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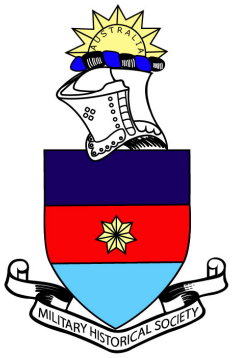

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SABRETACHE

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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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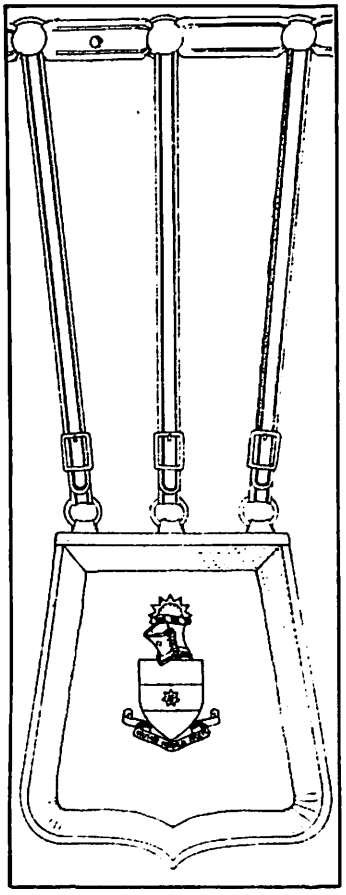
SABRETACHE

Navy anniversary Readers are reminded that we are seeking contributions on naval matters for our July/September 1986 issue in recognition of the 75th anniversary of the RAN and RANR. Contributions dealing with naval history, biography, medals, collecting or displaying naval militaria or naval historical sources are welcome. Contributions should be submitted by March 1986.

War Memorial Journal The October 1985 issue of the Journal includes articles on Canadian military history (Professor Sydney Wise), Australians and the Russian intervention, 1918-19 (Jeffrey Grey), Retracing the Malayan campaign (Peter Burness), The Suvla Bay Tea-party: a reassessment (Robin Prior) and the economics of rearmament 1933-39 (Andrew Ross). The next Journal in April 1986, is described as 'a bumper air issue'.

Memorial acqusitions. Recent acquisitions at the War Memorial include a Soviet T-34/85 medium tank, a Furphy water cart and a Bell UH-1B helicopter.

VCs The War Memorial's collection of Victoria Crosses was recently increased by two. Australia's oldest VC, won by Sergeant Thomas Grady during the Crimean war, was presented to the Memorial by Grady's great-great-great-grandson, Mr F.V. Ryan of Western Australia. Grady received the Cross at the first presentation of the decoration in Hyde Park in London during June 1857. The other VC, one of the seven earned at Lone Pine, was won by Private John Hamilton of the 3rd Battalion, AIF and was donated to the Memorial by his son, Mr Alwyn Hamilton of Sydney. The Memorial now has six of the seven awards; the remaining VC awarded for action at Lone Pine was earned by Captain Alfred Shout. The whereabouts of this VC is unknown.



History Conference The War Memorial's sixth annual history conference will be held at the National Science Centre, Clunies Ross House in Melbourne from 10 to 14 February 1986. As in previous years the theme of the conference will be the history of Australians at war and the impact of war on Australian society. The programme for 1986 includes both large general sessions and smaller seminars, workshops and symposia which will explore particular themes. It will again feature the work-in-progress session during which researchers will be able to discuss their current projects, draw attention to their interests and establish contacts with other researchers. Inquiries should directed to Susan Vollmer, History Conference Secretary, Australian War Memorial, GPO Box 345, Canberra 2601 or telephone (062) 434210.

But little glory An interested reader of the Society's book on the NSW Sudan Contingent of 1885 was Mrs Valerie Wotton of Summer Hill, NSW. No. 486, Private Henry Drew was Mrs Wotten's great-grandfather whose records, including the original application form he signed when he joined up, are held by the Australian War Memorial.

Henry Drew later had a distinguished career in the NSW Police, retiring as Superintendant assisting the Commissioner. He was responsible for security on one of the Royal Visits early this century and received the Imperial Service Medal for his police service.

Archives system Australian Archives has asked us to draw to the attention of those who wish to use or refer to their records the availability of a leaflet titled 'Citations', to help users to understand the system of records arrangement and description which it employs and it assist them in the correct citation of archival material. Copies may be obtained from regional offices of Australian Archives in all states, the Northern Territory and the ACT.

APCM In his *US Military Medals and Ribbons* (New York 1971) Philip K. Robles relates the case of a young lieutenant, born in December 1941, whom he observed in 1963 wearing the Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal (APCM) awarded for service in the US Armed Forces in the Asiatic-Pacific Theatre between 7 December 1941 and 2 March 1946.

As it appeared that the lieutenant would have been only a year old when he earned the medal, inquiry was made of the Adjutant-General who advised that he was indeed authorised to wear it and the Philippine Liberation Medal as well. Civilian internees in Japanese prison camps were entitled to the APCM and the lieutenant had gained his entitlement from his internment, with his mother, at the Santo Thomas Japanese camp from 1942 to 1945.

Warren Perry

An author at arms

A literary portrait of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley, 1824-93

IN times past more was written than is nowadays about the military and literary achievements of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley of the British Army, and especially about his works on the Crimean War and his outstanding work in his time *The Operations of War*. But since his death in 1893, and the passing of his contemporaries, less and less has been written, as the years have fled, about Hamley himself and his achievements, despite his having been one of the pre-eminent soldiers of his time, skilled alike with sword and pen, and with an international reputation. This neglect is due perhaps to his having been the subject of one biography only. It was published as long ago as 1895—two years after his death—and in accordance with present day requirements it is inadequate in content and in completeness of detail.

Hamley's career was in many ways unlike that of the average British regular officer of the 19th century and it illustrates the fortune and the fate which often attends those who raise themselves above the mean level. The average British regular officer of Hamley's time acquired a certain amount of practical experience of men and the world in the course of his career. He often became an authority on tobacco and wine; he usually participated enthusiastically in sporting activities; and he was usually a good host and a pleasant companion, and so was much sought after by fox-hunting squires as a guest at week-end shooting parties and as a player on village cricket fields. But of his profession, apart from its routine duties in barracks, at stables, and on the parade ground, he learnt little or nothing.[1]

Hamley, however, did not conform to this average type, for this way of life contrasted sharply with his own. He developed an insatiable intellectual curiosity at an early age, and so it was logical that he should become a writer with the habits of a student. He cultivated a light and sometimes incisive style of writing; and satire was a weapon which he learned to use with skill and effectiveness.

Hamley's military education and military training, his intellectual tastes and his literary skills, and the lessons he learnt from his own practical experience, all combined to make him a man of thought as well as a man of action. From the days of his service as a gunner subaltern onwards, Hamley was therefore well equipped intellectually and culturally to cope with his duties in the profession of arms as he rose step by step in rank to become ultimately a full general. A special advantage, which his education, training and experience conferred on him, was an ability to communicate smoothly and effectively, in speech and in writing, up and down the chain of command. A more recent instance of the value of a high standard of skill in this art of communication is to be found in the successes of Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery as a trainer of men and a director of military operations.

In the course of time Hamley became widely known not only as a scientific soldier well versed in the theory and practice of his profession but also as a writer, with rare literary talents, on non-military subjects. His two books, *The Operations of War* and *Lady Lee's Widowhood* illustrate well the skill and fame which he acquired in these two very different fields of writing.

Hamley's physical appearance was conspicuous. With blue eyes and broad shoulders, he stood over six feet in height.[2] His personality was strong and commanding; he was an ideal host to his friends; but his manner could be cold and aloof towards strangers and towards those who did not appeal to him. He lived in an age before the advent of the cinema, and before home entertainment had been invaded, at first by the gramophone and the pianola and later by radio and television. His conversation was stimulating, and the range and preciseness of his language usually fascinated his listeners. He was also a witty raconteur and his fund of anecdotes was inexhaustible. He was also a master of that now unfashionable art in the home of reciting, by heart, long passages from authors such as Shakespeare, Dickens and Scott. When he gave impromptu recitations at dinner parties, as he often did, the gaiety and humour which he inspired in his listeners seemed to acquire an additional piquancy from the obvious pleasure which he himself enjoyed in reciting in this way.

Notwithstanding these professional, literary and social accomplishments, Hamley, it was said, was not in any way pedantic. His conduct indicated plainly that he was a serious student, with cultivated intellectual tastes, devoted to the study and the creation of literature in a variety of forms. But like all men of genius, he had particular preferences, prejudices and tastes and his professional preferences included the study of the campaigns of Frederick the Great.

His service in the British Army, in peace and in war, was extensive and raised his vision and widened his intellectual horizon. He had done garrison duty in overseas stations as far apart from one another and from London as Gibraltar and Quebec. As a Commissioner for delimiting national boundaries, he had mixed in cosmopolitan society and travelled through the picturesque highlands of European Turkey and of Asia Minor. He had visited foreign Courts; he had transacted business with foreign diplomats; and everywhere in military society he was welcomed as the author of *The Operations of War*.

On the other hand, since the winter of 1856, when Hamley was sent from the Crimea to Scotland for duty at Fort Leith, he had been thrown much into literary society; and he had become closely acquainted with many distinguished men of letters.

It was while serving at Fort Leith that Hamley began his long and fruitful association with the publisher and editor, John Blackwood, of William Blackwood and Sons of Edinburgh and London. He also became a member of what John Blackwood used to refer to as 'The Military Staff' of Blackwood. John Blackwood took a special interest in this 'staff' which was a body of unusually skilled and versatile contributors who were army officers. Its members, who wrote fiction as well as they wrote on military subjects, included the Hamley brothers — Edward the Gunner, William the Sapper and Charles the Royal Marine — General Sir Archibald Alison (1826-1907) who was the son of Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. (1792-1867), a distinguished lawyer and historian; General Sir George Chesney (1830-96), author of *The Battle of Dorking;* Colonel Claude Reigner Conder, RE (1849-1910) and Colonel William Maxwell Lockhart (1831-82), who was a nephew of Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart (1794-1854).

Edward Bruce Hamley, the youngest of four sons of Vice-Admiral William Hamley (1786-1866), was the most distinguished member of a gifted family. He was born during the reign of George IV, on 27 April 1824, at Bodmin—a town on the Camel River in Cornwall and located about 30 miles NW of Plymouth. There he attended the long established Bodmin Grammar School when it was under the headmastership of the Rev. L.J.Boor. Nothing is now known of Hamley's schooldays; even his biographer tells us nothing of significance about this period of Hamley's life.

Hamley entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich—known as 'The Shop'—sometime in 1841. The Academy had been established a century earlier by Royal Warrant dated 30 April 1741. Hamley's biographer tells us nothing of substance about his life at 'The Shop', except to sketch the origins of his lifelong friendship with a fellow cadet—the future Colonel A.C.Gleig, RA, who in later years also became a writer but not one of John Blackwood's 'Military Staff'.

Hamley was commissioned in the Royal Artillery on 11 January 1843 with the rank of second lieutenant. The C-in-C of the British Army at this time, located in London at the Horse-Guards, was Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington. Hamley's first posting was to Charlemont, a town in County Armagh in Northern Ireland, located near the confluence of the rivers Blackwater and Callen and 68 miles NW of Dublin. Charlemont was, in Hamley's time there, the headquarters of the Royal Artillery of the military district of Ulster and it was also the ordnance depot for Northern Ireland. The artillery barracks at Charlemont in the 1840s provided accommodation for two companies of the Royal Artillery.[3] This posting would not therefore have been without interests, on and off duty, for Hamley.

Twelve months later Hamley marched out from Charlemont with his unit and sailed for Canada where he remained for almost four years. This is another period of Hamley's life that his biographer hurries through at a gallop. The date and place of Hamley's arrival in Canada, the names of officers with whom he served there, the nature of his daily duties, the branch of the Royal Artillery in which he was serving, and the date and place of his departure from Canada, are not matters which attracted the attention of Hamley's biographer.

When Hamley returned to England, he was stationed at first as Tynemouth, a seaport in Northumberland, and later at Carlisle in Cumberland. It was in the cathedral of this city of Carlisle that Sir Walter Scott, one of Hamley's favourite authors, was married in 1797. But garrison life had temptations for a young officer who had to live on his pay, as Hamley was obliged to do, and he soon incurred debts with military tailors, who usually gave credit generously to officers. In order to pay off these debts he had to turn to literary work as a spare time occupation.

Hamley's earliest published work appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1849. It is probable that this was the year of his return from Canada to the British Isles. The first article, 'Snow Pictures', was published in that magazine in January 1849. It

General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley, KCB, KCMG.
1824-1893.

described a shooting expedition from Quebec into the highlands of Maine. The second article was published in the same magazine in April 1849. It was the first part of 'The Peace Campaigns of Ensign Faunce'. Each of the remaining nine parts of this story appeared in the successive monthly issues of *Fraser's Magazine*. Hamley's biographer Alexander Innes Shand said, after having pointed out some defects in the writing of this story, that it 'was brightened by sparkles of wit and frequent flashes of rollicking fun'; and that it also had 'dramatic bits of description and telling touches of satire'.[4] Henceforth, Hamley made rapid progress as a writer and he soon became a master of short-story writing of a kind which held the reader's interest by its drollery and wit.

Concurrently with this progress as a writer, Hamley was also making good progress in the British army. When he became a captain in the Royal Artillery on 14 May 1850, he was posted to a battery of garrison artillery at Gibraltar. It is of interest to note how, at this time, he impressed people with whom he was acquainted. It was said of Hamley by a lady who knew him at Gibraltar that 'He came to the Rock with the reputation of being very clever, satirical and given to drawing caricatures'; that 'Most people stood in awe of him, owing to his silent ways and stiff manner, and from his taking but little part in the things around him', although 'behind his stiff manner ... many were the kind acts he did for the wives and children of his company'.[5] But, however true this particular assessment of Hamley might have been at that time, we must leave it without further examination and hurry on to a consideration of some of his later literary work of a military and non-military character.

Hamley's first meeting with John Blackwood, probably in 1856, has already been mentioned. But his long connection with Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, as a contributor, began in 1851—the year of the Great Exhibition in London. In April 1851 his 'Michael Angelo and the Friar', as a dialogue in blank verse was published in this magazine. The scene of the poem is the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican at the close of a day, as Michael Angelo descends from the scaffolding, on which he had been standing to paint frescoes on the ceiling. The Friar was standing nearby on the pavement and Michael Angelo opened the dialogue by saying to him:

Would it were always day! These gathering shades
Come stealing in betwixt my work and me.

The friar in his reply says:

Ay, my son,
The faces glimmer and the picture fades.
The day hath served thee well, and night cries rest!

But Michael Angelo retorts:

'Tis a huge gap in life, this empty night;
A vault in Nature's palace; and my soul
Howls in its dungeon till the dawn. The thoughts
That bear me company the livelong day
Through my thin sleep look in upon me still.
And yet, methinks, the darkness seems to bring
Light of its own; for, waking oftentimes
In the dead lonely hush, the painted world
I labour in by day starts suddenly.
On the dark void, as if a master-hand
Stamped it upon the curtain of the night
And parts that many an hour I've wearied over,
Often effaced, and vainly still renewed,
Arrange themselves in shapes of wondrous power:
Then I lie tossing, wearying for the sun,
That I may haste to fix them here for ever.

This remarkable poem was the work of an artillery captain of twenty-seven years of age. It has an atmosphere of lofty idealism and this was a characteristic feature of Hamley's own life.[6]

The poem was followed in November 1851 by an article entitled 'A Legend of Gibraltar'[7]. Shand said that he could remember 'when it appeared, the shouts of laughter it provoked in a country house, and the eagerness with which it was passed from hand to hand'. It was an excellent piece of genial but satirical comedy and one can only suspect that the character of Major Flinders did in some measure at least correspond with that of the author himself.

Hamley's only novel, *Lady Lee's Widowhood*, was first published in 1854. It was warmly received and went through five editions during Hamley's lifetime. Its importance rests on its brilliant sketches of character and on its descriptions of humorous and pathetic incidents. One of the principal characters in the book, apart from Lady Lee, is Bagot Lee, an uncle of Lady Lee's deceased husband. Bagot Lee was 'formerly a lieutenant-colonel in the Guards, was about eight-and-forty; very knowing, very dissipated, and very extravagant'. Another character, Mr Dubbley, aspired to the hand of Lady Lee but 'the grand obstacle to a declaration of his wishes was an insuperable bashfulness with which the Squire became afflicted when in the company of ladies of high degree'. Hamley introduced Squire Dubbley into the story in the following manner:

Mr Jonathan Dubbley ... had been considerably neglected both by nature and education. He was far from bright originally, and the dull surface of his mind was covered, when his uncle adopted him, with many years of rust. At his uncle's death, his estate and income were such as to give him consideration in the country, and he suddenly found himself a prominent character in scenes to which he was totally unaccustomed.

The novel's narrative flows smoothly from beginning to end with a variety of incidents which maintain the reader's interest. Shand once said that 'The lightness of touch in *Lady Lee's*

Widowhood made me often implore him for another of the same. He rather rose to the suggestion, but unfortunately it never took shape'.[8]

An international crisis arose in Europe early in 1854 and it ultimately involved Hamley. The British and French Governments issued ultimatums to the Imperial Russian Government on 27 February which demanded that it evacuate the Danubian Principalities by the 30 April 1854. On 19 March 1854 the Imperial Russian Government announced that it did not intend to reply to these demands. Therefore, on 28 March 1854, *The London Gazette* announced a declaration of war by Great Britain against Russia.

Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Dacres, RA, who commanded the artillery at Gibraltar at that time, was given command of an artillery unit in the Duke of Cambridge's 1st British Division which went on active service to the Crimea. Captain Hamley went with Dacres as his adjutant, but after the battle of Inkerman on 5 November 1854 he became ADC to that officer who, during the course of the war, became Major-General Sir Richard Dacres.[9]

Hamley's service in this war included the Affaires of Bulganac and Mackenzie's Farm, the battles of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman, the siege and fall of Sebastopol and the Repulse of the Sortie on 26 October 1854. He became a brevet major on 12 December 1854 and, almost a year later, on 2 November 1855, a brevet lieutenant-colonel. He was also created a CB and mentioned in dispatches four times for his war services.

Hamley sent to 'Blackwood', from the seat of war in the Crimea, a series of letters which were later re-published in book form with the title *The Story of the Campaign of Sebastopol*. These letters were written, after long and fatiguing days in the saddle, by the light of flickering candles in wind-swept tents and in leaking huts, but they presented a vivid picture of the course of the siege. The following description of the battlefield after the victory at the battle of the Alma illustrates Hamley's skill in drawing word pictures in language of great literary beauty:

> On the plain near the signal-tower, where the struggle was hottest on the part of the French, our Allies left a stone inscribed *'Victoire de l'Alma'* with the date. The English left no monument on their fatal hill; but it needs none. The inhabitants will return to the valley, the burnt village will be rebuilt, the wasted vineyards replanted, and tillage will efface the traces of the conflict; but tradition will for centuries continue to point with no doubtful finger, to the spot where the British infantry thinned by a storm of cannon-shot, drove the battalions of the Czar, with terrible slaughter, from one of the strongest positions in Europe.[10]

The battle of the Alma was fought on Wednesday 20 September 1854. But communications in 1854 were much slower than they are to-day with the result that it was not until ten days after the battle that information reached London that it had been fought and won by the Allied armies. Twelve years after Hamley's death, Shand said of this book that: 'The rough and unstudied letters from the camp, penned in the worst hardships of the winter investment, had been reprinted verbatim. Yet fifty years later they read as freshly as ever, and the facts had never been disputed'.[11] Other contributions to 'Blackwood' by Hamley from the Crimea were a review entitled 'Poetry of the War'[12] and an article entitled 'North and Noctes'.[13]

Although the Crimean war did not end officially until the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 30 March 1856, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamley, RA returned to England in January 1856. He returned home with a good reputation as a soldier and a writer.

