above-named hours, with testimonials as to character, and for medical inspection.

In the event of the required number not being obtained on the 8th instant, a subsequent day for enrolling will be advertised.

W.G. STACK, Captain,  
Agent for the New Zealand Government,  
Melbourne, Dec. 4, 1868.<sup>44</sup>

This lengthy advertisement went on to outline in full the 'Act to Provide for the Establishment and Maintenance of an Armed Constabulary' (10 October 1867), the associated 'Governor's Order' (issued by Governor Bowen, Auckland, 7 May 1868), the 'Regulations for the Armed Constabulary', as well as the 'Military Pensions Act, 1866'. Therefore there were no grounds left for any doubts as the nature, benefits, and conditions associated with this New Zealand force.<sup>45</sup>

The commencement of recruiting in Melbourne did not escape the attention of the Melbourne Punch that provided its readership with its own interpretation of New Zealand requirements:

Wanted.

Wanted immediately, for New Zealand, some men able to take their own part, none of the white inhabitants being troubled with this complaint.<sup>46</sup>

The Melbourne Punch also alluded to the lack of direct Imperial involvement at this late stage of conflict and parodied the Victorian recruiting for New Zealand service:

Manly Independence.

Snubbing the Imperial Government, and then whining for Victorian immigrants to fight New Zealand battles.<sup>47</sup>

Stack on 5 December began to immediately receive applications for the AC at Meagher's Royal Hotel. The Argus, despite initially reporting that his recruiting mission was probably going to be 'a fruitless one', pointed out that almost one hundred men presented themselves for enrolment in this force. Of these, fifty-eight passed the medical examination, with five only being rejected, the others remained to be examined. Those men who received their medical certification were then reported as formally enrolled on Monday 7 December, when further applications continued to be received.<sup>48</sup> On the class and quality of persons seeking to enrol in this New Zealand force, the Argus passed judgement:

Captain Stack will no doubt take away a few who can well be spared; but the class of applicants is generally better than it is desirable to see leaving the colony. Some will go probably from mere love of change; yet is clear that many of those who, on Saturday,

<sup>44</sup> *Argus Supplement*, 5 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>46</sup> *Melbourne Punch*, 10 December 1868, p.187.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.192.

<sup>48</sup> *Argus*, 7 December 1868, p.3.

besieged Captain Stack's rooms found the 5s. a day, without rations, a strong inducement. There were some fine young fellows in the crowd, and not more than about ten loafers. Not a few of the better sort were stockriders and station-hands, thrown out of employment by the cutting up of the squatter's runs, and who, not having money enough to settle themselves on the land, are unable to find anything to do.<sup>49</sup>

On 7 December an Argus editorial confidently predicted that '[w]ithin a week he will probably be able to despatch two hundred men to the seat of war from this city-active, enterprising, hardy fellows, the most of them, who will find a brush with the Maories a pleasant relief from the prosperous dullness of Victorian life.'<sup>50</sup>

On the 9 December the Argus in review of Stack's recruiting efforts to enrol a total of 200 men, detailed:

Captain Stack first endeavoured to get his enterprise countenanced by the Victorian Government, shaping his request so as to ask for moral encouragement and the help of the detective force in avoiding the selection of members of the criminal class. Mr. M'Culloch felt compelled to refuse both solicitations, and in consequence Captain Stack began recruiting on his own responsibility. Up to yesterday he had succeeded in enrolling 107 men ...and there seems no doubt that the men engaged are a loss to us, being desirable colonists. Many of those who applied ... in the first instance have thought better of it, and have not presented themselves a second time, but there seems little doubt that the full number will be made up.<sup>51</sup>

In a memo for the New Zealand authorities dated 9 December, Stack announced the men he had appointed as acting non-commissioned officers in the AC from this date. These men were Patrick Morrow, John Blaney, John Bodean, and Henry Collingwood who were appointed acting corporals. The detachment of men per the Alhambra this same day, were to be placed under the charge of John Scott Bestic, who was appointed sergeant.<sup>52</sup> In a subsequent report (also dated 9 December) to the Under Secretary Defence, Wellington, he relayed that Bestic was replaced at the last minute by Patrick Morrow as acting sergeant in command of the Alhambra detachment; Henry Edwards also replaced Collingwood as an acting corporal.<sup>53</sup>

On Wednesday 9 December 1868 the Alhambra left Hobson's Bay for Wellington with the first contingent of ninety-nine Melbourne AC recruits.<sup>54</sup> The Argus on this departure reporting:

It is said that some of them took the opportunity of 'bolting' at the last minute, but if so the defaulters were very few in number, for only eight out of the 107 men who had enlisted were missing, and several of them were detained by circumstances which had nothing to do with an unwillingness to go. The exit of one of the men through the window of the railway carriage created much laughter. Some of them were likely-looking fellows, and would have probably made useful colonists; but others-and they were a decided minority-were men of whom the colony is well rid.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>51</sup> *Argus*, 9 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>52</sup> Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21 D: 9 December 1868, Capt. Stack, Melbourne, Memo regarding appointments of Acting NCOs and departure of 99 Men per 'Alhambra' for Wellington. National Archives of New Zealand.

<sup>53</sup> Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21 C: 9 December 1868, Capt. Stack, Melbourne, to Under Secretary Defence, Wellington. National Archives of New Zealand. Also refer to amendments cited in: Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21 D: 9 December 1868, Capt. Stack, Melbourne, Memo regarding appointments of Acting NCOs and departure of 99 Men per 'Alhambra' for Wellington. National Archives of New Zealand.

<sup>54</sup> *Argus*, 10 December 1868, p.4.

<sup>55</sup> *Argus*, 10 December 1868, p.5.

### Melbourne recruit 'Agreement'

Accompanying this Alhambra contingent was Stack's report which included 'a descriptive return of the men, and an agreement signed by them, as I was advised by Council that the Oath prescribed by the Constabulary Act could not be legally administered in this Country'.<sup>56</sup> Because of problems associated with the legality of this New Zealand oath, he sought the intermediate option of getting all the selected applicants to sign an agreement whereby,

Each of us the undersigned having applied and been selected to serve in New Zealand in the Armed Constabulary ... hereby agrees with William Griffin Stack as Agent for the New Zealand Govt. that he the party entering into and subscribing this agreement will immediately on arrival in New Zealand take the 'Oath' ... set forth. And that in the meantime he will be subject to all the Provisions contained in the said 'Act' as if he had taken the said 'Oath'.<sup>57</sup>

Stack was to carry out this procedure with all the men of the five contingents selected for New Zealand service. Presumably the recruits shortly after arrival in New Zealand were compelled to take the formal Oath of service.

### Significant prior Military and Police Service

An aspect to consider when looking at the men who volunteered for the AC in Melbourne was the large number who had prior military service. Referral to the rolls of the five contingents indicate many individuals who had prior service in the British army or navy, various police forces, as well as British and Australian volunteer or militia units. Similarly, attention should be addressed to the significant number of Melbourne AC recruits who had already served in New Zealand as either Taranaki or Waikato military settlers. From review of the contingent rolls at least seventeen per cent of those recruits actually embarked were former Taranaki or Waikato military settlers. At least twenty per cent indicated prior service in the British army or navy, Honourable East India Company army or navy, or other Indian military forces. Apart from these, six percent recorded service with British, Australian or Indian police forces, and approximately thirteen per cent had prior service in various volunteer or militia units from throughout the British Empire. In respect to these approximate statistics it must be acknowledged that 'previous service' details were not recorded with every enlistee, so these figures may in fact be somewhat higher in all such categories. From information recorded in the original rolls of the five Melbourne AC contingent there were:

- 33 former military settlers (& of these at least 19 were former Waikato Military Settlers, & 14 Taranaki Military Settlers)
- 13 men acknowledged prior service with British, Australian or Indian police forces
- 28 individuals can be confirmed having prior service in the British army (including artillery cadets)
- 9 with prior service in the Royal Navy (& Naval Brigade)
- 4 with prior service in the Honourable East India Company army or navy (including other Indian military forces)
- 26 men are recorded with prior British Empire volunteer or militia service (& of these 13 indicated service in Victorian volunteer units, 1 with NSW volunteers, 1 with Tasmanian volunteers, & 2 from the South Australian volunteers)

<sup>56</sup> Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21 C: 9 December 1868, Capt. Stack, Melbourne, to Under Secretary Defence, Wellington. *National Archives of New Zealand.*

<sup>57</sup> Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/19: Record of Agreement to take Oath of in A.C. made at Melbourne, 29 December 1868 - 5 January 1869; & also, Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21 E: Nominal Return of Men enrolled at Melbourne and arrived at Wellington per 'Otago', 'Rangitoto', 'Gothenburg', and 'Omeo'. *National Archives of New Zealand.*

The presence, significance and contributions of these former military and police personnel within New Zealand colonial forces has not yet fully been appreciated nor explored. In both Australia and New Zealand most volunteer 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'.<sup>58</sup> The AC is another corps that gained invaluable knowledge, experience, and leadership from personnel within its ranks who had such prior military, as well as police experience, especially crucial during the years of renewed and bitter conflict during 1868 to 1872. Examples of such men evident within the ranks of the Melbourne AC recruits are:

Acting Corporal John T. Bodean, 64th Regiment  
 Acting Sergeant Patrick Morrow, Irish Constabulary  
 Constable James Kennedy, 107th Bengal Infantry & 87th Regiment, 1857-68  
 Acting Sergeant W. Little, East India Company & Queen's Service, 1855-65  
 Constable John Robinson, 77th Regiment, 10 years 14 days  
 Constable William Stewart, 42nd Regiment, 1858-67  
 Constable Benjamin Downer, H.M. Navy & H.M. Army  
 Constable William Guthrie, Taranaki Military Settlers & Patea Rangers  
 Acting Sergeant Peter McDonald, Scots Fusilier Guards 1861-64 & Abyssinian War service

### Societal ills and Soldier escapism

The recruiting in Melbourne again revealed some societal ills following the departure of the first contingent of AC recruits aboard the *Alhambra*. As with the earlier military settlers recruits in 1863-64, some men appear to have enlisted for New Zealand service to avoid family responsibilities:

It has transpired that one of the men shipped ... on Wednesday left a wife and family behind him, and yesterday the Chief Secretary sent a message to Captain Stack drawing attention to the fact. The officer's reply was that the first question he put to every applicant was, whether he was married or not, if married, he would be refused, however eligible. In one case a man who declared himself unmarried, but who was afterwards found to have a wife, was refused, although he had been previously enrolled. In cases too, where the applicant was a minor, the consent of his parents or relatives has been made a condition of his enrolment.<sup>59</sup>

By the time of the departure of the third contingent the *Argus* warned its readership of the dangers of men absconding to New Zealand under the guise of being AC recruits. No doubt this was influenced by memory of the public burden and concerns raised by the number of wives and families of military settlers in 1863-64, who were either abandoned or else temporarily left destitute until transport could be arranged for them to rejoin their husbands in New Zealand. With further contingents being prepared for departure for Wellington, the *Argus* suggested that wives or families who were apprehensive at being deserted by 'undutiful' husbands and fathers should forestall such eventualities by calling at the Collins Street East office of Mr Lyttleton, the Superintendent of the Melbourne Police.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Peter Stanley, 'Heritage of Strangers: the Australian Army's British Legacy', *Australian Defence Force Journal*, No.87, (March/April 1991), p.24.

<sup>59</sup> *Argus*, 12 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>60</sup> *Argus*, 19 December 1868, p.4.

Upon arrival in Wellington the recruits from Melbourne (per the Alhambra) and others from the South Island showed themselves demons of alcohol, like so many soldiers before them on the eve of departure for the front. The *Argus* published a not-so-glowing account of their behaviour taken from Wellington papers:

The constabulary recruits who arrived here by the Alhambra and Airedale left for Wanganui on Saturday. They looked a very fine body of men as they marched up to the militia-office in the forenoon, but they gave ample proof of their rowdy character before they left in the evening. ... and apparently aware that there are no grog rations at the front, they were determined to have a good 'drunk' before leaving. This laudable intention they fully carried out, and when the hour of embarkation approached very few of them were in a condition to traverse unaided the short distance between the Empire [Hotel] and the wharf. The scene in the vicinity of the hotel was extraordinary. There must have been at least 110 men in various stages of intoxication. Some were perfectly helpless, some inclined to maudlin sentimentality, but the majority inclined to be combative.<sup>61</sup>

### Continued Recruiting in Melbourne

Following the brief stoppage in recruiting associated with the departure of the initial group of recruits aboard the Alhambra, Stack recommenced enrolments on 10 December. Men continued to come forward to apply on this day, of which 'it appears that a better class of men have become candidates. One of the men who enlisted had seen service, having been engaged in the construction of the military engineering works required at Zoulla during the late Abyssinian war.'<sup>62</sup> Editorial comment in the *Argus* on 10 December confirmed a degree of Victorian public support for New Zealand at this time of renewed crisis, as had taken place in 1860 and 1863. This extended to countenance of Stack's recruiting activities, though tempering this support with concern about their employment and the apparent lack of effective training these prospective Victorian recruits would receive before despatch into the field:

Among the recruits who are being shipped from Melbourne for the New Zealand war are plenty of fine young fellows, tolerably sure to do their duty if they get a chance. But will they get a chance? They will be sent to the front at once, devoid of that training without which bodies of men, no matter how brave individually, are simply useless against an enemy who is not a novice in his business. It is soldiers ready made that New Zealand wants, not the raw material, ever so excellent; for she has not time to discipline it. Most assuredly we do not use grudge to Captain STACK the liberty to enrol men in Victoria to assist in removing the danger which is once more experienced by a sister colony. We sent volunteers before, and we sent our only warship when a Maori insurrection pressed our friends; and, of course, we are willing to do it again, and more than that, if necessary. But we do not like to see the expectations of the recruits and of their friends disappointed, and men picked up in Melbourne have no brighter prospects of distinguishing themselves under the present system of New Zealand campaigning than those who have been raised in Wellington, Auckland, or Nelson.<sup>63</sup>

The Melbourne *Punch* once again provided its own vision of what the Victorian recruits would face across the Tasman:

<sup>61</sup> *Argus*, 7 January 1869, p.5.

<sup>62</sup> *Argus*, 11 December 1868, p.4.

<sup>63</sup> *Argus*, 10 December 1868, p.4.

## Aut Jones, aut Nullus.

The military tactics hitherto followed in New Zealand have lamentably failed. Each step taken since the more recent disturbances have occurred has proved a faux pas, and the Government recognise with alarm that it is not 'le premier pah qui coutes.'

One man alone, possessing experience in the peculiar warfare of the country, would render greater service than a whole regiment of well-trained soldiers, and in Victoria that one man is to be found! The incorruptible patriot, the man of many parts, the true COLOSSUS of roads, the pride of Melbourne, our own JONES !

In former times JONES had much practice in the breaching of Pa(h)s, a fact which many respectable Victorians affirm with considerable satisfaction. The fame of his skill has been noised abroad. Our sister colony, in her dire extremity, calls JONES to her rescue, giving him cartes blanche to take any measures he thinks needful towards facilitating the breaching the pahs of the Maories. A needle-breech-loader will be placed at his service, as being more especially adapted for this work, having been invented by a SCHNEIDER.

