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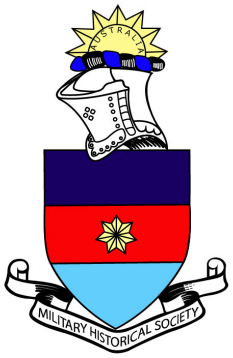

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SABRETACHE

The Journal and Proceedings of
The Military Historical Society of Australia
(founded 1957)

OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1984
VOLUME IIV-NUMBER 4

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Contributions in the form of articles, book reviews, notes, queries or letters are always welcome. Authors of major articles are invited to submit a brief biographical note. The annual subscription to *Sabretache* is $20.

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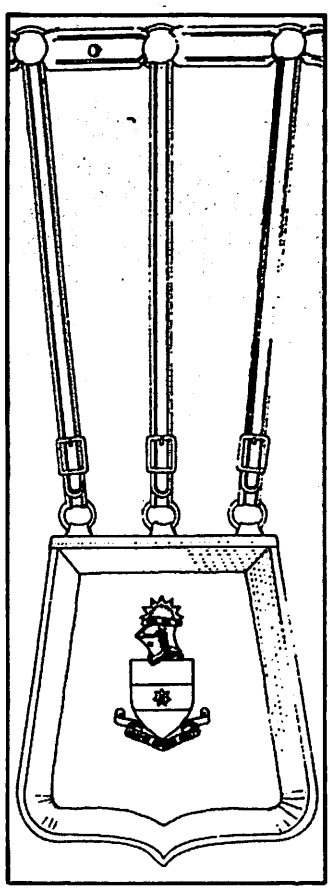
Research restrictions Staff shortages have obliged the Australian War Memorial to close the Research Centre every Monday and daily between 12.30 and 1.30 pm. The Research Centre includes the library of printed materials, maps and special collections, official records, personal papers and the audio-visual archive.

Large increases in the number and range of reference inquiries and in official and private donations and photographic requests and in accessions had not been matched by staff increases. Consequently, times for reference work have been restricted to enable the greatly under-manned centre to try and keep up with its vital acquisition and conservation responsibilities.

The restrictions bear down hard on some researchers. Monday closures will inconvenience many including those from outside the ACT spending a long weekend in Canberra and who hope to conduct some research on the Monday. The 12.30 to 1.30 closures will inhibit researchers who wish to attend the centre over the long lunch period now available to so many workers.

Federal Council of the Society recently decided to add its protests about the restrictions to the many already registered.



Acquisitions of militaria made recently by the Australian War Memorial include the following:

Dress uniform of Lieutenant Colonel J E Bruce of the 19th Bengal Lancers (Fane's Horse), Indian Army, c.1900, donated by his grandson, Mr David Bruce of West Pymble, NSW.

Mrs Pemberton, now living in England, formerly Sister J K Greer of 10th Australian General Hospital, presented the ward dress she was wearing when the ss *Vyner Brooke* was sunk by the Japanese off Banka Island in February 1942. The dress came complete with the various small articles, tweezers, scissors, etc which the Sister had been carrying in her pockets at the time of the sinking and which she had preserved intact over years, together with the dress which, during her captivity, she had worn only on Anzac Day, the King's birthday and her own birthday.

Medals to Australia We have seen the presentation collection of decorations and campaign medals awarded to Australians since 1860, advertised with this issue of the Journal. It should be noted that the 52 pieces, which include the Order of Australia and the Australian bravery decorations, are produced from originals but to safeguard the originals, only one side of each has been cast; the obverse has been left blank.

It is understood many sales have already been made, mostly to RSLs, and some to messes and individuals. The collection is certainly most handsomely presented in its 88 by 114 cm (approx 35 by 45 inches) frame.

One armed Fiddler Anthony Staunton's article about surviving VC winners calls to mind a story about one of them, Captain F. M. F. (Freddie) West VC RAF, who won his decoration when he was shot down in France on 12 August 1918. His left leg was almost severed by explosive bullets and was subsequently amputated. According to Pat Reid, in *Winged Diplomat*, while lying in the RAF ward of a hospital near Rouen, West reported:

> ...beside me was an Australian squadron commander whose arm had had to be amputated. He spoke about the violin and kept asking me, 'Do you think a chap could play the violin with one arm?'. He must have been a good player...

The squadron commander was not identified, but one must suspect that, being an Australian, he was pulling Freddie's remaining leg.

Reminder Members will have been advised by now that the Council of the Australian War Memorial will sponsor the Memorial's fifth annual conference in Canberra from 11 to 15 February 1985. As in previous years its theme will be the history of Australians at war and the impact of war on Australian society.

The programme will be conducted differently for 1985. General sessions will again be held during the mornings but the afternoon sessions will be streamed to allow smaller group discussions covering a number of subjects. A work in progress session will again be a feature of the conference.

Closing date for registrations is 1 February 1985. Inquiries may be directed to the Conference Secretary, Australian War Memorial, GPO Box 345, Canberra ACT, 2601

VC Auctioned The Victoria Cross awarded to the late Sergeant Lewis McGee, 40th Battalion AIF, was auctioned in Sydney in November for $36 000.

The VC, together with Sergeant McGee's other medals, was sold to Launceston's Queen Victoria Museum and will be placed on public display. McGee was born at Ross, Tasmania in 1888. He was awarded the Cross for attacking German pillboxes near Ypres on 4 October 1917 and was killed in action eight days later.

John E. Price

Their Name Liveth For Evermore

BECAUSE wars have always been with us so, sadly, have war dead. Regrettably the archives of previous conflicts do not offer us anything so comprehensive as do those of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission—or similar organisations—whose duty has been to record and care for the graves of those who died whilst serving their country during the first seventy years of the twentieth century.

It is true that the disposal of the dead after battle was recognized duty since ancient times although it was not always carried out. We read in the Old Testament that Joab, the captain of David's host, 'buiried the slain after smiting the men of Edom'.

The Greeks, no doubt for sanitary reasons, buried their dead before the walls of Troy. The Persians did the same at Thermopylae. The Athenians disposed, likewise, of the Persian fallen after the battle of Marathon—for this was the 'law of all Greece'.

We find the armies of mediaeval Europe caring about their own dead: though little for those of their enemies. It soon became common for battles, and those who fell in them, to be given large memorials, usually in the form of buildings for Christian worship, such as at Agincourt and Shrewsbury. There was still, however, a strong social distinction in the matter: as readily seen in Shakespearian histories which, presumably, reflect the standards prevailing during Tudor times. After Agincourt the French herald approaches Henry V to ask permission:

> *That we may wander o'er this bloody field,*
> *to book our dead, and then to bury them.*

But especially:

> to sort our noble; from our common men.

A suppliant, after a later battle asks for the bodies so that he

> *may bear them hence, and given them burial as becomes their worth.*

On behalf of one or other of its governments, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission looks after 50 000 graves of other wars and campaigns as well as those of peace-time garrisons. These are, in themselves, a military history of the past two centuries. They range from two Peninsula war cemeteries, the Waterloo memorial, graves in Brussels Town Cemetery which mark the graves of some of those who fell in the battle, the war cemeteries of the Crimea, of Lord Napier of Magdala's 1868 expedition to Abyssinia, of the River wars in Egypt and the Sudan, the peace-keeping force in Crete, all of 1898; through to inter-war Royal Air Force garrisons in Iraq and Transjordan, and the post—1945 operations in Malaya, Borneo and Korea. But this was a long way into the future, for those familiar with the literature surrounding the battle of Waterloo, will recall how little was done there in this connection, how W.M. Thackeray had indignantly commented that

> *the ordinary soldier had been shovelled into a hole . . . and so forgotten.*

Things, however, began to look very different when, in April 1862, the American civil war called for fresh attention and imagination to be brought to the subject: when the Adjutant-General of the US Army ordered commanding generals to mark off plots of ground:

> *in some suitable spot in every battlefield, so soon as it may be in their power, and to cause the remains of those killed to be interred, with headstones to the graves bearing numbers and, where practicable, the names of the persons buried therein.*

By 1866 there were forty one such cemeteries, containing the bodies of over 100 000 Union soldiers.

After the Franco-Prussian war, of 1870-71, the French and German governments, by the Treaty of Frankfurt, each undertook:

> *to respect and maintain the graves of soldiers buried in their respective territories.*

The British government gradually moved beyond their casual methods of burying their war dead—in the campaigns of the nineteenth century and, during the Boer war of 1899-1902, began to supply steel crosses for graves which had not been given private memorials. But there was still a long way to go. In his *The Australians At The Boer War*, R.L. Wallace writes of the invaluable work performed, usually at night, by the Australian scouts. We read that:

> *Sometimes, in the morning he—the scout—doesn't turn up at all and that an ambulance is sent out for him . . . and under the driver's seat is a spade.*

Very often the burials, in the field, were as simple as the one described in Thomas Hardy's *Drummer Hodge*.

> *They threw in Drummer Hodge,*
> *uncoffinless as found,*
> *His tombstone is a kopje crest,*
> *Which breaks the veldt around.*

Today South Africa has two war graves organisations; one is the South African War Graves Board,

whose duty is to care for all graves of those killed in battle—or warlike affrays—up until 1914. Under the Board's supervision, during the 1960s, many combattants' remains were exhumed from their lonely graves and re-interred in recognised military cemeteries. In the centre of each is a black marble slab, listing the localities from where the bodies were brought, with the names, wherever possible, and units of those resting in that particular cemetery. There have been bitter arguments—both for and against this practice—but, in the cold light of administrative economics, it is a practical move; softened by the concept that the dead lie with their comrades.

The re-interments were, for the most part, carefully considered and, wherever possible, the last wishes of the deceased were complied with. A case in fact was that of an officer who asked to be buried 'facing England'. When his mortal remains were removed to Maitland Cemetery's military section, at Cape Town, his headstone was sited at the foot of the grave—to comply with the alignment of the other stones—but his face, as he had requested, 'looked towards England'.

The other war grave authority in South Africa is the Agency of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Although South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1960, it is still a Commission member. The Agency looks after all war dead in the replublic, as well as Namibia—formerly South West Africa— and, presumably, in the home-lands included in the geographic confines of the Republic, from 1914 onwards.

It was a South African, V. Walpole, who wrote in 1929 a graphic account of a front-line burial:

> *An hour before relief is due some of us are detailed for burial party. A man from another company had died at the advanced dressing station, which is a quarry about a mile and a half to the rear, some distance from the communication trench. We collect all our belongings and set off; we are to rejoin the battalion at its station for the night, an old redoubt which was our last but one stage up the line. Arriving at the dressing station, we are directed by an orderly to the object of our errand. He is lying on his left side on a stretcher, an oldish man, the face drawn and sharp, the whole spare body doubled up over the wound near the top of the left lung—'explosive bullet' so the word goes round. The medical orderly empties the pockets and removes the identity discs, while we take picks and shovels and set to work digging a grave under the low face at one side of the quarry. We finish the grave, a shallow one, and three or four of us take the stiff body and lower it into the hole. We have no ropes, and have to stoop well down with our arms in the grave. The body slips from our hands and falls the last inch or two, stiffly in a lump. We put in the first few shovelfuls of earth gently, and then rapidly fill up the grave. One of our party finds a couple of slips of wood and trims them with his jack-knife. He fastens them into a cross with a piece of string, and after printing on it the name and regiment, with indelible pencil, sticks it at the head of the grave. There is nothing more to do. So, with a few trite remarks, but mostly quiet, we set off on the long march to where the battalion is, arriving there after dark and rejoining our comrades.*

Villers Bretonneux (France) Military Cemetery, showing Cross of Sacrifice and in background the Australian Memorial.

The Commonwealth War Graves Commission was established by royal charter on 21 May 1917 (and was known at first as the Imperial War Graves Commission). The provisions of the charter were amended and extended by a supplementary charter of 8 June 1964. The commission's duties are to mark and maintain the graves of the members of the armed forces of the Commonwealth who died in the two world wars; to build memorials to the dead whose graves are unknown; and to keep records and registers.

The work was founded upon principles which have remained unaltered; that each of the dead should be commemorated individually by name—either on the headstone of the grave, or by an inscription on a memorial; that the headstones and memorials should be uniform; that there should be no distinction on account of military or civil rank, race or creed. The whole cost of the

work is shared by the partner governments—Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, South Africa and the United Kingdom. There are agencies in Gibraltar, Kenya, Malawi, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. There are war graves in some 140 countries scattered throughout the world, commemorating some 1 694 813 Commonwealth war dead.

The patron of the commission is HRH The Duke of Kent, whose father was killed in a flying accident at Braemore, Caithness, Scotland, on 25 August 1942, while on active service. Almost all the war cemeteries and memorials are maintained by the commission's own staff. The care of war graves in civil cemeteries and churchyards is mostly entrusted to local and church authorities, who maintain them in agreement with the commission. In certain cemeteries, which are the responsibility of the Property Services Agency of the British government, the war graves are maintained by that agency under a reciprocal agreement with the commission.

The headstones are 2'8" (81 cms) in height; at the top of each is engraved the national emblem, the regimental badge, or the service crest, followed by the number, rank, name, unit, date of death, age and, in most cases, a religious emblem; at the foot, in many cases, an inscription—chosen by the relatives. In some cemeteries, for climatic or other reasons, stone or bronze plaques on low pedestals are used instead of headstones, notably on the Gallipoli peninsula, in Macedonia, in the Far East and the south-west Pacific.

Climate permitting, the headstones stand in narrow borders, where floribunda roses and small perennials grow, in a setting of lawn, trees and shrubs. Two monuments are common to the cemeteries; the Cross of Sacrifice, set upon an octagonal base and bearing a bronze sword upon its shaft. Rudyard Kipling—one of the original commissioners of the Imperial War Graves Commission—who wrote of these 'Silent Cities', spoke of a 'carven stone, and a stark sword brooding on the bosom of the Cross'. In the larger cemeteries there is the Stone of Remembrance, a monolith weighing about ten tonnes, having carved upon it the words from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, Ch.44 v.14 'THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE'. Large cemeteries have shelters, entrance buildings, and other architectural features. The men and women whose graves are unknown, or whose remains were cremated, are commemorated on memorials ranging from small tablets bearing a few names to great monuments bearing many thousands. If those commemorated served under another name this is recorded. On the gravestones over unidentified bodies of the first world war are the words 'AN UNKNOWN SOLDIER OF THE GREAT WAR KNOWN TO GOD'.

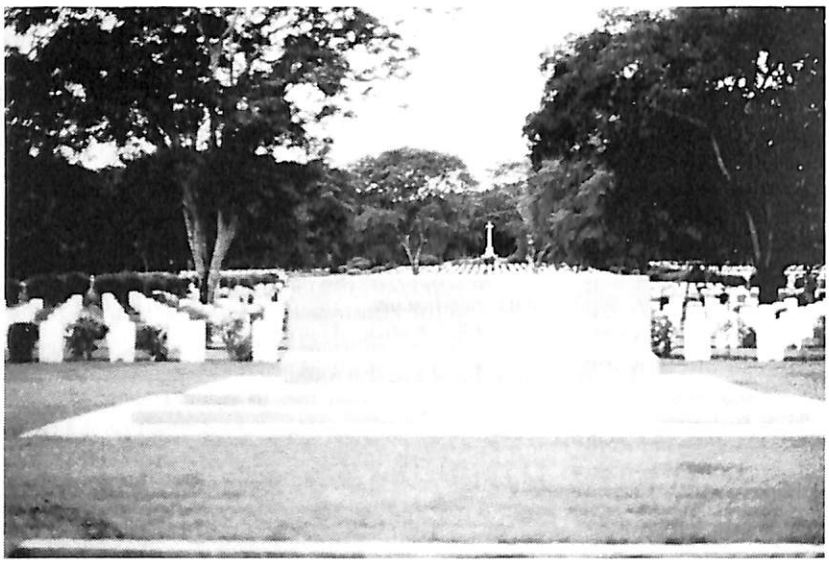
Cemetery and memorial registers published by the commission are, wherever possible, housed in register boxes, on site, and are available for consultation at the commission's offices. In most of the foreign countries in which the commission principally operates, its work is protected by a series of international agreements, which recognize the commission as the authority responsible for the care of the graves and memorials. The governments of many countries have generously acquired the land occupied by the cemeteries and have granted its use to the commission 'in perpetuity'.

The first memorials that the commission completed were to the missing of the Royal Navy, most of whom had been lost at sea. Early in 1920 the commission learned that the Admiralty was against the idea of missing sailors being commemorated like soldiers 'near the place where they are supposed to have fallen'. Indeed, it did not contemplate commemorating individuals at all, although it had in mind to erect a general monument. The commission's reply was that it had a duty, under the charter, to commemorate 'all men who fell in war'. If the Admiralty objected to the names being inscribed in cemeteries, they might be included in memorials at ports or other places 'which seem suitable to their Lordships'. At last the Admiralty decided that the three 'manning ports'—Chatham, Plymouth and Portsmouth—should each have an identical memorial of unmistakable naval form, probably an obelisk which would serve as a leading-mark for shipping. The commission might build them and inscribe the names upon them.

