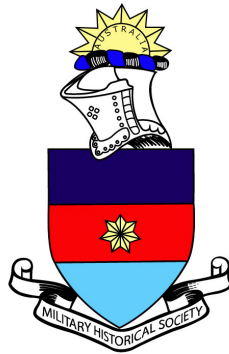


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Sabretache



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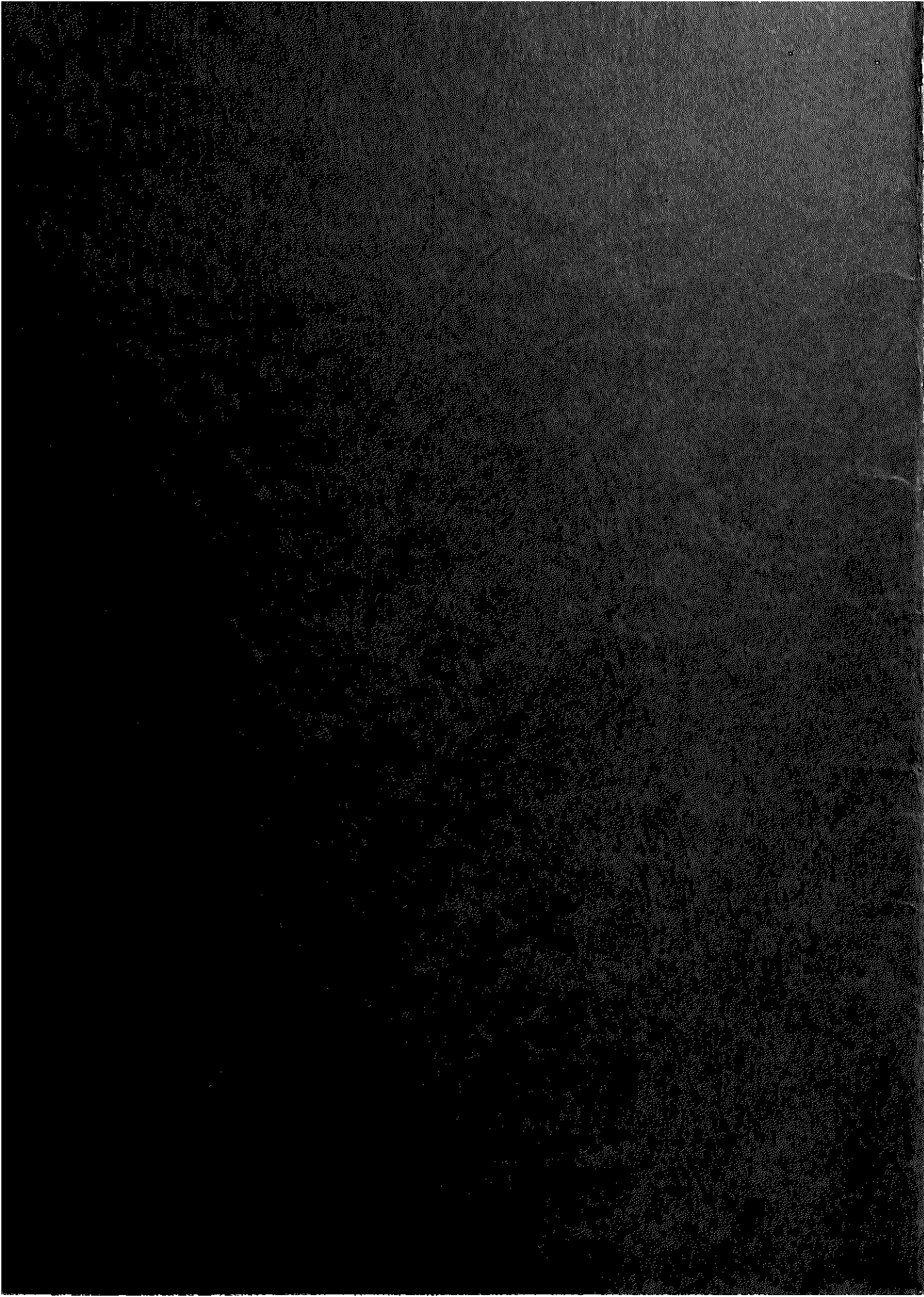
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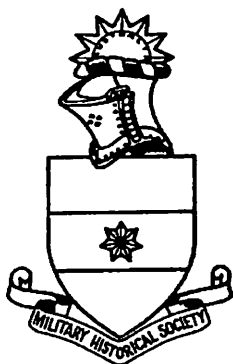
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Contributions in the form of articles, notes, queries or letters are always welcome. Authors of major articles are invited to submit a brief biographical note, and, where possible, submit the text of the article on floppy disk as well as hard copy. The annual subscription to *Sabretache* is \$30.

