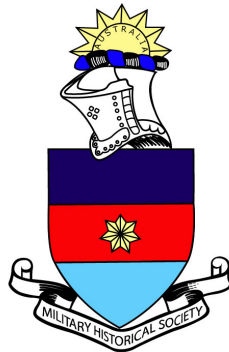


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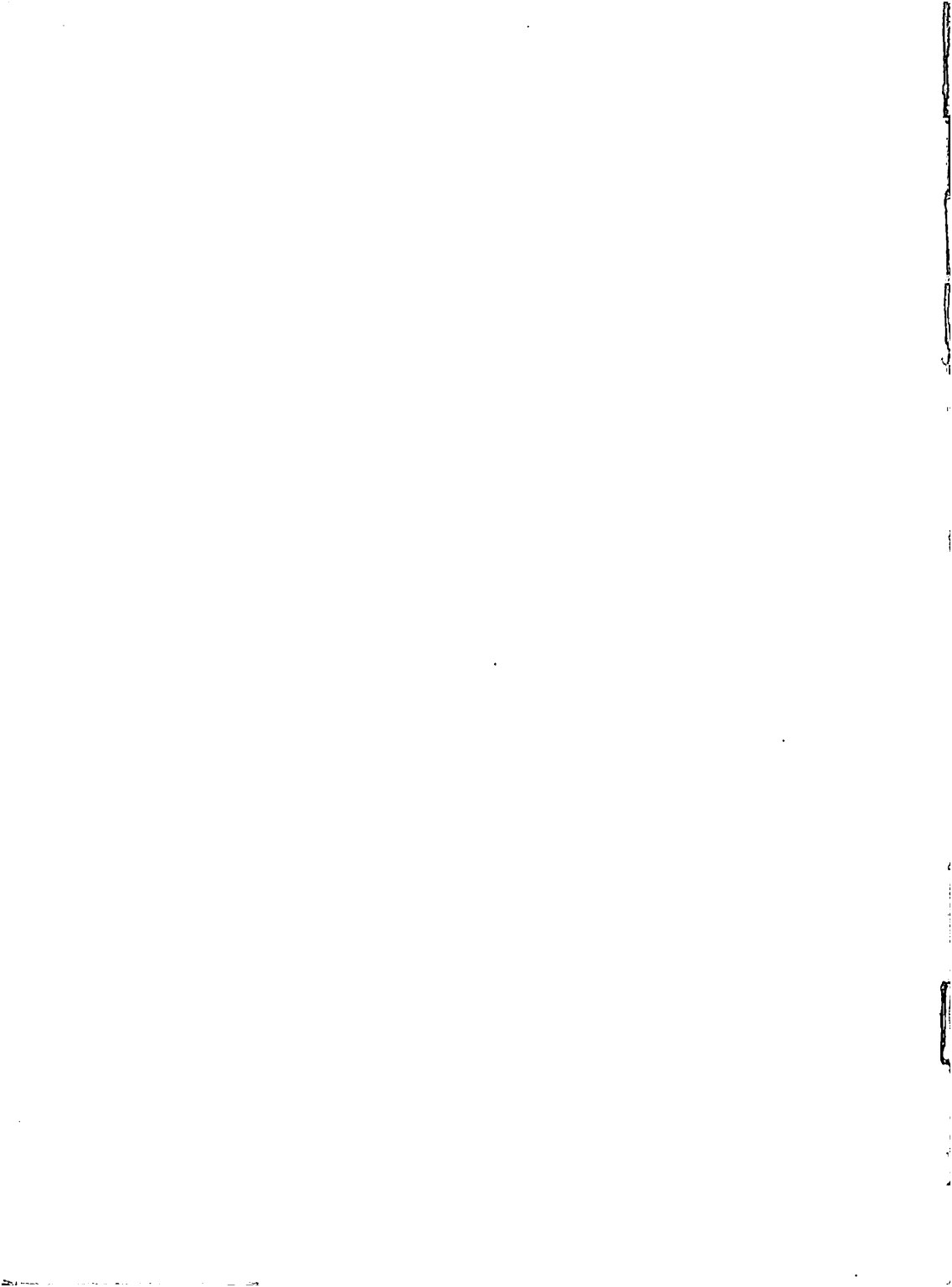
JOURNAL OF  
THE MILITARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF AUSTRALIA

Registered for posting as a publication Category B — Price \$3.50



OCT. — DEC. 1980

Vol. XXI No. 4



# "SABRETACHE"

JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF  
THE MILITARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF AUSTRALIA  
(FOUNDED IN MELBOURNE IN 1957)



**Vol XXI      OCTOBER — DECEMBER, 1980      NO. 4**

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**FRONT COVER: Cpl. Corey, MM and Three Bars**

Published by authority of the Federal Council of the Military Historical Society of Australia. The views expressed in the articles in this Journal are those of the contributors and not necessarily those of the Society.

**ISSN 0048-8933**

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Private Ernest Albert Corey, 55th Battalion AIF, was 30 years old when he won his Military Medal. Before he celebrated his 32nd birthday this slight, unassuming soldier from Numeralla, NSW, had amassed an unprecedented, and still unmatched three bars to the medal.

# ALBERT COREY, MM and THREE BARS

The Unassuming Hero

by *PETER KELLY*

Ernie Corey was born on December 20, 1891, in the tiny settlement of Numeralla, NSW, on the slopes of the Southern Alps.

He was educated at Thirbegal Public School, in those days a "half-time" school, about 20 miles from Cooma. When he left school he became a blacksmith's striker at Martin's Smithy in Cooma — where he was still working when the Great War erupted in 1914.

In those early months of the war, recruiting presented no problems. Men came forward in sufficient numbers to fulfil the Government's requirements.

By the end of January, 1915, the enlistments had totalled 62,786, an average of 10,464 a month. During the next three months the figure was 23,523, an average of 7,844 a month, but after the news of the landing at Gallipoli the figures jumped to 10,526 in May, 12,505 in June, and 36,575 in July — the highest total recorded in any one month during the war.

In August 25,714 soldiers enlisted, but in September there was a drop to



16,571, and in October the figures plummeted to 9,914.

Following these disappointing figures, at the end of October, 1915, W. M. "Billy" Hughes succeeded Andrew Fisher as Prime Minister and the new Government decided to increase the AIF by an additional force of 50,000 in excess of reinforcements.

This decision called for an intensive campaign in every State to secure the numbers, and among the special devices adopted were the "snowball" marches from country centres to the larger cities or training camps, picking up recruits as they went along.

During the following months recruiting took an upturn.

Of the recruiting marches in NSW, the best known at that time were the "Coo-ees" which set out from Gilgandra in October, 1915, the "Waratahs" from Nowra, the "Kangaroos" from Wagga Wagga, the "Wallabies" from Narrabri, the "Kookaburras" from Tooraweenah, the "North Coast Boomerangs" from Grafton, and the "Men from Snowy River" from Delegate.

It was against this background that Ernie Corey decided to answer the nation's call to the Colours.

When the group left Delegate for Goulburn, in January, 1916, the "Men from Snowy River" numbered 30. By the time they had covered the 220-mile march, by way of Nimmitabel, Cooma, Thredbo, Michelago, Queanbeyan, Bungendore, and Tarago, their strength had increased to 144 — Corey joined them in Nimmitabel.

After training at Goulburn camp for some months, Ernie Corey left Australia in September as a fully-fledged infantryman, sailing in the "Port Sydney" for England with the 4th Reinforcements for the 55th Battalion (5th Division).

After spending three months with the 14th Training Battalion at Hurdcott, he left for France to join the 55th Battalion at Montauban, on the desolate moorland of the old Somme battlefield.

He was posted to the grenade section of "C" Company, and his first

introduction to the front line was in the Guedecourt sector, shortly before the Germans withdrew from their Winter positions in front of Bapaume.

On April 2, Corey took part in his first battle, the capture of Doignies, one of the villages held by the Germans in front of the Hindenburg Line.

Shortly afterwards the 55th and other units of the 5th Division were withdrawn for a well-earned rest, but a few weeks later the Division was recalled to the front to relieve the 1st Division near Bullecourt where heavy fighting had been taking place.

In the early hours of May 15, the Germans launched their seventh and final counter attack of the battle in an attempt to drive out the Australians and the British on their left.

The attack, preceded by a shattering bombardment by heavy and light trench mortars, reinforced later by guns of all calibres, was repulsed by one of the 55th's sister battalions, the 54th, which was holding the right flank of the Australian position in the Hindenburg Line.

Losses on both sides were heavy, and during the morning, the Commanding Officer of the 55th, Lt-Col. P. W. Woods, then in support, called for volunteers with a knowledge of first-aid, to assist the stretcher bearers to clear the wounded.

Thirty men, including Private Ernie Corey, responded and went into no-man's-land, working up to the German wire, and carrying the wounded back about a mile-and-a-half to the dressing station.

For 17 hours they laboured without rest. Later, the CO of the 54th wrote to Lt-Col Woods expressing his appreciation of their splendid work.

For their courage and devotion to duty, Corey, Jack Buckley, Frank Groutsch, Leslie Jackson and Alex Thompson were awarded the Military Medal — all Immediate Awards granted by General Birdwood — and four other soldiers were mentioned in 1st Anzac routine orders.

Corey's citation read:

*"During the enemy attack on front line facing Queant on 15th May 1917, Pte Corey, whilst acting as a stretcher bearer, showed great courage and devotion to duty. Although under direct enemy observation, he carried out his duties continuously for 17 hours without rest, and in a manner worthy of the highest commendation. Although an untrained stretcher bearer, he, together with the rest of the bearing party saved by first aid the lives of seriously wounded men. The Commander of the 54th Bn wrote an appreciation letter for the help given, and specially mentioned the stretcher bearing party for their good work."*

After Bullecourt, the 1st, 2nd and 5th Australian Divisions enjoyed a long rest of some four months preparing for the Ypres campaign.

Ernie Corey decided to become a regular stretcher bearer, and when the Battalion moved up to take part in the Battle of Polygon Wood at the end of September, he was a member of the bearer section, under Lance-Corporal Dawson.

After the battle, Corey was recommended for a Bar to his MM for the coolness and bravery he had shown throughout the operation.

The citation for his first Bar read:

*"This stretcher bearer showed great courage, devotion to duty and untiring energy during the attack on Polygon Wood on the 26th September 1917. The greatest danger did not deter this man from doing his duty when his services were required, and he tended the wounded and carried them to places of safety*

*continuously throughout the engagement, often under very heavy artillery and machine gun fire. Throughout the whole operations he set a fine example of bravery and coolness to all ranks."*

During the Winter of 1917-18 Ernie Corey served in the Messines sector, and at the beginning of April, 1918, went south with his Battalion to the Villers-Bretonneux plateau, where the Australian Corps barred the way to Amiens.

In August and September he took part in the victorious advance along the Somme, and it was at Peronne on September 1 and 2 that he won the second Bar to his MM.

Threading his way through shell and machine gun fire with characteristic determination, he dressed and cheered the wounded of several units and helped them to safety. Never sparing himself, Ernie Corey worked continuously until all the wounded in his sector were cleared.

The citation for his second Bar records:

*"For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty during operations at Peronne on 1st and 2nd September 1918. This man who is a stretcher bearer, dressed and carried wounded of several units throughout the whole of the operations. Although the enemy artillery and machine gun fire was exceptionally heavy, this did not debar this man from carrying on. He worked continuously and arduously and was the means of saving the lives of many of the wounded. He was most unselfish throughout and cheerful at all times and under all circumstances. His careful handling of the wounded and his knowledge of first aid helped greatly to relieve their sufferings. Throughout the operations he set a fine example of courage, coolness, determination and devotion to duty, under heavy fire."*

Three weeks later ERNIE Corey was promoted corporal and put in charge of the regimental stretcher bearers.





The Battalion's next fight, north of Bullecourt on September 30, was its last operation of the war, and it was here that Corey, who had come unscathed through every battle of his unit in the past 18 months, received his first and only wound, and added the unprecedented third Bar to his MM. By this time his gallantry had become a by-word in the Battalion.

On one occasion he noticed two German stretcher bearers about 70 yards off, preparing to take a wounded Australian away on a wheeled stretcher.

They beckoned to Corey, who went about halfway towards them and called out: "Can you speak English?" One of the Germans replied: "We have Australia. You take him. Too heavy."

Corey told them to leave the stretcher, and when they wall-ed off he made his way to it and found that the man was Private Randall of the 55th, who had

lain all night with a wound in the back, and had been bandaged by the Germans.

Corey picked him up in his arms, carried him back 40-50 yards and placed him in a shell-hole, telling him that he would return for him later. Meanwhile the Germans came back for their stretcher and waved goodbye to Corey.

Corey continued dressing the wounded — there were many of them in the area — for a further two hours, after which he and his bearers began carrying the wounded to the rear.

At about 11 a.m. when on his way to bring in Captain R. A. Goldrick, whom he had earlier bandaged, Corey was blown up by a high explosive shell, receiving wounds in the right groin and thigh.

He crawled five or six yards to his first aid bag and put a tourniquet over his femoral artery to stop the bleeding. He then started to crawl back and had

covered about 300 yards when Lieutenant Luther Chadwick and Sergeant Clark of his own battalion found him and carried him to a dressing station a mile away.

For his actions that tday he was awarded the third Bar. The citation records:

*"For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty as NCO in charge of Battalion stretcher bearers during an attack on the Hindenburg Line north of Bellicourt on 30 September 1918. Although enemy machine gun and shell fire were intense, this gallant NCO directed the operations of the Battalion stretcher bearers with the utmost skill and bravery. Regardless of personal danger, he, on numerous occasions although the enemy were firing upon him and other bearer parties, attended to men and carried them from the most exposed positions. His efforts were untiring and he set a splendid example to all ranks until he was severely wounded. it was mainly due to his magnificent work that the wounded were safely removed from the danger zone."*

From the dressing station Corey was sent to a casualty clearing station where he was operated on, and was then transported to a general hospital at Le Havre, where he was again put under the surgeon's scalpel.

He was later transferred to a hospital in Bristol, England.

Ernie Corey was repatriated to Australia on board the "Plassy" in April 1919, and was medically discharged at the end of June that year.

During the Second World War he joined the 2nd Garrison Battalion, which was sent to Port Kembla, and he served there for more than two years in the medical section.

In May, 1971 I was assigned to interview Ernie Corey, then 85, in the Queanbeyan Nursing Home.

He was a small man, and as is often

the case, he was what one could best describe as "a bit of a wag."

He possessed a keen sense of humour and despite his gathering years, a sharp, incisive mind and a biting wit. He was, in short, a reporter's delight — full of off-beat stories and anecdotal asides, not previously recorded.

This unique man took immense pride in telling me he had won four bravery awards for saving lives, not taking them, and in a conspiratorial aside, he confided that he had never fired an angry shot at another man.

Armed with copies of his citations, I was able to cover the actions which won him his four Military Medals, but Ernie Corey waved them aside and told me that the proudest moment of his life came during the victory march through Paris.

"We had eight days leave in Paris," he said, "and I remember during the march that the French were shouting 'bon Australia' as we marched, and I recall that I had flowers on my bayonet."

He said he was particularly proud to have been on that march because he was the smallest member of the Battalion and he had earlier thought he may not have been selected because of his size.

Like so many brave men, Ernie Corey was modest.

The Australian War Memorial recently obtained this modest man's medals and it has ensured that the bravery and self-sacrifice of 2143 Corporal Ernest Albert Corey, MM and three Bars, will remain permanently etched into Australia's military history.

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**THIS is the eighth instalment in a series of articles on the history of South Australia's defence forces, taken from a major work submitted by the author to the University of Adelaide some years ago as part fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.**

# **British Assistance and the Influence of Military Thought**

*by H. ZWILLENBERG*

As to heavy guns, the Home Government have met our frequent solicitations by a gift of trophies taken in the Crimean War; trophies which are now exhibited in the Botanic Gardens and which the Russians could once more easily appropriate in the present defenceless state of the Colony.

*Observer, November, 1865 (70)*

The sarcasm was directed at Britain's implied reluctance to assist the Colony in preparing her own defences, but in fact records show that, right through the century, Britain stood willing to do her utmost to satisfy the often considerable demands from her Colony.

British assistance and the influence of British military thought seem to fall into three distinct phases. Material assistance was readily given until the late sixties. Up to the early eighties, the change in military thinking in England, particularly as applied to tactics, made itself felt in the Colony, and from then onwards the first Colonial Defence Committee and its successors, the Carnarvon Commission, and the second Colonial Defence Committee, imparted what might be termed *Imperial characteristics* to the defence policy of the Colony.

## **British Material Assistance.**

Material assistance given by Great Britain to South Australia was in the form of small arms, rifles, swords and ordnance of various calibre, mainly for the mobile force. Occasionally the deliveries were free of charge, but usually the colonists had to pay for them. However, even when paying for equipment, the Colony derived considerable advantages from dealing with England. In the first place the price was usually the best obtainable, England only charged cost plus freight. Secondly, the weapons were of current British service pattern, which meant that replacements, spare parts and ammunition were readily obtainable, and that the equipment and its employment was compatible with British army usage. Thirdly, Great Britain usually undertook

to inspect the equipment prior to delivery.

