

Military Historical Society of Australia
Sabretache



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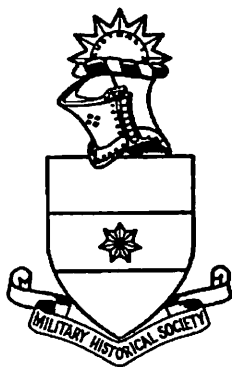
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Contributions in the form of articles, notes, queries or letters are always welcome. Authors of major articles are invited to submit a brief biographical note, and, where possible, submit the text of the article on floppy disk as well as hard copy. See the last page for further guidelines.

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SABRETACHE

The Military Historical Society of Australia

The aims of the Society are the encouragement and pursuit of study and research in military history, customs, traditions, dress, arms, equipment and kindred matters; the promotion of public interest and knowledge in these subjects, and the preservation of historical military objects with particular reference to the armed forces of Australia. The annual subscription to the Society is \$30. A membership application is on the back page.

Organisation

The Federal Council of Australia 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 appear below.

MHSA Constitution and Rules

The constitution of the Society adopted 1 August 1993 appears in *Sabretache* January-March 1993. The Society's rules adopted on 14 April 1997 appear in *Sabretache* April-June 1997.

Sabretache

The Federal Council is responsible for the publication of the Society Journal, *Sabretache*, which is mailed to each member of the Society quarterly.

Members' notices

Society members may place, at no cost, one notice of approximately 40 words in the 'Members' notices' section of the Journal each financial year.

Queries

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

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The Governor's Body Guard of Light Horse 1801 – 1834

Clem Sargent

One of the lesser known of the military organisations in the early history of the Colony of New South Wales is the Governor's Body Guard of Light Horse, an informal unit which existed from 1801 until it was replaced by a body of Mounted Orderlies in 1834. It is described as informal because at no time did it ever have an authorised War Office establishment and, although wearing cavalry dress for of its entire history, the men of the Body Guard were carried on the strength of the successive infantry garrison regiments.

The first mention of the Body Guard occurs in a Government and General Order of 26 December 1800 in which, following the receipt of cavalry accoutrements in Sydney, Lieutenant Colonel William Paterson, Commanding Officer of the New South Wales Corps, was requested to select a non-commissioned officer and six privates to be mounted and to act as a Body Guard to the governor. The NCO was to be paid one shilling and the privates sixpence, in addition to their regimental pay; payment to be made in copper money or in stores. It seems probable, from the date of acknowledgment of receipt of the cavalry equipment, and the date of the next despatch concerning the Body guard, that the unit was raised early in 1801.¹

In his despatch of 21 August 1801 to the Home Secretary, Governor Philip Gidley King confirmed the receipt of the cavalry accoutrements and the selection of an NCO and six privates who had formerly served in cavalry regiments. They had been mounted on Government horses and were to act as a guard to the governor during his journeys and to carry despatches. A government return of 1 March 1802 shows one corporal and four privates in the Body Guard, three of these are identified in the Muster Rolls of the NSW Corps, Privates John Hinder, Martin James and John Silvey, all with previous military service, as 'duty cavalry' in the return for 25 January – 24 February 1802.²

The Musters for October 1801 to October 1804 show Sergeant William Richardson on duty as the 'Governor's Orderly' but this is likely to have been a personal service to the governor, not related to the Body Guard in which the senior rank was corporal.³

The despatch riders were needed to carry the governor's orders to the outlying detachments of the garrison particularly in the light of the unrest amongst the growing number of Irish convicts arriving in the colony. Many of these were members of the Society of United Irishmen, transported for their participation in the battle of Vinegar Hill, in County Wexford, in June 1798. The Irish transportees were continually plotting to rise, to secure their freedom and to return to Ireland and although most of the plots failed, due to poor planning or more often the betrayal of the plans by informers, the continual scheming nevertheless caused grave concern to the governor and the free settlers. In August 1801, Governor King established a new

¹ Government and General Order of 26 December 1800, *HRNSW*, 2, p 274.

² King to the Duke of Portland 21 August 1801, *HRA I*, 3, p 181, p 420; Muster Roll and Pay List, NSW Corps, WO 12/9901, f35, National Library of Australia microfilm.

³ Richardson was an ex-convict, a teacher, transported in 1788 and enlisted in the Corps in 1792, he returned to regimental duty in October 1804 and although shown in the 'Register', Chapter 7, *A Colonial Regiment*, p 335, as Governor's Orderly to 1807, an examination of the Muster Rolls shows that from June 1806 until he left with the 102nd Regiment in 1810, Richardson was continually marked 'sick'; WO 12/9900 f390 et sequi.

government farm at Castle Hill to provide more useful employment for the growing number of Irish prisoners landing in the colony; there three hundred prisoners were engaged in clearing a 34,000 acre (13, 760 hectares) site for the farm which was to become a hotbed of intrigue amongst the disaffected Irish, culminating in the most serious outbreak of violence in the early history of the colony, the Australian Battle of Vinegar Hill.⁴

In 1802, Governor King dispensed with the NSW Corps members of his Body Guard, replacing them on 12 October with five prisoners of good character to whom he granted provisional conditional emancipation.⁵ No reason was given for this move but some disagreement may have arisen with Lieutenant Colonel Paterson concerning the duties and deployment of the Body Guard. In addition King appointed George Bridges Bellasis, by colonial commission, to be commandant of the Body Guard and Lieutenant of Artillery. Bellasis, a lieutenant in the East India Company's Artillery at Bombay, had been transported for fourteen years for having killed a fellow officer in a duel; he was pardoned in November 1803. The appointments did not fail to upset Paterson; he considered that King had treated the members of the NSW Corps with contempt by replacing them with convicts who were parading the streets in military uniform.⁶

A serious convict break-out from the prison farm occurred in February 1803. To meet the emergency, Governor King ordered detachments of the garrison to be placed at Castle Hill and the Cowpastures and placed his Body Guard at the disposal of Captain John Piper, commanding the detachment of the NSW Corps at Parramatta, believing that the capability of the garrison would be enhanced by the attachment of a mounted body, more mobile than the foot soldiers of the Corps. Piper declined the attachment of the members of the Body Guard to his command and ordered them to wait at Government House, Parramatta, for further orders. Piper's high handed action infuriated King who protested to Major Johnston, commanding the NSW Corps due to the absence of Paterson on sick leave, concerning Piper's contempt and disobedience of orders.

Johnston's reply was to the effect that the members of the Body Guard were ex-convicts and as they were not under his command and subject to the Articles of War, they could not be considered soldiers; he questioned, too, whether the troopers possessed the 'respectability' for conditional emancipation and recruitment. This response angered King perhaps more than Piper's dismissal of the mounted reinforcement and he replied, in turn, to Johnston stating that the Body Guard had been properly attested and were as respectable as the 70 odd ex-convicts who had been recruited to the NSW Corps; he did not mention the 32 members of the Corps who had been recruited from the Savoy Military Prison (located at that time on the present day site of the Savoy Hotel and the Savoy Theatre) in Britain.

The more sensible Captain Edward Abbott replaced Piper as commandant at Parramatta garrison at this time and the controversy of the attachment of members of the Body Guard to the Parramatta garrison faded away. Later Major Johnston was to accept the employment and to comment favourably on the performance of the Body Guard troopers.⁷ In the 1803 outbreak the escapees from the Farm were quickly recaptured; two were executed at Castle Hill for their misdeeds and as an example to the other detainees on the Farm.

The grim sight of two of their number swinging by their necks from a tree at Castle Hill did nothing to deter the remaining United Irishmen from continuing with their plots to escape to

⁴ Lynette Ramsay Silver, *The Battle of Vinegar Hill*, Moorebank, 1989.

⁵ *HRNSW*, 4, p. 852.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 902.

⁷ *HRNSW*, 5, pp 22- 1798; pp 341-2; Pamela Statham (ed), *A Colonial Regiment*, Canberra, 1992, pp. 246-359.

freedom. Rumours of further break-outs continued to surface, mostly through the Reverend Samuel Marsden's network of spies and informers but predictions of trouble in August 1803 proved false and lulled the authorities into the false hope that the Irish prisoners were reconciled to their fate and settling down. This was certainly untrue but vague reports, in January 1804, of a major uprising being planned were still treated with scepticism.

Two of the Castle Hill detainees, Phillip Cunningham and William Johnson were planning another break-out, with great care to keep the plans for the uprising secret from the mass of expected participants. Cunningham, a veteran of the 1798 Irish rebellion, was the principal plotter who, with a vigilance engendered by the betrayal of previous schemes, planned not to disclose the major details of this uprising on paper until the break-out was to occur. His plan was for a march from Castle Hill to the settlement at Parramatta where reinforcements could be expected from the Parramatta convict community. They were then to march back to the Hawkesbury where further reinforcements would join, raising the strength of the insurgents to 1,000 men, armed by then with firearms, looted from the local settlers, and with home-made pikes. This body was to march back through Parramatta and on to Sydney, to 'Liberty or Death'.

Because of Cunningham's careful security no word of his plans reached the authorities until 3 March, the day before the uprising was to occur. Information was given to Captain Abbott, Commandant of the Parramatta garrison by an Irish informer privy to plans at last being transmitted to the outlying centres of rebellion and, although the information was immediately sent to Sydney, the news brought no reaction. Confirmation of the plot was received by Marsden on the following day from an informer who had been entrusted by Cunningham with a communication to the ringleader of the convicts expected to join at the Hawkesbury.

Marsden and Abbott conferred and sent another report to Sydney where it was again received with no alarm or plans to meet the growing sense of emergency at Parramatta. At 8 pm on the night of Sunday, 4 March, a hut was torched at the Castle Hill Farm, this was the signal for the occupants to break out and to rampage through the district, seizing arms, food and drink from the establishments of the local settlers. One of the settlers galloped into Parramatta at nine o'clock to raise the alarm.

The military and free civilian population immediately began to prepare defences and a messenger was despatched to Sydney, arriving at 11.30 pm with news of the uprising. At last, steps to meet the crisis were put in train; the garrison and the Loyal Association stood to and sailors from HMS *Calcutta*, in the harbour, landed to re-enforce the garrison, reduced by two officers, two sergeants and 52 Rank and File of the NSW Corps, ordered to march to Parramatta without delay. Governor King set off alone, on horseback, to be shortly overtaken by the Provost Marshal and four troopers of the Body Guard.⁸

One of the troopers had been sent ahead to warn Major George Johnston, Acting Commander of the NSW Corps, at his Annandale home on the Parramatta road. Johnston gave a detailed account of the ensuing activities in a letter of 12 April 1804, to Captain John Piper, by then with the garrison at Norfolk Island. Johnston recounted that he had waited at the gate of his property for the detachment of the NSW Corps and joined it for the march to Parramatta, arriving there at five in the morning of 5 March. Each man of the detachment was refreshed with a dram of rum and a loaf of bread and Major Johnston received orders from Governor King to take half the detachment in intercept the rebels, last reported closing on Parramatta. However the failure of any convicts from Parramatta to join the dissidents influenced their leadership to retire past

⁸ Silver, *The Battle of Vinegar Hill*, pp. 72-95.

Toongabbie towards the Hawkesbury. The soldiers marched in pursuit accompanied by about 19 armed civilians; at Toongabbie it was found that the rebels had retired further towards the Hawkesbury and their pursuit was resumed without pause.

Closing to within a mile (1.6 kms) of the rebels, Johnston despatched Handlezack [sic], the only trooper of the Body Guard with him, under a flag of truce, Johnston's handkerchief, in a ploy to delay the retirement of the rebels until the troops could come up. The rebels refused to listen to the terms carried by Anlezark, took the flints from his pistols but allowed him to return to the military detachment.

Finding that his troops were now even closer to the rebels, Johnston decided to approach them himself, hoping to further delay them, enabling the military party to close up to the rebels. The Major asked Anlezark whether he was afraid to accompany him, to which the trooper replied, according to Johnston, 'he would go to hell with me'. The pair approached the rebels and Johnston called for their leaders to come out and speak to him. Cunningham and Johnson did so but refused to accept any of the major's condemnation of their conduct or his encouragement to surrender to avoid bloodshed. Johnston then offered to send forward the Catholic priest, Father Dixon, whom he felt may have some influence with the mainly Irish insurgents. The priest went to meet the rebel party while Johnston was urging the troops, under the command of Quartermaster Laycock, to push on towards the rebels.

At this stage the rebels formed line on the rise now known as Vinegar Hill but the leaders, Cunningham and Johnson, came forward a second time to meet Johnston, still accompanied by Anlezark, and in reply to Johnston's question to Cunningham what he wanted, the latter replied 'Death or Liberty'. Judging his troops now to be within striking distance, Johnston cocked his pistol, taken from his sash, clapped it to the head of Johnson while Anlezark dealt similarly with Cunningham, and the two rebel leaders were ordered to march to the line of advancing troops. With the two leaders secured the line of the NSW Corps was 'ordered to advance and fire and instantly charge'. The rebels returned a ragged fire but, no match for the disciplined troops, they broke and fled without causing any casualties, losing themselves some fifteen killed and six or seven wounded. The Battle of Vinegar Hill was over and the insurgency quelled.⁹

The encounter of the members of the NSW Corps and the rebellious convicts at Vinegar Hill is vividly depicted in a water colour painting by an unknown artist in the pictorial collection of the National Library of Australia. The painting is titled 'Major Johnston with Quarter Master Laycock One Sergeant and Twenty five Privates of ye New S Wales Corps defeats Two Hundred and Sixty six Armed Rebels 5th March 1804'. Trooper Anlezark (the current family spelling of the name) is in the centre ground, mounted, presenting his pistol to the head of one of the rebels and exclaiming 'Croppy lay down'. He is wearing the standard blue light dragoon uniform including a Tarleton helmet¹⁰ with a red and yellow turban and white feather or plume, tipped with red, the facing colour of the light dragoon jacket. The artist has not attempted to show the elaborate lace which would have appeared on the front of the jacket. The breeches are blue also; at this time the usual light dragoon breeches were white or buff but a pen and water colour picture of the 17th Light Dragoons c 1800 in the Royal Collection depicts the troopers

⁹ Johnston to Piper, 12 April 1804, Piper Correspondence, Mitchell Library, A 256, Vol 3, pp 325-330; *HRA* I, 4, pp. 567-570; for a detailed account of the 'Battle' see Silver, *The Battle of Vinegar Hill*.

¹⁰ The Tarleton helmet, of boiled leather, with a peak in front and a fur crest over the top took its name from Sir Banastre Tarleton, commander during the American Revolution, of the British Legion which wore this type of headdress. Introduced to the British regular light dragoons in 1793 it was superseded by the shako in 1812. Yeomanry cavalry regiments continued to wear the helmet until 1826 and the Royal Horse Artillery until 1827. It was also worn by officers of the 5th and 6th Battalions of the 60th Regiment and by officers of the 95th.

wearing both blue and white breeches.¹¹ Not seen in the Vinegar Hill painting, as it was on the trooper's left side, is the light dragoon 1796 pattern sabre.

In the painting Anlezark is shown wearing corporals stripes but here the artist has erred. The corporal of the Body Guard at the time of the uprising was John Pitchers or Pitchen, who was discharged by a General Order of 3 May 1804 for 'Gross abuse to a Superintendent', and replaced by Anlezark who later gave evidence at the Court Martial of the rebels.¹²

Anlezark (spelt variously Andlezarck, Andlesack, Handlezack and Handersack) had arrived on the *Perseus* on 4 August to serve a fourteen year sentence for burglary. He claimed to have fourteen years' previous service as 'a trooper in the Horse', including two and a half years on the Continent under the Duke of York, and had suffered 'a wound on the head which at different times is very troublesome'; perhaps the cause of his fall from grace? He was discharged from the Body Guard by King after two years and seven months' service with the promise of a grant of land, a promise not fulfilled until 1809, during the period of the illegal administration established after the mutiny against Governor Bligh and it became forfeited on the arrival of Governor Macquarie. Anlezark petitioned Macquarie for restoration of the grant and apparently was successful as the 1814 Muster of NSW shows 'Andlezark' free, at Liverpool, a land owner, off the store. He died on 3 April 1834 and was buried at St Lukes, Liverpool.¹³

After the successful employment of the Body Guard in the 1804 insurrection and the 'handsome manner' in which Major Johnston spoke of them, Governor King submitted a proposal to increase the mounted troops to 30, with 'well behaved English convicts who have been Light horsemen', intending to immediately raise the strength of the five already embodied to ten, pending the Colonial Secretary's approval of the proposal for 30.¹⁴ Nothing more was heard of the proposal and on King's departure it appears that the responsibility for manning the Body Guard reverted to the NSW Corps, as shortly after Governor Bligh's assumption of office, he provoked Major Johnston by augmenting the Body Guard with three men of the NSW Corps whom the Governor nominated by name, without consulting Johnston, the Corps' Commanding Officer.¹⁵

It is a matter for conjecture where the members of the Body Guard were when the mutineers of the NSW Corps stormed into Government House, Sydney, on 26 January 1808, to place Governor Bligh under arrest. No doubt, as members of the NSW Corps the Bodyguards' loyalties lay with the mutineers rather than the governor, perhaps they were discretely absent. Provost Marshal William Gore, a Bligh supporter, incarcerated by the rebels, in a later submission to Viscount Castlereagh recounting his recollections of the mutiny, stated that he was visited in jail by an Orderly Dragoon with the Orderly Book notifying suspension of Gore and other officials considered supporters of the deposed governor. In the same report Gore stated that John McArthur, who had been appointed Colonial Secretary of the illegal administration, was attended in his excursions to his house at Parramatta by one or two mounted dragoons.¹⁶ This Body Guard may have been provided not because of McArthur's new official status but in response to a request by officers of the court which acquitted McArthur on charges

¹¹ A E Haswell Miller and N P Dawnay, *Military Drawings and Paintings in the Royal Collection*, London, 1970, plate 380.