All three were identical, although the Plymouth memorial was, eventually, given extra height and included Australian and South African names.

In 1955 the Tower Hill memorial, adjacent to the Tower of London, was completed and carries the names of 35 700 merchant seamen, commemorated under the names of the ships in which they served, and with whom they were lost.

All told, in the two world wars 51 000 merchant seamen, fishermen and members of the Lighthouse and Pilotage Services gave their lives and lie in uncharted ocean graves. Although they lie far away from home their names are honoured in their own countries on memorials which bear enduring witness to their unflinching valour—as already mentioned, at Tower Hill, London, also at Auckland, Bombay, Chittagong, Halifax Nova Scotia, Hong Kong and Sydney. The Royal Air Force Air Council rejected the idea that it should rely upon the commission and set up its own war memorial committee and decided to rebuild a London church, St Clement Danes—of 'Oranges and Lemons' fame. But since this would not satisfy Catholics, Jews and members of other denominations, they turned to the commission in the end. It was decided to build a separate memorial to



Port Moresby (Bomana) War Cemetery, Papua and New Guinea.

airmen who died in Britain, North West Europe, and over the north Atlantic, but while some wanted this to be in London, others, notably the Air Force representatives on the commission, wanted to preserve a closer association with aircraft that would continue to fly, and favoured a position near London's international airport, Heathrow. Eventually a site was found on Cooper's Hill—part of a wooded ridge that swept down towards the river Thames, at Runnymede, with broad views towards Windsor and Heathrow. By the (northern) autumn of 1949 the owners had donated the site and the commission and the council had given their approval for a memorial to be erected, which was to become the best known of the commission's memorials in England.

In Australia the work of caring for the war dead is carried out by the Office of Australian War Graves. There are approximately 65 000 Australian dead in war graves in many parts of the world and memorials commemorate tens of thousands who have no known grave.

In Australia three types of war graves are recognised by the charter of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, namely those of all men and women of the British Commonwealth who died while serving in the forces, or as a result of serving in the forces—in a theatre of war between 4 August 1914 and 31 August 1921, or between 3 September 1939 and 31 December 1947. The Australian government has arranged war graves commemoration for those killed in warlike operations and also for those veterans whose post-war deaths have been accepted by the Repatriation Department—latterly the Department of Veterans' Affairs—as directly attributable to war service. Australia and the other members of the original Commonwealth share the administration and financing of the commission.

The Office of Australian War Graves administers 73 war cemeteries and plots in Australia, Papua-New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Norfolk Island, which contain 19 189 war graves. It also administers, by special agreement, a war cemetery in Indonesia, and Dutch, German and Japanese cemeteries in Australia. In addition, it tends a total of 5 959 Commonwealth war graves—not in war cemeteries or plots. Costs of construction and maintenance are borne by the Australian government. Costs elsewhere are shared by the Commonwealth countries in proportion to the numbers of known graves of their dead. From the first world war Australia had 38 463 known graves, representing 6.58% of the empire total of 585 222. Australian deaths in the second world war totalled more than 40 000, but of these more than 12 000 have no known graves. After the second world war the basis of contribution to the Commission funds was revised and Australia then contributed 8.42%. This basis was again changed following the creation of the Office of Australian War Graves, and Australia's proportion now stands at 5.91%.

Deaths of Australians in operations in Malaysia, Korea and South Vietnam totalled 868. Graves of these casualties are to be found in Australia, Malaysia and the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in South Korea. Being outside the charter of the commission their upkeep in Australia is solely the responsibility of the Office of Australian War Graves.

The third type of war grave recognised by the Australian government results from deaths due to war service. To 1984 there are over 122 000 such commemorations. In certain cases where com-

memorations cannot be made, or maintained, on the actual grave, it is provided within Gardens of Remembrance, of which there are seven in Australia.

The Australian War Memorial, at Canberra, lists all Australian war dead from every conflict—to be specific, all those who had served with Australian forces—with the possible exception of the Maori Wars, 1840-1866.

The Australian National War Memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, in France, bearing the names of 10 982 Australian dead, is close to a war cemetery in which are buried more than 700 Australians who fell in surrounding battlefields during the first world war. The Australian Memorial at Gallipoli, known as The Lone Pine Memorial, bears the names of 4 228 Australians whose bodies could not be found.

The work goes on, and will continue, even though the ranks of veterans who served in one or more major conflicts are swiftly thinning.

The story of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, its predecessor, and its agencies is one of service, dedication and loyalty—three attributes which, we are constantly told, are sadly lacking in this modern age.

It is appropriate that I close with the immortal words of Pericles, a Greek statesman who lived from 490-429 BC who, when speaking of Peloponnesian war dead, said:

> *And having each one given his body to the Commonwealth they received in stead thereof a most remarkable sepulchre, not that therein they are buried so much that therein their glory is laid up on all occasions, both of word and deed, to be remembered for evermore.*

Acknowledgements and sources.
My thanks to:
Brigadier A.E. Brown, CMG, OBE (RL)
Office of Australian War Graves, Department of Veterans' Affairs, Woden, A.C.T.

Privates D.R.S. Combes and A.M. Drever pay their respects at the grave of Private F.W. Short at Wewak war cemetery, Cape Moem, New Guinea, October 1945 (AWM 98151).

Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Maidenhead, Berkshire, U.K.
Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, a history of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-1967.
Australian Encyclopedia, A.H. Chisholm (ed.), Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1963.

Commonwealth War Graves Commission
War Cemeteries, Plots and Memorials: Australia

Cemetery or plot	*Number of graves*
QUEENSLAND	
Atherton	164
Bundaberg	30 + 5 US
Cairns	98
Charters Towers	33
Ipswich	68
Kingaroy	22
Lutwyche	347
Maryborough	10
Rockhampton	36
Toowoomba	43 + 1 PW
Townsville	222
Warwick	21
Woombye	26
NEW SOUTH WALES	
Albury	96
Bathurst	18
Camden	23
Cootamundra	6
Cowra (incl. R.S.L. Area)	27
Cowra (Japanese)	523
Deniliquin	29
Dungog	2 + 1 PW
Evans Head	25
East Maitland	6
Glen Innes	5
Greta	20
Goulburn	26
Hay	5
Kembla Grange	12
Muswellbrook	6
Newcastle	73
Nowra	35
Narrandera	34
Narromine	12
Parkes	18
Richmond	25
Singleton	3
Sydney	734
Tamworth	28
Temora	10
Tenterfield	8
Tocumwal	18
Wagga Wagga	82 + 1 PW
VICTORIA	
Bairnsdale	38
Ballarat	12
Benalla	11
Geelong East	15
Lake Boga	7
Mildura	49
Nhill	7
Sale	58
Seymour	19
Shepparton	10
Springvale	611
Tatura (German)	250
Wangaratta	6
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	
Barmera	8
Centennial Park	198
Mallala	12
Port Pirie	22
WESTERN AUSTRALIA	
Geraldton	83
Perth	493 + 20 PW
NORTHERN TERRITORY	
Adelaide River	434
Alice Springs	28 + 1 PW
TASMANIA	
Car Villa	18
Cornelian Bay	42 + 9 PW

Cremation memorials: Australia

Cremation memorials commemorate the names of those servicemen and servicewomen who were cremated and whose ashes were scattered or buried where proper commemoration was not possible.

New South Wales (Sydney War Cemetery)	199
Victoria (Springvale War Cemetery)	72
Queensland (Lutwyche War Graves Plot)	36
Western Australia (Perth War Cemetery)	7
South Australia (Centennial Park War Graves Plot)	9
Tasmania (Cornelian Bay War Graves Plot)	4

Note: US United States
PW Post-War

This list appears in the *Office of Australian War Graves Annual Report 1982-83. Sabretache* is indebted to the office's Director for permission to reproduce this information.

W. M. Chamberlain

The Australian Commonwealth Horse

A study of political, social and economic aspects of the Federal involvement in the South African War 1899-1902.

Conclusion. The previous issue covered the background of the Australian government's decision to provide troops, the raising of the first Federal contingent and its despatch in February 1902.

The Veterans of 1902 (Cont.)

4 Without due ceremony

The press on 22 January 1902 reported a curious coincidence in the Federal House. A petition presented by Mr Higgins as the first Commonwealth contingent was forming asked for withdrawal of the Australian troops from South Africa. It was followed by a statement of the Prime Minister that another contingent of 1 000 had been asked for by the Imperial government and that the government proposed to grant the request. The petition was received in silence. Mr Barton's statement was greeted with cheers.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies had telegraphed: 'In view of the splendid response of Australia to the recent request for more troops, His Majesty's Government will gladly accept another contingent of 1 000 men if your Government is prepared to raise them on the same terms as the contingent now being raised. Transport will be arranged by the War Office.'[19] Sir John Forrest stated that it would not be practicable in all likelihood to form the contingent exclusively from returned soldiers but care would be take to select men having bush experience in preference to others. He issued official instructions to Military Commandants in the States: 'It has been decided to send another 1 000 men, or rather 9 units, to South Africa, as a second Commonwealth contingent . . . Preference will be given to those who have had service in South Africa, but the selection need not be confined to such persons, provided that the applicants have experience of country life in Australia, the management of horses, and bush travelling, and are good shots. . .'[20]

The General Order was issued on 24 January, organising the second Commonwealth contingent as follows:

3rd Btn: NSW 3 companies, Q'ld 1 company, Tasmania 1 company.

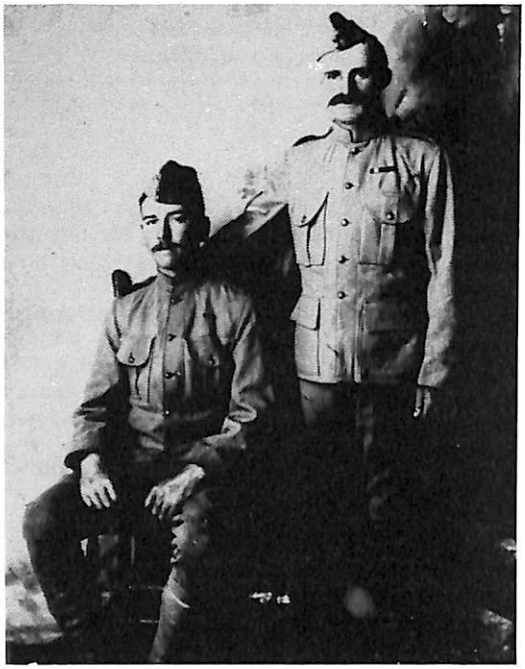
4th Btn: Victoria 2 companies, SA 1 company, WA 1 company.

The strength was to be 121 per company, including commanding officers; battalion staffs were to be similar to those of the first Commonwealth contingent. The change in organisation to two companies for Victoria was seen as invidious. It was stated that it could not be, because Victoria would have greater difficulty raising three units. Victoria had furnished her 363 men for the first contingent more expeditiously than NSW[21]. Numbers of suitable men would be put aside.

Married men were not ineligible, but it was not expected that there would be many veterans applying, as many had gone back to enlist on their own account. The Victorian applicants for commissions would have enabled two companies to be filled by officers only. There was dissatisfaction in country districts this time as the Defence Department refused permission to allow free travel to the city to enlist but the delay in filling the previous contingent was not expected to be repeated. Those accepted would be medically examined and tested in riding and shooting at the recruiting depots. Equipment was already being prepared and the military buyers were again purchasing horses. By early April the units had been assembled, drilled and embarked for the war.

5 The final squadrons

Mr Barton announced on 20 March that he had received a despatch from the Imperial government stating that the contingents already sent to South Africa by the Commonwealth would greatly strengthen His Majesty's government in bringing the war to an early termination, and intimating that, should the Commonwealth be agreeable, 2 000 more men would be gratefully received on the same terms as the last contingent. The government intended to comply with this desire, although there was debate in the Senate about sending 2 000. There was no immediate enrolment as the Minister of Defence said, 'We don't want to enrol more men until those now



L/Cpl H.J. Cooke DCM (standing) and Trooper W.J. Robinson photographed before their departure for South Africa with 2nd Battalion, Australian Commonwealth Horse. Both men had previously served in South Africa; Robinson in the Scottish Horse and Cooke with the Australian Regiment during which time he was decorated for distinguished service. (AWM A4389)

in camp have sailed for South Africa'.[22] In reply to the Prime Minister's cable acceding to the request, Mr Chamberlain sent the following acceptance, 'His Majesty's Government warmly appreciates the patriotic action of your Government in offering further reinforcements and cordially accepts the valuable addition to the forces engaged in the South African War.'[23]

A reversion was made to the method adopted when the earlier Colonial contingents were organised by sending enrolling officers to the principal centres of population in the country, so as to secure the largest possible proportion of genuine bushmen. Each State was to prepare squadrons (of four troops) each with 123 officers and men,[24] who would lodge provisional enrolment in the areas set out in the accompanying table (ACH 5th-8th Battalions).

It was intended to enrol 10 per cent more than required to provide for contingencies. Those accepted were to report at the squadron concentration depots where they would be put through riding, shooting and medical tests and when definitely accepted would be sent for training.[25] Even though enrolment was only provisional, volunteers were advised to make arrangements for leaving home as, if passed, they might not obtain leave. They were attested, equipped, trained and despatched by May.

Troops of 1 Battalion Australian Commonwealth Horse watering their horses whilst on the march in the Transvaal, South Africa, 1902. (AWM A4407)

6 Preview of Sinai

The Boers were still scoring in isolated attacks in 1902, although Botha was forced out of the high veldt when isolated by blockhouses and hampered with supply problems. In the eastern Orange River Colony Kitchener developed the New Model Drive (i.e. concentrations of men strung across miles of country with no gaps), 9 000 men seeking de Wet, who nevertheless escaped through the southern blockhouse line. He headed for the north-west Transvaal to try to join De la Rey. In the Cape, Smuts invested O'okiep, which had to be relieved by a force advancing from the sea. De la Rey captured his old enemy Lord Methuen at Tweebosch on 3 March.[26] Despite these achievements the policy of attrition had doused all but the final sparks of Boer resistance, their desperation reflected in the shock tactics of high-speed charges and firing from the saddle that annihilated several British detachments. Finally though, the almost religious fervour with which the irreconcilables clung on was unable to resist the organisation of blockhouses and drives.

The first Commonwealth contingent (1st and 2nd ACH) arrived about mid-March at Durban and proceeded to Newcastle, being engaged in wet weather in blocking mountain passes and sealing escape routes for Boers being driven towards the blockhouse line along the Drakensberg Range.[27] On 10 April they transferred to Klerksdorp in the western Transvaal for operations against De la Rey's 2 500 fresh men. They marched out on the 21st, with orders to destroy crops, through Paardeplatts to Hartebeestfontein, enclosing large numbers of Boers, who rode from point to point to find gaps, until, finally thwarted, 350 stacked arms and surrendered. The second Commonwealth contingent (3rd and 4th ACH) arrived in late April-early May and were also sent to the Transvaal, refitting and obtaining remounts at Elandsfontein.[28]

In May there were massive drives in eastern and western Transvaal, the 1st and 2nd ACH being involved along the border of British Bechuanaland. On the 10th there was a determined attempt by the Boers to break through but next day the trapped commando surrendered. The ACH returned to Klerksdorp and assessed the results: 1 Boer killed, 326 prisoners, 95 mules, 20 donkeys, 175 waggons, 61 Cape Carts, 300 sheep, 106 oxen, and 6 340 rounds of small arms ammunition,[29] which whittled down De la Rey's manpower and resources. The trekking continued in the blockhouse line Klerksdorp-Ventersdorp.

The Boers in the field had been reduced to 22 000 men and in order to discuss the possibility of peace they resolved to meet at Vereeniging on 15 May. After discussions lasting several days the Boers approved a Commission to meet Lord Kitchener and Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner to South Africa, to draft the formal treaty of surrender, which they signed on 31 May 1902. It had taken 450 000 British troops to subdue one tenth of that number.[30] Peace was declared on 1 June.

The third Commonwealth contingent (5th, 6th, 7th and 8th ACH) arrived too late for active service, and assembled at Newcastle to await return to Australia. It can only be speculated whether the later ACH battalions, which were composed differently from the veterans of the 1st and 2nd Battalions, would have performed as well. The veterans had demonstrated that a Federal force was capable of effective operation and were a small foretaste of the power of an Australian mounted force, not really seen until the campaign in Sinai in World War I.[31] The official records list deaths among the veterans due to disease or accident, but none killed in action.

