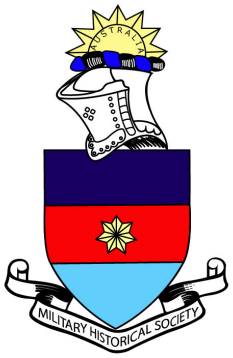
Military Historical Society of Australia
Sabretache



Sabretache policy is that the submission of material gives the Society permission to print your material, to allow the material to be included in digital databases such as the MHSA website, Australian Public Affairs-Full Text, INFORMIT and EBSCO. Reprints to non-profit historical and other societies will be approved provided suitable attribution is included and a copy of the reprint is sent to the author. Copyright remains with the author who may reprint his or her article or material from the article without seeking permission from the Society.

The Society encourages the download and distribution of *Sabretache* for personal use only and *Sabretache* can not be reproduced without the written consent of the Society.

www.mhsa.org.au

Military Historical Society of Australia
PO Box 5030, Garran, ACT 2605.
email: webmaster@mhsa.org.au

SABRETACHE

The Journal and Proceedings of

The Military Historical Society of Australia

Vol XXXVI October/December 1995 Number 4

OCTOBER—DECEMBER 1995
VOLUME XXXVI — NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

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. The annual subscription to *Sabretache* is $26.

Published by authority of the Federal Council of the Military Historical Society of Australia. The views expressed in this journal are those of the relevant contributor and not necessarily those of the Society.

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

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.

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.

Sabretache

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

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.

Branch Secretaries

ACT — Mr S H Pyne, 9/27 Jinka Street, Hawker ACT 2614

Victoria — Mr Andrew McAleer, 5/18 Slevin Street, Lilydale Vic 3140

Geelong — Mrs C Alsop, 13 Hutcheson Ave, Highton Vic 3216

Albury-Wodonga—Doug Hunter, 575 Poole Street, Albury NSW 2640

Queensland —Mr S W Wigzell, 17 Royal Street, Alexandra Hills, Qld. 4161

South Australia —Mr A F Harris, PO Box 550, Mitcham SA 5062

Western Australia —Mr Michael Malone, OAM, 127 Roachdale Rd, Mt Claremont, WA 6010

Sergeant John Callaghan — a South Australian survivor of Russian captivity

Paul A Rosenzweig[1]

Like so many of his day, as a young teenager John Callaghan accepted the call to arms and went on to have a notable career in the Army of Queen Victoria. He was at Gallipoli sixty years before the Anzacs, served in two significant military campaigns in opposite corners of the globe, suffered captivity at the hands of the Russians through an almost intolerable winter, and was then among some of the earliest British soldiers to settle in South Australia. But not content to merely make Adelaide his home, he then volunteered for further service, coincidentally, just as the South Australian volunteer force was becoming more formally structured in anticipation of a feared Russian invasion.

John Callaghan was born in County Cork, Ireland in February 1831[2]. After working for a time as a labourer, he enlisted in the 50th Depot Regiment in Cork on 27 October 1846 aged just 15, and was allotted the regimental number 3277. Two years later, on 21 July 1848, he joined the 50th Foot (Queen's Own Regiment). The regiment had been known as such since 1831: it dated back to the 50th Regiment of Foot raised in 1756, and had been successively titled 50th (West Kent) Regiment of Foot (1782-1827) and then 50th (Duke of Clarence's) Regiment of Foot (1827-31). In Egypt (1801), its soldiers had suffered dysentery and ophthalmia, earning the nickname, "the Blind Half-Hundred". At Vimiera (1808) during the Peninsula War, the intense heat caused excessive sweating during the attacks which, in turn, caused the black dye in their facings to run, leading to blackened faces and a new nickname, "the Dirty Half-Hundred". In 1831, upon the Duchess of Clarence becoming Queen Consort at the accession of William IV, the regiment had been retitled 50th Foot (Queen's Own Regiment), and there was a change to blue facings on the scarlet uniform. At that time, "the Gallant 50th" held the battle honours Egypt, Vimiera, Corunna, Almaraz, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nive, Orthes and Peninsula. By the time of John Callaghan's enlistment, the regiment had recently seen action at Punniar (1843) and in the Sutlej campaign (Mookdee, Ferozeshuhur, Aliwal and Sobraon, 1845-46).

In early 1854, he embarked for the Crimea with the regiment. John Callaghan maintained a parchment diary during this service, recording his experiences of death in the snow, although this diary is now lost to the family. Shortly before his death, Callaghan began to document his military career and, fortunately, his notes were salvaged, to be printed, somewhat surprisingly, in an issue of *Fauldings Medical and Home Journal* in May 1909[3]. Of his early movements, Callaghan recorded:

> "I served at home from [21 July 1848] until February 24, 1854 when the Regiment embarked for Malta. From there we embarked for Turkey, where we landed at Gallipoli, and after a few days stay at this place we proceeded to Bullahar to throw up entrenchments for defence against the enemy. Then we went back to Gallipoli and took ship for Varna, where we remained until we embarked for the Crimea."

---

1 Captain in the North West Mobile Force (NORFORCE) and Aide to the Administrator of the Northern Territory. Written with the assistance of Mrs Marie Mills of Adelaide, step-great-great-grand-daughter of John Callaghan.

2 His death certificate records that he died in 1909 aged 78, and his place of birth is listed as 'Town not known'; his father was Denis Callaghan.

3 *Fauldings Medical and Home Journal*, 20 May 1909, p.554.

Britain declared war on Russia on 28 March 1854, and John Callaghan was with the 50th Regiment when it arrived in the east, landing at Eupatoria on 14 September with a strength of 31 officers and 910 men, all newly equipped with Minie rifles. The 50th Regiment first took part in the battle on 20 September which successfully dislodged the Russians under Prince Menschikoff from their strong position near the mouth of the River Alma, and after the battle they were detained two days to bury the dead. They were then at the battle for Inkermann on 5 November 1854, in which the Russians attacked the Allied positions by night but were unable to dislodge them following an intense hand-to-hand battle in thick fog. The members of the 50th then marched on the road to Sebastopol where the Russians were for some considerable time besieged. Callaghan recorded:

> "When we arrived in front of Sebastopol we commenced to throw up trenches and erect batteries, at which we had to work day and night. I need not mention the hardships we soldiers had to undergo and in very severe weather too."

A *Weekly State of the Army* for 3 June 1855 recorded that the English infantry had lost a total of one Sergeant and 28 men as Prisoners of War or Missing[4]. Throughout the whole campaign, the 50th lost a total of 512 men killed; further, 198 were invalided home and there were three deserters, while 25 were taken prisoner-of-war. Among them was John Callaghan, taken on the night of 20 December 1854 during one of the Crimea's worst ever winters, when the Russians made a sortie in strength from Sebastopol in two columns. One column attacked the 34th Regiment on the right flank while, simultaneously, the other column attacked the left flank of the British[5]. This flanking assault, made with considerable noise and with drums beating and bugles sounding, was speedily repulsed by the 38th and 50th Regiments with considerable losses to the Russians: the 50th itself lost 13 men killed and 18 wounded, with 10 missing—snatched by the Russians.

At this time, the Sebastopol siege was at a standstill and the Russian garrison was suffering severely from half rations and outbreaks of cholera. The Russians took great pride in their ability to snatch equipment and prisoners. On 12 January 1855, Lieutenant Colonel Calthorpe, ADC to the English Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Lord Raglan, recorded in a letter home that a Russian deserter had told them, "that the Emperor of Russia has ordered that every man who brings in the following things from the Allies shall be paid accordingly; viz ... for a prisoner, 50 paper roubles" (a paper rouble was then valued at about 10½ pence). By January 1855, Colonel Calthorpe further recorded that the Russians were using the lasso for taking prisoners, a method which General Canrobert (C-in-C French Army) called "barbarous".[6]

Those captured on this occasion included Captain H J Frampton, Lieutenant M A Clarke, and eight private soldiers.[7] Of his capture and internment, Callaghan penned his recollections shortly before his death:

> "I was with a detachment of my Regiment on duty in the advanced trench. We were very few in number considering the works we had to hold, as when we were extended each file was about twelve paces apart. The Russians made a sortie on our advanced

---

4 Plus 1 from the Cavalry Division, and 3 from the Artillery; Luscombe, W (ed), *Cadogan's Crimea*. Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, p.272-273.

5 Luscombe (1979) *op cit*, p.126, 133.

6 Luscombe (1979) *op cit*, p.136.

7 Listed on 50th Regiment Muster Rolls as "taken prisoner, missing in trenches"; listed as missing in Return of Non-Commissioned Officers and Men Missing from 17th to 20th December, 1854, inclusive, *London Gazette*, 9 January 1855, p.82. Also listed in Cook, F & A Cook, *Casualty Rolls for the Crimea*. J B Hayward & Son, 1976, p.182.

works. They advanced in line with their supports, and I must say they made a bold dash. As I have said, there was not many of us to keep the works against the overwhelming numbers, as a company of them had only about six men to resist them. I had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on that morning. I received a bayonet wound in the right arm, and shortly after got a bullet wound in the head. I remembered no more until I came to, to find myself on the Russian side of the trenches.

"Four Russians had hold of me by the arms and legs, and were carrying me face downwards, while a fifth man carried the rifles of the other four. When I found how I was situated I kicked out and the two men who had hold of my legs let go. I struggled to get free, but one of the men grabbed a rifle and struck me with the butt, knocking me down. I was covered in blood. I was then taken to the picket house near the Russian graveyard, where my wounds were dressed. Five stitches were put in my head. The bayonet wound was not so bad, as the bone stopped the point.

"The same morning I was dropped in a boat to the north side of Sebastopol with a Captain, a Lieutenant and others of my company who were in the same fix as myself. We were detained there some time, myself in the hospital until my wounds were thought to be sufficiently well for me to march. Before they were, we had to leave for Simferopol, 72 miles from Sebastopol, where all prisoners were kept until they had a batch to send to Voronesh, right away into Russia. I am sorry to say that they had not long to wait, because there was a large batch of us. Between English and French there were seventy two of us, the prisoners taken in the charge of the Light Brigade being in this lot."

The Cavalry Division's Light Brigade, under Major General the Earl of Cardigan, comprised the 4th and 13th Light Dragoons, the 8th and 11th Hussars, and the 17th Lancers, as well as a troop of Horse Artillery. It had fought bravely at the port of Balaclava to prevent a Russian breakthrough from the Tchernaya Valley, losing 113 killed and 134 wounded from a strength of 675, and is famed for its gallant charge down the mile-long North Valley against the Russian guns and cavalry on 25 October 1854. Some fifty years after the event, Callaghan recalled some of those captured after the charge of the Light Brigade who were now interred with him:

- "Parker" [Private Samuel Parks], 4th Light Dragoons
- Privates John Maccann and A Harris, 13th Light Dragoons (both wounded)
- Private Henry Parker, 11th Hussars
- Privates James Wightman and James McCallister 17th Lancers (both wounded)

Samuel Parks was Orderly to Lord George Paget, Colonel of the 4th Light Dragoons, and together with the Colonel's Trumpeter Hugh Crawford was unhorsed during the charge. Parks saved his colleague's life by fighting off two Russians, and was then shot in the hand while attempting to rescue a wounded officer. After a year of captivity, he returned to his regiment and was subsequently awarded the Victoria Cross, one of only a few conferred for an act of valour performed before the issue of the Royal Warrant instituting the decoration (January 1856).

The months of December to February, winter in the East, were the most severe of the entire campaign, and both the British and Russian Armies were losing hundreds of men from disease and exposure. Callaghan continued:

> "We left in January [1855]—I cannot say the exact date. It was very cold and snowing the morning we left. We were under march until dark, when we came to a Russian camp, or rather, collection of huts sunk in the ground and covered with thatch. They cleared some of the huts out for us, but the prisoners set some of the huts on fire and we had to stop out all night in the snow. We arrived at our destination in April of the same year, having travelled in the depth of winter about 1,700 miles through Russia. The last three days I had no boots, and the snow was melting about my feet."

The Malakoff and the Sedan were stormed, and Sebastopol fell on 8 September 1855, and the Russians fired the town, sank their fleet and withdrew across the River Tchernaya: an English Commandant was appointed in Sebastopol on the 12th. The fall of this fortress effectively signified the end of the war, although minor clashes and skirmishes continued until October 18th. On this day, the Russians blew up Fort Otchakoff and the garrison withdrew to Nicholaieff and, by the 21st, fighting ceased, with a peace treaty being signed in Paris on 30 March 1856. The fall of Sebastopol and the Russian retreat was of particular significance to those English soldiers who had endured captivity at the hands of the Russians; Private John Callaghan was exchanged on 21 October 1855, and he rejoined the regiment on the 26th. The 50th was one of the last of the British Army to leave the Crimea, and was present on 12 July 1856 when Balaklava was passed over to the Russians. Callaghan was a witness of these events:

> "The Russian troops came in in the following order:—The Cossacks first, headed by Prince Menschikoff and other staff officers, the Dragoons next, and followed by the Infantry. My Company was drawn up across the Katikoi Bridge, where we received the Russians with fixed bayonets. The usual salute being exchanged between the Russian leader and Major Daniels. My Company were ordered to retire, the Russians relieved the British guards, and everything was given over to them, stores and all. We sailed from Balaclava at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of July 12 1856. We were all pleased to leave the Crimea, and think that the hardships and starvation were over."

In 1858, he sailed with the regiment for duty in Ceylon and was there for about six years. On 29 May 1860, it is recorded that he forfeited one penny per day good conduct pay for some minor offence, while in the period October-December that year, he spent 38 days in hospital in Colombo.[8] In 1864, the regiment sailed to New Zealand where John Callaghan served as a Corporal in the 50th as the British Army again tried to impose peace on the Maoris.

The landing of the first Governor, Captain Hobson, on 29 January 1840 and the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February had led to an increasing perception by the native Maoris of a European infiltration and occupation. This in turn led to Maori risings on the North Island in 1845-46 and on the South Island in 1847, with peace finally established by 1861 after yet another uprising. Fighting broke out again on 4 May 1863 and spread rapidly, and the British regiments suffered quite severely in early 1864, requiring the deployment of additional troops. Fighting continued until 3 July 1866 and British troops withdrew during the following four years. The Second Maori War was more a series of outbursts of bush fighting throughout the North Island than a proper campaign, and the British soon learnt that their tactics from the Crimea—frontal infantry assaults in close order on the high wooden stockades and earthen walls of the Maori *pahs*—were costly and ineffective, and instead developed tactics which involved pursuing the Maoris into the bush.

John Callaghan's movements at this time are a little vague, but he certainly appears in the Adelaide City Council Citizen Rolls as residing at 249 Franklin Street in 1864-65 and again in

---

8 Muster Books and Pay Lists, 50th Regiment, WO12/6153, April 1860 to March 1861.

1866-67, but not in the intervening years 1865-66 when he was probably in New Zealand. His 1909 death certificate records that he had resided in the Commonwealth (of Australia) for 44 years, confirming an arrival in Adelaide in 1865. He was promoted to Sergeant in the 50th in New Zealand on 9 September 1867, the day following Sebastopol Day—a significant commemorative date in the regiment's calendar, recalling the fall of Sebastopol and the service of the 50th in the trenches.

John Callaghan, a Sergeant-Major in the South Australian Volunteer Military Force, aged 49 (*circa* 1880).