¹² Archives Office, NSW, Colonial Secretary's Office, SZ 992, p 47; HRA I, 4, p 574.

¹³ AO, NSW, CSO, 4/1821, No 131; *The Pioneer Register*, 2nd Ed, Vol II, Sydney, 1983.

¹⁴ *HRNSW*, 5, pp 357-8.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 652.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 559.

brought against him by Bligh. They believed that anonymous threats made against McArthur justified the provision of an escort. Undoubtedly, in view of McArthur's role in instigating the mutiny, an escort had become even more essential.

Governor Macquarie arrived in the colony in December 1809 to put the administration of the colony in proper order. In the following April he submitted a return to the Colonial Office detailing personnel holding civil and military appointments in the colony and in this he identified the individual members of the Body Guard at that time. They were:¹⁷

Sergeant Charles Whalan	Private George Clarke
Corporal Thomas Tollis	Private George Lawson
Private Joseph Brammer	Private Thomas Thornbury
Private Joseph Craddock	Private William Thomas

The first six had transferred to the 73rd from the 102nd Regiment so it may be safe to assume that they had served in the Body Guard previous to the arrival of Macquarie's regiment. Thomas Thornbury, according to the Muster Book of the 73rd from 2 January to 24 March 1810, enlisted on 25 February of that year and eventually accompanied the 73rd, as Thomas Thornby, when the regiment left Sydney for Ceylon in 1814, so his appearance in the April 1814 return of the Body Guard and the background relating to his enlistment remain a mystery. Private William Thomas does not appear in the musters of the 102nd or the 73rd but in a memorial to Governor Macquarie on 2 February 1810, seeking confirmation of his emancipation granted by Foveaux during the period of the illegal administration, Thomas stated that he had been 'admitted' as one of Governor King's Body Guard and had continued to serve under Bligh and Macquarie, so it appears that at least one of the convicts conditionally emancipated by King for service in the Body Guard had survived to 1810. In February 1818 William Thomas, free settler, and his family were granted a passage to Van Diemens Land.¹⁸

In his return Governor Macquarie revealed that their salaries were: Sergeant — one shilling and sixpence; Corporal — one shilling; Private — sixpence; paid from Colonial funds, in addition to their normal pay as infantry. As well as listing the members of the Body Guard in the return, Macquarie also sought approval to increase its strength to a total of twelve.

In response to Macquarie's report of the existence of the Body Guard the Secretary of State for Colonies, the Earl of Liverpool, directed not an increase but its disbandment. In November 1812 Macquarie submitted a request that Liverpool reconsider his decision. He pointed out that the Body Guard had been in existence since 1800 [sic] at which time it had Colonial Office approval. He explained its usefulness in carrying despatches in time of emergency and its role in protecting the governor particularly when he was called upon 'to Visit distant Interior parts of the Colony, or penetrate into the Wild Jungles and Forests of it, inhabited by Savages, Who probably Might be induced to take a treacherous Advantage of his Unprotected Situation, Were he to go Amongst them without a Guard'.¹⁹

Macquarie further argued that in most of the other British colonies the governors had at their disposal regular or militia cavalry for escort duties. He also 'felt very much hurt' that as the first military governor of the colony he should have been 'singled out as Undeserving this Honor'. He stated that he intended to maintain the Body Guard until the Secretary for Colonies had the

¹⁷ HRA 1, 7, pp 268, 328.

¹⁸ WO 12/8000; AO NSW, Col Sec 4/1847, f 217; 4/3498, f 30.

¹⁹ HRA, 1, 7, p 612

opportunity to reconsider the matter in the light of his latest submission. Liverpool's replacement, Lord Bathurst, in 1814 finally sanctioned the establishment of the Body Guard and its increase to one sergeant, one corporal and twelve troopers.²⁰

Macquarie continued to show the expense of the Body Guard in his returns, naming the members shown in the table below:

17 November 1812 ²¹	28 April 1814 ²²	24 June 1815 ²³
Sgt Charles Whalan	Sgt Charles Whalan	Sgt Charles Whalan
Cpl Thomas Tollis	Cpl Thomas Tollis	Cpl Thomas Tollis
Pte Joseph Craddock	Pte Joseph Craddock	Pte Joseph Craddock
George Lawson	George Lawson	George Lawson
Thomas Thornbury	Thomas Thornbury	Thomas Evans
John Ashton	John Ashton	Henry Newman
Thomas Kempson	Thomas Kempson	Thomas Humphries
Thomas Evans	Thomas Evans	Thomas Field

The return for 18 March 1816 repeats the 1815 return but in 1821 only the strength of the Body Guard as one sergeant, one corporal and six private troopers at extra pay of one shilling and sixpence, one shilling, and sixpence per day per day is given.

Although no members of the Body Guard were identified in the returns from 1816, the Muster Rolls of the 48th Regiment, which arrived in 1817, show the following personnel transferring from the 46th into the incoming regiment:

Sgt Charles Whalan
 Cpl Thomas Tollis
 Pte George Lawson
 Pte Thomas Evans.

It seems safe to assume that these continued to serve in the Body Guard. Pte Joseph Craddock had been held on the strength of the 46th only long enough to be discharged. More troopers were needed to bring the Body Guard up to strength, Private Thomas McConnell who joined the 48th in 1819 after being discharged from the 5th Dragoon Guards because he was too short for service in a peace-time cavalry regiment, became one of the Body Guard and the other possibility appears to have been Pte Isaac Denning, transferred from the 46th to the 48th who accompanied Governor Macquarie as his Orderly Dragoon during the Vice-Regal visit to Van Diemens Land in 1821.

On his return to Sydney, Denning was detached to Port Macquarie where he remained until 1824, obviously not one of the Body Guard. He is believed to have left Sydney for India with the last detachment of the 48th in 1825. It is possible that Denning's removal from the Body

²⁰ HRA I, 8, p 133

²¹ HRA I, 7, p. 642.

²² HRA I, 8, p. 190.

²³ HRA I, 8, p. 589.

Guard could have stemmed from his two day disappearance in the bush south of Port Dalrymple following Macquarie's tour of the George Town region.²⁴

During the period of the 48th Regiment's service in NSW there was a significant change in the personnel of the Body Guard and it is therefore appropriate to review the service of the older serving members of the unit. Charles Whalan, an apprentice surveyor, arrived in Sydney in 1791 to serve a seven year sentence for poaching trout. He was enlisted in the NSW Corps in 1793, promoted corporal in 1798 and sergeant in January 1808 at which time he may have been appointed to command the Body Guard, an appointment he held until his discharge on 24 February 1822. Whalan became more than the sergeant in charge of the Body Guard. During Macquarie's period of administration, Whalan and his family, became close friends of the vice-regal family. He, with one of his sons, accompanied Macquarie and his family on the governor's farewell visit to Van Diemens Land in 1821, the boy, Charlie Whalan, company for the governor's young son, Lachlan. On the departure of Macquarie from Sydney on the *Surry* in February 1822, Sgt Whalan and his two sons, James and Charlie, were the last persons to farewell the Macquarie family, accompanying the *Surry* beyond the Heads. Whalan had been officially pensioned off from 28 March 1821 but arrangements were made with the Commissariat, the body responsible for payment of military pensions, for Whalan's service as a sergeant in the 48th to continue until 24 February 1822, nine days after the departure of the Macquaries.²⁵

Service records show both Joseph Craddock and William Tollis as members of the 20th Light Dragoons before joining the New South Wales Corps in 1796. At the end of the 18th century, the 20th Light Dragoons was a penal regiment kept permanently in the West Indies to receive cavalymen condemned by court martial to long sentences to be served in penal units. Statham's *A Colonial Regiment* states that both Craddock and Tollis were enlisted from the Savoy Military Prison; they were evidently there waiting to be transported to join the 20th and seized the opportunity to serve in NSW rather than in the West Indies, the 'Graveyard of the British Army' and a sure death sentence. The objections of the Duke of York to this method of recruiting for the NSW Corps may have led to the discontinuance of this system and to the resultant enlistment of convicts in NSW to maintain the strength of the Corps.²⁶

Cpl William Tollis died in the Regimental Hospital on 25 June 1821. Pte George Lawson, who had arrived in the colony as a member of the NSW Corps in June 1802 was discharged after service in the 73rd, 46th and 48th Regiments, on 10 March 1821, from 'debility'. Pte Thomas Evans, whose service in the colony began with the 73rd continued to serve until pensioned from the 48th on five pence per day, awarded 26 November 1824 but not effective until after his transfer to the 3rd Regiment on 9 May 1824 pending discharge.²⁷

The passing of the old guard made some changes necessary. Corporal Peter McWharrie was promoted to sergeant to replace Whalan but whether he commanded the Body Guard is unclear as the musters of the 48th give no indication of the allocation of members to duty in the Body Guard. On the same date Private Thomas McConnell was promoted corporal in place of McWharrie and, from the later records of the 40th Regiment, it is clear that McConnell was a member of the Body Guard. On the relief of the 48th by the 40th in 1824, McWharrie, McConnell, and Privates Hadlington, James, Lee, Reaney and Moore were transferred to the

²⁴ Clem Sargent, *The Colonial Garrison 1817-1824*, p 82.

²⁵ Letter to the Editor, *Sabretache*, Vol XXVII, No 2, p 49; Clem Sargent, *The Colonial Garrison 1817-1824*; WO 12/5972, f 160.

²⁶ Letter to the Editor, *SAHR Journal*, Vol XXXII, p 89.

²⁷ Clem Sargent, *The Colonial Garrison 1817-1824*.

incoming regiment. It appears that when McWharrie returned to regimental duty on 25 March 1824 McConnell was promoted sergeant and Henry James to corporal, and both, along with John Hadlington, John Lee and William Reaney are shown in the 25 December 1824 to 24 March 1825 Muster Roll as 'Det to Cavalry'.

In December of that year Privates Lewis Moore and Thomas Conroy are also shown as members of the cavalry and this can only be interpreted to be the Governor's Body Guard, as the mounted police are shown as such at that time and were drawn from the 3rd Regiment. Privates John Dealey, George Radford and Thomas Reed of the 40th Regiment are also shown in the Muster Roll of the 40th for short periods as 'Detached to Cavalry'.²⁸

In May 1826, Commissary G T W B Boyes, in one of his letters home, recorded attending a ball at Government House, where his entry was announced by 'the Dragoon who knew me well'. It is evident that the duties of the Body Guard went beyond escorting the Governor and carrying despatches.²⁹

Due to the redeployment of the 40th to Van Diemens Land, on 25 February 182⁶, McConnell, Conroy, James, Lee and Moore were, by direction of Governor Darling, transferred to Captain Robinson's Company of the Royal New South Wales Veterans where McConnell is shown in the musters as in the Governor's Body Guard although James is shown as 'in Govt Employ'. Hadlington and Reaney were not transferred, and in the November-December muster a Private William Nichellow is mentioned for one quarter only. McConnell was discharged in December 1829, but James, Lee and Moore continued in the Veteran Company until it was disbanded in 1832, when they were transferred to the 4th Regiment.

During their time on the musters of the Veterans it appears that the old members of the Body Guard were administered as Mounted Police. Corporals James and Moore are shown in the July-September musters in the Mounted Police in which Moore had been promoted to the local rank of sergeant as, in the Order Book for the Mounted Police, a General Order dated 18 October 1830 appointed Sergeant Moore to be Sergeant Major and Pay Sergeant for the Mounted Police and the Body Guard. With the disbandment of the Veterans in 1832, Moore is shown in the April-June 1832 muster of the 4th Regiment as serving with the Mounted Police, and from that time it is evident from the entries in the Mounted Police Order Book that soldiers were transferred from the Mounted Police for duty in the Body Guard and *vice versa* as a matter of administrative routine. This is particularly apparent with soldiers of the 17th Regiment serving in the Mounted Police from 1831. During this period there is evidence that selection of personnel for the Body Guard was not taken lightly, as Privates Ford and Wright, chosen for transfer from the Mounted Police to the Body Guard in 1832, were paraded to the Governor for his inspection before confirmation of their transfers.³⁰

In December 1831, Sir Ralph Darling was replaced as governor of the colony by Sir Thomas Bourke. The latter, in his 1832 financial return to the secretary of State for Colonies disclosed an amount of £112-16-6 as extra pay for members of the Body Guard. Viscount Goderick, Secretary of State, could see no reason why the Governor of New South Wales should enjoy the privilege of a body guard and directed its disbandment, to be replaced by troops from the garrison regiments. Bourke's response was to order that a sergeant and six Rank and File be transferred from the Mounted Police to form a squad of Mounted Orderlies under the command

²⁸ WO 12/5972; WO 12/5336.

²⁹ Peter Chapman (ed), *The Diaries and Letters of G T W B Boyes*, Vol I, 1820-1832, Melbourne, 1895, p. 252.

³⁰ Memorandum, Capt T Williams, Comdt of Mounted Police to Brigade Major K Snodgrass GB, 10 Oct 1832, NSW Mounted Police Troop Order Book 1828-1841, AO NSW MS 3221, 32/180, f 21.

of the Governor's ADC. Future vacancies which occurred were to be filled directly from the garrison regiments, not from the Mounted Police.³¹

This reorganisation was duly reported to the Secretary of State who then directed that even if called Mounted Orderlies, the body should be disbanded. With the disbandment instructions from England crossing Bourke's explanations from Sydney it becomes difficult to follow the reorganisation of the Mounted Orderlies, although they continued to serve as late as 1860. But there is no doubt that the body termed 'The Governor's Body Guard', a title which Governor Bourke considered 'much too lofty for so trifling an establishment', ceased to exist in March 1834 when it became a squad of mounted orderlies.³²

Although short-lived, the raising and service of the Governor's Body Guard, or Governor's Guard of Light Horse, provides an interesting insight into the ad hoc arrangements forced upon successive governors of the Colony of NSW by a parsimonious Home Government which had no conception of the difficulties of communication in the colony or the need for the governor to have a small uniformed body under his absolute control. Though the Body Guard did not, at any time in its existence, enjoy an authorised military establishment, it can still be described as the first full-time military unit raised in Australia.³³ It firmly established itself in Australian Colonial history by the performance of Trooper Thomas Anlezack in the execution of his duty at Vinegar Hill.

Members of the Governor's Body Guard identified during research for this article are listed at the end of the article. The list does not purport to be complete and it includes details of service, which are not the result of extensive research but taken from sources readily available to the author. These sources include extracts from the WO 12, 17, 25 and 97 Series, Chapter 7 of *A Colonial Regiment*, edited by Pamela Statham, the NSW Mounted Police Troop Order Book 1828-1841 (MFM G24 557, NLA), AO NSW Col Sec's Correspondence and *British Army Pensioners Abroad 1772-1899*, Norman K Crowder, Baltimore; 1995. Janet Robinson and David Murphy have willingly made available detail from their researches in the period and I am indebted to them. Where it has been considered that the service history of a member has been adequately covered in the article, for instance, Charles Whalan, the entry below has been endorsed 'See Text'. The entries for Body Guard identified from the Troop Order Book are endorsed TOB and with the date and folio number of the Order Book entry.

Uniforms

Throughout its service the Body Guard wore Light Dragoon uniform. There is evidence of this in the painting of trooper Anlezack at Vinegar Hill dressed in the light dragoon uniform of the early 1800s and which has been described in the text. The British light dragoon uniform changed in 1812 but there is no evidence whether the change was adopted by the Body Guard. Assuming that may have been the case, the uniform from 1812 became a bell-topped shako

³¹ *HRA* I, 17, pp 61-62; Order Book of the Mounted Police, General Order 76 of 27 March 1834.

³² *HRA* I, 17, pp 563, 696, 716-7; 18, pp 73-4, 186.

³³ In 1794 Lt Philip Gidley King (RN), Commandant of the Norfolk Island settlement, embodied a 'militia' of 44 ex-Marine and ex-soldier settlers to meet the threat created by mutinous members of the NSW Corps. In September 1800, to meet the possibility of an uprising of Irish convicts in and around Sydney, 50 'Civil Officers and such house keepers who are free and possessing property and good character' were to be enlisted in each of the Loyal Sydney and Parramatta Associations, to be commanded by officers of the civil departments. The Loyal Associations were not called out after the 1804 insurrection at Castle Hill. Although there was some degree of compulsion to serve in the Associations the members received no pay and the organisations a hybrid Militia-Volunteer body in the terms of the *Volunteer Corps Act* of 1794, which defined the British bodies. For further information see *HRNSW*, Vol II, pp103-108: *HRA*, I, 2, pp 595, 636-7.

with a band of white or yellow and cap lines of the same colour. The shako plume was worsted, white over red. The braided jacket was replaced by a blue coatee with short turnbacks and plastron front fastened by concealed hooks and eyes. Collar, cuffs, plastron and turnbacks were of the facing colour, not known for the Body Guard in 1812. The white or blue breeches were replaced by blue-grey overalls with a side stripe of the facing colour. A girdle of blue and the facing colour was also worn.

Substantive evidence on the dress of the Body Guard does occur in the 1832-1833 period, in two requests for tender for supply of Body Guard uniforms which appeared in the Sydney Gazette. The first request, which appeared on 18 October called for tenders for the supply of:

Eight Cloaks	Eight Black Hair Plumes
Eight Dress Jackets	One Dress Cap silver trimmed
Eight Undress Jackets	Seven Dress Caps tape trimmed
Eight Pairs of Cloth Trousers [sic]	One Laced Girdle
Sixteen Pairs White Trousers	Seven Cloth Girdles
Eight Pairs of Gloves	One Pair Plated Shoulder Scales with Pads
Eight Pairs of Boots	Seven Pairs Brass Shoulder Scales with Pads

The clothing was to be prepared according to, and equal in quality to the patterns at the Mounted Police Store, to be delivered by 15 December.