In the fifties and sixties the colonists frequently complained of the British Government's supposed failure to assist them in equipping their forces. Sir Henry Young, in 1859, requested 2,000 Minnie rifles with accoutrements, 1,000 cavalry swords, and four field howitzers (two six and two nine pounders), and the colonists were disappointed when the rifles were not sent, although both, ordnance and swords, were supplied free of charge (71). The colonists did not appreciate the fact that Minnie rifles were not on general issue because they were of an experimental pattern. However, Great Britain was prepared to, and in fact did, supply 2,000 Enfield rifles (72).

Two years later, Sir Richard G. MacDonnell voiced the general disappointment at the alleged lack of encouragement for colonial self-reliance by pointing out that "unless the rifles are of a really good description, it will be impossible to get an eligible class of the community to serve in a volunteer rifle or light infantry corps" (73). The complaints probably stemmed from the fact that the colonists were only vaguely aware of the sort of equipment required, without any knowledge of the detailed characteristics of the weapons they wanted. This was understandable. The Colony's only defence *experts* were half-pay infantry officers, out of touch with ordnance and small arms developments, thus the Colony was dependent on Great Britain, both for advice and for the supply of defence equipment.

In the early sixties, England went out of her way to help the Colony. When South Australia made half-a-million rounds of ammunition and 400 rifles

available to Sir William Dennison for use in New Zealand, Great Britain immediately sent the requested replacements (74).

Actually, England sent enough rifles to equip a full battalion. By the end of 1860, British supplies had given South Australia an armoury of 2,600 rifles, plus an ammunition reserve of some 600 rounds per rifle (75).

Gradually South Australian demands for small arms began to appear a little unreasonable, especially considering the strength of the volunteer movement (76), and Britain became somewhat reluctant to oblige. Her attitude had a salutary effect on the South Australian Government; there was talk of prohibiting the export of arms, ammunition and gunpowder and of manufacturing ball ammunition in the Colony (77).

South Australia in the sixties must have been quite a source of irritation to the British Government. Edward Cardwell, who succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary-of-State for the Colonies in 1864, was almost constantly pestered by requests for assistance of one kind or another, particularly for the services of qualified instructors and advisers. But on some occasions, having asked for the expert (78), South Australians would be assailed by doubts (79) (80) as to the real need for his presence, and whether and how they would act on his advice, or how many artillery instructors were required (81).

The Earl of Carnarvon, Cardwell's successor, politely advised South Australia in 1866 (82) that the British Government was prepared to do everything possible, but it was for the colonists themselves to make up their

minds as to what they wanted, and incidentally drew attention to an earlier direction, which required pre-payment for any hardware obtained from English ordnance stores (83).

Neither material assistance, nor the presence of individual instructors, affected South Australian defence planning to any great extent. However, changes in military doctrine, both in Britain and elsewhere, did have considerable influence on the shaping of the Colony's defence policies.

### **Influence of Overseas Military Doctrine**

What had been official British military doctrine during the Napoleonic wars, remained basically unchanged, even after the Crimean War. After all, the British army remained the custodian of a vast economic empire and the "policemen of unruly industrial districts at home" (84). Besides, the regiments spent ten years abroad for every five years served in England. Therefore, manoeuvres to develop new tactical doctrines were scarcely feasible, and only became accepted practice after the implementation of the Cardwell reforms.

But in South Australia, almost from the very beginning, there was a discernable approach, an attitude, very different from the *Brown-Bess tactics*. Brown-Bess tactics were, in the sixties or even as late as in the middle seventies, still considered quite adequate by the British professional military. These tactics simply called for volley firing, at short range, from a square of column formation, and had proved quite successful in punitive armed clashes with native tribes, or with demonstrating Englishmen. South Australia's attitude

involved a realisation that the *red square* was proving ineffective *vis-a-vis* modern fire arms, and that rigidity of formation must give way to the more flexible employment of troops, both in the open or under cover.

These new tactics were referred to as *skirmishing*.

The very first defence commissions had shown that conventional British military thought was not favoured in South Australia. In fact, it was not until the arrival of the professionals, Downes and Owen, ★ that official British military doctrine gained some recognition, though never to the extent of changing the general tactical character of the South Australian forces. Their training was directed towards light infantry work, firing under field conditions.

The South Australian military always had an aversion to parade-ground drill. Thus, in 1858, the *Second Finniss Committee* recommended that military training was to be concerned primarily with the "use of the rifle in action and knowledge of light company and skirmishing drill" (85), while evidence given before the *First Hart Commission* a few months later stressed an even further need for a tactical doctrine quite different from Britain's own (86).

At that time some experienced British line officers on half-pay like Captain C. H. Bagot, Member for Light, realised the unsuitability of traditional British training practices. Captain Bagot's experience in the Maharatta Wars had taught him that the colonial force did not require parade-ground drill, but should be proficient "in natural things," that is, in marksmanship and "skirmishing in open order."

The question must inevitably be

★ Lieutenant-Colonel M.F. Downes arrived in 1878 and Brigadier J.F. Owen in 1885.

asked, why were South Australians deliberately turning their backs on established British military training practice and doctrine? Perhaps because little could have been learned from Britain at that time. The only lessons learned by Britain in the Crimean War appear to have been in the areas of organisation, logistics and command structure. A British military writer contended that the nature of the campaign in the Crimea, reminiscent as it was of the Peninsula War in a number of respects, did little to stimulate serious thought within the army about its role and tactics. "Haunted by the ghost of Wellington, the Army ignored, in the years that followed the war, its two key tactical innovations — field entrenchments and rifle power" (87).

These innovations were not known in Australia. There were few soldiers in the Colony who had actually fought in the Crimea. As for the American Civil War, with its many similarities, it was just beginning, and after it was over, only Jervis was to have first-hand knowledge, but he never spoke of tactics.

Perhaps South Australia was influenced by the views of the only reasonably senior British military officer serving in Australia on secondment to Victoria in the late sixties, Major P.H. Scratchley, whose views on tactics were in advance of current British military doctrine. He believed in the use of field works, such as trenches and strong points, to serve as a firm base for mobile operations, rather than as a means of fixed defence.

He recommended, after the Turkish practice, the use of mules and horses to bring up reinforcements, entrenching

tools and engineer stores. He believed in the construction — by the infantry — of obstacles, such as mines and wire entanglements; and he also stressed the necessity for adequate communications (88).

However, there is no evidence that during his four year tour of duty, he discussed his ideas with any of his South Australian contemporaries.

Perhaps the answer to South Australia's independent approach to military training was to be found in Captain C. H. Bagot's concept of the *citizen soldier* (89). The very notion of the citizen soldier, whether militia or volunteer, seems to imply a form of training governed by priorities, which range from that which is essential for the soldier to know, namely field craft and weapon proficiency, to what would be a desirable attribute, namely, parade-ground drill.

In a professional army, held together by fear of the lash, taught marching to the front, and whose only tactical instruction was "Fix bayonets. Fire a volley: Prepare to charge: Charge" reliance on field works and dispersions was considered injurious to discipline and *elan* (90)."

In an army composed of citizen soldiers, field craft and weapon proficiency were considered to be of the utmost importance, and emphasis on formal parade ground drill, as stressed by the British professionals, was considered the *enemy* of true discipline.

The colonial *amateurs* appeared to be fully aware of tactical lessons, learnt during the revolutionary wars in America and on the Continent, which the *professionals* had either forgotten, or chose to ignore, for political reasons.

The citizen soldiers in South

Australia were dissatisfied with their uniforms, which had been designed on British patterns and, although appropriate for formal drill and red square tactics, proved too conspicuous in the bush and totally unsuitable for the climate (91).

Nor did the citizen soldiers subscribe to Wellington's dictum, that officers should be gentlemen first and soldiers second, hence the need for trained officers to control a volunteer army, and the persistent demand for competitive examinations as the criterion for first commissioned appointments and officer promotions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the progress of the Cardwell reforms was closely watched by the colonists (92).

Two events convinced the citizen soldiers of South Australia that their general approach to military training was correct: the American Civil War, 1861-1865, and the British defeat at Majuba Hill in 1881. The Civil War brought into focus the importance of mounted infantry. It is possible, although the

writer has no evidence of this, that South Australians were aware of Sir Henry Havelock's analysis of the role of cavalry armed with modern, long range, breach-loading rifles. He offered a choice between the

*jaunty, smart, burnished, well set-up hussar, armed with his yard of blunt carving knife and that still more gorgeous anachronism borrowed from the Middle Ages, the British lancer, armed with his flag and pole ... or the destroying power of a horseman, armed with a breach-loader carrying 1,000 yards .. of whom you can see nothing but the quick flashes of his rifle as he lies behind cover, whilst his horse is carefully sheltered by a mounted comrade 200-300 yards behind, yet instantly available to carry him out at speed to a new position by flanking fire (93).*

South Australian citizen soldiers had always been in favour of mounted infantry but that idea was only very reluctantly accepted by their British commandants. The conventional British idea of the role of the cavalry persisted, despite the fact that some of the most spectacular cavalry charges during the Franco-Prussian War, including Mars-la-Tour, were failures.

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The writings of Canadian militia captain, A. T. Denison, were known to South Australians (94) and possibly played their part in influencing Australian military thought. Denison had shown that mounted infantry was superior to ordinary cavalry, particularly when armed with breach loading carbines and operated as a squadron rather than as a regiment, with far greater manoeuvrability, particularly over open ground (95).

Closer to home, General Hutton of New South Wales felt that the role of the Australian mounted rifles most closely approached the tactics used so successfully by the Boers, particularly over long distances (96) while the Victorian commandant, Sir Charles Holleth-Smith, put his preferences even more bluntly.

Ordinary cavalry had to face too many obstacles in Australia. He claimed that the employment of large bodies of mounted infantry in South Africa had been one of the major factors leading to the British defeats at the hands of the Boers (97).

Despite official reluctance, public pressure, and the recommendations of the Colonial Defence Committee, forced the government's hand. Although mounted troops had been in existence in South Australia for some time, the *mounted infantry* was not formally

constituted till 1887, and then only as part of the unpaid volunteer force, rather than of the paid militia.

The fitting out of mounted troops was a costly business, about £20 per man, exclusive of the cost of the horse. The government was naturally reluctant to pay for a force which could just as effectively be established on a voluntary basis because it was popular, particularly among well-to-do citizens, doubtless not for military reasons alone: the glittering uniforms must have had something to do with it (98).

The Transvaal War was closely followed by the South Australian press; there were lessons to be learnt. Conditions in South Africa closely resembled what might have happened in Australia: a well-trained professional army, fighting more or less loosely organised citizen soldiery. Great prominence was given to a speech by General Roberts in the Guild Hall, London, 1881, where he stressed the superiority of the citizen soldier, highly proficient in marksmanship over long ranges and capable of taking every advantage, offered by the natural cover of a terrain with which he was thoroughly familiar (99).

Not everyone accepted parallels between South Africa and South Australia. In South Australia, Colonel

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**MEDALS INTERNATIONAL.** Collectors of orders, decorations and medals are advised of a monthly periodical entitled "Medals International". The magazine contains articles on military campaigns, medal research, book reviews, medal rolls, dealers' lists and usually plenty of photographs.

Subscription rates are \$11 per year posted 2nd class airmail to Australia and is published by Epic Publishing Ltd. (UK), P.O. Box 4PX, London W1A, ENGLAND.



Downes, disagreed (100), and pointed out the differences in terrain between the Transvaal and the coastal plains near Adelaide (101).

But even Downes, though disagreeing in principle, accepted changes in tactical doctrine. From the early eighties onwards, his field exercises usually took the form of an approach to contact through hostile country, with pockets of enemy troops. Progress, and ultimate victory, depended on skirmishing tactics (102).

Proficiency in skirmishing meant a combination of *marksmanship* and *field craft*. Traditional British training in musketry fell far short of the tactical requirements of the day. During the Sudan war (1885) the *Observer* pointed out, gleefully, that there was evidence of Arabs being first-rate marksmen who, like the Boers, had never seen the manual of the Hythe practice" (103).

From the eighties onwards, the South Australian Government refused to subsidise rifle clubs — they did not train skirmishers (104).

Overseas military experience had successfully swayed public opinion in favour of a citizen soldiery, trained on more or less informal lines, but proficient in marksmanship in the field, highly mobile, and capable of taking advantage of natural cover. It remained for the Colonial Defence Committee to influence formal organisation and administration of the forces.

## The Influence of the Colonial Defence Committee

Until the late seventies, military advice to the colonies had been sporadic. Officers of the Royal Navy, or visiting generals, had been consulted, in an

almost private capacity. Reports furnished by Jervois or Scratchley were not made in an Imperial context and, in most cases, only with the blessings of the Colonial Office, without reference either to the War Office, or to the British Government as a whole. Again, the advice was, at best, semi-official.

Conversely, the British Government had no established machinery for obtaining co-ordinated information about the state of Colonial defences. By the late seventies, the need for a governmental *co-ordinating agency* had become quite pressing.

1878 saw the birth of the first *Colonial Defence Committee (C.D.C.)*. It consisted of officials from the Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office and the Colonial Office, and its chief concern was the defence of coaling stations and maritime commerce.

Jervois had been in touch with the Committee when he visited Britain in 1878 but the C.D.C. showed little interest in South Australia (105), other than to convey the official naval policy laid down by the Admiralty: that the Royal Navy would always protect ports of strategic significance, but could not detach individual ships from the respective squadrons. The colonists must provide their own naval coast and port defences.

The Admiralty would be prepared to supervise the building of any ships, and would make personnel available from the retired list (106). But, the colonies were told in no uncertain manner, the Royal Navy would always remain *fully* at the disposal of the British Government (107).

From 1885 onwards, the C.D.C. exercised a considerable influence on

colonial defence, both through local defence committees and through its comments on the annual colonial defence returns.

The C.D.C. was thus able to make recommendations for the composition of local committees, the organisation of the local command structure, and the assessment of local defence resources, as well as arrangements for submarine defences and for the safety of the local population (108).

For instance, it was the C.D.C. which suggested the changes in the South Australian command structure, reported in the Defence Scheme of South Australia (109). Similarly, on reviewing the naval commandant's annual report for the year 1893, the C.D.C. suggested a change in the armament of *H.M.C.S. Protector*, as well as recommending certain changes in guns for the Port River area, and searchlights for the forts (110).

The South Australian Government did not always heed the Committee's advice. For instance, the reappointment of Major General Downes to his second tour of duty in the Colony was unsuccessfully opposed by the secretary of the Committee, who considered that the revolution in both armament design and in tactics was such, "that the old fossils were hopelessly behind," and that it would be far better to appoint a competent officer from England than "paying an officer while he is learning his trade." (111).

The C.D.C. was quite independent of the official views expressed by other senior British offices. For instance, the C.D.C. disagreed with some of the recommendations made by General Edwards. The Committee did not consider a force of 30,000 to 40,000 men,

concentrated against territorial aggression, necessary, because aggression on such a scale was considered most unlikely in the light of Australia's distance from potential aggressors and the logistic support which would have been required by the enemy. The C.D.C. recommended that highly mobile, smaller defence forces should be available for instant mobilisation in the threatened coastal districts.

The Committee also made the point that forces should not necessarily be restricted to passive defensive warfare, but should be capable of mounting an offensive against any point in Australia's vicinity which could become the basis of hostile action against the whole continent (112).

On occasion, the C.D.C. was asked to give its approval to direct requests from the Colony. An example was South Australia's request for the granting of the title *Royal* to its permanent artillery.

Major Nelson, the secretary of the C.D.C. advised the Colonial Office that according to the latest returns (1898) South Australia permanent artillery totalled some twenty-five N.C.O.'s and men and he did not know "under what pretext this could be termed a regiment" (113).

There were other areas in which South Australia's defence effort had failed to impress the War Office, and the Colony's requests had to be refused; but these matters were dealt with very gently, almost informally, and the refusals couched in terms which would not hurt anyone (114).

The influence of the C.D.C. was not spectacular, but it made itself felt in a number of ways. The Committee advised mainly on technical matters, and on

matters of policy which could have Imperial significance. It also acquired a thorough understanding of colonial defence problems (for instance, the raising of unpaid volunteer units was not regarded as being in the best interests of colonial defence) without interfering in the domestic problems of the Colony. Thus, the controversy regarding payment or non-payment of citizen soldiers, was an issue left to the Colony to work out for herself.

On the whole, it may be said that in matters of strategy and tactical doctrine the defence policy of South Australia was shaped by external factors. The question of the type of force best suited to protect the Colony was an internal problem, and apart from some gentle guidance by the C.D.C., the problem was left to the colonists to solve. In anticipation of a possible threat, they fought each other with theories for the best part of a century.

## **Emergency of a Colonial Defence Policy.**

The development of South Australia's defence policy followed a torturous course and exhibited so many stops and starts that one could be inclined to deduce that there was no coherent development but rather a picture of continuous changes and varying premises.