'Veni, vidi, vici,' wrote CAESAR from the sense of his triumphs. JONES has but to go, and see, and conquer ('twas ever thus with JONES), and in the capital of Victoria will be repeated the triumphs of ancient Rome, where the goose is even now held in the highest veneration.<sup>64</sup>

By 12 December, the *Argus* stated that some forty additional men had been enrolled who would be immediately despatched.<sup>65</sup> On the afternoon of Saturday 12 December, the steamship *Otago* cleared from Hobson's Bay with the second contingent of forty-one AC recruits.<sup>66</sup> An unnamed member (possibly Alexander McDonald) of this second Melbourne contingent was later reported as having become so severely scalded by 'the upsetting of a kettle containing boiling water' whilst aboard the *Otago* that on arrival in Wellington was admitted to hospital.<sup>67</sup> One known member from this second contingent was Benjamin Carter who was attested in Melbourne on 11 December 1868, aged 26 years. Carter was recorded as born in Ireland, his trade or calling was painter, and on enrolment indicated prior service in the Kyneton Volunteers (3 years) – a Victorian volunteer unit. In New Zealand he served in Nos.3 and 4 Divisions AC, until 11 September 1869 when he was discharged as medically unfit for further service while stationed at Cambridge. He applied for the New Zealand War Medal in 1912, and this was approved for coming under fire twice in January and February 1869<sup>68</sup>, thus becoming a very late-issue recipient in 1913.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Melbourne Punch*, 10 December 1868, p.191.

<sup>65</sup> *Argus*, 12 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>66</sup> *Argus*, 14 December 1868, pp.4 & 5. Stack in a report dated 12 December 1868, to the Under Secretary Defence, Wellington, confirmed the shipment of 41 men for the AC on the *Otago*. Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21 A: 12 December 1868, Capt. Stack, Melbourne, to Under Secretary Defence, Wellington. Reports shipment of 41 men for A.C. on board s.s. 'Otago' for Wellington. National Archives of New Zealand.

<sup>67</sup> *Argus*, 7 January 1869, p.5. In the original roll for this second contingent, the following additional remarks were added to Constable Alexander McDonald's entry: 'Sick in [?] Hosp[ital] Well[ington] Dec. 30/68'. 'Discharged £15 paid here in Wellington on 23/8/69 as per agreement' Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21: Men enrolled at Melbourne by Capt. Stack, Descriptive Roll, draft, full return, dates of Attestation 1868-1869; & cross-referenced with, P8/21 E: Nominal Return of Men enrolled at Melbourne and arrived at Wellington per 'Otago', 'Rangitoto', 'Gothenburg', and 'Ormeo'. National Archives of New Zealand.

<sup>68</sup> First, when Maori fired on position at Fort Lyon & Colonel Lyon called out camp in response; & second, coming under fire whilst one of fifty men of No.3 Division who were detailed to rescue a mob of cattle being driven off by the Maori at Nukumarū. Another former member of the AC, John Cadell, 7th Division, corroborated Carter's claims for coming under fire.

<sup>69</sup> Carter's medal is in the collection of this author & is engraved: 'BENJN. CARTER No.3 DIVn. A.C. FORCE'. AD32/291: Carter, Benjamin. *National Archives of New Zealand*; & also refer to, Stowers, *op.cit.*, p.8.

After several days' intermission following the departure of the second contingent of recruits, Stack recommenced upon his mission to enrol further men. Starting on Wednesday 16 December, he placed a further advertisement in the Melbourne papers and again began to receive additional applications:

NEW ZEALAND ARMED CONSTABULARY.-

Office-Royal Hotel, corner of Lonsdale and Swanston streets.

APPLICATIONS by persons wishing to enrol in the above force, under the conditions published in 'The Argus' newspaper of the 4th inst., will be RECEIVED at the office between the hours of 10 and 4 this day and to-morrow. Copies of the publication may be held at this office.

Written applications cannot be entertained.

All persons applying are required to bring testimonials of character, and must pass a medical examination.

The enrolment of those approved of will take place between the abovenamed hours of Friday, the 18th inst., and they will embark for New Zealand the following day.

W.G. STACK, Captain,  
Agent for the New Zealand Government.

December 16, 1868.<sup>70</sup>

In the first two days he was reported to have received some thirty-six additional applications for the AC. Those men selected would be formally enrolled and then depart aboard the Rangitoto for Wellington.<sup>71</sup> The steamship Rangitoto subsequently cleared from Hobson's Bay on Saturday 19 December with a third contingent totalling thirty recruits.<sup>72</sup> The Argus relayed the information that 'it is probable that the recruiting-officer will attempt to complete his tale of 200 men elsewhere than in Melbourne, where ... applications ... have altogether subsided. It is probable that Captain Stack will proceed to Ballarat for this purpose.'<sup>73</sup>

One member of this third contingent was William Guthrie, a recruit with prior extensive service in the Taranaki Military Settlers and Patea Rangers. Guthrie was born in Monikie, Forfarshire, Scotland in 1842. Evidence suggests the Guthrie family had prior, or continuing association with Victoria in the period of the 1860s-70s. His father Robert is recorded as living in Melbourne, and it is possible that William travelled from Victoria to Otago, most likely to try his hand on the goldfields. Whilst in this province he enrolled at Dunedin in the 'Otago Contingent' of the Taranaki Military Settlers on 25 August 1863. He later discharged from the Taranaki Military Settlers on 31 August 1864 by providing a substitute, but then enrolled in the Patea Rangers in New Plymouth in 1865, and saw action during the siege at Pipiriki (upper reaches of Wanganui River, West Coast) in July 1865. He then served on the East Coast as part of the Opotiki Expeditionary Force in late 1865-1866, during which he was in action at 'Kiorekino' in October 1865, before returning to the West Coast in 1866 where at 'Ketemarae' in September he received a severe bullet wound in the left thigh. Guthrie served in the Patea Rangers up till 23 November 1866, and some time after this returned to Victoria, where in December 1868 he again enlisted for New Zealand. He attested into the AC in Melbourne on 18 December 1868, aged 26, and his trade or calling was recorded as clerk. He was to serve in No.1 Division AC and saw action at

<sup>70</sup> *Argus*, 16 December 1868, p.1; see also p.4.

<sup>71</sup> *Argus*, 18 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>72</sup> *Argus*, 21 December 1868, p.4. Stack in a report dated 18 December 1868, to the Under Secretary Defence, Wellington, confirmed that he embarked 30 men for the AC on this day per the Rangitoto. Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21 B: 18 December 1868, Capt. Stack, Melbourne, to Under Secretary Defence, Wellington. Forwards Descriptive Return of 30 Men embarked per 'Rangitoto' for Wellington. National Archives of New Zealand.

<sup>73</sup> *Argus*, 21 December 1868, p.5.



'Otauto' on 13 March 1869. Here he was part of a detachment of six volunteers who assisted Sergeant Richard Shepherd who was tasked with holding a narrow path close to Titokowaru's camp, thus 'enabling a close reconnaissance to be made by Major Kepa and the Colonel Commanding'. It was in this action that the bravery of Sergeant Shepherd was later recognised by the award of the New Zealand Cross on 8 May 1876.<sup>74</sup> Of the six volunteers involved in this action, three were killed, and the other three like Shepherd were all variously wounded. 'Corporal Guthrie was struck in the mouth by a spent bullet, knocking out two of his teeth, and he coolly put his fingers into his mouth and pulled out the bullet.'<sup>75</sup> Guthrie also took part in actions at 'Nukumaru' on 1 and 2 February 1869 and at 'Karakā Flat' in February 1869. Records indicate he last served with the AC at Tarawera Station, Taupo District in the early 1870s.<sup>76</sup>

On Wednesday 23 December it was announced that Stack's recruiting mission would cease on the following Tuesday. The recruiting office at the Royal Hotel was to therefore remain open daily, except on the Friday, as men were still urgently needed by the New Zealand government in light of the current military crisis, and Stack was anxious to obtain the requisite number of 200 men originally sought.<sup>77</sup> On the types of recruits still applying for New Zealand service the Melbourne Punch humorously contended, 'That as we have an abundance of majors in the volunteer service, we can better spare for New Zealand our majors than our miners'.<sup>78</sup>

The continual trickle of applicants allowed for a fourth contingent of nineteen recruits to embark for New Zealand aboard the steamship Gothenburg, which cleared outwards on Saturday 26 December.<sup>79</sup> On the overall success of Captain Stack's recruiting mission during December the Argus reported that he had obtained 189 men out of the 200 required, 'while applications in excess of the vacancies remaining have already been received'. Captain Stack was said to be 'perfectly satisfied as to the character of the recruits he has obtained' so far, and 'considers them altogether to be a very fine body of men'.<sup>80</sup>

The fifth and final contingent of AC recruits, numbering sixteen men, departed Melbourne aboard the steamship Omeo on 5 January 1869, thus bringing '[t]he total number of men who have been sent down to Wellington on this service is 205'.<sup>81</sup> The Argus pointed out that Captain Stack was 'as successful as he could have wished in his mission. The full compliment has been obtained, and [he] ... considers them a very fine body of men.'<sup>82</sup> This fifth contingent therefore marked the end of the recruiting being carried out in Melbourne, though Stack temporarily remained in Melbourne on related military business: 'Though he has accomplished the immediate and most pressing object of his visit, [he] ... remains ... pending further instructions.