Another request for tender appeared in the *Gazette* on the following 7 November but this time for materials for making the uniforms, not for made up dress. The schedule of items for tender is similar to a undated list, drawn up by Sergeant Major Lewis Moore, which must have been compiled in the period 1830 to 1834. Interpreting from the two schedules, the uniform can be determined as a blue broad cloth jacket with scarlet facings and yellow ball buttons, chevrons were gold trimmed with narrow yellow lace. Waist girdles were blue with scarlet stripes. Dress trousers were of the same blue broad cloth with scarlet stripes. The Body Guard also had a 'round' jacket of the same material and facings. White trousers, worn off formal duty, were of duck and, from the number of ball buttons specified, were buttoned down the leg. The cloak was also blue broad cloth with scarlet facings. The Body Guard wore leather gloves and Wellington boots.³⁴

William IV came to the throne in 1830 and in accordance with his wish to see the Army dressed in red coats, the 1831 Dress Regulations changed the blue coat of Light Dragoon Regiments to scarlet. The Dress of the Governor's Body Guard would have followed suit but whether this was effected before becoming Mounted Orderlies is not known. It seems unlikely, in view of the tender schedule prepared by Sergeant Major Moore which specified blue cloth. The illustration on page 59 of Peter Stanley's *The Remote Garrison* shows a trooper in a scarlet coat and although titled 'Trooper, Governor's Bodyguard' must depict the uniform of the Mounted Orderlies.

³⁴ AO NSW, 4/7420, submission by Moore to Captain Williams, undated.

Members of the Governor's Body Guard³⁵

LANLEZARK THOMAS, Born c1770, service with 3rd Dgn Guards in Flanders under Duke of York; convicted of burglary with force 1800, sentenced to be hung, commuted to transportation for life; arr Syd Perseus 4 Aug 1802; apptd Cpl of BG 3 May 1804; Absolute Pardon granted 4 Jun 1804 after 2 yrs 9 mn svc; granted 30 acres Bankstown 1810; died 1834, buried Pioneer Memorial Cemetery, Liverpool, see also text.

ASHTON JOHN, Born 1779; enl NSW 19 Jun 1805, arr Syd HMS Porpoise 5 Aug 1806; trans 73rd Regt 25 March 1810; BG 18 Oct 1811; disch 1814?

BARKER J, BG 1831; TOB ff 33 & 52.

BARREN STEPHEN, BG 1832; f 81.

BELLASIS GEORGE BRIDGES, See entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Vol I, p. 83 for full details.

BRAMMER JOSEPH OR JOHN, Enl NSW 7 Jun 1800, age 35 years, prev svc 59th Regt 16 yrs 5mn, trade weaver, arr Syd Earl Cornwallis 5 Jun 1801; trans 73rd Regt 24 Apr 1810.

BRENNAN JOHN, 50th Regt to BG 1 Feb 1834 TOB f 95.

CARROLL JOHN, 17th Regt to BG 16 Jun 1833, TOB f 99.

CHANDLE, 50th Regt to BG 22 Feb 1834, TOB f 107.

CLARKE GEORGE I, Enl NSW 25 Apr 1801, age 41yrs 6 mn, prev svc 41st Regt 8 yrs 4 mn; arr Syd Minorca 14 Dec 1801; trans 73rd Regt 24 Apr 1810; buried St Johns, Parramatta 15 Jan 1811.

CONROY THOMAS, 40th Regt, trans to RNSW Vets 25 Feb 1827.

COSGROVE WILLIAM, Removed from BG 11 Oct 1832, TOB f 81.

CRADDOCK JOSEPH, Born c1764, Hampstead; enl ex-Savoy Mil Prison and 20 Lt Dgns 11 Aug 1796, age 44 yrs 11mn, 12 yrs 8 mn prev svc; arr Syd Ganges 2 Jun 1797; trans 73rd Regt 24 Apr 1810, then 46th Regt for disch, pension granted 20 Apr 1818; Constable at Naval Office Nov 1826; died Syd 22 Jul 1846.

DEALEY JOHN, 40th Regt, BG 25 Mar 1824 to 24 Mar 1826.

DENNING ISAAC, 46th Regt, trans 48th Sep 1817, believed to have accompanied last det of 48th to India.

EVANS THOMAS, ^{46 Savoy, NSW 1793} Arr Syd 73rd Regt; trans 46th then 48th Regts; to 3rd Regt for disch 24 Mar 1824, according to Crowder pension awarded 26 Nov 1823.

FIELD THOMAS, 46th Regt; BG in returns of 24 Ju 1815, 18 Mar 1816; probably accompanied 46th to India.

FORD JOHN, From Mtd Pol to BG 11 Oct 1832, TOB f 81.

HADLINGTON JOHN, Enl 48th 1 May 1819, age 18, occupation groom; trans 40th Regt 25 Mar 1824; not trans to RNSW Vets 1827;

HILL THOMAS, Replaced by Pte John Carroll 16 Jun 1833; TOB f 99.

HINDER JOHN, Enl NSW 8 Nov 1796, age 29 yr 11 mn, prev svc 3rd Regt 11yrs 10 mn, trade tailor; arr Syd May 1798, Bramwell, BG Dec 1801 to Jan 1802; trans 73rd Regt 25 Apr 1810.

HUMPHRIES THOMAS, 46th Regt? One entry in BG 24 Jun 1815; pte of this name in NSW Vet Coy.

HUNT WILLIAM, Cpl BG prom sgt 21 Mar 1832 vice Keepers; TOB f 67.

JAMES HENRY, Enl 48th Regt 4 Sep 1819, occupation Attorney's Clerk; trans 40th 25 Mar 1824 in BG as cpl; trans RNSW Vets 25 Feb 1827, 4th Regt 31 Jan 1832 for disch at Windsor; died Syd 17 Sep 1877.

³⁵ Abbreviations: Apptd—appointed; arr—arrive; Enl—enlisted; BG—Body Guard; Dgns—Dragoons; disch—discharged; f—folio; Gov—Governor; Lt Dgns—Light Dragoons; Mtd Pol—Mounted Police; NSW—New South Wales Corps; prev svc—previous service; Regt—Regiment; RNSW Vets—Royal NSW Veteran Company; Syd—Sydney; TOB—troop Order Book; trans—transferred; yrs mn—years and months.

KEEVERS WILLIAM, 57th Regt trans 17th in BG 31 Dec 1830; prom sgt, red 21 Mar 1832, removed from BG 1 Apr 1833, disch 1834, pension granted 10 Sep 1834.

KEMPSON THOMAS, 73rd Regt? BG 17 Nov 1812, 28 Apr 1812, .

KIRBY BRYAN, 17th Regt appt BG 28 Oct 1831, TOB f 52.

✓ LAWSON GEORGE, Enl NSWC 11 Oct 1801, age 29 yrs, prev svc 16th Regt 11 Yrs 3 mn, weaver from Dublin; arr Syd as Cpl Hercules 25 Jun 1802; reduced 1803; BG 1810; trans 73rd, 46th, 48th Regts; disch 10 Mar 1821 due to debility ; total svc 25 yrs 8 mn, awarded pension 21 Sep 1821.

✓ LEE JOHN, Born Dunow, Tipperary, re-inforcement to 48th; trans 40th 25 Mar 1824 in BG, RNSW Vets 25 Feb 1827, 4th Regt 31 Jan 1832, then Mtd Pol to 1844; trans to 99th for disch, pension awarded 26 Aug 1845; died Sep 1851.

MARTIN JAMES, Enl NSWC 11 Oct 1801, age 35 yrs; prev svc 87th Regt 15yrs; arr Syd Marquis Cornwallis Feb 1796; BG Dec 1801- Jan 1802; disch 24 Apr 1810, Syd?

✗ McCONNELL THOMAS, 1809 - 1818 5th Dgn Gds, at Salamanca, Vittoria & Toulouse; disch 1818 as too short for service in a cavalry regt; enl 48th Jun 1819, appt to BG on arr Syd; trans 40th 25 Mar 1824; disch 24 Dec 1829, pension awarded 8 Sep 1830; Constable Lane Cove, dismissed and sentenced to 6 mths imprisonment 1836; awarded Military General Service Medal 1793-1814 in 1848; died 29 May 1864; see also text.

McWHARRIE PETER, 46th Regt, trans to 48th Sep 1817; promoted Sgt vice Whalan 24 Feb 1822 in BG; trans to regimental duty 40th 25 Mar 1824; returned to regtl depot in England 1826.

✓ MOORE LEWIS, Enl 46th Regt 4 Oct 1816, age 19, trade gunsmith, trans 48th Sep 1817, 40th 25 Mar 1824, RNSW Vet Coy 25 Feb 1827, 4th Regt 1831, 80th Regt 1838; disch 31 Jan 1840; awarded pension 28 Aug 1839; as member of Mtd Pol involved in massacres of aborigines; see also text.

NEWMAN HENRY, 46th Regt, appears only in return of 24 June 1815.

NICHELOW WILLIAM, Shown once in Muster Roll of NSW Vet Coy as 'Det to Cavalry'.

PITCHERS (PITCHIN) JOHN, One of convicts apptd by Gov King to BG; 4 May 1804 dismissed as cpl for gross abuse of Superintendent.

REANEY THOMAS, Reinforcement to 48th Regt; trans to 40th 25 Mar 1824; in BG to Sep 1825.

RICHARDSON WILLIAM, Born 1761, Yorkshire, occupation teacher; ex-convict enl to NSWC, Syd, 2 May 1792 as Cpl; prom sgt 7 Jun 1801; 1802 -1807 Gov's Orderly; returned England May 1810; musters show sick 1806-1809.

SILVEY JOHN, Enl NSWC 25 Aug 1797, age 28, prev svc 24th Regt 10 yrs, occupation hosier; arr Syd Barwell 18 May 1798; BG 1801-1802; returned England with 102nd May 1810.

THOMAS WILLIAM, Convict enl to BG by Gov King 1802; still serving 1810; granted Absolute Pardon by Lt Col Foveaux during period of illegal administration; applied to Gov Macquarie for confirmation of pardon 2 Feb 1810.

THORNBURY THOMAS, 73rd Regt ; BG 1810-1814; left with regt 1817.

TOLLIS THOMAS, Enl NSWC 12 Jan 1796 ex-Savoy Mil Prison & 20th Lt Dgns; Cpl 25 Jul 1808; shown BG Apr 1810 to 25 June 1821; died 48th Regimental Hospital 25 Jun 1821.

WHALAN CHARLES, See text.

WHITEMILL WILLIAM, Appt Sgt BG vic Keevers from Cpl Mtd Pol 11 Apr 1833; TOB f 93.

WRIGHT JOHN D, Appt to BG from Mtd Pol 1 Oct 1832; TOB f 81.

Trench Mortars in the AIF, 1916 – 1918

Neville Foldi

The Great War saw the refinement of many old weapons and the employment of trench mortars is an illustration of that process. Despite advances in armaments over the last eighty years the mortar has remained a simple and effective weapon.

Background

By the end of 1914 the initial war of movement in France and Flanders had become static trench fighting and frontline soldiers on both sides were asking for a light gun which could deliver a bomb into enemy trenches.

The German army was first with a small mortar consisting of a steel tube on a light metal frame. This was the original *Minenwerfer*.¹ Technocrats soon took over and developed this handy gun into a more complicated device better described as a small howitzer.²

On the British side, the first response is said to have been the use of the 'Cohorn' mortar. This brass gun is reputed to have helped in the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1746!³ During 1915, various strange devices were submitted by would be inventors, most of which defy description and were certainly not practical for battlefield use.

Meanwhile, on Gallipoli, Australians were using a small number of two types of mortar. The first, known as the 'Garland', fired a jam tin bomb from a steel tube by the explosion of a bag of black powder.⁴ The other was obtained from Japan, having been used in the 1905 war against Russia and was the more sophisticated of the two.⁵ Later that year Sergeant P F Ryan (later Captain) of 6th Light Horse was commanding a 'Catapult Battery' of six large wooden cross-bows throwing small bombs by rubber slings.⁶

Another of the 1915 inventions that progressed to operational use was the 'West Spring Gun'.⁷ This was a steel arm holding at its outer end a grenade or bomb which was thrown by a bank of springs. It brings to mind the ancient Roman *Ballista*. With a range of about 220m this weapon was quite large and would have required a very big pit in the front line. It was probably replaced during the winter of 1915-1916 by the rifle grenade.

By the end of 1915, the British authorities had settled on a range of mortars designated heavy, medium and light. These were then adopted by the AIF.

¹ *The Guns 1914-18*, Ian V Hogg, Pan/Ballantine, London, 1971, p. 72.

² *Ibid*, p. 73; *The Big Guns-Artillery 1914-1918*, BPC Publishing, London, 1973, pp. 37 and 47.

³ *The Big Guns*, *ibid*, p. 37.

⁴ An example is displayed at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, and another is held by the Royal Australian Infantry Corps (RAIC) Museum, Singleton, NSW. A photograph is in the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18*, Vol II, p. 50 (AWM C2686).

⁵ An example is displayed at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

⁶ *Grenades and Their Uses*, Lt Col R Law, issued by instruction of the Chief of the General Staff Australia, undated, pp. 63, 64 and Plate XXI. An example is held at the RAIC Museum.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 64, 65 and Plate XXII. An example is displayed at the RAIC Museum.

Equipment

The heavy mortar had a bore of 9.45 inches (240mm) and fired a 152 pound (69kg) projectile.⁸ For reasons not too difficult to guess, this bomb was soon known as the 'Flying Pig'. The Pig produced a crater 8m wide and 3.5m deep at a maximum range of about 1050m. The overall arrangement was a trough shaped frame which pivoted on a steel base which was mounted on a platform of wooden beams. The barrel was clamped to the frame, which also had mechanisms for aiming.

The initial medium mortar had a bore of 2 inches (50mm) and fired a spherical bomb of cast iron weighing some 60 pounds (27kg). A wooden shaft was fitted to the bomb before firing and this, rather than the bomb itself, fitted down the barrel. The bomb was soon called a 'Plum Pudding'.⁹

An improved type of medium mortar, known as the 'Newton', was introduced late in 1917. It had a bore of 6 inches (150mm) and fired a bomb of 47 pounds (21kg) to a maximum range of about 1,300m.¹⁰ It was essentially a steel barrel fitted into a cast steel base which was then mounted on a heavy wooden platform. Three guy ropes and turnbuckles supported the barrel and were used for elevation and traverse. A more sophisticated system came later.

But the ultimate trench mortar became available by late 1915. Mr (later Sir) Wilfred Stokes submitted a design for a smooth bore muzzle loading gun of 3 inches (75 mm) calibre and weighing just 36 pounds (14 kg). The barrel fitted into a metal base and was held at the desired elevation by a light bipod. Further development strengthened the bipod and added optical sights, although these increased the weight to 40 pounds (166.5 kg). A later bizarre configuration was fitted with a special sight for use in an anti-aircraft role.¹¹

Formation of batteries

Trench Mortar Batteries were formed in the AIF during the first half of 1916. Each of the five Divisions was allocated:

- one Battery of four heavy mortars, designated V (Division number) A
- three Batteries each of four medium mortars, designated X, Y or Z (Division number) A
- three Batteries of light (Stokes) mortars, designated by the number of the Brigade to which they were allotted.

Heavy and Medium Batteries were Artillery units generally manned by transfers from other Divisional Artillery units. Light Batteries were Infantry, in the main served by transfers from the Brigade to which they were attached.¹² There were some reinforcements for Medium and Light Batteries sent from Australia.

⁸ *Guns of the Regiment*, S N Gower, AWM, 1981, pp. 52 and 182. A photograph is in the Official History Vol XII, No 217 (AWM EZ149).

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 59. A 'Plum Pudding' is displayed at the AWM.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p59. A well restored example, together with a bomb, is displayed at the RAIC Museum and another at the Royal Australian Artillery Museum at Manly, NSW. Also, see the Official History Vol VI, pp. 37 and 289 (photograph AWM E2429).

¹¹ *The Guns 1914-18*, *ibid*, pp. 75, 76 and the Official History Vol XII, No. 505 (AWME 2627).

¹² *The Story of the Fifth Australian Division*, A D Ellis, Hodder and Stoughton, 1920, pp. 72, 73 and the Official History Vol III, p. 90.

During the Northern winter of 1917-1918, Heavy and Medium Batteries were reorganised and reallocated. Heavy mortars were concentrated into a Corps Battery of six guns as part of the Corps Heavy Artillery. Medium Batteries were reduced to two per Division, each of six mortars. These Batteries were numbered 1 to 10.¹³

Battery establishments

Pending location of official establishments for the three types of Batteries I have made the following assumptions, based on photographs in the Official History and other sources:

- a heavy mortar team was probably five soldiers so that, allowing for a command and administrative component, a Battery of four teams could have comprised about twenty five all ranks and the later Corps Battery of six guns about thirty five;
- a 2 inch Medium Battery in 1916 is reported to have had a strength of three officers and twenty three other ranks;¹⁴
- in late 1917 a 'Newton' Battery, each of six mortars, may have comprised about thirty five all ranks; and
- a Light Battery is reported to have had four officers and forty six other ranks.¹⁵

Employment

There is little doubt that each type of mortar was effective and the men who served them were among the finest of the AIF, but there were some initial problems. A history of the Fifth Division records the first action of 15 Light Battery. To preserve secrecy mortar teams were instructed to fire ten bombs from the frontline and to then return to the support line with all possible haste. Those who had to remain in the frontline endured the enemy retaliation. When the mortar teams next appeared they were dubbed 'the shoot and scatter mob', 'the imshi artillery' and 'the crab drawers'.¹⁶ These opinions were soon revised and the value of the Stokes gun recognised.