Yet, the evidence indicates that the numerous parliamentary inquiries and recommendations by local and Imperial naval and military authorities appeared to set a series of self-contained patterns which evolved from one to the other as the century progressed. These patterns reflected the Colony's attitude to Empire,

her fears of aggression, her appreciations of possible attacks and the kinds of defence measures thought necessary and eventually implemented.

In the eighteen fifties and early sixties South Australia as a self-governing Colony, took membership of Empire for granted.

Europe was far away and conflagrations there which might involve England, were not thought likely to have an appreciable effect on the Colony. England protected her off-spring on sea — the Royal Navy ruled the waves, and on land — the British army was the most effective in the world, at least, so the colonists thought, until the end of the fifties.

In the early sixties winds of change were felt in the Colony. Great Britain began to insist on colonial military self-reliance because she intended to withdraw her garrisons. The colonists took notice. In any case, their belief in the military might of England had been somewhat shattered by the poor showing of Imperial troops in New Zealand.

The Colony's awareness of the need to be self-reliant was further strengthened by the concern over French activities in the Pacific and vague fears of acts of aggression by American or Russian naval units.

The colonists had no clear conception what forms these attacks would take. While the possibility of even a temporary military occupation of any part of the Colony was never seriously considered, naval attacks were thought likely, either by fleet action followed by temporary landings of raiding parties or by naval raids of single ships. The best means of countering such threats were therefore, a well-trained citizen force

sufficiently mobile to meet enemy raiding parties anywhere along the coastline. Although some thought was given to fixed defences for protecting the entrance to the Port River, no concrete steps were taken to erect permanent fortifications.

In the late sixties and seventies South Australia's attitude towards Empire changed rather drastically. There was no longer any doubt about Britain's military presence in the Australian colonies: by 1870 England had withdrawn her garrisons.

At the same time, the emergence of strong European powers and resultant possibility of sustained British involvement necessitating the concentration of her resources in Europe, made the colonists doubt the wisdom of close connection with the Empire. They realised that this situation, aggravated by the emergency of Russia as the most likely threat to their safety, called for defence preparedness of a high degree.

In the eyes of the colonists the pattern of the possible threat to their safety had not materially changed from the previous period: while the Royal Navy would always protect the first line of defence, the sea communications, the temporary landing of raiding parties from one or, at most, a few hostile naval units was still thought possible. The colonists had also become aware that the second line of defence, the protection of coastal waters, was no longer secure. Britain had made it clear that Royal Navy units would no longer be available for this purpose, and, consequently, the colonies would have to protect the approaches to their shores themselves. To enable the colonies to do so, she had passed the *Colonial Naval Defence Act* of 1865.

The colonists also realised that developments in ordnance and in tactics called for more sophisticated counter-measures and a higher degree of training than was previously thought necessary. Although they began to lean towards the concept of fixed defences based on the employment of powerful coastal artillery, the major emphasis was still on mobile defences manned by well-trained citizen soldiers, versed not only in marksmanship but also proficient in fire and movement.

The eighties witnessed a change in Empire relations. England began to see the colonies as an asset rather than as a liability and began to encourage them to participate in Empire defence. The colonies also changed their attitude to Empire: they began to identify themselves as members of the British family and felt that a nation at war with England would also be at war with themselves. They had, by that time, firmly adopted the principle of defence by *self-reliance within the Empire*.

Thus the growing threat of Russia to India made South Australia hasten her defence preparedness. In the first instance, the Colony sought to secure her third line of defence, the protection of the vital littoral districts, and, subsequently to establish her second line of defence, the protection of the South Australian coastal waters. Consequently, the Colony erected coastal fortifications and established a naval force.

The emphasis on fortifications and complex defence equipment necessitated the raising of highly skilled permanent defence personnel. At the same time, the possibility of enemy landings, however small, out of range of the coastal

fortifications was considered a distinct possibility, which, in turn, required an even higher degree of discipline and skill on the part of the mobile forces. In other words, there was no longer a place for the amateur citizen soldier, only interested in rifle shooting as a sport.

In the middle eighties and early nineties the bonds with Empire had become firmly established and defence of Empire had become an accepted obligation on the part of the colonies, so much so that some of the colonies were prepared to contribute to the defence of Empire beyond their own shores. The Russian threat had receded, but the emergency of Germany, both as a

European and a Pacific power, caused concern in the Australian colonies. Their military planners foresaw the possibility of colonial forces acting on a federal basis in the Pacific and, perhaps, even elsewhere in the interests of Empire defence.

At the same time developments in naval architecture and naval ordnance had accelerated the obsolescence of South Australia's second and third line of defence, which, moreover were increasingly costly to maintain. Consequently, the defence effort shifted towards mobile defences, manned, primarily, by citizen soldiers organised on a uniform basis, which could readily be placed into a federal system.

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## WILL DYSON

*by ROSS McMULLIN*

September 3, 1980 was the centenary of the birth in Ballarat of Will Dyson, Australia's greatest cartoonist and war artist.

Remarkably gifted, Dyson was described by writer Vance Palmer as "perhaps the most authentic genius we have produced," and yet his memory is buried in unwarranted obscurity.

After initially struggling to make an impression as a caricaturist with the *Bulletin* and other publications, Dyson left Australia in 1910 to try his luck in London. He was a sensational success. Appointed as an unknown to the *Daily Herald*, an "obscure little sheet begun

during a printers' strike," Dyson was given a whole page and complete freedom of expression.

He seized the opportunity gratefully. His savage, penetrating drawings earned him a reputation, as the first genuine cartoonist England had seen in decades, the *Daily Herald* became highly sought after and even perused in fashionable clubs, and before long Dyson was the best known Australian in London.

Not only was he a talented cartoonist. His artistic gifts extended to mastery over other techniques. Exhibitions of his satirical etchings were acclaimed in New York and London. He was a superb conversationalist and after

dinner speaker. His matchless wit was also displayed in impromptu comic performances; many of his friends were amusing in these skits but Dyson's amazing, spontaneous flow of lunacy on such occasions reduced many a chance onlooker to helpless laughter.

Further evidence of the multiplicity of his talents is his facility with verse, and some of his prose dealing with the First World War ranks with the most moving literature ever written by an Australian about that tragic and divisive era.

But there was a dark, tragic side which scarred his life. His sensitivity precluded an easy existence, and he was prone to severe periods of gloomy blackness. They were intensified by the First World War, which he found — as did so many idealistic Australians — a shattering experience from which he never recovered.

Will Dyson was one of the younger children of a large family which moved from Ballarat to Melbourne. Elder brothers, writer Ted and cartoonist Ambrose, provided a literary and artistic environment, which was enhanced by early contact with the prodigiously talented Lindsay family.

Norman Lindsay was his particular friend. Together they struggled to master the skills of draughtsmanship while enjoying life to the full, including the pleasures of female company. the "inspired larrikin," as Will was known in those days, was nominally living with his family but slept more often on a bed at Norman's studio; they had an arrangement there that whenever one was entertaining a woman the other had to make himself scarce.

Some years later Will and Norman's sister Ruby married, and Will, Norman and Ruby left for England. A domestic

disagreement so nettled Norman that the friendship was ruptured and he returned to Australia.

Dyson remained and became famous. The *Daily Herald* cartoons which made his reputation were large, fierce and dramatic. They exposed the inequality, suffering and hypocrisy which Dyson observed in England with indignant, uncompromising abhorrence. In tepid pre-war London they created a storm; a volume of his cartoons published by the *Daily Herald* sold out within a month.

When the First World War broke out Dyson's support of the Allies' involvement was mirrored in his series of anti-German drawings known as the *Kultur Cartoons*.

With his renowned relentless savagery he drew bloated autocrats and grotesque inhuman figures to attack Prussian militarism and its embodiment the Kaiser. These drawings were exhibited and highlighted for propaganda purposes. They owed much to the widespread emotionalism prevalent early in the war to which, as Dyson later regretted, he had succumbed.

After Dyson became Australia's first official war artist and witnessed the real war himself, his attitude changed completely. Horrified by what he saw at the Western front, the focus of his attention became not kaisers and militarists but the stoic sufferers enduring the indescribable in the trenches.

"No other official artist, British or Australian, in the Great War saw a tenth part as much of the real Western Front as did Will Dyson," wrote Australia's official war correspondent, Charles Bean. Dyson worshipped the Australian soldiers, trudged miles, often into



dangerous forward areas, to observe them in action, and was wounded twice.

He shunned the company of lofty military eminence, often quartered in relatively plush chateaux some distance from the front line; he felt distinctly uncomfortable in such surroundings while the ordinary diggers suffered in the trenches.

"I never cease to marvel, admire and love, with an absolutely uncritical love, our louse ridden diggers," he wrote home; they "are of the stuff of heroes and are the most important thing on earth at this blessed moment."

His brilliant drawings reflect his sensitivity and poignant empathy with the fatigue, prolonged strain and the

heroism of resigned endurance which characterized a trench existence. "I'll never draw a line except to show war as the filthy business it is," he told Bean.

Some of his drawings were published in a book, *Australia At War*. As he pointed out in the preface the drawings "are not primarily cheerful — but it is open to doubt whether we are behaving generously in demanding that the soldier who is saving the world for us should provide us with a fund of light entertainment while doing it."

This denotes a theme Dyson was concerned to emphasize — the chasm between the trench experience and civilians' perception of it. In fact, outstanding as the drawings are, his



accompanying inscriptions often stressing this theme are even more moving.

The end of the war found him at a low ebb. Depressed about the fate of the postwar world and also his own place in it, he felt older and looked it.

“He has been very worried and unsettled lately, looks years older and is very grey,” wrote his wife Ruby, “I couldn’t get over the change in him last time he came back.”

Furthermore, he had financial difficulties owing to bureaucratic delays in forwarding what was owed to him. Drained by the war, conscious of the battering it had inflicted on his ideals, he wondered “whether I have got any punch left” as a cartoonist.

He lost his wife during the Spanish Influenza epidemic in March 1919. Ruby was a strikingly beautiful woman, kindhearted, shy and generous, she was

also a very fine illustrator whose best work attained the highest standards.

“There are few women in the world,” wrote Charles Bean, “in whom pure loveliness, goodness and brilliance are combined, and Ruby was one of them.”

Her uncomplicated warmth contrasted with her husband’s tortuous depressions, yet as a couple and as artists they blended well and it was a particularly happy marriage. Will never recovered from her death.

“It was for Rube I worked — this I did not know till she went — but I can do nothing now without feeling it has no object.”

During the ensuing grief-stricken months he produced a book of verse entitled *Poems in Memory of A Wife* and a commemorative volume of her art, *The Drawings of Ruby Lind*, for which he wrote an emotional preface:



"Her going had a tragedy and a poignancy above other deaths ... it was as though War before departing utterly from us had added her death as a footnote, to enrich with a final commentary the tale of his crowded horror."

Dyson's misery was worsened by his dissatisfaction with the *Daily Herald*. Paper shortages and a changed editorial policy (which gave him one column rather than a whole page as before) meant that he felt "very much down and out as a cartoonist."

Pessimism pervaded him: "Isn't the situation appalling — we are being bitched, bugged and bewildered from one end of the universe to the other."

In this mood he drew his most famous and remarkably prophetic cartoon, in which he predicted a second world war in 1940.

The situation at the *Daily Herald* eventually became intolerable, and he resigned in 1922.

In 1925 he returned to Australia "with the most infernally mixed feelings and some grave doubts." They were well founded: it was not a happy return.

Employed initially on *Punch* and, after it folded, elsewhere within the Melbourne *Herald* organization, he felt stifled, frustrated and unappreciated. Trivial and superficial drawings were required of him, rather than the biting, penetrating satires on worldwide issues which had made his name.

But his discontent went far deeper. He felt crushed by the suburban deadness and mediocrity of Melbourne, where, he complained, "the artist or man of ideas could only live on sufferance." His frustration led him to dabble in other artistic techniques, including etching and drypoints, which he eventually mastered.

The one compensation of his return to Australia was the renewal of his warm association with the digger. There was a brief but spirited public controversy between Dyson and Sir John Monash, who had criticised the harshness with which war artists had portrayed the diggers' faces, a criticism which Dyson convincingly rebuffed.

His continued treatment of war themes was deservedly praised, and his unique and magnificent drawings of the Australian soldiers remain, in the words of the Official History, "a monument to them and to himself."

In 1930 Dyson left Australia, the land he described as "a beautiful country to die in," and made for America, where his new satirical etchings were a great success in New York. Refusing an attractive offer to remain, he returned to London where his arrival was a considerably publicised event and his exhibited etchings were again acclaimed.

He then rejoined the *Daily Herald*, but it is a subdued and restricted shadow of its former self. So was its re-engaged cartoonist, although there were frequent opportunities to maintain his well merited fame as a superb conversationalist and after dinner speaker. On January 21 1938 he died suddenly while relaxing in an armchair. Nettie Palmer's reaction forms a suitable epitaph: "Something extraordinarily vital and irreplaceable has gone."

Today, however, he is largely forgotten, although his old friend Norman Lindsay's centenary not long ago was heralded far and wide. Will Dyson was a tragic figure, with his deep depressions and his unhealed mental wounds from the First World War including the loss of Ruby during its aftermath.

# BOOK REVIEWS

**LEBANON TO LABUAN** by Lawrence Fitzgerald, Holmes, Melbourne, 124pp, hard cover, maps, illustrations, 230mm x 290mm.

One of the problems facing those interested in military history is the hiatus which exists between the 'official' history of a particular War or Campaign and the personal reminiscences (or apologia) of those who have taken part in a campaign be they generals or akin to rifleman Harris. Sometimes this gap is overtaken by regimental histories which provide much useful and informative detail at the unit level, and to a varying extent the prowess, and characters of unit 'personalities' from privates, through corporals to colonels. To this extent this book is unique, since it does not deal with a corporate body which under most circumstances remains a distinct entity, but with an important and frequently overlooked Corps which from its very junction must be spread thinly in 'pennypockets' over the whole strategic area.

To front line units the work of the Australian Survey Corps is largely taken for granted, rather like the arrival of ammunition and rations. The infanteer always had his minor grouses — why for instance is it necessary for generals to fight their wars where the corners of four maps meet? Nevertheless maps are not produced without an immense amount of foot-slogging and technical expertise, and are a vital tool, the importance of which, like rations and ammunitions, does not become starkly apparent until the moment of deprivation. A tool whose absence or inaccuracy would mean the difference between survival or destruction.

Brigadier Fitzgerald's aim is to tell the story of the wartime Australian Survey Corps and its units, and this he has admirably achieved. Plotting his course with precision he take sthe reader from preparations prior to the outbreak of War in 1939 through the Middle East and South West Pacific Campaigns, and on the Home Front. He highlights the problems encounted and how these were overcome, through deserts, mountains, deep winter and tropical rainforests. Far from taking maps for granted front line troops could occasionally spare a thought for the efforts involved by the men which made them possible.

This book is well produced and abundantly illustrated, but alas not completely free from proof-reading gremlins. It is a timely tribute to the wartime work of an exceptional Corps, and while of general interest and filling an important gap in our knowledge can only be of primary interest to those intimately connected with the working of the Corps and its units.

The Royal Australian Survey Corps is unique in the western world as an investigation of the organizations of other armies will show. Military survey has had an important, if largely overlooked role in our civil and military history, and it is to be hoped that a general history of the Corps will not be long forthcoming.

For that matter the gauntlet is down, will other Corps take up the challenge?

M. AUSTIN

**EUROPEAN WEAPONS AND ARMOUR**, Ewart Oakeshott, published by Lutterworth Press, U.K., 288 pages, distributed by Cambridge University Press (Australia) Pty. Ltd. Recommended retail \$66.50.

This book is well researched and written by an author who has a considerable knowledge of the subject. The first few chapters have the initial enthusiasm with contemporary examples to emphasise statements, but over a period of ten years, which I believe the work took to produce, the closing chapters take the form more of an afterthought or reference text.

The author has succeeded in, as he says, presenting 'a sketch' of the development of weapons from the fifteenth century until the end of the eighteenth and includes many weapons that other writers have passed over. The segments on the mace, war hammer and pole arms are very interesting as they describe the reasons for their invention together with the subsequent improvements and use.

Armour is obviously Mr Oakeshott's strong point as the chapters involved are descriptive and give excellent coverage for its development and decline. Drawings are in abundance and I am sure that without them many readers would be lost amongst the many names used for the parts of a suit of armour.

I feel that this book, however good, will not sell in quantity within Australia, not because of the price, but because of the availability and lack of interest in medieval armour and weapons. For the period enthusiast and historian the work with 12 pages of monochrome prints as well as its numerous line drawings is above average and worth purchasing.