<sup>74</sup> NZG, No.27, 11 May 1876, p.335.

<sup>75</sup> Gudgeon, *op.cit.*, p.82.

<sup>76</sup> Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21: Men enrolled at Melbourne by Capt. Stack, Descriptive Roll, draft, full return, dates of Attestation 1868-1869. Cross-referenced with, P8/21 B: 18 December 1868, Capt. Stack, Melbourne, to Under Secretary Defence, Wellington. Forwards Descriptive Return of 30 Men embarked per 'Rangitoto' for Wellington; & P8/21 E: Nominal Return of Men enrolled at Melbourne and arrived at Wellington per 'Otago', 'Rangitoto', 'Gothenburg', and 'Omeo'. *National Archives of New Zealand*. Other information here was kindly provided to this author by Michael Murrie-Jones & James Jones, New Zealand Colonial Wars Collection (of Queensland) & their ongoing research on William Guthrie & the history of the Patea Rangers. Also refer to, J.E. Hopkins [now Hopkins-Weise], *Further Selected New Zealand War Medal Rolls of Applications Granted up to 1900: Volume 2* (Brisbane, Qld: J.E. Hopkins, 1998), p.70.

<sup>77</sup> Argus, 23 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>78</sup> Melbourne Punch, 24 December 1868, p.207.

<sup>79</sup> Argus, 28 December 1868, p.4; & 31 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>80</sup> Argus, 31 December 1868, 5. Another summary of Stack's recruiting efforts & the response from the Victorian government can be viewed in, *Illustrated Australian News*, 1 January 1869, pp.1-2 & 3. Also refer to related Melbourne AC recruiting press coverage: *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Dec.1868, p.3; *Illustrated Sydney News*, 21 January 1869, p.122; & *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 1 January 1869, & 22 January 1869.

<sup>81</sup> Argus, 6 January 1869, pp.4 & 5.

<sup>82</sup> Argus Supplement, 4 January 1869, p.1.

The only additional commands he has yet received are to procure a quantity of ammunition for the breach-loading rifles, of which the New Zealand Government possess at present a very small supply.<sup>83</sup>

Captain Stack finally departed Melbourne for New Zealand (via Sydney) aboard the steamship *Hero* on 9 January 1869.<sup>84</sup> His departure coincided with that of the military party of Major-General Sir Trevor Chute, the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces in Australia and New Zealand, and Colonel Hyde Page. Despite the fact that Major-General Chute's visit was stated as merely a routine inspection of the British regular troops then stationed in New Zealand, it would seem more than mere coincidence that Stack was aboard and returning to New Zealand with this party at this time. Stack as the official New Zealand government agent, not only recruiting for the AC, but reportedly also seeking arms and ammunitions, would no doubt have held discussions with Imperial officers whilst in Melbourne and en route to New Zealand. Apart from this there was considerable public awareness of the military crisis that New Zealand authorities were facing at this time. This crisis was covered in depth by the Australian press; and this was the very reason why an official of the New Zealand government was recruiting in Victoria in the first place.<sup>85</sup> Similarly at this time the Victorian Government had even proposed the need for despatching 400 men of the 14th Regiment currently garrisoned in Victoria to bolster the available forces in New Zealand if so needed.<sup>86</sup>

### Australian Armed Constabulary Casualties, 1868-69

The Australian context to the New Zealand AC can also be gauged from analysis of personnel who were killed in action or died of wounds during this crisis period of 1868-69. Research here indicates a figure of fourteen men who can be confirmed as either Australian born, former Australian recruited Waikato or Taranaki Military Settlers, or 1868-69 Melbourne recruited AC personnel.<sup>87</sup> It is especially important to note those individuals who though members of the AC, had arrived in New Zealand initially by way of enlistment as military settlers in the Australian colonies in 1863-64. The Australian origins of such men are often ignored or passed over as irrelevant, but their very reason for being in New Zealand, and familiar with events and experiences is due to their earlier Australian recruitment as military settlers. Many military settlers went on to serve in the AC from 1867 following the disbandment of the military settler regiments and the large-scale failure of them military settlement scheme. Some also enlisted in the AC for the adventure or to continue military careers for which they had become accustomed, and then there are those who merely sought to ensure a form of future employment in the uncertain social and economic times of late 1860s Australasia.

<sup>83</sup> *Argus*, 4 January 1869, p.5; see also, 6 January 1869, p.5.

<sup>84</sup> Major-General Chute & Captain Stack arrived in Sydney on 12 January, & thereafter departed for Auckland on 14 January. *SMH*, 13 January 1869, p.4; & 15 January 1869, p.4.

<sup>85</sup> *Argus*, 9 January 1869, p.4; 11 January 1869, p.4; & 14 January 1869, p.5.

<sup>86</sup> *National Library of Australia*: MS4064: (George S.) Whitmore's Campaigns in New Zealand (1868-1869): [notes kept by Whitmore regarding recruiting for AC in Melbourne, extracted from *London Daily News*, 26 January 1869]. Also refer to: *Argus*, 2 December 1868, p.4, & 11 December 1868, p.4; *SMH*, 7 December 1868, p.5; & *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 1 January 1869.

<sup>87</sup> This list is not meant to represent a comprehensive list of all Australian born, former Australian recruited Waikato & Taranaki Military Settlers, or 1868-69 Melbourne recruited casualties within the AC. This list merely comprises those discernible from available published & archival materials cited by this author & compiled so as to shed greater light on this rarely acknowledged Australian context to the New Zealand wars.

Australian Enlisted (or derived) AC Casualties 1868-1869.<sup>88</sup>

Name	Served in	Enlistment Details (&/or prior service)	Details of Casualty
Fennessy, Richard. Constable.	No.3 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly 'Melbourne Contingent', Taranaki Military Settlers, Regt. No.632. Enrolled 19 January 1864, Melbourne, Victoria, & departed per Gresham.	Killed in action at Te Ngutu o te Manu on 7 September 1868
O'Connor, John. Constable.  Born 1844, Hobart, Tasmania	No.2 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly 'Melbourne Contingent', Taranaki Military Settlers, Regt. No.780, [where born listed as 'not known']. Enrolled 19 January 1864, Melbourne, Victoria, & departed per Gresham.	Killed in action at Te Ngutu o te Manu on 7 September 1868
Walsh, Richard. Constable.	Nos.5 & 6 Divisions, Armed Constabulary	Formerly Regt. No.609, 2nd Waikato Military Settler Regiment. Enrolled 10 October 1863, Sydney, NSW, & departed aboard the Kate. Trade or calling: as Policeman.	Killed in action at Te Ngutu o te Manu, on 7 September 1868
Eastwood, Charles. Constable.	No.6 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly Regt. No.135, 1st Waikato Military Settler Regiment. Enrolled 11 September 1863, Melbourne, Victoria, & departed aboard the Star of India.	Died of wounds at Moturoa  on 7 November 1868
Kerwin, Edwin M. (also as 'Edward Kerwan')  Sergeant.	No.6 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly Regt. No.38, 1st Waikato Military Settler Regiment. Enrolled 1 September 1863, Melbourne, Victoria, & departed aboard the Golden Age.	Killed in action at Moturoa on 7 November 1868
Lees, William James. Constable.	No.6 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly Regt. No.656, 1st Waikato Military Settler Regiment. Enrolled 7 September 1863, Melbourne, Victoria, & departed aboard the Caduseus.	Killed in action at Moturoa on 7 November 1868
Savage, Joseph Evans. Constable.	No.2 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly Regt. No.198, 2nd Waikato Military Settler Regiment. Enrolled 21 August 1863, Sydney, NSW, & departed aboard the Kate. Trade or calling: Barber.	Killed in action at Moturoa on 7 November 1868