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

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SABRETACHE

The Military Historical Society of Australia

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

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.

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Patron of the Military Historical Society of Australia

Admiral Sir Anthony Synnot KBE AO, who has been the Society's Patron since 1982, indicated some time ago that he wished to relinquish the position but, with his usual consideration and courtesy, said that he was happy to remain as Patron until Federal Council found a replacement. We have now done so in the person of Air Marshal I B (Barry) Gration AO AFC.

Air Marshal Gration enlisted in the RAAF in 1953 and graduated with distinction from RAAF College Point Cook in 1956 as a pilot officer in General Duties Branch. Between 1957 and 1970 he served in a variety of flying and staff appointments, including a tour as flying instructor. In June 1970, as squadron leader, he was awarded the Air Force Cross for his services to No.34 Squadron as training officer and VIP captain. Other appointments held by him included: Officer Commanding RAAF Base Fairbairn, ACT; Director Operations—Air Force; Officer Commanding RAAF Base Richmond, NSW and Director General Joint Operations and Plans, Australian Defence Headquarters, Canberra. He served as Head, Australian Defence Staff and Defence Attache at the Australian Embassy in Washington and was appointed Air Commander Australia in February 1990. He became Chief of the Air Staff in October 1992 and retired from the RAAF in November 1994.

Air Marshal Gration became an Officer in the Order of Australia in 1988. He also holds the Queen's Commendation for Valuable Service in the Air in recognition of his role in flying training and air transport. He served as an ex-officio member of the Council of the Australian War Memorial during his service as Chief of the Air Staff (his brother, General P C Gration AC OBE, is the current Chairman of the Council of the Memorial).

Sir Anthony Synnot readily endorsed Council's proposed choice of his replacement. After obtaining the concurrence of Branch Committees in accordance with the Society's Constitution, Federal Council formally approached Air Marshal Gration with the proposal and he accepted with pleasure. At its 110th meeting on 27 March 1996, Council appointed Air Marshal Gration as Patron for a period of three years from that date.

In forwarding his best wishes to Air Marshal Gration on his appointment, Sir Anthony offered all good wishes to the Society for the future and his hope that it will continue to prosper in the years ahead. Federal Council records its appreciation and that of all members of the Society to Sir Anthony for his support and encouragement as Patron since 1982 and offers its affectionate best wishes to him and to Lady Synnot for the future.

Air Marshal Gration has a keen interest in history, particularly air power studies and RAAF squadron histories. We are sure he will bring to the Patron's appointment the same enthusiasm and interest that Sir Anthony has shown. While the Patron's appointment under the Constitution is for three years, Council hopes that Air Marshal Gration will, as Sir Anthony has graciously done, continue to be our Patron for as long as he chooses to remain.

— Federal Council

Legends from the ledger — a re-assessment of the New South Wales Corps from examination of the paylists and muster rolls

John Black¹

This paper is dedicated to the two Australian detachments (RAAMC and RAASC) of 16th Commonwealth Field Ambulance RAMC, Terendak Camp, Malacca, West Malaysia and to all ranks of 8th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, between 1967 and 1969. But in particular to Private Maxwell Belcher, a national serviceman of 8RAR, who pointed the author to a higher realm.

Introduction

The development of the Colony of New South Wales from 1788 resolved a major social problem in Britain regarding a growing “criminal” population. The previous colonial “dumping ground” in America had been lost after the War of Independence. The new Colony of New South Wales provided the solution as a permanent substitute penal repository.