On the other hand, because of their relative lack of mobility, Heavy and Medium teams probably had to bear the brunt of enemy responses to their activities.

In 1918 soldiers on both sides left their trenches. First the Germans in their March attacks and then the riposte by the Allies. Static warfare gave way to the tactics of fire and movement. Such operations probably meant a reduced role for Heavy and Medium Batteries but the Stokes Gun would have been most effective, because of its low weight and mobility.

Conclusion

The full story of the bravery and dedication of those who served in trench mortar teams is yet to be told. Finally I would like to record my thanks to both the Royal Australian Infantry Corps Museum and the Royal Australian Artillery Museum for their assistance.

¹³ *The Story of the Fifth Australian Division*, *ibid*, p. 73 and the Official History, p. 37n.

¹⁴ *The Story of the Fifth Australian Division*, *ibid*, p. 73.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 80.

They shall grow not old—
a who's who of the armed forces
at Brighton General Cemetery

Travis M Sellers

Australian Military History has always been a fascination of mine ever since becoming interested in World War I during my youth. In every book on the subject are names whose deeds can never be erased—as Dr C E W Bean said ‘the good and the bad, the greatness and smallness of the story will stand’.¹

The spirit of Anzac Day will forever continue to pay tribute to the sacrifices of our servicemen and women. However, the final resting place of those whose deeds are firmly entrenched in our nations history provides a more poignant remembrance, today their whereabouts often forgotten in the mists of time.

Many, if not all, of Melbourne's metropolitan cemeteries contain recognisable names from our military history books. Of all such cemeteries, Brighton General (North Road, Caulfield South, Melbourne) offers an extraordinary diversity in both quality and depth, possibly unsurpassed by any other in Australia. Below is a brief outline of the many military and related interments, a list by no means exhaustive:

General Sir John MONASH

Considered Australia's greatest military commander who, despite his Jewish background and training in the militia rose to command the AIF in France on 31 May 1918. One of only a few Allied Generals to escape the war unscathed from criticism, Monash earned a reputation as a meticulous planner and for his technical mastery of all arms and tactics.² Knighted in 1918, he died on 8 October 1931 at his home *Iona*—33 St George's Road, Toorak, and was accorded one of the largest State funerals ever seen in Melbourne.

Monash's second-in-command during the formation of the 4th Brigade was Brig-General John Patrick ‘Paddy’ McGLINN (St Kilda Cemetery) who died on 7 July 1946.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Rooke CRESWELL

After serving with the Royal Navy (1865-78) and later migrating to Australia in 1879, Creswell began a silent but influential campaign to increase the size and deployment of Australia's naval defence force. It wasn't until October 1913 that Australia had a commanding fleet worthy of Creswell to deserve the title as ‘Father of the Royal Australian Navy’,³ serving as first Chief of Naval Staff and continuing the role until his retirement in 1919. In 1901, Creswell commanded HMCS *Protector* in the Boxer Rebellion, being ‘the first time a colonial ship of war had ever

¹ Bean, C E W, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18*, Volume VI p. 1096.

² Pedersen, P, *Monash as Military Commander*, p. 301.

³ Grant, I, *A Dictionary of Australian Military History*, p. 96.

been despatched on Imperial service',⁴ but saw no action. Knighted in 1911 and promoted to Vice-Admiral in 1922, Creswell died on 20 April 1933.

Surgeon-General Sir William Daniel Campbell WILLIAMS

Williams is chiefly remembered for his pioneering military medical tactics devised during the Boer War. He single handedly re-organised the service in which the medical units would remain close to the front line. The only regular medical officer in Australia prior to WWI as Director-General of Medical Services, Williams was the most eminent and respected person in his field. However, like Lieut-General James LEGGE* (New Cheltenham Cemetery), Williams was unfairly treated and saw his authority increasingly undermined by Sir William Bridges in favour of Sir Neville Howse VC. He saw very little active service and returned to Australia in 1916 with a 'bitter and not unnatural chagrin at the turn of events',⁵ a Knighthood awaited his return. He died on 10 May 1919.

Major-General Edwin TIVEY DSO

Tivey is best remembered in the history books for the label—'Tivey's Chocs'—given to the 8th Brigade, the unit Tivey commanded throughout the Great War. A firm, sometimes English-like commander, but always respected, he was Mentioned in Despatches 6 times, and after the war commanded the 5th Division from November 1918 to May 1919 and later the 2nd Cavalry Division (1921-26). An Inglewood boy, Tivey served with distinction in the Boer War with the 4th Victorian (Imperial) Contingent and was awarded the DSO for a daring surprise attack on 11 February 1900. He died on 19 May 1947 at *Nauroy*—15 Kooyong Road, Toorak.

Major-General George Jameson JOHNSTON

Another name behind a label. 'Johnston's Jolly' on the Gallipoli peninsula ('to jolly up the Turks'⁶) is named after this artilleryman. Johnston was described as 'a hard-goer, fearless, enduring, capable'⁷ and served with distinction in the Boer War commanding the 62nd Battery (Royal Field Artillery). Later in WWI he commanded the 2nd Australian Field Artillery Brigade at Gallipoli, rising to Brigadier-General in charge of the 2nd Division Artillery. At Ypres he perfected the art of the protective barrage until he asked to be sent home in a protest against Major-General Walter COXEN (Springvale Cemetery) being appointed Corps Artillery Commander. From April 1918 to May 1920 Johnston served as Military Administrator of New Guinea, succeeding Brig-General Sir Samuel PETHEBRIDGE (Box Hill Cemetery). He died on 23 May 1949.

Sergeant Maurice Vincent BUCKLEY VC, DCM⁸

Serving with the 13th Battalion, Buckley won the coveted award under the name of Gerald Sexton on 18 September 1918 at Le Verguier, when a number of enemy outposts escaped the creeping barrage necessitating daring action. He rushed down a bank seizing an artillery field

⁴ *The Herald*, 21 April 1933 p. 2.

⁵ Butler, A, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services in the War 1914-18*, Volume I, p. 497.

⁶ Bean, C E W, op cit, Volume I, p. 339.

⁷ Reay, W, *Australians in War*, p. 343.

⁸ Buckley was awarded the DCM on 8 August 1918 for silencing 4 machine-gun posts (Wigmore, L, *They Dared Mightily*, 1963 edition p. 167, Wigmore, L, and Harding B, *They Dared Mightily*, second revised edition, 1986, Williams, J and Saunton, A, editors, p. 41).

gun holding up the company, ran over exposed ground to capture a trench-mortar post, all between silencing six posts and personally taking 30 prisoners. Described as one of those soldiers 'who didn't know fear',⁹ Buckley died on 27 January 1921 as a result of his fearless nature in a horse riding accident at Boolarra, Gippsland and was the first Australian VC recipient to die after returning home.

Lieutenant-Colonel James Ernest NEWLAND VC

Newland was one of two permanent soldiers to win the VC in the Great War. As a Captain with the 12th Battalion in April 1917, a prelude assault on the Hindenburg line required the capture of a number of villages. On two separate occasions, Newland's company was against a formidable enemy at one stage 10 to 1, but through his fearless leadership, managed to hold the line. Newland also served in the Boer War with the 4th Battalion (Australian Commonwealth Horse) and on the home front during WWII. Residing at 54 Briggs Street, Caulfield, he died on 19 March 1949 aged 67.

Warrant Officer Walter 'Wally' PEELER VC

Serving with the 3rd Pioneer Battalion during the Third Battle of Ypres on 4 October 1917, Peeler was assigned for anti-aircraft operations, but in the resulting confusion actually ended up joining the first attacking wave. Daring action was required to capture an enemy post. He was later directed to three separate posts, in all, accounting for over 30 of the enemy. For this action Peeler was awarded the VC. For many years Peeler was a public figure as Shrine Custodian (1934-64); he later enlisted for overseas service in WWII only to be captured at Java in 1942 and was lucky to survive as a POW. 'His duty nobly done',¹⁰ in an interview 2 years before his death on 23 May 1968, Peeler said 'I never saw the faces of those I killed. They were just men in an enemy uniform'.¹¹ He resided at 10 Moore Street, South Caulfield.

Lieutenant-Colonel W (William) Donovan JOYNT VC

Joynt, who was awarded the highest individual honour at Chuignes on 23 August 1918 as a Lieutenant with the 8th Battalion, was the last surviving Australian WWI VC recipient. A foundation and life long member of Legacy, Joynt was instrumental with BLACKETT (qv) and others in influencing the RSL to support the Shrine of Remembrance concept, eventually succeeding in May 1927 after a bitter 3½ year struggle.¹² 'Ever in the forefront of the battle' as inscribed on Joynt's headstone, he later served in WWII as Commanding Officer 3rd Garrison Battalion. He died on 5 May 1986, aged 97.

Colonel Duncan McLEISH*¹³

Gaining his commission in April 1887 with the Victorian Mounted Rifles, McLeish fought in the Boer War with the 1st Victorian Contingent, and was conspicuous in various campaigns including Pink Hill on 12th February 1900, 'a glorious but a fatal day in the history of the

⁹ Author of the history of the 13th Battalion (cited in Nairn, B., Serle, G. (editors), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume X p. 643).

¹⁰ Peeler's headstone inscription.

¹¹ *Mufti* 1 October 1966 p6.

¹² Joynt, W D, *Breaking the road for the rest*, pp. 162-166 (Blackett mentioned p. 163, see also Blatchford, C, *Legacy, The Story of the Melbourne Legacy Club*, p. 47).

¹³ * indicates no headstone.

Victorian contingent'.¹⁴ Described as 'a typical Australian rider, bronzed, lean, sinew',¹⁵ McLeish was later in charge of the 2nd Battalion (Australian Commonwealth Horse) on 22 January 1902, and for his outstanding war service was Mentioned in Despatches, and appointed CMG. In WWI, he commanded the 1st Remount Unit in Egypt (1915-19) and was Mentioned in Despatches twice. A notable Yea pastoralist and citizen, he died on 17 April 1920 at 89 New Street, Middle Brighton.

Air-Commodore William James Yule GUILFOYLE MC

Son of the renowned landscape gardener William R GUILFOYLE (Brighton Cemetery). Guilfoyle had a varied military career in WWI enlisting with the 4th Light Horse Regiment in August 1914; six months later he joined the Royal Field Artillery. In July 1915 he gained a commission with the British Royal Flying Corps, and was later attached to the Australian Flying Corps (Egypt) in July 1916 taking part in Battles of Romani and Gaza. Described as an 'ideal airman for pluck, and daring and splendid nerve',¹⁶ in October 1916 he was awarded the Military Cross and in 1918 flew in the Battle of Piave (Italy). In WWII, Guilfoyle served in various posts with the RAF rising to the position of Commandant Air Training Corps (Nth-West command) from 1942 to 1946. Mentioned in Despatches six times, he died on 24 April 1948 as a result of an explosion while camping.

Lieutenant-Colonel Eric William TULLOCH MC & Bar

Ballarat born, Tulloch served as a Captain with the 11th Battalion at Gallipoli. During the fatal landing on 25 April 1915, his company managed to reach Battleship Hill, some 1,000 yards beyond the settled line—one of only 2 formations of troops to reach their immediate objective. Badly wounded, he recuperated in Australia eventually returning to the Battalion and was awarded the Military Cross in two separate daring enterprises on 23 August 1918 near Chuignolles and at the Hindenburg Outpost on 18 September. He later ended the war as temporary commander of the 12th Battalion. A married man, amid evidence of secret trysts with female companions, Tulloch was murdered by an intruder at 92 Wellington Pde, East Melbourne on 8 May 1926, that today remains a mystery.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Arnold CROWTHER DSO

Crowther served with various units during the Great War, notably with the 21st Battalion from May 1915 to August 1916 and January 1917 to March 1918. In between, he served as second-in-command of the 22nd to help rebuild the unit after the devastating loss of leaders suffered during the Battle of Pozieres. In March 1918 he was promoted Lieut-Colonel in command of the famous 14th Battalion a period later described as 'eminently successful'.¹⁷ Six times Mentioned in Despatches,¹⁸ and awarded the DSO 'for gallant and skilful handling of his Company at Pozieres'¹⁹ between 26 July and 6 August 1916, Crowther was also mentioned in a Special Order for his leadership during the torpedoing of *Southland* on 2 September 1915. He died on 26 April 1966 aged 78.

¹⁴ Reay, W, op cit, p. 169.

¹⁵ Coulthard-Clark, C, *The Diggers*, p. 44.

¹⁶ Kiddle, J (Editor), *War services of Old Melburnians 1914-1918*, p. 248.

¹⁷ Wanliss, N, *The history of the Fourteenth Battalion AIF*, p. 348.

¹⁸ On 20 Jan 1917, 29 Jun 1917, 28 Dec 1917, Jun 1918, 27 Dec 1918 and 16 Mar 1919. A number of sources state four times.

¹⁹ Smith, N, *The Red And Black Diamond. The history of the 21st Battalion 1915-1918*, p. 114.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Edward FORREST MC

Believed to have been the second man to enlist in Tasmania,²⁰ Forrest served with the Queensland raised 7th Battery Field Artillery. In 1917 he was awarded the Military Cross and later promoted Major in command of the 110th Howitzer Battery. After the war, with Sir John GELLIBRAND (Yea Cemetery), he was one of the founders of the Tasmanian Remembrance Club, and later Melbourne Legacy. Secretary to the Tasmanian RSL (1919-21) and later General Secretary to the RSL national body (1921-24), Forrest was described as 'well-known throughout Australia as one of the strongest and most active guardians of the rights of former soldiers'.²¹ At the time of his death on 19 October 1930, he was Member for the State seat of Caulfield (1927-30).

Colonel John WALSTAB DSO

Enlisting in October 1914 as a Captain with the 5th Battalion, Walstab was wounded at Gallipoli on 8 May 1915 during the ill-fated Battle of Krithia. In November 1916 he was promoted to command the Battalion with the rank of Lieut-Colonel and the following year was awarded the DSO and appointed to various training positions in England. In the Pacific region during the war years he served in a number of appointments, notably as Superintendent of Police in New Guinea (1927-42). In WWII, Walstab served in the Middle East as Assistant Provost Marshall with the 1st Australian Corps (1940-41), and later as Deputy Provost Marshall with Headquarters (1941-42). Twice Mentioned in Despatches, Walstab died on 16 March 1957 residing for many years at 200 Kambrook Rd, Caulfield²².

Major-General Major Francis DOWNES

After joining the British Army in 1848 and later serving with the Royal Artillery in the Crimean War (May 1855 to February 1856), Downes was recommended to the position of Commandant of Military Forces (South Australia). He held the position from 1877 to 1885 and from 1888 to 1893 before moving to Victoria. Downes later served as temporary Commandant of Military Forces (Victoria) from November 1899 to oversee the transfer of the Defence Department to the Commonwealth. He died on 15 October 1923 at 81 Outer Crescent, Brighton. His son Major-General Rupert Downes died in the same air crash that killed Major-General George Vasey on 5 March 1945.

Warrant Officer David Augustus O'KEEFFE DCM & Bar

One of only 28 First AIF recipients of a bar to the Distinguished Conduct Medal,²³ O'Keeffe joined the 10th Australian Field Ambulance on 28 August 1915 as Sergeant. While under heavy fire at Messines (June 1917) he ensured that wounded men were cleared by organising stretcher-bearers. Likewise at Ypres (October 1917), again under heavy fire he rescued a number of injured men. For both actions he was awarded the DCM. O'Keeffe died on 2 September 1964 and resided at 8 Merriwoola St, East St Kilda.

²⁰ *The Age* 20 October 1930 p. 8.

²¹ *The Argus* 20 October 1930 p. 8.

²² *Who's Who in Australia* (1944).

²³ *Decorations and medals awarded to members of the Australian Armed Forces* (Poster), 1988.

Colonel Alfred Emanuel 'Teddy' OTTER

Otter is best remembered as 'the father of the Victorian Rangers',²⁴ a long-forgotten, but illustrious Victorian colonial infantry unit, whom he commanded from 1889 to 1902. In his 63rd year he was given command of the 5th Victorian Mounted Rifles in the Boer War serving largely in the Transvaal area before being invalided home on 5 August 1901. Before arriving in Australia in 1882, Otter had a varied career with the Imperial Army—in 1857 he served with HMS *Excellent* and later with the Royal Marine Light Infantry for 8 years. His death on 20 March 1920 was lamented by all whom knew Otter, and his headstone testifies to the respect he earned by those who he commanded.

Colonel Wilfrid Kent FETHERS

A militia soldier who didn't join the AIF until 5 May 1915, Fethers served as second-in-command of the 24th Battalion at Gallipoli and later as Lieut-Colonel in command of the 23rd. He later oversaw the 23rd's involvement at Pozieres until wounded on 3 August 1916. An earlier illness at Gallipoli affected his eyesight²⁵ and he returned home on 2 August 1918. At the time of his death on 10 July 1976, Fethers was the 'longest serving member of the Naval and Military Club, Melbourne'.²⁶ He resided at 41 The Ridge, Canterbury.