R. C. H. COURTNEY

## FOR SALE BY TENDER

*The Society has been given a copy of:*

### **Uniforms of the Scottish Regiments by P. H. Smitherman**

*to be sold for the benefit of the Society.*

The book, published by Hugh Everlyn Ltd of London in 1963, comprises twenty handsome colour prints together with a brief description of each uniform illustrated. Each print is on a separate page measuring 370 mm x 240 mm. Subjects include:

- Highlander, Independent Company, c.1730
- Officer, 79th Cameron Highlanders, 1814
- Sergeant-Major, Royal Scots Fusiliers, 1900
- Sergeant, Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, 1914
- Officer, Black Watch, 1939
- Officer, King's Own Scottish Borderers, 1959

Funds raised will be placed in the Society Publication Fund. Tenders should be forwarded to reach the Federal Secretary by the closing date, 30 June 1981. The highest tender shall be accepted but Federal Council reserves the right to reject a tender if it considers that such tender does not represent a fair value. The successful tenderer will be advised and the book despatched on receipt of the tender price in Australian currency.

# Private Alexander Kruger — A Near V.C.

by MICHAEL R. S. DOWNEY

**9th February 1900 at Slingersfontein, near the Orange River.**

*CITATION: On the 9th February 1900 Private Kruger of the 1st West Australian Mounted Infantry was a member of a patrol of 30 men ordered to hold an exposed position on an isolated hill at Slingersfontein. From 6 in the morning until 7 in the evening the patrol defied the Boers who surrounded and vastly out-numbered them.*

*At about 10.00am in the morning Sergeant Hensman moved out to an exposed position on the right flank in an attempt to repel a party of Boers who were closing in on the outpost. He was badly wounded and collapsed with a shattered right thigh. Private Kruger immediately left his trench and, under heavy fire, bound up the Sergeant's wounds and built a stone parapet around him. The Boers then attempted to rush the position but Private Kruger killed four of them with rifle fire. Kruger was wounded in the hand and had his helmet and bandolier holed by enemy fire.*

*When darkness fell the West Australians were able to infiltrate out through the Boer lines. Private Kruger refused medical assistance for himself and insisted on leading the Doctor and stretcher bearers back through the enemy lines to recover Sergeant Hensman. The General Officer commanding congratulated the 30 men on their courage and determination. Their stand against 300 Boers had entirely frustrated the enemy's attempt to turn the flank of the position. The position so magnificently defended was named "West Australian Hill." LONDON GAZETTE.....*

the Boer War. They sailed on November 7, 1899 in the transport "Medic". Kruger was 33 years old, 5 foot 6 inches tall, weighed 10 stone 4lbs and "was as hard as nails."

During the voyage Kruger met Major William Reay, an Australian war correspondent. In his book "With the Australian regiment from Melbourne to Bloemfontein" (printed in Melbourne late in 1900) Reay devotes a chapter to a conversation with Kruger.

"I had seen him at drill, and noted his smartness and accuracy. I had seen him doing sentry-go and noted him as one who knew his job." Reay stated: "If Kruger should happen to get the Victoria Cross in South Africa these statistics may

Alexander Kruger was born at Ballarat, Victoria in 1867. His father was a German and his mother came from Northern Ireland. He worked in the foundry at Ballarat and studied engineering. During his spare time he served in the 3rd Battalion of Volunteers where he became an excellent soldier and skilled marksman. He moved West in the late 1880's taking over management of a number of mines. However, a depression forced him to leave and take to his rifle to earn a living.

He became an expert Kangaroo shooter "making nine to ten pounds a week."

Kruger enlisted in the 1st West Australian Infantry on the outbreak of

be found useful. Surely I was in my best prophetic vein in November. In February 1900, at Slingsfontein, Kruger handsomely established his right to wear the Victoria Cross."

The West Australians arrived at Cape Town on November 27, 1899. Here they joined with Victorian, South Australian, Tasmanian and N.S.W. units to form "The Australian Regiment." They joined the Kimberly Relief Force on December 1st and were employed on the lines of communication between De Aar and Modder River.

On February 1, 1900 the Western Australian Company were converted into Mounted Infantry. At this stage the Contingent was commanded by Major H. G. Moore, a British regular soldier formerly of the Royal Artillery. Moore was a strict disciplinarian. He was killed in action in July 1900.

Moore led the patrol during the action at Slingsfontein. Whilst out reconnoitering, the West Australians had made contact with a strong body of Boers. Taking up positions on an adjoining hill the Australians engaged the entire Boer force opposed to them in a fight which lasted all day, responding to the cry of "Surrender" with an answering shout "No Surrender!" To which was added Moore's stern command to his men, "Fix bayonets."

When Hensman was wounded Kruger heard him call out "They have broken both my legs: for God's sake, someone come and help me — I am bleeding to death."

Kruger immediately crawled out, "bullets splashing around him," to where Hensman lay. He took off his own puttees and, using Hensman's rifle as a splint, bound up his left leg, then

bandaged the wounds on the right leg, stopping the bleeding.

He then attempted to build a low parapet around the wounded man. Private Conway was shot through the head whilst trying to help Kruger.

Hensman, who later died of his wounds, said "the bullets were flying all around Kruger. I shall never forget him."

Subsequently the West Australians joined General Clements Column. On February 21 Kruger led a fighting patrol and "personally emptied seven Boer saddles."

In June Kruger, like many others, contracted enteric fever. At first he refused to leave his comrades but finally collapsed whilst on sentry duty. He was invalided to Australia and arrived in Perth in August 1900.

The West Australian Sunday Times noted: "Those who have been invalided home have received a welcome back that has been cold and unfeeling.

"After his heroic conduct at Slingsfontein the one man in Australia who should have been tendered a public welcome was Krygger (sic) of the First contingent, one of the first in Australia to gain the coveted V.C.

He was met at the station by a Sergeant Major and the few civilians who happened to be there raised a feeble cheer when they learned who he was."

The Western Mail reported: "During the afternoon Private Krygger was entertained at Fremantle where a cordial welcome was extended to him. Proposing his health Mr R. Russell spoke eulogistically of the heroic behaviour of Private Krygger at Slingsfontien. He congratulated him on being the first member of the West Australian forces to

gain the much coveted recommendation for the Victoria Cross."

The Ballarat press noted Kruger's return. "This brave trooper is a native of Ballarat. Although a namesake of the Transvaal President he is a loyal subject of the Queen and is now famous as having obtained the V.C. for one of the bravest deeds of the present war."

The paper's artist produced a graphic illustration depicting this action.

In London the Illustrated London News stated "Alone among the colonies Australia has never held a V.C. This reproach has been taken away by Trooper Morris N.S.W. Lancers who rescued a wounded comrade at Arundel and Trooper Kruger of the West Australians has also won the coveted distinction."

But like Tom Morris, Alexander Kruger never, in fact, received his "coveted distinction." He was not mentioned in official despatches. For his services in South Africa he received the Queen's medal with one lonely bar "Cape Colony."

It has not been possible to unravel this mystery from official sources. To start with one can speculate that Kruger had the "wrong" name. One can imagine some staff officer in the Honours and Awards section reacting to the notification that one of the first Australians recommended for the V.C. was named "Kruger."

But this is a frivolous comment. I think the real truth lies in the relationship between Major Moore — the stern regular — and Kruger, a typical hard-bitten Australian soldier.

On the evening before Slingersfontein Sergeant Hensman had Kruger up before Major Moore for neglecting to obey an order.

Kruger thought that he was hardly treated and in typical Australian fashion vowed to get even with Hensman some day. The following morning he almost gave his life for his Sergeant.

In Major Moore's account of the skirmish, held by the State Library in Perth, he makes no mention of Private Kruger at all. He does mention Private Conway going to Hensman's assistance.

When Kruger was suffering from enteric fever he collapsed on sentry duty. Moore had him charged with sleeping on duty. The charge was never proceeded with as Kruger left for hospital.

It seems amazing that nobody bothered to ask the question "What's happening to Kruger's V.C.?" Kruger (and Morris) feature in a series of cigarette cards "V.C. Heroes — Boer War." These were printed late in 1902.

Kruger received some help from the Patriotic Fund in 1901 when injuries he received in South Africa prevented him from gaining employment. During World War One he served on the staff of Black Boy camp. He did not serve overseas. Alexander Kruger died in 1940.

In a letter written to Kruger by Sarah Hensman, mother of the man he tried to save, she says "No mere words can express my gratitude and deep sense of obligation but I pray God to bless you in all things and to bring you safely through."

Perhaps, for Alexander Kruger, this meant far more than the decoration he never received.

# Theft from RAAOC Museum, Bandiana September 27-29, 1980

The RAAOC Museum at Bandiana, near Wodonga, Victoria, was broken into over the weekend September 27-29, 1980. A large quantity of material was stolen from the Museum including arms. Some of the items stolen were on loan from members of the Albury-Wodonga Branch of the Society. A list of the stolen material is given below.

Should any Society member acquire information concerning any of this material please contact the President of the Albury-Wodonga Branch:

Mr Don Campbell,  
131 Borella Road,  
Albury. N.S.W. 2640

Vickers Machine Gun .303 Calibre with tripod. Return spring and shroud removed. (Drill purpose) Registered No. 4053.

US Army 39/45 Vintage Flame Thrower - 3 bottle back pack less nozzles and hoses.

Gas Mask - Type issued to civilians - less carrying case. US manufacture 1943.

Sam Browne Belt in Display Case. Case includes information on origin and history of belt.

Qty. 12 Arm Bands of various types - similar to Air Raid Warden arm bands, RTO etc.

Japanese Officer's Samurai Sword with leather handgrip and scabbard.

New Pattern Naval Officers Samurai Sword with corded handle and scabbard.

Type 98 Army Officers Sword - as above.

Japanese Naval Button with anchor motif.

Japanese Imperial Army Infantry Combat Badge.

Japanese Multi Barrell Flare Pistol - approx. 10" long 3 Barrels.

Grenade Discharger type 89 Japanese.

Qty. 3 Japanese Campaign Ribbons

- 6th class Rising Sun Medal
- China Incident Commemoration
- Red Cross Medal.

Japanese Rubberised waistbelt 2" wide.

Japanese Marine Tunic and Cap - Short type jacket - both jungle green.

Japanese Bank Note - overprinted "Finschafen".

50 Sen Note - no overprint.

Electric Exploder Dynamo - Japanese 39/45 Square Box with typical plunger.

Japanese Rising Sun Flag - white silk - Red dot in centre 6ft. x 4ft.

Large German National Flag - 12ft. x 6ft. Red cotton with black Swastika central on white background.

German Gas Mask - Round metal cylinder with carrying strap attached.

German Sawback Bayonet 1940 15" blade with scabbard.

Shoulder Flashers

- German Army
- Medical Corps.
- Bomb Disposal Unit.
- Coastal Artillery.



Mauser 98 rifle — sectionalized to slow working parts as a training aid.

German Naval Sword - pre Nazi period. Curved blade gold coloured hilt. Black scabbard with gold tip.

German Flare Pistol - squared barrel. Walther 10" long.

Mauser 98 rifle - sectionalized to slow working parts as a training aid.

Nozzle of German Flame Thrower 22" long with hose couplings on one end.

Mauser bayonet 1940 15" long with scabbard.

German Alpine Corps Medical Officers Back Pack - brown and white deer hide.

Pair Vietnamese Black Pyjamas with high neck top.

Pacific Islands Regiment

- shirt
- trousers light green polyester
- beret

Magazine - AK 47 with bullet hole in side.

Viet Cong Flag - 3' x 2' blue/red background with yellow star central - well faded.

Proximity Fuze - Artillery (Inert) 4" long brass.

Photo Albums - qty. 3 - black covers approx. 2" thick (historical/military events portrayed).

qty. 2 Wood Rattles - used to warn of gas attack during First World War - large version of contemporary Football Rattles.

Qty. 200 assorted 39/45 technical publications and repair manuals on assorted military vehicles and equipment (contained in 2 x fibre board cartons).

Qty. of notes relating to events of historical significance.

Vapour Detector Kit - M127 - Orange painted metal box 4" x 3".

Box of assorted WW2 colour patches, badges, lanyards and badges of rank.

Envelope containing qty. 4 car pennants including one used by Blamey (9" x 6" Aust. Flag with embroidered Rising Sun at centre bottom).

Set of 2 Aluminium Mess Tins - engraved with those theatres of war that 2/23rd Inf. Bn Served.

Italian Flare Pistol (similar to German Walther).

2/23rd Bn colour patch - diamond shape - brown over red on grey.

2/23rd Bn Lapel badge - similar design as above but enamelled metal.

#### Military Historical Society Items

British/Siamese Short Mag Lee Enfield Mk 3 Transitional 1900 Registered No. 4517T

Aust Short Mag Lee Enfield Mk 3 1943 Registered No. E53965.

Aust. Short Mag Lee Enfield Mk 3 1943 Registered No. E71628

USA/NZ Rifle No. 4 Mk 1 Enfield similar Mk 4 1943 Registered No. E7640.

Italian M1938 6.5mm Mannlicher Cargano Rifle 1941 Registered No. BD3339 or W4991.

Russian Moisin/Nagant Carbine M1944 1944 Registered No. 4T3137.

American Rifle Cal 30 Mk 1 (Garand) Registered No. 1593293.

American Carbine Cal 30 Mk 1 Registered No. 3902469.

Japanese Arisaka 7.7 mm Rifle type 99 1939 Registered No. 742040.

Wallet Waterproof 6" wide 10" long of rubberised material.

Leave or Duty Ration Book Thin 6" x 4" book brown in colour and marked as such.

Most items listed below with pencilled comments and trench positions.

Photos 9 of battle scenes.

- Map 1. British Org March 21 1918 France.
- Map 2. France Sheet 62.
- Map 3. Wytschakte French Map Sheet 28 SW and SE parts of
- Map 4. Belgium French Map Sheet 28 SW and SE parts of.
- Map 5. Arras after Bellicourt.
- Map 6. Harbonieres.
- Map 7. Hazebrouck 5A Layered.
- Map 8. German Order of Battle 22-8-1918.
- Map 9. Wind Correction Table.
- Map 10. Map North Europe.
- Map 11. Mosaic 20 5V 2B.
- Map 12. France 62° NE.
- Map 13. Aerial Survey Photograph.
- Map 14. British Battles 1918.
- Map 15. Prominent Land Marks opposite 2nd Army Front.
- Map 16. Sheets 27 ASE 36A NE.
- Map 17. Zusammendruck Amiens.
- Map 18. Notes Labour Bureau 11-12-18 Xmas Operation No. 9.

**Personal Items.**

Sam Browne Belt - old style with circular rings.

Set of South Vietnam Campaign Medals - marked - 53465 WO1 C. Lamotte.

Army Issue Bush Jacket - current style.

## **MISSING MEDALS**

The following medal groups which appear on the Society Property Register compiled by the past Curator of Society Property, the late Major R. Clark, have not been recovered following his death.

Anyone knowing the whereabouts or having knowledge which might assist the recovery of the medals is requested to contact the Federal Secretary MHSA:

Lt. Col. T. C. Sargent (RL),  
P.O. Box 30,  
GARRAN A.C.T. 2605.

All information received will be treated as confidential.

### **Groups missing:**

- BAKER A.B.** - DSO (QV), IGS with clasp HAZARA 1888 QSA, KSA, (SA01, SA02)  
1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal.
- BOLAND S.B.** - DSO (QV) QSA with bars OFS, Transvaal, SA01, SA02.
- CARNE W.M.** - British War Medal, Victory Medal, Sardinian Medal for Valour.
- MARSHALL N.** - DSO (GEO V) MC (GEO V) 1914-15 Star British War Medal.  
Victory Medal.
- PALMER E.** - QSA with bars, Cape Colony, OFS, Transvaal SA01, SA02;  
1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal; 1939-45  
War Medal, Aust Service Medal, LS & GCM, MSM.
- SLOAN H.E.** - MM\*\*, 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal. .
- SMITH B.S.** - DCM\*, British War Medal, Victory Medal 1939-45 War  
Medal, Australian Service Medal.

# The Centenary of Fort Glanville

*by A. F. HARRIS*



October 2, 1980 was an important day in the military history of South Australia, for it was the centenary of the opening of Fort Glanville, South Australia's first permanent coastal artillery battery. An excellent day's activity was organised by the National Parks and Wildlife Service, a division of the Department for the Environment, which is responsible for the administration of the Fort Glanville Conservation Park.

Cadets of the S.A. Police Force mounted a guard and rifle party — dressed in Royal Australian Artillery

uniforms of the 1903-12 period (the closest to the pre-Federation S.A. Artillery uniform available) and correctly armed with Martini-Henry carbines and Patt. 1879 sword bayonets; the 4th Military District Band provided the music, while two R.A.A. gunners plus Mr Franklin Garie (Fort historian & Interpreter) formed the gun crew — also in period uniform — on one of the 64 pdr. R.M.L. cannon.

During the course of the afternoon, the 64 pdr. was fired for the first time in about 80 years, using about 1kg. of black powder per blank charge. Three or four

shots were fired, interspersed with blank volley firing from the rifle party drawn up on the terreplein, while the band played an extract from — of course — the 1812 Overture.

Since 1976, approximately \$165,000 has been spent on restoring the Fort, although much more work (and money) is needed before the project is completed. However, in his address, the Minister of Environment, the Hon. David Wotton M.P., told visitors that the (State) Government would continue to support an ongoing and practical programme of restoration. Interested local historical groups, of which the S.A. Branch of the M.H.S.A. is one, have been invited by the Minister to form a Consultative Committee to help plan the ongoing use of the Fort, and members of these organisations have also been trained as volunteer guides, enabling the Fort to be open to the public on a more regular basis.