Hamley's first post-war posting was to Fort Leith, the seaport of Edinburgh. The proximity of Edinburgh was fortunate for Hamley for this capital of Scotland was also an important literary and publishing centre. His first meeting with John Blackwood (1818-79) during this posting has already been mentioned. It was through Blackwood that Hamley was able to establish many other useful and stimulating connections which included Professor W.E. Aytoun (1813-65), John T.Delane (1817-79) of *The Times* of London, Charles Dickens (1812-70), Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton (1803-73), later the 1st Baron Lytton and author of *The Last Days of Pompei*, Mrs M.O.Oliphant (1828-97), William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63) and Dr Samuel Warren (1807-77), a lawyer and author of the novel *Ten Thousand a Year*.

In July 1858 Hamley had a short article published in 'Blackwood' entitled 'Mr Dusky's Opinions on Art'. It was a trenchant, but not unkindly, satire in which the affectations of art-critics were exposed. The following quotation illustrates the character and style of the article:

> I find it necessary to be cautious in wielding, as I annually do, the trenchant weapon of irresponsible criticism, lest, in its whirlwind evolutions, it might haply lop a limb from some humble but trusty follower. It grieved me much to find that a single word of censure uttered by me some years ago, and which, though perfectly just, was too keen and searching for the sensitive nature of the artist whose work I was criticising, had the effect of causing him to abandon painting as a profession, and to revert to his original calling of an oil-and-colour man, in which I hear he is realising a moderate competence.

In the meantime the Horse-Guards, London, had reposted Hamley from the scenes of his military duties and his literary labours in Scotland to scenes very different at the Staff College in England.

The Staff College was a newly created institution for the higher training of officers. It was announced from the Horse-Guards, in its General Orders dated 17 December 1857, that Her Majesty The Queen had approved of the Senior Department of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst becoming a separate institution and being re-designated the Staff College. It was not until 1862, however, that the Staff College was able to move from premises at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst into its own new building nearby at Camberley.

In the meantime Hamley reported at the Staff College for duty as its first Professor of Military History. At this time the professorial staff consisted of civil and military professors. Hamley was then only 34 years of age with a good record of service in the Crimean war. No appointment could have suited him better at this time than this one, for, at Sandhurst, he was within easy reach of the literary and social life of London, which had strong attractions for him. Moreover, he was an original member of the staff of the new Staff College and this was a distinction in itself. The original Commandment, Lieutenant-Colonel (later General Sir) P.L. MacDougall (1819-1894), was also a member of Blackwood's 'Military Staff' and his book *The Theory of War* reached its 3rd Edition in 1862.

The first course at the Staff College at Sandhurst began on 1 April 1858. But it was not until the publication of the official Army List, dated February 1864, that officers who had graduated at the Staff College were first distinguished by the letters p.s.c. after their names. Hamley soon gained a reputation at the college as an outstanding instructor in military history not only because of his knowledge of the subject but also because of his skill in presenting his subject to his students.

During vacations he reconnoitred the scenes of battles on which he was to lecture during the forthcoming term. These visits enabled him to speak more authoritatively, and to describe more vividly, the military operations on which he lectured at the college.[14] It was said: 'Those who were privileged to attend his lectures ... will always remember them with pleasure' because he 'carried his hearers through from the first inception to the final issue of the struggle as though they saw it acted before them on the stage'.[15] This description of Hamley's dramatic talent, based on profound knowledge of his subject, reads like a description of General Sir Brian Horrocks' television presentations of battles in more recent times. These lectures of military history at the Staff College became the foundation of Hamley's later great and enduring work, *The Operations of War.*

On 28 April 1861 Colonel (later General) W.C.E. Napier (1818-1903) was appointed Commandant of the Staff College, Sandhurst vice Colonel MacDougall. 'Napier', Godwin-Austen said, 'had not graduated at the old Senior Department, though he had the reputation of being up-to-date', and having a 'great interest in officers' education'. Napier had married his cousin who was the daughter of the Conqueror of Sind, General Sir Charles James Napier (1782-1853). It was during Napier's command that the staff, including Hamley, and the students moved into the College's new premises at Camberley in the autumn of 1862.

One of Hamley's students at the Staff College, the future Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, VC, has bequeathed to us a few brief but critical comments on Hamley, as an instructor, which can be consulted in his *From Midshipman to Field-Marshal.* Hamley remained at the Staff College, in the post of Professor of Military History, until probably the close of the college year in 1864. Then, consequent on his having been promoted to the substantive rank of lieutenant-colonel, on 19 March 1864, he was ordered to return to regimental duties. His successor at the Staff College on this occasion was Lieutenant-Colonel C.C. Chesney, RE (1826-76), author of *Waterloo Lectures* and the elder brother of General Sir George Chesney (1830-95)—author of *The Battle of Dorking* and whose name is commemorated by 'The Chesney Medal' awarded by the RUSI, London.

After spending eighteen months on regimental duties at Dover, where he completed his book, *The Operations of War,* for publication, Hamley returned to staff duties when, on 1 April 1866, he was posted to the War Office, London to be a member of the Council of Military Education—a body which had been created probably on 1 June 1857 for, since that date, it had been presided over by the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal The Duke of Cambridge. This Council was located in London at 13 Great George Street, S.W.[16]

At this time of Hamley's change in allotment for duty his book, *The Operations of War,* was probably being printed by his publishers, for he said in a letter, dated 6 April 1866 to John Blackwood, that: 'I do not intend the book for military men only, but, on the contrary, have sought to make it clear to the general reader.'[17] Its Chapter 17 opened with the following observations on the popularity of military history:

No kind of history so fascinates mankind as the history of wars. No kind of record, other than sacred, appeals

at once to the deep sympathies of so wide an audience. Great social, political, or philosophical enterprises may produce more extensive results than can follow from the conflict of arms; but a certain amount of acquired knowledge is necessary in order to render them intelligible. The contests of philosophy, of art, or of statesmanship, demand from the spectators some of the power which is displayed by the disputants; but everybody can watch with interest the game of war, for all can feel how earnest is the struggle where individuals stake their lives and nations their territory.

The book made its mark at once. Its form and style, in which nothing was superfluous or out of proportion, and its freedom from pedantry, made it attractive to professional and non-professional readers alike.[18] Hamley's biographer said of *The Operations of War* that 'No man could have written it who was not endowed with a very rare combination of qualities'; and that 'It can only be adequately appreciated if we consider the wide range of the field and the vast scope of the subject.' *The Times*, London reviewed the book at length on 3 July 1866. This review said that it was 'a sign of the improvement that has taken place in our military education'; that it was 'a series of essays on Strategy and Tactics'; and that 'a work of this kind has been long wanted'. The book had an immediate and far-reaching effect throughout the British Army; it established new and higher intellectual standards in military training and in military history; and it provided a great stimulus to military thought among British officers.

It was not long before it went into a second edition. This was reviewed, again at some length, in *The Times*, London, on 1 November 1869. The reviewer said: 'Colonel Edward Hamley is the author of *The Operations of War*, a work that may be characterized as one of the most valuable modern military books extant—there exists nothing to compare with it in the English language for enlightened scientific and sober teaching in the ... art of war'.

For the remainder of the 19th century and beyond, it is probable that an ever increasing number of British officers and military writers drew much of their inspiration from the book. It will suffice to cite here three widely dispersed cases to illustrate the strength and the duration of this influence on later generations—one is taken from the war of 1914-18, another from the war of 1939-45, and a third from the period between the two wars.

The first Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force in France in the war of 1914-18, Field Marshal Sir John French, described himself, in speaking of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley, as 'a humble but life-long disciple of this great master of war'.[19] In the retreat of the British army from Mons in Belgium in August 1914 French said that the fortress of Maubeuge lay in his course. It was well provisioned and fortified and it was a temptation to 'an army seeking shelter against overpowering odds' but the influence of Hamley banished this temptation from French's mind. The Field Marshal said of this incident that:

> For a short time on this fateful afternoon I debated within myself whether or not I should yield to this temptation; but I did not hesitate long, because there were two considerations which forced themselves prominently upon my mind.
>
> In the first place, I had an instinctive feeling that this was exactly what the enemy was trying to make me do; and, in the second place, I had the example of Bazaine and Metz in 1870 present in my mind, and the words of Sir Edward Hamley's able comment upon the decision of the French Marshal came upon me with overwhelming force. Hamley described it as 'The anxiety of the temporising mind which prefers postponement of a crisis to vigorous enterprise'. Of Bazaine he says, 'in clinging to Metz he acted like one who, when the ship is foundering, should lay hold of the anchor'.
>
> I therefore abandoned all such ideas and issued orders at 3 p.m. directing the retreat some miles further back to the line Le Cateau-Cambrai.[20]

Hamley's *The Operations of War*, which was published by William Blackwood and Sons in 1923 provides the second case. Although this edition of 1923 was in fact the seventh, and also the second posthumous edition, the publishers described it as 'A new Edition'. It was a revised and enlarged edition published thirty years after the author's death; and it had been 'brought up to the latest requirements' by Major-General Sir George Aston (1861-1936). In his preface to this seventh edition he said:

> The principles of land strategy, as enunciated and illustrated by examples in Sir Edward Hamley's great work, have stood the supreme test of the Great War of 1914-18.[21] ...
>
> In this edition General Hamley's narratives of campaigns in Parts I to V, and his deductions therefrom remain practically as he wrote them, due notice being taken of minor changes brought about by recent war experience. In these days of great nations in arms, it has been necessary to extend General Hamley's remarks upon the 'moral' of armies, in order to cover the moral factors influencing whole nations, and the effect upon such factors of the cause in which they take up the sword. Due weight has been given to modern improvements in means of communication, in obstacles, and in weapons. The chapters in Part VI on "Detachments" and on "Tactics", written by Lieutenant General Sir Lancelot Kiggell, who edited the Sixth Edition, have been retained with few amendments. The remainder of Part VI has been rewritten in order to include more lessons deduced from modern wars in which both sea and land movements of troops have affected the issue, and a short outline of the Great War of 1914-18, with comments, has been embodied in a special chapter.

The third case occurred much later again. Although Hamley died in August 1893, he was still

exercising, more than fifty years later, a strong influence on Great Britain's Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, when he was approving plans of his Army Commanders-in-Chief in the midst of a world-wide war. Churchill has described in his book, *Triumph and Tragedy,* an event at Field Marshal Montgomery's headquarters near Venlo in March 1945. He was sitting in Montgomery's map wagon waiting for Montgomery to explain his plans 'to force a passage over the river at ten points on a twenty mile front' and he said of Hamley that:

> Everything I had seen or studied in war, or read, made me doubt that a river could be a good barrier of defence against superior force. In Hamley's *Operations of War* which I had pondered over ever since my Sandhurst days, he argues the truth that a river running parallel to the line of advance is a much more dangerous feature than one which lies squarely athwart it; and he illustrated this theory by Napoleon's marvellous campaign of 1814. I was therefore in good hopes of the battle even before the Field Marshal explained his plans to me.[22]

But no book can last forever as a current textbook. Although it had a measure of success, which extended considerably beyond that enjoyed by most best-sellers, one hears little of either it or its author nowadays. Yet, as late as 1954 F.D. Tredrey, in *The House of Blackwood, 1804-1954,* said of *The Operations of War:* 'It is still in the Blackwood catalogue and selling to students of warfare in various parts of the world'.

When I visited the Staff College, Camberley in July 1971, I was shown an annotated copy of Hamley's *The Operations of War* in a glass case. It had belonged to Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson (1864-1922), who was one of Hamley's successors in the post of Commandant of the College.

At this point we must leave this review of *The Operations of War.* It has taken us too far forward chronologically. We must return, therefore, to the year 1860, when General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley was Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Hamley, CB, RA, and resume there the story of his literary life.

Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* published Hamley's 'Wellington's Career' in two parts in 1860—the first part in the April issue and the second part in the May issue.[23] In this article Hamley revealed himself to be a master of prose style and an authoritative military historian with an intimate acquaintance with the technical details of his subject. He closed the article by saying of Wellington: 'he left to his country a rich inheritance — the increase of reputation abroad, which sprang from his achievements and his policy, and the gain at home which a people derives from a noble example and a great name'.

Alexander William Kinglake (1809-91), one of Hamley's contemporaries, was the author of *The Invasion of the Crimea* in nine volumes. Hamley reviewed earlier volumes of this Blackwood publication in those issues of the *Edinburgh Magazine* for March 1863, December 1868, and January 1869 and he had much fault to find with them. But *The Times,* London, said of these faults, in Kinglake's obituary on 3 January 1891, that 'They were often such as rather added to its popularity than detracted from it'.

Hamley's reviews of these earlier volumes of Kinglake's *The Invasion of the Crimea* established his reputation as a critic. He could moreover apply the lash of satire with such skill and vigour that few could excel him in the use of this devastating literary weapon. But some considered that his criticisms at times touched too lightly on the merits generally of an author.

Hamley rejoined the staff of the Staff College, Camberley about a fortnight before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71. He succeeded Colonel T.E. Lacey on 1 July 1870 in the post of Commandant of the College. At 46 years of age, Hamley thus became the fourth in the now long list of Commandants. In this capacity he infused a new spirit into the College and did much to make the instruction more practical and more profitable to students than it had previously been. He stressed the importance of riding; he was a keen and active supporter of the Staff College Drag; and he introduced large scale exercises in reconnaissance duties.

The Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal The Duke of Cambridge, approved, possibly in 1871, a proposal by the 2nd Duke of Wellington that an essay competition be conducted within the British Army for the best essay on 'The System of Field Manoeuvres best adapted for enabling our Troops to meet a Continental Army'. The Duke of Wellington further offered a prize of £100 for the best essay. Thirty seven officers of ranks varying from general officer to lieutenant submitted essays and the Commander-in-Chief selected Hamley for the task of judging them and selecting the best to be 'The Wellington Prize Essay'. The essays were submitted to Hamley under *nom de plumes* and so the names of the authors were unknown to him. In addition to the Prize Essay Hamley said, in his letter dated 22 April 1872 to the Duke of Wellington,[24] that there were eight others which would be a loss to military literature if they were not also published. These eight essays included one by General Craufurd[24a] and one by Colonel Sir Garnet Wolseley.

The Wellington Prize for the best essay in this competition was awarded to Lieutenant (John) Frederick Maurice, RA (1841-1912).[25] At the time of this award he was an instructor in tactics at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst and had graduated at the Staff College, Camberley in December 1870.[26]

During Hamley's period of command at the college he had not been idle as a writer. He had three works published, namely, *Staff College Exercises* in 1874, *A Chapter on Outposts* in 1875 and, in 1877, a small biographical work entitled *Voltaire*.

The *Staff College Exercises* was favourably reviewed in *The Athenaeum* where it was said:

> In the book before us there is considerable attention paid to a subject hitherto somewhat neglected in the English Army. We refer to Logistics, or the art of moving, housing, and supplying troops in a campaign. Particularly is instruction given in the transport of troops by railway—instruction of great value in this country with its network of railroads.[27]

A review in *The Academy* of *A Chapter on Outposts* pointed out that:

> In our Army we are rather at sea about outpost work; the official regulations are only provisional; and of various modern writers on the subject, some refuse to lay down rigid rules, for the nature of the ground and the circumstances vary infinitely.
>
> Consequently, though the best method of carrying out the duty in a few of the most ordinary cases may, with advantage, be laid down, the great point is to master 'the principles'. These principles are plainly set forth by Colonel Hamley, who gives his reasons also for each conclusion.
>
> All officers and non-commissioned officers ... ought to master the contents of this pamphlet, which, though unpretending, is of the greatest practical value and worthy of the author's reputation.[28]

Hamley's *Voltaire* was one of a series of books, known as 'Foreign Classics for English Readers'; they were edited by Mrs Oliphant and published by William Blackwood and Sons. Although this book sold well on the market, it was not favourably reviewed in *The Academy*.[29] Hamley's biographer took a different view. He said that 'Hamley's *Voltaire* must strike one as a masterpiece of comprehensive compression' and that 'Though necessarily and tantalisingly brief, the interest is marvellously sustained'.[30]

Earlier, on 2 November 1863, Hamley had been granted a brevet colonelcy, and on 29 March 1873 he became a substantive colonel. Then, before he relinquished the appointment of Commandant of the Staff College on 31 December 1877, he became on 1 October 1877, a major-general. But it was said: 'His success as a man of letters did him no good at the War Office, where he obtained a dangerous reputation for ability; and when he quitted the Staff College he was left without employment, and he fretted much at the inaction to which he was condemned'.[31] He stood outside the dominant military cliques of the time; and he was known to be bluntly outspoken.

For almost two years after Hamley left the Staff College he was unemployed. Early in 1879 the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Marquis of Salisbury, offered the vacant post of British Commissioner for the Delimitation of the Rumanian Frontier to Major-General Hamley vice Colonel Robert Home, RE,[32] deceased. Hamley was pleased to accept this offer. Soon afterwards, on 11 March 1880, he was appointed British Commissioner for the Delimitation of the Russian-Turkish Frontier in Armenia to supervise the evacuation of Epirus and Thessaly by the Turkish forces in 1880, and for the occupation of this territory by the Greek Army in 1881. All these measures were in fulfilment of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. Hamley's duties in this diplomatic work were responsible, arduous and delicate and the manner in which he discharged them was officially recognised when, in January 1880, he was created a Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George.

Official recognition of Hamley's military capacity was again confirmed when, on 10 May 1882, he was promoted in the British Army to the rank of lieutenant-general. In the same month he had an article on 'The Channel Tunnel' published in *The Nineteenth Century*.

Two months later, on 20 July 1882, the British Cabinet decided to form and despatch an expeditionary force to Egypt to support the authority of the Khedive and to suppress the military revolt in that country. The strength of the entire force was originally fixed at 21,200 men and the fighting troops were organised into two divisions each of two infantry brigades.

General Sir Garnet Wolseley (1833-1913) was appointed to command the force, which was designated the Egyptian Expeditionary Force. He was one of the outstanding general officers of the British Army in the Victorian Era; he was dubbed by the London press as 'England's only General'; and he was the author of *The Soldier's Pocket Book*.[33] He appointed Lieutenant-General G.H.S. Willis to command the 1st Division and offered the command of the 2nd Division to Hamley who was pleased to accept the offer.

Hamley sailed from Portsmouth on 4 August 1882 in the *Catalonia* for Egypt. He was accompanied by members of his staff, his ADC, Captain John Hanbury-Williams,[34] and one of his brigade commanders, Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood, VC. The *Catalonia* anchored off Alexandria on 15 August 1882 and on the following day Hamley went ashore to call on the Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Sir John Adye, at Force Headquarters. Then, on 18 August 1882, Hamley took over command of Alexandria from his senior brigade commander, Major-General Sir Archibald Alison.