Some Conclusions

7 Forerunners of the 'Digger'

When the Australian colonies federated on 1 January 1901, one main reason had been for defence. It was perhaps a coincidence that the Commonwealth of Australia was born at war, inheriting the responsibility of finishing the task started by six colonial armies in 1899 of defending the empire in South Africa.

It was inevitable that inter-colonial differences were not immediately overcome and that the States had been obliged to raise forces in 1901, after federation. It was remarkable, though, that by 1902 the infant Commonwealth was able to co-ordinate the activities of the people of six previously separate and distinct communities to create a unified army and send it overseas on active service. It was hardly surprising that there were some differences in representation, uniforms and commitment after generations of rivalry and several years of war.

The Commonwealth was able to prepare a force with officers commanding men from States other than their own. The battalions served under the Australian colonels although directed by Imperial generals. Had the war continued it is possible that Australian brigades would have served under their own generals.

The main effects of what was one of the first large undertakings of the Commonwealth[32] were the fusing of the colonial traditions, and the deterring of hostile intervention of strong European powers in the war because of the demonstration of imperial unity, however unpopular the cause may be considered today. The rescuing of the British army from its Crimean outlook, largely by colonial demonstration, had importance for the 1914-18 war.

A.C.H. 5th-8th Battalions
Territorial Organisation

BATTns	TROOPS	SQUADRONS A	B	C	D
5 NSW	1	NSW LANCERS Sydney	NSW M R Tenterfield Inverell Lismore Casino	AUST HORSE Armidale Glen Innes	AUST HORSE Goulburn
	2	Camden Berry	Bathurst Molong Forbes	Tamworth Gunnedah	Braidwood Araluen
	3	Maitland Singleton Newcastle	Picton Camden	Scone Belltrees Muswellbrook	Bungendore Michelago
	4	Parramatta Windsor Richmond	Canterbury Bega	Mudgee Lue Rylstone	Gundagai Cootamundra Murrumburrah
6 VIC	1	Melbourne	Wangaratta	Bendigo	Warrnambool
	2	Melbourne	Euroa	Kerang	Colac
	3	Warragul	Yea	Ballarat	Hamilton
	4	Sale	Murchison	Maryborough	Stawell
7 QLD	1	SOUTH COASTAL DISTRICT Logan	DARLING, WESTERN DOWNS and BORDER DISTRICTS Darling Downs	NORTHERN DISTRICT Kennedy	CENTRAL DISTRICT Mitchell
	2	Bremer	Border	Flinders	Peak Downs
	3	Burnett	Warrego	Winton	Port Curtis
	4	Moreton	Maranoa	Dalrymple	Leichhardt
8 SA WA TAS	1	S.A. Adelaide and 80 m. radius	S.A. Mt. Gambier Naracoorte Penola Millicent	TAS Hobart	W.A. Central District
	2	Adelaide and 80 m. radius	Pt. Pirie Jamestown Gladstone Pt. Germein Spalding Laura	Launceston	Goldfields District
	3	Adelaide and 80 m. radius	Wallaroo Moonta Kadina Bute	North Coast	Goldfields District
	4	Adelaide and 80 m. radius	The Burra Petersburg Broken Hill	West Coast	Country Districts

Also, by 1914, the formula for recruiting the AIF had been established, avoiding reliance on existing forces or special types such as bushmen, but assembling a blend of citizens leavened by veterans, many of whom built successful military careers on the foundations established on the veldt.[33] Although the men of the ACH returned a little 'short on "scars" ',[34] the quality of recruits for the ACH seems to have been higher for reasons of selectivity of small numbers, and the spirit with which they had come forward to face the unknown future was worthy of at least the same commendation as the AIF.

Instead they received scant reward, suffered severe Continental censure and were met with the apathy of their kinsfolk.[35] Despite the lack of official recognition it is hoped that the men of the ACH knew, as they returned to the humble city dwellings or bush homesteads from which they had ridden to war, that the world had noted their willingness to defend a principle. The dust they raised along the tracks from far west to far north was no longer local but their Australian dust.

References

19. The *Argus*, 22 Jan. 1902.
20. *Ibid*, 23 Jan. 1902. Forrest was Federal Minister of Defence.
21. *Ibid*, 27 Jan. 1902. The Nominal Roll shows 372.
22. *Ibid*, 22 Mar. 1902.
23. *Ibid*, 24 Mar. 1902.
24. Lt Col. P.L. Murray, RAA (Ret.), (Ed.), *Official records of the Australian Military Contingents to the War in South Africa 1899-1902*, Dept of Defence, Melbourne, 1911. p.324. 'The companies were now officially styled "squadrons", divisions became "troops", and groups "sections". (General Order 60 of 1902). This was judicious; for previously both expressions had been used indiscriminately.'
25. *Sabretache*. Journal of the Military Historical Society of Australia, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1974, p.28. Extract from Maj.-General Sir Edward Hutton's Report of 7 April 1902. 'The organisation of four battalions of Australian Commonwealth Horse had been authorised for service in South Africa prior to my arrival. The system adopted was, in my opinion, faulty, inasmuch as the recruiting and organisation of each battalion was carried out in the large centres of population, which made it difficult to obtain the class of men who possess those special attributes as horsemen which had rendered the value of Australian troops in South Africa so conspicuous.' The 5th-8th were therefore organised on a territorial basis.
26. R. Kruger, *Goodbye Dolly Gray*, Cassell & Co. Ltd, London 1959. pp.476-482.
27. G.B. Barton, *The Story of South Africa*, Vol II.,Australian Publishing Co., n.d. p.597.
28. E. Old, *By Bread Alone*, Georgian House, Melbourne, 1950. p.43.
29. P.L. Murray, op. cit., p.308.
30. R. Kruger, op. cit., p.507.
31. As has often happened in Australian military history, by the war's end a powerful weapon had been forged, too late to be fully utilised. By August 1902 the ACH had been disbanded.
32. The 1st and 2nd ACH contingents cost £170 000, and the 3rd £180 000. The *Argus*, 27 Mar. 1902.
33. Those not already entitled in the first four ACH battalions received the Queen's South Africa Medal with two clasps, Transvaal and South Africa 1902.
34. E. Old, op. cit., p.50.
35. The paradox of enthusiastic volunteering by men from an apathetic populace seems explicable only by the triumph of innate loyalty over war weariness and detestation of 'the methods of barbarism'.

Troopers of the First Commonwealth Horse in a posed action scene complete with casualty. South Africa, c. 1900 (AWM A5308)

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'Adventure Was In My Bones'

The remarkable life of Walter Fowler Brownsworth 1881-1973

WALTER Fowler Brownsworth was commissioned as a second lieutenant into the 4th Australian Light Horse Brigade Train in Adelaide, South Australia in April 1915 and ended the war in the rank of major. Between the wars he served with the Citizen Forces and retired in the rank of brigadier. He was an Englishman, born at Skipton on the edge of the Yorkshire moors on 27 October 1881.

Few knew that he had enlisted and served as a private soldier in the Leicestershire Regiment of the British regular army in the expectation of seeing active service in the Boer War 1899-1902 or that he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society for his explorations in Sudan and the Belgian Congo in 1910-12.

This extraordinary man served with distinction on Gallipoli and in France during the 1914-18 war being awarded the Military Cross and the Belgian Croix de Guerre and mentioned in despatches on three occasions. He spoke and wrote Arabic and French with fluency and was an accomplished pianist and organist. He had a prodigious memory; in his last years he could still quote lengthy passages from Shakespeare, whose works he loved, as well as spicy songs and verses learned around the turn of the century.

As a boy, Walter Brownsworth learned shorthand and in later life was admitted as a Fellow of the Australian Institute of Secretaries and elected a member of the Adelaide Stock Exchange. All his life he was widely and affectionately known as 'Brownie'.

His father became an artist, breaking away from the Liverpool family's traditional occupations of sea-faring and trading. Brownie's maternal grandfather was Captain Walter Fowler whose adventurous life included having his ship sunk in the American civil war by northern forces while running contraband to the Confederates. He spent the remainder of the war in prison. Later he served Ismael Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, with whose country he had traded successfully in earlier days. Young Walter once wrote, 'my youthful ambition was the sea. I was the only red-headed boy in the family and Captain Fowler had been a red-head. I am a Fowler', he claimed, 'and adventure is in my bones'.

Brownie was the fifth son and eighth child in a family of eleven. His father, David Brownsworth of Liverpool married Sophia Fowler, a well read and competent young woman from the countryside near Chester, a dozen miles away. They began married life in Scotland but moved to Skipton in Yorkshire where prospects for an artist proved more satisfactory. Their house was small and crowded and in 1888 Walter was despatched by train to Liverpool to live with an aunt, his mother's sister, and her husband at Rockferry, a suburb on the opposite bank of the Mersey. He was to stay until he completed his primary schooling.

Rockferry and the seafaring atmosphere which entered his life greatly influenced the little boy. Most of his playmates came from families connected with the sea and three of Nelson's ships—*Conway, Indefatigable* and *Akbar*—were moored in the stream as training establishments. A frequent visitor was an aged and wizened sailor who had actually served in Brownie's grandfather's ship. He told the boy tales of the sea and informed the family, 'This red-headed lad is the spit of the Cap'n'.

It was 1893-94 when young Walter returned to Skipton. He told his parents he wanted a life on the sea and was promised an apprenticeship in due course. But his elder brother developed a similar idea and Brownie's chagrin may be imagined when his brother not only supplanted him but so disliked the life that he deserted his ship. The heavy cost of this behaviour forced his mother to tell Brownie that she could no longer afford the premium for his own naval education.

The boy took some time to get over this but was helped to regain his balance by his family; brother George began teaching him shorthand, one of his sisters encouraged him to change his employment to more interesting work and he became a chorister in the church choir. This led to piano lessons and later he learned to play the organ. These interests, and the support of his family, were weaning him from the notion of a life afloat. He learned quickly and remembered well. Rather too small and under-developed for outdoor sports, he joined the militia and enjoyed the rifle shooting and drill parades. He left a

description, told in old age, of a parade and inspection of his unit, the 33rd (West Riding) Duke of Wellington's Regiment, which had a detachment in Skipton:

> Our detachment went to Bradford, accompanied by others from all the West Yorkshire towns, for the annual parade and inspection. The inspecting General was followed by his staff, about twenty all told, dressed in scarlet coats with gold aigulettes, white breeches and hats decorated with plumes or cockades. All were beautifully mounted. They rode along the lines of volunteers at the trot jogging up and down in their saddles because it was the custom not to rise to the trot on ceremonial parades.

Brownie described how all ranks were ordered to 'Remove head dress'; they then put their caps on their fixed bayonets and gave three cheers for Her Majesty the Queen.

When the Boer War broke out in 1899 Brownie, in common with many of his age, was desperately keen to go. It was the type of adventure he longed for. An elder brother enlisted in the Leicestershire Regiment and Brownie developed a plan to enlist in the same regiment and then arrange for his brother to 'claim' him so they could both serve in the same battalion. Unfortunately, the plan went wrong. He and a friend, both slightly under age, travelled north to a town where they would not be known. The friend was accepted but Brownie was judged below the physical standard. Fortunately, one of the recruiting staff realized his plight and suggested enlistment in a garrison artillery unit where he could build up his strength before making another attempt. This worked and some months later, on 5 March 1900, Brownie joined the Leicesters at their regimental depot. His militia training also paid off; within three months he was put in charge of a draft of 20 men selected for foreign service and set out, so everyone thought, for South Africa. But the regiment's second battalion, in Egypt, was to be their destination and Brownie ended up in Alexandria instead of Cape Town.

Once again Fortune, as she had done when his brother usurped his claim to a seafaring life, turned the grievous mischance into an ever-widening advantage. Brownie's shorthand skill brought an appointment to the office staff of the battalion and the elderly chief clerk encouraged the young man to seek a transfer to the clerical branch of the Army Service Corps which specialized in that type of work. No objection was raised and Brownie shortly left the battalion to move a few hundred yards to the huts where the ASC detachment presided over the great variety of supplies needed for the entire garrison in and around Alexandria. It was 8 August 1901.

Through his weekly task of checking all the garrison water meters, he began to pick up some Arabic. This interested him and he added it to the course of studies he had set himself to gain the Army Certificate of Education. He qualified for this in October 1902 and gained his drill certificate in November 1903. He had a year in Cairo where the city and its history fascinated him. His unit was stationed at Kasr-el-Nil Barracks and he found ample opportunity to use and improve his Arabic.

Late in 1903, Private Brownsworth saw on the unit notice board a call for volunteers to fill postings in the Army Service Corps unit at Khartoum in the Sudan. It was barely a dozen years since the Mahdi and his followers had broken into Khartoum and killed General Gordon. Adventure and romance were in the very air. Brownie told me he applied immediately and seems to have been accepted almost on the spot. Modestly, he said, 'It wasn't popular; I may have been the only applicant. Certainly I was the only one selected'. On 22 December 1903, he set out alone by rail to Khartoum, 2000 kilometres to the south as the crow flies.

Brownie's chief recollection of the week-long rail journey was of passing through the Nubian Desert, 350 kilometres wide, which cuts off the great bend of the Nile beyond Wadi Halfa. The heat and dust were so bad that he deserted his few fellow travellers for the corner of an empty truck where he rigged a tarpaulin to exclude the dust-laden air and sweated it out.

At Wadi Halfa there had been no accommodation at all. To Brownie, it seemed like the last place on earth. He slept on the river bank. Shendi, in the middle of the desert, was reached after a torrid day's journey. One more night in his suffocating truck brought the train to Halfaya (one is tempted to doubt this as a genuine place name—it is too close to Hell fire). This was his destination and faced Khartoum across the wide Blue Nile.

The station consisted only of a bank of sand faced with wooden sleepers; nothing more. Day was breaking when the train pulled in. There was no one to meet him. Already the heat was intense. But his first glimpse of his future home brought a lyrical description:

> Away in the distance was a magnificent mirage. Above the horizon was a stretch of palm trees, crystal clear but upside down. I piled my baggage near the narrow-gauge line and walked towards the river bank. Across the steely waters of the Blue Nile I got my first glimpse of Khartoum. I saw the Palace, many substantial buildings and some in course of construction. Palm trees fringed the river and were dotted in the various gardens.

> My immediate problem was to reach the city. There seemed to be no way of communicating to announce my arrival. The heat was beating down and the ground shimmered. Finally I found a native boatman with a ricketty-looking craft and was ferried across the river.

'We didn't expect you until next week', was the inevitable Army welcome.

After nine months in the Supply Office at Khartoum, Fortune began to quicken her pace. It was not as if he succumbed to the possible drudgery of his work; on the contrary, he really loved Khartoum. Here the giant Blue Nile joined the majestic main river to become the White Nile. The Blue Nile rose in the Abyssinian mountains; the source of the White Nile lay in Uganda 1300 kilometres to the south. What names to conjure with! Brownie first found friends amongst the missionary groups in the city; Omdurman, over the river and the scene of Kitchener's final victory over the Khalifa, was a native market town which he explored with zest. Before his first year was out, he was placed in charge of the Barrack Office in Khartoum. Three months later, Serjeant Brownsworth joined the staff of His Excellency Sir Reginald Wingate the Governor-General and Sirdar of the Sudan, as confidential secretary. It was a complete surprise to Brownie but obviously his shorthand and clerical experience were unusual in the outposts of Empire. It was January 1904 and he was not yet 23 years of age.

Nearly seventy years later Brownie still spoke with pride of this period in his life. He quickly became on excellent terms with the three or four British regular officers who made up the staff and accompanied the Governor-General on all his tours. One tour in particular he recalled most vividly. They travelled by steamer up the Blue Nile towards the Ethiopian border and inspected the area in the angle of the Blue and White Nile rivers where a huge irrigation development was being planned. Barges lashed to either side of the small paddel steamer provided for sleeping, office and cooking purposes. Brownie described it as rather like a royal progress, with stops perhaps two or three times a day to meet tribal leaders and discuss local affairs. In this period, Brownie became greatly impressed with the small group of British officers and civilians on the Governor-General's staff. Most were university men and, it seemed, mainly from the same group of schools and colleges. They spoke often of their experiences and treated Brownie with great kindness. Moreover, his new appointment soon brought his elevation to the rank of warrant officer and increased pay. Brownie was saving money and recognised the advantages, both educationally and by the association with kindred spirits, of further education at one of the great British universities. This became his objective. He planned to take his discharge in the UK on completion of his first engagement in March 1907 and apply to enter Oxford university. But his objective was too compelling and he purchased his discharge from the British army in 1906.

Followers of Fortune are not immune to hard knocks. How they stand up to them may be Fortune's measure of their right to continued favour. Brownie's savings were in an Egyptian bank. After his discharge he intended to have a short holiday before making arrangements to enter Christ Church in the new academic year. His London bankers had been asked to arrange the transfer of his savings from Egypt only to be told that the Egyptian bank had failed and Brownie's money had vanished with it. This must have been a frightful blow but he seems not to have wasted much time on being sorry for himself. His best course was to put his Sudan experience to good use.