Brigadier-General Leslie Herbert KYNGDON

Joining the NSW Volunteer Forces (Artillery) in 1878, Kyngdon fought in the Sudan campaign in command of 'D' Company of the NSW Infantry Battalion. He later served in the Boer War with the British Royal Artillery, and by 1919 had risen to the honorary rank of Brig-General after conspicuous service on the homefront during WWI as Commandant of Western Australia and Chief Inspector of Coastal Defences. At the time of his death on 13 April 1923, Kyngdon was the last surviving Australian officer who had served in Sudan in 1885.²⁷

Major-General Gustave Mario RAMACIOTTI

Italian born, Ramaciotti was a man of flair who undertook a number of career paths—between 1904 and 1911 he was a director of J C Williamson theatrical company. He began his soldiering career in 1878 with the Queensland Defence Force rising to the honorary rank of Major-General as Inspector-General of Administration with the Defence Department. Ramaciotti served with the Italian Army in 1911 against Turkey and was the author of a number of military publications. He died on 6 December 1927.

Lieutenant-Colonel Harry McLeod DUIGAN

Gaining his commission in June 1897 with the 1st Battalion (Militia Infantry Brigade),²⁸ Duigan enlisted on 7 October 1915 with the rank of Major as second-in-command of the original 29th Battalion. In June 1916 he was given command of the 60th Battalion but it was

²⁴ *The Victorian Historical Magazine* Volume XVII, May 1938 p. 17.

²⁵ Perry, W, *The Naval & Military Club. A history of its first hundred years 1881-1981*, p. 340—biographical sketch provided by W D Joynt VC.

²⁶ *Ibid* p. 339.

²⁷ *The Argus* 1 December 1919 p. 6.

²⁸ Ron Austin (author) undated letter May 1998. *The Age* (7 August 1931 p. 7) states 'City of Melbourne Regiment', but this appears incorrect.

Major Geoff McCrac²⁹ who oversaw the unit's bloody battle at Fromelles on 19-20 July 1916 in which it suffered the crippling loss of 16 officers and 741 other ranks. Promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel on 27 July 1916, Duigan was left to rebuild the shattered unit through the bitter winter of 1916-17, his health eventually deteriorated and he relinquished command in February 1917. A noted sportsman and prominent solicitor, he died on 6 August 1931.

Private Francis Edward POLINESS

This inconspicuous soldier has a special place in Australia's military history as being part of the daring exploit that earned Albert JACKA (St Kilda Cemetery) Australia's first VC in WWI. On 19 May 1915 at Courtney's Post, a section of the trench had been captured by the Turks. Lieutenant Crabbe sought four volunteers—one being Poliness—to cover Jacka in a heroic bayonet charge from a concealed communication trench³⁰—Poliness commenting, 'It's sink or swim'.³¹ When this failed, Poliness's party³² threw two bombs creating a smoke screen for Jacka to launch a successful individual rear assault, Poliness himself shot two Turks attempting to crawl over the parapet.³³ He later served in WWII and died on 8 December 1952 at 7 Palermo Street, South Yarra.

Private Claude William PHILIPS

Yet another soldier more significant than the name suggests. Until his recent death on 4 September 1997 aged 100, Philips was the last survivor of the 59th Battalion, and also Church of England Grammar's oldest boy (1908-12).³⁴ Enlisting on 29 April 1916, Philips arrived in France late December to play tenor horn³⁵ with the battalion band, but heavy casualties saw him take part in the Battle of Bapaume.³⁶ Under the command of the controversial Major-General Harold 'Pompey' ELLIOTT (Burwood Cemetery), Philips was part of the defence of Villers-Bretonneux³⁷ (24 April 1918) and the Battle of Amiens (8 August 1918)—both glorious days in Australia's military history. A quite man, on his war service, Philips spoke little saying 'it was too horrific'.³⁸

Lieutenant William Arthur Mordey BLACKETT

Enlisting on 13 February 1917, Blackett served in the little known Education Service Unit. Later in life, he played a vital role as member of Legacy and as a councillor with the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects (1907-52, President 1916-18 and 1928-30). He lobbied with others for the original Shrine of Remembrance concept in the face of Sir Keith Murdoch's

²⁹ Killed in action 19 July 1916. A memorial window erected in his memory stands at the Church of Christ, Hawthorn.

³⁰ Wanliss, N, op cit, pp. 43-44.

³¹ Grant, I, *Jacka, VC, Australia's finest fighting soldier*, p. 26.

³² Bean, C, op cit, Volume II p. 150. Who really did throw the bombs? Wanliss, N, op cit, p. 44 states Pte James McNally, while Grant, I, op cit, p. 28 claims it was Poliness.

³³ Grant, I, op cit, p. 28.

³⁴ *The Age* 17 June 1997, Section C p. 1.

³⁵ *Herald Sun* 10 September 1997 p. 15.

³⁶ Kiddle, J (editor), op cit, p. 358. Philips was wounded in this battle.

³⁷ Philips was the third last survivor of this battle and hoped to travel to France this year for the 80th anniversary. The others being Jim Baddeley (the last survivor of the 58th Battalion, died 27 February 1998); and Bob Riddell in his late 90s.

³⁸ *The Age* 17 June 1997, Section C p. 1.

Herald, the RSL, the Melbourne Lord Mayor, and the government of the day. Thrice married, Blackett died on 2 June 1962 at 71 South Road, Brighton.

H (Harold) Septimus POWER

Australia's finest equine painter—described as 'outstanding as a painter of action, and had no rival in his field'.³⁹ Appointed official War Artist in 1917, Power used this skill to produce many illustrations of our involvement—*Following through near Harbonnieres, 9 Aug 1918* (1920), *Camel Corps at Magdhaba, 23 Dec 1916* (1922) and *Third Ypres, Taking the Guns through, 31 July 1917* (1919) described as full of dash and spontaneity.⁴⁰ Residing at 54 Crisp Street, Hampton, Power died on 8 December 1951.

John Hare FURPHY

The man behind the famous military idiom 'furfy'—a rumour, false report or absurd story. (Other variations of 'furfy' are furph and furphy-king—a retailer of rumours)⁴¹. As the *Furfy Farm Water Carts* and their moral overtones were used at Gallipoli and Egypt where water was scarce, the cart driver's inadvertently spread military gossip and rumours⁴². Hence the word was born. A pioneering and notable Shepparton man, Furphy died on 23 September 1920 at 63 Page Street, Albert Park.

Other military and related interments:

Edward John 'Teddy' RUSSELL—Commonwealth Senator from 1906 until his untimely death in 1925, Russell served as a cabinet Minister from September 1914 to December 1921⁴³. An anti-conscriptionist but a personal friend of Prime Minister William Hughes, Russell was the only Victorian Labour member to follow Hughes to form the Nationalist Government in February 1917. He served in various ministerial positions including Acting Minister for Defence in 1919 during Sir George Pearce's absence to America.

Oswald Robinson SNOWBALL—the man behind the Protestant voice for 23 years as Grandmaster of the Orange Lodge from 1905. Described by one writer as 'the vanguard of individuals ... to keep a watchful eye on the ... Archbishop Daniel Mannix'.⁴⁴ During WWI, in particular the conscription referendum, Snowball—a staunch Imperialist—and Mannix were in a constant battle of wills.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas William Carre RIDDELL—served with the Victorian Mounted Rifles under the controversial Colonel Tom PRICE (Melbourne General Cemetery) and later commanded the 9th Light Horse Regiment. Honorary aide-de-camp to three successive Victorian Governors (1902-12), Riddell was in charge of the military escort during the opening of Parliament in 1901 by the Duke of Cornwall and York (later King George V).

Captain Rupert Carl 'Soss' WERTHEIM—son of the prominent merchant Hugo WERTHEIM (Brighton Cemetery) and a distinguished sportsman himself who played Davis

³⁹ Mr J McDonald former Director, National Gallery of Victoria (*The Argus*, 4 January 1951 p. 4).

⁴⁰ A London critic reviewing the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1919 (see Middleton, M. (introduction by), *The art of H Septimus Power*, p. 9).

⁴¹ Arthur, J.M, and Ramson, W S (Editors), *W H Downing's Digger dialects*, p. 86.

⁴² Nairn, B, and Serle, G (editors), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume IV p. 226.

⁴³ Scott, E., *The official history of Australia in the war of 1914-1918. Australia during the war*, Volume XI p. 867.

⁴⁴ Vertigan, T, *The Orange Order in Victoria*, p. 83.

Cup tennis for Australia in 1922. Enlisting with the 23rd Battalion in June 1915, Wertheim served at Gallipoli before transferring to the 2nd Pioneer Battalion in April 1916 and later fought at Pozieres. He was appointed to the Intelligence Corps serving with the 2nd Australian Division from January 1917 to March 1918 before being promoted to Corps Headquarters in March 1918. Was Mentioned in Despatches five times as well as in Sir Douglas Haig's personal Despatches of 7 November 1917.⁴⁵

Sergeant Vincent SMITH MSM—joined the Australian Flying Corps in February 1916 and served with 'B' Flight, 3rd Squadron. In France, he was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal 'for rescuing an aviator from a blazing machine after three attempts',⁴⁶ himself severely wounded. Also played a part in the Squadron's operations accounting for the death of Captain Baron Manfred von Richthofen on 21 April 1918, and the next day was the non-commissioned officer in charge of the party that fired the honorary shots over the Red Baron's grave.⁴⁷

Colonel James Byres LAING—as Finance member of the Australian Military Board (April 1910 to August 1915), Laing was one of a select few from the Defence Department called to brief the Prime Minister Sir Joseph Cook on 2nd August 1914 upon notification by the Imperial Government of a warning in hostilities. Later appointed to Director of Naval and Military Audit (1916-19), Laing travelled to Egypt on a special mission to re-organise the Pay Corps.⁴⁸

Lieutenant-Colonel Gershon Berndt BENNETT—had a distinguished career in dentistry and served in both World Wars. After studying in America, Bennett gained a commission in November 1915 as a Lieutenant and served in various medical positions rising to the rank of Captain with the 4th Convalescent Hospital (England) in August 1918. In WWII, Bennett served in Australia and New Guinea and became second-in-command of Dental Services.⁴⁹ In April 1921, he married Bertha Monash the only child of Sir John MONASH (qv) whom had 'the highest opinion of his son-in-law'.⁵⁰

Colonel Sir George Adlington SYME—nephew of David SYME (Boroondara Cemetery) publisher of *The Age* who excelled his name as a distinguished Surgeon. Syme served with the Australian Army Medical Corps as Lieut-Colonel from October 1914 to February 1916, notably with the 1st Australian General Hospital (Egypt) and with the British Hospital Ship *Gascon*.

Major William Thomas MCCORMACK—appointed in March 1913 to the first Country Roads Board serving under Chairman William CALDER (Old Cheltenham Cemetery), a position McCormack later held. In WWI, McCormack enlisted with the 10th Field Company (Engineers), and distinguished himself during the battle of Messines acting as Commanding Engineer for the 3rd Division under his mentor Sir John MONASH (qv).

Captain Sir (Henry) Cecil COLVILLE—described 'as *the* medical statesman of twentieth-century Australia',⁵¹ Colville served with the Royal Army Medical Corps (1915) and later with No. 14 General Hospital, 46th Field Ambulance (15th Scottish Division) returning to

⁴⁵ Kiddle, J (editor), op cit, p. 381.

⁴⁶ *The Argus* 19 March 1920 p. 6.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *The Age* 25 November 1919 p. 7.

⁴⁹ Information kindly supplied by Mrs Elizabeth Durre (daughter of Gershon Bennett) 6 May 1998.

⁵⁰ Serle, G, *John Monash, a biography*, p. 495.

⁵¹ *Medical Journal of Australia* 9 June 1984 p. 731.

Australia in May 1916 with the rank of honorary Captain. He later transferred to the Australian Army Medical Corps working at No. 5 General Hospital (Melbourne).

Major Patrick Eugene COLEMAN—noted public servant with the Department of Defence who served in various administrative positions in the 1st AIF rising to the position of Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General Headquarters (London).

Colonel Alfred FREEMAN—a veteran of the Victorian Volunteer Forces (1859-1902), and one of the founders of the Naval and Military Club, Melbourne who later served as the third President (1884-98, 1900-05), and in July 1898 was conferred the first ever Life membership awarded by the Club.

Sir Bernard Thomas HEINZE—the celebrated Professor of Music and Conductor, Heinze received a commission in May 1916 as 2nd Lieutenant with the exclusive British Royal Garrison Artillery Special Reserve Regiment and fought in various battles including Arras, Ypres, Somme and the blood bath of Passchendaele.

Sergeant (Theodore) Penleigh BOYD—noted landscape artist and second generation member of the famous Boyd artistic dynasty who served with the Australian Electrical & Mechanical, Mining & Boring Company (Transport Section) and was badly gassed at Ypres in 1917. Described by *The Age* at the time of his death in 1923 'as without doubt one of the greatest painters of landscape Australia has produced'.⁵²

Penleigh's elder brother (**William) Merric BOYD** also enlisted, serving with the Australian Flying Corps from May 1917 to September 1919. Merric is credited with being the first person in Australia to cast individual hand-made pottery.⁵³

Lieutenant-Colonel James George GILLESPIE—distinguished surveyor who was elected President of the Institute Surveyors of Australia (1953-55); he also served as President of Legacy (1938). In the Great War, Gillespie served as Sergeant with the 12th Field Artillery Brigade from September 1916 returning to Australia in September 1919. In WWII he rose to the rank of Lieut-Colonel with the Australian Survey Corps (1940-46).⁵⁴

Lieutenant Paul JONES—enlisting in June 1916, Jones served with the 1st Australian Tunnelling Company in France and was later gassed in April 1917. In October 1917, he was appointed a Physical Training and Bayonet instructor (England) a similar position he held prior to enlisting. A State and Federal politician after the war, Jones was also a member of the Australian War Memorial Board from 1930 to 1946.

Duncan Elphinstone MCBRYDE—prominent politician and businessman who owned *Kamesburgh*—North Road, Brighton. The Repatriation Department purchased the mansion in September 1918 for £17,000, later funded by the prominent Melbourne Baillieu family for use as a convalescent hostel for the returned soldiers.⁵⁵

Sergeant-Major Robert John GAMBLE—at 106 years of age, Gamble was one of the oldest interments at the time of his death who fought with the famous 42nd 'Black Watch'

⁵² *The Age* 29 November 1923 p9.

⁵³ *The Age* 28 November 1984 p11.

⁵⁴ *Who's Who in Australia* (1968).

⁵⁵ *The Argus* 17 September 1918, p. 6; 7 October 1918, p. 4. Nairn, B., Serle, G (editors), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume VII p. 143 states that the Baillieu family purchased the mansion (as opposed to funded), while Weston Bate *History of Brighton* (p. 376) says it was given to the State by the family.

Regiment in the Crimean War (1854-56). In the Indian Mutiny (1857), he was offered a £25,000 bribe to provide secret information to the Indian leaders, he later said—'Being a Scotsman, I spurned the contemptible overture'.⁵⁶

Engineer-Lieutenant William George ROBERTSON*—a veteran of the Boxer Rebellion (1901) who later oversaw the construction of HMTB *Yarra* and *Parramatta* in Scotland from around June 1909—the first two ships for the new Royal Australian Navy. He died while on board the *Yarra* heading for Williamstown on 10 December 1910.⁵⁷

Gunner Samuel ETTINGHOVE—nephew of the Sidney MYER (Box Hill Cemetery), who co-founded Myer's—a Melbourne institution and one of the greatest success stories in the history of Victorian commerce. Russian-born Ettinghove enlisted in January 1918, but in March that year met his death in tragic circumstances in a collision with a tram at Malvern and was accorded a military funeral. His name is inscribed on the Jewish Servicemen's Memorial at Melbourne General Cemetery, unveiled in 1924 by the greatest Jewish soldier to have enlisted in the AIF—Sir John MONASH (qv).

Driver Martin FOLEY—one of the many servicemen interred, who after returning from the Great War met their deaths in tragic circumstances. A Gallipoli veteran with the 10th Australian Service Corps, on 23 March 1925, Foley and seven others were heading for a social evening to raise funds for a local church, when a parcel-goods express train smashed into their vehicle at the Wickham Rd, Highett crossing. *The Age* described the accident as 'the most terrible level-crossing smash in the history of the State'.⁵⁸

Sergeant Harry Ousley Blake LANE—one of approximately 35 US Civil War veterans buried in Victoria, the most senior believed to be Major James CAMPBELL (Boroondara Cemetery) of the 10th NY Heavy Artillery.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *The Australasian* 15 May 1926 p. 1210.

⁵⁷ Readers may recall the incident in 'Rear Admiral Frederick Tickell, RAN, CMG' (*Sabretache* Volume 39, September 1998 p. 31).

⁵⁸ *The Age* 25 March 1925 p. 11.

⁵⁹ Research compiled by American Civil War Round Table, provided by Bob Simpson 6 July 1998.

Paul the Pimp re-considered—Australian 'G' staffs on the western front and the 'Kiggell anecdote'¹

Peter Stanley

In *Goodbye to All That*, Robert Graves describes his fellow officers' reactions to orders which they received before the Loos offensive in September 1915. In revealing the orders to Graves and another officer (nicknamed, 'The Actor') Captain Thomas, his company commander, described the battalion's ambitious objectives:

When Thomas had reached this point, The Actor's shoulders were shaking with laughter. 'What's up?' asked Thomas irritably. The Actor giggled: 'Who in God's name is responsible for this little effort?' 'Don't know', Thomas said. 'Probably Paul the Pimp, or someone like that.' (Paul the Pimp was a captain on the divisional staff, young, inexperienced and much disliked. He 'wore red tabs on his chest. And even on his undervest.')

²

'Paul the Pimp' appears, in spirit if not in person, in many other memoirs. The South African novelist Stuart Cloete, for example, who was twice wounded on the western front, writes in his autobiography of how,

'our staff work was terrible ... once when I rode back to [divisional] Headquarters in a chateau with a message there was only one officer on duty—the others were all playing cricket—and he knew nothing. And this was in the middle of a battle!'