Without informing either Hamley or Willis, Wolseley secretly transferred the base for his operations in Egypt from Alexandria to Ismailia. The Battle of Tel-el-Kebir took place, after a night march, at dawn on Wednesday 13 September 1882. It was the decisive battle of the campaign and Hamley's 2nd Division played a leading role in bringing about the victory. At the crisis of the battle Hamley behaved with great skill and gallantry. The enemy forces were militarily destroyed in this battle—the troops threw down their arms and fled. This victory was followed by the capture of Cairo on the 14/15 September 1882 and the surrender of the enemy troops in front of Alexandria. These operations brought the rebellion under control and Wolseley's Egyptian Expeditionary Force was disbanded soon afterwards. On Sunday 8 October 1882 Hamley issued a Farewell Order to his 2nd Division. Three days later he embarked at Alexandria for England and arrived in London on Monday 23 October 1882.

Hamley returned to England a deeply dissatisfied man and with deep feelings that an injustice had been done to himself and his victorious troops by Wolseley who had not recognised adequately their gallant and victorious services at Tel-el-Kebir. Despite interviews with the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State for War in London, Hamley received neither then nor later any satisfaction.

This treatment of Hamley had serious personal consequences for him for the remainder of his career. Although he remained on the Active List for another eight years he was not militarily employed again during that time. Lord Sydenham of Combe, better known perhaps as Colonel Sir George Clarke, RE, said: 'When Lord Wolseley's Despatch appeared, it almost completely ignored the work of the 2nd Division, and Sir Edward Hamley was stung into writing his memorable article in *The Nineteenth Century*[35] in defence of the troops who, without question, decided the action'.[36] Alexander Innes Shand said: 'That article made a profound sensation at the time, and was widely read and freely discussed wherever there was an English garrison'.[37]

The case against Hamley in this campaign was stated by Lieutenant-General Sir William Francis Butler (1838-1910), with skill, vigour and hostility, in an article entitled 'Sir Edward Hamley and the Egyptian Campaign'. Butler, who was AA&QMG on Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force of 1882, published this article, after Hamley's death, in *The Contemporary Review* for August 1895.

In 1887 Hamley, having been unemployed for five consecutive years, became liable to compulsory retirement from the British Army. But he was widely considered to have been an ill-used man. This public feeling was expressed on 24 September 1887, when *Punch* published a cartoon of Hamley standing at attention before the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal The Duke of Cambridge. This cartoon bore the caption 'Overlooked' and under it the following remark addressed to the Commander-in-Chief: 'Really, Your Royal Highness, in the present state of our defences, is Sir Edward Hamley quite the sort of man to be shelved'. This remark was followed by an extract from Hart's *Army List* which set out Hamley's record of service. In obedience to the demands of public opinion Hamley's term on the Active List of the British Army was extended. But it was extended without presumably any intention at the War Office of giving any practical effect to the concession.

Hamley continued to write. He had an article on 'The Volunteers in Time of Need' published in *The Nineteenth Century* for March 1885. Again, in the same journal for April 1888, he had an article published on 'The Defencelessness of London'. In June 1888 this journal also published in three parts an article on 'The Question of Imperial Safety'. The first part on 'The Minimum Force required for Security' was written by Hamley. The second part on 'Our actual Military Strength' was written by Colonel Sir H.M. Hozier. The third part on 'A workable Admiralty' was written by Captain Lord Charles Beresford, RN. In 1889 Blackwood and Sons published a small collection of Hamley's articles and speeches in book form entitled *National Defence*.

In the following year, on 30 July 1890, Hamley was promoted to the rank of General. If this promotion brought him any pleasure it was shortlived for, on the following day, 31 July 1890, he was placed on the Retired List. This was the last act in the official closing of a military caree which had, in fact, been closed since Hamley's clash with Wolseley eight years earlier. At the time of his retirement Hamley was sixty-six years of age. Wolseley, who was nine years younger than Hamley, was at this time the Adjutant-General at the War Office, London.

Hamley did not neglect his literary work in retirement. His next work was *The War in the Crimea* which was published in London by Seeley and Company in 1891. The book bore the stamp of a skilled writer and the authority of a distinguished soldier who had taken part in the events which he described in it.

General Sir Archibald Alison pronounced *The War in the Crimea* to be 'the most charming and able book that Hamley ever wrote' and to be one 'with all the breadth and justice of his deep military thought'.[38] The book was reviewed in *The Academy* on 14 March 1891 by the military historian, William O'Connor Morris,[39] who said:

The narrative is just what it ought to be—a clear, compendious, but able description of the events of that

remarkable contest, scientific enough for the student of war, yet quite intelligible to the general reader.

General Hamley has, for the most part, placed the facts of the war in their true proportions. His reflections are as a rule just; and it is one of his distinctive merits that he can describe a great siege, one of the most memorable in the annals of war, without employing recondite terms of art which would 'make Quintilian stare and gasp', and be to unprofessional readers unknown mysteries.

Hamley, in the course of a long literary life, had made an important contribution to the best military and non-military literature of 19th century England. But all careers must ultimately end so by the time of the publication of *The War in the Crimea*, his last major contribution to English literature, the time was fast approaching for him to 'pile arms' and resign himself to the life of an invalid.

Hamley died on Saturday 12 August 1893 at his residence at 40 Porchester Terrace, Bayswater, London, aged 69 years. His obituary in *The Times*, London said that few men would be missed more at his favourite club—the Athenaeum—where he enjoyed the society of men who were leaders of their professions and where its library gave him great pleasure. There were few eminent authors of his time 'with whom he had not been on friendly terms'; he was 'as much at home with a bishop or a judge as with a brother general or an actor'; and for years he had attended regularly the dinners of the [Royal Society of Literature][40]—a society established in 1823 and in Hamley's time located at 20 Hanover Square, London.[41]

The funeral took place on Wednesday afternoon 16 August 1893 and Edward Bruce Hamley was buried at Brompton Cemetery, London, S.W.10. According to *The Times* 'There was no military display of any kind and the service was of the simplest character'. Hamley was laid to rest in a grave beside that of his father, Vice-Admiral William Hamley (1786-1866), who had died at Chelsea on 7 November 1866.

The chief mourners were two nieces, Miss Barbara Hamley and Miss A. Hamley. The other mourners included: General Sir Charles George Arbuthnot, Hamley's successor as Colonel Commandant of the Royal Artillery; Sir Frederick William Burton, Director of the National Gallery, London; General Sir George Chesney; General R.F. Copland-Crawford; Colonel Alexander Cameron Gleig; Lieutenant-General Sir W.H. Goodenough; Commissary-General J.O. Hamley; Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Havelock-Allan, MP; Lieutenant-General C.S. Henry; Major-General W.C.F. Molyneaux; Lieutenant-Colonel H.B. Pearson and Lieutenant-Colonel J.L Rutley, both of the Artillery Volunteer Corps; Mr Alexander Innes Shand, who later wrote *The Life of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley*, and Captain John Hanbury-Williams[42] who had been an ADC to Hamley during the Egyptian campaign of 1882.[43]

Alexander Innes Shand's *The Life of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley* was published in two volumes in 1895 by William Blackwood and Sons of Edinburgh and London. This biography remains to this day the main source of published information on the career and achievements of Hamley. No other biographies have since been published.

In July 1896 Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, RE—later Governor of Victoria in the Commonwealth of Australia (1901-04) and Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence, London (1904-07)—wrote that *The Life of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley* was of special interest for two reasons, namely:

On the one hand, Hamley was undoubtedly the most brilliant writer that the British Army has produced. On the other hand he was a keen soldier, whose record in the field, both as a young staff-officer and as a general of division, clearly showed that he possessed in a marked degree the qualities of a military commander. The literary and military instincts existing side by side, with points of contact yet sometimes mutually repellant, supply the clue to the right understanding of a complex nature and a notable career.[44]

Hamley's contemporaries, friends and foes alike, have long since played their last parts too and gone from the stage forever. Little, if anything, survives to-day to keep alight the lamp of memory to remind us of the literary achievements and the military fame of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley, except those writings which lie buried in large masses of forgotten books and periodicals of the 19th century.[45] Almost a century has now passed since Hamley's death and this brief recitation of his achievements, both literary and military, serve to remind us that from history we learn that men forget and are soon forgotten.

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* * * *

This article is a revised version of Major Perry's inaugural address, as Federal President of the MHSA, delivered at the Society's meeting in Melbourne on 11 September 1964.

Mark Clayton

'Gloria'

IN September 1983 Australia's Minister for Defence released details of a joint Army-Navy-Air Force exercise to recover three Douglas A20G Boston aircraft from the jungles of Papua New Guinea. The exercise, known as Venture One, had received the full support of Australia's Chief of Air Staff and the PNG Government which, for many years now, has exercised very strict controls over the export of war relics. The PNG legislation stipulates that one in every three aircraft taken out of the country must be returned, fully restored, within a statutory period. It is hardly surprising therefore that this unrealistic policy has led to far more illegal than legal recovery operations with the net result that there are now very few aircraft in PNG that are worth recovering. Corrosion, souveniring and vandalism have combined to ensure that nowadays only the very isolated aircraft deserve a second look.

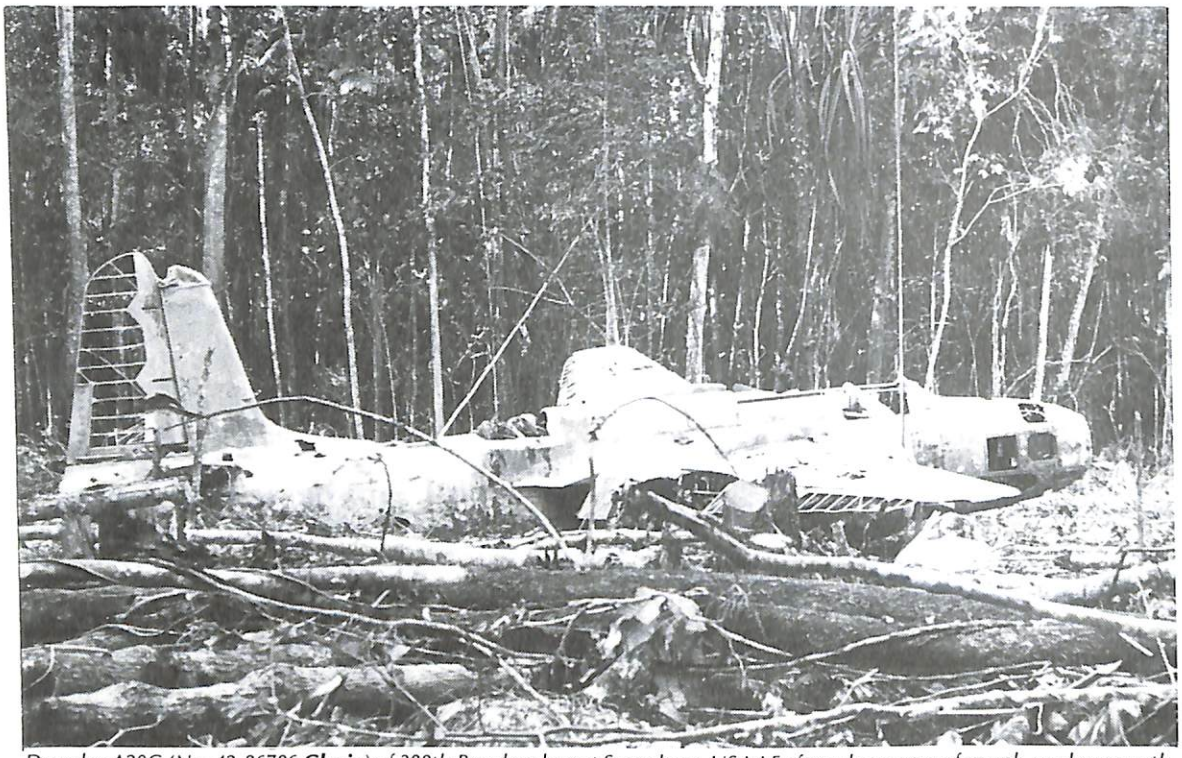
The RAAF's original plan was to recover two USAAF Bostons in the Madang region of New Guinea and then an ex-RAAF A20C (A28-8 ex-AL907) from Vivigani on Goodenough Island during the return voyage to Australia. The search and recovery operation involving about twenty Army and Air Force personnel was supported by a Chinook helicopter from No. 12 Squadron based at Amberley, Queensland and the RAN landing craft HMAS *Tarakan*. Unfortunately the Chinook was plagued from the outset with mechanical faults which put the whole operation behind schedule. Only one Boston, an A20G of the 312th Bomb Group, had been recovered by the first week of October when the operation had to be called off. This machine however was found to be in remarkably good condition and was placed in store at RAAF Amberley pending a decision regarding its restoration.

Restoration work was not planned to commence until the RAAF completed its undertaking to the PNG Government to recover two additional aircraft, one of which must eventually be returned to Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea. The third aircraft was to be returned to No. 22 (City of Sydney) Squadron which was the only RAAF unit equipped with Douglas Bostons during the 1939-45 war.

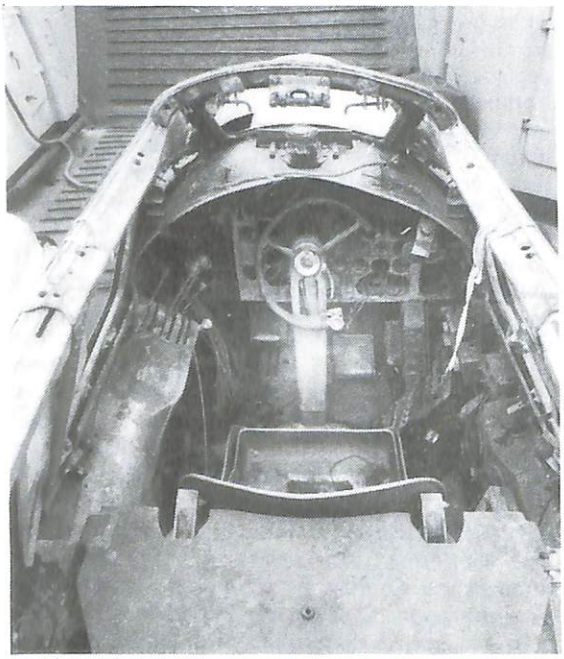
Venture One personnel had planned to investigate a number of sites near Madang on the north-west coast of New Guinea. An aerial search using the Chinook helicopter failed to locate any aircraft, whereas a ground party, battling through tall kunai grass in temperatures up to 40 degrees centigrade, eventually reached the small village of Amaimon, which was close to one of the reported crash-sites. The ground party was then guided by locals to the spot where an A20G had force landed in 1944. The Boston was almost completely hidden by undergrowth which made it difficult even to recognise at ground level. It soon become obvious however, once the undergrowth was cleared, that the aircraft was still in good condition. The guns, instruments and wheels were missing although the latter were subsequently located in a nearby village where they were being used as flower pots. The AAF serial, 42-86786, was clearly legible on the rudder as was the nickname *Gloria*, which was found painted below the pilot's window.

Gloria was one of thirty-five Bostons from the 312th Bombardment Group (Fifth Air Force) taking part in General MacArthur's final pre-invasion raid against Hollandia on 16 April 1944. Some 224 bombers took part in the raid, escorted by P-38s from the 433rd Fighter Squadron. The weather began to deteriorate, however, during the return flight, at a stage when most of the Bostons at least were reaching the limits of their endurance. Most of them managed to break through the cloud cover and land at one of the advanced airstrips in the Markham Valley. *Gloria*, on the other hand, was one of several Bostons which had to force land due to fuel exhaustion and which, because of the ruggedness of the terrain, was never recovered. *Gloria's* pilot, Lieutenant C.H. Davidson and gunner, Sergeant J.J. McKenna, both survived the crash-landing and after living two weeks in the jungle were eventually rescued by an Australian corvette. After returning to their unit, the 388th Bombardment Squadron, Davidson and McKenna were asked by the Squadron Intelligence Officer to submit an Escape and Evasion report. This report, dated 8 May 1944, provides a fascinating insight into *Gloria's* history and for this reason, is reproduced below in full.

Altogether, the Fifth Air Force lost twenty-six aircraft, including five P-38s, during the raid against Hollandia on 16 April 1944 which became known thereafter as 'Black Sunday'.



Douglas A20G (No. 42-86786 ***Gloria****) of 388th Bombardment Squadron, USAAF after clearance of much undergrowth. (Mike Claringbold)*



Looking down into the cockpit. Most of the controls are still intact although the instruments have all but disappeared. The reflector gunsight can still be seen above the steering column as can the pilot's armourplate which is folded in the foreground. (Brisbane ***Courier Mail****)*

Having located the Boston the RAAF ground party set about clearing the surrounding bush and preparing a landing ground for the Chinook. The area which Lieutenant Davidson had described as a kunai grass clearing in 1944 was now dotted with tall trees which rendered the Boston invisible to overflying aircraft.

While waiting for the area to be cleared the Chinook team decided to attempt recovery of a wing and engine from another USAAF Boston that had crashed near Wabusarik near Madang. The load was suspended below the helicoptor in a steel net which, unfortunately, broke during the return journey. The engine broke free and fell into the jungle which, in turn, caused the much lightened load to become unstable. There was no alternative but to jettison the wing. This setback couldn't have happened at a worse time since the operation was already well behind schedule. The Chinook had previously experienced an engine failure which caused the pilot to make a forced landing in a remote jungle clearing. There were further delays while the crew waited for a replacement engine to be flown up from the Australian mainland.

Rear gunner's compartment of ***Gloria*** *showing 0.5-in. machine gun and ammunition. (Mike Claringbold)*

It was ten days after *Gloria* had been found before the Chinook was ready to make its first attempt at lifting the Boston. The WWII bomber was estimated to weigh more than 20,000 pounds. After three unsuccessful attempts to clear the 'ground effect' it was lowered back to its original resting place. The decision was then made to lighten the load by removing the engines and outer wing panels. It took another one and a half days, however, to remove the Twin Cyclone engines in conditions that were primitive and unpleasant, to say the least. At last the Chinook was able to lift the Boston clear of the jungle and carry it the 50 kilometres back to Madang where it was set down alongside the runway.

With Venture One running over budget and HMAS *Tarakan* ready to sail for Australia it was decided to load *Gloria* and return for another two aircraft at a later date.

The *Tarakan* docked at Brisbane in mid September and *Gloria* was then moved by road to RAAF Amberly, pending restoration and the undertaking of Venture Two to recover the remaining two aircraft. The Douglas Aircraft Corporation produced more than 11,000 Bostons and *Gloria* is now of of only four survivors. *Gloria* is thus a significant historic aircraft and both the RAAF and the PNG Government are to be applauded for their initiatives.

Another view of ***Gloria*** *in partly cleared undergrowth. Despite its appearance this A20G is thought to be the most complete aircraft recovered from the Pacific Islands. (Mike Claringbold)*

388th Bombardment Squadron (L) AAP
APO 713, Unit 2

8 May 1944

SUBJECT: E and E Report of Lt. Charles H. Davidson, 388th Bombardment Squadron (L).