Through John Aird and Company, a British firm of engineers, he obtained a position in charge of recruitment and management of native labour on the huge barrage being built at Esna on the River Nile. This gave him time to explore the possibilities of returning to the Sudan, which already was close to his heart. From Esna, within a few months, he returned to Khartoum in the Public Works Department, resumed his old friendships and entered into the life of the community. But a chance meeting over dinner with a friend at the civil service club in Khartoum brought him to the threshold of further adventures. His host introduced him to an Englishman, London director of the Kordofan Trading Company, with the words 'You have been telling me about your troubles. Here is the man who will get you out of them'. As a result, Brownie became the Khartoum representative of the company which held large concessions in the Belgian Congo but whose manager had decamped. Brownie was to pick up the pieces.

This was Adventure with a capital 'A'; by river boat to Juba to recruit Ugandan porters, then 800 kilometres on foot to inspect the concessions covering 100 000 hectares in dense forest. He must have traversed much little-known country and the expedition brought him a fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society.

In preparing for the Congo trip it had not been easy to find a cook willing to forgo the comforts of home and company of wives for months of hardship. An Omdurman merchant finally recommended a man who proved to be fat, with bulging cheeks and sparkling eyes but little else to give confidence except various testimonials which all vouched for his honesty. In desperation, Boyo, as he was called, was engaged and final preparations were made for departure on the river steamer.

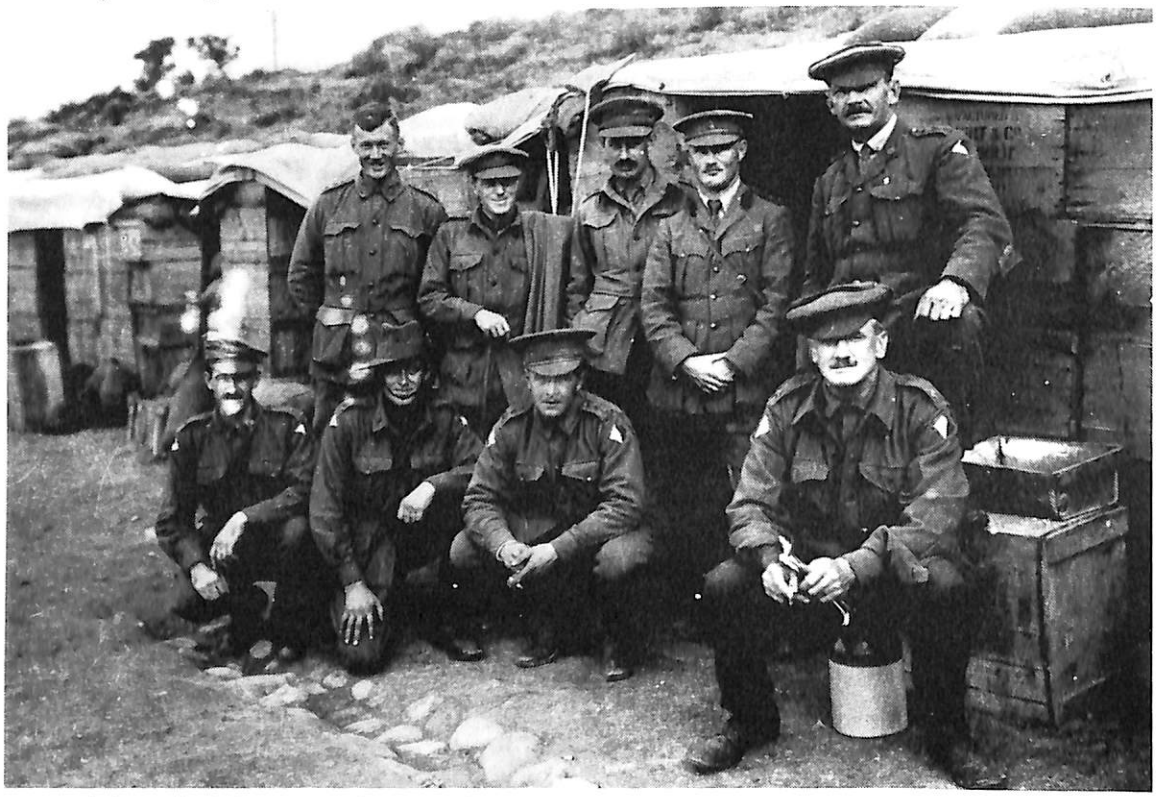
Boyo took charge. He inspected the dry rations already purchased, asked about the number of porters to be recruited, threw out many of the cooking utensils (which the cook would have to carry) and assembled packages suitable for porterage. At last, satisfied with his efforts, he pronounced, 'The wisdom of Allah lies in the hand of man'.

Mongalla, where the river shallowed, was the terminus for the *Omdurman*. From there to Rejaf, another 100-120 kilometres, the journey was by the steam launch *Vanderhofer*. This vessel found difficulty in making headway against the stream and could only do so with a full head of steam. When the pressure fell, Brownie said that the launch tied up to the nearest rock until it had raised enough steam to continue.

At Rejaf it was found that only porters recruited in Uganda would be reliable. Local boys would not cross tribal boundaries, nor was it likely that fresh teams could be recruited as the march progressed. Once on the track, the Uganda boys were most unlikely to desert as the prospect of finding their own way home through hostile tribes was fairly daunting.

It took Brownie a week to collect his porters for each of whom a sum of money had to be lodged with the District Inspector as a guarantee for safe return. Brownie also discovered that it would be necessary for his party to pass through the Belgian border post at Aba. The Kordofan Trading Company's concessions lay to the north of Aba. There were five of them each covering something of the order of 16 000 hectares lying about 150 kilometres inside the border of Belgian territory. The whole area was dense rubber forest but the cost of extraction and shipment from this remote region was a crticial factor since Malayan rubber was (in 1910) beginning to reach the London market at a cheaper cost. Although finally advising against the project, Brownie discovered a large quantity of ivory owned by his company which he was able to bring out with his party. The value of this rewarded the company many times for the cost of the expedition.

It was now 1912; Brownie was over thirty and attracted to the idea of settling in New Zealand where farming land was available. A Khartoum friend intended settling there and Brownie arranged to take up land in the same district. Inspired by the new challenge, he took ship from London via Australia.



Group of the staff of the Divisional Train and others taken at Brighton Beach, Gallipoli on 16 December 1915. L to R (Back row only)—Capt Waddell, Capt W F Brownsworth, Lt Col A. M. Martyn (CRE 1st Division), Capt Hubert Parker (1st Division HQ), and Capt J. S. Duffy (1st Divisional Train). (AWM J2528—Donated by Lt Col A. M. Martyn). Brownsworth was evacuated the next day.

At this stage in his career, Walter Fowler Brownsworth was a little below average height and without much spare flesh, although extremely fit. His red hair, ruddy complexion and piercing eyes complemented a forthright attitude to life. His family background had given him good manners and strong principles of conduct. He had proved himself adaptable and developed sound judgement and a gift for decisive action. He spoke well and had a pleasant way with him although he could be quick-tempered and despised inefficiency. His love of music and knowledge of French and Arabic opened many doors to him. He had a good sense of humour and loved a joke. On one occasion, when organist in the Khartoum Cathedral, he was congratulated after the service by a number of people on a delightful voluntary he had included. But most courteously he sidestepped all questions regarding its origin and composer. 'I had to', said Brownie, 'the tune was "Three Blind Mice" which I embellished a bit and played very slowly'.

Once again Fortune smiled as Brownie voyaged towards the Southern Ocean. He met a young woman, Margaret Birks, returning home to Adelaide. It was a case of mutual attraction and although no engagement was announced it seemed clear that Margaret was to join him in New Zealand as soon as he established himself. Probably this took longer than expected. At all events, Brownie received a letter from Margaret's father, Charles Birks, who had built up his department store to a position of eminence in South Australia. In his letter, he pointed out to Brownie that conditions in Australia were a good deal better than in New Zealand and suggested that Brownie sell the New Zealand property and move to Adelaide. This was accepted and Margaret Eason Birks and Walter Fowler Brownsworth were married in Adelaide on 23 August 1913. Less than twelve months later the First Great War broke out.

Brownie had no statutory obligation to the British army. Both duty and experience called him when war broke out and he quickly took steps to join the AIF. But the birth of a son and his deep involvement in business in a new country were bound to complicate matters.

Brownie joined the Australian Army Service Corps in the AIF on 22 April 1915 with the rank of Second Lieutenant in the 4th Light Horse Brigade Train. He was immediately promoted Temporary Captain and embarked for Egypt on 26 May, arriving at Suez on 20 June and Cairo on 2 July. On 10 July he opened the new, large Oasis camp Supply Depot (20 Company, Headquarters, 2nd Australian Division). In Egypt, Brownie's knowledge of the country and mastery of Arabic were immediate assets and he was constantly called upon to help with translations of bills and contracts and to advise on local problems. He joined the 1st Australian Division on Gallipoli in August, serving as supply officer, 3rd Field Depot and remained until the evacuation, arriving at Alexandria per ss Simla, from Mudros, on 4 January 1916.

His administrative experience soon marked him for increased responsibility. On 13 March 1916, after service in the supply area in Egypt with the 2nd Divisional Train, he was appointed DAQMG on the staff of Headquarters, 4th Australian Division where he handled matters concerning the supplies of food, forage, water and other requirements for some 17 000 officers and men of the division.

After service at Tel-el-Kebir and Serapeum on the Canal defences Brownie moved with the advance party of the 4th Division arriving at Hazebrouck on 25th. He remained with Divisional Headquarters staffs for the rest of the war, including a posting as DAAG of the 4th Division on 26 June 1917. He was promoted to Major on 24 March 1917, having been awarded the Military Cross in 1916[1] and later the Belgian Croix de Guerre.[2] He was also mentioned in dispatches three times.

After the armistice with Germany, the GOC AIF, General Sir John Monash, was appointed Director-General of Repatriation and Demobilisation and selected Brownie to serve on his administration staff at Horseferry Road, London where he remained until 18 July 1919, when he returned to Australia. His AIF appointment was terminated on 2 November 1919.

Brownie was 38 when he returned to Adelaide. He had already spent about a year in that city before war broke out and this had given him an opportunity to plan his future and that of his family, for Margaret and he had a son, Graham, born early in the war years. Brownie possessed energy, ability and sound judgement and his attributes had been enhanced by his wartime administrative experience. His father-in-law and a brother-in-law, Napier Birks, who was head of Motors Ltd, could also be of considerable help to a newcomer.

After his return from the war, Brownie maintained his independence and set up his own business as company secretary and accountant. The business flourished and he became secretary to a number of public companies. Through some of these he gained a considerable knowledge and interest in the mining industry which was of benefit to his clients as well as to his own investments. While maintaining his accountancy business, he was admitted in 1922 to membership of the Adelaide Stock Exchange and went into partnership in the firm of Rees and Brownsworth.

Early in his stockbroking days, a flash of his old spirit of adventure prompted him to go north to

Col. W.F. Brownsworth

where the Australian government was disposing of estates taken over from their owners in pre-war German New Guinea in the early days of the war. Brownie quickly realised that bargains were available and promised healthy profits to anyone with experience in handling native labour. He made a close appraisal in two or three cases but regretfully realized that it would involve complete personal dedication for success and he was not prepared to discard the satisfactory business he had already established.

About 1928 Brownie's success in Adelaide enabled him to buy 'Woodhouse', a property near Stirling in the Mt Lofty Ranges where, for the next 20 years, he and his family lived, farmed and ran sheep while he continued his city interests.

As might be expected, Brownie joined the Citizen Forces, serving in an infantry battalion where he retained his AIF rank of major. He became a lieutenant colonel in 1921 and commanded the 43rd Infantry Battalion with intervals on the staff until 1933 when he was promoted colonel to command a CMF infantry brigade. In this period he was honoured by appointment as Honorary ADC to His Excellency the Governor-General and promoted brigadier on his retirement in 1936. He subsequently served on the Army Canteens Board and was elected President of the Naval, Military and Air Force Club of South Australia. He was a popular member and threw all his energy into fostering the compilation of a history of the club and re-organising its management on satisfactory lines.

In view of all his achievements prior to the First World War it is hard to believe it only occupied one-third of his life. In the long period which followed, he undoubtedly prospered through his considerable ability and became liked throughout the community for his good nature, integrity and public spirit.

It was a great sadness that Margaret and Brownie lost their son who died of poliomyelitis shortly

after the 1939-45 war. Graham's widow with their three small children settled in Geelong where Brownie visited them and maintained a close and practical interest in the education of the children. It will not come as a surprise to find that both grandsons in their turn sought adventure as commercial air pilots gaining experience in New Guinea and North/Western Queensland. Brownie's grandaughter not only followed her great grandfather in becoming an artist but spent some time in the high Andes while seeking inspiration from the art of the Incas.

Brownie's wife died in 1950 after which he lived in rooms in North Adelaide. Although physical infirmity very slowly overtook him his mental powers and memory remained excellent. In his eighties he still took an active and successful interest in his investments while I recall a lighter moment when he quoted with much amusement a verse from London Punch of about 1911-12 when Lloyd George, a future Prime Minister, was being execrated by his political enemies:

> Lloyd George no doubt, when his time runs out
> Will ride on a flaming chariot,
> Seated in state on a red-hot plate
> 'twixt Satan and Judas Iscariot.
>
> Ananias that day to the Devil will say
> 'My right to precedence fails,
> Move up a bit higher, away from the fire,
> Make room for the liar—from Wales'.

Brownie's experiences in the Sudan were, without doubt, a source of the utmost pleasure to him. As his mind ranged over his colourful past, incidents and personalities from the ten years he spent in those regions predominated. It only needed mention of a place or a name to start him off; and the pictures he conjured up of every facet of his life there were an abiding joy to him. In his last hours, when he was severely paralysed although completely conscious, I spoke to him of his love for the Sudan. He made a great effort to speak. Haltingly he whispered, 'My heart...is...still...there'.

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Peter Stanley

The Soldiers on the Hill: the defence of Whyalla 1939-1945

Part 1 1939-1941: *'removed from danger of attack'*

This series of articles will seek to explore how one of Australia's most important industrial towns during the 1939-1945 war was defended. Like most places in Australia, Whyalla was never actually in danger of attack, so its story is in many ways anti-climactic. The elaborate preparations undertaken in 1942 were very soon revealed to have been unnecessary and even ludicrous. Between the fall of Singapore and the battles of Midway, the Coral Sea and Milne Bay, however, it seemed to be realistic for Australians to expect attack or even invasion, the first the country would have had to meet since 1788. The story of the defence of Whyalla, therefore, will help us to understand how Australia faced one of the gravest crises in its history.

This study began as what seemed to be a brief investigation of the background to a number of illustrations of wartime Whyalla in the collection of the Australian War Memorial. Within weeks it developed into a study of the defence of Whyalla and then into an investigation of the effects of the war on the town and its people. The latter project soon predominated and resulted, four years later, in the completion of an academic thesis on Whyalla's response to the voluntary war effort[1]. Somewhat belatedly, therefore, this series will consider the original question of how Whyalla was defended during the second world war. In doing so I hope to be able to make more use than I was able in my thesis of the recollections of those who lived in wartime Whyalla—particularly those of the 'soldiers on the hill', the AIF gunners posted to Whyalla from 1942. I hope thereby to repay the debts which I incurred in seeking to record their memories of that time, to which I was unable to do justice until I had discharged my academic obligations.