Cloete concludes that, 'the staff were hated more than civilians. Redtabs [sic] were red flags to the infantry bull'.³

This is the image of British staff officers as they have often been portrayed in popular works drawing upon such memoirs. The cliché appears in its clearest form in films, which depend for their dramatic impact on the presentation of clear archetypes. The Australian television series, *Anzacs*, which has probably reached a wider audience than any other single work dealing with Australia's military history, crudely stereotyped staff officers. The script of one episode of *Anzacs*, for example, has an Australian remark contemptuously: 'Staff. They're too thick to be anything else'.⁴ In the novel adapted from the series, *Lady Barrington*, the mother of the hero Martin Barrington, tells the local minister that the staff appointment which her son has secured

'... won't be dangerous. He used to tell us about it in his letters all the time. How the staff never went near the front lines. Miles in the rear, in some chateau drinking champagne and eating pheasant.'⁵

A rather different view of staff officers can be found in other reminiscences, perhaps coincidentally more prosaic than literary ones.

¹ Previously unpublished paper presented to the Australian War Memorial History Conference, 6-10 July 1987.

² Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That*, Penguin, 1967, p. 122. The veracity of Graves' highly coloured memoir has been challenged in Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memories* Oxford, 1977 pp. 203-21.

³ Stuart Cloete, *A Victorian son: An Autobiography 1897-1922*, London, 1972, pp. 228, 292

⁴ Geoff Burrowes and John Dixon, *Anzacs*, The Burrowes Dixon Company, Melbourne, 1985, episode three.

⁵ Godfrey McLeod, *Anzacs*, Melbourne, 1985, p. 150. That *Lady Barrington*, supposedly speaking during the war, should say 'went' rather than 'go' suggests that the author has leaned rather too heavily on retrospective accounts.

Ernest Parker, a subaltern in the Royal Fusiliers, describes in his memoir, *Into Battle*, how on returning to his trench after a raid he found,

‘Captain Dearden DSO MC ... still waiting with a field telephone ... ready to summon the artillery to our assistance ... This perfect Brigade Major had won a great reputation with our Battalion ..., and whenever possible paid them unofficial visits during their more dangerous moments.’

In describing a visit to his brigade’s headquarters, he remarks in passing how the brigade’s staff captain ‘was to win a VC shortly afterward’.⁶ Sir John Glubb, who served on the western front as a gunner subaltern, also called his memoir *Into Battle*. He also mentions a brigade major ‘famous as a brave man [who] already had a VC and a DSO [He was killed later]’.⁷ Glubb tells a story which contrasts sharply with the conventional stuffed-shirt silly ass caricature of the staff officer. He describes how a Guards officer who ‘affected some elegance of dress, and among other peculiarities ... wore an eyeglass’ became brigade major of an AIF brigade. The Australians (conforming in turn to their stereotype) decided to take the mickey.

‘One day the Brigade Major was going round the line. When he came round the corner of a trench he found three Australian soldiers, standing stiffly to attention, each one with a half-crown piece in one of his eyes. The major stopped in front of them, took out his eyeglass, placed it on his finger and thumb, spun it high into the air like a coin, and caught it again in his eye. Then, looking at the three dumb-founded soldiers, said, “Do that, YOU bastards!”’

The Australians were ‘quite taken aback by this singular feat, and thenceforward conceived a profound admiration for so brilliant an officer’.⁸ The story, alas, is apocryphal: it seems that no Guards officer was ever a member of the staff of an Australian brigade. On the other hand, several aristocratic British officers did serve as staff officers with the AIF (including the improbably-named Captain L S D O F-f T T de O P Tollemache de Tollemache, of the Leicestershire Regiment), so the anecdote might represent a corrupt account of an actual incident.⁹

Despite evidence in reminiscences for and against staff officers, historians commenting on the relationship between staff and line officers have largely accepted the testimony of line officers, partly, perhaps, from an understandable sympathy for what they endured at the front. John Ellis, for example, in *Eye-Deep in Hell* writes that staff officers were ‘universally disliked’.¹⁰ The sociologist Tony Ashworth, discussing the ‘high command-trench fighter relationship’, fails to distinguish between staff officers and commanders and between levels of command, (so that a red-tabbed staff captain of an infantry brigade is effectively regarded as similar to Haig or his chief of staff) but clearly sympathises with trench fighters rather than the ‘high command’.¹¹ Ellis explains concisely the roots of the antipathy between line and staff officers: ‘staff hardly ever made an appearance at the front and had no conception of the conditions in which their abstract plans expected men to fight’.¹²

⁶ Ernest Parker, *Into Battle 1914-1918*, London, 1964, pp. 77, 74

⁷ John Glubb, *Into Battle: A Soldier's Diary of the Great War*, London, 1978, p. 44.

⁸ Glubb, *Into Battle*, p.48.

⁹ AIF, *Staff and Regimental Lists of Officers*, February 1917, p.12.

¹⁰ John Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell*, London, 1976, p. 197.-15

¹¹ Tony Ashworth, *Trench Warfare 1914-1918: The Live and Let Live System*, London, 1980, pp. 12-14.

¹² Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell*, p. 197.

The supposed ignorance and isolation of 'the staff' is epitomised by an incident recorded by Basil Liddell-Hart in his *History of the First World War*. He describes the first visit to the wasteland of the Ypres salient of a 'highly placed officer from General Headquarters':

'Growing increasingly uneasy as the car approached the swamp-like edges of the battle area, he eventually burst into tears, crying "Good God, did we really send men to fight in that?" To which his companion replied that he ground was far worse ahead.'¹³

The senior officer has been identified as Major General Sir Lancelot Kiggell, Haig's Chief of the General Staff. The 'Kiggell anecdote', as it may be termed, is one of the war's most celebrated. Its power in evoking the pejorative view of 'the staff' is demonstrated by its appearance in popular works, by film-makers (in the television series *Anzacs*) and by journalists. The British journalist, Polly Toynbee, renders (or perhaps rends) the story thus:

'Staff officers, with red flashes in their epaulettes, were hated with some reason—and it was one of these who surveyed the scene at Passchendaele, after the six-week battle in which as many men were drowned in the mud as shot, that the Chief of Staff said in surprise: "My God, did we send men to fight in this?"'¹⁴

Not only does this version contain four errors or exaggerations of fact in as many lines, (as well as diminishing the reaction from remorse to mere surprise), but it indicts 'staff officers' indiscriminately.

Before inquiring into how Australian staff officers measure up to the strictures of the Kiggell anecdote, it is necessary to discuss the treatment of staff officers in Australian works on the Great War. There is little sign that Australian military historians have shared the largely British trend towards staff-bashing. Indeed, there is little sign that Australian writers have considered the staff at all. At least four traditions in Australian military historical writing relate to the staff: the official history, studies of command, unit histories and military social histories.

C E W Bean lived closely with the AIF and spent much of his time at formation headquarters. His official history by no means neglects the staff. He focuses on them dramatically at critical points: aboard the *Minnewaska* off Gallipoli as the 1st Division prepared for the landing; in the headquarters dugout of the 6th Brigade at second Bullecourt; in Monash's corps headquarters in 1918. He knew many staff officers personally, and comments upon them in his six volumes of the official history. But through frequently evaluating individuals, he gives no coherent summary of their contribution to the AIF's achievements beyond including them in his praise for the fighting qualities of the AIF as a whole, and his insights have yet to be taken up, amplified and tested. This omission is surprising because there has been a relatively strong interest in command in Australian historiography. Historians such as Alec Hill, David Horner and Peter Pedersen have provided a thorough and knowledgeable analysis of Australian commanders. With the exception of Peter Pedersen's work on Monash (and Monash's command of his staff was in itself exceptional) historians have paid relatively little attention to the relationship between commanders and their staffs. The only Australian staff officer to have been accorded a biography as a staff officer is C B B White, and that by Bean in 1957, while the

¹³ Basil Liddell-Hart, *History of the First World War*, London, 1971, p. 434. Paul Fussell uses this anecdote to illustrate the 'standard indictment' of the staff ('the enemy to the rear') in *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 83-5.

¹⁴ Polly Toynbee, 'Smile, boys, smile', *Guardian*, 10 August 1980. I am indebted to my colleague Peter Burness for this source

only collective study remains Chris Coulthard-Clark's history of the Australian Intelligence Corps before the Great War, *The Citizen General Staff*.¹⁵

There is a strong tradition of unit histories in Australia: two thirds of the first AIF's sixty infantry battalions have published histories. Since such works stem from the *esprit de corps* of units, it is not surprising that no brigade and only one division of the first AIF has been the subject of a published history. As staff officers are found at the level of brigades and upwards, and as unit historians are notoriously parochial, it is not surprising that they are virtually invisible in such accounts. The approach to Australia's military history exemplified by Bill Gammage's *The Broken Years* has enriched our understanding of the AIF as an expression of Australian society. Though 'military social history', as it might be called, is often regarded as having developed relatively recently, the approach derives ultimately from Bean, whose official histories encompass and integrate both operational and social detail. Moreover, despite a perception that military social history has come to dominate the field, such works are not very numerous: the approach seems to have been more evident in theses rather than books. Studies such as Jane Ross' *The Myth of the Digger* or Suzanne Welborn's *Lords of Death* have brought to Australian military history fresh questions based on new theories and concerns, but despite the potential value of such works they have largely failed to consider adequately the staff: *The Broken Years*, for example, contains no reference to staff officers at all.

It seems, therefore, that there exists a substantial but inconclusive body of British anecdotal evidence about 'the staff', a popular perception that they were remote and incompetent and a clear gap in Australian military historiography relating to staff officers. While more popular writers have fostered an unbalanced and often pejorative view of staff officers, historians of the BEF have paid little attention to the force's staff work, and even serious writers differ. Peter Charlton, in *Pozières 1916*, observes that the cliché of 'staff officers ... comfortable and secure in their chateaux kilometres behind the lines ... like most clichés, ... is fundamentally true'.¹⁶ Shelford Bidwell and Dominick Graham, on the other hand, write in *Fire-Power* that 'alternation between staff and regimental employment ensured that relations remained good between units and staff and that each was aware of the others' needs'.¹⁷ Both passages appear as asides in works which devote little attention to staff work as such.

In examining Australian evidence bearing upon the validity of the Kiggell anecdote, it is necessary to give an introduction to staff officers and their duties. It was, and remains, too easy to simply label anyone wearing red tabs as a 'staff officer'. During the Great War the distinctive gorget patches were more widely worn than at any time before or since. They distinguished not only brigade, division, corps, army and GHQ staff officers, but also departmental and base staffs, aides de camp and, of course, general officers.¹⁸ The only officers to be regarded as 'staff officers' according to *Field Service Regulations*, however, were those employed at the headquarters of operational formations, whose duties will be presently described.¹⁹ This qualification diminishes dramatically the quantity of pejorative evidence, both anecdotal and literary. Many passages which may be taken to refer to 'the staff' relate on examination to ADCs ('one specimen, an ADC clad in

¹⁵ C E W Bean, *Two Men I Knew*, Sydney, 1957; C D Coulthard-Clark, *The Citizen General Staff: The Australian Intelligence Corps 1907-1914*, Canberra, 1976.

¹⁶ Peter Charlton, *Pozières 1916: Australians on the Somme*, Melbourne, 1986, p. 198.

¹⁷ Shelford Bidwell and Dominick Graham, *Fire-Power: British Army Weapons and Theories of War 1904-1945*, London, 1985, p. 62.

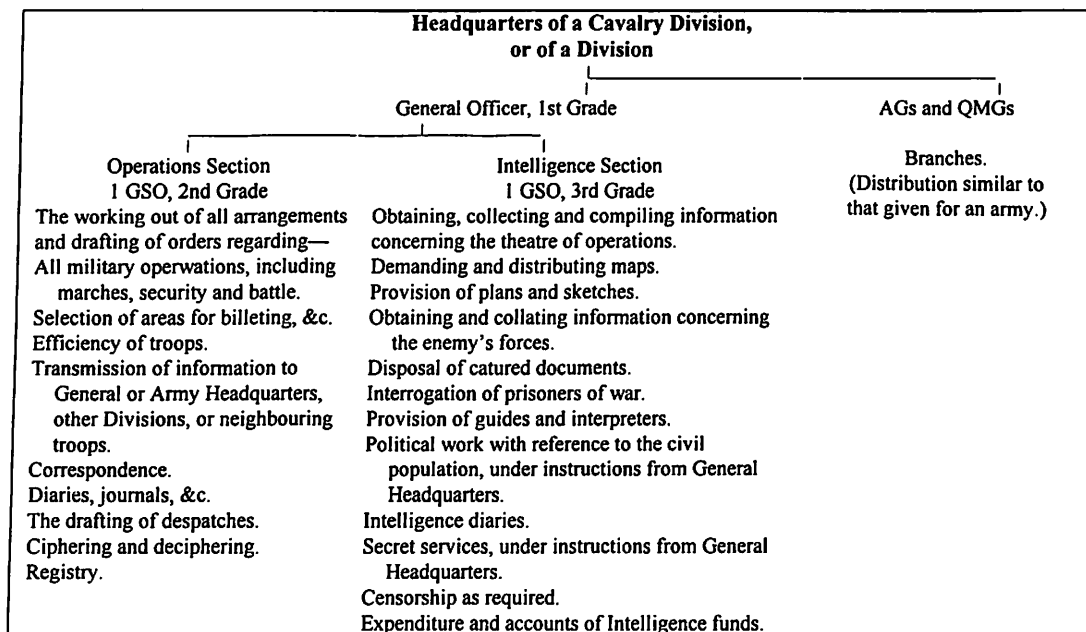
¹⁸ N P Dawnay, 'The Origin and Development of the Gorget Patch', *Journal of the Society for Arms Historical Research*, Vol. XXIV, No. 98, Summer 1946, pp. 74-82; W E May, W Y Carman and John Tanner, *Badges and Insignia of the British Armed Services*, New York, 1974, pp. 148-51.

¹⁹ General Staff, War Office, *Field Service Regulations. Part II. Organization and Administration*, 1916, pp. 37-8.

golden breeches ... carrying in his arms a Pekinese'),²⁰ or to base staffs. Sassoon's 'scarlet Major ... fierce and bald and short of breath' would not have been a 'staff officer', but would have been employed on the lines of communication, as the poem's title, 'Base Details', suggests.²¹

Staff officers in the Australian Imperial Force on the western front were found in headquarters at three levels: in the fifteen infantry brigades (and in field artillery brigades, which will not figure here); in the five infantry divisions and in the headquarters of the 1st (and to a minor extent the 2nd) Anzac Corps and (from November 1917) the Australian Corps. They came in two varieties: General or simply 'G' staff officers, who were responsible for the conduct of operations, and staff officers of the two administrative branches, the Adjutant-General's ('A') and Quartermaster-General's ('Q'), which were usually considered inseparable. While operations were impossible without the co-operation of A and Q staffs (who were broadly responsible for men and materiel respectively) this paper deals only with G staffs. This is not only for ease of analysis. Rather, only G staffs planned and directed battles, and the central criticism against the staff (a charge implicit in every re-telling of the Kiggell anecdote) is that their supposed ignorance of the conditions under which their troops fought killed men unnecessarily.

An infantry brigade headquarters had two and at times three or four staff officers: a brigade major, who acted as chief of staff to the brigadier, a staff captain responsible for A and Q matters, perhaps an orderly officer or staff trainee, and often attached specialists such as the brigade engineer or bombing officer. The headquarters of an infantry division possessed three general staff officers (GSOs). The GSO grade I (usually a lieutenant colonel) acted as chief of staff, supervising his own two subordinate GSOs and the three AQ officers. The GSO II (a lieutenant colonel or a major) was responsible for operations, and the GSO III (a major or a captain) for intelligence. It is illuminating to realise how extensive were their duties. The War Office *Staff Manual* specified the division of responsibilities between the GSO II (operations) and the GSO III (intelligence) thus:²²



²⁰ Guy Chapman, *A Passionate Prodigality: Fragments of Autobiography*, London, 1965, p. 17.

²¹ Siegfried Sassoon, 'Base Details', in Jon Silkin, (ed.), *The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*, Penguin, 1979, p. 126.

²² General Staff, War Office, *Staff Manual*. War. Provisional, 1912, Table E, p. 80.

The division's GSOs did not merely head their sections, they were wholly responsible for these duties with the aid of a warrant officer and two staff sergeants as clerks and, later in the war, a 'staff learner'. These three GSOs were responsible to the divisional commander for the operations of a division of 15 000 men. (That C B B White personally drafted the orders for the evacuation of Anzac is not only a comment on the audacity of the operation or White's thoroughness: there was little choice but that he did it himself.) Corps headquarters were slightly enlarged versions of the divisional establishment with correspondingly senior officers.

The small size of G staffs resulted in continuous and crushing responsibility for staff officers, for while battalions and brigades took turns at the front, brigade and divisional staffs went unrelieved until the formation as a whole was withdrawn. For the historian, though, the small numbers involved permits a relatively detailed analysis of the AIF's staffs. At any one time from the end of 1916 (when Monash's 3rd Division arrived) the AIF's G staff officers on the western front numbered no more than 70. Over the thirty months in which the AIF served in France and Flanders the aggregate is around 150—more if staff learners are included. If the five divisions of the AIF can be regarded as comparable to the sixty of the BEF as a whole, then an examination of the experience of its G staff officers may help to illuminate the reliability of the charge—implicit in the Kiggell anecdote.