Following the speeches, Mr Wotton unveiled a commemorative plaque, and visitors were then invited to tour the Fort and inspect the display of documents, photographs, plans etc. mounted by the

National Parks and Wildlife Service, and to view the display of South Australian Colonial military arms, insignia and militaria staged by members of the S.A. Branch of the M.H.S.A. These displays were set up in the Officer's quarters situated in the barracks building.

Anyone who is interested in Australian Colonial military history should make a point of seeing Fort Glanville if visiting Adelaide. It is a classic example of military architecture; the carriages of the 64 pdr. guns are very rare examples of the Woolwich seige overbank type (possibly the only surviving pair in the world), while the two 20 ton 10" Armstrong R.M.L. guns are simply huge (although, unfortunately, without their carriages).

The Centenary day brought a lot of attention to the Fort which it is hoped will lead to an increased public awareness of the need to preserve what we can of Australia's military heritage. The future of Fort Glanville is secure, and its potential as an historic resource is practically limitless. A visit is highly recommended.

## Advertisements for Replica Items

Federal Council recently considered its attitude to advertisements submitted for Sabretache and notifying the availability of replica items such as badges and medals.

While in any dealings between purchasers and advertisers the rule of caveat emptor applies and the Society neither accepts responsibility for, nor warrants the accuracy of, statements made in advertisements, the Society has a responsibility to take whatever steps may be in its power to protect the integrity of the market in militaria.

In exercise of this responsibility Federal Council decided that advertisements for goods described as replica items will **NOT** be accepted unless.

- *the goods are clearly marked as a replica so as to distinguish them from the original.*
- *the goods are clearly and accurately described, giving details as to how they are marked as replicas.*

# SIEGE OF ELANDS RIVER CAMP

*by T. A. D. TRUSWELL*

## KILLED

Annatt J. W.	Lieutenant		Queensland
Duff J.	Trooper	34	New South Wales
Mitchell J.	Sgt Major	508	New South Wales
Norton C. W.	Lce Corporal	583	Victoria
Waddell J.	Trooper	327	New South Wales
Walker J. E.	Trooper	75	New South Wales

## WOUNDED

Bird F. J.	Trooper	536	Victoria
Brown J. R.	Trooper	15	Queensland
Bryce J.	Trooper	199	Queensland
Cummin D.	Trooper	286	Queensland
Currie T.	Corporal	6	New South Wales
Davidson W. A.	Trooper	95	Queensland
Dolton W.	Trooper	220	New South Wales
Fallis	Trooper	65	Queensland
Ferguston C. T.	Trooper	154	New South Wales
Goodwin J.	Trooper	68	Queensland
Harth F.	Trooper	108	Queensland
Livesay H. G.	Farr. Sgt.	26	Queensland
Masterton	Trooper	40	Queensland Died 11 Sept 1900
McLaren	Trooper	303	Queensland
Robinson J.	Trooper	235	Queensland
Rolleston G.	Trooper	126	New South Wales
Roscoe J.	Trooper	81	West Australia Died Nov 3 1900
South E. E.	Trooper	236	Queensland

## PRISONER OF WAR

Board O.W.F.	Trooper	492	New South Wales
Muir F.	Trooper	201	Queensland
Smith E.	Trooper	235	Queensland
Tasker D.	Trooper	782	New South Wales
Wait H.M.	Trooper	286	New South Wales
Young R.	Trooper	352	New South Wales

Australian Casualty List. 4 August, 1900 to 16 August, 1900.

This book is available at a cost of \$12.50 from

J G Holmes  
1st Edmonds Road  
Prahan 3181

# A British Officer Runs Amok

*by ROBERT WILLIAMS*

I noted the following report in the 'Wolverhampton Chronicle' dated February 4, 1857:

Frightful tragedy in Her Majesty's 40th Regiment:— We have received Melbourne papers to the 31st of October, and we regret that on this occasion the prominent topic is not the gold or advancing prosperity of the colony, but an incident which has occurred in Her Majesty's 40th Regiment.

The circumstances of the tragedy are these:

His Excellency the Acting Governor held the usual half-yearly inspection of the troops in garrison yesterday at the Prince's Bridge Barracks, when the 40th Regiment was paraded and went through various evolutions.

The inspection being over, the officers retired to their quarters, and Ensign Pennefather, with others, engaged in familiar and friendly conversation.

Shortly afterwards, between twelve and one o'clock, Ensign Pennefather rushed out of his room with a six-barrelled revolver in his hand, and meeting, just as he got outside of the house, Ensign Keith, he presented the pistol and fired at him.

The ball passed through Ensign Keith's cheek, and came out at the back of the neck. At this time Dr. M'Cauley was seated in an arm-chair on the grass in front of his quarters, reading.

In consequence of the accident which he met with a few weeks since by falling from the gallery upon the vestibule of the Theatre Royal, the Doctor was an invalid, and his crutch lay by his side.

After firing at Ensign Keith, Pennefather ran to where Dr. M'Cauley was sitting, and, placing the pistol on the Doctor's mouth, he fired, and the ball passed out at the back of his neck. Pennefather then looked around as if anxious to find some one else to shoot, when Ensign Lucas ran forward to wrest the pistol from him.

On seeing him approach. Pennefather fired, and shot him in the jaw. With a maniacal "Ha, ha!" the wretched man then placed the pistol to his own head and fired, the ball entering his right temple.

Such, as near as we can learn, are the brief but shocking incidents of this distressing affair.

Dr M'Cauley is dead. Several persons ran to him immediately after he was shot; he was still sitting in his chair, but life was extinct.

Ensign Lucas is severely and Ensign Keith dangerously wounded, but both are expected to recover. Of Ensign Pennefather there is no hope. By making incisions the ball and piece of skull have been removed, but the injuries are of too serious a nature to allow of a belief that the unfortunate cause of the tragedy can survive.

The commission of so frightful an act can only be attributed to a fit of insanity.

For the last three weeks Ensign Pennefather had been on the sick list, and it was generally believed that his mind was affected.

Only a few days since Dr M'Cauley is reported to have said to Pennefather, in a half-joking way, that if he didn't mend

he should have to send him to the Yarra Bend.

Whether the frenzy was provoked by any temporary cause we have not been able to ascertain, but in the absence of any such, the fit was probably owing to the sudden change in the weather and excitement of the review. As might be anticipated, the wrtched maniac has since died, and an inquest has been held on the bodies of Dr. M'Cauley and Ensign Pennefather. The evidence was conclusive as to the insanity of the poor young man — Globe.

I think that "Keith" may be a misprint for "Vieth", as I can find no "Keith" amongst the officers of the 40th at this period.

Ensign De Reufville Lucas was commissioned into the 40th (The 2nd Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot on August 17, 1855; Russell Harris Vieth on September 21, 1855; Vere F. Pennefather on December 7, 1855; and Richard Willcocks Macauley as Assistant-Surgeon on September 15, 1854.

The surgeon was particularly unlucky. Having survived a fall from a theatre gallery he was shot by one of his own comrades.

I don't know the significance of sending Pennefather to the Yarra Bend unless this is the origin of the phrase "to go round the bend," meaning to go insane.

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#### ● Polish Uniforms Presented

Three Polish Army uniforms were presented to the War Memorial by the Polish Ambassador, Mr Ryszard Frackiewicz, on Wednesday 24 September and received by Sir William Keys, a member of the Memorial's Council and National President of the Returned Services League.

A soldier's field uniform of 1939 and the desert uniform of the Carpathian Brigade, which took part in the siege of Tobruk, were specially recreated for the War Memorial in Poland after a visit by the Polish Foreign Minister, Mr Emil Wojtaszek, in 1978. The third uniform is that of a corporal in the present Polish Army.

#### ● "G for George" Presentation

Two original bomb trolleys and the replica of a 4,000lb "cookie" bomb were presented by 460 Squadron (RAAF) Association on Saturday 11 October during its third national reunion. The items were presented by Lady Dorothy Edwards, representing her husband, Air Commodore Sir Hughie Edwards, V.C., patron of the Association and a station commander of the Squadron when it was flying "G for George", the Lancaster bomber on display in the War Memorial. Sir Hughie was unable to make the trip from Sydney because of illness. The items were received on behalf of the Memorial by Dr W.D.L. Ride, a member of the Memorial's Council.

The replica bomb was made by members of the Association and finished by the RAAF. The large trolley on which it sits was found in New Zealand and was donated by the RNZAF. The smaller bomb trolley was donated by the RAAF, which also refurbished the trolleys and helped to prepare and mount them and the bomb under "G for George."

Association members and guests, who included the New Zealand High Commissioner, Mr Laurie Francis; Air Vice marshal F. W. Barnes, RAAF, representing the Chief of Air Staff; and an RNZAF representative, Group Captain N. Richardson, were able to inspect the interior of "G for George" and see an audio-visual presentation "RAAF Over Europe" in the newly-installed audio-visual unit in the adjoining gallery. The Association also laid a wreath. An appeal was made to members for items still required to restore the aircraft.

#### ● Boer gun wheels

Two wooden wheels for the Krupp Boer 75mm field gun have been received from Sovereign Hill, Ballarat, where they were being rebuilt. The gun was restored some years ago by the Royal Military College, Duntroon.

# RAAF Dakota for Berlin Museum

A RAAF Dakota aircraft has been flown to Berlin and presented to the Berlin Airlift Memorial Museum.

The aircraft, a veteran of 37 years service with the RAAF, was one of three Dakotas serving with the RAAF's Transport Support Flight at Air Base Butterworth, Malaysia.

The Minister for Defence, Mr D. J. Killen, said that the Australian Government made a gift of the Dakota as a permanent reminder of the outstanding work done by RAAF crews during the Berlin Airlift in 1948-49.

The Dakota — RAAF serial number A65-69 left Butterworth on June 5 and arrived in Berlin on June 18, flying via Bangkok, Calcutta, Bombay, Jeddah, Cairo, Athens, Marseilles and Gutersloh. The captain of the six-man crew was Flight Lieutenant Garry Edward Dunbar, 30, of Balaclava, SA.

A member of the RAAF who flew in the Berlin Airlift, Squadron Leader C.S. ('Dinny') Ryan, of Melbourne, was a member of the crew. He was a special guest at the handover ceremony in Berlin on June 20.

Sqn-Ldr Ryan, senior air traffic control officer at RAAF Base Point Cook, Vic., was a signaller during the Berlin Airlift. He flew 240 missions into Berlin, flying in mainly food and coal to break the 15-month blockade of the city.

Only one other person involved in the airlift is still serving in the RAAF. He is Air vice Marshal David Evans, a pilot, now Chief of Joint Operations and Plans, Department of Defence, Canberra.

The RAAF supplied 10 crews for the Berlin Airlift and they operated Royal Air Force Dakotas from Lubeck airport.

The 10 RAAF crews all had 'master green' instrument ratings which permitted them to operate in foul weather which 'grounded' many of the crews of allied nations. In contrast to RAF crews, whose tour of duty was three months, and United States Air Force crews, whose tour was 100 missions, the RAAF crews operated until the end of the emergency, flying more than 200 missions each.

One Australian, Flight Lieutenant M. Quinn, a pilot, was killed during the airlift. His Dakota crashed during an instrument approach to Gatow airport in November 1948.

The DC3, or Dakota (its military name) is universally regarded as one of the greatest aircraft ever built. It was affectionately known as the "Gooney Bird" by airmen the world over. No less than 10,123 of the military version were built and the remnants of them are still flying in many countries.

The RAAF had 138 Dakotas during World War II. Only 12 are still in service and these are all due to be phased out by June 30, 1981.

A65-69 will retain its RAAF markings in the Berlin museum. It is a C47B model, which was taken over by the RAAF from the United States Army Air Corps in 1943 and operated under the callsign 'CUZ.' Its USAAC serial number was 43-49866 and its Douglas Aircraft Company, USA, number was 15686 - 27127.



# Army Records in Australia 1788 - 1901

by BRIGADIER M. AUSTIN, DSO, OBE

On July 9, 1900 the Royal Assent was given to the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, and on September 17 an Order-in-Council approved a proclamation which declared that the union of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia should take effect from January 1, 1901.

The Constitution Act empowered the Commonwealth to legislate for the naval and military defence of the several constituent States, as well as of itself as a whole, and for the control of the forces necessary to execute and maintain its laws. It further vested the command-in-chief of the naval and military forces of the Commonwealth in the Governor General, and authorised him to proclaim a date for the transfer of the departments of naval and military defence from each State to the Commonwealth.

The latter step was taken in March, 1901, when control of the naval and military forces was taken over by the Defence Department, one of the seven departments of the Executive Council of the Commonwealth.

The history of the Army in Australia, therefore, falls into three main phases:

- Imperial Forces 1788 - 1870.
- Local Colonial Forces 1854 - 1901.
- Commonwealth Military Forces 1901 to date.

It is this division which dictates the type and location of Army records.

## **Imperial Forces 1788 - 1870.**

The task of guarding the convicts in the First Fleet fell to four companies of Marines (not yet Royal), under control of the Admiralty. Commencing in 1790 the marines were replaced by the New South Wales (NSW) Corps (later the 102nd Regiment) and by the end of the following year, with the exception of a company of volunteers who joined the Corps under Captain George Johnston, had left the Colony for England.

At this point it should be noted that information on individual marines, other than those who remained with the Corps is not readily available in Australia. Apart, therefore, from such obvious sources such as the *Historical Records of Australia*, and of *NSW*, and the *Australian Joint Copying Project Handbook (AJCP) — Part 7 Admiralty*, the General Musters of 1806, 1822 and 1828 (AJCP Handbook part 3 — Home Office), and the Victualling Lists (AJCP Handbook part 2 — Colonial Office), it is probably more satisfactory for researchers to seek military information direct from the United Kingdom.

The NSW Corps was involved in the deposition of Governor Bligh and as a result was replaced on the 73rd Regiment in 1810. Thus began a succession of regiments which continued until 1870,

when the last, the 18th or Royal Irish, left Australia for England.

## Local Colonial Forces 1854 - 1901.

Except for a small party of militia raised on Norfolk Island in 1788; the Sydney and Parramatta Loyal Associations at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, and Governor Gawler's Royal Brigade of Volunteer Militia in South Australia in 1840 (which soon became inactive) no local forces were raised in the colonies until the middle of the 19th Century.

Confronted by hardening British attitudes and the Crimea War, NSW, Victoria and South Australia raised local forces in 1854. Action was slower elsewhere, and it was not until 1859 that Tasmania followed suit, as did Queensland the following year, and finally Western Australia in 1867. The fortunes of these forces fluctuated widely with the possibility of aggression, and economic circumstances. Nevertheless NSW provided a small force for the Sudan Campaign in 1885, and all colonies, and the Commonwealth, provided contingents for the war in South Africa.

## The Organization of the British Army.

As a result of the "glorious revolution" in the seventeenth century the organization of the Army was fragmented and this is reflected in the type and location of military records. However, during the early Nineteenth Century the incessant drive to reduce naval and military expenditure concentrated attention on this problem and the possibility of consolidating the

various departments and agencies involved. However, it was not until 1870 that Edward Cardwell, the Secretary for War, was able to complete the reorganisation and simplification of the administration of the Army.

Until the Cardwell reforms the following were the more important agencies involved:

Board of Ordnance:

- Master General (a member of Cabinet)
- Surveyor General
- Clerk of the Ordnance (a member of Parliament.
- Principal Storekeeper (a member of Parliament)

This organization dated as far back as the fifteenth century. Its function was to supply the Navy and Army with arms and ammunition, and to provide barracks and fortifications. The Master General, by virtue of his office was Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. The Board ceased to exist in 1855 when its duties were taken over by the Secretary of State *for War*

**Secretary at War (the War Office)** A member of Parliament who can be regarded as the financial watchdog over the Army. His power and responsibilities were not regulated by statute until 1783 when he became responsible to Parliament for military Estimates, finance and accounts. The office was abolished in 1855 and the duties absorbed by the Secretary of State *for War*.

**The General Commanding-in-Chief (The Horse Guards)** A permanent Commander-in-Chief was first appointed in 1795. He commanded the infantry and cavalry. The Secretary of State for the

War Department was first appointed in 1794, and his duties enlarged in 1801 with the addition of colonial affairs (the Colonial Office). It was not until the Crimea War that a Secretary of State became responsible exclusively for colonial affairs. Throughout he was a member of Cabinet.

The Home Secretary (also in Cabinet) controlled the Militia, Yeomanry, Volunteers and the Police (The Home Office.)

### **Records available in Australia**

In general British Army records held in Australia are listed in the AJCP Handbook — Part 4, War Office, and are usually available at the State Libraries in the various State capitals.

WO12 — Muster Rolls and Pay Lists. It has already been stated that the records of ranks other than officers, are arranged by regiments, and it is consequently difficult to trace biographical information unless the number or name of the regiment is known. However, if the general dates of residence in Australia are available it is possible to narrow the search considerably.