In October 1867, after spending three years in New Zealand, the regiment sailed for Adelaide, South Australia. This was a return to Australia for the regiment. It had served there from 1833 to 1841,[9] had provided guards for some of the last convict transports to New South Wales in 1839-40, and some of its soldiers were among the 131 who drowned when the *George III* was

9 Contingents went as reinforcements from Australia to China, earning the regiment a new nickname—'*the China Half-Hundred*' -and then in 1841 the regiment went to India.

shipwrecked.[10] In 1840, the 50th was one of four regiments allocated to the Australia Command, and had men stationed at Grose Farm, Longbottom, Moreton Bay, Port Macquarie, Scone and Spring Cove, with the majority based in Sydney and on Norfolk Island. They had gained some renown for their efforts in controlling the 1841 battle between seamen of HMS *Favourite* and police constables in Sydney, and for various entertainments they had held in the barracks, with unmarried ladies numbered among the guests.[11] In Adelaide, they would give their name to "Queen's Own Town", the men of the regiment playing a significant role in the surveying of the township of Finniss.[12]

After just a year in Adelaide, at Trinity Church on 28 November 1868, Sergeant John Callaghan married Frances Anne Jackson (nee Dann), holder of the licence for the Old Queen's Arms Hotel in Wright Street. Frances Dann had married George Gerald Jackson in Ireland and had then come to Australia with him, arriving in Adelaide in 1854. Their first-born died in infancy in 1856, and George Jackson died on 15 January 1865—a week after the birth of their fifth child, who herself died less than a month later. John Callaghan thus "inherited" three step-children: Anna Maria (aged 11), John Patrick (aged 8) and Elizabeth Margaret (aged 6). Of interest is that the middle child, John Patrick, was later a prominent stone mason in Adelaide, responsible for carving the large lion which for many years stood on top of the Fowlers Lion factory on North Terrace, as well as the marble staircase in Moores Department Store in Victoria Square (now the Supreme Court building), and the inscriptions on many headstones in Cheltenham cemetery and various other monuments[13]. Frances Jackson had held the licence for the Old Queen's Arms Hotel, on the corner of Wright and Compton Streets, since the time of her husband's death in 1865. Interestingly, her brother, Nathaniel Dann, later held the licence for the Black Eagle Hotel from early 1875 until his death at the hotel on 26 December that year, after which his wife Catherine held the licence until 1880. It is interesting to speculate on whether John Callaghan already knew Frances Jackson, as she is believed to have come from Cork, or perhaps he simply met her at the hotel, attracted to it by its closeness to the name of his regiment. Nevertheless, soon after arriving in Adelaide, he had a wife and three children to support.

Callaghan took his discharge in Adelaide on 25 March 1869[14], with a gratuity of twelve months' pay. He and his wife had only one child of their own, a daughter Frances Mary, born on 1 August 1869 and baptised at St Patrick's in Grote Street on 9 September, but she died on 7 January the following year. The licence for the Old Queens Arms Hotel, which still operates today under the same name, was transferred into John Callaghan's name in 1869. On 10 June 1872, he took over the licence for the Star and Garter Hotel in Sturt Street[15], which he held until 10 December 1877. Then, on 11 June 1877, he transferred his publican's licence to the Wheelrights Arms[16] in Roper Street, although he relinquished this the following year[17]. Frances Callaghan was admitted to the Adelaide Lunatic Asylum with rheumatism on 2 November 1876, and there died on 21 July 1877 of mania and exhaustion. She was buried in a double plot in the old Catholic section of West Terrace Cemetery, and her headstone is inscribed:

---

10 Austin, M, *The Army in Australia, 1840-50.* AGPS, Canberra, 1979, pp 69-70.
11 Stanley, P, *The remote garrison. The British Army in Australia, 1788-1870.* Kangaroo Press, NSW, 1986.
12 See Partridge, H, *Regiment on the River. A history of Queen's Own Town and the Finniss District*, 1994.
13 Mrs M E Mills, Pers Comm, 7 February & 6 June 1994.
14 Muster Books and Pay Lists, 50th Regiment, WO 12/6162, folio 274; the 50th (Queen's Own Regiment) was retitled the 1st Battalion, Queen's Own (Royal West Kent) Regiment in 1881.
15 Originally located on the western corner of Frederick Street, from 1849 to about 1880 when it relocated to no.194; demolished in 1961.
16 Located on Roper Street towards Wakefield Street, from 1851 to 1921.
17 Hoad, J L, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia.*

"All my friends as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you will be
So think of death and pray for me

The above was the beloved wife of
John Callaghan
Late Sergeant HM 50th Q.O.Regiment."

With his wife's death, eight years after his retirement from the British Army, John Callaghan wished to resume military service in the forces of his adopted Colony, spurred on, no doubt, by the strong anti-Russian sentiment in South Australia at that time, born in the fears of Russian naval aggression between 1804 and 1835, heightening with the war in the Crimea, and climaxing with the possibility of England becoming involved in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. The South Australian Volunteer Military Force was vaguely commissioned with providing a mobile defence presence for the shores and their immediate hinterland, established in the 1860s when this fourth line of defence was considered the most effective method by which to counter an invasion. In 1878, it became the Voluntary Military Force (later, Active Militia), a paid permanent organisation, but it was not until the middle 1880s, however, that South Australia had developed a firm defence policy, while a Permanent Military Force did not appear until 1895.[18] So, suitably qualified and experienced in skirmishing with the Russians, in July 1877 John Callaghan was appointed a Drill Instructor in the active, partially-paid Volunteer Military Force with the rank of Sergeant-Major.[19] Horatio Lloyd Williams Esq (formerly a Lieutenant in HM 12th Regiment of Foot) was appointed Chief Drill Instructor with the rank of Lieutenant; others appointed as Drill Instructors (with the rank of Sergeant-Major) included:

- Charles Peach (formerly a Sergeant in HM 10th Hussars)
- Ralph Charters (formerly a Sergeant in the Royal Horse Artillery)
- Arthur Cosgrove (formerly a Sergeant in HM 104th Regiment of Foot).

It is believed that John Callaghan also served as a Drill Instructor at Christian Brothers College in Wakefield Street, just two blocks away from his Wheelrights Arms Hotel, but they have no records from this period, they having been consumed in a fire. On 15 March 1880, at the age of 49[20], John Callaghan married Elizabeth Susannah Speigel, a 37 year old widow[21], at St Ignatius' in Norwood. Until this time, Callaghan had lived in Franklin Street in town but, in 1882, he purchased a house at 120 Robsart Street in Parkside, and maintained his listing in contemporary directories as a "Drill Instructor". His second wife, Elizabeth Callaghan, died on 16 January 1888—listed as Corunna Day in the calendar of the 50th Regiment. She received a funeral notice and a thirteen shilling funeral—no lease and no headstone.

Just a week after his appointment as Governor of South Australia, Admiral Sir Day Hort Bosanquet GCVO KCB[22] hosted a garden party at Government House for army and navy

---

18 Zwillenberg, H J, The Defence of South Australia. *Sabretache, XXVI*: 14-18, April/June 1985.

19 Notice dated 18 July 1877; *South Australian Government Gazette*, July 1877, p.167.

20 Although the age of 47 years is given on the marriage certificate, and his 1909 death certificate records his age at time of re-marriage as 60!

21 Although her death certificate eight years later records her age as 50; the surname of her father is recorded as Pettman.

22 Honours include KCB (June 1905), Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword (Sweden, August 1906), GCVO (1907), Grand Cross of the Red Eagle (Germany, 1907), Knight of the Order of the Sword (Sweden, 1908).

veterans of the Crimean War, himself a veteran of the China wars having entered the Service in 1857. The local newspaper recorded:

> "The ranks of the veterans have been greatly reduced by death during the past few years, but it is anticipated that all veterans who are able to leave their homes will be present at the reception".[23]

Some 38 elderly gentlemen, John Callaghan among them, attended the function on Monday, 5 April 1909, and were photographed with Their Excellencies. Prominent among them was Mr William Sutherland of Kent Town who, the paper reported:

> "can look back with pleasure to the time when he served his country on the same ship and at the same time as His Excellency was gaining experience as a junior at the commencement of his naval career".[24]

Having suffered from gout and chronic interstitial nephritis for a number of years, John Callaghan entered a convalescent hospital on Military Road, Semaphore,[25] and after a bout of uræmia lasting five days, there died on Wednesday 28 April 1909. The previous winter, Callaghan had gone into Adelaide to see Mr Sutherland, who had come to take a deep interest in the welfare of army and navy veterans. Proud of his service in the Crimea and New Zealand, and with the South Australian Volunteer Force, Callaghan had expressed to Mr Sutherland his desire that, when he died, his remains would be buried with military honours. Sutherland had promised that this would occur. "Now I will die happy", he is reported to have said at that time[26]. Sergeant-Major John Callaghan's flag-draped coffin, carried on a gun carriage, left Gouger Street on Friday 30 April for the Catholic Cemetery on West Terrace, and the deceased was accorded military honours as promised. He was buried in his double plot beside his first wife, Frances, in the old catholic section of West Terrace Cemetery, although he had no headstone[27]. In his obituaries, there were extensive references to his service with the 50th Regiment, of which he was undeniably proud, and the Adelaide *Advertiser* referred to him as "a Crimean veteran who had made South Australia his home".

Captain de Passey represented the Military Commandant in Adelaide, Colonel Lee, who had given his permission for any member of the military forces to attend the funeral in uniform, and several navy and army veterans attended. The firing party consisted of cadets from Christian Brothers College under command of Sergeant M Hogan[28]. It was recorded that, "He had been connected with the State Forces for many years and consequently his funeral was largely attended by old comrades".[29] Of some significance, among the pall-bearers was Patrick Connors who had served with Callaghan as a Private in the 50th Foot during the Crimean campaign. Notably, Connors had been wounded during the Russian attack from Sebastopol on the night of 20 December 1854, during which Callaghan had been taken prisoner. He was again wounded on 26 July the following year.[30] His other pall-bearers were all veterans of Victorian campaigns around the globe:[31]

---

23 *The Advertiser*, 3 April 1909.
24 *Ibid.*
25 Now St Margaret's.
26 *Observer*, 1 May 1909, p.38.
27 Catholic burial records at West Terrace Cemetery have been destroyed, and the current records have been taken from headstones.
28 *The Advertiser*, 29 April 1909; *Southern Cross*, 7 May 1909; *The Adelaide Chronicle*, 8 May 1909.
29 *Fauldings Medical and Home Journal*, 20 May 1909, p.553.
30 *London Gazette*, 9 January and 7 August 1855; Cook & Cook (1976) *op cit*, p.181.
31 *Fauldings Medical and Home Journal*, 20 May 1909, p.553.

- Private Eugene McCarthy, 33rd Foot
  Wounded at the Battle of Inkermann, 5 November 1854[32].
- Corporal George Thomas, 57th Foot
  Wounded during the first attack on the Redan on 18 June 1855[33].
- Corporal George Thompson, 1st Madras Fusiliers
  Defence and Relief of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny, 1857.
- H A Braham, Royal Navy
  Second China War, 1857-60, and the expedition to Abyssinia, 1867-68.
- Sergeant T Hanley, 92nd Gordon Highlanders
  Kandahar, Second Afghan War, 1880.

Despite marrying twice, John Callaghan had no surviving children. But from the three step-children he raised through their adolescent years, there were 28 step-great-grandchildren, producing quite a considerable number of step-great-great-great-grandchildren who, as Adelaide residents, are today mostly in their teens. To his stepson John Patrick Jackson, he had left large photographs of himself and Frances Callaghan, a gold ring, his war medals and parchment diary, and various items of clothing.[34] There is no trace of these items today, but his step-great-grand-daughter (grand-daughter of John Patrick Jackson), Elaine Mary Jackson, born in Adelaide in 1918, still recalls as a child wearing a coat made for her from John Callaghan's scarlet tunic.[35]

He had received the Crimea War Medal (1854-56) with clasps "Alma", "Inkermann" and "Sebastopol", the Turkish Crimea Medal, and also the New Zealand Medal for the Second Maori War (1860-66). A rare photograph of John Callaghan taken in Adelaide shows him not wearing Sergeant's stripes but, instead, there is a bulge faintly discernible above the lace on his right cuff, dating the photograph to after 1877 when he was appointed Sergeant-Major in the Volunteer Force. The portrait was produced by Tuttle & Co of Adelaide, which only operated from 1880 to 1886, so it is most likely that he had it taken for his marriage to Elizabeth Speigel in 1880, when he was aged 49. It appears that he wore his three medals from a brooch, but with a distinct gap of about 1 cm between each, with the Crimea Medal and its clasps in the centre. A white-haired, balding gentleman can be seen in the photograph of Crimean veterans at Government House, three decades later, wearing his medals in the same manner.

Acknowledgements

This paper was produced with the assistance of Mrs Marie Mills of Adelaide, step-great-great-grand-daughter of Sergeant John Callaghan. Assistance was also kindly provided by the staff of the Library of the Flinders University of South Australia and Mortlock Library of SA, Mr Tony Harris (MHSA, Adelaide), Mrs Elaine Martin (nee Jackson), Lieutenant Colonel T C Sargent (retd) of the MHSA, and Mr R J Tunnicliff (St Albans, England).

---

32 *London Gazette*, 11 December 1854; Cook & Cook (1976) *op cit*, p.54.
33 *London Gazette*, 3 and 9 July 1855; Cook & Cook (1976) *op cit*, p.99.
34 J Callaghan, Will dated 30 October 1907. The two step-daughters received a gold watch, a mantle clock and their mother's wedding ring; a third of his money went to the housekeeper, and the remaining two-thirds to the step-children.
35 Mrs M E Mills, Pers Comm, 27 December 1993.

The Trophy Tradition[1]

Mark Clayton

Displayed in the grounds of the Brisbane Boys Grammar School is an Austrian field gun. An accompanying plaque explains how the gun was part of a large haul of enemy materials captured in September 1918 by Australian Light Horsemen under the command of Brigadier General L C Wilson (a Brisbane Grammar old-boy). Although described in the official war history as "booty", the same gun, once returned to Australia, is then referred to by the Australian War Museum Committee as a "trophy". Both terms however were later dropped in favour of the word "relic" which connoted, quite deliberately, qualities of religious sacredness.[2]

The traditional trophy

These verbal transpositions were partly deliberate, reflecting the Museum's need to respond expediently to changing social and political circumstances in Australia. Linguistic precision was of little concern in a climate of total war whereas the reactionary milieu of post-war Australia demanded the use of less provocative phraseology. The term "relic" for example had been purposefully substituted into the Museum's lexicon by the country's official war historian, Charles Bean, who was then anxious to ensure the safe passage of the Australian War Memorial Bill by defusing mounting public criticism that the trophy collections served only to glorify war.[3]

This verbal imprecision also reflected, to an even greater degree, the uncertainty which existed then in relation to the meaning of the term "war trophy". Remarkable though it may seem the Australian Imperial Forces (a highly regulated and, at times, bureaucratic organisation) successfully assembled one of the world's largest war trophy collections, and then shipped it half-way around the world, without having ever formulated or received any coherent guidance as to what, exactly, constituted a war trophy. The Australians began collecting in 1914 (in German New Guinea) even before the first AIF contingents had arrived in Europe and continued to do so, long after the Armistice had been signed. Though deluged throughout the war with Routine Orders, Memorandums and Circular Letters which explained in minute detail the correct procedures for claiming, marking and despatching battlefield trophies, the military hierarchy never attempted to define the object of these attentions. But if the Australian digger was left in the dark on the such matters then so too was his Imperial counterpart, the British Tommy. Indeed, it wasn't until after the Armistice had been signed that the Imperial War Trophy Committee attempted to publicly define the term "war trophy".[4]

The AIF troops of course, being for the most part recent volunteers, were especially ignorant of the martial traditions which had caused the barracks, museums and parks of Europe to be festooned with ancient cannon. These men, who lived in a country largely devoid of

---

1 This article is the second of a series by Mark Clayton entitled, *To the victor belongs the spoils—a history of the Australian war trophy collection.*

2 H S Gullett, *Sinai and Palestine, Official History of Australia in the War of 1918*, Vol.VII (Angus & Robertson, 1941), p.708.

3 M McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit* (University of Queensland Press, (1991), p.88.

4 Lt-Col Sir Arthur Leetham, "Provincial Museums and War Trophies", *RUSI Journal*, Vol. LXIV, p.105.

monuments, had enlisted in a recently created army whose ranks, at the outbreak of war, numbered fewer than 2,500 men. Notions of allegiance to country and esprit de corps had not as yet taken root. Moreover, few if any of Australia's permanent soldiery had any first hand experience of the customs and ceremonies which underpinned the British military tradition.

Armed thus with considerable naivety, the troops of the 1st AIF embarked on what would later prove to be a spectacularly successful course of trophy collecting. These successes inevitably began to arouse interest both at home and abroad, and led to the first formal proposals, in 1917, that the AIF collection would eventually be needed for display back in Australia, an idea which did not sit well with the Imperial Authorities.[5]

The British had, until then, always assumed that they would have first claim to the trophies collected by their Dominion allies and responded, somewhat antagonistically, to these early proprietorial sentiments.[6] The Australians and New Zealanders for their part reacted with equal determination, leaving the Colonial and War Offices in no doubt as to their primary allegiances. Faced with such resolve, and dogged by a growing number of competing and questionable claims, the War Office had little choice but to try and reach a common agreement with its colonial allies on what was clearly a sensitive subject. The agency for these mediations was the War Trophies Committee which, operating under the aegis of Britain's recently formed National War Museum (later named the Imperial War Museum), was soon confronted with complex matters of definition and interpretation more befitting a judiciary.