The First Fleet arrived at Botany Bay in 1788 together with the Colony’s first Governor, first military garrison drawn from the Fleet’s independent Marine Companies, and the first drafts of convicts. Yet an over-zealous British penal and colonial administration in London made no provision for government or commerce for the emerging Colony of New South Wales.

Parsons criticises traditional Australian historians for misrepresenting history, especially the history of the New South Wales (NSW) Corps. In particular, Parsons suggests that the greatest sin of Australian historians is their indulgence in anachronism. History too can also be misrepresented through a Whig interpretation in which the ideas, culture and practices of the past are analysed and assessed subjectively against the culture, values and aspirations of the present. This Whiggish approach has tended to be used again by orthodox historians in their traditional assessments of the NSW Corps.

The NSW Corps was formed in 1789 as a “Corps raised to permanently garrison the Colony of New South Wales”.² Historians have therefore tended to interpret this role to mean that the NSW Corps was no more than a penal regiment, made up of misfits and undersirables from the rest of the British Army, or from the Savoy Military Prison. Thus this orthodox interpretation has been to the detriment not only of the NSW Corps but to the history of pre-Macquarie Australia also.

The rhetoric of popular history concerning in particular the NSW Corps has provided the Australian media and tele-drama producers with an eighteenth century “soap” culture which suits the aspirations of a late twentieth century mass audience. Unfortunately, as pointed out by Parsons, this rhetoric and myth surrounding the NSW Corps has been represented as fact in the historiography of Australia.

¹ Bristol Business School, University of the West of England, Frenchay Campus, Bristol BS16 IQY
² WO/12/11028

However, the NSW Corps was not anachronistic nor unique. Indeed there were other contemporary corps and regiments formed to permanently garrison the imperial outposts of King George III's empire. Take for example the Newfoundland Fencibles, a "Corps of Foot raised in 1782 to permanently garrison Newfoundland",³ Britain's oldest Colony. The Newfoundland Fencibles also recruited from the Savoy Military Prison as did other contemporary regiments. It should be remembered that the Savoy was by no means large. The prison was built by Wren inside the Savoy Palace along with a normal barracks, which was destroyed by fire in 1773. The Savoy Prison, even when full housed no more than 50 military malefactors.⁴

The Newfoundland Fencibles were also without a military paymaster from 1800 to 1804 when a paymaster committee sat. After Paymaster Cox's suspension in 1803, a similar paymaster committee sat for the NSW Corps from 1803 until 1808.

Indeed, current research being undertaken to re-assess the social composition and character of the NSW Corps, through comparison with contemporary corps and regiments, has found that the First Battalion West India Regiment from 1799 to 1803 were without a paymaster during these years, and a paymaster committee under Lieutenant Colonel George Rutherford (Lieutenant Colonel without a Company) Captain Alexander Nunn, and Captain Maurice O'Connell, convened, until the appointment of Michael Stretch as paymaster from 25 August 1803, and Sergeant W Alcock as Paymaster sergeant.⁵ Research is currently being conducted to assess whether Captain Maurice O'Connell, later became Colonel commanding the 1/73rd Highlanders during its garrison of New South Wales from 1810 to 1813.

Purpose and Scope

It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to assess the actual character of the NSW Corps from an observation of the relevant paylists and muster rolls. Recent research by two Australian academics, Parsons (1978, 1988) and Statham have produced excellent work in an attempt to redress the rhetorical image of the NSW Corps. However, at this juncture it is perhaps fair to state that if the NSW Corps has traditionally been misrepresented in Australian history, then British historians, both academic and military, have ignored not only the NSW Corps but the pre-Macquarie development of Australia also.

The current research of the author involves an assessment of the NSW Corps through the paylists, muster rolls and supplementary accounts held at the Public Record Office, Kew, London. The NSW Corps "accounts" are being compared with other contemporary Corps and regiments in order to assess whether the NSW Corps was unique in the Army of King George III or was a reflection of the contemporary Army of the time. The paylists have never previously been part of any assessment of either pre-Macquarie Australia or of the NSW Corps in particular. Indeed, Butlin (1968), in his *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System 1788-1851*, does not refer to the NSW Corps paylists, the earliest examples of which still exist from 1795 and reflect soldiers of the Corps being paid monthly cash payments in the sterling currency. This procedure was universal throughout the Army at the time, wherever it served.