The Muster Rolls and Pay Lists of the British army regiments which served in the Pacific are held in microfilm, although with a few exceptions are not yet listed in the Handbook, Part 4. To facilitate research the broad detail of regimental numerical sequence and chronological progression is attached as Appendixes A and B.

In addition to infantry regiments, sub-units and detachments of the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Royal Sappers and Miners also served in Australia and New Zealand. Muster Rolls for these sub-units and

detachments are not held in Australia at present. The Royal Engineers and Royal Sappers and Miners (merged after the Crimea War) were employed on Survey duties in the various Colonies, supervising convicts in Western Australia, and in building and operating the Royal Mint in Sydney. It is possible that biographical material on these men is held in the various State Archives (see Appendix D — Addresses.)

While discussing Muster Rolls and Pay Lists, it is necessary to draw attention to Veterans, Pensioners and the Royal Staff Corps, many of whom also served in Australia at various periods.

Veterans and Pensioners. The term 'pensioner' can be misleading. Certainly many were old physical wrecks, but Army reforms during the early Nineteenth Century, and the discharge of those who had completed fourteen or twenty-one years service, had considerably increased the number of middle-aged, but not necessarily unfit pensioners. Consequently from 1802 the various Invalid Battalions become known as Royal Garrison Battalions, and when that title was assumed by the Army of Reserve in 1804, as Royal Veteran Battalions. Financial considerations forced their disbandment in the early 1820's although three companies were reformed for service in Australia in 1826.

During the late 1820's serious irregularities were found in many Description Books, and as a result the pension scheme was re-organized and the system of allotting each man a regimental number introduced. About ten years later there were indications that not only did old soldiers never die, but they obstinately refused to fade away — pensions were being misapplied, misappropriated or assigned.

Consequently in 1842 the system of paying pensions was changed and it became possible to provide accurate data on the location of pensioners, thereby facilitating their subsequent organization into veteran battalions the following year.

To reduce costs, and at the same time to provide the basis for the development of a local military force, the new organization was used to raise the New Zealand Fencibles in 1846. Nominal rolls of these men and their families, are given in WO43 Correspondence.

The Muster Rolls (WO12) of the Veterans Companies listed in the AJCP are from 1810 to 1823, and from 1826 to 1832.

The records of those soldiers eligible for pension are contained in the various records of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. As far as Australia is concerned pensioners were to be used where possible as convict guards from 1849 onwards. They were used exclusively on the convict ships to Western Australia from 1850. Many of those who arrived in Tasmania were enrolled for the service of the Victorian Government and became the first troops on the gold fields early in 1852. It is possible, therefore, that additional biographical detail is held in the Archives of Victoria, Tasmania and Western Australia.

Mention of individual pensioners will be found in Australia in the class WO4 — Out Letters, Secretary at War. They are also listed by location, by regiment, in WO22 — Pension Returns. This latter class is not complete and generally only covers the following years. Queensland 1876 - 1880.

New South Wales 1845-1862, 1871-1880.  
Victoria 1845-1854, 1876-1880.

Tasmania 1845-1862, 1876-1880.  
South Australia 1845-1854.  
Western Australia 1845-1854.

The Royal Staff Corps. This Corps came into existence in 1800 as a result of action by Frederick, Duke of York, who, as General Commanding-in-Chief could not get sufficient Royal Military Artificers from the "other" Army commanded by the Master General of the Ordnance. The members of this Corps were tradesmen — carpenters, bricklayers, shipwrights, miners etc., and were to be under the direct command of the Duke of York. Their history in Australia is admirably detailed by John Passmore in *Descent*, Volume 7, Part 1 (September 1974). The Muster Rolls listed in the AJCP cover the period 1826-1829.

WO17 — Monthly Returns. While these give the names of officers they only show the numbers of other ranks. However, they are sometimes useful in tracing the regiment to which a soldier belongs since they give the location of the Headquarters and all detachments of each regiment. They also show the dates of arrival and departure, and name of the ship, of the regiment and its various detachments.

The AJCP Handbook, Part 4 covers the period from 1790 to 1853 for NSW, 1854 to 1865 for the Australian Colonies, 1837-1865 for Western Australia, and 1847 to 1865 for New Zealand. Royal Engineer officers are covered from 1835 to 1850. It will be noticed that a gap exists from 1866 to 1870 when the last of the imperial troops left Australia. However, information relating to this period is printed in the Annual Returns of the Army presented to the House of Commons.

WO25 Registers. Regimental Description and Succession Books,

Service Returns No. 1, Casualty Returns and Muster Master General's Index of Casualties are only held for the New South Wales Corps (102nd). Casualty Returns are held also for the Veterans from 1826 to 1830.

Judge Advocate General's Records. The following classes are held on microfilm.

WO82 Office Day Books — Daily registers of letters received with brief notes on their subjects.

WO86 District Courts Martial — Registers of charges, giving the rank, name and regiment of the accused, place of trial, and sentence covering the years 1829 - 1865.

WO89 General Courts Martial. Similar information to WO86 for the years 1812-1829.

WO90 General Courts Martial-Abroad. Similar registers to WO86 and 89 for the years 1796-1825, 1850-1900. They therefore cover the Australian colonial forces in the South African War to the end of 1900.

WO92 General Courts Martial-Registers. These set out in tabular form the information covering the years 1806-1839, contained in WO91 Courts Martial — Confirmed at Home.

**Mounted Police** Numbers of British regiments who served in the Mounted Police are in a special category.

The Mounted Police (also known initially as the "Horse Patrole" or "New Mounted Cavalry") were formed in late 1825 from members of the 3rd Regiment. This force was merged in 1844 with a small group known as the Governor's Bodyguard of Cavalry, which had been first formed from the NSW Corps by Governor King in 1801. Their colourful career came to an end in December, 1850

when they were disbanded, although a small number were employed with the NSW Gold Commissioners until August, 1854. They should not be confused with the Mounted Company of the 40th Regiment which commenced gold escort duties in Victoria in 1853.

Originally members of the Mounted Police returned to their own regiment when it departed for India at the end of its Australian tour. This system did not work very well either from a personal, or regimental or Colonial Government point of view, and from 1839 when their regiment left Sydney, mounted policemen were transferred to the incoming regiment. Consequently it is possible for one of these soldiers to have belonged to several regiments, with different regimental numbers, during their period of service with the Mounted Police, with the problem of tracing them from the Muster Rolls of one regiment to those of another.

## **The Local Colonial Forces 1854 - 1901.**

An outline of the development of the local forces in the various colonies is contained in the *Australian Encyclopedia*, Volume 2 (3rd ed, 1977). It is evident that the drive to establish such forces, and the enthusiasm of the colonists to enrol in them, fluctuated widely with the turmoil of international relations (and the general consensus of the degree of threat), and the economic circumstances of the time. While economic conditions generally affected most colonies at the one time, individual colonies did not necessarily assess the danger of international events in the same general way. Volunteer and Militia forces were raised from time to time and parades enthusiastically attended, but

with the passing of the threat, or the worsening of the economy, units rapidly withered away.

The records of the colonial military forces, where they exist, are mainly held by the various State archival authorities. A few pre-Federation military records are held by Australian Archives and the Australian War Memorial, while the records of members of the regular colonial forces who became part of the Commonwealth Military Forces held by the Central Army Records Office are sketchy.

The Treasury assumed responsibility for victualling, transport and greatcoats in 1816 when the office of Commissary General was abolished.

The Board of General Officers was chiefly responsible for the clothing of the cavalry and infantry. It was absorbed by the War Office in 1855.

The Medical Department was financially responsible to the Secretary at War, but for discipline to the General Commanding-in-Chief.

## **The Imperial Forces 1788-1870 Officers**

The service records of commissioned officers of the British Army are not readily available in Australia. In particular the following records are only available at the Public Record Office, London:

WO25 Registers. Services of officers on full or half-pay compiled in 1828 which give age on being commissioned, date of marriage, and birth of children.  
WO25 & 76 Registers. Services of officers on the Active List 1829-1919. These give date and place of birth, and particulars of marriage and children.

WO31 Commander-in-Chief's

Memoranda. These date from 1793 and occasionally give family details and birthplaces.

WO42 Certificates of birth etc., which relate to those officers who died on active service on half-pay and whose widows applied for a pension.

PMG 3 & 4 Paymaster General's Records of full and half-pay officers, which usually gives the date of death.

The military records which are available in Australia are listed in the AJCP Handbook, Part 4 — War Office. They comprise:

WO 12 Muster Rolls and Pay Lists, which usually give the names of officers on regimental strength.

WO 17 Monthly Strength Returns. These give the names of all officers on the Headquarters of the Australian Command, as well as those on the strength of all regiments in Australia and New Zealand until 1 April, 1861 when New Zealand became a separate Command.

### **Hart's Army Lists**

These are available at the National and Mitchell Libraries, and may also be held in State Libraries. They are of preliminary value and the following indicates the type of information available on officers about the middle of the Nineteenth Century:

- By Corps — Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and Royal Marines.
- By regiments — Cavalry and Infantry
- By departments — Commissariat, Medical and Chaplains retired on full and half-pay.
- On foreign half-pay.
- Militia for England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, by regiments (not always indexed.)

- War services.
- Army seniority — field ranks and above.
- Dates of promotion.
- Army and regimental seniority.
- Those who received Gold Decorations in commemoration of their services in certain Battles and Actions (1806 - 1814)
- Casualties since the last publication.

In addition to the foregoing, information may also be available in other parts of the AJCP Handbook — for example appointments and land grants in Part 2 — Colonial Office, and in the forthcoming Part 8 — Miscellaneous.

#### Other Ranks.

The main sources of information of the services of ranks other than officers are as follows:

WO12 Muster Rolls and Pay Lists.  
 WO22 Outpension records, Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

WO25 Registers — Regimental Description and Succession Books.

- Casualty Returns.
  - Service Returns No.1
- WO71, 72, 81 - 92 Judge Advocate General's Records.

WO97 Regular Soldiers' Documents.  
 WO12 — Muster Rolls and Pay Lists.

The content of these records varies widely depending on the date of compilation. Late in the Eighteenth Century these documents were compiled on a six-monthly basis, and give comparatively little information, whereas those sixty years later are on a three-monthly basis and are more comprehensive.

These Rolls are arranged by regiments in annual volumes. It is therefore difficult to search biographical details unless the number of the regiment

is known. Separate Rolls are sometimes given for large detachments located at some distance from Headquarters eg the Headquarters may be located in Hobart with Company detachments located at Norfolk Island, Adelaide and Perth. Rolls for the regimental depot in England are usually bound in each annual volume.

A separate class deals with the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers.

The following gives an indication of the information provided about the middle of the Nineteenth Century:

List of commissioned officers, and where located.

List of non-commissioned officers, drummers and fifers, alphabetically by categories — Headquarters Staff, sergeants etc.

Privates — giving regimental number; alphabetically.

Supernumary attachments, alphabetically for Mounted Police and attachments from other regiments.

Soldiers in military and civil confinement. Accounts for soldiers under sentence of forfeiture of pay, additional pay, liquor, or beer money during the period.

Returns of all ranks who have died, deserted or been discharged. For other ranks this usually includes place of birth, trade on enlistment, and date of enlistment.

In case of death the net amount arising from sale of effects, credits etc — to whom paid, relationship and last known location.

Returns of soldiers serving who have forfeited claims to additional pay and pension on discharge, by reason of desertion or sentence by court martial or civil court.

In addition to the foregoing a wealth of financial detail is provided relating to

pay, rations, stoppages, levy money and bounties for re-enlistment.

WO22 — Out Pension Records. there are periodic returns of pensions paid, arranged regimentally by locations.

WO25 — Registers: Description and Succession Books. These are books for each regiment setting out the men's names, their ages, place of birth, civil occupation, military service and physical description.

WO25 — Registers: Casualty Returns. These are entry books for each regiment giving the names, dates and nature of each "casualty" occurrence eg. promotion, discharge etc.

WO25 — Registers: Service Returns No.1. These comprise a statement, by regiments, of the period of service of all non-commissioned officers and men who were liable to serve abroad on June 24, 1806.

WO71, 72, 81-92 — Judge Advocate General's Records. The Judge Advocate General was the officer responsible for the conduct, legality and confirmation of all courts martial. The records of this office are contained in the classes quoted.

WO97 — Soldiers Documents 1760 1900. This is the main series of service documents of soldiers, containing particulars of age, birthplace, trade or occupation on enlistment, a record of service, including any decorations, and the reason for discharge or pension. They are therefore the chief means of tracing a man's service in the British Army, *provided his regiment is known*. Except for the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers they include serve in India.

The following brief list, illustrating the classes of military documents held by Australian Archives in Canberra and State repositories, has been summarised from a paper read by Ms. Ruth

McDonald at the First Congress of Genealogical Studies:

- Pensioners. Authorities of various types for pension payments, including some death certificates and correspondence, c. 1868-1901 (MP 29/24,26: Indexes MP 29/25,27).

- Various Colonial Military Forces Officer gradation lists, 1882-1902. (CRS A1194, A1569).

- Queensland Officers' Register, 1867-1904 (BP133/2).

- Sudan Campaign: Remarks of the Colonial Defence Committee, 1885-1901 (CP601/2).

- Various letter books, muster rolls, quarterly attendance and pay returns for 1 Infantry Regiment (NSW) for various periods between 1854 and 1906 (SP 820/4, 5, 6 and 848/1).

- Nominal Rolls 1885-1921 24th Infantry Regiment, 2nd Sydney Battalion (SP 820, SP 820/47.)

- New Guinea Expedition 1888/1894; Counterfoil of discharges (CT 190/54.)

- Queensland Officer rolls 1867-1904 (BP 133/2).

- Various South African War documents: Applications to enter South Africa, nominal rolls, unit states etc. (CP 624/1, 2, 7 and AP 613/17.)

- Naval Records of Service (and some Army records), c. 1896-1911 (CT 190).

- Victorian Military and Naval Forces — various correspondence files, muster rolls and pay lists, c. 1863-1911 (CRS B168, MP 106/1, MP 169, MP 265, MP 301, MP 488/7, MP 678, MP 729/1, MP 744).

While "the colonel's Lady an' Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin", their husbands usually are poles apart in colonial records. The military records of officers can usually be pieced together from supplementary sources, but those of other ranks are much more difficult to



trace. The following publications may be of some assistance.

Colonial Blue Books.

Colonial Military Forces Graduation Lists.

Contemporary periodicals and newspapers.

Legislative Votes and Proceedings, Hansard etc. (Gibney and Burns: A Biographers' Index of Parliamentary Returns for NSW, Queensland and Victoria 1850-1889, ANU Canberra, 1969 is of great assistance for this period.)

Manuscripts relating to Australia, Guide to Collections (National Library).  
Military Bibliographies.

- Dornbusch: Australian Military Bibliography, Cornwallville Hope Farm Press, 1963.

- Fielding and O'Neill: A select bibliography of Australian Military history 1891-1939, ANU, 1978.

In addition the *Australian Dictionary of Bibliography* (see Appendix D) maintains an extensive card

index system of persons who have been named in a wide variety of publications.

## CONCLUSION

In summary it can be said of Army Records in Australia 1788-1901:

- Considerable detail is held on the NSW Corps (102nd).

- Within the limits of the records themselves biographical details are available on members of infantry regiments who served here and in New Zealand. This needs, however, to be supplemented from the resources of the Public Records Office, London.

- Little is held on sub-units and detachments of the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Royal Sappers and Miners.

- Some information is held on Veterans' Companies, the Royal Staff Corps and Pensioners.

- Records of the colonial military forces are sparse, and usually a great deal of searching is required outside such military records which are still extant.

## ADDRESSES

### Australia — Archives

Australian Archives,

P.O. Box 34, Dickson, A.C.T. 2602.

Queensland State Archives,

162 Annerley Road, Dutton Park, QLD. 4102.

Archives Office of N.S.W.,

2 Globe St., Sydney, N.S.W. 2000.

Public Records Office of Victoria,

57 Cherry Lane, Laverton, VIC. 3028.

Archives Office of Tasmania,

91 Murray St., Hobart, TAS. 7000.

S.A. Archives,

State Library of South Australia,

Box 386, G.P.O. ADELAIDE. 5001.

Battye Library of W.A. History,

40 James Street, PERTH, W.A.. 6000.

### • Assistant Secretary Service Personnel.

- Assistant Secretary Service Personnel.

Department of Defence (Navy Office). Russell, A.C.T.

- Central Army Records Office,  
GPO Box 1932R, MELBOURNE, VIC. 3001.

- Director General Personnel Services (R),  
Department of Defence (Air Force), Russell,  
A.C.T.

- Australian Dictionary of Biography,  
Research School of Social Sciences, ANU,  
P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600.

- Australian War Memorial,  
P.O. Box 345, CANBERRA CITY, A.C.T. 2601

### England

- India Office Records,  
197 Blackfriars Road, London. SE18NG.

- Keeper of the Public Records,  
Ruskin Avenue, Kew, Richmond, Surrey  
TW94DU.