Definition remained the key to resolving many of these issues but, as noted previously, this was to remain an elusive goal. Although the Committee was convened on a regular basis after mid 1917 it repeatedly failed to offer any clear cut policy guidance on critical issues. Judgments, when not deferred altogether, were often made on a reactionary case by case basis rather than through the application of agreed policy guidelines and definitions. Member countries, like Australia, which were at pains to disguise their frustration with the process and its outcomes, were then left to distinguish from this weight of individual judgments the outlines of a logic which they could apply with consistency and confidence to future acquisitions.

It was via this piecemeal process that the Australians were led to some understanding and recognition of the features which best characterised the battlefield trophy. Although the process was never completed, the Committee continued to hand its members missing pieces from the trophy jigsaw. In July 1918, for example, it was asked to clarify if allied weapons that had been lost, then recaptured from the enemy, could also be regarded as war trophies?

The matter had first been raised by the India Office with reference to two British guns which had been recaptured at Baghdad. Though no final decision was then reached on the matter, it was clear from the views put forward that the Committee "would favourably consider" any claim where it was clearly established the guns were being used by the Germans. Guns lost and then regained by a counter-attack however "would not be considered as trophies". The exigencies of war demanded furthermore that all serviceable or repairable guns had, as a matter of necessity, to "be handed over to Ordnance for further use, and would only become available as trophies when they finally became unserviceable."[7] Serviceable enemy weapons were prized just as much for their utilitarian value, often being pressed back into service by their Allied captors. Many such guns, mounted on pedestals, were fitted to merchant vessels, causing

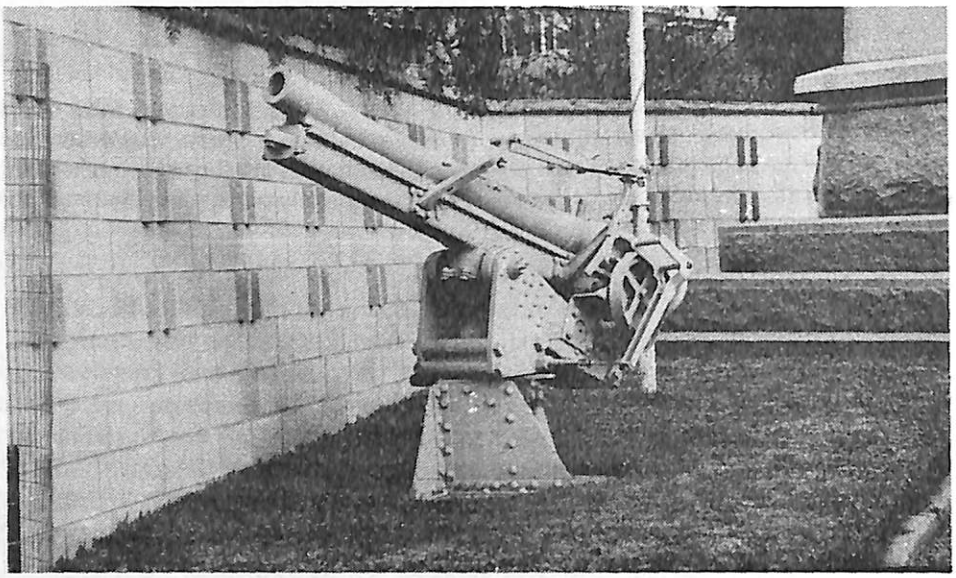
---

5 The Trustees of the Melbourne Exhibition Building wrote to the Australian Defence Minister in August 1917 offering to store and display the Australian war trophy collection. See M McKernan, p.40.

6 Defence Secretary to AIF HQ London, nd, File 16 (4386/1/25 Pt.2) (AWM).

7 Letter from Commandant, Admin, HQ AIF to Australian HQ, Cairo, dated 22 August 1918, File 16 (4386/1/25 Pt.2), (AWM).

concern within the Trophy Committee that these widely scattered trophies might in fact never be recovered.[8]



Many allied trophy guns were pressed back into service with the merchant navy. This converted trophy (a C96 n/A, c/n 41) is preserved alongside the Mannum war memorial in South Australia (A. Locket)

The issue of recaptured allied weaponry was of particular interest to the Australians who attached great importance to a battery of four 15cm Belgian howitzers which their 1st Division troops had captured from the Germans at Poziers. These were the first field pieces ever captured by Australian soldiers and plans were already in hand for their exhibition in a new Australia House Museum, in London.[9] AIF HQ made a similar application the following month for a British 60 Pdr gun limber which had also been recaptured by Australian troops.

These matters were reconsidered by the Committee the following March when the Australians lodged further claims for a number of British Caterpillar tractors which they had retaken during the August 1918 offensive.

Committee members were largely of the view that "no institution would place on exhibition one of our own guns recaptured from the enemy on account of the reluctance to admit that we had lost it." The AIF's representative, Lt Hurley, attempted to convince the Committee however "that there was [in fact] no disgrace in losing material under certain circumstances" citing the AIF's desire "to obtain from the Turks the material left behind during the evacuation [of Gallipoli]." When asked by the Committee members if the Australians would even want to place such material in their museum Hurley replied, "most certainly we would."[10] True to their word, personnel from the Australian War Records Section returned to Gallipoli shortly after the

---

8 A number of these maritime conversions were returned to Australia as trophies, and are still evident in such places as Mannum, South Australia (C96 n/A, Nr.41), and Puckapunyal (Fried Krupp, 50 mm) in Victoria.

9 Letter dated 20 July 1918, File 16, (4386/1/24) (AWM).

10 *Extract from the notes of the 17th Meeting of the War Office Trophies Committee held at the War Office on 27 March 1919*, File 16 (4386/1/25) Pt.2 (AWM).

Armistice and recovered a 4.7" naval gun which they had been forced to abandon during the evacuation of December 1915.[11]

Though hardly more than a peripheral consideration the Australians continued to press these claims for another eight months until finally, the Committee deftly side-stepped the issue altogether by handing down the decision that allied equipment, recaptured from the enemy, should be looked upon as memorials rather than trophies. As such, the question of how such material should be disposed was properly a matter for the Salvage Department or Quarter Master General, rather than the War Trophies Committee.

This exercise in semantics was parallelled by a far more important debate, also precipitated by the AIF. Australian soldiers participating in the second battle of Gaza in April 1917 had overrun a Turkish trench which was found to contain an elaborate sixth-century Christian mosaic. The mosaic was immediately claimed by the Australians who began planning to have the antiquity shipped back to Australia.

The War Office responded however with a request that the mosaic be shipped back to England until the question of ownership could be resolved, and expressed doubts that the object could in fact be claimed as a war trophy. This was the only way, it argued, of preventing Australia from "laying herself open to the charge of not having been above looting", for which the British had so often condemned the Germans. The War Trophies Committee attempted to adopt the moral high ground by pointing out that the British Government had given an assurance to the Moslems that their holy places would not be interfered with. Committee members felt that the Australians would be breaking faith with this declaration "as it is possible this mosaic belongs to a mosque".[12]

These pretensions were quietly abandoned however after the Australian War Records Section responded "with a somewhat pungent reference to the Elgin marbles".[13] The matter was then quickly dropped by both the War Office and the Trophy Committee, suggesting a degree of sensitivity and lack of moral certitude on the part of the British who had, throughout the conflict, stridently criticised the Germans for engaging, in looting. Perhaps the British feared they had more to lose by entering into a debate that was fraught with legal and moral vulnerabilities and which could, potentially, even challenge their claim to an icon as sacred as the Elgin Marbles. Most of the world's great cultural collections, including the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, comprised objects which. though masquerading as "trophies", could more accurately be described as "loot".[14] Maybe the stakes were far higher than Britain cared to acknowledge, making it imperative, for all the combatants, that the distinction between "prize" and "profit" (trophy and loot) should remain forever blurred? This would help to explain why Australia's military establishment successfully avoided discussing broader moral and legal issues when, as noted previously, a military tribunal found that there existed a prima facie case for charging a number of senior AN&MEF officers with looting in the German New Guinea Protectorate. Although charges were brought against a number of senior Australian officers the court remained unconvinced that the accused had acted with felonious intent.

> "... those who appropriated articles regarded them as souvenirs, and honestly believed that they had a right to them as mementoes of their participation in the campaign ...

---

11 The latter, which had also seen action at Ladysmith during the Boer War, is still prominently displayed in the Australian War Memorial's Gallipoli Gallery.

12 *Notes on Subjects of AIF interest discussed at the 9th Meeting of the War Trophies Committee held on 2 May*, File 16 (4386/1/25) Pt.2 (AWM).

13 See McKernan, p. 50.

14 See John C Nimmo's *Trophies and Personal Relics of British Heroes* (Ballantyne Press, 1896).

> The bad precedent of the Boer War campaign in China, where many valuables were brought back, had undoubtedly set a standard which needed correction but had not been entirely corrected."[15]

Charges were dropped and the officers concerned were all given honourable acquittals.

The Hague Convention of 1907, which defined the international ground rules for land warfare was a additional source of comfort to all in this regard, its pronouncements on the subject of "pillage" being so vague and brief as to offer little discouragement even to would be plunderers. First defined at the Brussels Conference of 1874, "pillage, or loot" was still being described and equated, 33 years later, as simply that "booty which is not permitted."[16] No nation could afford then to have the moral righteousness of its cause, or its military alliances undermined in any way, least of all at a time of total war. The protocols of the 1907 Hague Convention, therefore, were more often overlooked in favour of those somewhat more generous and convenient decrees of the ancients, such as that offered by the Bible's King Cyrus, "It is an enduring law of mankind that, when a city belonging to the enemy has been captured, the goods and the wealth of that city shall be ceded to the enemy."[17]

Though never articulated as such the AIF's claim to the mosaic may have had more to do with these vague notions of ancient custom than it did, say, with matters of legal definition or judicial principle.

These tentative steps towards formal definition were taken just prior to the cessation of hostilities and as such, were of little benefit to the allied combatants most of whom, like Australia, had already amassed and despatched vast trophy collections. More often than not the War Trophy Committee found itself having to retrospectively judge and justify actions which had occurred months, and sometimes years earlier. It was not until 14 November 1918, three days after the Armistice, that the War Trophy Committee made public its formal definition of the term "war trophy". On that occasion, before "a large audience of Members of the House of Commons ... and a representative gathering of Curators of the Metropolitan and Provincial Museums", the Committee's spokesperson announced that "The word 'trophy' includes all articles of captured enemy equipment, but such articles are only to be considered as trophies for distribution during war, when unserviceable, or not required for conversion".[18]

But this was too little, too late, a dimensionless outline which focussed on the trophy's salient physical characteristics without reference to its overriding symbolism. The Australians took it upon themselves therefore to try to add flesh to the Committee's skeleton, the subjective details which could bring meaning and purpose to an inanimate object and thereby lay the foundations for the nation's first military traditions.

> "The man who is hauling a battered German machine gun down the duckboards, with the sweat pouring from under his steel hat, pictures to himself all the time the pleasure of showing it some day in some museum at home to his family and his friends."[19]

---

15 S S McKenzie, *The Australians At Rabaul, Official History of Australia in the War 1914-18*, Vol. X, (Angus & Robertson, 1927), p.196.

16 T E Holland, *The Laws of War on Land — Written and Unwritten* (Clarendon Press, 1909) p.54.

17 H Grotius, *De Jure Praedae Commentarius, Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*, Vol. 1, A Translation of the Original Manuscript of 1604 by G L Williams with the collaboration of W H Zeydel (Oxford University Press, 1950), p.50.

18 See Leetham, p.105.

19 Copy of a cable sent by Mr C E W Bean to Australian Press at the end of February, nd, File 16 (4386/1/25 Pt.2) (AWM).

In this instance it is the end use, and the effort of recovery which overshadow the trophy's warlike purpose. Foremost in the mind of Australia's war correspondent, Charles Bean, when he penned this description was the trophy's enduring relevance for all Australians as both a symbol and historic artefact. This is to suggest that the captured gun only becomes a trophy, and only ever realises its full trophy potential after it has been removed from the battlefield. It is the act of capture, as well as the act of removal, both motivated by a sense of shared and enduring public benefit, which collectively distinguish the battlefield "trophy" from the soldier's "loot" or "booty".

The Australian media were instrumental in helping to popularise and refine these formative notions, particularly after the arrival in mid 1919 of the first large consignment of AIF trophies. *The Argus*, for example, left no room for doubt in the public's mind that all 180 trophy guns, then displayed in Melbourne's Domain, had been "promptly claimed by the [AIF] conquerors ... After the enemy had been driven from his position". It lauded the fact that these had been taken during the Battle of Amiens, the most decisive battle of the First World War with the AIF being the *corps d'elite*.[20] This was much more than just "unserviceable ... captured enemy equipment". These instead were the rewards of personal courage and sacrifice, each gun representing some well documented act of individual heroism. The trophy gun thus became a symbol for both allied victory and enemy defeat, another propaganda "weapon", which, like the various Nomenclature Acts, could be used to publicly demean the German nation and its mighty war machine.

For these reasons the Australians were reluctant to confer trophy status on anything other than enemy weapons taken during the heat of battle. Lt Col Hurley, the AIF's representative on the Imperial War Trophies Committee, even described with contempt the hour which the Committee "wasted in considering such questions as whether ancient guns captured in Baghdad should be returned to England or arrangements made for their storage in the East until the end of the War."[21] These relics of a much earlier battle were *res nullius* abandoned rather than captured, and it seemed to the Australians that they had little, if anything, to do with the present crises.

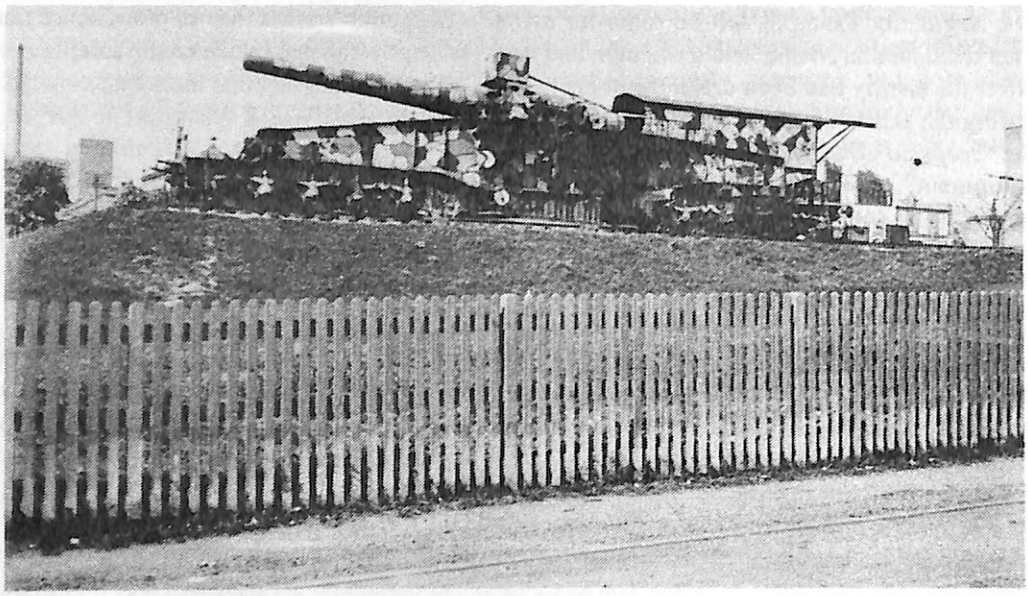
The element of risk had to be real, rather than imagined, before a gun was worth admitting to the Pantheon of Australian trophies. Anything less would have only cheapened the victory and undermined the weapon's symbolic value, particularly in the eyes of those who had served. The trophy provided manifest and unambiguous evidence that Australia's five divisions were performing well against the Teutonic juggernaut that comprised 175 divisions equipped by the mighty Spandau and Krupp factories.[22]

To admit a trophy of any other brand would have surely blurred the all important dichotomy between victor and vanquished, thereby undermining the weapon's symbolic value. It is for this reason perhaps that the Australian trophy collection mainly comprised materials that were both manufactured and used by the Germans. One can distinguish in this vast assemblage, even today, a clear preference for trophies that were unambiguously associated with Germany. Although trophies from Austria, Belgium, Russia, Mexico, France, Italy and Portugal can still be seen in various parts of Australia, these were mostly produced in the furnaces of the Rhine and Ruhr Valleys, and in places like Munich, Spandau, Essen and Karlshrue.

---

20 *The Argus*, 18 June 1919, p.9.
21 Letter from Lt Col Hurley to Commnandant, Admin HQ, AIF, 26 September 1917, File 16, (4386/1/24) (AWM).
22 These were the leading armament manufacturers in Germany during WW I.