<sup>88</sup> This list of 14 fatal casualties was compiled from the following sources: AD 31/8: Army Department, Taranaki Military Settlers Nominal & Descriptive Roll Book, 1863-69, pp.44 & 61; Armed Constabulary Lists: P8/21: Men enrolled at Melbourne by Capt. Stack, Descriptive Roll, draft, full return, dates of Attestation 1868-1869. National Archives of New Zealand. Also from: 'G.-No.1: ... Roll D: Nominal Roll of Officers and Men of the Colonial Forces who have been Killed in Action or who have Died of Wounds subsequent to the 11<sup>th</sup> of July, 1868', Appendix to the Journals of the House Representatives of New Zealand: 1871: Vol.II (Wellington, NZ: George Didsbury, Government Printer), pp.8-10 of G.-No.1; NZG, No.31, 31 May 1871, pp.246-247; Gudgeon, op.cit., pp.34-36 of Addenda; I. Coates, On Record: Being the Reminiscences of Isaac Coates: 1840-1932 (Hamilton, NZ: Paul's Book Arcade, 1962), p.71; L.L. Barton, Australians in the Waikato War: 1863-1864 (North Sydney, NSW: Library of Australian History, 1979), pp.53, 54, 61, 69, 71, 83, & 91; Belich (1989), op.cit., pp.232 & 254-255; John E. Binsley, 'Australians in N.Z. Land Wars 1863 - 1870'. Roll of Australian born individuals courtesy of Mr John E. Binsley, of Auckland, New Zealand, to this author in October 1994; & Stowers, op.cit., pp.5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 18, 20, & 114.

Name	Served in	Enlistment Details (&/or prior service)	Details of Casualty
Brown, Duncan Michie. (also as 'David Michie Brown') Sub-Inspector.	Nos.4, 5, & 7 Divisions Armed Constabulary	Believed to be the 'Ensign Brown' (& later Lt., 2nd Waikato Regt., commission dated 20 Oct.1863) who departed with James Holt (later Capt., 2nd Waikato Regt., commission dated 20 Oct.1863) in command of contingent of NSW Military Settlers Volunteers which departed Sydney aboard the Kate on 10 October 1863. Lt. D.M. Brown served in both the 2nd & 4th Waikato Military Settler Regiments, was appointed Captain in 1865, before again undertaking service in the newly raised Armed Constabulary 1867-69.	Killed in action at Ngatapa in January 1869
McEwen, John. (also as McEwan) Constable.	No.1 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly Regt. No.105, No.8 Company, 1st Waikato Regiment. Enrolled 28 August 1863, Melbourne, Victoria, & departed aboard the Star of India.	Killed in action at Ngatapa on 3 January 1869
Banks, James. Constable.	No.2 Division Armed Constabulary	Melbourne, Victoria, 8 December 1868. Departed for Wellington aboard the Alhambra on 9 December 1868.	Killed in action in 'ambuscade' at Karaka on 18 February 1869
Banks, James. Constable.	No.2 Division Armed Constabulary	Melbourne, Victoria, 8 December 1868. Departed for Wellington aboard the Alhambra on 9 December 1868.	Killed in action in 'ambuscade' at Karaka on 18 February 1869
Boyle, Connell. Constable.	No.2 Division Armed Constabulary	Formerly Regt. No.179, 4th Company, 4th Waikato Military Settler Regiment. Enrolled 3 February 1864, Sydney, NSW	Killed in action in 'ambuscade' at Karaka on 18 February 1869
Horspool, George Richard. (also as 'Horspoll') Lance-Corporal.	No.2 Division Armed Constabulary	Melbourne, Victoria, on 8 December 1868. Departed for Wellington aboard the Alhambra on 9 December 1868  (Had previously served in the Taranaki Volunteers 1864-1866.)	Killed in action in 'ambuscade' at Karaka on 18 February 1869
Watt, Charles. Corporal.	No.2 Division Armed Constabulary	Melbourne, Victoria, 11 December 1868. Departed for Wellington aboard the Otago on 12 December 1868	Died of wounds at Otautu on 13 March 1869
Davis, Robert. Constable.	No.1 Division Armed Constabulary	Melbourne, Victoria, 8 December 1868. Departed for Wellington aboard the Alhambra on 9 December 1868.  (Formerly Regt. No.47, 3rd Waikato Military Settler Regiment. Enrolled 16 September 1863, Melbourne, Victoria.)	Died of wounds at Ruatahuna (Orangikawa pa) on 8 [also as 7] May 1869

### Conclusion

This article has sought to introduce a historical framework around which to show the existence and importance of the Australian context to the New Zealand AC, in the late wars period of 1868 to 1872. This force 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 either via the military settlers volunteers of 1863-64, or as 1868-69 Melbourne recruits. This analysis is another attempt to rectify the general historiographical myopia that exists when assessing the New Zealand wars and the role of Australia in the overall process of imperial and colonial conquest. This research shows that Australia yet again played an important role in the New Zealand, even in this late 1860s wars period.

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## Alec William Campbell 'the Last Sentinel of Gallipoli'

John Meyers & Bryn Dolan<sup>1</sup>

The last entry in the roll of honour for Gallipoli was finally made on Thursday, 16 May 2002, when Alec Campbell, the last Anzac and last surviving participant of the Gallipoli campaign, died of pneumonia, aged 103. With his loss Gallipoli ceases to be a part of living memory and has truly become, as John North referred to it, 'a country of the mind'. The flags of a nation flew at half-mast, the front pages of the major newspapers were devoted to the event, and the Prime Minister cut short a visit to China in order to attend Mr. Campbell's state funeral at St. David's Anglican Cathedral in Hobart, Tasmania.

The story of the last Anzac begins in Launceston, Tasmania, on 26 February 1899, and thus spans three centuries: Alec was the son of Marian Thrower and Samuel Campbell and grandson of Donald Campbell, an immigrant from Argyllshire, Scotland. On 2 July 1915, two months after the landing at Gallipoli was reported in the Australian newspapers, he presented himself at the recruiting office where he gave his age as 18 years 4 months. He was at that time, he stated, a clerk in an insurance company, and had served three years in the Senior Cadets at Launceston's Scotch College. He was 5 feet 5 inches tall and weighed 135 pounds. Parental consent was necessary for anyone between the ages of 18 and 21 to enlist in the AIF, which should have presented an obstacle to enlistment because Alec had in fact lied about his age, raising it a full two years above his actual 16 years and 4 months. He met the problem of how to show the authorities he had his parents' permission head-on; he simply got it from them. On 30 June 1915 his mother and father signed a letter in which they give their consent to his 'enlistment for the front', unwittingly reserving a special place in history for their son, No. 2731 Private A W Campbell, 15th (Queensland & Tasmania) Battalion, 4th Australian Infantry Brigade, Australian Imperial Force. He would be nicknamed and known by his comrades as 'The Kid'.