- Curator; Royal Marines' Museum  
RM Barracks, Eastney, Hampshire.

- General Registry and Record Office of Ship-  
ping and Seamen,  
Llantrisant Road, Llandaff, Cardiff, Wales.

- Secretary, Army Museums Ogilby Trust,  
85 Whitehall, London. SW1A2NP.

# Charge at the Nek, Part II

*by M. C. DICKER*

The attack against The Nek has been called "a frontal assault of a degree of madness unexcelled in any theatre of war." (53) But the men of the 3rd Light Horse Brigade were not dismayed by the difficult task before them.

They were young, aggressive and bored by the inactivity of their stay at Gallipoli. They had been fired by the victory at Lone Pine which they had witnessed from a distance.

The attack offered them a chance of repeating that victory, of breaking through and fighting in open country instead of cramped trenches.

As C.E.W. Bean has written: "The prospect filled them with a yearning akin to homesickness." (54) Some, who were really too ill for fighting, like Sergeant Gollan and Captain Piesse of the 10th (both subsequently killed), managed to persuade the doctor to let them stay. The Captain said on the night of the 6th, "I'd never have been able to stand up again if I hadn't." (55).

The bombardment which was to precede the assault began at 4.00 p.m. on 6 August. (56). It continued throughout the night. Shortly before daybreak the 8th Light Horse at Russell's Top took their positions from which they were to make the rush. Behind the 8th were the 10th, assembled in the rear trenches and ready to take over the front trenches once the 8th had charged.

At 4.00 a.m. the bombardment increased in intensity. A destroyer, standing close inshore, added its

firepower to that of the artillery. (57) The bombardment which followed has been described as "the heaviest concentrated barrage ever laid at Anzac" (58) For the next twenty minutes the side of Baby 700 "leapt and twisted" in the grey dawn (59). However, although terrific in intensity, it largely missed the front Turkish trenches. Communication ways were blocked and heavy casualties were inflicted but the front lines remained unharmed. (60) At 4.27 a.m., according to the watches of the artillery, the rate increased even more. The men of the first line waited with their hands on the pegs and their feet on the recesses ready to jump out when told. Three officers waited at intervals along the line "preparing to give the word for the charge." (61)

The first line was to be led by the commander of the 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. White, who had personally insisted on his accompanying the charge. Knowing that his chances of survival were remote, White had gone to Brigade Headquarters earlier and said to the Brigade-Major: "Goodbye Antill." (62) He then said goodbye to his brother officers and took his place in the line. According to some sources, at 4.20 White, knowing the near impossible task before his Regiment, said: "Men, you have ten minutes to live." But this is in dispute. (63)

Soon after, probably due to a faulty synchronisation of watches (64), the heavy bombardment of the Turkish lines ended, "cut short as if by a knife,"

according to one witness — seven minutes before the watches on Russell's Top pointed to 4.30. (65) The artillery had been clearly ordered to continue firing until 4.30 a.m. but, through error, had stopped early. For three minutes hardly a bullet was fired. A chilling silence began to spread over the area.

In the enemy trenches soldiers cautiously emerged from cover, lined their parapets two deep and waited. Machine guns were cleared and rifles nestled to the shoulder "in anticipation of the assault which they knew must be imminent." (66) Soon a spasmodic rifle fire began to hit the Australian parapet across a No Man's Land of bullet riddled stumps of thorny bushes. The Australian officers were puzzled by the action of the artillery and thought that a final burst might be forthcoming. But they were wrong. Lieutenant-Colonel White called out: "Three minute to go," and then at 4.30 a.m., "Go!" (67)

Immediately the first line leapt over the parapet. Only a few yards away were hundreds of the enemy, the garrison having been reinforced the previous night by the 18th Regiment (this was the regiment which had charged over the same ground towards the Australian trenches on 29 June.)

As their helmets appeared a fusillade broke out which quickly intensified into a continuous roar of rifle and machine gun fire. An observer on Pope's Hill opposite later stated that he saw the Australian line of one hundred and fifty men charge, then falter and sink to the ground, "as though the men's limbs had become string." (68) A few, being immediately hit, fell back into the trench. Others, wounded only several yards into No Man's Land, were able to crawl back. Nearly all the rest, including Lieutenant-

Colonel White and every other officer, were killed.

A handful of men on the extreme left and right, where there was more cover, survived. Private D. McGarvie on the right reached the enemy parapet with two others and began to throw bombs into the Turk trenches. When their supply was exhausted they crawled into Monash Valley where there was more shelter. Two nights later McGarvie, although wounded, reached his own lines. The other two were never seen again. (69) On the left flank, Lieutenant E. G. Wilson (who was celebrating his birthday that day) also reached the Turkish trenches. He was seen beckoning to others to join him but was soon killed by a bomb. (70) The first group of one hundred and fifty from the 8th Light Horse had been annihilated in half a minute.

The second line had seen the fate of the first. The men of the 8th Light Horse fully realised that they must be killed if they charged. Yet they lined the trench and at 4.32 without hesitation jumped out and began to run towards the enemy. The fire which had only slightly diminished again rose to a deafening roar. The second line managed to run a little further than the first before it crumpled. Most of those charging were killed. Many to the left availed themselves of the uneven ground and fell down to shelter.

Others remained in No Man's Land, wounded. Captain Hore on the right reached "a point fifteen yards from the Turkish trenches. There, glancing over his shoulder, he perceived that he was the only man moving across the bare surface, the rest appearing all to have been killed. He flung himself down at the point where he had reached." (71)

Major Deeble who led the second line and miraculously survived, later wrote: "The second line speedily overtook the first, which had been practically wiped out, as every man seemed to be dead or wounded. My own line came under a most deadly hail of machine gun, bomb and rifle fire, and the men fell all around me. No man hesitated, yet I had none to carry further.

I fell on my face and, taking the cover of the nearest depressions in the ground, managed to get together, or rather speak to, about eight or ten men not yet shot.... Our men had to face this deadly fire from the instant they leapt from the parapet, and never hesitated to follow the C.O. and myself, until the C.O. had fallen and I had none around me to lead." (72)

Despite the apparent destruction of the second line, observing officers on Russell's Top saw one of the small red and yellow flags raised on the extreme right of the Turkish position and remain there for ten minutes. Who placed the flag there will probably never be known, although one officer claimed it was a Sergeant Roger Palmer. (73) It would have been better if no such flag had ever been raised (74) for this was the signal for the third line to advance and for the 8th Welsh Fusiliers to move up Monash Valley.

The 10th Light Horse Regiment which was to form the next attacking waves then filed into the front trench (75) Occasionally they had to move over and wait to allow stretcher bearers carrying the dead and wounded Victorians to pass. The West Australians of the 10th must all have assumed that death was certain. One can imagine their thoughts at this time. Yet they did not hesitate. "Mate having

said goodbye to make the third line took up its position on the fire-step." (76)

Although the troops charging did not question their orders, the senior officers of the Regiment did. Major Todd reported to the commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Brazier, that success was impossible. Brazier viewed No Man's Land with a trench periscope and agreed with Todd's opinion. Therefore, at 4.40 he went to Brigade Headquarters in a rear trench to try to prevent the annihilation of further troops.

There he found only the Brigade-Major, Antill, (Brigadier F. G. Hughes was not there), and told him that the enemy's fire was heavy and that the task was beyond the strength of his Regiment. (77) It has been reported that Brazier and Antill had always had an intense dislike for each other (78), and this did not make it easier for a rational decision to be made. Antill, "who was the main influence in the command of the Brigade" (79) informed Brazier that one of the small red and yellow flags had been seen and that it was urgent that any troops who had reached the enemy's line should be supported. He therefore ordered that the 10th Regiment should charge immediately.

The correctness of this decision must be questioned. The fate of the 8th Light Horse had already shown that further charges would also fail. Any troops who had reached the Turkish line and planted the flag would have been instantly dealt with by the enemy. the possibility that any would still be alive there was remote. Nevertheless, the charge was to go ahead, despite an estimate at the time that at least thirty machine-guns were sweeping the narrow piece of No Man's Land. (80).

The enemy fire, which had subsided almost completely, again swelled to an indescribable level as soon as the 10th\* leapt from the parapet. The Light Horsemen ran swiftly forward to meet a near certain death. As C.E.W. Bean states: "With the Regiment went the flower of the youth of Western Australia, sons of the old pioneering families, youngsters — in some cases two and three from the same home." (81) Only one officer survived the charge, and the line, apart from men on the extreme flanks, was practically wiped out. Many fell back into the trench dead or wounded. Others covered a few yards before falling riddled with bullets.

Major Deeble of the 8th wrote: "I determined to wait for the third line and push on with them. The line scarcely left our trench before being broken, and the few men with me managed to dash a yard or two forward before falling down. I threw myself again on the ground and prepared for any further lines which might come forward." (82)

Captain Hore, still out in No Man's Land, also waited to advance with the line. However, he saw only two men reach the vicinity of his position and both these, running bravely with fixed bayonets, were shot when only a few yards past him. (83) These two seemed to be the remnant of the third line.

As the third line had also been broken, the commander of the fourth line, Major Scott, reported to Lieutenant-Colonel Brazier that the objective could not be reached and that any further advance would be utterly futile. Brazier again went to Antill but was told to advance. Thereupon, he

reported to Brigadier Hughes personally, who ordered him to abandon the attack across The Nek and instead to move up Monash Valley to support the Royal Welsh Fusiliers (84). However, this was not to occur.

The fourth line, (consisting of half of "B" Squadron and "C" Squadron) had assembled in the front trench. (85) Since commands could not be given with safety it had been arranged by the officers that the sign to attack should be a wave of the hand. Major Scott was to be the one to give the signal. Although the troop leaders knew that the situation was under discussion at Brigade Headquarters, the men did not. This was to be disastrous. At 5.15 a.m. an unknown officer who had possibly heard of the Brigade Headquarter's first decision, asked the men on the right why they had not advanced. The impression was somehow given that they should attack and instantly the Light Horsemen on this flank jumped out and started running. (86).

Once again a tremendous fusilade broke out. Major Scott, on hearing this, shouted: "By God, I believe the right has gone!" (87) Soon, other officers leapt out to charge, signalling to their men as they did so and the men followed. Sergeant Sanderson, whose officer had been killed, did the same. He later related his experiences to the Official War Correspondent who recorded them carefully:

"The rhododendron bushes had been cut off with machine gun and rifle fire and were all spikey. The Turks were two deep in the trench ahead. There was at least one machine gun on the left and any number in the various trenches on the Chessboard (the Turkish trench system to the distant right).

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\* ("A" Squadron and half of "B" Squadron made up the third line)

The men who were going out were absolutely certain they were going to be killed, and they expected to be killed right away. The thing that struck a man was if he wasn't knocked in the first three yards. Tpr. Weston, on Sanderson's right, fell beside him.... Tpr Biggs also fell next to him.. Tpr H. G. Hill, running next to him was shot through the stomach, spun around and fell. Sanderson saw the Turks (close) in front and looked over his shoulder. Four men were running about ten yards behind, and they all dropped at the same moment. He tripped over a rhododendron bush and fell over a dead Turk right on the Turkish parapet. The Turks were then throwing round cricket ball bombs ... There were two dead men to the right towards the top of the hill, lying on the Turkish parapet .... Sanderson knew how badly the whole show had gone.

After almost half an hour, looking back he saw Captain Fry (of his Regiment) knelling up outside the "secret sap." Sanderson waved to him and Fry saw him... Major Todd (who had survived from the third line) came along beside Fry and presently shouted something which seemed to be: "Retire the fourth line first." Sanderson looked around. There was none beside him except the dead, he crawled towards the secret sap.... about half way there was an 8th Light Horseman lying on his back smoking.... He said, "Have a cigarette; its too \_\_\_\_\_ hot." Sanderson told him to get back and keep low, there was a Lieutenant of the 8th Light Horse there who had had some bombs in his haversack. These had been set off and the whole of his hip blown away. He was alive and they tried to get him in. He begged them to let him stay. "I can't bloody well stand it," he said. they got him into the secret sap, and he died there as they got him in. In front of the secret sap were any number of the 8th Light Horse. The sap itself was full of dead.... About fifty yards of the line had not a man in it except the dead and wounded — no one was manning it." (88).

What had happened was that a conference was held between Lieutenant Colonel Brazier and Majors Love, Todd

and McLaurin (of the 8th) which resulted in the survivors of the charge being ordered to return to the trenches. (89) Most of the wounded, however, could not move and Corporal Hampshire of the 10th made several journeys into No Man's Land, each time returning with an injured trooper. Many, though, were towards the centre where it was impossible to reach. It soon became evident that the Brigadier's order to attack up Monash Valley could also not be carried out. This was proved by the fate of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers who, thinking that the first trench on The Nek had been taken, moved up according to the plan, but were speedily repulsed suffering sixty-five casualties.

Thus by 6.00 a.m. the attack against The Nek and Baby 700 had failed. According to the Official War Historian, "On no other occasion during the war did Australians have to face fire approaching in volume that which concentrated on The Nek". (90) As an observer on Walker's Ridge stated, "Yes it was heroic, it was marvellous the way those men rose, yet it was murder." (91)

Of the three hundred 8th Light Horsemen who charged across The Nek two hundred and thirty-four, more than three-quarters, became casualties, twelve officers and one hundred and forty-two troopers were killed; four officers and seventy-six troopers were wounded. In the third and fourth waves, three hundred 10th Light Horsemen charged. Seven officers and seventy-three men were killed; two officers and fifty-six men were wounded. (92).

One trooper said that when he heard "what the result was (he) simply cried like a child." (93)

The charges from Pope's and

Quinn's, which were to have been made simultaneously with that at The Nek, were also unsuccessful. The 1st Light Horse Regiment occupied the enemy trenches on Dead Man's Ridge with about two hundred men but, after suffering one hundred and fifty four casualties, were forced out by flanking fire and the precarious nature of the position. The 2nd Light Horse Regiment sent one line of fifty-four troopers against Turkish Quinn's but were bloodily repulsed; all except one were shot. These were exceedingly brave attacks "epitomizing the high degree of bravery and battle discipline of which the Australians were capable, but they achieved nothing." (94)

Of these three operations (including that at The Nek) C.E.W. Bean wrote: "So ended the feints of August 7th. For sheer bravery, devoted loyalty, and that self discipline which seldom failed in Australian soldiers, they stand alone in the annals of their country. Not once during all this deadly fighting did the troops display the least sign of hesitation in performing what they believed to be their duty." Never have truer words been spoken. The men who charged across The Nek all knew that their chances of survival were remote. There is good reason why the charge has been called, "perhaps the bravest event in the war." (95)

However, the fact remains that the charge was really made in vain. Although Turkish reinforcements were stopped from marching north for a few hours the New Zealanders were not ordered to advance on Chunuk Bair until well into the morning. (96) By then sufficient of the enemy had arrived to force them quickly off the heights and thereby practically

doom the whole campaign to failure. Further south, "during that long day the summit of The Nek could be seen crowded with their bodies. At first here and there a man raised his arm to the sky, or tried to drink from his water bottle. But as the sun of that burning day climbed higher, such movement ceased. Over the whole summit the figures lay still in the quivering heat." (98)

While the gallantry of those who charged at The Nek cannot be doubted, the wisdom and validity of the operation must be called into question. Birdwood and Skeen knew the strength of the position, while the Brigade War Diary states: "The positions assaulted by the 3rd Light Horse Brigade were absolutely impossible to take by frontal assault" (99). It seems certain that the movement of Turkish troops north could have been halted in another way, possibly by naval gunfire, without the need to send line after line of men to their death. C.E.W. Bean blames the Nek disaster on the local command. (100) It may be argued, as he suggests, that Antill should have made himself aware of the true position before making a final decision to advance. He could also have referred the matter to higher authority. Whoever was to be held responsible, the attacks resulted in a grievous loss of life particularly to Western Australia whose small population could ill afford such a disaster.

The debacle also had an effect throughout the Australian Imperial Force as a whole: "With the exception of the attempt of the 4th Infantry Brigade near Abdel Rahman the following day, no other experience in 1915 was so powerful to create that disillusionment which superseded the first fine fervour of Australian soldiers" (101)

While a general despondency settled on the Anzac troops after the August fighting the civilians back in Australia were kept from the news of The Nek disaster by the official censor. The true story was not considered good for home front morale. On August 26, 1915 the Defence Department received a telegram from the Premier of Western Australia saying that a statement had been published in Perth that certain Light Horse units had been nearly destroyed on Gallipoli during early August. The Premier wanted the report either confirmed or denied because he was receiving many enquiries from anxious relatives who thought that information had been received but suppressed. The Minister said that heavy casualties had been reported but that there was no official news.