TO: MIS-X Section, Headquarters, Allied Air Forces, SWPA.

Returning from a mission to Hollandia, on 16 April 1944, our A-20G ran into weather. Circling in an effort to find an opening in the overcast, I made a wide pass, but was losing altitude. I ran out of gas and noticing a kunai clearing, set the plane down with full flaps.

Immediately upon landing, I checked to see if the gunner, Sgt. John J. McKenna, had been injured. He was O.K., not a scratch, and I escaped without injury. We crash-landed at 1715.

I then blew up the radio sets. That night, it started to rain so we slept in the plane. We had some candy (Charms) and dry biscuits, only food in the plane.

Next morning, 17 April we got up at 0530. The rain had stopped. We got out the parachutes and smoke bombs for signaling in case anyone came over. During the morning, a P-47 came over and we set off a smoke bomb. The P-47 circled the area and dropped messages, but they fell in the trees and we could not recover them. The P-47 circled until a formation of A-20's came by. The A-20's dropped notes, but they landed in the Kunai and we were unable to find them.

At 1030, an A-20 dropped a note, 'food on the way', a radio, box of rations, life raft and first aid kit. We found the kit, one man raft and recovered the note, but not the radio.

About 1400, 2 B-24's dropped food, blankets, two rifles, mosquito nets, socks, head nets, coveralls and gloves. The rifles broke when they hit the ground. AT 1600, an L-5 came over and dropped a note, instructing us that there were many Japs in the area and to leave the plane. We were instructed to make our way toward Lt. Joseph H. Gibbons and his gunner who were also down. A map showing our location, near Amaimon and Gibbons' location, and our course to reach them, accompanied the note. We made a pack out of parachutes, took what water we had, pistols, a sub-machine gun and some tomato juice the B-24 dropped, our maps and left the plane at 1630. We also had a compass and machete.

We traveled due South for about two miles. It was as far as we could go before darkness. At midnight, there was a downpour. It was impossible to keep warm and the water soon was over our heads at our campsite, so we found higher ground with water to our waists.

Early the next morning, 18 April, we went back in the woods and higher ground, without the machine gun and our .45 pistols which were lost in the swamp. We were resting on a log when we heard voices, possibly a Jap patrol, so we headed East. The rain ceased about 1000. The compass became wet and useless and finally we made our way back to the edge of the clearing, where we crashed by 1800. It had been 48 hours since we had any real food.

We inflated our five-man raft and put a cover over it. We strung up the mosquito bars, knocked the seats out of the raft, camping in the woods back of the ship. We forced ourselves to eat some canned meat and biscuits which were dropped by the B-24, 17 April, and drank water which we purified with halizone tablets. We sat up the entire night, unable to sleep.

At 0300, 19 April, two planes, presumably Jap recco ships, made a pass at the clearing where the plane was down, firing one short burst, about 25 rounds apiece. The ship was not hit. It was the first of three strafing attempts on the plane.

At 0340, we laid out panels to indicate we were still in the area, and started working on the strip. A note, dropped to us that day, informed us that the Japs were not so numerous in the area as first believed.

P-38's came over at 0900 and an L-5 at 1500, which dropped another message that the strip was not long enough. We worked on the strip until dark and returned to our life raft camp. We sat up until 2300, then took cat naps during the rest of the night.

20 April, two Jap planes again strafed with nil damage to the plane. We worked on the strip from 0700 until dark. In the afternoon, an L-5 again came over, dropped food, tools, blankets and two carbines which landed in good condition. With arrival of the carbines, one would work while the other stood guard, alternating duties.

21 April, the two Jap planes again came over and put some holes in the cockpit of the plane. Again we worked on the strip all day. An L-5 dropped an incendiary bomb which did not go off. We tried to find it, but could not. The bomb indicated it was safe to build a fire, so we set fire to the Kunai. Rain put it out about 2000.

22 April, P-40's dropped 12 belly tanks, setting the grass afire but rain put out the fire. Food was dropped to us and our appetites had improved, so we ate heartily.

23 April, with a pre-arranged code, we laid panels, that the strip was ready, wet but safe for an L-4. A note was dropped again, telling up to cut trees at the end for a flight gap and if weather was good, an L-4 would come in and land. An

axe was dropped so we felled the trees. That night, another downpour soaked the area and the strip was unserviceable.

24 April, no planes came over and there was little we could do but wait for further instructions.

An L-5 came over early the morning of 25 April and dropped a one-man life raft. We already had one in good condition and the other we had blown up to catch water. We were asked if we had a four-day supply of rations, and if so, to start down the Gogol River. We signalled 'no food'. At 1600, two boxes of J rations were dropped to us. We immediately started packing and made five trips to the river, carrying our rafts and supplies. We had to cut through about one mile of Kunai to reach the river. At 1730, we started down the river and made about five miles by 1915, when we stopped and made camp on a rocky bank above the river. Again, it rained heavily.

We resumed our trip down the river at 0730, on 27 April. An L-5 came over with a message asking our needs. We signaled for a five-man raft. That morning, we saw our first crocodile, which was tremendous in size. It was about 20 feet from the rafts when we sighted it. We shot at it and killed it with about 15 shots. We proceeded with caution and traveled slower thereafter. We stopped at 1800 and pulled the rafts on a 10-foot embankment. Two A-20's circled and dropped notes which fell in the river and across on land on the opposite shore. We did not attempt to recover them because of three crocodiles which were in the river below our camp. A yellow back cushion was dropped which we found and writing on it informed us that the five-man raft was dropped downstream and was on a snag, and that we could recover it. Again it rained. I think we covered about 20 miles this day.

About 0800, on 28 April, we started downstream again and three miles down, saw the five-man raft with a parachute, caught on a tree. We cut the parachute down, inflated the raft on the beach. Then taking our one-man raft along for security, in case the larger one leaked, we started traveling again. That day, we continued to see crocodiles and killed two more. We traveled until 1730, pulled the raft up on the bank and slept in it. We covered about 10 miles during the day. More rain and unable to keep dry.

It was still raining in the morning of 29 April and no planes came over. We ate some chocolate and dry biscuits we had. It continued to rain and the river was rising steadily. About 0900, we found a native garden, ate four papayas and brought others with us to the raft. We left safety pins in payment. We looked for a native village but were unable to locate it.

We had traveled another 15 to 20 miles that day.

We traveled all day, 30 April, staying in the middle of the river to avoid crocodiles, which were plentiful along the banks and in shallow water.

The L-5 was unable to drop food to us because there was no high ground along the river bank.

About noon on May 1, the L-5 informed us that Madang was in Aussie hands and we were only about two miles from the bay. A boat from Madang was to pick us up at the river mouth. A box of food was dropped to us, the first in three days. We paddled for about 90 minutes and saw a native in a garden. We called to him but he ran into the brush. We found a deserted Jap camp, probably a headquarters, because of the numerous telephone lines leading to it. There was about 30 or 40 Jap bodies in the area, and decomposing. There was a bridge destroyed by bombs, a truck in the river and three dead Japs on the shore.

We reached the bay about 1400 and half an hour later, were picked up by an Australian corvette. They fed us and took us to Madang. Two L-5's brought us from Madang to Gusap, which we reached about 1700.

Suggestions:

Have rations checked before every mission.

Have the life raft checked for flares and water.

A bottle or two of mosquito lotion comes in very useful in warding off mosquitoes and flies which were very bothersome.

A waterproof flashlight should be carried on the person and an extra set of batteries in the life raft.

One candle I had was a lifesaver.

Take plenty of matches as no one thought to drop us any.

We had gloves and they saved our hands. White woolen socks are best and it pays to have an extra pair or two along. Heavy gloves are best. Plenty of iodine is needed to paint scratches suffered in the jungle.

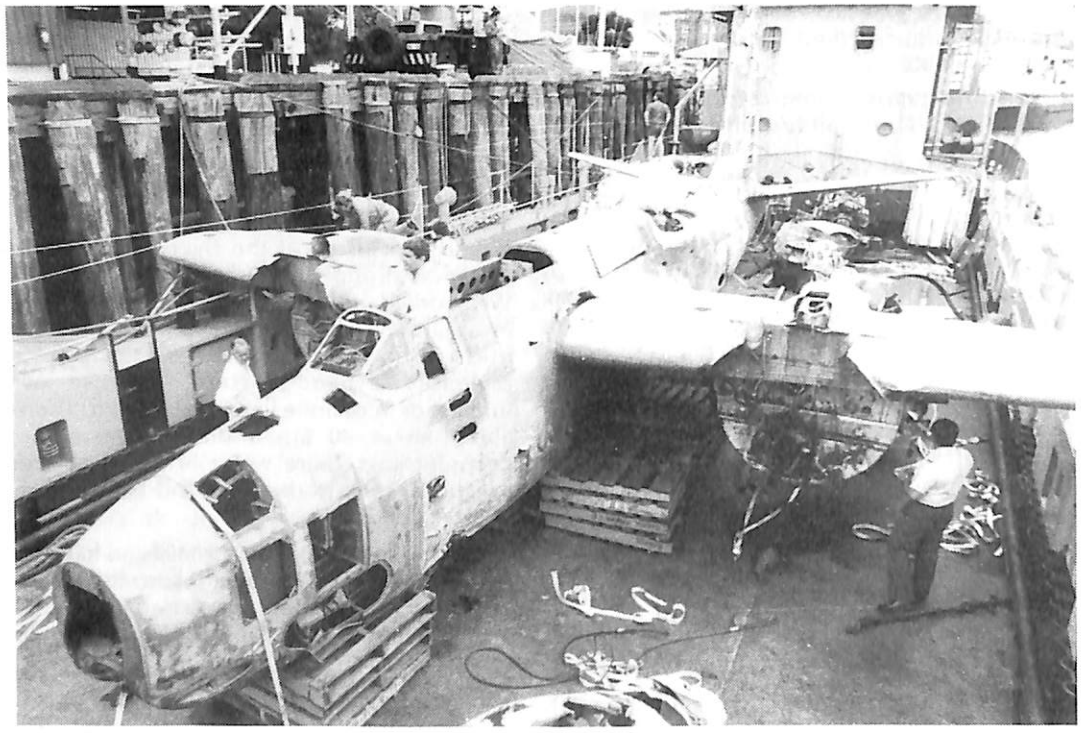
Khaki clothes are much better than coveralls. The latter are too baggy and catch on the brush. In the rain, they become very heavy.

The candy ration was of little use in my opinion.

Be sure two canteens of water are in the plane and plenty of halizone tablets.

Carbines are much better than the machine guns. The machine gun is too heavy to carry through the jungle and kunai. A bottle of gun oil will keep the weapons from becoming rusty and useless. An L-5 dropped us oil with the carbines and we were able to keep them in good condition.

A good knife and machete are musts.



***Gloria** is made ready for unloading at Brisbane wharf. This A20G is one of only four left out of over 11,000 built. (Brisbane **Courier Mail**)*

To us, the J ration isn't as good as the K ration. Because fearful of being discovered while traveling down the river, we did not make a fire, so the soluble coffee and cocoa were useless. Lemon powder and salted peanuts and candy did not stop our hunger, and added to our thirst. Small cans of meat, crackers and cigarettes were suitable.

It is possible for two men to sleep in a raft by cutting out the seats.

It would be an excellent idea for all combat crews to view an exhibit of fruits and vegetation which is edible. We saw some that we might have eaten, but could not identify them so did not attempt to eat any.

A-20's are not good drop ships due to their speed and the fact that the gunner has to drop the supplies. It is hard to time the drop accurately. B-24's are better but a good part of the supplies are broken when they hit. The L-5 answers the purpose satisfactorily.

Sgt. John J. McKenna, the gunner, was with me at all times and his suggestions and observations are included in this report.

S/Chas H. Davidson
T/Charles H. Davidson
1st Lt., Air Corps,
388th Bomb Sqdn. (L).

Lt. Davidson and Sgt. McKenna were interrogated in secret and separately. Their accounts paralleled each other so only Lt. Davidson's report is filed and the suggestions of both included. The above is their account.

Certified True Copy:
Nathaniel Rothstein
1st Lt., AC.

S/P.G. Antoncich
T/P.G. ANTONCICH,
1st Lt. AC.
Ass't Intelligence Officer.

* * * *

Venture Two, a follow-up recovery operation, was mounted by the RAAF in November 1985. The recovery team visited three separate locations during a three-and-a-half week period and recovered enough components to complete another two Bostons. The sites visited by the Venture Two personnel included Saidor and Wabisarik. Two of the aircraft recovered on this occasion were 42-86615 and 43-9401 (417th Bombardment Group), both of which are A20Gs. The dismantled Bostons are now stored at Madang airport and will be flown back to Australia on a space-available basis.

Max Chamberlain

Mounting Victoria's Boer War contingents 1899–1902

ASSEMBLING suitable horses to mount Victoria's mounted infantry units to the Boer War was a considerable task for the military authorities, given the competing demand by professional horse dealers. The first five contingents required about 125, 250, 275, 750 and 1,000 horses respectively.

Australia was given the opportunity to become a source of supply of horses, with preference if the price was right, following negotiations some time before the war between the Victorian Agent-General in London and the Imperial military authorities. This was at the instigation of Mr Isaac Isaacs, acting Premier of the then colony of Victoria, who was concerned at Britain sending a delegation to the Argentine Republic for this purpose. Five officers arrived in Victoria in October 1899, constituting one of five committees (two others went to America and one each to Spain and Italy) to ascertain if the class of animal required was available.[1] It was clear that the military authorities were aware of the impending demand and this trade became a lucrative one when the mobile nature of the campaign became apparent.

* * * *

The provision of mounts for the contingents also imposed a demand for suitable horses. At first it was expected that the Mounted Rifles would provide their own horses. On 12 October Colonel T. Price and Veterinary Surgeon Captain E.A. Kendall left Melbourne to inspect mounts under offer by the men who had volunteered. The limit was fixed at £15 although the officers of the contingent were saying that they could not get the types of horses they wanted for themselves under £30-£40 and as they were to take two each they expected to be out-of-pocket.[2] The horses belonging to the Mounted Rifles which had been selected were sent to the Melbourne Showgrounds,[3] but more were needed. At the town of Sale, Price and Kendall selected some but £15 was considered too low by most dealers.

Price invited vendors to offer at the Showgrounds horses 'from 14.2 to 15.2 hands, of good substance and sound, also quiet to ride...'[4] The response produced 'broken down racers, and half-bred Clydesdales, blind horses, spavined, splintered, wind-galled, saddle-sore, albinos, Shetlands, hearse horses and horses that go to weddings'.[5] At the end of the day Price had passed as the best obtainable about 50 horses, many of which he would rather have done without. As they were to carry up to twenty stone over rough country it was felt that it was unreasonable to limit the price to £15. Also the loss of a horse transport off South Africa had raised prices 20 per cent,[6] and discussion in Parliament had caused prices to harden, but Colonel Price gave the average paid as £14.5.8, and as he had paid up to £20 for some, the majority cost considerably less.[7] The Defence Department asked Messrs Campbell & Sons of Kirk's Bazaar, Bourke Street, Melbourne, to obtain twelve good horses for the transport waggons.[8]

After a day or two the rough coated, untutored mounts appeared graceful, 'well fed, groomed, shod and cared for, handled and drilled'.[9] They had to get used to the manner in which military horses were tethered with head to one line and heels to another. Then they were fired over. Only the fact that they were well tethered prevented half of them bolting.[10] 'If they don't go through it now,' said the colonel, 'they will have to face the ordeal on the other side; and it is too late to teach a horse to stand fire after the bugle has sounded the advance'.[11] After kicking themselves into resignation they were released and mounted and fired over again until they were taught to stand as 'motionless as a file of soldiers at attention'.[12]

Before departure Price matched the big men with big horses and the small men with small horses, even though some men had ridden their horses from when they were foals,[13] and the separation was criticised. Later criticism of the mounts of this contingent in the Parliament—as being not a credit to Victoria and possibly damaging to the important export trade—were rebutted by Price who stated that they were not cavalry chargers or gunners.[14] Any fractious horse had been rejected. He had received comments that they were a remarkably good lot, and was asked 'how did you get them for the money?' He said, 'the former speaks for itself. The latter is my concern'.[15] Doubts were expressed about the ability of any man to hold four horses in action, however, when one of the best roughriders in the colony was thrown four times in one day.[16]

* * * *

Assembling horses for the 2nd Contingent, raised in December 1899, was approached differently.

Following the comments about the horses sent with the 1st contingent the Defence authorities this time asked Mr H.M. Chomley, the Commissioner of Police, if the Mounted Police could provide the horses.[17] Of their 527 horses, 70 were classed as unserviceable and 30 unbroken, the remaining 427 allocated for the use of 342 police troopers, leaving 85 at grass. However some were too high for use by mounted infantry and were more suitable for cavalry. Ten years earlier the Police Department had received £1,400 per year for purchase of horses, but during the depression the vote was reduced to about £500 per year. This year it had been increased to £800.[18]

The Premier, after conferring with the Commandant, said that the contingent would draw largely on the police horses, but also purchase those of members of the Mounted Rifles detachments who had enlisted, and some from dealers and others to make up 250. This time it was intended to permit the men to retain their own horses after purchase by the government, as it was thought that taking them from the men might affect the supply,[19] but Price later said that a colonel was at liberty to horse his men as he pleased and no sentimental consideration would be allowed to stand in the way.[20] He desired company captains to see that the men were suitably horsed in their own districts from the abundance of animals in the country in preference to police horses. Mr Chirnside and other horse breeders and pastoralists made gifts of horses from their properties, or if none was suitable donated cash to buy others. Price arranged to inspect horses at Victoria Barracks on 20 December stating that they must be sound, free from greasy heel, sore backs or any wounds and must be tried under saddle. Greys would not be looked at[21] as they would be to conspicuous. They lined up in the Barracks square, with their owners in the sadle, if they had one, looking like a commando of Boers. The unsuitable ones were ordered off, the Colonel saying that some 'looked lonely without the dray'.[22] After several hours not more than 10 had been put aside for further consideration although there was no hard and fast rule as to price this time, the Minister, the Commandant and the Colonel having agreed what was a fair price.[23]

The mounted constables brought their horses in to centres in various country districts to be inspected by Price in the last week in December. He required 300 horses, including 50 for emergencies, but was finding a scarcity. Owners held out for long prices on the grounds that dealers were buying up at good rates almost anything that could carry a saddle, for shipment to South Africa. By 26 December, 144 horses had been secured including 17 from police.[24] Some had been bought at Ballarat, Bendigo, Euroa and elsewhere at prices ranging from £12-£21, and by the 29th he had sufficient to mount the contingent. They were sent to the Showgrounds by 2 January. Some horses were described as vicious and it was stated that 'it was only to be expected that we should be taken in to some extent'.[25]

* * * *

For the 3rd contingent, raised in January 1900, the Minister gave Sub-Inspector W. Beckwith of the Mounted Police instructions on 25 January to proceed with the purchase of 100 suitable horses, 6–9 years of age preferred, but not greys. He operated through private agencies. Beckwith said the horses must be sound, strong of bone, in excellent condition and not too high, which was important in the rough work of guerilla warfare.[26] It was commented that the class of horse required had risen 20 per cent in price in the past few weeks.[27]

Forty horses and fifty saddles were sent to Langwarrin camp on 6 February, and two days later Beckwith left for the Western District where he expected to make large purchases. Good remount horses were scarce in the country and he appealed to breeders to rectify the situation, although this could not affect supply in the short run. Also it was considered that mares had greater powers of endurance than geldings but the large purchase of mares meant curtailment of breeding operations and future deterioration in supply of horses of this stamp.[28] Horses of coarser breeds proved steadier than the excitable thoroughbreds and it was urged that brumbies be collected and broken.[29]

By 12 February Beckwith still had 184 to purchase. He proceeded to Gembrook, Bendigo and Pakenham, promptly rejecting over-priced animals. By 14 February only 127 more were required. At Bendigo he had purchased 14 out of 100 at prices from £10–£19, averaging £15.10.0, the majority being of the right height and quality, but lacking the most potent essential—bone power for weight carrying. At Murchison Captain Kendall secured 16 out of 60 at an average of £14.6.0. He said there were many procurable in the country but they could be bought for lower rates if more time was allowed. Unlike the Indian remounts, which had to be free from blemish, horses for the Bushmen's Corps could be marked and any reasonable age, if sound.[30]

At Victoria Barracks Kendall inspected 17 horses purchased for, or given by, Cameron's Scouts and rejected two. They averaged £23 and some stood 16.2 hands. By 17 February all the horses required had been bought or arranged for.[31] Mr E.J. Campbell of Kirk's Bazaar completed the purchase of 31 pack horses and 10 transport horses which were placed aboard the ship on 9 March. The

South Africa 1899. Troops of the Victorian Mounted Rifles photographed at Belmont on New Year's Eve. Some of the horses are quite conspicuous. (AWM A4413)

average cost of the troop-horses purchased had been £18.5.0 and 87 had been presented.[32]

* * * *

A similar procedure was followed for the 4th contingent in 1900.