The AIF's allegiance to these principles was uncompromising, so much so such that it even chose to forego the opportunity of returning to Australia with the war's largest trophy gun, a 15" naval gun which had been captured by the 3rd Battalion in Arcy Wood after having been rendered inoperative by the retreating Germans. Senior Corps officers elected to ignore a Prime Ministerial "demand" from Billy Hughes that the 15" gun be repatriated to Australia. Preferential arrangements were made instead for the return of a smaller 11" railway gun, which, unlike the 15" naval gun, was regarded by the Australians as "a genuine capture" since it was "still firing during the Australian attack". Later described as, "The finest trophy captured by any nation participating in the Great War", it was exhibited for a time at the Champs de Mars in Paris before being shipped to Australia in 1919.[23]



The 11" railway gun (Fr. Kp. Nr.77) is shown here in 1922 displayed near Sydney's Central Railway Station (Mitchell Library No.17584).

These high ideals were largely upheld by Australia's Imperial Forces for the duration of the war. It was only after the war, once responsibility for the collection had been passed to civilians and non-combatants, that the digger's idealism was seriously compromised. Responsibility for the distribution and dedication of these trophies now rested with the local, state and federal representatives whose interests and concerns were often unrelated to those of the returning Anzacs. A number of French weapons for example were gifted to Australia in 1921 and accepted as substitute trophies when it became evident that there wasn't enough in the way of captured weaponry to satisfy the national demand.[24] Many ceded guns were accepted on this basis with native clubs and shields from Papua New Guinea also being added to collection at this time.[25] The latter were selected for inclusion on the somewhat questionable basis that they had been collected from the Sepik area, formerly administered by Germany.[26]

---

23 *Reveille*, 1 July 1934, p.6. The railway gun is now displayed at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

24 *The Argus*, 10 October 1921, p.8.

25 Guns and mortars ceded by the Germans were distributed in accordance with the number of divisions each ally maintained in the field. Australia's apportionment of these guns etc. was estimated at around 200 which represented 15% of its total trophy haul. For a detailed explanation of this arranangement see *Number of trophies*

Before long Australia's Trophy Committee was offering obsolete British ordnance to those municipalities which had initially failed to secure a captured German weapon.[27] Such concessions however were more the exception than the rule and for this reason, did little to undermine the way in which the war trophy was perceived.

After five years of war, the Australians had reached a shared understanding, a consensus view of this thing they called the "trophy" which would soon become such a commonplace and dominant feature of the Antipodean landscape. These came in many shapes and sizes, from every corner of the globe, and in varying states of repair. Outwardly at least there was little suggestion of something constant or traditional about these alien forms. One nation's loot was another's trophy and what was coveted in one allied camp, was sometimes scorned in another. And yet, in every Australian community they were afforded the same prominence and reverential regard. Though difficult to define, the war trophy was instantly recognisable.

Acquisition

By early 1919, the Australians had lodged claims for 997 guns and mortars, and received undertakings from the Imperial War Trophies Committee that they were to receive a further 200 ceded weapons. Although official estimates vary, Australia's Minister for Home and Territories claimed towards the end of that year that 1,320 trophy guns and mortars had already arrived in Australia, and that these represented the bulk of the nation's allocation.[28] This number increased slightly in 1921 when the French government donated "a number of guns ... in recognition of the service rendered by the Australian soldiers in the war".[29] France's largesse may have been influenced by the fact that Australia had previously "presented" it with the largest trophy gun ever captured during the war, a 15" naval gun which the 3rd Battalion had taken in August 1918.[30]

This was by far and away one of the biggest trophy collections ever assembled, second only to that of the United States which went home with 3,293 guns and mortars.[31]

Though 2½ times larger than the Australian collection, the American haul was less impressive, and less visible in per capita terms. The latter was distributed amongst an enormous population (106,021,537 in 1920), at the rate of one gun or mortar for every 32,196 Americans. The Australians by contrast were able to provide every 3,091 residents with a trophy, a rate that was far in excess of Canada (1:10,717) and only marginally surpassed by New Zealand (1:3,000).[32] The Australian collection moreover contained weapons from almost every front, from both the

---

captured by the Australian Imperial Force and position with regard to shipment to Australia and distribution there. Memorandum dated 27 March 1919, File 16 (4386/1/95) (AWM4).

26 File MP 367/1 (58012/31230] (AA) discusses the "native curios" received from Papua New Guinea.

27 The citizens of Brighton (Vic), rather than miss out altogether, agreed instead to accept an obsolete Mk.V 15 Pdr gun which the Australian Contingent had used during the Boer War.

28 Australia, House of Representatives, Debates 1919, Vol. XC, p. 14008.

29 Reported in *The Argus* on the 10 and 20 December 1921 (pages 7 and 7, respectively). The Geelong College Council of Australia acquired a further two trophy guns through direct negotiations with the French Military authorities. See for example Aubertin to Jess, 21 September 1919, File 16 (4386/1/123) (AWM).

30 See The Argus, 2 August 1919.

31 United States of America, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2nd Session, *Report on the Distribution of War Devices and Trophies*, No.979 (to accompany Bill S.643), 13 May 1920, p.4.

32 Canadian trophy statistics have been extracted from Donald Grave's journal article "Booty! The Story of Canada's World War One Trophy Collection", *Arms Collecting*, Vol.23, No.1 (February 1985), pp.9-10. New Zealand estimates were supplied to the author by Aaron Fox whose unpublished study of the NZ trophy collection, *Silent Sentinels*, is quoted elsewhere in this thesis.

northern and southern hemispheres, and included the war's largest single trophy (viz. the 11" Amiens gun now displayed at the Australian War Memorial).

But just what was the Army now to do with such a vast and spectacular collection? More importantly, just how was it to be shipped across 13,000 miles, who would meet the enormous costs, where was it to be stored, and who would provide the manpower needed for this enormous logistics undertaking? To answer these questions we must firstly look to the origins of the Australian collection and the agency that nurtured its spectacular development.

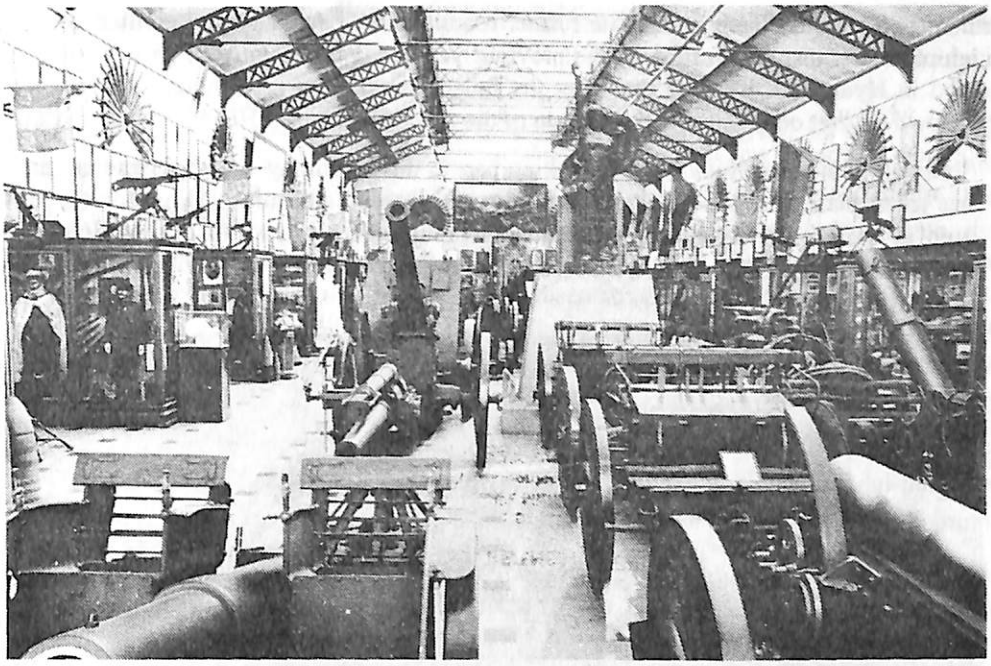
The Australians had been in the European front lines for almost fifteen months before they laid claim to their first trophy guns. This is not to suggest however that they had not enjoyed any military success to that point, or that they were insensitive to the interest in captured enemy weapons. The Australians in fact had been exposed to these acquisitive practises almost from the outset, having helped with the dispatch of two trench mortars and a Nordenfeldt field gun captured by the New Zealanders at Gallipoli.[33]

So why hadn't they taken a greater interest in the matter, and what factors caused them to become interested after Pozieres? Military historians like Ann Millar and Michael McKernan have properly highlighted the part played by Australia's press correspondent, Charles Bean, in helping to stimulate and sustain interest in battlefield relics, and to arouse interest in the idea of a national museum in Canberra to honour the exploits of Australia's soldiery.[34] Bean's influence and enthusiasm however only started to bear fruit during the last years of the war, most noticeably after his visit to the Canadian War Records Office in early 1917. He had prior to then lacked both the authority and the inclination to collect large calibre enemy weapons. The Bean factor, while not insignificant, needs to be considered within the broader context of allied collecting activities if it is to be properly understood.

Bean was, in fact, a relative latecomer to the trophy business, the Canadian Government having given consideration to its trophy policy position as early as August 1915, and put an "unofficial national curator of war trophies" in the field by the following year.[35] Britain, New Zealand and Belgium were all establishing similar collections, these initiatives also being attributable to enthusiastic Bean-like individuals. Britain and France, by mid 1917, had each staged public trophy displays and America, that same year, also joined in the competition for war trophies.[36] By contrast, it was more that a year later that the AIF mounted its first impromptu trophy display (held in August 1918 in the French village of Bertangles).

---

33 Gilmore (et al), in Aaron Fox, *Silent Sentinels*, BA (Hons) thesis, University of Otago, 1987, p.11.
34 See McKernan, Chapter 2; and Ann Millar's "Gallipoli to Melbourne, The Australian War Memorial 1915-9", *Australian War Memorial Journal*, April 1987.
35 Graves, p.3
36 Fox, pp.15-16.



Belgian war trophies displayed in the Cinqantenaire Palace, Brussels. The exhibition bears a striking resemblance to those organised in Melbourne and Sydney in the early 1920s by the Australian War Museum (Musee Royal de l'Armee et d'Histoire Militarire).

Charles Bean's enthusiasm is somewhat more comprehensible when considered in these terms, representing perhaps a response to inter-allied competition and an over-reaction to the realisation that Australia was being left behind.

However, what the AIF lacked most prior to Pozieres was not so much the interest as the wherewithal, a designated individual or unit that could have brought focus and authority to these activities. But, as Millar acknowledges, there were other equally compelling factors then at work. The AIF had suffered its greatest losses in July 1916, sustaining 28,533 casualties during the Somme offensive. Recruits were needed urgently to help replace these and earlier losses and the Australian command considered that battlefield trophies might serve as useful stimulants in this regard.

It was this thinking which led the Anzac Commander, Lieutenant General Birdwood, to write to his British colleagues in the following terms:

> "I shall he very glad if permission might be given for the early dispatch to Australia of any trophies which might he available, instead of at the end of the War, according to the normal procedure ... I know that such trophies will be valued enormously throughout the various States of Australia, and I believe their very appearance will tend to stimulate recruiting."[37]

The Australian war hero Lt Hugo Throssell VC was also sent home from the Middle East in 1918 accompanied by three captured enemy guns. It was felt in this instance that the formidable combination of war hero and war trophy might help overcome the community's waning interest

37 Birdwood to HQ 2nd Army, 29 June 1916, File 16 (4386/1/24) (AWM).

in the war effort and thereby, facilitate further recruitments.[38] Military and civilian authorities had adopted a far less subtle strategy the previous year when the country's first war trophy was unveiled in Hyde Park just one day after the failed conscription referendum. Addressing the large crowd on that occasion was the captain of the Australian cruiser HMAS Sydney:

> "It is with mixed feelings that I am taking part in this ceremony ... a great referendum has taken place and you have turned it down. ... Do you still refuse to reinforce your men at the front? My men are ashamed to return here and see the conditions in Australia and Sydney generally, the city swimming with young men who ought to be at the front, but won't go."[39]

The AIF's trophy gun exhibition was held in February 1918 in the French village of Bertangles (Imperial War Museum E(AUS) 2860).

Like its marble counterpart, the trophy memorial had been made into a highly ideological object, "a way of honouring some people in the community, the volunteers, and dishonouring others."[40]

It was also around the time of these horrendous losses that communities in Australia and New Zealand gave first thought to erecting war memorials both to honour their dead, and provide public account of the cost. The Anzacs, who had to deal with the e crises as best they could, chose instead to emulate their allies by gathering together their own battlefield memorials. Trophy guns had, after all, for centuries been connected with the rituals of commemoration and bereavement. These were to be held over against the day when the diggers could erect their own hometown memorials as indeed, they eventually did. It was some time later though, through the

---

38 File MP367/1 (580/213172), AA.
39 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 December 1917.
40 K S Inglis & Jock Phillips, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand: A Comparative Survey", *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol.24, No.96, April 1991, p.191

agency of the Australian media, that this crucial trophy-memorial nexus was explained to those back home.[41]

Overriding all these influences was the British War Council's decision in March 1917 to establish a National War Museum. More than anything else, this served to focus Australia's interest in trophy collecting. The Australians had earlier become wary of Britain's intentions when, in October 1916, it established an Imperial War Trophies Committee (IWTC). Although the Committee had provided for dominion representation by creating a sub-committee, it was evident that the interests of the new National War Museum would be allowed to override those of the member nations. As the Australian representative later observed, "the Dominion Committee was established for the purpose of dealing with such stuff as the War Office saw fit to make available".[42] Indeed, it was only at the latter's unanimous request that the institution's name was changed to Imperial War Museum.[43] This then was the catalyst which indirectly prompted the Australian Cabinet, five months later, to approve the establishment of its own Australian War Museum (AWM) together with an Australian War Trophies Committee (AWTC) which, like its Imperial namesake, was principally concerned with policy and administrative matters affecting captured enemy guns.

An Australian War Records Section (AWRS) was also established at this time and assigned the more arduous task of physically retrieving the nation's battlefield trophies. It s resources were increased following Britain's creation of the Imperial War Museum.

As the interest in trophy collecting began to grow then so too did the sense of inter-unit and inter-allied rivalry, fuelled by notions of esprit de corps and national pride. Competition within the Australian ranks was deliberately stimulated by the officer commanding the AVVRS, Lieutenant Treloar, who "arranged to have a monthly list published showing the number of trophies collected by the various units" with special reference to those that had "undertaken to obtain a relic or trophy for each man in the unit."[44] The result was a "trophy scramble" which steadily gained momentum, the objective being to secure the most, the biggest, and the best collection of captured enemy weapons.[45] The stakes were high and inevitably there were occasions when allied armies lodged competing claims for the one trophy, as occurred in mid 1919. This last instance, which saw Australians and New Zealanders competing for a German anti-tank gun, was only resolved (in New Zealand's favour) after a year of negotiations when the matter was referred to a Court of Inquiry.[46]

These situations became more common as the allied armies gained the ascendancy during 1918, only to be re-enacted soon after the war by competing civilian interests.[47] Reconciling these parochial interests would prove later to be an even greater challenge. Trophy collecting for the frontline troops, meanwhile, had developed into something of a competition, a secondary battlefield objective pursued with great vigour, enthusiasm, and sportsmanlike regard for the rules. The Australians soon demonstrated considerable prowess at the game, individual initiative being a hallmark of their success:

---

41 See for example the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 December 1917, and *The Argus*, 3 February 1919.
42 Hurley to AIF HQ, 26 September 1917, File 16 (4386/1/24) (AWM).
43 "First Annual Report of the Committee of the Imperial War Museum 1917-18", in Aaron Fox, *Silent Sentinels*, BA (Hons) thesis, University of Otago, 1987. D. 13.
44 Millar, p.38.
45 Ibid., p.36.
46 File 16 (4386/1/25 Pt.1) (AWM).
47 Treloar to War Trophies Committee, 27 May 1919, File 16 (4386/1/110) (AWM).