In this as in many other aspects of studying the AIF the historian must acknowledge the legacy of C E W Bean, who assembled a mass of biographical material in the course of writing the official history. This material, held of course in the Research Centre of the Australian War Memorial, is described as AWM 140, 'Official historian's biographical index cards'. Based on information gathered from official records and from the individuals themselves, this series provides an exceptional basis for a survey with which to determine the careers of a selection of Australian staff officers. The following diagrams show simplified outlines of the careers from August 1914 to November 1918 of three groups of Australian G staff officers in February 1918. The shaded areas represent the periods which the individuals spent in the front line, which has been defined as comprising service on Gallipoli or in a brigade headquarters or in any line unit from April 1916.²³

The diagrams²⁴ show: 1. GSO Is of the five Australian infantry divisions; 2. GSO IIs of the five Australian infantry divisions; and 3. Brigade Majors of five Australian infantry brigades.

²³ Several explanatory points must be made. The *Staff and Regimental Lists of Officers* for February 1918 was selected, because it was the first staff list to appear after the formation of the Australian Corps. The brigade majors selected were to be those of the 1st, 4th, 7th, 10th and 13th (ie every third one), but as insufficient information appeared in AWM 140 for J L Hardie (1st) and R Lamble (10th) the brigade majors of those following were substituted, H F Watson (2nd) and G A Vasey (11th). The effect of this has been to exaggerate the proportion of RMC graduates, as both Lee and Vasey were then the only brigade majors to have graduated from Duntroon. The diagrams have been simplified by the omission of short temporary appointments and ranks.

²⁴ Abbreviations of terms used in diagrams 1-3 are: AA&QMG, Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General; ADC, Aide de Camp; AFA, Australian Field Artillery; Ag, Acting; AIF, Australian Imperial Force; ANZAC, Australian and New Zealand Army Corps; Arty, Artillery; Aus Corps, Australian Corps; BEF, British Expeditionary Force; Bde, Brigade; BGGs, Brigadier General, General Staff; BM, Brigade Major; Bn, Battalion; CO, Commanding Officer; Col, Colonel; Capt, Captain; DAC, Divisional Ammunition Column; Div, Division; GSO, General Staff Officer; HQ, Headquarters; LH, Light Horse; Lt, Lieutenant; Lt Col, Lieutenant Colonel; Maj, Major; MG Coy, Machine-Gun Company; MGO, Machine-Gun Officer; OO, Orderly Officer; SC, Staff Captain; SOS, Senior Officers' School; ST, Staff Trainee; Tng, Training.

This small but not insignificant sample suggests several conclusions. The contention that staff officers were remote from and had little conception of the front clearly does not stand up to examination, at least for Australian staff officers. Of the five GSO Is, two had commanded infantry battalions in the line: Jess at Pozieres and Mouquet Farm; Peck at first Bullecourt. Counting Blamey's brief stint with the 2nd Battalion might weaken rather than strengthen the point. Two others had served as brigade majors in 1916. Nor did these officers' contact with the front line cease with their appointments to divisional headquarters. Miles is mentioned twice in Bean's volumes IV and VI, and on each occasion he is recorded as personally reconnoitring his division's front.²⁵ The GSO IIs began the war at correspondingly lower levels than their GSO Is; two had been civilians. All but Wootten had served in line units on Gallipoli, and he, as brigade machine-gun officer, had been obliged to tour the battalions' machine-gun positions. All served on brigade staffs through the Somme, and Milligan took over command of the 2nd Battalion shortly after Blamey and led it in the advance to the Hindenburg Line. The battalion is described by Bean as being under Milligan 'a most formidable instrument, keen, loyal, united and bursting with vigour'.²⁶

Of the five brigade majors represented two rose from the ranks, and with the exception of the RMC graduates Lee and Vasey all were civilian soldiers. All saw front line service on Gallipoli and on the western front in 1916 and 1917. All are mentioned in the official history. Bean's references disclose that, as staff officers, these men saw a good deal of the front line: Morell served as a liaison officer with the US troops in the August fighting in 1918 even though nominally the corps machine-gun officer. It might seem strange to count service at brigade headquarters as front line service, but brigade headquarters were often well within the range of German field guns. At first Bullecourt, for example, the headquarters of the 4th and 12th Brigades were 1,500 metres from the front, and brigade staff officers were required to move among their units in and out of the line. Brigade staff are considered in this survey because they have equally been regarded as part of 'the staff'.

This essentially quantitative evidence cannot in itself be regarded as conclusive. It must be corroborated and qualified by an examination of individual experiences and by further collective investigation: of the patterns of postings for both successful and unsuccessful staff officers, comparative studies of British staff and other measures, such as the proportions of staff officers awarded gallantry medals. (Staff officers come out very well by the latter measure: in February 1917 nine of the AIF's infantry brigade and divisional staff officers held the Military Cross, while in November 1918, 31 were so decorated.)²⁷

Several further inferences can be drawn from this sample. First, it seems that the G and the AQ streams in the staff were largely distinct. Of the fifteen officers surveyed only Blamey had served as an AQ, on Gallipoli. This separation may help to qualify some of the classic anecdotes told against 'the staff' in general concerning ludicrous demands for 'returns'. There is a Bairnsfeather cartoon, for example, of a harassed 'Colonel Fitz-Shrapnel', who receives during a barrage a request from 'GHQ' for 'the number of tins of raspberry jam issued to you last Thursday'. All of the 'returns' in such anecdotes relate to AQ staff though the pejorative impression has applied to all wearing red tabs.

²⁵ C E W Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol. IV, *The Australian Imperial Force in France 1917*, sixth edition, Sydney, 1938, p. 784; Bean, Vol. VI, *The Australian Imperial Force in France During the Allied Offensive, 1918*, Sydney, 1942, p.338.

²⁶ C E W Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol. IV, pp. 238-9.

²⁷ AIF, *Staff and Regimental Lists of Officers*, February 1917; November 1918.

Second, it seems that few staff officers went on to command formations above battalions but rather became increasingly specialised as staff officers. Only Jess succeeded to temporary command of a brigade, and that in the last month of the war, though had hostilities lasted longer other staff officers may have done so.

More importantly, that successful brigade staff officers went on to more responsible appointments on divisional staffs buttresses Parker and Glubb's tributes to their respective brigade majors. Divisional and brigade staffs were not distinct hierarchies, but were part of a spectrum of military experience which encompassed staff and command and front line service. It is difficult to envisage Ernest Parker's perfect brigade major as a GSO II in Stuart Cloete's cricket-playing divisional staff. The only way to reconcile the inconsistency is to acknowledge that standards of staff work varied between divisions. Criticisms such as those of Graves and Cloete may therefore not reflect badly on staff officers as such, but rather on slack divisions.

This sample therefore seemingly rebuts the sort of ill-considered generalisations supported by the Kiggell anecdote. It certainly substantiates for the AIF Bidwell and Graham's point, that staff officers should not be regarded as different to line officers. It does not, however, provide sufficient grounds to more than question Charlton's endorsement of the staff-line gulf, particularly since he refers specifically in *Pozières 1916* to British officers of the headquarters of Gough's Reserve Army. It would be revealing to scrutinise similarly the careers of these officers. The results of such an analysis might offer comparable results, though given the expansion of the BEF during 1915 and 1916 and the consequent need to find staff officers while replacing heavy casualties among line officers it would not be surprising to find in its formation headquarters men who had seen little trench service. As Charlton suggests, the conduct of operations on the Somme makes this hypothesis plausible. Before tediously suggesting yet another case for Australian superiority in comparison to the British army, however, it would be prudent to recall Brian Bond's calculation, in *The Victorian Army and the Staff College*, that of the 447 officers serving in the British army in 1914 who had passed out of the staff colleges of Camberley and Quetta, no less than 219, or 49.2 per cent, had been killed or had died of wounds by the wars end.²⁸ The old staff cliché may therefore be untrue and unjust for both British and Australian staff officers.

If nothing else, then, this survey of Australian staff officers cautions us to distinguish more carefully between staff officers at various levels. If 'the staff' are still to be regarded as the villains of the piece, they may be sought in corps and army headquarters. Whether they will be found there is more problematic. The quotable criticisms of line officers bespeak a staff-line antipathy, but (unlike the admittedly abundant accounts of botched battles) they are not necessarily evidence of staff incompetence.

'Let the staff write their own books about the Great War, say I', wrote Siegfried Sassoon in a 'caustic and captious' mood in *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*.²⁹ But they did not, and their part in the war has been selectively portrayed, often denigrated, and, in Australia, inexplicably neglected. It seems timely that historians should ask, who were 'the staff'; what did they do, how well and to what effect?

I would like to thank Alison Lusty for typing this paper, and Dolla Merrillees for assistance in researching biographical details.

²⁸ Brian Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College 1854-1914*, London, 1972 p.324.

²⁹ Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*, London, 1970, p. 161.

Penetrating the barbed wire or how to research a soldier using the resources of the Australian War Memorial¹

Jean Main²

Inevitably when researching family history most people will come across an ancestor or two who served in the Army during a war in which Australian soldiers were involved. This seems to naturally lead one to wanting to know where he served and, if possible, what he did. During those wars penetrating the barbed wire was quite difficult for the individual soldier. Today it seems almost as difficult, metaphorically speaking of course, for the average person to know where to begin to research the war service of a father, grandfather, uncle or other relative. As I believe that the best place to carry out this kind of research is at the Australian War Memorial, I would here like to give a brief outline of how to go about doing so.

World War I

If one has only limited time to spend in Canberra and where not a great deal is known about the soldier then it is best to begin by consulting the **Nominal Roll**. This lists alphabetically by surname all those who left Australia to serve overseas. It lists each soldier's full name, unit, regimental number, the date of enlistment and his fate; that is whether he was Killed in Action (KIA), Died of Wounds (DOW), Returned to Australia (RTA), or whatever else his fate may have been, together with the relevant date. Where the notation RTA appears it is as well to know that the date is the one on which the soldier sailed to return to Australia, not the date on which he arrived.

The next step would be to consult the **Embarkation Rolls**. These are not arranged alphabetically but by unit, this being the unit in which the soldier *first* left for overseas. Even within the unit, the listing is not alphabetical. Officers are listed first and then followed by other ranks in accordance with their regimental number rather than surname and this is further subdivided by the differing sailing dates for the various reinforcements. Some searching is therefore unavoidable.

Once one has found one's soldier, the Embarkation Roll will show the ship the soldier sailed on, the date of its departure and the port from which it sailed. It will also show his trade or calling at the time of enlistment, his age, his rank, his marital status, his religion and the name and address of his next of kin. Here it should be borne in mind that the **Nominal Roll** lists a soldier's *final unit* while the **Embarkation Roll** lists the unit in which *he sailed for overseas*. These are often, but not invariably, different because the Army was re-organized in Egypt after the withdrawal from Gallipoli, and again when soldiers were being repatriated in large numbers at the end of the war many Battalions were amalgamated. There can be some difficulty therefore when trying to match the information in the **Nominal Roll** with that in the **Embarkation Roll**.

Next I would recommend that a researcher consult the card index for **Honours and Awards**. If there is a card for one's soldier then one is able to call up the file containing the

¹ This topic was the subject of a recent talk to the Canberra Branch, Military Historical Society of Australia and is based on the author's personal experience.

² The author holds a Diploma in Family Historical Studies from the Society of Australian Genealogists and is a member of the Australasian Association of Genealogists & Record Agents.

Recommendation for the Award. This will usually tell in some detail why the Award was being recommended and by whom. However photocopying is not permitted and all Recommendations have to be transcribed by hand.

If the soldier died during the war then one needs to consult the **Roll of Honour Cards**. These contains a notation of the soldier's date and place of death, the number on the panel on which he is commemorated at the Australian War Memorial and his place of burial. The latter can then be confirmed in more detail by looking at the **War Graves Registers** which can be found on the reference shelves.

The next step is to ask for the **Roll of Honour Circulars**. These are questionnaires which were sent to the families of those who died asking for the fallen soldier's personal particulars, such as schooling, special talents, and so forth. While not all families returned these circulars, most did and they contain much information of interest to family historians.

Where a soldier had been killed, was missing, wounded or became a prisoner of war one should also consult the **Red Cross Files**. These contain eyewitness accounts by fellow soldiers of the particular event. However the Red Cross only obtained these reports in response to an enquiry by a soldier's next of kin. Where no enquiry had been made, there is, of course, no report.

Perhaps the next step would be to see whether someone has published a history of the soldier's unit so that one can have some idea of its activities and the battles it may have participated in. **Unit Histories** tell one a great deal and even if one's ancestor is not mentioned in the text, his name may well appear in an Appendix for many unit histories list the names of all those who served in them. Where a soldier served in a specialist unit, such as a Tunneling Company or a Railway Company for instance, unit histories are doubly useful. Not only do these give the history of the unit but they will provide a good picture of the specialist tasks carried out which were complimentary to, but different from those of, say, the Infantry or Artillery.

It is also worth while looking at the **Photographic Database** to see whether there is a photo in which the soldier appears. Particularly for World War I, there are numerous portraits of soldiers who had been killed in action which, I would imagine, were subsequently supplied by the next of kin but are not necessarily still held by their descendants.

A search of this nature can be accomplished in quite a full day and having consulted all these sources, a researcher will have discovered much about the soldier and his unit and the information so far obtained will, I would imagine, satisfy many people. On the other hand to obtain detailed knowledge about a soldier one needs to obtain his dossier from the World War I Personnel Records Service at the National Archives to whom one should apply giving sufficient detail to allow identification and forwarding a cheque for \$15.00.

In due course one will receive three sets of documents. The first will be a copy of the soldier's **Attestation Papers** he completed on enlistment for service abroad. Page 1 not only shows where he was born, his age, occupation, married or single, next of kin and such like but whether he has ever been convicted of an offence or had previous military service. Page 2 will show the date and the place where he took his Oath, it will show his signature and the signature of the Attesting Officer. Page 3 will give a description of the soldier, age, height, weight, chest measurement, complexion, the colour of his eyes and hair and his Religious Denomination. Attached to this is usually a **Statement of Service** and I find the most useful part of this is that it shows where a soldier first commenced his military training in Australia. This is then followed by a precis of his further service.

The second set of pages will be a schedule entitled **Casualty Form—Active Service**. This gives the dates of his joining or leaving his unit, any secondments to other units, periods in hospital and why admitted, periods of leave, periods spent in various 'schools' and misdemeanors and punishments received (if any).

A very careful reading of the 'Casualty Form—Active Service' is necessary—in fact before starting on any research I always type out a copy of it. This is because it is usually handwritten and therefore can be difficult to read. There are also numerous abbreviations which have to be interpreted before one starts. Although the Archive sends out a Glossary with the material, it is not altogether adequate as there are usually many more abbreviations than the Glossary is able to deal with and many of these would be fairly incomprehensible to lay men or women and even at times to others. One also needs to ensure that all the information is in chronological order. This is not always the case. If not, I fit any such entries into their right place on my typed-up copy.

And finally a reader of the Casualty Form—Active Service has to be aware that the operative date for each event is in the right hand column headed 'Date'. The dates given in the left hand column are merely the dates on which a particular report was made.

The third item will be headed **Transferred to Australian Imperial Force** and is a record of various administrative actions flowing from events in the soldier's service. It usually shows when and on what ship he returned to Australia, the Military District where he was discharged and his medals' entitlement appears at the foot of the page. Should he have been wounded it will have a stamp on it which will say Next of Kin advised 'wounded' or Next of Kin advised 'in hospital' and the date the advice was sent. There may be several other notations but the ones I have mentioned here are the most frequent ones.

Now having all the information neatly set out before one, a researcher will find that in the column headed 'Place', it will usually only read 'In the field', or 'France', or 'Belgium' and so on, which is not very informative. To really find where the soldier's unit was at any given time one needs to go to the **War Diaries**. These are day by day accounts of the unit's involvement in and out of the front line from mostly the day of its formation to the end of the war and often beyond. Usually, but not always, there will also be copies of Orders, Maps, and sundry reports.

It is most necessary to have a neat and easily readable copy of the soldier's Casualty Form—Active Service beside one when going through the War Diaries. This is because the unit may have been involved in a well-known battle, but the particular soldier may have been in hospital, seconded, on leave, or at a 'school' during just those critical days.

To go through War Diaries on a day-by-day basis is *very* time-consuming and calls for a great deal of patience. For World War I, the Diaries are usually hand written and therefore difficult to read. Although they have been microfilmed I have found that from time to time the microfilm will be unreadable, or almost unreadable, due to poor reproduction. On the other hand **copies of Orders** are usually typed and can be quite informative. Photocopying is permitted and I often do this for, say, the day a particular soldier was wounded or killed or where some graphic account of an engagement is given.

Generally speaking, during World War I the officers are named in the narratives, ORs are rarely named so that a sample entry will read: 'Killed Lt. Smith and 2 ORs'. The exception is when awards were made. These are often listed at the end of the month in which they were gained and sometimes at the very end of the War Diary and sometimes not at all. Despite its problems, in my view, for a truly complete picture of where the soldier was and when and in what battles he participated in, going through the War Diaries can't be avoided.

By now one will, of course, know both the name of the ship on which the soldier left Australia and its sailing date. One would also know the name of the ship on which he returned and its sailing date. For many, but not all voyages the War Memorial holds **Troopship Diaries** which not only report on the voyage but at times can throw an interesting sidelight on the Army. I first learnt from a Troopship Diary that soldiers were not the only ones identified by regimental numbers. A number of horses had died on the voyage out due to having been stabled too close to the ship's boilers—not only was there a description of each horse but the horses' numbers were also quoted!

From all I have said up to now you will see that there is a great deal of information which can be found in some of the material held at the War Memorial for any soldier who served in World War I but detailed research takes time.

World War II

The material for World War II is alike to World War I but not as comprehensive. For a start there is neither a Nominal Roll nor any Embarkation Roll for those who served overseas. It is therefore best to obtain the soldier's dossier from the Soldiers' Career Management Agency in Melbourne for whatever level of knowledge one wants to acquire about his service.