Up to 18 March Sub-Inspector Beckwith had secured 40 horses at Yarra Glen, Bacchus Marsh and Warracknabeal, where he took only 20 out of 200 offered. He rejected several which were unbroken, and experienced the usual trouble with exorbitant prices.[33] He obtained 62 at the Barracks and branding was begun. The horses were described as more uniform than those of the Bushmen, as the ones which had been presented were large compared with the purchases. He wanted horses 14.3-15.3 hands, up to nine years, but younger preferred, and bought 20 at Bairnsdale and 30 at Sale, while Kendall secured 35 at Bendigo for an average of £14. By 23 March they had about 300. At the Police Barracks, Geelong, seven were purchased out of 70 at up to £20 with an average of £15.10.0. Indian buyers had visited on the preceding Saturday and secured all the horses they required at prices up to £34.[34]

Beckwith and Kendall scoured the country, buying 20 at Stawell, 11 at Minyip and 30 at Maffra together with eight or nine pack horses, but most offered were unbroken or unsuitable. Beckwith visited Murchison and Seymour, and Kendall went to Korumburra and Morwell. Neither was finding difficulty in obtaining horses. Beckwith took four out of 20 at Rushworth for £19 average. On 10 April seven truckloads, 70 horses, were sent to the camp.

There was indignation at a Morwell meeting protesting against the government methods. It had been stated in the Melbourne papers that Kendall would be in attendance on 26 March and notices to that effect had been posted up in the town. Many had brought in horses from up to 25 miles away, but Kendall had not put in an appearance because he was present at a horse sale at Messrs A. McLean and Co. at Maffra where he purchased 51 horses. He visited Morwell on 5 April giving only one day notice by a few written handbills placed in shop windows, and consequently many were unaware of his visit. About 30 animals were submitted but each was dismissed with comments such as, 'No use to me', 'See you later on', or 'If you are in Traralgon tomorrow I will see you'.

One horse which he said was absolutely unfit he bought at Traralgon for £15 the next day and he gave £16 through the auctioneer for a horse he had offered £10 for at Morwell. This meant a lost day to the sellers and commission he would have saved had the purchases been made at Morwell.[35]

Kendall, in reply, said that the changes in his tour were the result of orders from the Premier, A. McLean. The Defence Department directed him to go to Morwell later where he found 'the most unmitigated lot of "screws" I ever saw in my life, the only sound horse being under age'. He bought at Traralgon two that he had been shown at Morwell but 'they had tried to run some in half a dozen times over'. The statement that he gave £16 for a horse he had offered only £10 for at Morwell was wrong, as he made no offer at all. 'They were a lot of "spavined crocks" and a pity they put themselves to the trouble of travelling 25 miles with them.'[36]

All the 778 horses were in camp by 22 April, and allotted to the men according to weight and height.

* * * *

The size of the 5th contingent, raised in January 1901, was increased progressively to accommodate the rush of applicants.

The procurement of horses, first for 400 mounted riflemen, then 500 and ultimately 1,000, was a considerable task given the short notice. Horses were to be sound, strong and active, 5-8 years old, 15-15.3 hands, quiet to ride and no greys or conspicuous colours would be accepted. Early in January Sub-Inspector Beckwith purchased horses at Victoria Barracks, at Yarra Glen, Woodend, Bendigo and Ballarat. At one stage he inspected 70 or 80 but purchased only two. By the 15th, 150 horses were in camp or on their way. In the week beginning 16 January he visited Stawell, Murtoa, Warracknabeal, Minyip, Horsham, Dimboola and Nhill. The horses coming in were considered the best yet sent down and 'show that great care has been taken in their selection.'[37] Then Beckwith went to Benalla, inspected 40 and purchased 10 at prices from £11-£20, sending them and all future consignments direct to the camp.

Now Colonel Price and Captain Kendall were assisting with selection of mounts, stating that horses of 14.2-15.2 hands were preferred and that dark greys would be acceptable. They visited Bairnsdale, Sale, Traralgon, Warragul, Pakenham, Leongatha, Foster and Yarram in the last half of January, selecting 11 out of 60 inspected at Messrs M. Goold and Co.'s yard at Bairnsdale at an average of £17, after severe tests. There would have been more to choose from had the notice not been so short. At Horsham, Beckwith selected 25 of the 50 offered at up to £22, with an average of £16, and at Minyip 30 out of 100 at an average of £15. Price and Kendall purchased 20 at Traralgon at £10-£20. At the camp a farrier-sergeant and staff were employed shoeing the horses as needed.

There were visits to Echuca, Deniliquin, Kyabram, Shepparton and Nagambie in late January and early February. Beckwith purchased several horses at Dimboola and Price purchased 13 of a large number brought in at Pakenham at £12-£17.10.0, although for many others the price was considered high. With Kendall, Price selected 27 at an average of £13 from two yards—H. Hansen's and A.C. Lyon's—at Warragul, while Beckwith purchased some at Warracknabeal. There were still only 587 horses in camp by 28 January, and the time for departure was just over a week away.

There were technical problems in assembling the mounts. At Foster, Price and Kendall inspected 50, but would take none unless they could make up a truckload. Also at Leongatha 140 'splendid animals' were presented but were of the wrong class and only eight were obtained. At Echuca, Veterinary Lieutenant S. Sherlock of the 5th contingent purchased 18 and at Hamilton, Kendall inspected the yard of Messrs Robert Stapleton, Bree and Co., and purchased ten at £10-£13, despite rejections on account of colour and size. At Shepparton, seven out of 20 presented were selected at up to £20, and at Woodend, Beckwith got several truckloads for the contingent at satisfactory prices.

It was reported on 31 January that the 750 horses in camp were strong and wiry and of a higher standard than those of any previous contingent.[38] At the camp all the horses were taken out and independent volley firing done among them. On the whole they stood fire well, though a few broke away. On 7 February it was reported that the camp had an animated appearance. All the horselines were full, equalling 1,001 horses, 'first class...unanimously said to be far superior to those obtained for the previous contingents.'[39] Horses were so plentiful, in fact, that the Minister of Defence cabled that Victoria could secure another 500 and ship them within one month. For this contingent the rejections and general comments imply a high standard although the volume purchased near departure date may imply desperation buying in a seller's market.

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After Federation the new Commonwealth sent 8 Battalions of Australian Commonwealth Horse (ACH), Victoria contributing to the 2nd, 4th, and 6th Battalions 400, 250, and 500 horses respectively. The 2nd ACH was formed in January 1902.

It was proposed to send two horses with each officer and a surplus to cover casualties on the

voyage. Beckwith was successful in purchasing some at Seymour and Benalla at £14-£20. On 6 January at Victoria Barracks he examined horses of dealers who had waited some days for his return from travelling the State. By the 9th two batches were sent to Langwarrin.

At camp the 127 horses were exercised and with few exceptions were quiet and tractable although some were hardly up to the standard of former contingents. They were branded and numbered as they came to hand. A new system of tethering without heel ropes worked well, the animals settling down more quickly than by the old means and with less liability to accident.

Beckwith visited Horsham, purchasing ten mounts through Messrs Young Bros. at prices from £10-£18. He also visited Wodonga, Ballarat, Stawell and Warracknabeal, after which the whole of the 414 horses had been secured.[40]

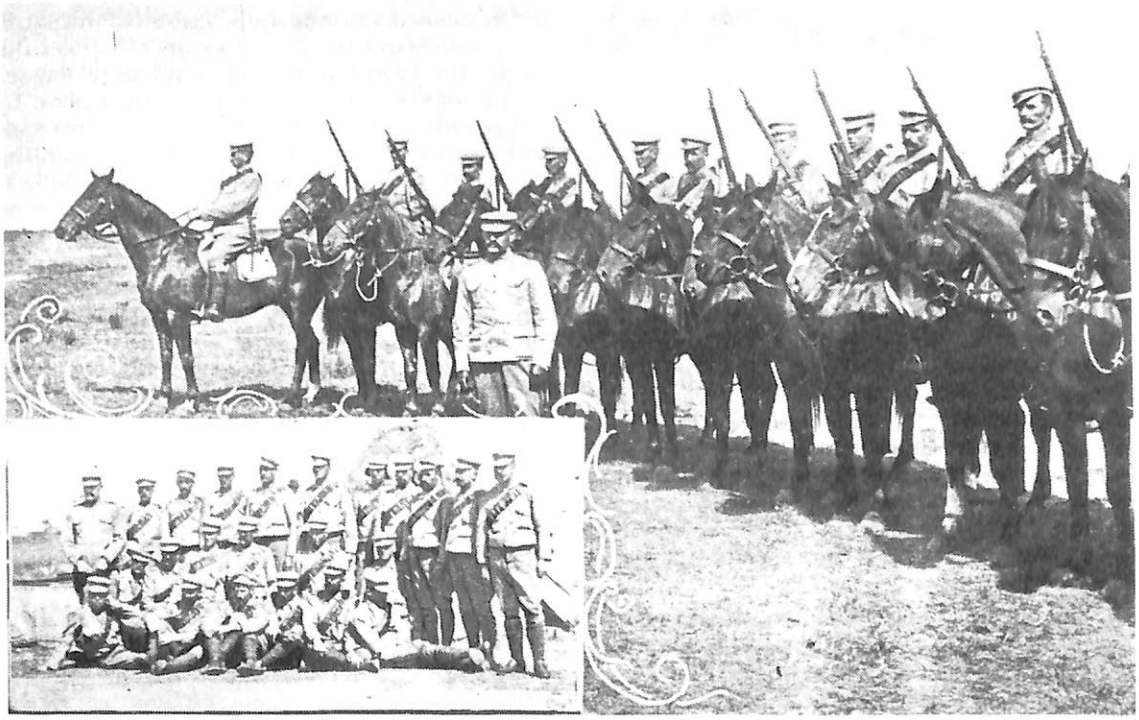
* * * *

The purchase of horses for the 4th ACH was approved at an average price not exceeding £20 per horse. By 15 February 150 had been delivered, and 140 given out, further batches being branded and allotted as they arrived. The horses settled down to work although a few were wild until some excellent horsemen in camp made them tractable. Beckwith had no difficulty in securing the number required, although they were not considered to be up to the previous standard.[41]

Criticism of the horses at the front was received from a sergeant-major of the 5th contingent. He said that they were shipping too many brood mares. If they had had two or three foals they were no use. Also, 16 hands was too high as they could not live on 10 lbs of oats per day. He concluded that the supply must be going off.[42]

* * * *

It was agreed that finding 500 horses for 6th ACH would give Beckwith some trouble. A new departure was made by the Federal Commandant in the method of providing men with mounts. Recruits would be encouraged to bring their own horses and where suitable they would be purchased. A Remount Board would attend at each of the Squadron concentration depots on the dates assigned for final enrolment, and would be expected to purchase horses in the district for mounting the rest. The effect was to provide for the simultaneous recruiting of both men and horses.



Some of the 'Cameron's Scouts', a body of 24 men raised by Mr John McLeod Cameron for service in the South African war. The Scouts sailed for South Africa with the Victorian contingent on 10 March 1900. They were mounted on horses up to 16.2 hands, which was considered a more suitable height for cavalry chargers than for mounted infantry. (AWM A4598)

Experts acquainted with the comparatively small number of horses coming forward and the searching demand for them by private dealers were of the opinion that the Remount Board would have difficulty finding sufficient animals in time. The previous few years had not been favourable for the large production of stock and enormous numbers of remounts had already been shipped from Melbourne. One firm alone sent 6,000 remounts in 1901 and was filling an order for 3,000 more. The Board would purchase direct from owners but was likely to find the market bare.[43]

The Remount Board consisted of the President, Sub-Inspector Beckwith, and members, Veterinary Captain A.E. Callow and Captain E.E. Righetti. The scheme was considered fine in theory but not likely to be successful in securing suitable horses. It was commented that far from being able to find a supply of horses at the Bendigo concentration depot there were buyers in Melbourne purchasing for the Bendigo market. It was thought that it might be possible to get some at Ballarat from the Western District, but very few. There were agents in every district in Victoria looking for horses and every suitable animal was purchased as soon as it was discovered. The military buyers were limited to £20 per head but dealers were giving higher prices for horses, including many unbroken.[44]

Also the time was inopportune for the new system, as the bulk of sellers were farmers who were engaged in ploughing. They had no inducement to leave the farm to visit towns 20 or 30 miles away and submit horses to the Remount Board, who might reject them. They could easily sell horses on the farm to the dealer's agent at a higher price. It was stated that there were few good remounts left in the country and competition was never so keen.

Many of the recruits' horses were rejected as not up to standard for campaigning, but some men would unt have taken £30–£40 for their mounts, unless keen to get into the battalion. It was felt that to obtain sufficient horses recourse would have to be had to private dealers, and sales at Wodonga and Sale showed prices of horses bought for South Africa ranging up to £25. Some of these would have to be broken by the dealers, who had facilities that the government did not possess for doing this work.[45]

By the end of April the Remount Board had obtained only 230 of the 500 required and were experiencing considerable difficulty in securing horses up to the standard of those supplied to previous contingents. It was doubtful if the full complement would be obtained to enable the battalion to sail on 12 May. To facilitate buying, the Board divided. Callow and Righetti visited Yea, Leongatha, Dandenong and Warragul; and Beckwith went to Woodend, Murchison, Shepparton and Numurkah. One horse purchased at £20.10.0 had changed hands at the saleyards the day before for £14. On 7 May 60 were brought into Wilson, Gibbs and Co.'s yards at Murchison but only six were selected. Many were too young. On 9 May it was announced that departure would have to be postponed as the Remount Board was 200 short. Further visits were made to Yea, Mansfield, Dandenong and elsewhere, and not until 19 May was it announced that Beckwith had secured the necessary mounts, with a few additional ones to fill possible vacancies.

* * * *

The hoped-for permanent market in South Africa did not eventuate and there was some corresponding reduction in exports to Britain during the period.

In the Commonwealth Parliamentary papers 1901-2 appears correspondence of the Prime Minister, Mr Barton, with the Imperial authorities relating to the supply of meat, other foodstuffs and horses to South Africa.[46]

Horse breeders found a ready market but as young unbroken horses were not taken, and the war was initially expected to be short, no long-run breeding plans were of much value, although the recovery in the industry as a result of the South African demand probably had an effect on the supply for World War I.[47] The prices of horses for the contingents were virtually controlled by the government and the suggestion of Professor Sir Ernest Scott that the crude exploitation in the selling of horses in the South African War was the standing joke of country districts for some time after, seems inapplicable to Victoria, except in the hastily assembled early contingents, when some deception was admitted.[48] The number of horses sent from Victoria during the war was 16,165, all but 899 being Victorian stock, and the supply was affected in Victoria by the private remount dealers rather than by government purchases.

REFERENCES

1. *Argus*, 3 October 1899
2. *ibid*, 13 October 1899
3. *ibid*, 14 October 1899
4. *ibid*, 17 October 1899
5. *ibid*, 18 October 1899
6. *ibid*, 18 October 1899
7. *ibid*, 23 October 1899. But see Colonel T. Price, *Services of Victorian Troops in the Boer Campaign*, AWM (Typescript), p.1, 'The Government provided the horses at a maximum average cost of £16.'

8. *Argus*, 19 October 1899
9. *ibid*, 24 October 1899
10. *ibid*, 21 October 1899
11. *ibid*, 24 October 1899
12. *ibid*, 24 October 1899
13. *ibid*, 25 October 1899
14. Major W.T. Reay, *Australians in War, With the Australian Regiment, From Melbourne to Bloemfontein*, A.H. Massina & Co. Melbourne 1900, p.369. The 1st Contingent started the march to Bloemfontein with 80% of the horses brought from Melbourne, but the 2nd Contingent had to send 105 sick horses back to base, mostly with sore backs, and seven had to be shot.
15. *Argus*, 4 November 1899
16. *ibid*, 8 November 1899
17. *ibid*, 19 December 1899
18. *ibid*, 19 December 1899
19. *ibid*, 22 December 1899
20. *ibid*, 28 December 1899
21. *ibid*, 20 December 1899
22. *ibid*, 21 December 1899
23. *ibid*, 21 December 1899
24. *ibid*, 27 December 1899. Colonel T. Price, op. cit., p.2. Average price was £19.
25. *Argus*, 3 January 1900
26. *ibid*, 7 February 1900
27. *ibid*, 8 February 1900
28. *ibid*, 16 February 1900
29. *ibid*, 5 March 1900. Kipling had sent a cable dated 2 March at Cape Town, 'Approaching dearth of horses; insist increased Australian supply'. This was seen as an indication that the campaign would develop more into a mounted war as the enemy abandoned fighting in grand armies and resorted to guerilla tactics. Breeders were urged to muster and break and offer horses for sale at a fair price. There were two million horses in all the colonies according to Coghlan (NSW Statistician) and they would be more valuable than tailless horses from England shipped from the Northern winter to the Southern summer. The Premier feared Victoria was not able to supply any large demand as there had been a serious drain upon stock, but he had no doubt New South Wales and Queensland would be able to supply all required.
30. *Argus*, 16 February 1900
31. Donald MacDonald, *The Australasian Contingents in the South African War*, c.1902, p.645. 'There were some of the toughest "warrigals" in the country among the horses brought into camp.'
32. *Argus*, 10 March 1900
33. *Argus*, 19 March 1900
34. *ibid*, 28 March 1900
35. *ibid*, 14 April 1900
36. *ibid*, 14 April 1900
37. *ibid*, 16 January 1901
38. *ibid*, 31 January 1901
39. *ibid*, 7 February 1901. 1,099 horses were sent with this contingent, indicating no shortage of supply.
40. *Argus*, 11, 17, 18 January, 12 February 1902
41. *ibid*, 5 March 1902
42. *ibid*, 10 March 1902
43. *ibid*, 8 May 1902
44. *ibid*, 9 April 1902
45. *ibid*, 9 April 1902
46. *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers*, 1901-2, Vol. 2, pp.171-3
47. Douglas M. Barrie, 'The Australian horse at war', in J. Pollard, *Horses and Horsemen*, Lansdowne, Melbourne 1965. p.100.
48. Sir Ernest Scott, *Official History—Australia in the war of 1914-18*, Vol. XI, p.542.