"In the remains of the Dranoutre village today, I located a German 77 Field Gun with ammunition limber, both in good condition. I was told by the 'Mission Belge' officer there that they had been there for five or six months at least. As no one seemed to own them, I marked them as 'captured by Australian Troops in 1917', fixed our labels and took note of all markings."[48]

According to the Australian war correspondent and official historian, Sid Gullett, "any man who could manage to get a [trophy] gun dragged out ... should consider his day's work done." (Imperial War Museum E(AUS) 1240)

As Bean's biographer Denis Winter recently pointed out, "most men (also) took pride in their effectiveness by comparison with British units fighting on their flanks. A few even recognised the status of the Australian Corps (with the Canadian) as the British Army's elite attacking troops".[49]

This status had been won at great cost with the trophy, often as not, providing the only tangible measure of allied success. For this reason the Australian and Canadian troops became openly resentful of suggestions that the newly created Imperial War Museum should have first call on all battlefield trophies, describing the arrangement as "very unsatisfactory". Despite repeated representations to the War Office, AIF HQ could receive nothing more satisfying than the following formula response, "the question of allocation of trophies captured by Colonial Troops has been referred to the Colonial Office".[50]

Tensions were fuelled in July 1918 when, under the headline "Imperial War Relics", The Times described how a delegation of foreign Ministers was given a tour of the new National War Museum facility, and how they showed particular interest in "some field guns and an anti-tank gun captured by the Australians".[51] The latter had never been informed of the transfer which, after further investigations, proved to be one of several Australian trophies "evidently sent by mistake" to the Museum's Pimlico store.[52] What had started out as a property rights matter soon

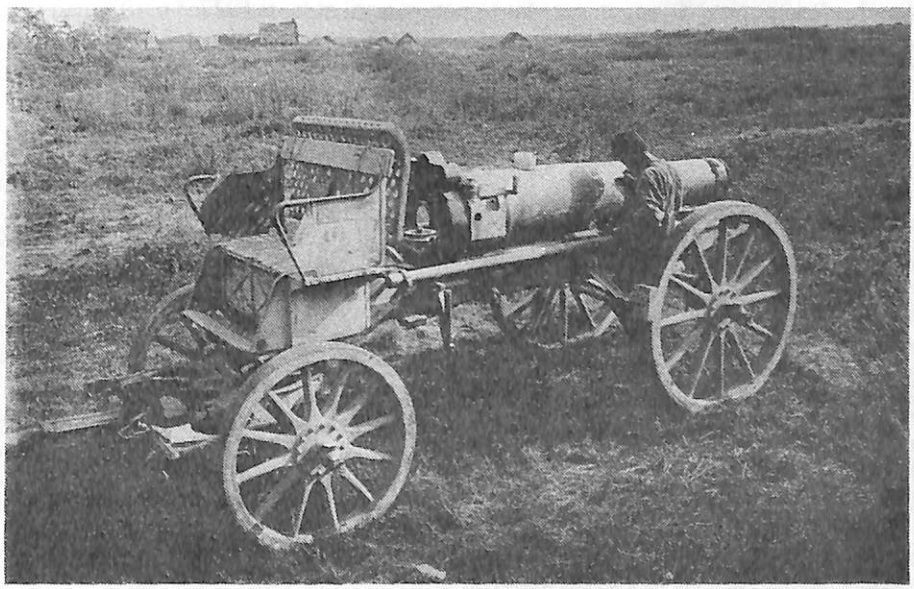
---

48 Gullett to Treloar, 31 March 1918, File 16 (4386/1/12) (AWM).
49 Denis Winter, "The Pen & The Pride", *The Australian Magazine*, 7-8 August 1993, p.45.
50 AIF HQ to War Office Secretary, 6 July 1917, File 16 (438611124) (AWM).
51 "Imperial War Relics", *The Times*, 16 July 1918, p.8.
52 IWM Curator to AIF HQ, 30 July 1918, File 16 (4386/1/25 Pt. 1) (AWM).

became identified with issues of national pride, the AIF at pains to disguise its frustration and annoyance. Australian feelings became so inflamed that Prime Minister Billy Hughes eventually exhorted the Governor General to represent Australia's case to the Secretary of State for Colonies:

> "[The] Commonwealth of Australia cannot agree to your suggestion that Imperial War Museum should have first choice of all trophies of war and other relics captured by Australian Troops ... Ministers hold ... that the sacrifices made by the soldiers of Australia entitle them to possession in their own country for their kindred to see of the tangible results of their valour. Deposition in a museum in London ... would be only of interest to the traveller whereas the people most interested would be 13,000 miles away ... Britain already has a history and traditions and relics and trophies ... extending back for centuries ... whereas Australia has none here other than what she draws from the mother country. A nation is built upon pride of race and now that Australia is making history of her own she requires every possible relic". [53]

The Australian media added its voice to the growing outcry until finally, in July 1918 the Imperial War Museum formally relinquished its claim to dominion trophies.[54] Only in the last months of the war were the Australians finally able to put these matters of principle to bed, and begin focussing on more practical concerns. The resolution couldn't have been more timely as it was only a matter of weeks after these events that the Australian Corps pulled off the biggest trophy haul of the war, capturing 173 guns in a single day.[55]



A trophy cun captured by the 5th Australian Division near Guillacourt in August 1918. Guns were marked in the field after capture so as to ensure their eventual return to the State (or town) from whence their captors had originated (Imperial War Museum E(AUS) 2894).

---

53 Prime Minister to Governor General, 26 February 1918, File MP367/1 (580/2/2675) (AA).
54 *The Age*, 18 February 1918.
55 John B Cooper, *The History of Prahran* (Melbourne, 1924), p.338.

The storage and processing of war trophies was never perceived to be a problem during the early years of the war, if only because the conflict was never expected to drag on for five years. The Australian military command moreover had no way of anticipating the growth of interest in trophy collecting, or the enormous trophy gains that were to be made later in the war. What had begun as a trickle at Pozieres in July 1916, had assumed flood proportions after the Battle of Amiens (in August 1918), the Australians' finest hour. The first trophies allocated to the AIF were in fact a number of German machine-guns which were fitted into five wooden cases and promptly shipped home.[56] However, by early 1919, Australia's Secretary for Defence had been asked to provide "20,000 [square] feet of floor space" to accommodate the first shipment of 220 trophy guns.[57]

This initial consignment represented just 16% of the total Australian allocation. The Americans had a similar requirement for 491,480 square feet but their task was somewhat simplified by the passage of dedicated war trophy legislation (passed by Congress on 7 June 1924) and the appropriation of $US39,000 to facilitate the collection's storage and subsequent dispatch.[58]

The Australians, by contrast, displayed no such preparedness. Only when pressed by the influential members of the recently formed Australian War Museum Committee did the Department agree, "as a temporary measure", to house the collection in Melbourne's Domain and provide a small military guard to deter would be vandals. Personnel from the 3rd Military District were also instructed to unload and tranship the consignment, "it being understood that no inconvenience will be caused ... by this arrangement".[59] Though cobbled together in a matter of weeks, this 'temporary' arrangement was to persist until at least 1927.[60]

Remnants of the trophy collection were still held in Melbourne's Domain, above, in 1927 (Museum of Victoria's Photo Archive No.6076).

---

56 Dispatch No.53, 30 November 1916, File 93 (12/1211) (AWM)
57 Trahair to Defence Secretary, 4 April 1919, File 93 (2/2/3) (AWM).
58 United States of America, Representatives, 68th Congress, 1st Session, *Report on The Distribution of The Trophies and Devices* (No.23 to accompany bill (HR3675), p.3.
59 Memorandum from the Secretary for Defence to The Commandant, 3rd Military District, 15 May 1920, File 93 (2/2/3) (AWM).
60 Mildura Telegraph, 20 October 1927.

Responsibility for housing the collection was, after June 1919, to have been shared between capital cities with "larger trophies" being "sent [direct] from England to be unloaded in the State to which belongs the unit which captured them".[61] Most of these however were eventually unloaded in Melbourne where both the AWTC and AWRS were headquartered. A notable exception however was the 185 ton Amiens gun which simply had to be unloaded in Sydney as this was the only Australian port with both adequate lifting facilities, and a compatible rail gauge.

It was generally understood by the end of the war that few, if any of the trophies would need to be maintained in serviceable condition. Allied intelligence and ordnance personnel were understandably interested in cutting edge technologies like the Amiens gun but otherwise, their was little else in the AIF collection to hold their particular interest. The AWRS nonetheless took considerable trouble to ensure that the integrity and serviceability of each trophy was maintained before, during, and after trans-shipment. Comprehensive written instructions were prepared for each class of weapon and circulated to Section personnel employed at the AIF's Milwall Dock and Calais facilities where the trophies were readied for loading:

> "Trench Mortars ... are checked with advice notes and given a number prefixed by D. Medium Trench Mortars are numbered as 1. Carriages as 1.a the Clinometer as 1.b trail or mounting 2. and spare parts box as 3 ... The D number should then be painted on each part before stacking. Full particulars such as regimental number, name of maker, date and place of capture are recorded with the D number on description sheets, one copy being filed for reference and one passed to 3AW. ... etc."[62]

Each weapon was then given a liberal coating of grease to protect it against the rigours of the long sea voyage. Similar instructions, which classified trophies accordingly to whether they could (or could not) be stored outdoor, had also been circulated to military personnel in each State. Small trench mortars and serviceable weapons for example had to be stored indoors while all trophies had to be "deprived" of small detachable parts "such as are liable to be taken for souvenirs".[63] These were supposedly taken into the Ordnance Store where they were suitably and "separately packed to enable them to be identified later with the guns to which they belong."[64] These displays of reverential regard for damaged enemy equipment were far and above what one might have expected from the arms profession, indicating perhaps that the trophy ethic had been well and truly assimilated by then.

In May 1919 the Imperial War Trophy Committee agreed to hand over without delay all trophies which had been captured by the AIF. The Australians argued that this arrangement would help relieve the growing congestion at the Croydon Depot which had served throughout the war as a central collection point for dominion trophies. Considered in conjunction with this request was another application by the Australians for a trophy store at Millwall Dock, it being explained that the Australian Government had a policy of "not moving irreplaceable records by sea so long as the submarine danger existed".[65] These anxieties in fact were not wholly unjustified as the Australians had almost lost their much prized Belgian howitzers—the first

---

61 *Reception and custory (sic) of trophies of war in the Commonwealth Military Districts*, nd, File 38 (3 DRL 6673/750) (AWM).

62 Trench Mortars, Memorandum dated 25 July 1919, File 16 (4386/1/87) (AWM).

63 *Reception and custory (sic) of trophies of war in the Commonwealth Military Districts*, nd, File 38 (3 DRL 6673/750) (AWM).

64 Memorandum from the Secretary for Defence to The Commandant, 3rd Military Districts 15 May 1920, File 93 (2/2/3) (AWM).

65 *Notes on subjects of AIF interest discussed at the 9th meeting of the War Trophies Committee held on 2 May at Room 209 War Office*, nd, File 16 (4386/1/25 Pt.2), (AWM)

trophy guns ever captured by Australian troops—when the ship carrying them to Australia was torpedoed shortly after leaving England.[66] Whether though Australia was justified in maintaining this policy stance six months after the Armistice is doubtful. Nonetheless, it succeeded in gaining the Committee's qualified support for a dedicated AIF trophy store on the understanding that this would then become a cost to the Australians. This push to gain control of its own collection was also influenced by growing concerns within the AVVRS that the Australian trophies might easily become lost in the system, particularly as that system was already beginning to groan with the pressures of demobilisation. Trophies had already been despatched to various centres throughout Britain, sometimes without AIF knowledge or approval. Elements of the Australian collection for instance were known to be with the Ordnance Store at Woolwich, the Pirbright Trench Mortar School, and at Southampton, Pimlico, West Croydon and Blackpool. Many trophies were also held by an AWRS sub-section at Calais in France. The AIF had even assisted this dispersal process by loaning some of its trophy guns to Belgium, and handing others over to the navy.

Centralising the collection at Millwall Dock gave the AWRS a degree of control, and a chance to minimise its losses.[67] Despite strong representations no similar concessions were ever granted for the 369 guns and 271 mortars which the Australians were holding as trophies in Egypt. This problem was compounded by feelings of antipathy expressed by many Light Horsemen who regarded "trophy collecting as a vast joke", caring "damn all about trophies or any other relics".[68]

Circumstances in the Middle East were vastly different from those on the western front. The AWRS had a single representative there who had to contend with inhospitable terrain, isolation, vast distances and rapidly advancing front lines, factors that were hardly conducive to the promotion of patriotic fervour, or the collection of war trophies.

It seems remarkable therefore that almost half the Australian trophy collection should have originated from this theatre of operations. The organisation that recovered and despatched these guns and mortars was the AWRS which in November 1917, two months after it had been authorised to collect war trophies, had a total staff complement of just 15. This had grown, by 1919 to 652, reflecting the considerable importance which the Australians had come to attach to their trophy collection.[69] Many of the Allied armies (eg. Belgium, New Zealand, United States, Britain and France) were similarly engaged at that time, having also established AWRS-like organisations earlier in the war. Most of the Section's employees were demobilised troops awaiting passage back to Australia. The Commonwealth Government was grappling with the enormous task of repatriating 180,000 individuals scattered over a territory extending from Asia Minor to Britain. It took ten months to complete this task during which time many soldiers became involved with educational, training and employment projects (such as the AWRS). A number of the returning troopships were also loaded with trophy guns and mortars, these being stored in the holds where they could double as ballast.

The first such consignment of 220 guns reached Melbourne in 1919 (per SS *Bulla*) with the balance arriving during the following four months. This arrangement relieved the Commonwealth Government of what might otherwise been a very considerable shipping bill.

---

66 *The Argus*, 3 February 1919.
67 See *Notes by Australian War Records Section*, nd., File 16 (4386/1/24) (AWM).
68 Gullett to Treloar, 29 July 1918, File 25 (1013/36) (AWM) quoted in Millar, p.37.
69 Miller, p.39.

By the end of 1919 the AWRS had completed its assigned task, most of its personnel having previously embarked on the returning troopships. Although it had been in existence for less than two years it was, in that brief period, able to achieve an enormous amount. Of particular significance were the two (overlapping) public trophy exhibitions which the Section helped organise in late 1918. Responding to an invitation from the War Office the Section arranged—in December for no less than 224 of its captured guns and mortars to be relocated to The Mall facing Buckingham Palace, where they were exhibited (as a discrete collection) alongside other allied trophies.

224 Australian trophy guns were displayed in London Mall in late 1918. Jubilant diggers set fire to a number of these trophies, at the base of Nelson's Column, during spontaneous Armistice Day celebrations (Imperial War Museum Q31245).

This overwhelming display of firepower and military prowess coincided with the Australian Prime Minister's official opening of the new Australia House building in London's Horseferry Road. To mark that occasion the AWRS had installed, for public display, a diverse collection of trophies that included German *ersatz* materials, an Albatross fighter plane, and a range of captured German weapons. Significantly it was the Australia House opening rather than War Office Mall exhibition which the Australian media chose to report. And it was through these despatches that the people back home gained their first understanding of the war trophy's significance, and their first portent of what the future had in store:

> "When he [Billy Hughes] was out at the front he saw a 15 pounder gun which, though broken, would admirably serve a monumental purpose. 'We must have that', he remarked to the men who were showing it, 'for Melbourne or Sydney, but we can't have it for both.' The men replied, 'We'll get you one for every city'.[70]

70 *The Argus*, 3 February 1919.

The Australian Staff Corps— its origin, duties, status and influence from October 1920 to the outbreak of the War of 1939-45

Warren Perry[1]

At the close of hostilities in the War of 1914-18, on 11 November 1918, the Chief of the Australian General Staff was Major-General J G Legge. He was succeeded on 1 June 1920 by Major-General Sir Brudenell White, who probably remains in Australian history as the nation's most distinguished staff officer. Four months later, on 1 October 1920, the Australian Staff Corps came into existence officially. More will be said about its origin later in this narrative.

Sometime after the War of 1914-18 had terminated, the Minister for Defence, Senator G F Pearce, set up a committee of general officers in Melbourne to draw up a scheme for the re-organisation of Australia's postwar army. The object of this re-organisation was to enable advantage to be taken by the post-war army of the operational and administrative experience which had been gained in the late war.