This article is called "Legends from the Ledger" as the paylists reflect many treasures of social, economic and military history, as yet not fully explored either by the professional or amateur historian. The NSW Corps paylists are a key to the early social and economic development of

³ WO/12/11020

⁴ Byrne 1989

⁵ WO/12/11242

pre-Macquarie New South Wales. Indeed the NSW Corps was a leading agent in the almost metamorphic transition of the Colony from a penal settlement to a thriving, robust economy in a relatively short period of time. All the paylists involved in the writer's research to date suggest a higher calibre of common soldier in the British Army than is otherwise portrayed in popular history. Many soldiers were numerate and literate. More than a few soldiers were skilled artisans who had enlisted to evade the ravages of unemployment caused through the business cycle fluctuations and technological change.

Statham's research (1988) in particular is based on the discovery in 1987 of the NSW Corps ledger of the Army Agents, Cox and Greenwood, for the years between 1801 and 1805.

The ledger was located in the archives of Lloyds Bank Plc head office in London. Others may exist, and this possibility is currently being explored. Parsons referred to examining a NSW Corps ledger in the Pall Mall branch of Barclays Bank in 1976.⁶

The NSW Corps Ledger was the property of Cox and Greenwood and maintained in their London offices. However, by comparison the paylists and muster rolls of the NSW Corps were prepared and maintained in New South Wales.

The financial and administrative documentation of the British Army was transformed in the wake of the disastrous American War of Independence. Initially the *Pay Office Act* of 1783 began to standardise procedures. Further reforms in the last decade of the 18th century under the Duke of York began to transform the Army into a more professional force than hitherto had been the case.

Other peripheral corps and regiments similar in structure to the NSW Corps existed contemporaneously to permanently garrison the North American continent, the Caribbean and, from 1800, in West Africa

Apart from the Newfoundland Fencibles, two other regiments permanently garrisoned Canada, these being Simcoe's Queen's Rangers regiments, and the Nova Scotia Regiment. The West India Regiment formed in 1795 permanently garrisoned the Caribbean. By 1806 the West India Regiment consisted of nine battalions. In 1800, some eleven years after the raising of the NSW Corps at Chatham, the African Corps was raised and recruited to protect the interests of the Royal African Company. The African Corps' home depot was also at Chatham, along with the NSW Corps, the Newfoundland Fencibles and West India Regiment. Other peripheral regiments and corps were established from 1806 and included the Majorca Regiment, the Corsican Regiment and two battalions of the Greek Light Infantry Corps. A perusal through contemporary Army lists may well prove that this list is not exhaustive.

The NSW Corps is perhaps unique in that it fulfilled the role of government during the pre-Macquarie era in New South Wales. No function of government or commercial agency arrived with either the First Fleet or subsequent fleets. The commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the NSW Corps along with the Commissariat provided the functions of government. Indeed, the Corps probably fulfilled the economic activity within the embryonic colony in what Parsons (1988) rightly calls "the commercialism of honour". Most of the commissioned officers of the NSW Corps tended to be controversial characters and displayed unorthodox attitudes for the time within their private, social and regimental affairs.

Yet this was not detrimental to the virgin colony. Rather, these characteristics were an asset to the survival of New South Wales. Commissioned officers including MacArthur, the Corps' first

⁶ Parsons, 1988, in particular reference 58

paymaster, Johnson, Piper, Kemp, Foueaux, with Paymaster Cox and Quartermaster Laycock, provided the economic and entrepreneurial impetus and foresight which contributed to the metamorphic transition of New South Wales from a penal colony to a thriving economic community within a relatively short period of time. Parsons (1988) is justified in saying that more rigorous research needs to be given to the background and characters of the commissioned officers of the NSW Corps.