Redesignation of Member of the Victorian Order (Fourth Class)

The Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood has advised the following:

The Queen has commanded that from Monday, 31st December 1984, the designation of Member of the Royal Victorian Order (Fourth Class) has changed to Lieutenant of the Royal Victorian Order, and post nominal letters are changed to LVO.

(Above as noted in *Despatches*, Vol 7, No 6, June 1985. The text is said to be a quote.)

Ronald Hopkins

'Hurry and Wait': journeys by air in peace and war — Part two

First visit to New Guinea—17-26 August 1942

My appointment at Advanced LHQ was called Brigadier, Operations, Advanced LHQ (Brig Ops Adv LHQ). We were comfortably accommodated in the recently completed University of 'Queensland buildings at St Lucia in the Brisbane suburb of Indooroopilly and General Blamey had a house nearby which was used as a senior officers' mess. As soon as the headquarters had settled down, it seemed important that I should get some first hand knowledge of our dispositions in New Guinea.

I flew to Port Moresby and spent a couple of days with General Rowell and his staff, getting into the picture, before I went down to Milne Bay where Major General Cyril Clowes was in command with two infantry brigades and a fighter squadron of the RAAF. It was a mud-hole if ever there was one but the harbour was extensive and provided sheltered anchorage for any number of ships. There was one small wharf which was being improved. The bay itself stretched 20 km eastwards to the absolute easternmost point of New Guinea. I stayed with Clowes' headquarters and went round his dispositions with him. We had been in Brisbane together in the early '30s and were old golfing adversaries. The day following my arrival saw a transport plane crash on the metal runway and tear it up a bit. I expected to go back to Moresby that day, or at worst the next, but four days went by before I got a sudden call. 'There's a plane just in and leaving for Moresby in ten minutes.' Good old Air Force. 'Hurry and Wait.' I swiftly said 'Good-bye' and shot off to the strip which was only a few minutes by jeep.

The aircraft was an Airspeed Oxford seating pilot, co-pilot and about six passengers. It was one of those requisitioned for transport duty in forward areas. After a while in the sun, we climbed aboard and taxied out for take-off down this metal strip set in a narrow clearing in the jungle. All seemed well as the pilot ran up his twin engines and started down the runway. As we seemed to reach take off speed the drumming of the wheels on the metal eased off, we became airborne and there was a most almighty crash—as if someone had pushed over a kitchen dresser full of tin teatrays! I was sitting behind the pilot and swear I watched the hairs on the back of his neck stand upright as, without a flicker, he steadily took us up clear of the palms before he made some remark to his off-sider who shook his head. The rest of us seemed to agree that we had probably lost a wheel but no-one had seen anything; we had only heard this frightening noise. We took a bit over the hour to get to Moresby where Ground Control told us that, indeed, we only had one wheel and directed our pilot to land on the 'emergency' strip.

This young man very wisely flew around to examine the position carefully and found that about fifty trucks had parked on the end of it and that, about 300 metres along there was a large bomb crater which, we discovered later, had come from a Japanese raid on the previous evening. No-one had got around to filling the wide gap. Off the end of our landing strip, we zoomed the transport drivers with engines roaring. They ran like mad things. Then we came in, engines throttled back, within inches of the parked trucks in order to get the maximum runway. We landed neatly on our one wheel but the pilot kept the pace on while he juggled the controls to keep us fairly upright and heading straight. The crater literally rushed towards us. The pilot calculated the right moment and suddenly gave her full throttle. As the speed picked up, he lifted her off the ground momentarily but it was sufficient to jump the gap. There was nothing more to be done. He cut his engines and casually picked up a fire extinguisher. Our pace began to die away as we curved from the strip into light scrub. Finally, the starboard wing touched the ground. The plane swung quickly and half-tilted onto its nose. There we were. Cigarettes were lit with rather shaky hands. Someone pulled out a camera. I used to have a copy of the photo he took! It was reminiscent of African explorers on a big game shoot!

A guided visit to Wau

In September 1942 I moved from Brisbane to Port Moresby to join General Rowell as his Chief of Staff (Brigadier, General Staff, New Guinea Force it was called. At that time HQ NGF and HQ 1st Aust Corps were synonymous). It was fairly quick. One morning at St Lucia (Adv LHQ) General Blamey told me that General Rowell's BGS (Henry Rourke) was ill and Rowell had asked for me to

take his place. He also told me that General MacArthur was moving his HQ to New Guinea and that he (General Blamey) was being impelled to do the same although he had no intention of remaining for any length of time. In fact, he was taking no staff. It was my impression that he was anxious to avoid any suggestion that his presence was intended to exercise supervision over Rowell. I went up in General Blamey's plane the following morning. On arrival, I had plenty to do in getting to know the staff and finding out the situation as fighting was in progress astride the Kokoda track in the jungle ridges about 40-50 km from Moresby. It was then that Sid Rowell refused to accept Blamey's presence and was removed from his command. General Herring came up from the Northern Territory to take his place. But Rowell had done the job. Even before he left it looked as if we were getting the upper hand and events of the next few days confirmed it.

We had a number of specialist units forming part of the Corps and I made it one of my early priorities to visit and find out whether they were functioning properly and if there were any obstacles which we might help to remove. I would only be able to do one, or perhaps two, each afternoon but it sufficed and I found them pathetically happy that they were made to feel their work was important. Survey, malaria control, boot repair, bakery; all these and more were highly important to the efficiency of the Corps.

There was also an Independent Company, a commando-type unit, stationed at Wau under the command of Major Fleay who had distinguished himself in this type of warfare. They, in turn, supported a highly important coast watcher who was in regular observation of the Japanese airfield at Lae on the coast. Wau and Bulolo were the principal centres of the gold mining activities which had attracted much interest in the 1920s. This was all mountainous jungle with airfields of a sort at both places. The Wau plateau was about 200 km north east of Port Moresby. Its significance lay in the fact that Japanese forces occupied both Lae and Salamaua. Lae was an important air base from which attacks were made on Moresby; Salamaua was only 50 air km from Wau and could actually be seen from a mountain near Wau. The coast watcher was established in a concealed observation post overlooking Lae at a distance of about 45 km. The best thing was to see the place and people for myself and I arranged for an aircraft to take me up. When I went down to the airfield I found a grizzled old New Guinea hand with the pilot. There were no maps. The old hand was the guide, having been there in days of peace; he told me he had walked to the Bulolo Valley several times. After take-off he told the pilot to fly up the coast and tell him when we reached the third river. He then went to sleep. Later, he played a more important part. 'Do you see that gap between the two mountains?' he would say. 'You head for that gap. That is the way the old track ran.' And so we twisted and turned above the track, climbing all the time, until we reached Wau.

Colonel R.N.L. Hopkins, GS01 (Chief of Staff) 1st Australian Armoured Division, mid-1941.

I had never seen an airfield like it. It was nearer perpendicular than level with a coffee plantation at the bottom of the hill and a few dwellings, left from the goldfield days, at the top. When we stopped, the pilot had to jam on the brakes to avoid running backwards down the steep slope!

I had a busy morning, saw some of the country and the enormous dredge in the Bulolo River which had been transported, piece by piece, by air to these tiny airfields. With Fleay I visited several of his outposts and met the coast watcher waiting on the roadside some distance from his hide. He was in good heart but hankered for a better telescope and was sent one within a few days.

One of the problems of flying in New Guinea is the way the cumulus cloud builds up every afternoon over the mountains. Our pilot set a take-off time and warned me that we would need to keep strictly to it. Although I was prompt at the airfield, the pilot was having difficulty in starting one engine; it was some time before we were airborne. It was a smallish plane and not very fast.

We circled above Wau to gain height so as to be able to cross the ranges which surrounded it. As we droned slowly upward we could see the cumulus cloud forming in the valleys and rising to the mountain tops. By the time we had gained the necessary height the pilot thought that the pass normally used might have become 'blocked-in' with cloud. This was so. 'There is another way out,' he said, 'over by Edie Creek'. But the few minutes flying time to get there were not sufficient. The weather, to me, began to look menacing. Although flying as fast as we could back to Wau, and losing height as we went, we found ourselves more and more in cloud with spats of driving rain. 'It won't take us long', said our pilot and soon enough we saw Wau airfield below us. I should have mentioned earlier that, owing to the Japanese air activity, our small garrison kept empty oil drums in profusion on the landing strip; they had rolled them out as soon as we left and, no doubt thankfully, retired to their quarters. And so we circled, in squalls of rain, until someone on the ground awoke to our plight. At last small figures could be seen clearing the runway. At first, they told us, they had thought we were Japanese and feared our own plane might have been unlucky to have encountered a hostile fighter. All was well on the following morning and we happily returned to Moresby.

The next time I went to Wau was when we were rushing in Brigadier Moten's infantry brigade to oppose Japanese forces which had appeared in strength. Already fighting was in progress. The troops on board leaped out and quickly moved off the strip. Rifle fire could be heard and the pilot of our aircraft took off again as soon as he could. I wanted to see Moten and went back on one of the later planes. Although the early position had looked serious, the build-up of our force by air had been swift. The enemy were held and then forced to withdraw.

First flight to Kokoda after re-capture

Our great problem at New Guinea Force Headquarters was the very slow advance up the track to Kokoda. The 7th Division seemed positively dilatory in its pursuit of the Japanese. They were about 50 km from Moresby in the jungle ranges approaching Efogi but days were passing without progress when close pursuit was essential. I went up with one of the early air dropping missions mainly to get an idea of the country and its difficulties. When General Allen's advance became so slow I went up with the 'biscuit bombers' a second time. I could see how difficult it would be to find food and other supplies dropped wide of the mark but could not understand the many complaints that the units on the Trail could not find what had been dropped. When, at last, they reached the crest of the Owen Stanley Range at Myola we sent up George Vasey to replace Allen and found a rapid improvement in the progress. Vasey soon caught up the enemy and drove them out of Kokoda.

At this point, it was necessary to give General Vasey our intentions regarding his further advance, acquaint him with the moves we were making to open a supply route from Milne Bay, and arrange co-ordination with two regiments of US infantry which would be co-operating in the area shortly. We understood that the airstrip was usable although needing improvement and it was decided that I should go up on the first plane. The Air Force decided to continue dropping supplies until they could be sure of landing heavy cargoes on the Kokoda strip and so we carried a supply drop and I joined in with helping to push it out as we circled the dropping ground before landing.

The pilot made a couple of dummy runs before coming in and I noticed a couple of groups of natives working on the surface. But our landing was uneventful and I hurried off to find Vasey. This was the first direct contact we had had with 7th Division. We knew that they had been forced to leave some seriously wounded men at Myola so I was not surprised to see a number being brought to the plane. In fact, the aircraft was filled to overflowing. I waited with the pilot while the wounded were being loaded and then took my stand immediately behind his seat—and holding on to it very firmly. There was not another square inch of space aboard.

The runway did not appear overlong and the pilot, I noticed, took us back to the extreme end of the strip before running up his engines for take-off. I thought there seemed a slight dip where the men had been working some distance down but the rest looked alright. Men were holding the wings and the pilot worked up to full throttle before releasing his brakes. I noticed he seemed to keep a little in reserve until we crossed the slight dip in the runway; then he gave her the gun.

My eyes were glued to a bright green patch beyond the end of the strip. It looked soft. Then some scrubby flat ground before the wall of the jungle, looking frighteningly high, seemed to bar our way. As the bright green patch disappeared under our nose I will swear that our wheels were still on the ground; but I must have been mistaken. In the flash in which we became airborne, the pilot pulled back the joystick and we rose at a seemingly impossible angle to clear by inches the tops of the trees. We must have lost a bit of flying speed because the nose went down again in a shallow dive before we pulled clear and swung onto our course back over this 12,000 ft mountain range to Moresby. In his excellent biography of

Dobodura airfield, 1942. (Author's collection)

General Herring, Stuart Sayers says that after Kokoda was taken, the General flew there to discuss future moves with General Vasey. But the first time that Herring crossed the Owen Stanleys was when we transferred our advanced Corps Headquarters to Popondetta on 28 November. My flight to Kokoda was about 4 or 5 November.

We only spent a short time at Popondetta before transferring HQ over the swamps of the Girua River to Dobodura where the United States Air Force had decided to establish a group of airfields to support our operations. Although only a ten minute flight, we had to use elderly twin-seater Wirraway aircraft. If General Herring and I went over to see Vasey for instance, we each occupied the rear seat in the aircraft which was fitted with a backward-firing machine gun. In the air we were each responsible to watch out for attacks from Japanese Zeros which were likely at any time in those early days.

One other rather dicey run I recall was when we despatched the US 32nd Division by air to the coast east of Cape Endiadere which was occupied by the Japanese 'Buna Force'. The Division had definite orders to report to HQ NGF twice daily but they had given us several hints that they greatly disliked being under the command of an Australian Corps HQ. We heard later that they had refused to accept the allocation of aircraft we made and got their own air force, which was also our only line of supply on the Buna front, to allot them additional planes for their gear.

Once over the mountains they played another trick. Complete silence. No radio reports—no reply to messages; nothing! We were most anxious to hear of their progress; much hung on it. After 24 hours without contact it was decided that I should follow them up and try to gain contact. I flew in a DC3, the only passenger. Our destination was a landing strip at a place known as Mendaropu. It was practically on the north coast where I expected to find them but I was too late. They had pushed on, with commendable energy, and were about 10 km across a shallow bay from Mendaropu and out of touch even with their own rear elements. I wrote a message to be sent on as soon as communications re-opened and left for home.

This strip we had landed on had looked pretty rough when we came into land. On the ground it was really rough with large stones and very uneven. My recollection is of landing downhill but when we came to take off it was still downhill and might even have been another piece of ground. I felt most uneasy but the young American pilot was unperturbed and all was well.

* * * *

If the occasional high point in a long life fails to incite the reader to memories which are as stimulating, or more so, then one may always summon up the story of Cyril Clowes' first journey to Milne Bay.

It was in the spring of 1942, when the AIF were back from the Middle East and the Japanese were rampaging through the island chain to our north.

Milne Bay. Normal coconut bridge sagging after flood which at one time was over the bridge. (Author's collection)

We had sent 1 Aust Corps, at a weekend's notice, to Port Moresby. One of their earliest actions was to organise the defence of Milne Bay. Major General C.A. Clowes was appointed to command 'Milne Force'. His two infantry brigade and divisional troops were being hurried forward. He gathered his headquarters staff, secured an American DC3 and set out for Milne Bay. Although the Japanese were in Buna and pressing up the Kokoda track, although their air force was established in Rabaul and other forces were moving down through the Solomons, HQ Milne Force flew without escort.

The young US pilot seemed competent and confident. His flight plan was not known to his passengers. And all seemed normal until the aircraft kept on a northerly course after crossing the New Guinea coastline. Some of the staff looked uneasy. General Clowes, the least excitable of men, seemed not to be concerned, but his Chief of Staff ventured to point this out to the General. 'I expect he has his orders' was the rejoinder. Soon the north coast came into view and was crossed. It was too much for the Gee One: 'We've crossed the north coast, Sir,' he said 'and are heading for Rabaul'. 'Well, perhaps it would be as well to see if the pilot knows what he is doing' was the calm reply. By this time everyone was staring out of the windows looking for Zeros and the pilot swung round to the south-east so quickly that most of the staff ended up on the floor!

Mike Lucas

The Hermit of Donna Buang

'SOME there be that have no memorial, who are perished as though they had not been and are become as though they had not been born. Such is Leslie Bryant. Yet perhaps there are those of the old 15th Machine Gun Company who will remember him and after that forgetfulness.'

So wrote the Reverend H.G. Hackworthy MC, in an article of the same title in the June-July 1952 edition of *Stand-To*. The article goes on to describe the 1914-18 war service of 1433 Sergeant Leslie Bryant, 15th Machine Gun Company and his later life, such as was known.

Bryant, a timber-getter with no family, apparently uncouth to look at, with a mop of unkempt fair hair, slow of mind, heavy of body — an original sergeant of the 15th MGC — served throughout the war with little distinction, according to Reverend Hackworthy.

He described Bryant's soldiering as like himself, solid, heavy and well informed. He apparently 'knew his stuff' and handled his men well, never asking them to do anything which he did not lead. Trusted by everyone, the type officers liked to have around; reliability was his most outstanding quality.

Bryant never did anything out of the ordinary according to Reverend Hackworthy, yet he was decorated for manning a forward machine gun post which stopped the Germans in their tracks as they attempted to flank Hamel in that deadly rush in the spring of 1918 which, had it succeeded, would have meant the fall of Villers Bretonneux. Time and again the enemy tried to get that post, but failed each time. The next day they bombarded it with artillery and Bryant sent his men out but remained himself for eight long hours. When the bombardment finished, Bryant emerged a broken man, reeling from the shock. From then on, he was a shell of his former self and though still indomitable, not always as reliable.

After the armistice, Reverend Hackworthy described how Bryant returned to his home village in Gippsland where he was welcomed and feted and given free hospitality at the local pub. The daughter of the inn-keeper basked in his glory and shared all his honours. She then encouraged him to ask her father for her hand. It was the mother who ended it with the bitter words, 'You may be a hero today, but a timber getter without a family you were and will remain. You were probably born on the wrong side of the blanket. Get out and stay out.' Bryant left and got drunk for the first time in his life.

That was the beginning of the end for ex-sergeant Bryant. He went to Melbourne and was promptly fleeced of all his possessions. Between drinking bouts he confirmed his illegitimate birth

and returned to drink for further solace. From 1925 to 1944, he lived the life of a derelict around Melbourne.

He then became a rebel, and a dangerous one at that. Joining the Communist Party, he was sent by them to road camps up and down the Princes Highway. His self-trained mind and bitter tongue made him a nuisance wherever he went and he could never keep a job for long.

When the 1939-45 war broke out he was promptly interned and ironically at the same time the Communist Party expelled him for 'doctrinaire instability'. He was lost to sight for some years until found drunk in a gutter in 1944 by some pals from his old company, who attempted to rehabilitate him.

Moved by their kindness and confidence, Bryant decided never to drink again. After several jobs around Warburton, he finally became a hermit and turned to religion as a consolation, living in a home-made shanty near O'Shannassy Weir, Donna Buang.

One day, a short time later, death overwhelmed Leslie Bryant in a swirling flume feeding the weir. His old mates of the 15th, not knowing, mourned him not. He was buried unhonoured and unsung, the exact date and place of his death and burial not even recorded. When they finally found out, his mates sought his meagre belongings, but they were gone.