The outcome of this ministerial action was that, as from 1 May 1921, Australia's first peacetime divisional organisation of its field army came into existence. Under this new system a war organisation, which had been evolved in the AIF, was applied to peace conditions and it provided for a minimum number of permanent personnel.[2] Formations and units were numbered, or where necessary re-numbered, to correspond with the system of numbering which had existed in the AIF during the War of 1914-18. An effort was made also, which proved to be ineffectual, to carry on in each unit those traditions that had been established in its corresponding wartime unit in the AIF—a force which had been formed in August 1914 and finally and officially disbanded in April 1921. The handing on of traditions in this way failed because it was not recognised that this handing on of what was less a matter of military skill and more an intellectual task depended on a sound basis of scholarship. Moreover, traditions should be individually identified and recorded—they are not handed on merely by singing *ad nauseam* at regimental dinners *Why was he born so beautiful* or *The Man from Cockatoo Dock.*

At the time of this re-organisation of Australia's military forces in 1921 the Australian Staff Corps was less than one year old. But it had, from the outset, an important role to play in the re-organised peacetime Australian army. Generally speaking, officers of the Staff Corps held the staff appointments in the regimental and higher commands of this new field army while the regimental and higher command appointments were held by Militia officers. While this was generally the case during the inter-war period, it is a matter of history that there were exceptions here and there and from time to time to this generalisation. The command of the 1st Australian Division, for instance, with its headquarters at Victoria Barracks in Sydney, was usually

---

1 Major Warren Perry, MBE, ED, MA (Melb), BEc (Syd), FRHSV, RL.
This paper was written in 1973 and it stands now in substance as it was when written. But in preparing it for publication in December 1993 the opportunity was taken to make a few minor amendments and to add some new information in the narrative and footnotes.

2 As at 31 December 1922, the number of all ranks actively employed in the Australian Military Forces, were: the Citizen Military Forces 35, 649; and the Permanent Military Forces, 2,073. See Official Year Book of the C of A, No.16 of 1923, p.619.

reserved for a Staff Corps officer.[3] At other times other divisions were sometimes commanded by Staff Corps officers as General H G Bennett[4] pointed out on one occasion in the press[5].

❖❖❖

The object of this paper is to examine the origin and role of the Australian Staff Corps during the inter-war period—a period which covered the two decades from 1919 to 1939 approximately. Histories of corps are usually of interest only to members and former members; and they usually make dull reading for others. But the Australian Staff Corps is in a special class. It occupies a unique place in the Australian Army's history because, in the period of which I write, its power and influence gradually permeated throughout the Australian Army just as the power and influence of the Prussian General Staff did, in its time, throughout the Prussian Army.[6] It is probable, however, that no very widespread awareness of this permeation existed at least among officers at the regimental level, of the Citizen Military Forces.

The main difficulty that confronts the historian today, in writing about the Staff Corps during the inter-war period and in attempting to analyse charges that were made against it by critics in other branches of the Australian Army, is the lack of adequate evidence.[7] Although the Staff Corps has been sharply criticised, from time to time, by Militia officers, this criticism has been largely fragmentary, superficial and unpublished. Obviously, this kind of thinly scattered evidence is poor material for a historian to work on. No critical studies of any substance have yet been published to my knowledge on the Staff Corps;[8] no full scale biographies have yet been published on any senior officers of the Australian Staff Corps;[9] and no senior officer of this corps has yet published an autobiography or his memoirs.[10] This paper is, therefore, a pilot study. It has, of necessity, had to be based largely on my own observations and limited experience. But where satisfactory documentary evidence has been discovered, however scant quantitatively, I have used it as will be seen in the narrative and in its footnotes.

❖❖❖

Until about the end of the South African War of 1899-1902 there was an Indian Staff Corps in the Indian Army.[11] All British officers commissioned in the Indian Army were appointed to this

---

3 The Minister for Defence, Senator G F Pearce, announced to the press on 8 February 1921 the names of the general officers to command these new divisions. See *The Argus*, 9 February 1921, p. 8.

4 Lieutenant General Henry Gordon Bennett, CB, CMG, DSO, VD. Born 15 April 1887. Died 1 August 1962.

5 *The Sun*, Sydney, 28 November 1937, p.4.

6 This comparison should not of course be drawn too closely. See Herbert Rosinski, *The German Army*, revised edition, edited with an Introduction by Professor Gordon A Craig. Frederick A Praeger, New York, 1966, Chapter 9.

7 Lt-Col A Green, "Staff Corps at the CrossRoads", *Australian Arrny Journal*, No.112, September 1958, pp.5-11. Colonel D P Yonge's Letter to the Editor on "Educational Standing of the Australian Staff Corps", published in the *Australian Army Journal*, No.270. November 1971, pp.55-60. (In writing this article I overlooked the two sources above. W.P.)

8 Since writing this paper Lieutenant-Colonel D M Horner's paper, "Staff Corps versus Militia: The Australian Experience in World War II" has been published in *Defence Force Journal*, No. 26. February 1981, pp. 13-26.

9 Since writing this paper two such biographies have been published. A J Hill, *Chauvel of the Light Horse*, MUP, 1978. C D Coulthard-Clark, *No Australian Need Apply: The Troubled Career of Lieutenant-General Gordon Legge*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1988.

10 Since writing this paper two general officers of the Australian Staff Corps have published autobiographies. First, Lieutenant-General Sir S F Rowell's *Full Circle*, published in 1974 by MUP, Melbourne. Second, Major-General A B Stretton's *Soldier in a Storm*, published in 1978 by William Collins Publishers Pty Ltd, Sydney.

11 For further information on the composition, purpose and history of the Indian Staff Corps see Lt-Gen W H Goodenough and Lt-Col J C Dalton, *The Army Book of the British Ernpire*, HMSO, London, 1893, pp.319-320 and 474-476.

corps and from it they were posted to command and staff appointments throughout the Indian Army.[12] It is probable that the numerically smaller Australian Staff Corps was patterned on this earlier Indian Staff Corps.

The Australian Staff Corps was created officially on 1 October 1920 by the transfer of 250 permanent combatant officers from five other seniority lists—those of the Administrative and Instructional Staff, the Royal Australian Field Artillery, the Royal Australian Garrison Artillery, the Royal Australian Engineers and the Permanent Military Forces.[13] Those officers who were transferred from the Permanent Military Forces list were graduates of the Royal Military College Duntroon. In a statement on this subject on 26 October 1920 the Minister for Defence, Senator G F Pearce, was reported to have said:

> "While the forces were divided into a number of small corps not only was the rate of promotion extremely slow, but it varied in different corps. The officers might join different corps on the same day. After a number of years one would be two or more steps higher in rank than the other, simply because more vacancies had occurred in the senior ranks of his corps than had occurred in that in which the other officer belonged."[14]

Henceforth, all permanent combatant officers of the Australian Military Forces were borne on the one seniority list, namely, that of the Australian Staff Corps. The Australian Staff Corps had no duties, collectively, of the kinds that most other corps had for it was exclusively a body of combatant officers; it was a Corps without other ranks. It was solely a reservoir, so to speak, of the Australian Army's most highly trained officers; and these officers were posted throughout the Australian Army to command and staff appointments or to such other duties as the Military Board from time to time determined. Staff Corps officers, but not Militia officers, were sent overseas at public expense for training. The purpose of this practice was to enable Staff Corps officers to obtain training which was not available to them in Australia. This training comprised attendance at the Staff College at either Camberley or Quetta, attendance at the Imperial Defence College in London,[15] and attendance at special courses of instruction at Army schools in England. Regimental training was obtained by attachment to units of either the British or Indian armies. Another form of overseas training was exchange duty whereby Staff Corps officers were sent for tours of duty to either the British or Indian armies in exchange for officers from those armies who came to Australia to serve. The amount and nature of this overseas training varied from time to time for it was governed by the funds which were made available to the Military Board for that purpose.

Because of this superior training and of the status of its members within the Australian Army, the Australian Staff Corps became the Australian Army's elite corps. Its status was reflected in the order of precedence of regiments, units and corps, as laid down in AMR&O, for the Australian Staff Corps took precedence over all other regiments, units and corps.

Because of its original differences in composition—officers drawn from earlier existing corps and differently trained officers drawn from the graduates of the Royal Military College—the Australian Staff Corps remained during the inter-war period a heterogeneous corps. general officers and its more senior field officers were what may be described here for convenience as pre-Duntroon officers who were referred to more irreverently in their time within the Corps by

---

12 For a list of officers of the Indian Staff Corps see *The Quarterly Indian Arrny List*. Published by Authority and dated 1 October 1902, pp. 82-182.
13 CAG, No. 94, dated 4 November 1920, pp.2038-2040.
14 *The Argus*, 27 October 1920, p. 10.
15 Known today as The Royal College of Defence Studies, London.

its more junior members from Duntroon as "Smoothbores". Many of these pre-Duntroon officers had been Militia officers originally and they had transferred, in accordance with regulations then operating, to the Permanent Military Forces.[16] For example, General Sir H G Chauvel, who was the first head of the Australian Staff Corps in 1920, had been originally a Militia officer. Other examples were Lieutenant General J G Legge who, in August 1914, became Australia's first wartime Chief of the General Staff; Major General C H Brand who was one of the inter-war period's Quartermasters-General of the Australian Forces; Major General Sir J H Bruche[17] who succeeded Major General W A Coxen[18] in October 1931 as Chief of the Australian General Staff; Major General T H Dodds who was on three different occasions the Adjutant General of the Australian Military Forces;[19] Lieutenant General Sir John Northcott[20] who became Chief of the Australian General Staff during the War of 1939-45; and Lieutenant General H.D. Wynter[21] who was the founder of the Australian Staff College in August 1938 when it was known as the Command and Staff School and then located at Victoria Barracks in Sydney.

Then in the course of time, that is after the creation of the Australian Staff Corps in 1920, a reverse process began. Some officers of the Australian Staff Corps either resigned or were retrenched and they were then transferred from the Permanent Military Forces to the Citizen Military Forces. One outstanding instance in this connection was Brigadier General (later Field Marshal Sir) T A Blamey[22] who was one of the Australian Staff Corps' pre-Duntroon officers. When he resigned from the Australian Staff Corps in August 1925 he was transferred to the Citizen Military Forces where he later became a divisional commander with the rank of major general. Another example was Major (later Major General Sir) G F Wootten, a graduate of Duntroon and of the Staff College at Camberley. When he resigned from the Australian Staff Corps in April 1923 he was transferred to the Citizen Military Forces. Later, during the War of 1939-45, he commanded the famous 9th Australian Division with distinction. A third example which comes to mind is that of Lieutenant (later Brigadier) D A Whitehead. He resigned from the Australian Staff Corps in July 1922 and was transferred from the Permanent Military Forces to the Citizen Military Forces where, at the outbreak of the War of 1939-45, he had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel and was commanding the 1st Light Horse Regiment in New South

---

16 It was laid down in Regulations and Standing Orders for the C of A (1908) that: "Officers of the Citizen Forces, transferred under Regulations 121A and 121B to a vacancy in the Permanent Forces of a lower rank, will continue to hold as Army rank their former rank in the Defence Force."

17 Warren Perry, "Major General Sir Julius Bruche: A Centenary is a Time to Remember", *Sabretache*, Melbourne, Vol. 15, No. 3, March 1973, pp. 84-89.

18 Warren Perry, "Major-General Walter Adams Coxen: A pre-eminent Australian Gunner Officer", *The Australian Arrny Journal*, Canberra, No. 310, March 1975, pp. 16-29.

19 Regrettably no biographical study of substance on Major General T H Dodds has yet been published. In appearance he was an impressive officer, in speech he was clear and decisive; and some may consider him to have been in ability and in variety of experience Australia's most outstanding Adjutant General. As a Militia officer in Queensland he was concurrently a schoolteacher. For a good pen portrait see also *Smith's Weekly*, Sydney, 3 May 1936, p. 14.

20 Major General L E Beavis, "General Northcott: A Wartime Chief of Staff", *The Australian Army Journal*, No. 215, April 1967, pp. 3-11.

21 Warren Perry, "Lieutenant General Henry Douglas Wynter: An Officer of the Australian Staff Corps", *The Victorian Hislorical Magazine*, Vol. 43, No. 2, May 1972, pp. 837-872.

22 Warren Perry, "The Late Field Marshal Sir Thomas Albert Blamey: The Unveiling of a Statue in the King's Domain in Melbourne", *The Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 2, November 1960, pp. 118-128. See also Warren Perry, "Field Marshal Sir Thomas Blamey: Why was he a Controversial Soldier", *Sabretache*, Canberra, March 1984, pp. 8-16; and Major General K.G. Cooke's "Field Marshal Sir Thomas Blamey: A Centenary Oration". Published in *Mufti*, Melbourne, June 1984, p.20. Another abridged version of this same Blamey Oration entitled "Blamey: Australia's Unrecognised Hero" was published in *The Age*, Melbourne, 25 January 1984, p. 11. I believe the Oration *in extenso* was not published. W.P.

Wales. Later, he was seconded to the AIF and at the close of the War of 1939-45 he had been commanding the 26th Infantry Brigade of the 9th Australian Division with distinction since September 1942. He died in Melbourne on 21 October 1992, aged 96 years.

The Australian Staff Corps, as well as the remainder of the AMF, were surprised when Major-General Sir Brudenell White relinquished the post of Chief of the General Staff to date 10 June 1923 and was transferred to the CMF. There he was appointed to the Unattached List but without a posting.

Major-General White, in his Farewell Order to all ranks of the Australian Army, said in particular:

> "The Staff Corps has efficiently accomplished the difficult tasks set it. The standard of knowledge and traininghis high, and an intenton is evident to rnaintain it at a high level of professional skill and knowledge. It has, therefore, realized ie demands of modern condihons."

❖❖❖

Lieutenant-General Sir H G Chauvel succeeded him the post of Chief of the General Staff and in this post he was to exercise in addition "the duties of Inspector-General of the AMF". Because of the nature of the duties of each of these appointments it was impos,sible for one officer to discharge concurrently the duties of both effectively.

Lieutenant General Sir Sydney Rowell made history in later years of a different kind. He was the son of the late Colonel James Rowell, CB, VD, who was a prominent Militia officer in his time in South Australia. When General Rowell became the Chief of the Australian General Staff in April 1950 he was the first graduate of Duntroon to occupy that post. General Rowell made history in another way too. He was the second Chief of the Australian General Staff to have his autobiography, *Full Circle*, published. It was published in 1974 by MUP. The first such book to be published was that of Major-General J M Gordon who was the Chief of the Australian General Staff from 1912 to 1914. His autobiography, *The Chronicles of a Gay Gordon* was published by Cassell and Company, London in 1921.

Rowell's immediate predecessor, Lieutenant General Sir Vernon Sturdee[23], also made history by being the last of pre-Duntroon members of the Australian Staff Corps to occupy the post of Chief of the Australian General Staff. General Sturdee was also the son of a Militia officer, Colonel A H Sturdee, CMG, VD, AAMC. Like his father, General Sturdee became at first a Militia officer. But in February 1911, he transferred from the Australian Engincers of the Citizen Military Forces to the Royal Australian Engineers of the Permanent Military Forces. At this time Australia had neither a military college nor a staff college. But four months later, in June 1911, the Royal Military College of Australia was officially opened at Duntroon and its first Commandant was Brigadier General (later Major General Sir) W T Bridges.[24] However, more than a quarter of a century was to pass before the Australian Army was to be provided with its own staff college.

---

23 Lt-Gen Sir Sydney Rowell, "General Sturdee and the Australian Army", *The Australian Army Journal*, No.207, August 1966, pp.3-10.

24 Warren Perry, "Major General Sir William Throsby Bridges", *The Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol.36, No.2, May 1965, pp.121-124. Six years after this paper on the Staff Corps was written in 1973, an important biography of Bridges was published by MUP, Melbourne—C D Coulthard-Clark, *A Heritage of Spirit: A Biography of Major-General Sir WilliamThrosby Bridges*, 1979.

The main points to note about all these factors are: the members of the two main bodies of officers of the Australian Military Forces—those of the Australian Staff Corps and those of the Citizen Military Forces—were drawn mainly from the same social classes[25] and it was not uncommon to find members of particular families in both these branches of the Australian officer corps; the Australian Staff Corps was a heterogeneous body because its members had been recruited in accordance with three different systems;[26] and its senior ranks included officers who had begun their military careers as Militia officers.[27] At the outbreak of the War of 1939-45 the Australian Staff Corps was not a Corps with outstanding achievements to its credit. Its existence then covered not quite two decades. Although in September 1939 it had not hitherto been tested in war, its senior officers had, of course, served on active service in earlier times.[28]

General Chauvel of the Australian Staff Corps and General Monash of the Citizen Military Forces were each promoted to the rank of full general to date 11 November 1929. This date was then known in the British Empire as Armistice Day. The remark in Chauvel's biography, p.218, that Chauvel was "the first Australian to attain the rank of full general" is incorrect. Chauvel shared this distinction with Monash. They were both promoted to General to date 11 November 1929. However, the seniority of Monash as lieutenant general was next after Chauvel and on promotion their seniority, relatively, was preserved. This is different from saying or implying one was promoted before the other. As for Monash's promotion being a "pacificatory gesture" the facts do not uphold this opinion.