The Appointment of Paymasters from 1784

The establishment of the NSW Corps in 1789 and its sojourn in New South Wales until 1810 reflects a period of transition and change within the administration of the British Army. This transition actually began to establish the Army on a more professional footing. Financial reforms under the *Pay Office Act* of 1783 restricted the quasi-privatised contractual arrangements between commanding officers and other agencies that had previously prevailed. The position of a permanent paymaster to each regiment and corps was authorised under Regulation 5 of the Act. Commanders of regiments could select any junior officer to act as paymaster. There was no remuneration for the incumbent, who also had to put up a personal bond of £2,000 and find two sureties of £1,000 each to hold office. The first paymaster of the NSW Corps, John MacArthur, may have been appointed by Major Francis Grose because of his previous commercial experience with his father's mercer business in Plymouth, though this has not been substantiated.

MacArthur held office as paymaster to the NSW Corps until 1797 when William Cox was appointed as the first "professional" special paymaster to the Corps. As Cox did not arrive in New South Wales until January 1800, MacArthur remained as acting paymaster until this time.

Cox had previously held a regular commission as an ensign in the 117th Regiment, being commissioned at the elderly age of 30 in 1794. Within six months Cox had transferred to the 68th Regiment. William Cox was born at Wimborne Minster, Dorset and removed to Devizes, Wiltshire early in his life. He had held a Lord Lieutenant's commission in the Wiltshire Militia. Cox's early life remains enigmatic. Little is known of his life in Devizes. There were seven other contemporary William Cox's in the area, ranging from a watchmaker to a yeoman farmer. However, it is considered that Cox may also have had a previous commercial career. It is also interesting to note that John MacArthur had previously been a subaltern in the 68th Regiment, prior to transferring his commission to the NSW Corps.

Detailed comparisons have been made between the paylists and muster rolls of the NSW Corps, Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, the Newfoundland Fencibles, the West India Regiment and two infantry regiments of the line, the 45th and 46th Regiments, between 1792 and 1803. Research so far conducted has revealed little discrepancy in the preparation of the paylists, supplementary accounts and the paymaster's general state of public accounts, or with the preparation of the muster rolls. It would appear that all regiments, wherever garrisoned within the Georgian Empire, were paid on the requisite muster day, the 24th of each month, and that the medium of payment was in sterling. Audit procedures reflected a universal pattern of procedure and strict conformity.

The Duke of York's Reforms from 1795

Further reforms under the Commander-in-Chief, Frederick, Duke of York from 1795 were widespread. These reforms included the restructuring of the War Office, the "professionalisation" of military financial administration. The Duke of York was particularly attentive to the careful selection of the new paymasters from 1797. However, the Duke of

York's reforms included provision for the education of common soldiers and the children of soldiers.

Two points need to be considered here, concerning the Duke of York's reforms and the NSW Corps in particular. The first is that William Cox was part of a new breed of "professional" paymasters. These new paymasters had a status which far exceeded the status of its civilian counterpart in Britain. In essence, the civilian counterpart was still a book-keeper. The term accountant and the rise of professional accounting bodies did not begin to materialise until the mid 19th century. Book-keepers were humble clerks in a very subordinate position. Their role within the industrialisation of Britain has yet to be analysed and explored. Indeed Pollard (1965) has suggested that the "practice of using accounts and direct aids to management was not one of the achievements of the British industrial revolution".

The second point concerns the educational provision made under the Duke of York's reforms. The Duke of York encouraged the education of the common soldier and that of his children. Regimental schools for both soldiers and children were established from 1800. Yet the official position of schoolmaster sergeant was not established until 1811.

A regimental school may have been established for the NSW Corps. However, it is not known who ran it or where it was located. Yet the supplementary accounts of the NSW Corps for February 1802 show that Paymaster Cox received £40 from "His Grace, the Commander-in-Chief's Fund" for the education of the children of the Corps.⁷ Similar regimental schools in India came under the auspices of the regimental Chaplains. Indeed the Madras system of elementary teaching was developed by the Reverend Bell at this time, with British garrison schools in India, and became the model for elementary teaching in Britain until 1914.

An observation of the paylists from December 1802 until February 1803 reflected that all ranks were on reduced pay. It was first assumed that there may have been a cash shortage in the Colony. Yet the observation was resolved in February's payroll of 1803. A supplementary account contained the lists of "voluntary" subscriptions from the commissioned officers and men of the NSW Corps for the Royal Military Asylum.⁸ This later became the Duke of York's Royal Military School for the education of the sons of soldiers. What is amusing is that these subscriptions, though "voluntary", involved all the Corps personnel. The emphasis of "you will" is here somewhere! Or perhaps it is just the writer's former RAPC prejudiced humour! Children of the NSW Corps who may have benefited from the Regimental School include William Cox junior (son of Paymaster Cox) who was commissioned as an ensign into the NSW Corps in 1808.