So ended the tale of one digger, thought by his former padre to be forgotten for ever more. Having no family to mourn him or carry on his name, no grave headstone or memorial in a cemetery or township, one would naturally expect that to be the case. The reverend however, forgot one thing — for his military service and his gallantry, Bryant was probably issued service medals and was definitely awarded the Military Medal for bravery in the field. I am fortunate enough to have temporary possession of this medal, named 1433 Sgt. L. BRYANT, 5 Aust. M.G.C.

Upon obtaining the medal some years ago, I commenced research, the main reason for collecting medals; getting to know 'the man behind the medal'. Bryant enlisted in the 1st AIF on 9 November 1914 and was allocated regimental number 1603, with the 3rd Reinforcements of the 8th Battalion, 1st Division. As such he gave his occupation as sawmiller, 21 years of age, single, Presbyterian religion. No address or next of kin was given, which was unusual, but confirms Bryant's uncertain origins. He embarked from Melbourne per HMAT A54 *Runic* on 25 February, 1915.

As a sergeant in the AIF.

Shortly before his death.

Leslie Bryant

Further research revealed that Bryant was taken on the strength of the 8th Battalion on Gallipoli on 8 May 1915. He served with the battalion for some months until he was evacuated sick with jaundice to Mudros, then to Lemnos and finally Egypt. Recovering his health and with the Gallipoli campaign finished, he was transferred to the 60th Battalion on 16 March 1916, upon the formation of the 5th Division. The following month Bryant was transferred to the newly formed 5th Machine Gun Battalion where for some reason he was allocated a new regimental number, 1433.

As far as can be determined, Bryant served with the 5th Machine Gun Battalion and the 15th Machine Gun Company (the machine gun arm attached to the 15th Brigade) for the remainder of the war. Little individually is known of this service except that he is identified in a photograph of the NCOs of the 15th MG Coy, taken at Samer, France, on 27 December 1917.

On 25 August 1918, Bryant was recommended for the award of the Military Medal by Lieutenant Colonel R. Marsden, CO of the 5th Australian MG Battalion and approved by Major General J.J. Talbot Hobbs, commanding the 5th Division. The recommendation states, 'At the opening stage of the advance of 8th/9th August, 1918, from Villers Bretonneaux two Vickers Machine Guns under Sergeant Bryant were caught in a heavy enemy barrage. Although twice buried by shell fire this N.C.O. rallied his men and effectively kept his guns in action throughout the advance. During the whole of the operations his bravery and leadership was a splendid example to all ranks. This N.C.O. has previously shown great gallantry in the face of the enemy.' The award was promulgated in the London Gazette of 24 January 1919.

Bryant returned to Australia on 14 December 1918. No other information was available about him after that date, however the medal was still highly regarded.

The discovery of the article by the Reverend Hackworthy increased that regard and interest as well it might. Not only did the article reveal current and contemporary photographs of him, but the poignant details of his later life and sad and lonely death. Such information is usually only forthcoming on the post-war lives of servicemen if they were more notable or famous figures or were known personally. Such details, however, are to me as interesting as military service, as they reveal how soldiers coped with the often harsh realities of civilian life and the great depression. Years which, for many, were as difficult or even more difficult than the war years.

Bryant's Military Medal has survived him and will continue to do so, having an intrinsic value as well as a military history value, for as long as can be foreseen. So with due apologies to Reverend Hackworthy, he was wrong when he stated that poor Bryant's name would vanish 'as though he had not been born'.

It is in this capacity that I believe the oft maligned medal collector does serve a role, and a valued one at that, in the preservation of our military history. With due modesty, I wonder in what other way would Bryant and others like him, who played their 'small' part in Australia's military history be remembered or recorded, for those who may wish to know, if not now, then some time in the future.

Books Reprinted

Kevin Fewster: *Gallipoli Correspondent — The Frontline Diary of C.E.W. Bean.* George Allen and Unwin Australia, North Sydney. 219 pp, photographs, maps, bibliography, biographical notes and index.

The first (1983) edition of this book was very favourably reviewed in the October/December 1984 issue of *Sabretache.* Allen and Unwin have now released the 1985 ediction in paperback at $12.95.

Hugh V. Clarke: *Last stop Nagasaki!,* George Allen and Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney. pp 135, illus, maps, no index.

The 1983 edition of this book, in hardcover, was reviewed in the July/September 1985 issue of *Sabretache.* The 1985 edition has now been released in paperback at $9.95.

Armoured Centre opened

THE new Armoured Centre at Puckapunyal, Victoria was opened on 31 October 1985 by the Colonel-in-Chief of the Royal Australian Armoured Corps, HRH the Prince of Wales.

A march past of 100 men from 1 Armoured Regiment and 2 Cavalry Regiment was followed by a mounted drive past of 28 old and new armoured vehicles. These old vehicles form part of the display at the new Armoured Corps Museum (see separate report). The opening of the centre was the first time the Armoured Corps' Standard and the 16 Guidons had paraded together at the Centre and the first time they had touched the ground in a Royal Salute.

The Royal couple were escorted to the parade ground by troopers of 8/13 VMR dressed in the uniforms of the original light horse.

The occasion held a special significance for one of the guests, Major General Ronald Hopkins, after whom the new barracks was named. In his speech the Prince of Wales referred to General Hopkins as the 'father' of the RAAC. The 88-year-old General graduated from Duntroon in 1917 and in 1940 played a major role in the selection of Puckapunyal as the site of the Armoured Fighting Vehicles School.*

After the parade, the Prince and Princess inspected the new centre which had been under construction since 1983 and cost $17 million.

* See *Sabretache*, Volume XXVI, No. 3 1985.

Acknowledgement

Sabretache is indebted to Army DPR and *Army* magazine for providing material for this article.

During their inspection of the new Hopkins Barracks the Prince and Princess of Wales spoke with 'the father of the Armoured Corps', Major General R.N.L. Hopkins, and Mrs Hopkins. (Army official)

RAAC Tank Museum

FOLLOWING the opening of the new Royal Australian Armoured Centre at Puckapunyal (see separate report this issue), the Prince and Princess of Wales inspected the new centre and the $250,000 tank museum which had been completely rebuilt by volunteers from the Puckapunyal area.

The museum was formed in the early 1970s by grouping armoured fighting vehicles which had been retained as a result of authority given in 1946 by the then Southern Command for the formation of a museum comprised of AFVs. The vehicles had been on individual display around the Armoured Centre and the Puckapunyal camp area.

As at May 1985, the museum owned 53 AFVs, both wheeled and tracked, of 36 different types. Six Matildas and four Ferrets of various types are held, for instance. Vehicles on display have their origins in Australia, Britain, the United States, Japan and China. Subject to training commitments, current equipment is also displayed in the museum on weekends and public holidays.

In addition to the AFVs the museum also shows outside a collection of 15 artillery/anti-armour guns and indoors, a small-arms collection of 70 items, photographs, books, items of Light Horse equipment, ammunition and RAAC material such as weapons, radios, gyro compasses, other navigational items and uniforms. Also included in the indoor display are dioramas of various battles, including the Battle of Cambrai.

The museum is operated by the Armoured Centre on behalf of the Directorate of Armour and is open to visitors six days a week. Guides are provided for organized tours. A museum shop is also operated and sells model kits, iron-on transfers, car stickers and other museum-related souvenirs. Funds raised by the museum and its shop are used to restore and repair AFVs, set up and maintain the indoor displays, maintain and repair facilities, catalogue and store exhibits and follow up leads on possible exhibits.

The RAAC Tank Museum Society was formed recently, with its goal preservation of the heritage

Corporal Gavan Vigor, (sometime) curator of the Museum, with a Vickers Mark II medium tank, one of the first four tanks received by the Australian Army in 1928. (Army official)

The first American cruiser training tanks to arrive in Australia being examined by (left to right) Captain Fletcher, Lieutenant Colonel R.N.L. Hopkins and the commander of the First Australian Armoured Division, Major General J. Northcott, Melbourne, 22 September 1941. (AWM 9670)

of the RAAC for future generations. The Society is endeavouring to make its formation and aims known as widely as possible in an effort to attract members. Membership is open to all past and present members of the RAAC, as well as interested members of the community at large. All members receive a membership card which entitles the bearer and guests to a free admission to the museum, a half-yearly newsletter and invitations to functions and workdays at the museum.

Set out below is a list of the museum's principal equipments as at 14 May 1985.

RAAC Tank Museum
List of principal equipments — 14 May 1985

Serial	*Item*	*Qty*
Tracked AFV		
8.	M41 Tank	1
9.	Aust Cruiser Tank Mk 1 (Sentinel)	2
10.	Carrier Universal LP No 1	1
11.	Bren Gun Carrier Mk 2	1
12.	Carrier AT 2 Pdr	1
13.	Light Tank Mk VI Vickers	1
14.	Medium Tank Mk II Vickers	1
15.	Matilda Infantry Tank (Various types)	6
16.	Crocodile Infantry Tank Flame Thrower	1
17.	Crusader Cruiser Tank	1
18.	Cromwell Cruiser Tank	1
19.	Covenanter Tank Bridge Layer	1

Serial	Item	Qty
20.	Japanese Type 97 Medium Tank	1
21.	M113 APC	1
22.	Sherman Medium Tank	2
23.	M24 Chaffee Light Tank	1
24.	M3 Stuart Light Tank	1
25.	LVT 4 Buffalo	1
26.	LVT 4A Alligator	1
27.	Grant Medium Tank	1
28.	Grant Tank Dozer	1
29.	Grant BARV	1
30.	Carrier Universal	1
31.	Japanese 1937 Tankette	1
32.	Centurion Tank	1
33.	Centurion Bridge Layer	1
34.	Centurion Dozer	1
35.	Centurion ARV	1
36.	Churchill Medium Tank	1
Wheeled AFV		
1.	APC Saracen	3
2.	ACV Saracen	1
3.	Ferret Scout Car Mk 2 (Various types)	4
4.	White Scout Car	2
5.	Lynx Scout Car	1
6.	Staghound Armoured Car	2
7.	Saladin Armoured Car (No turret)	2
Anti Tank Guns		
37.	German 50 mm AT Gun	1
38.	17 Pdr AT Gun	2
39.	6 Pdr AT Gun	1
40.	Japanese AT Gun	1
41.	120 mm BA7 TCL	1
42.	German 37 mm PAK AT Gun	1
Artillery and Naval Guns		
43.	50 mm Cannon German Naval	1
44.	75 mm Cannon Italian Naval	1
45.	40 mm QF Bofors AA Gun	2
46.	25 Pdr Gun	2
47.	3.7 in AA Gun	1
48.	German 88 mm AA Gun	1
Classroom Instructional Models		
49.	Staghound	1
50.	Saracen	1
51.	Saladin	1
52.	Centurion D and S	1
53.	Centurion Turret	1
54.	9 Cyl Radial Engine	1
55.	7 Cyl Radial Engine	1
Australian War Memorial Loan Vehicles		
56.	Chinese Chicom APC M63	1
57.	Chinese T59 Medium Tank	1

Acknowledgement

Again, *Sabretache* is indebted to Army DPR for material contained in this article.

Notes on contributors

Major Warren Perry, MBE, ED, MA(Melb), BEc(Syd), FRHSV, RL was formerly Federal President of the MHSA and editor of the Victorian Historical Journal. He is a regular contributor to historical journals including *Sabretache*.

Mark Clayton studied at James Cook University in Townsville and Sydney University before joining the curatorial staff of the Australian War Memorial in 1980. Mark is now Curator of Aircraft and Technology at the Memorial.

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

Major-General R. N. L. Hopkins, CBE, RL is vice-Patron of the MHSA and has written extensively on military history. The new Armoured Centre at Puckapunyal has been named Hopkins Barracks as a tribute to his contribution to the development of Australian armour.

Mike Lucas is a keen student of the Australian soldier in the First World War and a collector of medals of that period. He has been a member of the Canberra Branch of the MHSA for some five years and is a regular attender at Branch meetings and gun and militaria fairs held on the east coast. An Inspector in the Australian Federal Police, Mike takes up a two-year posting to the Australian High Commission in London as a liaison officer in March 1986.

Review Article

Ken S. Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at war in the Sudan 1885*, Rigby, Dee Why, NSW, 1985. 176 pp. HC$24.95

Ken Inglis' account of Australia's first official overseas military expedition breaks important new ground for the study of colonial military history in this country. Besides a well researched and detailed account of Australia's (New South Wales) 'rehearsal' for her future interventions in imperial wars from the Second South African War to Vietnam, it also sets a standard in the rapidly growing field of Australian colonial military history.

Britain became involved in the affairs of Egypt and the Sudan by her invasion of Egypt in 1882 to protect her interests in the Suez Canal. The Sudan had been administered by Egypt for several decades but an Islamic religious revolt under the leadership of the 'Mahdi' ejected the Egyptians. General Charles Gordon was sent to evacuate the Sudan but his stubborn defence of Khartoum against the Mahdist forces in 1885 and his subsequent death ensured a continuing British interest in the area.

The seige of Khartoum, the despatch of a Nile relief expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley and two expeditions to the Red Sea port of Suakin, led to the offer from NSW of an armed contingent to help Britain. Thus in the era of 'High Imperialism' Britain, which had been drawn into conflict with a dynamic Islamic movement, withdrew for thirteen years, and ultimately revenged Gordon at the Omdurman massacre of 1898. For the Sudanese, what started as an essentially religious movement (the latest in a long tradition of Islamic holy wars coming from the hinterland to purify a corrupt urbanized Islam), ended with the establishment of a united and disciplined nation from a disparate tribal society.

Ironically, this nation Britain inherited in 1898 after totally smashing its military power. This complicated set of social/political circumstances was of little interest to the Australian colonists who saw in the conflict a chance to demonstrate their own growing sense of national identity through martial valour.

This was the age of jingoism and imperialism, of Social Darwinian notions of superiority and inferiority of nations and races and the unique ability of war to demonstrate the 'struggle for survival' of the fitter nation over the weaker. Emotive rallying cries of revenge for Gordon, loyalty to the Empire and racial stereotypes of 'fuzzy-wuzzies' versus stout 'Tommy Atkins' were the current vogue. Ken Inglis examines the social attitudes of the Australian colonists and the reasons for the imperial mood felt by the colonies.

As he points out, offers of assistance to Britain had been made earlier with the Zulu War of 1879 and the disaster at Majuba Hill in the First South African War of 1882.

Motives of self interest also played a part. The colonists felt that their interests had been neglected by Britain in the Pacific as demonstrated by Britain's willingness to allow Bismarck to occupy north-eastern New Guinea. There were fears also of the French presence in New Caledonia and elsewhere in the Pacific. This was to lead to direct colonial intervention as in Queensland's occupation of Port Moresby in 1883. Against this background a need was felt for the colonies to support the Empire in a more active role, for patriotic reasons as well as to ensure continued support in the event of threats to the colonies themselves. Attitudes favouring the despatch of the contingent were therefore based on inadequate knowledge of local Sudanese conditions, on popular myths and misconcieved ideas of Australia's 'real' defence interests — attitudes reflected in the background to later Australian military involvement and still persisting to this day.

The proposal for an armed contingent to aid Britain came in fact from a member of the local NSW military scene, a retired British general, Sir Edward Strickland, who had the ear of William Bede Dalley, the acting Premier of NSW. Dalley quickly offered to the Home authorities 500 infantry and two batteries of artillery to be sent to Suakin within thirty days.

This offer was made without parliamentary consent, since the parliament was not sitting. This aroused the ire of Sir Henry Parkes, bringing him from retirement into active campaigning against Dalley and a focus of leadership for the opposition to the whole affair, the first 'anti-war movement' in Australian history. Inglis skirts the issue of social reasons for support or lack of support for the expedition, ie, working class electorates' voting patterns, but draws no positive conclusions. The opposition appeared individual, sporadic and scattered. Among the anti-imperialists, liberal sentiments were uppermost, and this also led to misconceptions of the local Sudanese situation, ie, of its being a people's struggle for independence, again echoed in the popular prejudices of later anti-war movements. Satire and lampooning were used as a weapon by the anti-imperialists, especially by the *Bulletin*, and their vociferous campaign was to wear Dalley down over the next few years. It also led to the creation of that famous early cartoon figure, 'The Little Boy at Manly', based on a jingoistic letter from a small boy published in the pro-expedition *Sydney Morning Herald*. This for most Australians was to become the more memorable legacy of the contingent, the ridiculous figure of the little 'Boy' in outdated clothes cheering on Australia's involvement overseas.

Misunderstandings also arose about Canada's participation. Sir Garnet Wolseley had used Canadian boatmen (a legacy of his Red River Canadian Expeditions), on the Nile Relief Expedition. Canada had also advised the Home authorities that they would allow recruiting in Canada at British expense. This was misinterpreted as an offer of a contingent by the Australian colonies. Other countries besides NSW offered contingents for the Sudan. These offers came to a Gladstone anxious to depart the Sudan fiasco but who took advice about the danger of diplomatic insult to colonies already critical of British Pacific policy.

As NSW seemed to be the most capable of dispatching a force, its offer was accepted and the other colonies were politely turned down, also avoiding the need for complicated military co-ordination between different colonial forces. This force was undoubtedly hastily assembled and poorly trained. Although drawn mainly from ex-British regulars and the Volunteers, it was fortunate that the contingent did not see any real military action as disciplined British regulars had been broken in their squares by the Mahdists in quite ferocious hand-to-hand fighting. The upsurge of patriotic military fervour in NSW came to a head with the departure of the Sudan Contingent from Circular Quay in March 1885, recorded for posterity in Arthur Collingridge's painting *The Departure of the Australian Contingent to the Sudan, 1885*, when most of Sydney turned out. There was an increased interest in volunteering in NSW and a renewed consciousness of Australian defence needs against the background of continuing federation and defence debates.

As Inglis' book amply demonstrates, parallels can be drawn between 1885 and later expeditions. Criticisms then and now of the expedition's lack of combat experience and its relative military unimportance have obscured understanding of its real meaning. Although the few injuries suffered and its faintly comic-opera air lent themselves to scepticism, the expedition's significance lies in its being the first expression in military action of trends emerging in late colonial Australia, ie, Imperialism, Nationalism and Social Darwinism. Trends which I would argue are essential to an understanding of colonial military history in Australia, and which Ken Inglis deals with in a most satisfactory and original manner thus marking his history as a ground-breaker and standard-setter. This is in contrast to the cliches of the 'blood and guts' school which has predominated in writing on this subject.

The thorough pictorial research and layout, the lavish use of photographs, cartoons and illustrations also set a standard, complementing and enlightening the text. Unfortunately, there is no discussion of uniforms, badges, firearms etc for the military specialist, perhaps reflecting the academic historian's lack of interest in material culture. I feel that in future histories an account of such material should supplement the general historical account. The Military Historical Society of Australia's *But little glory* fills that gap for the military specialist reading about the Sudan Contingent. Although foremost a general academic historian, Ken Inglis has set a high standard for later writers in the area of Australian colonial military history, thereby hopefully stimulating a greater interest by the general public.

Keith J. Bostock

Book Reviews

Leonard Mann, *Flesh in Armour*, Unwin Paperbacks, Sydney, 1985. 254 pages, recommended price $5.95.