The 8th Reinforcements, to which Alec was allotted, sailed from Adelaide on 16 August 1915 aboard the SS *Kyarra*, bound for Alexandria. On 18 October they and the 7th Reinforcements departed Egypt for Sarpis Camp on the island of Lemnos. A few days later they were taken on the strength of the battalion, or what was left of it. The 15th Battalion was at that time resting on the island, having suffered severe losses during the savage fighting for Hill 971 and Hill 60 in August 1915. The battalion holds the dubious honour of having the highest casualty rate of any unit of the A.I.F. that landed at Gallipoli, and the addition of the 7th and 8th Reinforcements could only bring its strength up to 13 officers and 453 other ranks. Mumps broke out amongst the new troops on 25 October and all reinforcements were quarantined until the 31st, when the battalion sailed back to Gallipoli aboard the *Osmanieh*. Due to exceptionally rough seas the 15th was unable to land at Anzac until the night of 2 November, at which time it marched out to Hay Valley, the southern inland arm of the Aghyl Dere. In this valley just below Bauchop's Hill was also sheltered the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade's Headquarters and the Brigadier, Colonel John Monash. This was a relatively quiet area in the far north of the Anzac sector. The 15th Battalion lost only one man killed in action here during the six weeks until the evacuation.

Nevertheless wounds were common and sickness was rampant; dysentery and yellow jaundice were still prevalent in the battalion, and on 28 November the troops awoke to freezing winds and a blanket of snow dumped by an overnight blizzard. By unlucky coincidence the 28th was also

<sup>1</sup> [www.anzacs.org](http://www.anzacs.org) Leaders of Anzacs: Officers of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps died at Gallipoli

marked down as the battalion's bathing day, and no blizzard was going to be allowed to interfere with that occasion. The men stripped naked, though the temperature remained below zero all day, and received from the cooks a quart of thawed ice and a strip of flannel per man, with which they proceeded to wash themselves. Private Alec Campbell was admitted to the 4th Field Ambulance on 8 December suffering from influenza. Discharged to duty three days later, he could hardly have suspected that this bout of illness was to be only the first of many in the months ahead. Alec's admittance to the small Field Ambulance in Hotchkiss Gully, Anzac, would stand as a punctuation mark in the story of his life, for although unsuspected as such at the time, it marked the beginning of the end of his service as a soldier of the Great War.

Two days after his discharge from the Field Ambulance, on the night of 13 December, the 15th Battalion filed out of Hay Valley and made its way to the pier on North Beach, from which it was evacuated from Gallipoli aboard SS *Carron*. There appears to have been a great deal of bitterness within the battalion that the honour of forming the Anzac rearguard fell to other units, with the 15th feeling it had been ordered to 'fade away in the night' almost a week before the final evacuation. With the Gallipoli peninsula slipping behind him in the dark, Alec Campbell's war service was over.

The 15th Battalion was disembarked once more on Lemnos and spent the next ten days in the cold and exposed Sarpi Camp. A simple Christmas dinner was organised, and the unit departed Mudros Harbour on Boxing Day 1915, aboard HMT *Ascanius*. The battalion disembarked at Moascar, Egypt, on 30 December 1915, and marched out to its new camp at Ismailia. The weather and strain had taken their toll, though, and on 3 January 1916, Private Campbell was admitted to the 1st Australian General Hospital in Heliopolis, Cairo, suffering from acute laryngitis. It seems his health had completely broken down. Over the next few months he was afflicted at different times with jaundice, scabies, head lice, mumps, palsy and paralysis of the right side of the face. His 'War Gratuity Schedule' form records that he was admitted to this or that hospital with the simple description 'sick', possibly because there was so much going wrong. Alec spent the time around his seventeenth birthday in and out of hospitals and convalescent depots, always rejoining his unit on discharge, but seemingly never able to remain with the battalion long before once again falling ill.

In the early evening of 27 April he was charged with being absent without leave and drunk, no punishment having been recorded. On 5 June 1916, he was handed over for trial by his Commanding Officer, having been charged with being absent without leave, and with 'breaking out of hospital'. Maybe it should have been foreseen that young Private Campbell would prove a handful for the authorities; he had after all stated on his attestation form that he had previously been in trouble with the police in Launceston for 'riding without a light'. Soon after this incident he was diagnosed with palsy and right facial paralysis, and was recommended for discharge. He would eventually lose his right eye. On 24 June 1916, he boarded the *Port Sydney* at Suez for the journey home. His service with the AIF officially ended on 22 August 1916, just over a year after his enlistment, when he was discharged as medically unfit in Tasmania. He had joined the army, travelled half-way round the world, served at Gallipoli, been discharged, and was once again living with his parents, all long before he turned eighteen.

After his service with the AIF ended, Alec's life can best be described as 'full'. He went bush and got work as a jackeroo in Tasmania, before undertaking carpentry training, building motor bodies, houses, and boats. He took up boxing and won the Tasmanian flyweight championship. In 1924 he married his first wife, Kathleen Connolly, and started a family. He gave up boxing and eventually had seven children. In 1927 he began working for the Launceston Railway Workshop and was a staunch unionist, becoming, in 1942, president of the Tasmanian branch of the Australian Workers' Union. During World War 2 he studied for an economics degree and

met the woman who would become his second wife, Kathleen Corvan, with whom he had another two children - the second when he was 69 years old. He worked in the public service as a disabled persons' employment officer, in which capacity he later assisted incapacitated World War 2 veterans. He learned to sail, and took part in at least six of the gruelling annual Sydney to Hobart yacht races. He worked for the Heart Foundation until his retirement at age 80, and continued to drive until he was 95.

Despite all this, it is for his special connection with Gallipoli that Alec Campbell will be most remembered, and while it is sometimes stated that he blazed away at the Turks through loopholes in the fire trenches, all evidence is against this. The 15th Battalion was not in the front line trenches after its return from rest on Lemnos, and Alec maintained, later in life, that at Gallipoli he was mainly engaged in water-carrying duties between the beach and the front lines, and believed he had never actually shot at a Turkish soldier. In this he is supported by the 15th Battalion's history:

It is doubtful if one member of the 7th or 8th Reinforcements fired a shot in the direction of the enemy. They had learnt the art of fatigue work; had seen and heard the whine and explosions of shells; the crack of the passing bullet. They had become in the short space of time Anzacs .... They were veterans of the unit .... They had imbibed the glory of Anzac and they never lost it.

When discussing his status as one of the very few remaining veterans of Gallipoli, he would sometimes say, 'It's hard to believe - all those young men - gone.' For his services on the Gallipoli peninsula 87 years ago, Private Alec Campbell, 15th Battalion, was awarded the 1914-15 Star, the British War Medal, and the Victory Medal. In 1967 he claimed his Anzac Commemorative Medallion and lapel badge, and in 1990 he returned once again to Gallipoli, to Anzac, as part of a trip organised for veterans to commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the campaign, and was presented with the unofficial Gallipoli Star, which he proudly wore. In 1999 he received the 80th Anniversary Armistice Remembrance Medal and in 2002 the Centenary Medal. He was featured on a set of stamps, *The Last Anzacs*, along with Walter Parker (see Obituary in *The Gallipolitan* No 92 Spring 2000), and Roy Longmore (see Obituary in *The Gallipolitan* No 96 Autumn 2001), which Australia Post issued to mark Australia Day 2000.

He died with Kate, his wife of 44 years, by his side. His funeral was attended by the governor-general and the governors, by the Prime Minister and his ministers and by politicians of every kind, by the Chiefs of the Defence Force, and by his family. In a break with tradition, ten of the Campbell women; great-granddaughters, granddaughters, and a daughter, five on either side of the flag-draped coffin, flanked the guard of honour on Private Campbell's final journey. He was carried on the same gun carriage that bore Weary Dunlop one of Australia's greatest heroes of World War Two, to his last rest. Jo Hardy, the granddaughter who runs the nursing home where Alec lived for the last part of his life, explained that, 'Alec was not a man of tradition. After all, he was a republican. We thought this was a way of showing that, and the family readily agreed.' On Friday, 24 May, 2002, the day of the funeral, Australian flags everywhere - all around the world flew again at half-mast and throughout the nation a minute's silence was observed in honour of Alec Campbell and of all the soldiers who served at Gallipoli - 'all those young men' who had entered into the silence before him.