In the following year General Chauvel relinquished his dual appointment of Inspector-General and Chief of the General Staff and was placed on the Retired List to date 16 April 1930.

Chauvel was succeeded in the post of Chief of the General Staff by Major-General W A Coxen[29] who, in the War of 1914-18, had been Monash's senior Artillery commander at Headquarters, Australian Corps on the Western Front in Europe. At this time the fiction of maintaining the post of Inspector-General of the AMF seems to have lapsed.

But any satisfaction that General Coxen may have enjoyed by attaining he goal of all ambitious regular officers, that of Chief of the General Staff was shortlived. He had the misfortune to attain his goal at a time of deep economic depression and so, in the interests of national economy, the Government of the day soon hurried him into retirtement and, it seems, without a

---

25 Professor S. Encel has expressed a contrary view. He said: "As a social group, the citizen soldiers [ie, officers] differ from the regular officers". See his *Equality and Authority: A Study of Class, Status and Power in Australia*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1970, p.459.

26 The two earlier systems of recruitment from the CMF and from outside the Australian Military Forces; and the later system of recruitment from graduates of the Royal Military College at Duntroon.

27 In the Australian Army and in the British Army the term "Militia officer" had different meanings. The Haldane reforms again abolished the Militia forces of the British Army in 1908. See Major E W Sheppard, *A Short History of the British Arrny*, Constable & Company, London. Third Revised Edition, 1940, p.207 and p.293.

28 Even some junior officers—Duntroon graduates—gained active service experience during the inter-war period in India. In February 1939 the seniority list of the Australian Staff Corps showed three subalterns as having been on active service. See The Australian Army List, Part I, Active List. Dated 1 February 1939, p.57. For a biographical sketch see Warren Perry, "Lieutenant-General Sir John Dudley Lavarack", *VHJ*, May 1975, pp. 364-408.

29 General Coxen's "personal papers" are held in the Australian Commnad and Staff College, Fort Queenscliff, Victoria.

pension.[30] He was placed on the Retired List to date 1 October 1931. A week later, on 8 October 1931, his Old Chief in the AIF, General Monash, died in Melbourne.

❖❖❖

In the meantime Major-General J H Bruche succeeded General Coxen as Chief of the General Staff at AHQ, Melbourne. He had also served under Monash in the 1st AIF. After 3½ years in this post, Major-General Sir Julius Bruche relinquished it in April 1935 and went into retirement.

❖❖❖

He was succeeded by another regular officer of the pre-Duntroon era, Major-General (later Lieutenant-General Sir) J D Lavarack. General Lavarack was also the last Chief of the Australian General Staff of the interwar period (1919-39).

The Australian Staff Corps, as at 31 December 1935, consisted of 235 officers of all ranks from lieutenant to major-general.[31] At this date the outbreak of the War of 1939-45 was less than four years away and this number represented a decrease of 15 officers since the Australian Staff Corps' creation 15 years earlier.

The state of the Corps in December 1935 reflected no credit on the Federal governments it had served since its creation. This state clearly indicated too the indifference of the uninformed public, which to some extent was kept uninformed by the Federal governments which it elected, to the conditions in which these officers were worked and overworked. Indeed the Australian Staff Corps served, at least at Army Headquarters, under conditions of "sweated labour".[32] The pay of these officers was poor by any reasonable standards. Years later Professor Encell was referring to the pay at this time of the Australian Staff Corps when he pointed out that:

> "The unattractiveness of the profession was accentuated by its low pay. In 1938, the maximum salary paid to a lieutenant-colonel was £779, the comparable maximum for an official of the Commonwealth Public Service would have been £912, and for a British lieutenant-colonel £1,204. Both the civilian official and the British officer were also entitled to much more generous superannuation."[33]

Two other objectionable features of the working conditions of the Australian Staff Corps were in the areas of superannuation and promotion. The superannuation scheme[34] which operated for the benefit of Staff Corps officers was poor; and the prospects of promotion, which had confronted these officers were poor enough to demoralise even the keenest and most optimistic of them. Writing of the Australian Staff Corps, as at the time of the outbreak of the War of 1939-45, Gavin Long said:

---

30 Mrs Coxen informed the author orally that her husband retired without a pension.

31 Warren Perry, "Australia's only other Generals", *Sabretache*, Vol. XI, No. 1, July 1969, pp. 29-31.

32 A Staff Corps officer informed me, after the War of 1939-45, that in the later 1930s, when he held an appointment at Army Headquarters and concurrently that of Chief Instructor of an Army school, he was obliged to take his annual leave in single days at intervals of varying frequency because of the shortage in numbers of Staff Corps officers and of the ever growing volume of work to be done daily by those available.

33 S Encell, *Equality and Authority: A Study of Class, Status and Power*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1970, p. 451.

34 Prior to October 1924 no Superannuation Scheme existed for members of the Permanent Military Forces. In that year legislation was enacted to provide a scheme. It was an amending Act—*Superannuation Act 1924* No.45 of 1924. Part IVA of this Act provided for members of the Permanent Military and Air Forces to join the Commonwealth's Superannuation Fund. The Act was assented to on 20 October 1924 and it was proclaimed to commence on 23 October 1924.

> "For nearly twenty years a sense of injustice and frustration had grieviously affected the outlook of this corps. Not until 1935 and 1936 had most of the senior Duntroon graduates regained in the peace-time army the substantive rank and the pay they had won in the AIF. A number of their most enterprising members had resigned and had joined the British or the Indian Armies where they had gained more rapid promotion than those who had remained in Australia. Promotion of militia officers had been relatively rapid so that some had risen from the ranks to lieutenant-colonels in ten years, while it had been usual for a Staff Corps officer, after having spent eight years as a lieutenant, to remain in the rank of captain for ten or, perhaps, twelve.[35]

All these conditions referred to by Gavin Long were clearly present in December 1935 when the Minister for Defence, Sir Archdale Parkhill,[36] replied in the House of Representatives to a number of questions which were put to him by Brigadier G A Street MP, who later became Minister for Defence himself. On 5 December 1935, the Minister for Defence replied to one of Brigadier Street's questions as follows:

> "Q. How many officers of the Australian Staff Corps are carrying out duties that are higher than is commensurate either with their rank or pay?
>
> "A. There are 52 offcers of the Australian Staff Corps who are carrying out duties higher than is commensurate with their rank. Rates of pay are dependent on the substantive rank held."[37]

Then on 6 December 1935 the Minister for Defence answered other questions, which Brigadier Street MP had asked earlier, as follows:

> "Q. Is it a fact that the retiring ages for officers of the Australian Staff Corps are:
>
> "Major 55; Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel and Brigadier 60 years; Major General 62 years; and Lieutenant-General 65 years?
>
> "A. Yes.
>
> "Q. Is it a fact that approximately 100 officers of the Australian Staff COTPS are aged within 8 years of each other?
>
> "A. Yes.
>
> "Q. Is the pension payable to officers of the Australian Staff Corps, who retire at 55 years of age, £175 per annum and to those who retire at 60 years of age £364 per annum?
>
> "A. Under the Superannuation Act an of ficer who retires prior to reaching the age of 60 years draws only the actuarial equivalent of the pension based on retirement at the age of 60 years and the amount of pension depends on the number of units for which he is contributing.
>
> "The figures given in Question 4 (immediately above) give an approximate indication of the pensions payable in the circumstances quoted.[38]

---

35 Gavin Long, *To Benghazi*, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1961, p.45.
36 The Hon Sir (Robert) Archdale Parkhill, KCMG. Born 27 August 1879. Minister of State for Defence from 12 October 1934 to 20 November 1937. Died 3 October 1947.
37 CPD, Vol. 148. p.2557
38 C.P.D., Vol. 148, p. 2750.

Observers during the inter-war period would probably have agreed that these Staff Corps officers worked, at least outwardly to the remainder of the Army they served, with keenness and great devotion to duty. The mediocre Ministers they sometimes served were probably either unaware or insensitive to these qualities in these officers if one judges by the proportion of honours and awards that were allotted to them, annually, in the New Years' and King's Birthday Honours Lists. Despite these conditions, creations largely of the unimaginative and uninspiring governments these Staff Corps officers served during the inter-war period, it is true to say that they retained not only a strong confidence in themselves individually but also a deep pride, collectively, in the Australian Staff Corps to which they belonged.

It has been said that the Australian Staff Corps looked after its own interesls first and that its members saw nothing unethical, whatever means were employed, in protecting and promoting these interests. But this is a common feature of all professional groups which divide within themselves according to differences in their training and experience. Here one instantly thinks of the Sandhurst graduate and the ex-ranker of the British Anny,[39] of the West Point graduate and the ex-cadet of the Virginia Military Institute of which a good example is General George Marshal, in the US Army, and of the Staff Corps officer and the CMF officer of which General Sir John Monash, Lieutenant-General Sir James McCay, and Major-General Sir Victor Windeyer are instances in the Australian Army. The best comment on all this is perhaps that of Lord Macaulay in his essay on Lord Bacon in which he said:

> "Our estimale of a character always depends much on the manner in which that character affects our own interests and passions. We find it difficult to think well of those by whom we are thwarted or depressed; and we are ready to admit every excuse for the vices of those who are useful or agreeable to us."

Nevertheless, to cope with these differences already mentioned, and their consequent differences in outlook and in attitudes to the solution of common problems because of different scales of values too at times, the Australian Staff Corps was strategically well and advantageously placed within the AMF to defend and to promote its own interests. Another matter not to be overlooked in this analysis is that as the proportion of officers in the Australian Staff Corps who had originally been themselves CMF officers, diminished, so did the Australian Staff Corps' sympathy diminish for the CMF officer in his efforts to attain and to maintain his rightful "place in the sun" as William II of Germany once said in another connection.

Before the outbreak of the War of 1939-45, the Australian Staff Corps had its king who was the Chief of the General Staff; it had its barons who were the other military members of the Military Board; it had its ambassadors who were the staff officers in field formations and units and elsewhere; it had its courtiers who were aides-de-camp to the Sovereign and to vice-regal representatives in Australia at State and Federal levels; and in addition it had within the Army as a whole its loyalists and dissenters; and outside the Army it had its enemies and its allies.[40]

Because of its status, its power and its influence, and because of the nature of its relationship with Ministers as advisers and with the remainder of the Army as mentors in command and staff

---

39 The differences between a Sandhurst graduate and an ex-ranker in the British Army are vividly portrayed in James Kennaway's *Tunes of Glory*, published by Corgi Books, London. Reissued 1967. A good companion book to *Tunes of Glory* is Pierre-Henn Simon, *Portrait of an Officer*, a French translation, published by Secker & Warburg, London, 1961.

40 Antony Jay, *Management and Machiavelli*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, Fourth Impression, 1968, p.27.

appointments, the Australian Staff Corps could reasonably be likened to some extent to the Administrative Class of the British Civil Service. This comparison may be surprising to some officers. But relationships, if looked for diligently, can often be found in unexpected places.

The Administrative Class formed an *élite* branch of the British Civil Service during the inter-war period and it has been described with skill and in some detail by one of its members of that time, H E Dale, in his book, *The Higher Civil Service of Great Britain.* The book, which was published in 1941, was described on its dustcover in the following terms:

> "This book gives an account of the normal work and life (as they were before the outbreak of war and may be again after its conclusion) of a small, very impertant, but little known body of men—the higher permanent officials, a tiny fraction of the whole Civil Service, who stand close to Ministers of State and are their principal advisers. It examines and describes the composition of this *corps d'élite*, the daily life of its members, their intellectual and social character, and their actual working relations with Ministers, Parliament, the public and the Press. It discusses also the most striking changes in the Higher Civil Service during the last forty years; and, finally, what is now to be thought of it as a profession and a life."

Another author, T A Critchley, has looked at the Administrative Class in much the same way in his book, *The Civil Service Today*, where he said that:

> "Apart from a sprinkling of specialists, legal advisers and chief scientists, the higher Civil Service comprises the cream of the administrative class; a variable number of principals, together with the assistant secretaries, under secretaries, deputy secretaries and heads of Departments—in all not more than 3000 men and women, or a fraction of one per cent of the whole Civil Service may have upon the government of the country, but their names, for reasons that have already been discussed, are known to few outside Westminster and Whitehall."

It should be noted from this quotation that the Administrative Class[41] in the British Civil Service, like the Australian Staff Corps in the Australian Army, was a relatively small but highly important part of the whole; that, at the official level, the Administrative Class in the British civil sphere, like the Australian Staff Corps in the Australian military sphere, occupied, immediately below the ministenal level, higher official positions of power and influence. At this level the military and civil branches of public administration tend to merge so that public servants—using that term in its widest sense—will be found to wear either khaki or "black coats" and to be working together on common tasks. The manner of this co-operation has been well described in George Mallaby's *From My Level* (1965) and its various scenes concern aspects of the conduct of the War of 1939-45 at the highest levels in Westminster and in Whitehall.

Members of the Australian Staff Corps occupied all military positions on the Military Board, Melbourne during the inter-war period (1919-1939); the Minister for Defence's principal Army advisers were officers of the Australian Staff Corps;[42] the Federal Cabinet's principal Army adviser was the Chief of the General Staff[43] who was. in so far as Australian officers were

---

41 Since writing this paper on the Australian Staff Corps, the Administrative Class of the British Civil Service has been "immortalised" in the BBC TV series *Yes Minister* by "Sir Humphrey Appleby" and others.

42 The Australian Chiefs of Staff Committee did not come into existence until after the outbreak of the War of 1939-45. Its creation was authorised by the Federal Cabinet on 4 September 1939; and its original Chairman was the First Naval Member, Vice Admiral Sir Ragnar Colvin, RN.

43 This advisory function was shared by the CGS with the Inspector-General if there was an IG.

concerned, always an officer of the Australian Staff Corps. Only officers of the Australian Staff Corps were normally concerned, in so far as army officers were concerned, in the formulation of the Federal Government's military policy.[44] In the drawing up of final draft Estimates at the Army Headquarters level for the approval of the Minister for Defence for his submission to the Federal Cabinet, it is probable that only officers of the Australian Staff Corps were concerned. In the inter-war period the highest appointments held by CMF officers were those of divisional commanders. These were field appointments and their occupants were subordinate to the Military Board.[45]

From all that has been said above it can be clearly seen that officers of the Australian Staff Corps were strategically well disposed throughout the Australian Army, during the period under discussion, to exercise power and influence within the CMF. At the highest military levels, administratively speaking, the seats of power reserved for Army officers were all occupied by officers of the Australian Staff Corps. The numerically much greater body of officers of the CMF had no representation beyond the level of divisional commanders. The CMF during the inter-war period, 1919-1939, was not an auxiliary force. In this respect it differed from the British Territorial Army which was an auxiliary force.

❖❖❖

The relationship, theoretically, between the Minister for Defence and his military advisers was a simple one as the American, A L Lowell saw it; and, probably, as some of Australia's Ministers for Defence saw it too during the inter-war period. Lowell said: "The Chief (ie, the Minister) lays down the general policy, while his subordinates give him the benefit of their advice and attend to the details".[46] But H E Dale has pointed out in more modern times, in regard to such procedures, that in practice "the facts overthrow the logic".[47]

He said that the volume of business in a large Department of State had to be settled and often settled quickly without any specific directions from the Minister though always in accordance with his official policy and his other known requirements. It was therefore in Dale's "atmosphere" rather than in that of Lowell that the Australian Staff Corps worked at its higher levels during the inter-war period. In its senior ranks then the Corps included, and it will always include, some strong and able officers who cannot, if they would, refrain from stamping their personalities on their work[48] which no legal provisions or administrative arrangements can prevent. So although the Minister occupies the "throne" and announces decisions, after matters of importance have been decided in conference, the real author of these decisions could possibly have been one or other of his military advisers or the permanent head of the Department who is a civil officer.

Simple and obvious considerations of these kinds explain the fact, which is generally recognised, that the principal officers of the Australian Staff Corps at the Army Headquarters level during the inter-war period, were much more than depersonalised instruments of Ministers

---

44 See also Dr G K Fry, "Policy-Planning Units in British Central Government Departments", *Public Adrninistration*, London, Vol. 50, Summer 1972, pp. 139-155.

45 Re Military Board of the Department of the Army see Sir John Craner, *Pioneers, Politics & People: A Polincal Mernoir*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1989, pp. 157-161.