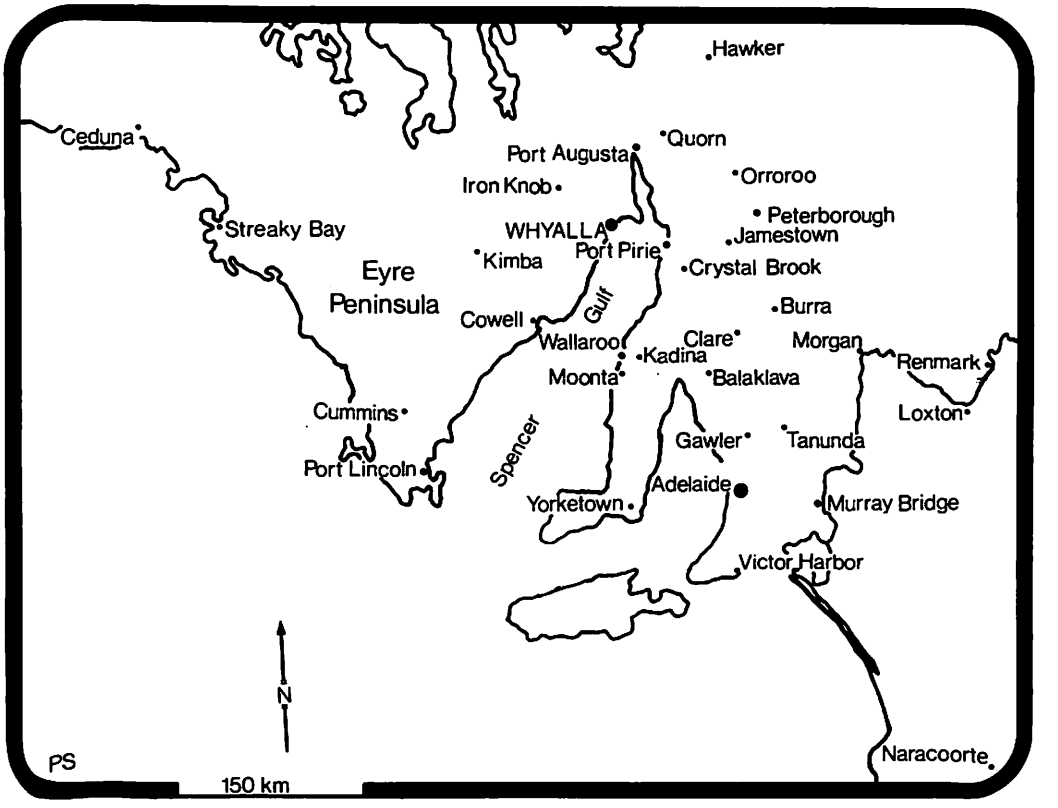
This, then, is the story of how Whyalla came to be prepared for attacks which were never to come. It will, I hope, achieve several purposes: inform readers of a somewhat neglected aspect of Australia's experience of the second world war, contribute to an understanding of that experience, and serve to commemorate those whose service in the defence of Australia, while not as spectacular or vital as others', was devoted to equally worthy ends and whom fortune alone dictated would not be tested. While it will not be simply a narrative history, I hope to indulge in what is for a working historian the luxury of some simple chronicling, of enjoying telling what is, I hope, an interesting story of the past.

Whyalla lies on Spencer Gulf, some 250 kilometres north-north-west of Adelaide. It was established by the Broken Hill Proprietary Company (BHP), only days after federation, as the terminus of its 'tramway' to the iron ore workings at Iron Knob. By the eve of the 1939-1945 war the town numbered some 1350 people, many of whom worked for, and all of whom depended on, BHP, which was known locally as 'the company'. Whyalla was relatively isolated, maintaining contact with other gulf towns mostly by coastal steamers. It was a self-sufficient, close-knit community, united by its residents' ties to the company, a relationship strengthened by the rigours of the depression of the 1930s.

Whyalla's ore jetty determined its industrial and strategic importance, for all of Australia's iron ore was transported from the mines in the Middleback Ranges to Whyalla to be shipped to the steel mills of New South Wales. From 1938 the town underwent a massive expansion with the construction of a blast furnace, a shipyard (in 1940) and a shell plant (in 1941), but it was the ore jetty and its attendant power house which remained its most vital industrial installation. The town's expansion—to nearly 8000 people by 1943—certainly increased its importance, however, and would affect the ways in which its residents reacted to the threat of attack later in the war.

Whyalla's importance to Australia's industry in the event of war had been noticed by the Port Pirie *Recorder* shortly before the outbreak of war. In 1938 its editor called for a sea-plane station to protect the industrial towns around Spencer Gulf—though how sea-planes would have done so is unclear. 'Half a dozen bombs each' on Port Pirie, Whyalla and Iron Knob, he claimed, could 'paralize (sic) the defence of the continent'[2]. As Port Pirie's local paper the *Recorder* placed Pirie first, perpetuating the cross-gulf rivalry which began with Whyalla's growth and persists between the towns. In fact, Whyalla's ore jetty could justly be regarded as the single most vulnerable installation in Australia.

Others were less apprehensive; even after the outbreak of war there appeared to be no potential threat from a war which was primarily a European concern. The superintendent of BHP Whyalla, Mr



Map: South Australia

R.T. Kleeman, reassured listeners to an ABC wireless broadcast in October 1939 that 'no enemy shell can reach this industry'. Whyalla, he claimed, was 'very effectively protected by the long, narrow waters of Spencer's Gulf which, of course, can be mined[3].

Despite Mr Kleeman's complacency, however, during 1940 and 1941 military authorities examined Whyalla and its industry to determine whether the town needed to be protected. Shortly after the German invasion of France and the low countries—which signalled the end of the 'phoney war' for Australians as well as for European nations more directly affected—a 'Fortress Reconnaissance Party' visited Spencer Gulf. Undertaken mostly by engineer and artillery officers, the inspection revealed the importance and vulnerability of the northern gulf towns. Port Augusta, at the head of Spencer Gulf, was a major railway junction: Port Pirie produced an eighth of the world's and half of Britain's lead, while Whyalla's ore jetty supplied Australia's growing war industries. The reconnaissance party found that Whyalla was vulnerable to bombardment by sea, aerial attack and sabotage. While recommending that only two guns be located at Port Pirie, it urged that Whyalla be provided with anti-aircraft and coastal artillery, with supporting searchlights, along with six fighter aircraft at an Empire Air Training Scheme station and a 'local defence force' of one infantry company[4].

Whyalla was to see implemented only one of these impressive recommendations, and then hardly in the form envisaged by the officers of the Fortress Reconnaissance Party. A month after its visit the Returned Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia announced the formation of its Volunteer Defence Corps (VDC). Within a week forty Great War veterans, under the command of the sub-branch president, Charles Anderson, turned out for a 'route march', led somewhat incongruously by the Whyalla Citizens Band[5].

The RSS and AILA's Volunteer Defence Corps resulted from the league's attempts from 1937 to become involved actively in Australia's defence. Though garrison battalions composed of former servicemen had been formed in September 1939 the league continued to press for a reserve force for home service. The federal government approved the formation of the VDC in June 1940, evidently influenced by the establishment of

Whyalla's ore jetty, the reason for the town's industrial and strategic importance (South Australian Archives).

Britain's Local Defence Volunteers, later the Home Guard[6]. But Australia, of course, lacked any direct threat such as brought Britains's Home Guard into existence.

Whyalla's VDC parades with the Citizens' Band became a regular part of the town's Sunday mornings for the remainder of 1940. But it seemed that parading was all that the unit did. Ron Loveday, one of its platoon leaders—the VDC was unable to use military ranks until May 1942—wrote to the Adelaide *Advertiser* in December complaining that since its formation the company had done little but 'chocolate soldier stuff'. The corps' commanders apparently did not realize 'the need for tuition in the tactics of modern warfare'. An invader, he wrote, 'would not be stopped by men whose main training has been "to present arms by numbers"'. Loveday urged all VDC members to read *New Ways of War*, a handbook on independent warfare by the British veteran of the Spanish civil war, Tom Wintringham[7].

Perhaps in response to Loveday's criticism Whyalla's VDC began to conduct more imaginative exercises. In February 1941 the men 'marched out into the scrub...and "captured" some important positions'. They returned, however,'to...parade in the town'[8]. During these manoevres women of the Red Cross' Voluntary Service Detachments, in 'smart brown uniforms', practised their first-aid skills[9]. Such exercises still had an air of playacting—or even wishful thinking—about them: in July the VDC were instructed solemnly on the weak points of the Junkers JU88 and of Messerschmitt fighters[10].

Perhaps because the corps was training without any identifiable threat in mind it did not grow, even when enrolment was opened to all civilian men in April 1941. The Whyalla unit rose by only eight in its first year, and reached only 60 in November 1941. Jack Edwards, editor of the *Whyalla News*, himself a Great War digger who had been captured on the western front, expressed in May 1940 the 'surprise and regret' of 'all responsible Whyalla residents' at the 'big tally' of young men who seemed to be otherwise occupied at the weekend. 'Do the young men of Whyalla still imagine they are living in a land far removed from danger of attack?', he asked. It seemed that they did[11].

While external threats were perhaps remote—though it appeared that German raiders had (ironically in view of Mr Kleeman's reassurance in 1939) mined the entrance to Spencer Gulf—it seemed that there might be a 'fifth column' active in Whyalla[12]. The Fortress Reconnaissance Party had identified sabotage as a possible danger. The threat was not, it seemed, an idle one. In April 1940, less than a fortnight before the party's visit, a fire had damaged the BHP carpenters' shop. The morning after the fire a piece of towelling soaked in kerosene was discovered in the remains of the shop, and the coroner found that the fire had been 'unlawfully and maliciously started by some person or persons unknown'. Neither motive nor suspect was ever identified but it led BHP to consider requesting a militia detachment to guard the works power station. It seems odd, however, that a group prepared to commit sabotage should choose to destroy, of all things, the carpenters' shop[13].

Despite this dramatic evidence of Whyalla's potential vulnerability, when the Department of Defence Co-ordination's Joint Planning Committee considered the Fortress Reconnaissance Party's report later in 1940 it thought attack to be 'unlikely'. In hindsight this seems to be an obvious conclusion, though the committee's reasoning yet appears to be suspect. 'Material damage', it considered, could only happen through 'sustained air attack', but the RAAF's General Purpose squadron near Adelaide would act as 'a powerful deterrent' to any attacker. By the following March the department was willing only to recommend, not the formidable defences suggested by the inspecting officers, but only that two anti-aircraft guns be located at Port Pirie and Whyalla[14].

Later in 1941, however, Australia's strategic position had altered radically. In discussing the defence of Whyalla in September the Joint Planning Committee found that Australia's only source of iron ore was indeed open to surprise attack. 'Denial of this ...supply', it recorded, 'would be disastrous and would place out of action Australia's heavy industry'. And by the spring of 1941, in contrast to the complacency of the year before, the potential enemy was clear: 'the Japanese must know', the committee felt, that Australia's defence capacity rested literally on a single conveyor belt on Whyalla's ore jetty. In order to sever this supply the Japanese 'might be prepared to...risk...sending an aircraft carrier to launch an attack'. On the information available to the Joint Planning Committee this would not have been much of a risk—the General Purpose squadron was now not considered any kind of deterrent. The planners feared an attack launched at dusk from an aircraft carrier at the mouth of Spencer Gulf. The committee recommended that four 3.7-inch anti-aircraft guns should be installed, after the requirements of more vulnerable areas such as Darwin, Newcastle and Port Kembla had been met[15].

Only months before the beginning of the Pacific war Australia, preoccupied with forming and equipping forces serving with those of the empire in Europe and north Africa, was to realize belatedly that it was essentially unprepared to defend itself from attack. Late in 1941 Whyalla was, with the exception of its sixty Volunteer Defence Corps members, as defenceless as it had been on 3 September 1939.

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10. *Whyalla News*, 6 June 1941.
11. *Whyalla News*, 9 May 1941.
12. S.J. Butler and C.B. Schedvin, *War Economy 1942-1945*, Canberra, 1977, p. 241; G. Hermon Gill, *Royal Australian Navy, 1939-1942*, Canberra, 1957, pp. 270-271.
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14. Joint Planning Committee, Agendum No. 7, 1940; Defence Committee, Minutes of Meeting, 28 March 1941, Department of Defence Co-ordination, CRS A 816, 20/301/16, 'Port Pirie and Whyalla' (Australian Archives, Canberra).
15. Joint Planning Committee, Report of 29 September 1941, 'Defence of Port Pirie and Whyalla', Department of Defence Co-ordination, CRS A 816, 20/301/16 (AA). Port Pirie, however, was considered not to need gun defences, as its 6000 feet (2000 metres) of wharves could not be totally destroyed.

Christopher Fagg

Meritorious Service Medal for Gallantry 1916-1928

WHEN World War One began in August 1914, the range of medal awards available for recognition of acts of gallantry by members of the armed forces was limited and primarily reserved for service that was actually on the battle field in the fact of the enemy. It was not long before it was accepted that the existing range of awards was totally inadequate and urgently in need of revision and expansion.

One of the areas of gallantry award development was in the field of non-combatant gallantry by members of the armed forces, evidenced by the short-lived attempt at recognition of such acts by the use of the Meritorious Service Medal (which had been instituted on 19 December 1845 for reward for long service by warrant officers and sergeants of the regular army) between 1916 and 1928, a 12-year period.

The instituting Royal Warrant was amended on 4 October 1916, changing the criteria to enable it to be awarded to warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and men who rendered meritorious service, or devotion to duty, not necessarily in the presence of the enemy, in any theatre of war since August 1914.[1]

The 23rd of November 1916 saw the institution of a bar to the medal and the commencement of the uncertainty regarding the exact usage of the award. The amendment stated that the bar was for award to persons who after performing services for which the Meritorious Service Medal had been awarded, subsequently performs an act of gallantry, not necessarily on active service, in the performance of military duty or in saving, or attempting to save, the life of an officer or soldier, which if he had not already received the Meritorious Service Medal, would have entitled him to it, shall be awarded a bar.[2]

In an attempt to clarify the stituation regarding the award of the medal and bar, a new Royal Warrant was instituted dated 3 January 1917.[3] Further amendments were made extending the conditions of eligibility and finally a consolidating warrant was issued on 6 November 1920.[4]

The Meritorious Service Medal was now available for award under the following circumstances:

1. for valuable service/meritorious services.
2. for devotion to duty.
3. for gallantry in the performance of military duty otherwise than in the presence of the enemy.

Because of the institution of the two medals of the Order of the British Empire (for gallantry and for meritorious service) by Warrant dated 29 December 1922,[5] use of the Meritorious Service Medal for gallantry began to decline, until such use was eventually revoked on 7 September 1928.[6] At this date the gallantry aspects of the Meritorious Service Medal were removed and the medal reverted to its original purpose, that of rewarding long meritorious service by warrant officers and sergeants.

The ribbon to the medal was originally crimson. In 1916 it was changed to crimson with white edges, the same as the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal. In July 1917, a central white stripe was added to distinguish it from the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal. The ribbon is 32 mm wide, with the white stripes 3 mm wide.

The medal has no post-nominal designation and there is no way to distinguish whether it was awarded for gallantry or meritorious service, as the same medal was used for both.

During its short period of issue, 435 awards of the medal for gallantry were made, with Australians gaining a total of 29 awards; 14 in 1917, 10 in 1918 and five, including a bar, in 1919.

Australian Recipients — Gallantry

							London Gazette
1	Todd	A.R.	2536	Pte	Aust Cyclist Trg Bn	HF	12.3.1917
2	Bonser	R.J.	654	Sgt	1st Aust Pnr Bn	Fr	11.5.1917
3	Catherwood	F.R.	5063	Pte	4th Aust Div Salvage Coy	Fr	26.5.1917
4	Guyatt	A.E.	2828	Pte	4th Aust Div Salvage Coy	Fr	26.5.1917
5	Cargill	R.E.	1160	LCpl	10 Aust LtTMBty	Fr	18.7.1917
6	Carmody	T.J.	530	2AM	69 Sqn AFC	HF	21.8.1917
7	Dalzell	A.G.	666	Sgt	HF	21.8.17	
8	Lee	C.M.T.	630	1AM	69 Sqn AFC	HF	21.8.1917
9	Smith	V.	684	1AM	69 Sqn AFC	HF	21.8.1917
10	Cairns	W.J.	375	Spr	AE & MM & B Coy	Fr	17.9.1917
11	Hobbs	C.F.	5144	Spr	AE & MM & B Coy	Fr	17.9.1917
12	Maxfield	H	176	Spr	AE & MM & B Coy	Fr	17.9.1971
13	Merritt	A.M.A.	1078	1AM	71 Sqn AFC	HF	2.11.1917
14	Andrews	W.C.	2567	Cpl	32nd Bn AIF	Fr	17.12.1917
15	Hockney	H.H.	1847	CSM	59 Coy Rly Opg	Div AE Fr	19.3.1918
16	Jackson	P.L.	3012	Spr	59 Coy Rly Opg	Div AE Fr	19.3.1918
17	Spence	S.C.	870	Spr	59 Coy Rly Opg	Div AE Fr	19.3.1918
18	Wallace	A.	853	CSM	59 Coy Rly Opg	Div AE Fr	19.3.1918
19	Manson	H.M.O.	6034	LCpl	28th Bn AIF	Fr	10.4.1918
20	Thirkell	H.S.	16659	Tpr	ALH Fd Amb	Egypt	16.7.1918
21	Morrison	G.A.	2135	Pte	1st ANZAC Bn Imp Camel Corps	Egypt	6.8.1918
22	Smith	G.	883	Cpl	Aust Provost Corps attd HQ ANZAC Mtd Div	Egypt	6.8.1918
23	Calloway	W.D.	593	Pte	5th Bn Aust MG Corps	-	13.9.1918
24	Hathaway	G.	4447	Pte	5th Lt TM Bty	-	21.10.1918
25	Forrester	J.	22008	Gnr	39th Bty 8th Bde AFA	Fr	14.5.1919
26	Carmody	T.J.	530	Cpl	3rd Sqn AFC	-	17.6.1919
27	Gollan	T.H.B.	7501	Spr	2 Tunnelling Coy AE	Fr	17.6.1919
28	Underwood	J.C.	4087	Spr	2 Tunnelling Coy AE	Fr	17.6.1919
29	Hanley	H.A.	509	Pte	2nd Bn Aust MG Corps	Fr	20.10.1919

Notes on Gallantry awards

3 and 4:	Joint listing. No citation.
6, 7, 8 and 9:	Citation reads, 'For gallant conduct in attempting to rescue the pilot from a burning machine.'
10,11 and 12:	Joint listing. No citation.
13:	Citation reads, 'For gallant conduct in attempting to save the pilot from a burning aeroplane which had fallen on the aerodrome on 5.7.17, as a result of which he received severe injuries to himself.'
15, 16, 17 and 18:	Joint listing. No citation.
21 and 22:	Joint listing. No citation.
26:	Bar to existing medal (no. 6).
27 and 28:	Joint listing. No citation.