The material that comes to hand is identical to that sent out for World War I. The Casualty Form—Active Service is now called **Service and Casualty Form** but gives the same information set out in the same way. Once this is to hand then one proceeds very much as for World War I. However as most of the World War II War diaries have not yet been microfilmed photocopying is not permitted in order to preserve them and it is therefore necessary to summarise much of the information in them. In addition War Diaries for more obscure units on the Australian mainland don't seem to have found their way to the Australian War Memorial.

As far as I know Red Cross reports are not available for World War II except for POW Camps in German territories which can be found in among the papers known as 'Written Records'. Occasionally a Unit Diary will contain patrol reports that give considerable detail. Once I even came across a patrol report that gave the map co-ordinates of the spot where the soldier I was researching had lost his life and I was able to pinpoint the exact position of this on a map of the area.

There are some **Roll of Honour** circulars for soldiers who had died in World War II but the Memorial's holding is not comprehensive. Apparently very few were returned by next of kin at the time. On the other hand recommendations for **Honours and Awards** can be researched in the same way as for World War I.

Generally speaking War Diaries contain bald facts of events rather than people but they name the unit's location on any given day—mostly I should say here, for occasionally only map co-ordinates are given—and they give a good picture of a unit's activities. What is recorded, and how, varies from time to time depending on the personality of the writer. Occasionally one comes across just a little more.

Not very long ago I was looking at a War Diary for a unit stationed at Wau in August 1943. They had been through a very rough time defending the Wau aerodrome but now it was all over and I found some very descriptive entries.

20 August—It looks like we will be moving tomorrow, destination Nassau Bay. Though a good time has been had by all at Wau with its delightful climate and freshness, we are all a little anxious for a change.

21 August—Started on our big hike to Nassau Bay and staged the night at the Summit. Night very cold and big hunt for extra blankets started.

22 August—Pushed off at 0800 hours on the next leg of trek, going very heavy. Men felt this stretch very much though all made it in good time. Although men were footsore and weary all were happy and had a good sing song from their improvised bunks.

23 August—Left at 0815 to push on to House Mango, our next stop. Coy arrived rather done in and glad to see the end of a gruelling day. Weather changing, very cold to hot as we move forward. 2 men crack up and it looks as if we will have to leave them behind tomorrow.

24 August—Our worst stretch is now before us, House Mango to Napier. Oh what a long climb up Lababia Ridge and the drop down the other side. I don't think anyone will ever forget the day. It became a case of every man for himself, everyone footsore and weary, just a case of plodding along. What a lovely sound to hear the waters of the Bitoi River away in the distance and the calling up of the last remaining ounce of energy to make the camp and rest. The cooling water of the river was first call of all ranks, feed and then to bed.

25 August—Now for our last lap to Nassau Bay. Not bad going along the bed of the Bitoi River but our packs seem to be twice as heavy as we shifted them to less tender spots on our backs.

On 26 August the unit had reached Nassau Bay and set up camp in what the writer referred to as 'in a delightful spot'.

Gems like this turn up at times, I only wish it were more often.

In this article I have referred to the most useful research material at the Australian War Memorial and which is common to most soldiers who served in World Wars I and II. There are of course further resources which may or may not be helpful to research the activities of individual soldiers for there are also biographical cards, manuscript histories, private records, so-called written records, news sheets brought out by various units or on board troopships, etc.

For the **Sudan War** there are copies of Attestation Forms for those who served in it but not much else. For the **Boer War** there is always Murray's *Official Records of the Australian Military Contingents to the War in South Africa* and the War Memorial's helpful Index. Copies of Attestation Papers for the Boer War, however, are on microfilm at the National Archives.

Finally, the Research Centre at the Australian War Memorial will be happy to provide a list of researchers who are familiar with its holdings to anyone unable to visit Canberra to undertake their own research.

I hope that this article has encouraged you to take an interest in family history and to begin by researching the war service of your father, grandfather, uncle or other relative using the material available at the Australian War Memorial. And one final suggestion, if a family member was involved in any of Australia's wars (Korea, Borneo, Vietnam) since World War II, get their story now, from them, before it is too late, for a search of documents can never replace a personal account.

Book Reviews

Blamey: The Commander in Chief, David Horner, Allen & Unwin, 1998, \$49.95.

For forty odd years we have relied on John Hetherington's works for a comprehensive picture of Blamey, and so one might question the need, at this stage, for David Horner's book. The answer probably lies in Hetherington's own words—the 'Note' to his 1954 book. In this, when referring to Blamey the man, he added, 'of whom Blamey the soldier was but one expression.' Yet Blamey's biography would be of little interest had he not held the Australian Army's top position for virtually the whole of the Second World War. In contrast, Horner's book is principally concerned with that critical period in Australia's history, as clearly conveyed in the book's title.

Even had Hetherington's aim been different, he lacked Horner's advantage—the papers which have become available in the intervening years and Horner's complimentary research for those of his books, which reflect his interest in the problems of high command—*High Command* (1982), *The Commanders* (1984), *General Vasey's War* (1992), and *Inside the War Cabinet* (a most revealing work published in 1996). The benefit of that research is very evident throughout the book. Without a doubt, Horner's work does far more to achieve what should flow from such a biography—lessons from which those that follow can benefit. Despite the above comments, Horner's treatment of Blamey's earlier years, particularly his military service, is completely adequate and quite fascinating.

A 28 page chapter is given over to the 11 years spent by Blamey as Chief Commissioner of the Victoria Police. Horner believes this period had a significant influence on Blamey's later military performance and, after reading of the pressures to which he was subject, it is not difficult to be so persuaded. Greece occupies two chapters, which do nothing to change the long held view that Blamey was given to self-interest and was not a soldier's soldier. However, he shrewdly selected outstanding capable officers for his staff so that particularly good results were achieved, and Wavell was sufficiently impressed as to accept Blamey as Deputy Commander in Chief Middle East—a very significant title having regard to all that was happening in the wide expanse of that command.

As might be expected, much of the book is devoted to the early fighting in Papua and New Guinea and the problems of command at senior levels. The happenings in the period reflect little credit on either the politicians or the military, with the exception of those doing the fighting. The book traces clearly how shortcomings at various levels of command were attributable to the pressures being applied by those commanders at the next level up so that ultimately MacArthur shows up worst of all. However, there are indications that MacArthur, himself, was under pressure and one is left with the unanswered question of the extent of that pressure and to what degree it arose from MacArthur's egotism. Blamey appears best in the period of the 1943 New Guinea Offensives when he was the operational commander. Unfortunately, the subsequent lack of decision at all levels and the military and political intrigue of those times will appal all of us who trustingly and loyally soldiered on in the period.

I will not spoil the reading by summarising conclusions, except to offer two thoughts. My experience is that those in high places will always be subjected to critical appraisal which tends to focus not on professional performance but on human frailties; and military understanding, let alone wisdom, takes years to acquire and politicians involved in military direction need considerable counselling.

This book is one of the most important military writings produced in this country: it goes well beyond being a biography, it is an exceedingly well researched but very readable account of Australia's conduct of the Second World War. It should be read not only by those who have a military interest but by all who wish to have a better knowledge of Australian history.—Major General Gordon Maitland (rtd).

Michael Smith and Graeme Steinbeck: *The Guns of Tomaree*, private publication, 20 pages, available from the Port Stephens Visitor Information Centre Victoria Parade Nelson Bay NSW 2315, price \$4.00 plus post and packing (amount on application), phone toll free 1800 808 900)

This interesting and well illustrated publication records the installation in 1941-42 of coast defences in an area close to the major industrial complex in the Newcastle district and the RAAF base at Williamtown. Bomaree is the southern headland at the entrance to Port Stephens.

As the title implies the emphasis is on equipment and facilities and considerable research on these aspects is evident. What is now needed is a companion description of the men and units involved in the building of Fort Tomaree, who manned the guns and who provided infantry protection.

This book is recommended to those interested in this Australian response to the possibility of attack from the sea.—Neville Foldi

Books available

H E Chamberlain *Service Lives Remembered—The Meritorious Service Medal in New Zealand And It's Recipients 1895-1994*, hard bound book of nearly 600 pages in a limited edition of 500 copies is available from H E Chamberlain 54 Lohia Street, Khandallah, Wellington 6004, NEW ZEALAND Ph: 64 (04) 479 1622 NZ\$120 plus postage to Australia NZ\$25 00 (Economy Air Post International).

The Imperial (New Zealand) Meritorious Service Medal and its successor the New Zealand Meritorious Service Medal are the only awards for sustained meritorious service issued to the armed services in New Zealand. The design has remained virtually unchanged (apart from the effigies and cyphers of the reigning sovereign) since its inception. Apart from the Victoria Cross, the Distinguished Service Order and the Distinguished Conduct Medal the Meritorious Service Medal is the oldest award available for issue to both men and women of all three NZ armed services

The Meritorious Service Medal was created by Royal Warrant on 19 December 1845 for issue to Sergeants of the British Army. Four years later it was extended to the Royal Marines

In 1895 an amending Royal Warrant extended the award to the Indian Forces, Colonial Forces and forces raised for service in countries under British protection. The award was extended to New Zealand, Canada, Cape Colony, Natal and the Australian colonies of New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania.

The book contains:

- A history of the medal and the changes wrought in the Royal Warrants over the years;

- Biographical notes, medal entitlements, description, family and service history of nearly 500 recipients;
- Over 140 illustrations of medals and recipients mentioned in the text;
- Appendices giving alphabetic listings of recipients, details of number of medals awarded, dates of award and other statistics pertaining to this award;
- A listing of 'not entitled' personnel, known spuriously named medals and false awards.

Around the Water Cart

by 'Joe Furphy'

The Office of Australian War Graves is able to provide information on the location of all Commonwealth war dead throughout the world. Write to the Research Officer, Office of Australian War Graves, PO Box 21, Woden, ACT 2606. Photos of individual headstones from around the world can also be supplied to those researching their family history but, depending on the location, may take some time to obtain (*Defence Force Journal*, July/August 1998).

In November, a National Memorial Walk commemorated the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Royal Australian Regiment and to honour the 676 RAR soldiers who have died while serving overseas will be dedicated at Enoggera Barracks in Queensland. It consists of a path 700 metres long flanked by more than 1,000 native trees, 676 of which will bear a plaque with the name of a soldier. A small commemorative building for individual and community remembrance activities will be included. Further details from the RAR Foundation PO Box 3112 Canberra ACT 2601 (*Newsletter of the RAR Foundation*, June 1998).

More about that VC metal! (*Sabretache*, June 1998). The metal used to make Victoria Crosses is held 15 Regiment Royal Logistic Corps at Donnington, UK. Weighing 358 ounces, it is what remains of the two Russian (Chinese?) cannon, a considerable quantity having been destroyed in London during World War II. The most recent issue of metal, sufficient to make 12 crosses, was to Messrs Hancock & Co Ltd; the Royal Jewellers who have made all Victoria Crosses since the inception of the VC in 1857. The remaining metal held at Donnington is sufficient for a further 85 medals (*Bulletin of the Military Historical Society (UK)*, February 1998).

And more about the Red Baron! (Dr M Geoffrey Miller's article in *Sabretache*, June 1998). Harold Edwards, the last surviving member of the Australian Flying Corps has died in Brisbane, aged 102. As a 22-year-old mechanic and instrument fitter in the AFC's No 3 Squadron, he was assigned on 21 April 1918 to guard von Richthofen's body and he also engraved the plaques for von Richthofen's cross and coffin in German and English (*Sydney Daily Telegraph*, Monday 10 August 1998).

Dr Kevin R Smith is researching Australians in captivity in Borneo 1942-45. He has had an excellent response to requests for assistance, loan of personal papers etc., but would be pleased to hear from relatives of those who died in Borneo at PO Box 440, Armidale NSW 2350 (*Vetaffairs* newspaper, June 1998).

Australian soldiers serving with the Peace Monitoring Group in Bougainville recently discovered the grave of 118 Pte Joseph Read of 3rd Bn Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force, who, according to his headstone, died on 11 February 1915 (*Army* newspaper 3 September 1998).

Those interested in 1918 war history may like to seek papers from the Chief of Army's History Conference held at ADFA in Canberra on 29 September. Topics included 'Amiens 1918'; 'Getting Across No Man's Land'; 'Technology and Tactics in the Canadian Corps' and 'The Performance of British Troops in 1918'. Contact the Army History Unit (AHU) (headed by our new Federal Councillor, Roger Lee) on 02-6268 8938. There will be a charge for the papers (AHU).

Encik (Mr) Adihil Ambilid, a Sabahan Christian man, died in 1997 aged 104. The now-retired CDF, General John Baker, attended a memorial service for him at Ranau in Borneo. Adihil was believed to have been the last survivor of those who sheltered survivors of the Sandakan-Ranau death march (Syd Wigzell, Queensland Branch).

The Australian War Memorial is seeking personal relics, photographs and stories for inclusion in new displays in the enlarged Second World War Gallery, particularly those of lesser known branches of the armed services, coastwatchers and civilian internees. The AWM already has, for example, a razor used to shave the sick in Changi hospital and photographs donated by Mr Noel Eliot of No. 218 Squadron RAF. Mr Eliot successfully evaded capture after being shot down in 1944 and hid in an evaders camp in a French forest until liberated. If you have anything to donate or loan contact Mike Nelmes at AWM on 02-62434241. (*AWM Gallery Redevelopment News*, May 1998.)

Harry Angel, a veteran of 1st Bn 1st AIF, who died in Queensland in August 1998 aged 106, was believed to be the oldest ham radio operator in the world when he gave up his VKA4HA call sign at 101 to move into an RSL War Veterans' Home! (Syd Wigzell, Queensland Branch).

Those who heard Don Charlwood speak at our June conference in Melbourne may be interested in a new edition of his book *The Long Farewell* about immigrant sailing-ship voyages to Australia. It is available at \$19.95 plus p&p from Burgewood Books, 03 9846 1176 (Brochure from Burgewood, September 1998).

According to ACT Branch member, Lindsay Wilson, the Australian Army's first real battle honour is Herbertshoe, awarded primarily for action on 12 September 1914 by the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the AN&MEF. Previously awarded honours for the Sudan and Boer Wars are technically campaign honours or honorary distinctions (ACT Branch Newsletter, August 1998).

The RSL in South Australia is hoping to stage some form of recognition of the centenary of Australian commitment to the South African War of 1899-1902. Our South Australian Branch has been asked to assist and Don Pedler and George Newbury are representing the Society. Incidentally, Don Pedler has just completed an index to the Boer War entries of the Observer newspaper 1899-1902. (*The Trench Observer*, occasional newsletter of the SA Branch, July 1998).

Albury-Wodonga Branch has been researching Boer War Honour Rolls. There is a memorial plaque on the wall of the Kiew St Fire Station in Albury to a Tpr Gowing who died of wounds in South Africa (Branch Newsletter, June 1998).

Will it never end? Yet another book on the Red Baron controversy: *The Red Baron's Last Flight—A Mystery Investigated* (Norman Franks & Alan Bennett, Pan Macmillan Australia, \$19.95) (Queensland Branch Newsletter June-July 1998).

For those interested in the Charge of the Light Brigade, there is a good article on Captain Nolan, 15th Hussars, who conveyed the fateful order to Lord Lucan, in *Dispatch*, the Journal of the Scottish Military Historical Society No 146, received May 1998. Try their Website at <http://subnet.virtualpc.com/~mc546367/homepage.htm>.

Members' Notices

Identification Request

Could any members help me with any information on the badge photographed? It was originally struck by a company called Austral in WA which in 1920 apparently changed its name to Sheridan. In 1950 the company burnt down destroying all the records. I have spoken to Phil Sheridan, the grandson of the founder, who was unable to find the die for this badge. He has invited me to check through the remaining dies. To date, I believe that it was of WWI era, but am not sure if it is a hat, cap or collar badge. If it was a collar badge, was the other collar opposing? Was there a hat or cap badge also? The badge measures 37.5 mm across and 27.5 mm high. It was struck from copper and at sometime been coated with a dark lacquer.

N J MOORE
PO Box 59
Karratha WA 6714
Ph 08 9185 2200



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Tony Harris
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Treasurer

Notes from the Editor on contributions to *Sabretache*

While the following are merely guidelines, it certainly helps the Editor in preparing copy for publication if these guidelines are followed. Nevertheless, potential contributors should not be deterred by them if, for example, you do not have access to computers or typewriters. Handwritten articles are always welcome, although, if publication deadlines are tight, they might not be published until the next issue.

Typewritten submissions are preferred. Material should be double spaced with a margin. If your article is prepared on a computer please send a copy on a 3.5' disk (together with a paper copy).

Please write dates in the form 11 June 1993, without punctuation. Ranks, initials and decorations should be without full-stops, eg, Capt B J R Brown MC MM.

Please feel free to use footnotes, which should be grouped at the end of the article (however, when published in *Sabretache* they will appear at the foot of the relevant page). As well as references cited, footnotes should be used for asides that are not central to the article.

Photos to illustrate the article are welcomed and encouraged. However, if you can, forward copies of photos rather than originals.

Articles, preferably, should be in the range of 2,000-2, 500 words (approx 4 typeset pages) or 5,000-7,000 words (approx 10 typeset pages) for major feature articles. Articles should be submitted in accordance with the time limits indicated on page 2. Recently, lateness in receiving articles has meant that the Journal has been delayed in publication. Nevertheless, where an article is of particular importance, but is received late, the Editor will endeavour to publish the article if possible and space permitting.

Authors of published articles retain copyright of their articles, but once an article is published in *Sabretache*, the Society, as well as the author, each have the independent right to republish (electronically or in print), or licence the use of the article.

Elizabeth Topperwien
Editor



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