On September 19, the Perth "Daily News" carried a stop press item which referred to grave news from Gallipoli, a disaster to the Light Horse and heavy officer casualties to the 10th Regiment. This drew a demand from the Defence censor asking why such information had been published. The paper said it had been "common knowledge in the city for two or three days" (102). The opinion of the Crown Solicitor was sought concerning the prosecution of the paper under the War Precautions Act but charges were not laid. The censors were extremely angry at the paper's action and warned it to be more careful in future. The civilians in Western Australia did not learn of the true casualty figure until much later. (103)

On Gallipoli, the remainder of the 8th Regiment was immediately withdrawn from the line, placed in reserve and took no further part in the Gallipoli campaign. A board of officers

was afterwards appointed to hear evidence on the troops reported "missing." Eventually all these were declared dead (104).

After the charge the 10th Regiment had waited in the trenches to repel any enemy counter attacks but none was forthcoming. They had stayed there for three weeks, within constant sight of the bodies of their comrades. (105) On August 26, they were relieved from Russell's Top but a few days later were sent into the line at Hill 60 on the extreme left of the Anzac position.

There they were engaged in heavy hand to hand fighting with the enemy, trying to defend the Australian position which was under attack. By the time they were relieved for a second time they numbered only one hundred bayonets (106). They also took no further active part in the campaign.

The Australian position at the Nek and Russell's Top soon became notorious because the bodies of the dead lay where they had fallen and were not recovered until 1919. The garrisons looked over a few yards of withered scrub filled with the dead. One soldier wrote in his diary in October: "Our new firing line.... is a most gruesome sight ... as they have made it under where all the Light Horse bodies are lying and just over the parapet of the trench may be seen legs, heads and bodies of our men who died in the (Nek) charge and are still there." (107)

While the extent of the disaster shortly became well known at Anzac, the senior staff did not pass on the full details to their superiors. In his final despatch from Gallipoli the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Ian Hamilton merely stated; "The Light Horse only accepted their repulse after losing three-fourths of that devoted band which so bravely sallied forth."



## NOTES:

1. For an outline of their experiences see C.E.W. Bean, *Gallipoli Mission, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1948.*
2. *Ibid.*, p.p. 1-8.
3. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18, Volume 2, Angus and Robinson, Sydney, 1924, p. 623.*
4. C.E.W. Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, p.p. 109, 342.
5. *Now in the Australian War Memorial.*
6. Lambert, *Thirty Years of an Artist's Life, Society of Artists, Sydney, 1938, p.p. 103-4.*
7. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 1, 1921, p. 273.*
8. H. W. Nevinson, *The Dardanelles Campaign, Nisbet and Co., London, 1918, p. 243; J. North, Gallipoli — The Fading Vision, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1936, p.219.*
9. P. Schuler, *Australia in Arms, Unwin, London, 1916, p.240.*
10. A. Olden, *Westralian Cavalry in the War, McCubbin, Melbourne, 1921.*
11. *The Story of the Anzacs, Ingram and Son, Melbourne, 1917, p.114.*
12. C.E.W. Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, p.109.
13. Br. — General C. F. Aspinall — Oglander, *The Official History of the Great War — Gallipoli, Volume 2, William Heinemann London, 1932, p.196.* These included *Dead Man's Ridge and Pope's Hill.*
14. C.E.W. Bean *Official History, volume 2, p 464.*
15. P. Firkins, *The Australians in Nine Wars, Pan, London, 1973, p.48.*
16. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2, p.p. 316-17.*
17. P. Firkins, *op. cit., p.58.*
18. Br. General Aspinall — Oglander, *op. cit., p.185.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. C.E.W. Bean, *Anzac to Amiens, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1946, p.141.*
21. *The Story of the Anzacs, p.106.*
22. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2, p.466.*
23. R. Rhodes James, *Gallipoli, Pan, London, 1974, p.275.*
24. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2, p.p. 293, 465.*
25. R. Rhodes James, *op. cit., p.275.*
26. A. Olden, *op. cit., p.46.*
27. *10th Regiment Australian Light Horse Unit War Diary, A.W.M.*
28. A. Olden, *op. cit., p.45.*
29. *3rd Light Horse Brigade Unit War Diary, A.W.M.*
30. *Ibid.*, see also C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2, p.608.*
31. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2, p.p. 608-9.*
32. Br. — General Aspinall — Oglander, *op. cit., p.197*
33. A. Olden, *op. cit., p.46.*
34. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2, p.608.*
35. *Ibid.*, p.465. (See J. North *op. cit., p.220*)
36. *3rd Light Horse Brigade Unit War Diary, A.W.M.*
37. A. Olden, *op. cit., p.48.*
38. *Ibid*
39. P. Schuler, *op. cit., p.240.*
40. *3rd Light Horse Brigade Unit War Diary, A.W.M.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. O. Hogue, *Trooper Bluegum of the Dardanelles, Andrew Vedrose, London, 1916, p.198.*
43. B. Gammage, *The Broken Years, Penguin, Melbourne, 1975, p.72.*
44. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2, p.566.*
45. *Ibid.*, p.582.
46. P. Firkins, *op. cit., p.60.*

47. R. Rhodes James, op. cit., p.274.
48. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.605.
49. R. Rhodes James, op. cit., p.274.
50. C.E.W. Bean, Anzac to Amiens. p.p. 153-54.
51. Br. General Aspinall — Oglander, op. cit., p.196.
52. J. North, op. cit., p.220.
53. Ibid, p.219.
54. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, volume 2, 610.
55. Ibid
56. B. Gammage, op. cit., p74.
57. A. Olden, op. cit., p.p. 47-48
58. R. Rhodes James, op. cit., p.275.
59. Ibid
60. P. Schuler, op. cit., p.240
61. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.612.
62. H. W. Nevinson, op. cit., p.p. 244-5.
63. See Schuler, p.245 and Gammage, p.74; c.f. Nevinson p.245, Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p613.
64. R. Rhodes James affirms this, p275.
65. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.p. 612-13.
66. Ibid, p.613
67. C.E.W. Bean in The Argus, 4/10/1915.
68. R. Rhodes James, op. cit., p.275.
69. P. Adam-Smith, The Anzacs, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne 1978, p.96.
70. C.E.W. Bean Official History, Volume 2, p.614.
71. Ibid, p. 615.
72. 8th Light Horse Unit War Diary, A.W.M.
73. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.616. This receives support by the statement of C. Pinnock of the 8th Light Horse. see P. Adam-Smith, op. cit., p.101.
74. P. Schuler, op. cit., p.242.
75. The 10th had received eighty two reinforcements including Lieutenant H.V. Throssell (later to win the V.C.) only a few days previously.
76. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.616.
77. Ibid, p.617
78. Diary of Lt-Colonel Brazier, A.W.M.
79. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p618. Birdwood later invalidated Brigadier Hughes to Australia.
80. A. Olden, op. cit., p.48.
81. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.617.
82. 8th Light Horse Unit War Diary, A.W.M.
83. C.E.W. Bean Official History, Volume 2, p.618. Both Deeble and Hore survived the charge.
84. See Brazier's report in the 3rd Light Horse Brigade Unit War Diary, A.W.M.
85. A. Olden, op. cit., p.49
86. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.p. 618-19. Bean is the only source claiming this. Aspinall — Oglander refers to the arrival of "some garbled order," (p.198) while other sources claim the Brigade Headquarters ordered the fourth line to charge.
87. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.619.
88. Ibid, p.p.619-20.
89. A. Olden, op.cit., p.49.
90. C.E.W. Bean, Official History, Volume 2, p.p. 622-3.
91. Diary of Lt. Cameron, 9th L.H.R., 17/8/15, (killed in action 4/9/15), A.W.M.

92. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2*, p.623.
93. B. Gammage, *op.cit.*, p.75.
94. *Ibid.*, p.73.
95. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2*, p.631.
96. B. Harding, *Windows of Fame*, Landsdowns Press, Melbourne, 1963, p.99.
97. Br. General Aspinall-Oglander, *op.cit.*, p.198.
98. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2*, p.633.
99. 3rd Light Horse Brigade Unit War Diary, A.W.M.
100. C.E.W. Bean, *Official History, Volume 2*, p.631.
101. *Ibid.* p.632; see also Olden, p.50.
102. L.L. Robson, *The First A.I.F., M.U.P.*, Melbourne, 1970, p.71.
103. *Ibid.*, p.p 71-2.
104. 8th Light Horse Unit War Diary, A.W.M.
105. A. Olden, *op.cit.*, p.53.
106. *Ibid.* p.p. 55-6.
107. B. Gammage, *op.cit.*, p.107.
108. The Final Despatch of Sir Ian Hamilton, Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Expeditionary Force.

● I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Peter Burness, Curator of Relics, Australian War Memorial, but in no sense is he responsible for any inaccuracy or infelicity which may appear in this article. M.C.D.

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# Tale of Two Tasmanians

by *ATHOL CHAFFEY*

Sergeant Archibald Coombe, late of Campbell Town, Tasmania, is one of many thousands of Australians who served as part-time soldiers in the Australian Volunteer Forces. His service in South Africa at the turn of the century sets him slightly apart from his comrades in that he earned both the Queen's and King's medals.

Archibald Coombe was born in Campbell Town, (a small town serving a rural region in the midlands of Tasmania) on July 3, 1862, his father being engaged in flour milling and Archie later followed his father into the business.

His early years in the militia remain cloudy, but it is deduced that he joined the local militia unit some time before 1894. He is listed in the results of a shoot in Campbell Town on March 24, 1894. By 1899 he held the rank of corporal with the Campbell Town detachment.

Campbell Town records a mounted volunteer unit in 1844, though it was probably disbanded soon after. The militia presence then evolved through rifle clubs, and with the Defence Act of 1889 formed companies of the Tasmanian Auxiliary Forces, eventually becoming a company of the Launceston Regiment; being known in turn as the 2nd Btn, Tasmanian Infantry Regiment, 12th Australian Infantry Regiment, 92nd Infantry Battalion, 51st Battalion, 12/50 Battalion and 12/40 Battalion, and in its present form as the 12th Independent Rifle Company, Royal Tasmanian Regiment.

He was selected as part of the first contingent from Tasmania to the Boer



War, and sailed with his unit, the Tasmanian (Mounted) Infantry, from Launceston on the "Coogee" to embark the "Medic" at Melbourne on October 28, 1899, arriving in Capetown on November 26.

He saw service as a trooper in the Cape Colony, Transvaal, and Orange Free State.

Trooper Coombe returned to Tasmania on the transport "Harlech Castle" arriving on December 7, and was discharged with his contingent in Hobart on December 8, 1900.

He returned to Campbell Town and on February 25, 1901 he married Ellen Varian. At this time he stated his occupation as Trooper/Sergeant, as he had already enrolled for further service in South Africa.

He sailed as Transport-Sergeant to the 4th Contingent, the Second Tasmanian Imperial Bushmen, in the "Chicago" on March 27, 1901, and landed at Port Elizabeth on April 24, 1901.

He saw service in the Cape Colony and was involved with others of his company in the capture of Commandant Erasmus and other Boer leaders. He was twice mentioned in despatches — December 12, 1901 and June 13, 1902.

On May 22, 1902, the contingent embarked the transport "Manila" at Durban, arriving in Tasmania on June 25, 1902. The contingent being disbanded in Hobart on June 30, 1902.

Sergeant Coombe maintained his involvement in the military as a member of the Campbell Town Detachment of the Launceston Regiment, being mentioned in various returns, until his compulsory retirement on August 31, 1913.

Sergeant Coombe was awarded the Colonial Auxiliary Forces Long Service Medal as Sergeant in the 92nd Infantry Battalion.

Mr Coombe was also a highly successful breeder of Corriedale sheep, winning many championships at the Campbell Town agricultural shows, from 1920 to 1931.

Campbell Town locals still remember a gold watch and cigar case. The watch was quite special, with phases of the moon, an alarm, and address of a person of rank on the back — the delight of Campbell Town children.

Evidently Archie and a group of Tasmanians were placed in charge of an officers baggage depot at one stage (a dangerous exercise with soldiers, or so I'm reliably informed), and they extracted some souvenirs. It is further

related that Archie relented and returned the watch to England some time before his death. It must have been quite a surprise to the original owner to have his watch returned after so many years.

Archibald Coombe died in Campbell Town on February 22, 1941. His headstone simply marked "Archie," bears testament to the local fame of this fine old citizen — soldier.



Henry Alwright Betts, Lance Corporal Tasmanian Mounted Infantry, was killed in action at Donkerhoek in the Transvaal, South Africa on June 20, 1900, aged 21 years.

He was the seventh Tasmanian to fall in the war that was to claim the lives of 27 members of contingents from Tasmania.

Harry Betts was born on January 23, 1879 at Hobart, Tasmania, the son of John Richard Betts and Fanny Elizabeth Betts.

"His father sometime adjutant of the rifle regiment and captain Infantry Reserve force was a school teacher by profession," Bufton.

Harry was intent in following in his father's footsteps, for at the time of enlistment with the First Contingent he was employed by the Education Department of Tasmania as a Pupil Teacher in his third year of training.

He also served as a member of the Brighton Detachment of the Auxillary Force, being mentioned with his detachment in reports of rifle shooting, in the Mercury newspaper from December 21, 1895 through to his departure to South Africa.

Harry took leave of absence from his position as Pupil Teacher at the Macquarie Street school, Hobart on October 10, 1899, and went into camp on the 18th.

"I often think of poor Harry leaving Hobart, some little girls came up to the barracks to say goodbye to him. He was their teacher. I took them to where Mr Betts was. They never saw him again." Private Edgar McGuinness.

He left by train with the contingent to Launceston on October 22 to embark the SS "Coogee" for Melbourne. The departure of the troops from Launceston was quite an occasion, including a march through the city by local forces led by the contingent, a banquet given by the city, presentation of colours and a bugle in a parade at city park. A half-day holiday was granted so a fitting farewell could be given (Examiner newspaper. Oct. 1899).

The contingent arrived in Melbourne on the 28th and departed the same day on the "Medic" for South Africa, arriving at Cape Town on November 26.

The First Tasmanian Contingent was involved in lines-of-communication duties until converted to Mounted Infantry in February 1900. Harry Betts saw service with his unit (mostly patrol duties) around Colesberg, Naawport, Rensburg, with General Clements; joined the 4th Mounted Infantry Corps at Bloemfontein and advanced from Bloemfontein to Pretoria with Huttons Mounted Brigade, and XI Division. This included actions at Karee Kloof, Brandford, Vet River, Elandsfontein, Johannesburg and Diamond Hill. Private Betts was killed soon after the Battle of Diamond Hill.

McGuinness relates part of an action



in which Harry Betts was involved. It appears that Bryant was unhorsed and that Betts rescued him under fire. McGuinness continues.

"I followed on a bit and overtook poor old Harry Betts, with Freddy Bryant lying horizontally across his saddle, one foot in Harry's stirrup and his stomach resting on the pommel of the saddle. It was very laughable to see Freddy's face with his cheeks puffed out with wind and his mouth closed. Freddy's whole features plainly said that he was under going grinding torment, but was quite hopeful of surviving it, and Harry's assuring words were "I will stick with you Fred."

Lance Corporal Betts is interred at the Garden of Remembrance at Diamond Hill, to where his remains were transferred in 1961, from the Military cemetery at Hatherly. His name is recorded on the monument there, and also at St. Georges Church, Pontville Tasmania, where he had been a Sunday School teacher.

# **SOME ANSWERS TO FURPHY'S FORUM**

(SABRETACHE VOL XXI No. 3 Page 24).

## **SPECIAL SERVICE OFFICER — TASMANIA**

It is likely that Lieut J. C. Walch's, (a Special Service Officer attached to the artillery in South Africa) QSA Medal is named to the Tasmanian artillery. (He is listed under this heading in the South Africa field force casualty list). If this is so it must rate as one of the rare QSA to Australia. Lieut Walch was the only member of the Tasmanian artillery to see service while still a member of his local unit. Others served but as part of the various other Tasmanian Contingents.

## **QSA BARS TO TASMANIA**

The rarest bar to be found on a Tasmanian QSA medal would be the bar for "Rhodesia" which, if issued to the entire contingent (Bushmen or Second) who saw service in Rhodesia would amount to 53 though it could be less.

Next in rarity is Diamond Hill 66, Johannesburg 74, Belfast 75, (51 persons qualifying for all 3 bars). Wittebergen is most likely next in order though I have no figures. The unit strength (1st Tasmanian I.B. or Third Cont.) was 122 but whether all received the bar or not I do not know.

It should be noted that members of Tasmanian contingents may have qualified for other bars which would be considered very rare (this of course excludes the bars for Transvaal, Cape Colony, Orange Free State, South Africa 01; South Africa 02, which are not uncommon to Tasmania).

## **SCARCEST BAR TO THE FIRST TASMANIAN CONTINGENT**

The scarcest bar for the QSA to an individual Tasmanian unit is the 'Transvaal' clasp to the first contingent with 8 being issued. (Bufton — 'Tas in Transvaal') the balance of the first contingent did not qualify for this bar by virtue of having earned one of the engagement bars for the Transvaal. The Transvaal clasp is not uncommon to the other Tasmanian units. Is this bar (Transvaal) also scarce to the first contingents from other States?

**Athol Chaffey**  
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- BESZANT, C.F. The "Battle of Brisbane." *Sabretache*. April - June, 1980, pp. 30-32.
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