Australian Recipients—Devotion to duty

1	Bannigan	J.F.M.	2128	RSM	2nd Bde AFA	Germany	29.9.19
2	Wood	R.	1466	Pte	2nd Bn Aust MG Corps	Germany	29.9.19

'For devotion to duty during an epidemic in a prisoner of war camp, Germany.'

3	Cash	J.R.	2875	Pte	19th Bn AIF	Turkey	30.1.20
4	Hanckel	F.C.	7007	LCpl	13th Bn AIF	Turkey	30.10.20
5	Rawlings	A.J.	890	Pte	2nd Bn AIF	Turkey	30.10.20

'In recognition of devotion to duty and valuable services rendered whilst prisoners of war or interned.'

This last award was back-dated to 5.5.1919. The Australian Government Gazette date for this award is 29.4.1920 (No.38).

Statistics

Gallantry	6	Australian Flying Corps (5 and 1 Bar)
	23	Other Army
	29	Total Awarded
Devotion to Duty	5	Army (2 Germany, 3 Turkey)
	5	Total Awarded

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2 PRO WO 32/4957
3 Royal Warrant 3.1.1917
4 Royal Warrant 6.11.1920
5 Royal Warrant 29.12.1922
6 Amendment 7.9.1928

The author would appreciate advice of any additions which should be made to this medal roll.

Anthony Staunton

VC Survivors From The 1914-18 War

ON 19 May 1981, the Silver Jubilee of the Victoria Cross/George Cross Association was celebrated in London. At the time, there were twenty survivors of the 628 recipients of the Victoria Cross between 1914 and 1918. The president of the Association was Brigadier Sir John Smyth, VC, MC, who had served in the House of Commons and was the author of many books including several on the Victoria Cross. He died in London in April 1983, the last surviving Victoria Cross winner of the Indian Army in the 1914-18 War and indeed the last surviving British officer of the Indian Army to hold the Victoria Cross. Nine other VC winners died before the next reunion, held in October 1983. Thomas Axford, who won the VC at Hamel on 4 July 1918, flew to London to attend the reunion but died on the flight back to Perth. With the recent death of Canadian Major General Pearkes, the number has shrunk to eight. These surviving Victoria Cross winners of the 1914-18 War are:-

Australia — Two

Sixty three members of the AIF won the Victoria Cross during the 1914-18 War. Fifteen of the awards were posthumous and Captain Tubb, who won the VC at Lone Pine in 1915, was killed two years later in France. Of the 47 who returned home, only two now survive. Lieutenant Rupert Vance Moon saw service on Gallipoli but it was in France on 12 May 1917 at the Second Battle of Bullecourt that he won the Victoria Cross. He will be 92 in August 1984 and lives in retirement at Geelong. He was one of a number of old diggers who were interviewed by the Melbourne *Age* for Anzac Day 1984. With the death of Sir John Smyth last year, Moon became the senior VC having won the award earlier than any other living winner.

The other Australian survivor is Lieutenant Colonel William Donovan Joynt who was 95 in March 1984 and is the oldest VC winner living. He won the award in France in August 1918 in one of the final offensives of the war.

British Army — Two

Over 280 officers and men of the British Army won the Victoria Cross in the 1914-18 War but only one officer and one soldier still survive. Colonel Donald John Dean of the Royal West Kents was 87 in April 1984 and is the youngest surviving VC winner of the 1914-18 War. He won his VC in France as a Lieutenant in September 1918 just six weeks before the war ended. Sergeant Edward Cooper of the Kings Royal Rifle Corps won the VC in Belgium in 1917 during the Third Battle of Ypres.

Royal Navy — One

Vice Admiral Sir Victor Crutchley is the only surviving Royal Navy winner. As a Lieutenant he was decorated for gallantry at Ostend in May 1918 in the raid that followed the famous Zeebrugge operation. He commanded the Australian Naval Squadron from June 1942 until June 1944.

Royal Air Force — One

Air Commodore Frederick Maurice West won the Victoria Cross as a Captain in 8 Squadron, RAF during the Battle of Amiens in August 1918.

New Zealand — One

Sergeant Harry John Laurent won the VC in September 1918 in France.

Canada — One

With the death of General Pearkes on 30 May 1984, the last Canadian VC winner of 1914-18 is Captain Charles Smith Rutherford. Captain Rutherford joined the Canadian Expeditionery Forces as a private and was awarded the Military Medal. He was commissioned and won the Military Cross and then in August 1918, the Victoria Cross.

Living VC Winners as at 1 July 1984

	1914-18	*1939-45*	*POST '45*	*TOTAL*
1 JAN 71	*88*	*75*	*5*	*168*
1 JAN 76	*51*	*64*	*5*	*120*
1 JAN 81	*22*	*60*	*4*	*86*
1 JUL 84	*8*	*57*	*4*	*69*

Throssel VC to War Memorial

THE Victoria Cross of the late Captain Hugo Throssell VC was presented to the Australian War Memorial at a brief formal handover in the Memorial's Hall of Valour following the Remembrance Day ceremony on 11 November 1984. In attendance were Sir William Keys, National President of the Returned Services League, Mr Raymond Lord, managing-director of Smith and Lane Pty Ltd (major sponsors of the RSL appeal fund), members of the 10th Light Horse Association from Perth, other contributors, guests and members of the public.

The VC was purchased by the RSL following a nationwide appeal for funds. The decoration was sold by the People for Nuclear Disarmament after that organisation had been presented with it by Mr Ric Throssell, the recipient's son.

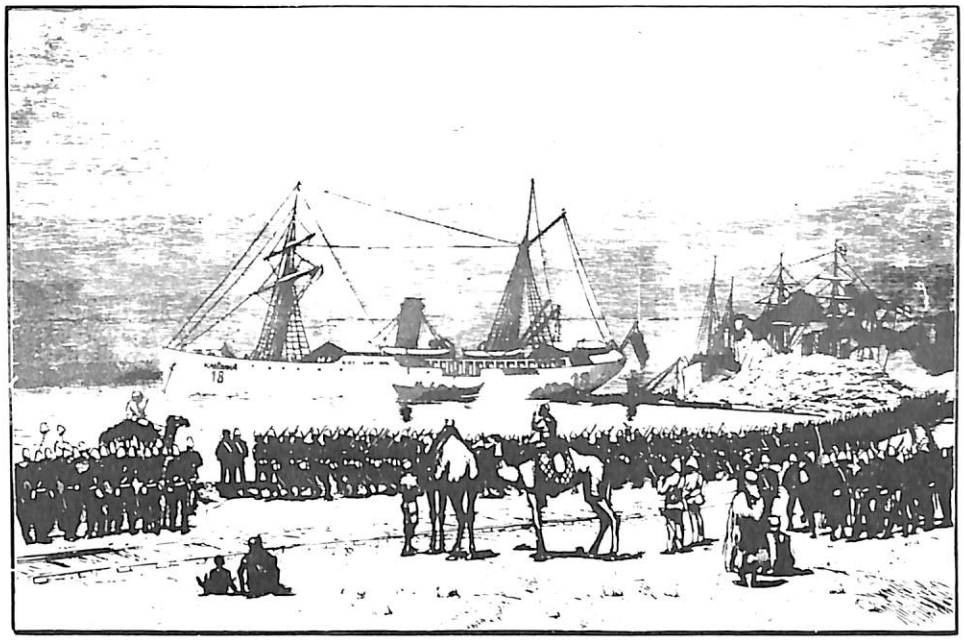
The VC will be displayed in the Memorial's Hall of Valour alongside 34 other Australian Victoria Crosses already exhibited there. Its presentation means that six of the nine Crosses won by Australians during the Gollipoli campaign are now in the nation's Hall of Valour. All but one of these VCs have been donated to the Memorial by families or ex-service organisations.

Hugo Vivian Hope Throssell was born at Northam, Western Australia, on 27 October 1884. He enlisted in the AIF in 1914 and after attending a course for officers joined the 10th Light Horse on Gallipoli. Throssell was one of the few survivors of the charge at the Nek; he had managed to return to the shelter of his trench across some dead ground. Three weeks later, on 29/30 August 1915, in the attack on Hill 60, although severely wounded in several places, he conducted himself with such courage and daring that he was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Hugo Throssell was an exceptional soldier who retained his interest in ex-servicemen's activities and the problems of the soldier settlers after the war and during the Great Depression. He died in tragic circumstances in 1933.

George W. Lambert, ***Captain H.V. Throssell*** *1918.*
Pencil on paper 31.8 x 23.7 cm (AWM 2797)

Sudan contingent commemorative book



'A few skirmishes and many weary marches produced much sweat, but little glory'.

Colonel A.J. Bennett
recalling his service in the Sudan

But little glory: the New South Wales Contingent to the Sudan, 1885 will be published by the Military Historical Society of Australia in March 1985 to mark the formation and despatch of the New South Wales Contingent to the Sudan.

But little glory, edited by Peter Stanley, will contain a number of contributions presenting a comprehensive coverage of the Sudan contingent's formation, service, heraldry and weapons and its significance in Australian military history. Of particular interest to members of the society will be contributions on the medals awarded to members of the contingent, including a revised medal roll, and a survey of the commemorative medallions associated with it. A bibliography of published works on the contingent will make the book of lasting value to researchers.

Profusely illustrated with both photographs and reproductions of works of art, *But little glory* will feature specially commissioned maps of the area of operations, drawn by Herb Brown, and illustrations of uniforms by Lindsay Cox. Contributors to the book include members of the society from Victoria, New South Wales, the ACT and Queensland, and members of staff of the Australian War Memorial.

But little glory will comprise the following

John Price	British military operations in Egypt and the Sudan
Chris Coulthard-Clark	The despatch of the contingent
Chris Coulthard-Clark	A diary of the contingent's service
Peter Burness	The uniforms and equipment of the contingent
Jim Heaton	The weapons of the contingent
Lindsay Cox	The artillery in the Sudan
Mike Downey	The medals of the contingent
Don Wright and members of the Queensland branch	Commemorative medallions
Paul Macpherson	A bibliography of published works on the contingent

But little glory will be available in March 1985 at a reduced price to members of the society.

The DCM League

FOR the information of MHSA members, Mr W J Rowlinson, DCM and Bar, of Wagga, has kindly made available to *Sabretache* a copy of a letter he received recently from Major J C Cowley, DCM, of Windsor Castle, England, President of the Distinguished Conduct Medal League, about a Muster of DCM holders to be held in Windsor Castle on 14 September 1985.

The muster is being organised under the aegis of the League, the patron of which is HRH the Duke of Kent, and will celebrate the 130th anniversary of the institution of the DCM by Queen Victoria in 1854.

Together with several others from Australia and New Zealand, Mr Rowlinson will attend; his name appears on Major Cowley's list of 2065 DCM holders of the period 1939-1982.

Editor's Note

The Rowlinson Awards

William Josiah (Bill) Rowlinson, now living in retirement at Wagga, is a long-time member and supporter of the Military Historical Society of Australia. He was awarded the DCM and Bar during the Korean War for actions with the Third Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment, at Kapyong on 23/24 April 1951 and before Hill 317 on 5 October 1951.

An article on Bill Rowlinson's life and his 1938-1957 military career, including the citations for his awards, written by R. Clark, appeared in Sabretache, Vol XIX, No 3, July 1978. A peculiar feature of these awards, mentioned in the article, was that Bill Rowlinson learned of the Bar before he knew about his DCM. Readers may be interested to know how this came about.

Government House papers of the period, held at the Australian War Memorial,[1] show that the recommendation for the DCM made by Lieutenant Colonel I.B. Ferguson, commanding 3 RAR in Korea, was held up at high level pending consideration, also at high level, of a request for an increase in the quota of five immediate awards available for Australian Military Forces troops in the Korea area during the six-months period 9 January—9 July 1951. Four of the quota of five had already been approved or submitted for approval and there was no authority for making the three now proposed—Rowlinson's DCM and Military Medals recommended for Private R.G. Dunque and Private (Temporary Corporal) R.N. Parry, both also of 3 RAR.

The Commander-in-Chief of the British Occupation Forces, Lieutenant General H. C. H. Robertson, held delegated authority from HM the King to make immediate awards within the authorised scale to members of the United Kingdom and other British Commonwealth Forces in Korea. The authorised scale, or quota, for the AMF for the six months was 1:250 personnel and based on a 3 RAR strength of 1013 was set at five (although a closer approximation would have been four).

In the approach to the Commonwealth Relations Office, through the Prime Minister and the Governor-General, it was stated that General Robertson felt that the existing scale of awards for 3 RAR was inadequate in comparison with the number of awards granted to United Kingdom personnel and suggested that all Australian troops in Japan and Korea should be counted in calculating the scale of the awards, 'since all such troops are just as much concerned with the Korean operations as the UK troops located in Japan'. It was pointed out that supplementary lists had been submitted for members of the UK forces for the same period of heavy fighting and had been approved. Referring to the three proposed awards, it was recommended that they be submitted to the King.

Meanwhile, the then CO of 3 RAR, Lieutenant Colonel F. G. Hassett, recommended the award of a Bar to Rowlinson or, to be more precise, recommended him for a DCM which, in the event of the earlier recommendation being approved, should be a Bar to the DCM.

This second recommendation was approved by General Robertson, it being within the quota established for the next period of six months, to 9 January 1952. This was, as usual, subject to formal confirmation by the King, but Rowlinson was told of this award by General Robertson during a visit he made to Korea. At that stage, the first recommendation had not been approved.

Finally, on 17 January 1952, advice was received that the King had approved the earlier recommendations for three awards (the Rowlinson DCM and the Dunque and Parry MMs) and a further, black-edged, letter of 4 March 1952 advised that the award of a Bar to Rowlinson had been confirmed by HM the Queen, King George VI having died on 6 February.

Rowlinson's awards were duly promulgated in the Commonwealth of Australia Gazette within a few weeks of each other,[2] and he was invested with the DCM and Bar by the Governor-General, Sir William McKell, at Admiralty House, Sydney, on 3 July 1952.

References:

1. AWM files GH AMF K/28 and K/43
2. CAG No 8 of 7 February 1952—DCM to Private (Temporary Corporal) William Joseph (sic) Rowlinson 'for bravery in action in Korea'.

   CAG No 24 of 20 March 1952—Bar to DCM to Private (Temporary Sergeant) William Josiah Rowlinson 'for bravery in action in Korea'.

REVIEW ARTICLE

D.M. Horner (ed), *The Commanders: Australian Military Leadership in the Twentieth Century*. George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1984, pp xix + 355 including maps, illustrations and index. $29.95

Australian publishing has not previously produced a book of this kind on Australian commanders. It is therefore a welcome addition to Australian military literature—an important branch of Australian literature which, although it has been expanding in recent years, is still 'thin on the ground'.

To comment on each of the sixteen studies of this symposium is tempting but space forbids it. They have been drawn from the three services—one from the Navy, fourteen from the Army, and one from the Air Force. Nowadays, when strenuous efforts are being made to bring the fighting services closer together in the performance of their common task, the scope of this selection was both innovative and wise. Nobody can reasonably quarrel with the editor's selection of the subjects.

Nor has the editor been in any way pedantic about his definition of a Commander or about the levels from which the subjects have been selected. Another factor confronting an editor of a symposium of this kind is the relative shortness of Australia's roll of outstanding higher commanders of the 20th century compared with those of say France, Germany, Great Britain and the USA. The editor's question: 'How far can it be said that there is an Australian style of command?' (p.1), may therefore be not only premature but perhaps even pretentious.

It was not until 1914 that Australia appointed its first divisional commander. Until that time Australia had no field formations higher than that of an infantry brigade. But when Bridges was mortally wounded at Gallipoli, when commanding the 1st Australian Division, he had only commanded it in action for the past three weeks.