He was a boy soldier. A water carrier, rather than a fighter, a husband, father, grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather; a champion of the worker and of the disabled; he was our last human link to Gallipoli and all that place symbolises. He was the last Anzac. Australia mourns the loss of a national treasure. He imbibed the spirit of Anzac - the place - and he never lost it.





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## Peaceful penetration: 1918

Barry Clissold

General Monash declared 'the success of peaceful penetration as evidence of the serious demoralization which our aggressive attitude in the period had wrought among the German forces opposed to the Australians'. A situation which prepared the battleground for the Allied easterly break-out in August 1918.

'Morgan,' explained Lieutenant Donovan Joynt, VC, 8th Battalion, 'I want you to go out and catch a live Hun and bring him in. We want identification of what German units are opposing us, that's the main job. If no live Huns are about, search the ground for a dead one'.

Morgan's task on 16 April 1918 was but one in a long string of incidents that came to be known as 'peaceful penetration' which lasted, on the Western Front, from April to July 1918. Charles Bean, Australian Official Historian, attributes the term 'peaceful penetration' or nibbling as having its origins in the British press before 1914 when it was used to criticise German trading successes within British territories as being achieved by peaceful penetration rather than the Germans having to fight for the gains. James Edmonds, British Official Historian, refined the term further by declaring it meant the tactic of cutting out opponent's posts without attracting attention, or 'nibbling' at his line to find an opportunity.

Conditions that fostered the Australian use of 'peaceful penetration', as a successful military tactic, resulted from the Allies halting Germany's major offensive on the Somme. In the 'peaceful' period, which followed, and while waiting tensely for the next German move, Australia commanders were quick to realise that the gaining of ground and the acquisition of information on the enemy, from conditions within his current defences and from prisoners, was vital for forthcoming operations. To achieve these objectives the Australians patrolled across no-man's land and into German positions, killing and wounding men, taking prisoners, shattering morale and obtaining identification of the forces opposing them. The actions became known as 'peaceful penetrations' and unbalanced German defences at a stage when inferior trench divisions were holding their front line.

There are many, and varied, examples of Australia patrolling and their 'peaceful penetration'. To provide a necessary extension of its frontage for an anticipated battalion attack on Monument Wood on 3 May 1918 the 12th Infantry Brigade began successful 'peaceful penetrations' to push forward its front line. On 16 May 1918 Lieutenants Garlick and Maddox, 5th Battalion, led a lightly armed thirty-man patrol to obtain identifications and capture or kill a German garrison at Meteren. For his action in destroying the garrison and obtaining identifications of its defenders Maddox won the Military Cross. He was awarded a bar to that decoration at Strazaele less than a month later on 15 June 1918. Maddox was also successful in executing daylight 'peaceful penetrations' in April by advancing on German positions through wheat crops (at that time 5 feet high) and attacking them from behind.

It is not difficult to find other examples. At Merris on 7 July 1918, Lieutenant Archer and two men from the 6th Battalion patrolled in 'peaceful penetration' of German defences. Finding a German post, Archer strengthened his patrol by a further six men and in a 'brisk fight' nine Germans were killed, two captured and their machine-gun destroyed. The Commanding Officer of the 10th Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilder-Neligan was a little more circumspect in his appreciation of 'peaceful penetration'. His troops were instructed, 'as far as possible buying into

a fight must be avoided, it is infinitely better to take prisoners silently than to enter into a bomb-fight which invariably draws attention.'

The Germans keenly felt the effects of Australian 'peaceful penetration'. Front line troops observed that the Australians were very 'quick and cunning', and, 'came right up to our trenches, killing men and dragging many away with them. Prince Franz, Bavarian Infantry Regiment, lamented that his Regiment was a disgrace to the Division owing to their nightly losses of men to the Australians.

And back to that unusual soldier, Morgan, who returned to his Battalion, covered in mud but with his pockets bulging with maps and papers. He told Joynt, 'I couldn't see any live Huns but lots of dead ones. I got a big automatic revolver and some maps and plans.' Obviously a 'peaceful penetration.'

But we may ask, 'who was Morgan'? Joynt was to observe on 16 April 1918, 'I put the matter to a stretcher-bearer, Morgan, a man who was always ready for an adventurous job quite outside the normal work of picking up wounded men and cog them in on a stretcher, very often under heavy machine gun fire This stretcher job alone was dangerous enough to satisfy an ordinary man, but Morgan was no ordinary man. He was a character known throughout the whole Battalion - not only his Company - and like some diggers was no good on parade or behind the line. When an inspection by a Senior Officer was about to take place his Company Commander would see that Morgan did not appear, he was hidden away somewhere out of sight because he was always dirtily turned out, boots dished, tunic torn, hat turned up at the wrong angle and altogether most unsoldierly in appearance, but when in the line, was truly wonderful and worth half a dozen ordinary men for his initiative and bravery'.

There seems little doubt that this Morgan was 958 Private D O Morgan, 8th Battalion. Certainly it would confirm Joynt's description of an unusual soldier- For on 8 August 1918 Morgan was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal. His citation read:

For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty near Rozières, France. He did magnificent work, dressing and carrying wounded under heavy fire. When all the company bearers had become casualties he organised fresh squads and penetrated through a heavy artillery barrage to a casualty clearing to save stretchers.

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## Obituary

### Len Barton 1918-2002

Len Barton, a long time member of the New South Wales Historical Society died on 16 October 2002 aged 84. During World War II serving with the RAAF he was awarded the United States Soldier's Medal. The award was for bravery in the Middle East when he went to the rescue of the crew of a crashed American bomber. Len Barton was the first Australian to receive approval to wear an American award in World War II. He published a number of military history works including books on 450 and 451 Squadrons, RAAF, the Australians in the Waikato war 1863-1864, works on the DCM 1899 to 1920 and RAAF Gallantry awards in World War Two as well as the military history of Windsor.



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## THE BRITISH GARRISON IN AUSTRALIA 1788-1841

## CONDITIONS OF SERVICE-WIVES AND CHILDREN

Clem Sargent

Although the wives and children of soldiers were not subject to military discipline they formed a significant part of the regimental family and this was recognised in the *Regulations and Orders* which stipulated the conditions under which the wives and children were allowed to accompany the troops and gave guidance to the way in which they lived.

The *Regulations and Orders* of 1816, 1822 and 1837, with minor differences in wording, allowed:

*'...that when a Regiment embarks for Garrison Duty on foreign service, the lawful wives of the soldiers shall be permitted to embark, in the proportion of Twelve per Company, including the wives of Non-commissioned Officers, and Rations are to be issued to them as long as the Corps remains in a Foreign Garrison.'* (R 1816 p 370).

The same General Order allowed only six wives to accompany each Company on field service and that when a Royal Veteran Battalion embarked for foreign garrison duty all the wives 'of good character' could accompany their husbands. This latter condition would have applied to the Royal New South Wales Veteran Companies arriving in 1825. R 1822 clearly specified that the allowable number of wives was twelve per 100 men.

When the number of wives in a regiment exceeded the allowed twelve per 100 men a ballot to determine the wives to go or not to go was conducted by the Pay Sergeant. Those women who drew 'not to go' tickets were provided with passes to enable them to return to their homes but no further provisions were made for the sustenance or welfare of the wives and children. Most would be fortunate if they ever saw their husbands again.