Since the release of 'Gallipoli', and more recently 'ANZACS', the contribution of Australian soldiers in the Great War has been exposed to the popular imagery of the visual media. Leonard Mann's *Flesh in Armour* is a candid account of Australian soldiers on the Western Front centred around the experiences of a platoon of the Nth Battalion.

The horror of the front is given greater impact after the oblivious comfort of London noticeable in the first chapter where three of the platoon are on leave. Of more significance is the platoon's involvement in two contrasting types of warfare.

The popular concept of the Great War is of futile infantry attacks and massive artillery bombardments, a central theme of the novel being the debilitating effect of lengthy periods of stress in combat and artillery barrages. In the experiences of the central character, Frank Jeffreys, the reader witnesses the psychological degeneration caused by the constant strain in the front line with too few periods for recuperation. Jeffreys had not joined up in the initial fervour, waiting a year 'weighing during that time in a torment of conscience the right and wrong of the issue, and whether war was itself answer to wrong.' Enlisting was a release from the doubt and shame he had endured, the plight of France becoming a crusade. By late 1917 he was reduced to 'a pagan stoicism covering taut nerves that vibrated ceaselessly, beyond control at times, a condition in which semi-automatic endurance required by duty has supplanted the first warmth of sacrificial love.' The security of the platoon was a supportive focus — a comradeship which made life tolerable and governed the individual's behaviour. Jeffreys, denied this security, found squalid suicide his only escape.

Mann gives support to the arguments of Tony Ashworth's *Trench Warfare 1914-1918: The Live and Let Live System*. On one sector occupied by the platoon '...There was a live and let live about these trenches. Fritz, clinging to a little outward buckle of his line, here insinuated by his own quiet wish not to be disturbed.' The Australians controlled No-Man's Land, tolerated the buckle in the line, and the Germans allowed a wiring party to complete a fair night's work. This inactivity has been largely ignored by historians.

Earlier Mann had shown how this delicate situation could be thrown into an escalating spiral of violence; first the Stokes mortar crew which fired and ran; a raid by another battalion; 'educating Fritz that there's to be no more two way traffic in No-Man's Land'; and the artillery initiating a response from the German artillery. The reprisals inevitably fell upon innocent infantry.

Flesh in Armour is a statement of the Great War without the encumbrances of patriotism and glory. The series of vignettes show the war in all its aspects; from the relative peace of London to the brutality of battle without losing concern for those entangled in its web. The Digger is portrayed without the myth that has been accepted as the universal image. *Flesh in Armour* deserves a wider audience. Its impact creates a vivid, empathetic, visually evocative testimony to those Australians who suffered in the slaughter of the Great War.

Stephen Willard

Paul M. Kennedy (ed.): *The War Plans of the Great Powers 1880-1914*, Allen and Unwin (Publishers) Ltd, UK, 1979. Paperback edition 1985. pp 288, notes, select bibliography, index. Our copy from Allen and Unwin Australia Pty Ltd. HC $42.50, PB $18.95.

The editor is a Yale University professor of history who has brought together eleven exceedingly scholarly non-technical essays written by nine authors on a period now rapidly disappearing into historical obscurity; yet the period was the basis of what happened in our lifetime. J.A.S. Greville discusses the diplomacy and war plans of the USA between 1890 and 1917. H.H. Herwig and D.F. Trask write about USA and German operational war plans directed against each other. One of the editor's contributions, apart from an extensive introduction to the book, devotes considerable space to the communications aspects of strategic planning within the British Empire, a topic rarely touched upon in historical writings. He also addresses himself to the evolution of the German naval war plans against England in the eighteen years prior to 1914. The British military scene is sketched, and it is barely more than that, by J. McDermott and P. Haggie attempts, somewhat disappointingly, to describe the attitude of the Royal Navy to war planning in the times of Admiral Fisher. The remainder

of the papers deal with the military planning that preceded the operational realities in 1914. There are papers on the development of the French (S.R. Williamson) and Russian (L.F.C. Turner) mobilisation and strategic plans, two contributions dealing with the Schlieffen plan (J. Steinberg, L.F.C. Turner) and finally, a paper by N. Stone on the relations between the Austrian and German general staffs prior to and at the outbreak of first World War, again, something that has rarely been discussed.

What has brought about this revival of interest in historical topics that by and large would have been seen, particularly by Australian readers, as done to death? The editor implies that the historians of the great powers had selected and made available to scholars those sources, official and otherwise, that were most favourable to a particular, and in most cases parochial, point of view. His collection of essays really tries to answer the burning question, 'how far...did the plans of the various general staffs pre-empt their governments' freedom of action and...encroach on the decision-making domain of the civilians?' The answer must be, totally, except perhaps to a lesser degree in the case of England and the USA. The advent of this book is further explained by the historical controversy about the interpretation of the question posed in the previous sentence. A German school of thought represented by Professor Emeritus Fritz Fischer maintains that the military party in Berlin headed by the Kaiser who, as the sovereign, was commander-in-chief *de facto* and not, as in Britain, *de jure*, had been looking for an excuse to go to war from 1911 or perhaps even from the Moroccan crisis in 1911 onwards. Once certain military steps provided for in the military planning had been decided upon, there was no way of stopping the outbreak of a European conflagration and the tragedy was that these steps were brought into effect by an almost irrelevant event in the Balkans.

The critics of the Fischer school suggest that it was not German war planning alone that characterised the inevitability of events; the war plans and mobilisation consequences of the French and, even more so, of the Russians were equally as inflexible as those of the Germans. In all three countries any measures towards mobilisation, even the most preliminary ones, almost certainly meant war.

The aim of the book, in the words of the editor (paraphrased) is to provide the back-up for the critics of Fischer and for certain other matters, such as co-operation in war planning between the services and between allies who were expected to fight together. The underlying theme of most of the essays is that of the civilian-military relationship and the co-ordination of their respective actions. For instance, can a case be made out that in 1914 railway-timetabling replaced decision-making by civilians? The answer decidedly, yes. Secondly, the book shows that none of the war plans of the continental powers were based on the need to *defend* their country but rather on how best to commit aggression against their neighbours. The German Schlieffen plan with its proposed attack on neutral Belgium as the first step, the Russian ideas about invading East Prussia, the ill-fated Austrian plans for an attack on Galicia, the French plans formulated by Joffre for an invasion of the German Rhineland or neutral Belgium are examples of this mentality. The British Admiralty suggested in 1911 to the Committee of Imperial Defence that an amphibious attack should be launched against the German North Sea and Baltic coasts, but there were sufficient strong-willed civilians in positions of power to veto any such idea. In other words, the civilian arm of government could change the course of history if it so wished. The need for civilian control of the military is expressed in a quaint quotation from Clausewitz (p201) 'War admittedly has its own grammar but not its own logic'. According war its own logic—contrary to Clauswitz—explains what happened in Europe in 1914.

This reviewer would be hard put to rank the essays in terms of interest to the military historian but L.C.F. Turner's article 'The Significance of the Schlieffen Plan' (pp 199-121) would appear very high on the list. Similarly, the discussion by Herwig and Trask of the German and USA war plans against each other (pp 39-74) is very interesting indeed, mainly because of the novelty of the topic and the wealth of citations inviting a great deal of further study.

All essays are heavily footnoted, mainly quoting primary sources. There is very little to criticise in this book. A few more maps would be helpful and some of those that are included are not easily followed. Some spelling and factual errors have escaped the attention of the editor. For instance, on page 265 the name of the German chancellor in 1914 is misspelt and the battle of Tannenberg (p229) was actually centred on the locality of Hohenstein, about 15 or so miles to the East. However, none of these really very minor blemishes detract from the fact that Kennedy has presented a most thought-provoking and eminently readable book which is a *must* for any historian and even the casual reader, military or otherwise, interested in learning about the madness that led to the slaughter of the first World War. The price of $42.50 for the hard-cover edition is probably somewhat high, but $18.95 is more than reasonable for the paper-back edition.

H. J. Zwillenberg

V.E.O. Stevenson-Hamilton, *Yes, Your Excellency*, Thomas Harmsworth Publishing, London, 1985. 229 pages and photographs. £9.95.

The North-West Frontier was a familiar sight to many English soldiers before Indian independence in 1947, and it provides the backdrop for Stevenson-Hamilton's military autobiography of the 1930s and 40s.

After infancy in India the author is sent 'home' to England to the care of eccentric aristocratic 'relatives'. As the family's financial resources did not allow a career in one of the fashionable English regiments Stevenson-Hamilton joined the Indian Army where he was isolated, making no attempt to overcome the communication and cultural barriers to relate to the Indians under his command. He was only too willing to the predominantly English vice-regal society when offered the position as ADC to the Governor of the Punjab in 1935.

The book degenerates into anecdotal reminiscences, with great detail on dress, the organisation of vice-regal dinners and tours into the province. The chapter on Indian history enhances the claim of Sellar and Yeatman's historical parody, *1066 and all that*, as the definitive history of Britain.

The tone of the book is best stated in its final paragraph:

> Looking back, it can be argued that the life of a British Officer of the Indian Army would not have suited everyone but it is very sad that no one else can ever sample it. It may sound pompous to suggest that the loss is mutual. I hope we gave good value. (p.229)

Yes, Your Excellency is poorly written, lacks clarity, positive insight and cohesion, and is overburdened with nauseous paternalism. It demonstrates little understanding of Indian society before independence which was incisively depicted by E.M. Forster in *A Passage To India*. Apart from a number of interesting photographs *Yes, Your Excellency* has very little to offer.

Stephen Willard

Victor Croizat, *The brown water navy — The river and coast war in Indo-China and Vietnam, 1948-1972*. Blandford Press, Poole, Dorset. $US17.95.

The Brown Water Navy provides an overview of river and coastal operations in Indo-China and Vietnam from 1948-1972. It is an interesting work, which is well illustrated with black and white photographs and maps. Unfortunately, its value to the serious historian of these conflicts is diminished somewhat by its lack of bibliography and detail of the strategic background to decisions affecting 'brown water' operations.

Perhaps this reflects the fact that the author, Colonel Victor Croizat, USMC (Rtd), is breaking new ground in writing on this topic. This may be, but I found the book to be disappointingly superficial in some areas, and I believe the critical reader could be excused for suspecting that inadequate background research is responsible.

Nevertheless, the book does fill a need, and benefits from Croizat's first-hand knowledge of brown water operations in Vietnam — gained during the period 1954 to 1968, during which time he saw the decline of French power and the rise and fall of American influence in the region.

The book is interestingly written after a somewhat uneasy, and perhaps unnecessarily long, diversion into the history of brown water operations, in Part One. One senses that Croizat is uncomfortable outside the purely operational aspects of his field; it is in discussing the operations and tactics of 'brown water' warfare, later in the book, that his writing style and the book's readability improve.

S. J. Hyland

Don Horne

Time capsule

ON Sunday 9 June 1985 (Queen's Birthday holiday weekend), the Albury/Wodonga Branch of the Military Historical Society of Australia held a brief ceremony at the entrance of the Royal Australian Army Ordnance Corps Museum, Bandiana, Victoria, when they buried a time capsule containing military memorabilia, cloth and metal badges, newspapers (old and new), reports and history of the Albury/Wodonga Branch, with photographs of current members, and the *piece-de-resistance* — a bottle of muscat especially produced for the centenary of the 8/13th Victorian Mounted Rifles.

Lieutenant Colonel C. F. Elstob, then commanding the RAAOC, had the pleasure of depositing the first sod around the capsule and was ably assisted in the burial by Cheryl Johnson, Branch Secretary, Don Campbell, Branch foundation President and Don Horne, current Branch President.

Members of the Branch are now eagerly looking forward to retrieving the capsule in the year 2007, which is the Golden Jubilee of the Military Historical Society of Australia.

Don Horne inserting instructions on how to open the capsule (for the benefit of some lucky person), being closely watched by Don Campbell, Lieutenant Colonel Elstob and Branch member Captain Robert Morrison of the Light Horse Troop, 8/13th VMR.

Bomber Command Medal

A special commemorative medal has been struck in the United Kingdom as a tribute to those who served with Bomber Command during the 1939-45 war. It was approved by Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Arthur Harris shortly before his death in 1984.

The medal was issued in 1985 and is 36 mm in diameter, made of cupro-nickel and weighs 22.4 grams. The obverse, signifying courage, team spirit and leadership, shows laurel-wreathed brevet letters of the aircrew, supporting that of their pilot. The reverse depicts the Lancaster, Sir Arthur Harris's 'Shining Sword', symbolising the technical achievement of industry and ground staff, on which the crews' lives depended. Ribbon colours are blue-grey, midnight-blue and flame, signifying the North Sea, night over enemy territory, the target and the return trip.

The limited issue of 10,000 is available to air and ground crews who served in Bomber Command or their next of kin. Any medals unsold may be made available to others. The cost in the UK is £15.95. Enquiries in Australia may be directed to John Burridge, 91 Shenton Road, Swanbourne, WA 6010.

Obverse
Bomber Command Medal.

Brigadier Maurice Austin, DSO, OBE
1916-1985

IT is with regret that we record the death of Brigadier Maurice Austin in Canberra on 13 October 1985. 'Bunny', as he was more popularly known, was a distinguished graduate of the Royal Military College, Duntroon, a military historian of note, a Society member of long-standing and Vice-President of the Society from 1973 to 1978.

Born in Geelong in 1916, Bunny graduated from RMC in December 1938 and was posted to the Darwin Mobile Force. In 1940 he was appointed adjutant of 2/27 Infantry Battalion and served with it in the Syrian campaign. Returning to Australia in 1942, he joined 29th Infantry Brigade as Brigade Major. He was posted to RMC as an instructor in 1945.

He commanded 2RAR and later 1RAR in Korea and was awarded the DSO for his service there. From 1954 to 1958 he was Director of Infantry and Commandant of the Jungle Training Centre, Canungra. A series of staff appointments in the personnel branch of Army Headquarters followed. Many who served with him will remember with respect and affection Bunny's wide knowledge and considerate application of Army personnel policy. His concern was always for the welfare of the soldier and the award of the OBE in 1962 was well earned recognition of his long and outstanding service. After retirement from the Regular Army in February 1971, he worked in a civilian capacity as Army Historian, encouraging in many young officers an interest in and enthusiasm for military history beyond the requirements to pass promotion and course entry examinations.

Always an infanteer, it is not surprising that Bunny Austin's historical interest should lie with the infantry. His earliest researches, published in the Australian Army Journal, were into the activities of the New South Wales Corps. This developed into an interest in the British regiments which garrisoned the colonies until 1870 and led to the publication, by the Department of Defence, of his book *The Army in Australia 1840-50*. This work is a fine example of Bunny's carefully detailed research and will be a primary reference for further studies into that decade.

His expertise was recognized by the Editorial Board of the Australian Dictionary of Biography and he became, in 1972, a foundation member of the Armed Services Working Party of the ADB. Bunny undertook six biographies for the ADB—his paper on 'Druitt of the 48th' delivered to the ACT Branch of the Society and published later in *Sabretache* (Vol. VIII No.2) was an example of his meticulous research for ADB entries. Following his retirement from the Department of Defence he acted as a military consultant to both the ADB and the Australian Heritage Commission.

However, one of Bunny Austin's greatest achievements will never be measured — it was the help and encouragement he gave to other researchers into the 1790 to 1870 period of Australian military history. Whether it was an enthusiastic genealogist looking for a forebear amongst the veterans of the New South Wales Corps or an aspiring military historian seeking sources for research into British regiments, Bunny would willingly respond, not only with the source reference but frequently with all the information needed.

It was typical of Bunny's thoughtfulness and thoroughness that shortly before he died he expressed the wish that his personal and research papers be presented to the Australian War Memorial, where the research papers will become a significant resource for future work on the 1790 to 1870 period, a period in which AWM resources have previously been sparse. It was typical, too, of his concern for Australian military tradition that he made available for *Sabretache* his last contribution, 'The First Australian Digger', with the request that it be published as close to Anzac Day as possible. This will appear in the January/March 1986 issue.

Preferring to work quietly out of the limelight, Bunny Austin made a great contribution to recording Australian military history. He will be much missed as a contributor to the journal by the membership of the MHSA and particularly by those who shared his interest in the British regiments in Australia.

To his wife Enid, and their children, we extend our deepest sympathy.

A.R.R. **T.C.S.**

Society notes

Election of office bearers for 1985-86

Albury/Wodonga Branch

The following were elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Branch held on 14 August 1985:

President: D. Horne
Secretary/Treasurer: (Mrs) C. Johnson
Museum Representative: R. Johnston
Committee: The President was empowered to select a committee of two, as needed.

Congratulations are extended to MHSA member Bruce Muirden, of Kensington, SA, who has been appointed Trustee of the History Trust of South Australia by His Excellency the Governor in Council, dated 26 September 1985.

Congratulations are extended to Paul Rosenzweig on his appointment as an officer of the Army with the rank of Lieutenant in the Active Reserve, 7MD, GSO, in the RA Infantry Corps. Paul has been a member of the ARes for some time and is a regular contributor to *Sabretache*.

The 'Bunny' Austin papers

It is mentioned in the obituary on the late Brigadier Maurice Austin that his research papers were to be presented to the Australian War Memorial. Although they are now with the Memorial, the Curator of Written Records, Michael Piggott, has advised that they have not yet been processed and consequently are not yet available to researchers.

Members' wants

Wanted. British War Medals to Australians — privates to sergeants. Infantry, pioneers or MG units only. R.W. Elliott, 210 Darcy Road, Norman Park, Qld 4170. Ph. 3998624.

Missing. A single Colonial Officers' Auxiliary Forces Decoration (GVR) engraved to Rev Dennis Murrell Deasey, Chaplain's Dept. Any information to T. Duffin, 40 Donnington Street, Swan Hill 3588. Tel. (050) 321192.

Wanted. Information on whereabouts of IGS 1908-35 Bar Waziristan 1921-24 to Pte J. Hubbard, Welch Regt. NOK wishes to purchase. Contact Secretary, Victorian Branch.

Letter to the editor

Arthur Kennedy of 7 Quirk Road, Manly Vale 2093 has written offering some information regarding John Fenby's article on North Head fortifications in our July/September 1985 issue. He has this to say:

1. The proof firing of the 9.2 guns being not known. I was a recruit in 1 Heavy Bde RAA in 1938 and I distinctly remember all of us being taken from Georges Heights to North Head to witness the proof firing and that would have been in July or August of 1938. There are still quite a few people around who might be able to pinpoint the date better than that.

2. Regarding anti-aircraft batteries on North Head during the war. The 3.7 battery was part of 1 Hvy AA Bty not 9 Hvy AA Bty — 9 Bty served in the Lithgow area. Whilst I am not certain whether the Lt AA Bty he states is correct, my information shows it as being part of 24 Lt AA Bty but knowing the way the light batteries were moved around, the battery he states may have been there at one stage. I hope to know for sure during 1986 as I am still researching all the anti-aircraft battery war diaries.

SABRETACHE

Contributions are sought for the July/September 1986 Navy 75th Anniversary issue.

Please submit them by March 1986.

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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 September
Oct.-Dec. edition mailed last week of December

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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.

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Society publications advertised in *Sabretache* are available from:
Mike Lucas, G.P.O. Box 1052, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601
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