In two world wars Australia has played small parts on a large stage. Although Morshead was a corps commander in the South-West Pacific Area, his most conspicuous operational work was done earlier in the Middle East as a divisional commander. This situation was no reflection on Morshead's ability as a field commander—it was a lack of opportunity. No Australian commanders in the 2nd AIF had the opportunities to distinguish themselves as corps commanders as did Chauvel and Monash in the 1st AIF. Rowell, when commanding a corps, showed considerable potential as a higher commander, but he became a 'casualty' early in the New Guinea campaign because of a personality conflict with his C-in-C. Some may describe it as one of the Hegelian conflicts of right against right which, because of the nature of its higher command organisation at that time, led to the nation losing the services of a good higher commander for the remainder of the war.

The death of Vasey in March 1945, at 50 years of age, was an irreplaceable loss to Australia. He combined a cheerful, humane and attractive personality with outstanding professional competence and an ability, in adversity, to relieve tension with a sense of humour. He could, moreover, have been an inspiration to Australia's post-war army. Only those who knew Vasey in life, and so have some recollection of his personality, can gauge the full import of the frontispiece of this book. Although he did not rise higher than a divisional commander, again because of lack of opportunities, he did live long enough to demonstrate his fitness for higher commands.

Major Horner's study of Blamey shows how difficult it is at this stage to make a reasonable estimate of him as a field commander. Before such an estimate can be made with assurance, we need more information about Blamey of the kind that Major Pedersen has given in his study of Monash. We need to know, too, more about Blamey as a whole man, for to know him only as a Commander is to know him only as a *Teilmensch* and therefore to know him imperfectly. There is still much that we do not know in a precise and scientific way about Blamey, including his daily habits, his intellectual interests, his relations with Monash, John Curtin, Sir Frederick Shedden and MacArthur. MacArthur's statement that he had heard much loose talk...about Blamey and he regretted that much of it had its origins in officers of the Australian Army (p.272), is indicative of what Blamey had to endure and, coming from a foreign general, this comment makes sad reading. Another unanswered question is: 'Where did Blamey himself stand in the schism between the AIF and the CMF? This schism was a feature of weak government and national immaturity. In assessments of Blamey nowadays serious historians will probably agree that whatever significance, if any, the departure of his son from Greece had in 1941 (p.207), it has no significance whatever today.

Space is not available to comment on the higher command organisation which Blamey was given to operate in his dual appointment of C-in-C of the AMF and Commander of Allied Land Forces, SWPA, except to say that it would have been impossible for even a magician to operate it efficiently. What is still surprising is that he did operate it as effectively as he did. The war itself

showed that, once the Government adopted this organisation and appointed a man to operate it, it was not practicable to change it during the course of the war. The adoption of this organisation in the first instance, in March-April 1942, reflected a total disregard of the lessons of previous experience at the War Office, London. Its main feature was uniqueness. But, whereas this characteristic may be an asset to a designer of women's fashions, it was a liability to the Australian Government which adopted it.

The Blamey study deals fairly with a difficult subject and it extends the frontiers of our knowledge of him. The summing up in its final paragraph is a reasonable one.

An urgent need today is a biography of all aspects of Blamey's life—a biography which is comprehensive and scholarly in character; one which gives strict attention to essential detail; and one which includes a comprehensive bibliography and an efficient index. This study is a useful contribution towards the attainment of this goal.

Major Pedersen's study is an outstanding piece of writing on Monash's higher military training, acquired largely by his own personal efforts as something over and above the normal official military training provided, and his application of this total training in war. The author's examination of Monash's performance in the field is analysed and evaluated with skill and with due regard to problems of planning and its essential detail in administrative and tactical matters. One judgment is that because Monash was only a corps commander 'he is disqualified from a place alongside Marlborough, Wellington or Napoleon' (p.124). This judgment accords with Lord Wavell's dictum that a candidate for enrolment as a Great Captain must have handled large forces in a completely independent command in more than one campaign and must have shown his qualities in adversity as well as in success. Perhaps Major Pederson's verdict could be regarded as provisional. There are other standards by which this question can be judged. It is true that Monash was officially only a corps commander of the British Armies on the Western Front, which consisted of five field armies and Haig's GHQ. But in reality Count von Schlieffen's injunction to his General Staff officers 'Be more than you seem' applied truly to Monash also. Although he not only influenced decision-making of his Army commander and of his C-in-C, it is true, as Major Pedersen has shown, that he had no official advisory or executive responsibilities at these two higher levels.

The extent and effectiveness of this influence is unknown to me but it is reasonable to assume that his influence at these levels, because of his pre-eminent intellectual qualities, combined with his unusual powers of exposition, exceeded that of any of the other British corps commanders on the Western Front. Perhaps Major Pedersen would consider admitting Monash to the ranks of the Great Captains with honorary status.

Nevertheless, Pedersen shows in his study an unusual mastery of his subject. There is no 'broad sweep of the brush' approach about it and its quality is further enhanced by a proper attention to detail. The study should become an important source of information on the military training of Monash and on his methods and style as a 'rare and outstanding' type of field commander.

Major-General R.N.L. Hopkins' study of Robertson is outstanding for two reasons. First, General Hopkins, himself a retired regular officer and the author of *Australian Armour*, knew 'Red Robbie' over a long period of time and this alone lends a peculiar authority to his study. Second, the subject matter of the study is well organised and well balanced; it presents fairly the pros and cons of Robertson's personality and experience; and it is written with a literary skill which reflects a sound professional knowledge of the subject matter presented. 'Red Robbie' reached the zenith of his career when he succeeded John Northcott as C-in-C of BCOF in Japan. Like many strong and forceful commanders he was a controversial soldier and in his time the Australian Army was divided into two implacable groups—those who were for him and those who were against him. However, this study should appeal to both groups because of the author's judicious treatment of his subject. It is moreover an authoritative source of information on the personality and performance of 'Red Robbie' and especialy for officers who did not know him.

A feature noticeable in a few places in this symposium is a strained interpretation of the need to portray a commander with warts and all. It is proper of course, even in sketches as in *The Commanders*, to follow Cromwell's instructions to Sir Peter Lely to paint his own portrait in this way. But there are different ways of abiding by most instructions and in trying to abide by them, a writer should remember von Schlieffen's warning to officers on a tactical exercise that he was criticising: *Nicht eine Methode, ein Mittel, eine Aushilfe, sondern viele*. So by a wise choice of method it is usually possible, without offending against either good taste or the canons of efficient historical writing, to avoid clumsy expressions which wound, offend or cause resentment. In this 'warts and all' work therefore finesse should be the aim and not the 'boots and all' approach.

The confusion about the synonymous terms 'Military Board' and 'Army Council', first introduced by John Hetherington in his *Blamey*, has been repeated in the Blamey study (p.222).

Its origin lies in the disregard of that law of logic enunciated by Shakespeare—'What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.' The Military Board was the Australian designation for the equivalent body at the War Office, London which was known as the Army Council. Both these bodies discharged the functions of a Commander-in-Chief of the nation's land forces. Blamey recommended that in the post-war era, after 1945, the constitution of the Military Board be changed, that its functions be revised and that, although it still remained in reality a Military Board, it be re-designated the Army Council. Although this change would have accorded with the normal Australian practice of giving, often needlessly and sometimes with a bewildering frequency, new names for old institutions and things, it would have caused confusion with that of the Army Council at the War Office, London.

In conclusion, a few personal opinions of a subjective character are offered on the physical features of the book. Although not a 'coffee table' book in size, it does remind one of that definition of a cadet—'not quite an officer and almost a gentleman'. The preliminary pages are cluttered with material which belongs elsewhere, perhaps as appendixes. The innovation of inserting the acknowledgments between Contents and Illustrations is neither appealing nor convenient. The order of arrangement of the studies does not seem to be in accordance with any logical system. For instance White comes before Monash and Bennett before Blamey. An alphabetical arrangement would have had the merits of convenience and impartiality. Finally, the book has no author's preface. At the draft stage the introduction could have been re-organised into a preface and an additional study on the science and art of command, in which something could have been said briefly about style in command.

The book deserves a wide distribution in order to stimulate further thought and writing on its subject matter. It should appeal especially to all soldiers who carry a marshal's baton in their knapsacks, for Lord Wavell has pointed out that: 'Good generals, unlike poets, are made rather than born and will never reach the first rank without much study of their profession.'

Warren Perry

Book Reviews

John Hilvert, *Blue Pencil Warriors: Censorship and Propaganda in World War II*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1984, pp.258, bibliography, index. Hardback $30.

John Hilvert's study of official censorship and propaganda in Australia during the second world war makes another welcome contribution to the still relatively small number of published works on that subject. It is based on extensive archival research and on interviews with former members of staff of what was, because of its purpose, regarded as one of the least popular of the wartime governments' departments.

Although of most value to historians of the 'home front' and to students of bureaucracy—the department was to have been disbanded at the end of the war but has contrived to survive, in various guises, to the present—*Blue Pencil Warriors* contains at least one major point of interest to military historians. It is a matter of wonder that Australia's official histories (some of which were also written by former journalists) could have been such models of clarity and honesty when its wartime 'information' was so misleading and simply dishonest. It was indeed fortunate that Australia's War History Section was not associated with the Department of Information, and that most of the 'information' which the department generated was mostly of the ephemeral kind which is quickly, and often deservedly, forgotten.

Peter Stanley

Fred Cranston, *Always Faithful: The History of the 49th Battalion.* Boolarong Publications, Brisbane, 1983. xxviii + 243 pp. Maps, diagrams and illustrations. ISBN O 908175 60 4. $14.95

The 49th Battalion, The Stanley Regiment, is not one of the better-known units of the Australian Army and this, together with the vicissitudes of its service in the Second World War and its early disbandment in July 1943, tends to create problems for the historian, the more difficult perhaps for one who was himself a member of the battalion. For the men who serve in a battalion, however, it is, and remains, the focus of their loyalty, engendering *esprit de corps* and comradeship which those who have not followed the profession of arms may at times find difficult to comprehend; it is for these men and their families that this book will have its greatest attraction.

Cranston has handled a difficult task well. The chapters dealing with the operations of the battalion in France during the First World War are the best in the book; the author has followed closely C.E.W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918,* Vols III-V, but his use of other material, including a collection of songs, choruses and poems, lends to his narrative the colour of the 49th Battalion—the story is theirs, and there is no mistake about it! The remainder of the book is less satisfying: there is no doubt that Cranston has 'put together the facts' but, unlike the Colonel of the Royal Queensland Regiment, I believe the task of the historian goes beyond this. The operations of the battalion in New Guinea raise many questions of historical concern and it would have been more satisfying for Cranston to develop them: why was the battalion committed to operations without the proper level of training; who was responsible; to what degree may the battalion itself have been responsible? The later role of the unit, as 49th Battalion, The Royal Queensland Regiment, in training National Service soldiers is dealt with in one short five-line paragraph on p.199; does this not, however, raise the question of the effectiveness of the Army Reserve in the expansion of the army in a future emergency; did the battalion encounter problems; was there any feed-back on the value of its role? These and like matters deserve closer and fuller attention.

The memories of men may be *inflamed* by the retelling of the great victories in which they shared, the tales of heroism and the horror of great and sometimes pointless slaughter, but they are *warmed* by the recollection of kindness, compassion and humour in the time of their adversity: by the *sang-froid* of their CO at the New Year's Dinner in 1917 (p.34-5); by the sheer size of 'Tank' Melksham's shorts (p.135) or by the unsuccessful attempt of the RMO to rescue a stretcher-bearer (p.175-6). It is in his skilful handling of these incidents, and of anecdote in general, that Cranston has made his tale one of men rather than of the organisation to which they belonged. His anecdote of the stoppage of Ted Ward's pay for the loss of two buttons twelve months earlier (p.85 n.8) struck a resonant chord in my own memory: on his last day of service in 1960 the late Lieutenant-General Sir Ragnar Garrett, to his utter amazement but great good humour, was invited to submit a Loss and Damage Report for a pair of binoculars lost at the First Battle of Bardia! Perhaps like the laws of the Medes and the Persians the military mentality changeth not.

On the whole this book is well-presented but at times its layout detracts from the ease of reading as on pp.38-9, where the inserted poem and menu disrupt unnecessarily the narrative. Closer proof-reading might also have reduced the incidence of spelling errors and, for example, the use of abbreviations *not* given in the already large list at pp.212-3. Some looseness of vocabulary is also apparent: at p.83 'aligned' is wrongly used for 'allied', and at p.217 for 'amalgamated'.

In his dedication Cranston refers to the inscription on the cenotaph of the 2nd Division in Burma, a suggestion perhaps of the attitude those who gave their lives might wish us to take; our response, however, might well be taken from Edmund Blunden's poem 'To A.G.A.V':

'Rest you well among your race, you who cannot be dead.'

Cranston has ensured the men of the 49th Battalion cannot be dead.

R.J. Gardner
Canberra.

Dr Rupert Goodman, *A Hospital at War—The 2/4 Australian General Hospital,* Boolarong Publications, Brisbane, 1983; illus. index. Hardcover $14.95.

This book was reviewed by T.C. Sargent in the October/December 1983 issue of *Sabretache.*

Barbara Winter, *HMAS Sydney—Fact, Fantasy and Fraud.* Boolarong Publications, Brisbane, Qld, 1984. 282 pp. Illustrations, Appendices, Bibliography, Index (ISBN O 908175 72 8). Our copy from Boolarong Publications $15.95. Hardback.

My copy states 'Proudly Printed in Australia' and it is great to see an Australian Book describing Australian History and still able to be priced at $15.95 in a hardcover. The book does not have a dustjacket. It is at times a little difficult to read as the author attempts to provide several parallel threads in an attempt to keep the events of a certain time sequence together. Most of her chapter headings are merely time periods, i.e. '5 October to 18 November 1941'. Hence this book becomes one more for study than mere browse scanning as it requires some attention to keep the various threads alive.

In the first chapter the author seems to try to set an atmosphere like a Greek Tragedy. This atmosphere or theme pervades the book. In October 1938 Captain J.W.A. Waller RN set out in a secret memo a series of complaints dealing with the primary gun control systems in HMAS *Sydney* which 'are extremely vulnerable to gunfire or bombs, even of small calibre, between the Director Control Tower...and the Platform Deck'. He also made suggestions for improvement. Rear Admiral W.N. Custance RN, in forwarding the report added, 'The fact that the weaknesses disclosed...apply to 3 out of 5 cruisers of...(RAN) is a matter of anxiety to me, and that the primary control might be put out of action by a lucky hit is a matter of grave concern'. The Assistant Chief of Naval Staff, Captain John Collins wrote, 'As proposals put forward by *Sydney* involve not only the three RAN cruisers, but presumably a number of RN cruisers as well, and as the alterations recommended may be costly, it is proposed that Admiralty advice should be sought before a decision is made'. The stage was set for the tragedy by the later author's words. 'The RAN waited for advice from the Admiralty. Nothing happened'.

In August 1939 with *Sydney* being brought up to wartime preparedness Waller again wrote to the RAN Naval Board on the weaknesses in *Sydney's* gunnery control, 'It is considered that this matter is now one of vital importance'. So may one have thought. The author writes, 'The comment was forwarded to London, but no action was taken'. In some irony Captain Collins took over command of *Sydney* on 16 November 1939 knowing the defects. '...he knew nothing had been done... The trick was to avoid that one hit'. In her preface to the book, presumably after her seven years of research, the author said, '...when one considers all technical data, all orders and Intelligence reports and the personalities of the officers involved, the mystery disappears. The tragedy no longer seems even surprising, but horrifyingly inevitable'. At p.123 the author gently reminds us, 'On 17 November (1941) the last initials were made on the file on *Sydney's* gunnery control circuits. After three years, no action had been taken...'

The meeting of HMAS *Sydney* and the *Kormoran* has always been controversial. Australians have never wanted to admit that they could be hoodwinked by a good con man. Yet author Winter seems to tell us that *Sydney* was hoodwinked. Or did it receive that 'one hit'?

In quite a calm manner by dealing mainly with the *Kormoran* and the German Navy actions, the author attempts to explain away all the commonly held beliefs as to *Sydney's* fate. The truth is stated at p.127, 'Exactly what happened aboard *Sydney* can never be known for certain. This account is based on...The possibility of error is acknowledged, but the account is a reasonable reconstruction'. And this book, with her interpretation of the evidence, is a reasonable reconstruction. Her evidence is mainly taken from German records!