Not all wives who drew 'no go' tickets were prepared to accept what could be a final separation from their husbands. On 20 March 1834 Governor Bourke complained to the Secretary of State for Colonies that Elizabeth Connaughton, wife of a private of the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment, had arrived in Sydney as an assisted female emigrant on the *Layton* on 17 December 1834. Elizabeth claimed that she had not been asked if she were single. Bourke complained again in May 1835 that two more wives of the 21<sup>st</sup>, each with a child, had reached Sydney on the *Duchess of Northumberland*, another migrant ship but the circumstances under which they voyaged are not clear as Bourke's words were that '--- Wives of soldiers stationed in Van Diemen's Land have been sent out [writer's underlining] by the Emigrant Ship---'. It seems most unlikely that the Horse Guards would have been providing free or assisted passages for wives to join their husbands overseas. If so would they be entitled to rations if the regiment already had the prescribed number of wives already on rations? <sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Connaughton may have been the wife of either Pte John or Pte Patrick Connaughton, both with the 21<sup>st</sup> in Van Diemens Land. The other two women were reported as the wives of 'Coin' and 'Hartman'. There were no soldiers of those names on the Muster Rolls of the 21<sup>st</sup> but there were Cpl, later Col Sgt Patrick Coyne and Pte John Hartigan with the regiment.<sup>2</sup>

Wives and children shared the barracks accommodation with their husbands and accompanied them when sent on detachments. Women were issued with rations at half the scale allowed to the

<sup>1</sup> HRA I, XVII, pp. 396, 728.

<sup>2</sup> Geoff Blackman, *Conquest and Settlement*, Carlisle, WA, 1999, Appx 7, gives biographical details of the members of the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment who served in Australia.

men and children one third, both without spirits. Records show wives and children at the first settlements established at Port Macquarie, Macquarie Harbour, Moreton Bay, Norfolk Island and at the aborted settlements in the Northern Territory. The first white children born in these remote settlements would be the children of the remote garrisons and it has been proved that the first white child born at Moreton Bay was Amity Moreton, born 21 September 1824, the daughter of Corporal Robert Thompson of the 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment.<sup>3</sup> At the site of the ironed gang stockade at Towrang ( approx 30 kms north of Goulburn, NSW ) there is a small graveyard containing three graves, one is the grave of four year old Mary Brown who died on 9 June 1841 and who is probably the infant daughter of Sergeant John Brown of the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment, detached for duty at Towrang at that time.<sup>4</sup> The experience of those wives who had 'followed the drum' during the Peninsular War would have established a tradition of being able to rough it in the remote garrisons of New South Wales.

There can be no better example of the fortitude of these women than the experience of Mrs Martin, wife of a soldier of the 50<sup>th</sup> Regiment, when the convict transport *George III* in which they were voyaging to New South Wales, was wrecked at the southern entrance to D'Entrecastreaux Channel on the approach to Hobart in April 1835. Mrs Martin, who had recently been confined, the wife of Private Martin, clung to the lanyards of the forward chains with her new baby held in one arm and the baby of a woman who had drowned clutched in the other, while between her legs she had wedged her own toddler. Mrs Martin and the children were saved. One woman, three children, two sailors and 127 convicts were drowned.<sup>5</sup>

Another woman who had earlier displayed the same fortitude was Jane Waddy, wife of Corporal George Waddy of the 48<sup>th</sup> Regiment. She had accompanied her husband in 1821 to Macquarie Harbour on the west coast of Tasmania where Waddy was the storekeeper in the first settlement to be established there. Jane Waddy had two children with her, a four year old daughter and a two year old son; a third child was born in the isolation of Macquarie Harbour. The Waddys left Hobart in 1824 with the 48<sup>th</sup> for service in India where Corporal Waddy died four months after arrival. His wife and family were repatriated to England and in May 1826 Jane Waddy arrived back in New South Wales with two children, the youngest, born at Macquarie Harbour having died in Madras. Mrs Waddy came on the female convict transport *Lady Rowena*, reputedly as a wardress and settled in New South Wales.

In 1811 an order was issued for a sergeant to be added to the establishment of each regiment to act as Schoolmaster. His duties were to provide the boys with sufficient education to fit them for NCO rank should they later enlist. Girls could also be instructed if accommodation 'and other circumstances' permit. As well the girls were to be taught 'Plain Work and Knitting' by the best qualified and best behaved women of the regiment while the boys should be instructed by the regimental tailors and shoemakers.

A soldier could not marry without the permission of his commanding officer. In the event of the death of her husband a wife was unsupported and not entitled to rations but because of the restricted number of wives allowed to the regiment, widows usually quickly remarried; in some cases women were bespoke even before the death of the husband. Regulations from 1816, the earliest available to the writer, provided that a *Book of Registry* should be maintained by every Regiment and Battalion in which marriages of all NCOs and privates be recorded, and also the age and baptism of soldiers' children. The Certificate of Marriage was to be submitted to the Adjutant for entry in the Register. Similarly, an account of the baptism of children was to be

<sup>3</sup> John St Pierre, *Moreton Bay Detachment 1824-25*, Redcliffe, 1994, pp. 12-14.

<sup>4</sup> WO 12/8483, f 3, 1 April - 30 June 1841.

<sup>5</sup> G A Mawer, *Most Perfectly Safe*, St Leonards, 1997, p. 63-8.

recorded. The Regulations observed that in many cases '---the Regimental Register may prove the only Record in existence---' of marriages and births. Because they were Regimental records not Army ones, many have not survived; some may be found in Regimental museums.<sup>6</sup>

## 39<sup>th</sup> DORSETSHIRE REGIMENT 1826 - 1832

*Green Linnets; Sankey's Horse*

### Background

1702	Raised as Coote's Regiment.
1707-1732	Spain, Minorca, Gibraltar.
1732-1754	England, Ireland, service as Marines.
1751	Designated 39 <sup>th</sup> Regiment.
1754-1757	India - <i>Primus in Indis</i> ; first Line Regiment to serve in India.
1757-1793	Ireland, Gibraltar, England.
1793-1803	W Indies.
1803-1808	England, Mediterranean.
1808-1814	Peninsular War.
1814-1815	N America.
1815-1818	Army of Occupation in France.
1818-1827	Ireland.

### In New South Wales

1826	First Det arrives Port Jackson.
25 Dec 1826	Det of Capt Wakefield and 23 OR established settlement at Frederickstown, King George Sound; Comdt Maj Lockyer, 57 <sup>th</sup> Regt; Wakefield assumed command 2 April 1827.
June 1827	Establishes settlement at Raffles Bay, NT. Capt Smyth Comdt. Abandoned later.
10 August 1827	Relieved 57 <sup>th</sup> at Norfolk Island.
September 1827	Relieved 3 <sup>rd</sup> Regt at Port Macquarie.
23 August 1828	Last Det reaches Port Jackson.
1828	Detachments at Norfolk Island, Port Macquarie, Parramatta, Raffles Bay, King Georges Sound, Liverpool, Emu Plains, Illawarra, Mounted Police.
August 1829	Settlement at Raffles Bay abandoned; det move to King George Sound.
3 December 1829	Captain Collett Barker assumes comd at King George Sound.
March 1831	39 <sup>th</sup> and convicts withdrawn from King George Sound to allow free settlers from Swan River settlement to take up land. Det 39 <sup>th</sup> replaced by 63 <sup>rd</sup> .
April 1832	Pte Thomas Brennan executed by firing squad for attempting to shoot a sergeant.
30 April 1831	Barker speared to death while exploring at the mouth of the Murray River.
July 1832	HQ and six coys to India.

### Exploration

November 1828	Captain Charles Sturt explores Upper Macquarie River, discovers Darling River.
1829-30	Sturt explores Murrumbidgee to Murray River and junction with Darling, then to Lake Alexandrina.
1830	Captain Forbes explores Liverpool Ranges.
April-May 1832	northern sector.

### References

- C. T. Atkinson, *The Dorsetshire Regiment, Oxford, 1947.*  
 John Mulvaney & Neville Green, *Commandant of Solitude, Melbourne, 1992.*

<sup>6</sup> *General Regulations and Orders For The Army*, Horse Guards, 1 January 1822, pp. 284-289.