46 A L Lowell, *The Governrnent of England*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920, Vol.1, p.182.

47 H E Dale, *The Higher Civil Service of Great Britain*, Oxford University Press, London. Reprinted 1942, p.178.

48 Probable names here are: Lieutenant-General Sir H C H Robertson (1894-1960), known to his contemporanes as "Red Robbie"; Major-General Sir J H Bruche (1873-1961); Major-General T H Dodds (1873-1943); and Major-General G A Vasey (1895-1945). Major-General C E M "Gaffa" Lloyd (1899-1956) could also be added to this short list.

of Defence.[49] Indeed, they were in a sense like the older, larger and much more experienced Prussian General Staff whose members were once exhorted by their Chief, Field Marshal Count von Schlieffen, to "perform diligently, intrude little, but be more than you seem".[50]

This unshared power in the higher military sphere, enjoyed exclusively by the Australian Staff Corps, could have been distributed more equitably from the outset in the interests of the Citizen Military Forces[51] in two ways. First, if the establishment of Army Headquarters in Melbourne had provided for the appointment of a Director-General of the Citizen Military Forces, then a Militia general officer could have been appointed to the post; and second, this Director-General of the Citizen Military Forces could have been given a seat on the Military Board where he could have represented the interests of the Citizen Military Forces. Even today, it would be of great interest to know if such a proposal was ever made during the inter-war period, why it was made and why, and by whom, it was rejected.

❖❖❖

On the eve of the outbreak of the War of 1939-45, the Australian Staff Corps had not quite completed the second decade of its existence. But despite this rather short existence, under working conditions that could not be described as either good and generous or enlightened and stimulating, the members of the Corps had developed among themselves a remarkably strong corporate spirit. By comparison the espirit de corps of the Militia officers as a body was, in my opinion, relatively weaker. Militia officers, at least at the regimental level, tended to split up into a number of different groups based on the arms and services to which they belonged.

It was said earlier in this paper that when the Australian Staff Corps was formed in October 1920 it had a strength of 250 officers. Eighteen years later, as at 31 December 1938, its strength had been increased by only 24 officers and so had risen to a total of 274 officers.[52] This slow growth and inconsiderable increase were not advantageous to the development of either the Australian Staff Corps or the Australian Army. These disadvantages were cumulative and it was not practicable to correct them at short notice when war came in September 1939. Why was this so?

Officers grow to the stature to which they are stretched when they are young and the ones who are not stretched will fail to grow; some will even diminish in stature. This was the danger to which junior Staff Corps officers were exposed when they were posted, as adjutants of units, to galvanised iron drill halls where for the greater part of each working day they usually shared the monotonous and uninspiring environment with sometimes two warrant officers of the Australian Instructional Corps and an NCO Storeman of the Permanent Military Forces. It has sometimes been said that an army cannot have too many good officers; but this is a false statement. An army cannot keep its officers up to the optimum professional standards without giving them a continuous flow of tasks to match up to their abilities. The training of the ambiguous—the Brigadier was presumably referring exclusively to the Australian Staff Corps.

Sufficient evidence has been produced to show that the Australian Staff Corps had to withstand many adverse influences, during the inter-war period in order to maintain itself in a reasonable

---

49 During the inter-war period there was no Minister for the Army. The Department of the Army was not created until 14 November 1939. Until that date the Department of Defence administered the three Services.

50 *Viel leisten, wenig hervortreten, mehr sein als scheinen.*

51 The CMF was, it has already been said, not an auxiliary force; it was an integral part of the AMF which was the only military force which the Australian Government maintained during the inter-war period. This fact has been obscured and widely unrecognised in Australia because of a false belief that the legal status of the CMF was similar to that of the Territorial Army in Great Britain.

52 *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 32 of 1939, p. 236.

state of efficiency. But one of the worst things of this time which it had to endure was the Military Board's inability to provide Staff Corps officers with a "continuous flow of tasks" to develop their abilities. This inability on the part of the Military Board was probably attributable directly and wholly to the inadequate resources in men, material and money, placed at its disposal by the governments the Australian Staff Corps served.

Abbreviations:

AIF	Australian Imperial Force
AMF	Australian Military Forces (It consisted of the PMF and the CMF)
AMR&O	Australian Military Regulations and Orders
CAG	Commonwealth of Australia Gazette
CPD	Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates
PMF	Permanent Military Forces
VHJ	The Victorian Historical Journal
VHM	Victorian Historical Magazine

Book Reviews

Michael O'Brien, *Conscripts and Regulars with the Seventh Battalion in Vietnam*, Allen and Unwin, $45.

Conscripts and Regulars by Michael O'Brien tells the story of the Seventh Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment (7 RAR), in war and peace from the time of its being raised at Puckapunyal, Victoria in 1965, until its linking with 5 RAR at Holsworthy, NSW in 1973. The major part of this story being 7 RAR's two tours of duty in South Vietnam during 1967-1968 and 1970-1971.

The author is Brigadier Michael O'Brien, a graduate of the Royal Military College who served with 7 RAR in Vietnam during 1970-1971 as a platoon commander and as Intelligence Officer. Brigadier O'Brien is currently Commander of the Army Technology and Engineering Agency at Maribyrnong, Victoria. As an infantry officer who served with 7 RAR on its second tour of duty in Vietnam it is stating the obvious to say that the author has an excellent background for writing this book.

The book covers several themes based on the 7 RAR experience during this period including: highlights in the day to day life of the members of the battalion; descriptions of the organisation, equipment and training of the battalion; excellent descriptions of combat operations in Vietnam including lessons learnt; background information on the war in South Vietnam from an Australian perspective with special emphasis on Phuoc Tuy Province; and the effects of National Service.

The text has a flowing style and is easy to read, it is the product of an author who knows and clearly understands what he is writing about and having been a part of it is also able to provide knowledge and atmosphere. The text is informative with good explanations of operational techniques and some of the mysteries of service life (generally taken for granted by soldiers) that should enhance the book's appeal to the wider community outside the Army. There is good use of quotes from a variety of sources and these include some great descriptive passages of combat incidents which add interest, atmosphere and excitement to the text. Unlike some other books of this type which seem to be written to highlight the exploits of the unit's officers, this book refreshingly gives due credit when necessary to members of the battalion regardless of rank.

My one criticism of this book is that the maps provided are inadequate, especially if the reader is trying to follow the operations being described in the text. A good detailed map of Phuoc Tuy Province and the adjacent areas where battalion operations took place is required, as many of the places mentioned in the text cannot be found on the book's current maps. In one case the village of Tam Phuoc mentioned in the text is not the same village of Tam Phuoc as that shown on the two maps of Phuoc Tuy Province. The book is well illustrated with a good selection of photographs, especially those taken on the second tour of duty in Vietnam by Colonel Andy Mattay.

Anyone who is looking for a book that provides a realistic impression of what it was like to be in an Australian infantry battalion during the Vietnam era and to serve on combat operations there should make sure that they read this book. — WO2 Ian Kuring, Infantry Centre, Singleton

Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels*, Ballantine Books, New York, 355 pages, maps, paperback, $16

This historical novel won the 1974 Pulitzer award and its reissue coincides with the release of the film *Gettysburg* which closely follows the novel. The battle of Gettysburg was fought on the first three days of July 1863. It was the largest battle ever fought on American soil. The Army of Northern Virginia commanded by Robert E Lee with three Corps of 70,000 men fought George E Meade's Army of the Potomac with seven Corps and 100,000 men.

The focus of *The Killer Angels* is on the two highest southern commanders, Lee and Longstreet. George Meade who took command of the Army of the Potomac on the eve of the battle, and would lead that army for the rest of the war, only appears briefly. However, the novel is a very balanced and thoughtful account of the battle. It gives long overdue credit to Union cavalry General John Buford, its helps restore the reputation of General James Longstreet and helps recreate a hero for the Union, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, the Commander of the 20th Maine, which held the extreme left flank of the Union Army at a vital moment on the second day of the battle.

In June 1863, Vicksburg, the key to the Mississippi River, was under siege by Ulysses S Grant. Lee's invasion of the north was one of the South's attempt's to break the Union grip on Vicksburg and prevent the Confederacy being split in two. By the end of June Lee was concentrating his forces around Gettysburg but he was unaware of the Union intentions since he was out of contact with Jeb Stuart and the Confederate cavalry until the eve of the second day of the battle.

Buford's cavalry division of two brigades was in advance of the Union I and XI Corps. On the evening of 30 June he appreciated that the two armies were about to meet head on and that it was a race for the high ground. On the morning of 1 July he deployed his brigades to successfully delay the Confederate advance until the Union infantry arrived. Later that first day the Confederates attacked from both the west and the north and succeed in routing part of the Union forces and forced the remainder back onto Cemetery Hill. The first day was a great Confederate victory but at the end of the day, thanks to Buford's perception and dispositions, the Union forces were entrenched on the high ground.

The fight for Cemetery Hill and Culp Hill on the second and third days is for many the crucial action at Gettysburg. It is barely mentioned in this novel and the focus for the second day is the attack of Hood and McLaws divisions of Longstreet's Corps against the Union left flank. On the extreme left, on the Little Round Top Hill, was the 20th Maine which was repeatedly attacked by the 15th Alabama. With ammunition nearly gone and his men exhausted Chamberlain, commanding the 20th Maine, ordered a charge down the hill which broke the Confederate attack and steadied the Union line.

The second day was also a Confederate success although not to the same extent as the previous day. Dan Sickles' Corps had been pushed back to Cemetery Ridge and the Union had been hard pressed and had reinforced the left at Little Round Top and the right at Cemetery Hill and Culp Hill. Lee decided that the attack on the third day would be aimed at the centre of the line to split the Union Army and then destroy the two halves. Longstreet who had advised caution from the start of the battle and argued against the attack on the centre was given the task of launching the assault. Longstreet had Pickett's division that had not been engaged on the first two days and two other divisions from Hill's Corps. Although the attack has gone down in history as Pickett's charge, it was in fact Longstreet who planned the attack and gave the order for the doomed advance.

The film *Gettysburg* closely follows the book. The book of course is more detailed and contains fuller background on the personalities. Only one map from the book got to the screen, which was disappointing, since the maps really enhanced the story. The words of the characters in the film in the main followed the book although some conversations were switched. The bulk of both armies were re-enactors and their uniforms and equipment were very realistic. The Union troops were outfitted in blue but the Confederate uniforms were in various colours and shades.

I well recommend both the film and the book. The film was recently released in Australia on video and should be viewed first. Those without much knowledge of the battle will find the film easy to follow although it is lengthy running for four hours. Those who know a bit more about the battle will notice almost cameo incidents such as the Iron Brigade on the first day, Dan Sickles in the background when Meade arrives on the first night and just a glimpse of the famous Mass for the Irish Brigade where firebrand Fr Corby gives a general absolution on one hand and on the other hand promises damnation for any soldier who deserts.

I bought my copy of the paperback at Hylands Bookshop in Flinders Lane, Melbourne. I always visit this fine military bookshop when I am in Melbourne which has a very good selection of American Civil War books. I was recently in Brisbane and visited Tony White's, Napoleon's Bookshop at its new location and noted it also had a fine American Civil War selection. Both shops have comprehensive Australian and general military history selections. — Anthony Staunton

Hugh Smith (ed),*The Force of Law: International Law and the Land Commander*, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra 1994. Abbreviations, biographies of contributors, index, 272 pages.

The Chief of the General Staff's Exercise in 1994 explored the responsibilities of land commanders under the international laws of armed conflict in a contemporary context.

Conflict in the latter part of the 20th Century has seen civilians increasingly embroiled in hostilities; operations are undertaken by multinational forces which may be to a greater or less degree under United Nations auspices or control; authority is doubtful and the basic elements of law and justice are absent in the area concerned.

We have some rules. These are conveniently grouped and briefly described in an appendix to this volume based on a recent Army Occasional Paper. But the question is do they take proper account of the changing nature of conflict?

There are some 17 contributors to this volume from Australia, Switzerland, Singapore, the United Kingdom and United States defence forces and from the UN and International Red Cross. People with special skills such as World Vision, Care Australia, diplomats, lawyers, academics and a variety of governments department's also contributed to the Exercise The volume is divided into .sections which give perspectives on diplomatic and legal aspects, and the problems tracing commanders in the field. A section on special protection canvasses the problem of victims of war, refugees and environmental issues.

Four case studies are examined. As one would expect, there is a wide range of topics dealt with competently and interestingly. The military reader will perhaps find the case studies of major interest; in particular the papers on "Desert Storm" and "Operation Solace". Of equal interest is the paper dealing with environmental issues which gives a perspective not usually encountered.

The editor, Hugh Smith. makes a notable contribution in the conclusion which pulls it together in a very able fashion. It is not a message of hope. but it illuminates the need for nations to

apply themselves assiduously to responding to change and progressively develop internationally accepted protocols to curb the abuse of human rights. It also highlights the problem for the Australian Defence Force in ensuring that commanders and staff have and maintain a sound knowledge of the many ramifications of this complex subject.

This book will become a standard reference in this process. — J Whitelaw

Letters

Sergeant Roy Standish Haines

One of the many excellent articles in the July/September 1995 issue of *Sabretache* concerned Trevor Turner's piece on Sergeant Roy Standish Haines of the 23rd Battalion. Whilst Haines' service was, as Trevor observed, "not in any way outstanding", the youthful Sergeant's service did not conclude with discharge from the Australian Imperial Force in 1919.

After the War Haines soldiered on with the Militia, receiving his commission in 1921. In the early stages of World War Two we find Haines as a Lieutenant Colonel with 4th Division Signals in Sydney, wearing the award of the Efficiency Decoration. Clearly there is much more research to be undertaken as predicted by Trevor Turner and, if nothing else, this additional insight into Haines' service demonstrates the complexities of researching the nation's fragmented military records for players in Australia's military heritage.

Lt-Colonel Neil C Smith AM
Mostly Unsung Military History
Research And Publications
PO Box 20
Gardenvale Vic 3185

Members' notices

FOR SERVICE — Awards of the Order of Australia for service to the Northern Territory, 1975 - 1995

Paul A Rosenzweig

A distinctly Australian award, the Order of Australia was instituted by Her Majesty The Queen on 14 February 1975, for the purpose of "according recognition to Australian citizens and other persons for achievement or for meritorious service". In the 20 years since the Order of Australia was established, in 40 Honours Lists there have been 200 appointments and awards made (to 198 recipients) in recognition of service to the Northem Territory.

For Service contains biographies of 102 of the 198 recipients, and photographs of 33 recipients. It is in B5-size (176 x 250 rnm), perfect bound, with card cover in colour. It is 228 pages with references and index.

Available from: Historical Society of the Northern Territory, PO Pox 40544, CASUARINA NT 0811, $26 plus $3 postage.

MHSA Biennial Conference
Queen's Birthday weekend
8-10 June 1996

The South Australia Branch is looking forward to a great weekend, renewing old friendships, making new contacts and also adding to our knowledge and understanding of Australia's military history. For the collector—perhaps an opportunity to swap and trade; for the researcher, perhaps a vital grain of information that may help conclude that project. Whatever your reasons are for attending, the South Australian Branch members will be striving to make everyone feel comfortable and at ease. Guests will be fed and watered well and frequently, white it is hoped you will find our speakers both knowledgeable and interesting.

Accommodation

There is an abundance of accommodation in Adelaide to suit all budgets and tastes. Contact the Conference convener for a copy of the Accommodation Guide and registration Form

Conference Dinner

A Conference Dinner will be held on Saturday evening 8 June at the SA Police Club, Carrington St, Adelaide. Partners are invited to attend. There will be complementary pre-dinner drinks & nibbles, plus complementary table wines & mineral waters with dinner. A full bar service will be available throughout the evening.

An inclusive 2½ days Saturday 8 June to 12.00 noon Monday 10 June — $70.00.
Additional guest for Conference Dinner only $25.00

Full 2½ days excluding Conference Dinner $50.00.

Single day (or part) $30.00. Conference Dinner $25.00

A F Harris
The Secretary, MHSA (SA Branch)
PO Box 550
MITCHAM SA 5062

Ph.(08) 2718619

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 either a 3.5" or 5.25" 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.

Elizabeth Topperwien
Editor

✂ .....

Application for Membership

I/*We .....
(Name/Rank etc.)

of (Address) .....

.....

hereby apply for membership of the MILITARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA and wish to be admitted as a *Corresponding Member/*Subscriber to *Sabretache* /*Branch Member of the

..... Branch

My main interests are .....

I/*We enclose remittance of A$30.00 being annual subscription, due 1 July each year.

Send to: Federal Secretary, PO Box 30, Garran, ACT 2605, Australia

ISSN 0048 8933

Price $6.50