Why did *Sydney* draw so close to *Kormoran* on that fateful afternoon, 19 November 1941? Barbara Winter will have us believe at P.61 that the attitude of senior naval officers required the naval vessel to be close enough to the suspect ship to enable 'swift and rigorous boarding...essential to prevent scuttling'. *Canberra* was criticised for sinking *Ketty Brovig* and *Coburg* in March 1941. In Navy eyes she should have gone much closer and possibly effected capture of the vessels. The Second Naval Member wrote a comment on the expenditure of ammunition whilst Captain Joseph Burnett, Assistant Chief of Naval Staff commented...'Fancy wasting all those bricks on two harmless freighters'. At p.79 is the May 1941 story of HMS *Cornwall* sinking the raider *Pinguin* which describes how the heavy cruiser *Cornwall* came to 9600 metres and how damaged she was when *Pinguin* decamouflaged and opened fire. Captain Burnett took command of *Sydney* on 15 May 1941. Although a man of long naval service in two world wars, *Sydney* was his first wartime sea command and the author quickly points out that amongst his sea exercising was 'Exercise anti-scuttling parties'. He apparently was not going to 'waste bricks'. At p.86 is the story of the auxiliary warship *Marsdale* which closed to within 850 metres of the unidentified German tanker *Gedania* and was able to capture and save the ship for allied use in July 1941. Hence, author Winter wants us to believe that the Navy expects every captain to come one closer.

In two world wars HMA Navy has underestimated the skill, mastery and accuracy of the German gunnery. The first *Sydney* should never have received battle damage from the *Emden* (6-inch vs. 4.1-inch guns). Yet Captain Glossop had 'the honour to report...smoke which proved to be SMS *Emden* coming towards me. At 0940 she fired the first shot at 9500 yards. Her fire was very accurate and rapid to begin with, my foremost rangefinder being dismounted quite early and the after control put out of action by the third salvo...' (from G. Bennett's *Naval Battles of the First World War*). Apparently in three salvos the first *Sydney* had major damage and she knew she faced a *cruiser*. The second *Sydney*, according to Winter in Chapter 9, almost sidled up to this freighter which played a morse idiot with the daylight lamp. *Kormoran's* Captain Detmers... 'was playing for time...Only at close range could his old guns with their primitive rangefinding match the cruiser's guns'. So to the 'horrifyingly inevitable'.

The book deals indeed with 'Fact, Fantasy and Fraud'. The author reports how the Americans broadcast the loss of *Sydney* well in advance of the Australian press; how Australian authorities were caught out on their abilities to search the WA coastline by land, air and sea; how censorship tended to frustrate the public and press, leading to the publication of some extraordinary stories which have plagued this naval engagement ever since. The seeds of doubt and distrust of the 'official' reports were sown at this time. The author's chapter 'Aftermath' attempts to show how a lot of the rumours could be started but answered by fact; she blames the Navy management, particularly in Intelligence work and '...failure to establish a clear policy on approaching unidentified ships'. In Appendix 5 is reprinted an alleged 'Letter of Proceedings' while in Appendix 6 the author prints 'a refutation'.

The author includes a very comprehensive bibliography and for anyone interested in naval history, *Kormoran* or *Sydney* this book is well worth reading. I tend to agree with the comment at p.221 'In many minds there will never be any finality in this matter...whatever is written'.

J. Hugh Macdermott

Ian McNeill, *The Team: Australian Army Advisers in Vietnam 1962-1972*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1984—In association with the Australian War Memorial, Canberra. 534 pages—our copy from University of Queensland Press.)
Recommended price $36.95 Hardback.

This large work by Ian McNeill is an excellent mixture of novel and narrative, anecdote and analysis.

The author, himself an ex-Army officer and member of the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV), set out to chronicle the activities of 'The Team', as it became known, from its commitment in 1962 to its withdrawal in 1972; he has done so very well. The unit was unique in that its members, originally only numbering 30, and never more than about 200, operated individually or in small groups throughout the country as commanders, instructors and advisers. In this book, McNeill relates a host of stories about these individuals and small groups, telling of how four members won Victoria Crosses, many others won Australian, American and Vietnamese awards, and still others wielded influence out of proportion to their numbers. The anecdotes tell of the courage, boredom, heroism, humour and pathos experienced by a small group of professional soldiers. It is the personal nature of many of these anecdotes which helps make the book as much a novel as a narrative.

The Team's commitment in 1962 was a political one and its fortunes were governed as much by political as military developments from then on. Consequently, an understanding of the changing political background to Australia's commitment in Vietnam during the stormy decade from 1962 to 1972 is necessary for an understanding of the changes in the Team's size, composition, locations and methods of operation. McNeill provides this background in the form of a detailed analysis of how the war developed and how it was conducted. Members of the AATTV served with all elements of the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam, including covert forces, and in all facets of the war on the ground. This analysis is therefore comprehensive by necessity.

The book caters for the student of military history by including a chronology, a glossary, a list of awards to members fo the Team, a Roll of Honour and a Nominal Roll. It is very well annotated and includes an extensive bibliography and numerous useful maps.

Anybody wishing to learn about this unique unit, or about how the war in Vietnam was conducted 'upcountry' would be well advised to acquire this book. It is the story of a group of individuals of which Australia can be proud; it is a book which 'does them proud'.

Rick Haines

Kevin Fewster, Gallipoli Correspondent—*The Frontline Diary of C.E.W. Bean*. George Allen & Unwin, North Sydney, N.S.W. ISBN O 86861 213 8. 38 photographs, 2 maps. Index. Bibliography. Biographical Index. $19.95

This is a superbly produced book which anyone interested in the Anzac story could hardly resist perusing.

The strikingly coloured dust-jacket has exciting end-papers depicting paintings by Crozier and Lambert from the Australian War Memorial collection. However it is a pity that books of this calibre and topic have to be typeset and printed in Hong Kong. It is a poignant story and Kevin Fewster's selections from Bean's diary and his notations are excellent. In his introduction he modestly expresses the hope that the book does justice to this remarkable man and his work. He has certainly done just that.

Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean was Australia's first accredited war correspondent of the Great War. He left Port Melbourne on 21 October 1914 abroad the *Orvieto* which carried General Bridges and the staff of the 1st Australian Division. The ship was one of the convoy taking the first Australian contingent to the war. He commenced compiling his diary almost as soon as he had left his home in St. Kilda, Victoria. In its pages we are able to read his comments on the standard of the Australian troops on board ship, during their training in Egypt and their off-duty activities in Cairo. Bean was among the first to land at Anzac Cove on 25 April 1915 and stayed on the Peninsular until the very end. Even though he had been wounded, he steadfastly refused to be evacuated.

Although a civilian he did far more than was expected of him and was, in truth, a workaholic. No place in the line was too dangerous for him, and even after being ordered out he would return, taking his turn to drag out wounded or attempt to succour a dying man. During the fiercest battles Bean would make notes and sketch. Then at night, by the light of a candle in his dug-out, he would complete his 'copy'. Because there was no official Australian photographer on Gallipoli, Bean took it on himself to compile a photographic record of the campaign. Many of the photographs reproduced in the book are his.

Through Bean's words, sketches and films we are able to share the cold, fear, heat, thirst, filth and squalor of a campaign of which it has been repeatedly said 'brought Australia into nationhood.' He gained the admiration of all Australians who served on Gallipoli, from the highest in rank to the blokes who carried the water or buried the dead; and in return Bean felt a great esteem for the Australian soldier.

Yet he had a poor opinion of the British Tommy, a point which saddened me considerably. While many of the men who served with the British 29th Division were seasoned regulars there were many who, like my teen-aged uncle, dying then his battalion was slaughtered in front of Krithia—on the same day as the 10th Light Horse lost heavily—carried the same ideals of hope and patriotism as those who came from the opposite corner of the globe.

This is a wonderful book, which truly deserves a place alongside the 'Anzac Book' on the bookshelves of military historians and I truly recommend it.

John E. Price

Society Notes

Correspondence

The Federal Secretary took up with the War Memorial certain views expressed by one of the MHSA branches about AWM Military History Conferences. The correspondence is set our below:

Director, Australian War Memorial
CANBERRA ACT 2601

ATTENTION: Dr M. McKernan

Dear Dr McKernan

One of the branches of the MHSA has written to Federal Council of the Society conveying the feelings of the branch on the AWM Military History Conferences. These comments were generated by a mention in the minutes of the last Federal Council meeting to the effect that the next AWM Conference may be organised on different lines to previous ones.

The views are offered for your information and comment if you desire. We would be pleased to publish your comments in our journal if you consider if would help clarify the organisation of the Conference for others with similar views.

The points raised by the branch are:

— 'there should be more practical workshop sessions.' (in this regard it is Federal Council's understanding that you do not wish to mount an AWM-MHSA workshop on the Saturday following the Conference).
— 'there should be fewer esoteric academic papers dealing with trivia.'
— 'there should be more papers on basic Australian militaria subjects of general interest to cater for the average MHSA member and other amateur militaria enthusiasts who make a significant sacrifice to attend.'
— 'it would seem that grants to facilitate attendance are virtually out of reach to non-Canberra academics.' (It is believed that non-Canberra non-academics was probably intended here.)

These comments have not been considered by Federal Council and are not to be accepted as representing the views of the MHSA but it is reasonable to assume that they represent the views of a group with a deep interest in Australian military history.

Yours sincerely
T.C. SARGENT
Hon Secretary

Ref: 269/1/35

Mr T.C. Sargent
Federal Secretary, Military Historical Society of Australia
GARRAN ACT 2605

Dear Mr Sargent

Thank you for your letter of 19 October conveying the views of one of the branches of the Military Historical Society of Australia regarding the Memorial's annual history conference.

We are concerned that the branch's views arise from a number of misapprehensions about the conference, and welcome the opportunity to correct them. Your members consider that there should be more practical sessions, that there should be 'fewer esoteric academic papers dealing with trivia', that there should be more papers on militaria, and that grants are not provided to 'non-Canberra (non) academics'. I shall deal with these points in turn.

The Memorial is keen to include practical sessions in the conference programme. The last two conferences have included sessions devoted to the practicalities of research and the conservation of militaria, while the 1985 conference will include a session which will deal with the ways in which the Memorial's displays are selected, designed and constructed.

We do not consider that any of the papers presented at the conference—whether by academic or other historians—are either esoteric or trivial. The field of Australian military history encompasses a wide range of interests, and the conference programme reflects this diversity. As the premier gathering of Australian military historical specialists, it would be surprising if some topics did not appear 'esoteric' to participants with more general or different interests. For the next conference, we have in fact introduced several seminars and workshops which will allow a more varied range of topics to be included in the conference programme.

We would be pleased to be able to include more papers on militaria and subjects of particular interest to MHSA members but papers on such topics are very rarely offered. For the 1985 conference, we were offered virtually no papers dealing with militaria, though there will be a session on 'the development of Australian colonial forces'. If militaria enthusiasts wish to offer papers for subsequent conferences, we would be happy to consider presenting a session devoted to aspects of Australian militaria.

With regard to assistance offered to attend the conference, it is simply not true that only academics are given assistance. The Memorial assists a range of participants, including academic and other historians, students and retired persons, many of whom come from states other than Victoria and New South Wales.

I hope that this has helped to clarify some of the misapprehensions which some of the society's members have apparently held. The Memorial is conscious that the conference caters to various groups of participants with varying interests. We are aware that many people make considerable sacrifices to attend, and attempt to make provision for their concerns. We would be able to make the conference more satisfying for them if they were to assist us by offering papers for sessions dealing with their specialized fields of interest.

Yours sincerely
MICHAEL McKERNAN
Assistant Director
Research & Publications

Uniforms in Stamps

To mark the centenary of the formation and dispatch of the New South Wales Contingent to the Sudan in 1885, Australia Post plans to make a 'Colonial Military Uniforms' stamp issue on 6 March 1985.

It is intended to issue the stamps as a se-tenant strip, ie five different designs on a single sheet, in standard letter rate.

Australia Post kindly made available to *Sabretache* a colour print of the designs, reproduced below in black and white, depicting (from left) the Royal Victorian Volunteer Artillery, Western Australian Pinjarrah Cavalry, New South Wales Lancers, New South Wales Contingent to the Sudan and Victorian Mounted Rifles.

These are most attractive in their full colours and bound to be of interest to philatelists and collectors of militaria. We are asked to say, however, that the artwork shown is subject to change before final printing.

Society Notes

Election of Office Bearers for 1984-85

Queensland Branch Committee

The following were elected at the Branch Annual General Meeting on 4 July 1984:

President:	D.Wright
Vice-President:	G.Cole
Secretary:	S.Wigzell
Treasurer:	J.Irwin
Federal Councillor:	D.Wright
Committee Members:	G.McGuire
	J.Duncan

Geelong Branch Committee

The following were elected at the Branch Annual General Meeting:

President:	B.Fenner
Vice-President:	Flg Off. B.Hall
Past President:	P.O'Rourke
Secretary:	Maj. I.Barnes
Treasurer:	Capt.J.Titchmarsh
Committee:	J.Maljers
	Lt D.Brown

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Macarthur Era Trust
16 Abelia Street
INALA, QLD 4077

Dear Sir,

I wish to ask if you could assist me in a project I am undertaking.

I believe that several spies were caught in Queensland during WW2 and I am having problems locating any person who would have had experience of this.

I am also told that a special shoe was made for natives in New Guinea which when worn gave the impression of natives walking in the opposite direction.

If you know of this or any person who could assist it would greatly help my project.

Yours sincerely,
Norman Coleman
Secretary

(Can anybody help? I think we would all like to know more about these two matters, especially the latter. — Editor).

Members' Wants

Information Wanted:

The 8th Australian Field Artillery Brigade, consisting of the 29th, 30th, 31st and 108th Batteries, served during WW1 in France and Belgium. Contact is sought with relatives of veterans, or persons with information, photographs and memorabilia for a planned unit history. Information on the militia 8th FAB during its existence is also requested.

Please contact Peter Evans, 37 Charles Street, Cheltenham, Vic 3192, (03) 584 2765.

Notes on contributors

Max Chamberlain, MA, BCom(Melb), FASA is editor of the Victorian Year Book. Although interested in Australian military history generally, his particular field of study is the South African war. He has published a number of historical papers.

Major General R N L Hopkins, CBE, RL has a strong interest in military history and is vice-Patron of the MHSA. He has contributed to a number of historical journals and his *History of the Australian Armoured Corps 1927-72* was published by the Australian War Memorial in 1978.

Peter Stanley is senior research officer in the Historical Research Section of the Australian War Memorial. He edited *Sabretache* in 1981 and is a member of the society's editorial sub-committee. *What did you do in the war, Daddy?*, a visual history of propaganda posters, for which he wrote the introduction, appeared in 1983. A book of photographs from the Memorial *Australians at War 1885-1972* (with Michael McKernan) was published earlier this year.

Christopher Fagg is a medals enthusiast from Tasmania with a special interest in medals of the British Commonwealth. He is a frequent contributor to *Sabretache*.

Anthony Staunton is a leading Australian authority on awards to Australians of the Victoria Cross and to other VC recipients who have Australian connections. He recently arranged renovation of the graves of two British VC winners who died in Australia.

John Price is a regular contributor to Sabretache. He has wide interests in history and is the author of a number of books and articles.

THE MILITARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA

The aims of the Society are the encouragement and pursuit of study and research in military history, customs, traditions, dress, arms, equipment and kindred matters; the promotion of public interest and knowledge in these subjects, and the preservation of historical military objects with particular reference to the armed forces of Australia

ORGANISATION

The Federal Council of the Society is located in Canberra. The Society has branches in Brisbane, Canberra, Albury-Wodonga, Melbourne, Geelong, Adelaide and Perth. Details of meetings are available from Branch Secretaries whose names and addresses appear on the title page.

SABRETACHE

The Federal Council is responsible for the publication quarterly of the Society Journal, *Sabretache*, which is scheduled to be mailed to each member of the Society in the last week of the final month of each issue. Publication and mailing schedule dates are:

Jan.-Mar. edition mailed last week of March
Apr.-Jun. edition mailed last week of June
Jul.-Sept. edition mailed last week of Sept.
Oct.-Dec. edition mailed last week of December

ADVERTISING

Society members may place, at no cost, one advertisement of approximately 40 words in the 'Members Sales and Wants' section each financial year.

Commercial advertising rate is $120 per full page; $60 per half page; and $25 per quarter page. Contract rates applicable at reduced rates. Apply Editor.

Advertising material must reach the Secretary by the following dates:

1 January for January-March edition
1 April for April-June edition
1 July for July-September edition
1 October for October-December edition

QUERIES

The Society's honorary officers cannot undertake research on behalf of members. However, queries received by the Secretary will be published in the 'Notes and Queries' section of the Journal.

SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Society publications advertised in *Sabretache* are available from:
Mike Lucas, G.P.O. Box 1052, Canberra City, A.C.T. 2601
Orders and remittances should be forwarded to this address.

THE MILITARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA

Please address all Correspondence to:

The Federal Secretary, P.O. Box 30, Garran, A.C.T. 2605, Australia.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

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.....

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