To further emphasise the growing literate skills of Cox the common soldier, it is now worth exploring the role of the paymaster's clerk. From 1785 the paymaster of a regiment was entitled to the services of a paymaster's clerk. He was appointed from the rank and file and on appointment was promoted to sergeant. The paymaster sergeant received the equivalent subsistence as other sergeants on regimental duties.

There appeared to be little problem in appointing paymaster's clerks who were both literate and numerate. Other contemporary appointments were made in the Army at the time, for example quartermaster sergeant, his clerk and the commanding officer's clerk. Indeed, every staff officer

⁷ WO/12/9901

⁸ WO/12/9901

had his sergeant clerk. Whilst Macquarie was assistant adjutant-general for London District in 1803, he had the clerical services of one Sergeant Charles Pullman.⁹

Paymaster Sergeants

From 1792 until 1810 the NSW Corps was served by five paymaster sergeants, four of whom were described as previously being labourers. Take for example the Corps First Paymaster Sergeant, Samuel Young. He was born in Sussex and arrived in the Antipodes as a convict. Young had been sentenced to death by Middlesex Quarter Sessions in October 1791 for theft from a private shop. On his indictment, Young was described as a labourer aged twenty-two years. This was respited to life transportation and he was moved from London's New Prison to the hulk, Lyon at Portsmouth.¹⁰ Other evidence from the Greater London Record Office show that Young was arraigned on thirteen indictments, all for theft of textiles from either shops or persons. Either Young was supplying a "fence" or he had numerous lady friends!

Young arrived in New South Wales aboard the Royal Admiral on 7th October 1792. Samuel Young was pardoned by Governor Hunter for good behaviour on condition that he serve in the "Corps of Foot raised for the service of the Colony until regularly discharged from it".¹¹

Samuel Young was appointed as paymaster sergeant to the NSW Corps shortly after his enlistment. He served as paymaster clerk to MacArthur during his tenure as paymaster, until 10 January 1800. Both Young and MacArthur relinquished their posts on the same day that William Cox assumed duties as paymaster to the NSW Corps under the 1797 directives. Young reverted to private soldier and assumed regimental duties again with Captain MacArthur in the latter's new command of a company at Parramatta. Young remained a private soldier in the NSW Corps 102nd Regiment and voluntarily transferred to the relieving 1/73rd Highlanders in 1810, receiving a three guinea bounty for his efforts.¹² Young was aged 45 years on his transfer. From June 1812, Young was based at Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land. He was finally discharged on 24 March 1814 and died aged about 70 years at Hobart Town and was buried on 3 February 1834.

Young was succeeded by James Thring, who had been a private soldier in Captain Prentice's company. Thring's tenure of office was short-lived. Taking office on 11 January 1800, Thring took his discharge four months later on 24 May 1800.¹³

Thring was succeeded by Charles Bennett, a private soldier in Captain Johnson's company, on 25 May 1800. Bennett's tenure too was short-lived. Changes to a soldier's pay between 1797 and 1800 restricted the amount of deductions that could be made by the company captain. In 1800 the last truck payment was abolished payable to private soldiers. This was the daily beer allowance. A penny per day subsistence without deduction was payable as an entitlement in lieu of the beer allowance. In October 1800 Captain Johnston was arrested and returned to England for paying his sergeants in "spirits". Obviously this was a contravention of these regulations. Bennett reverted to private soldier on 24 November 1800 and also returned to regimental duties in Captain MacArthur's company.¹⁴ It is not known whether Bennett's demise was as a

⁹ Ritchie, 1986

¹⁰ HO 11/1 and HO 26/01

¹¹ COD 264 Col Sec Index to Register of Pardons 1795 to January 1800.

¹² WO/12/8000

¹³ WO/12/9900

¹⁴ WO/12/9900

consequence of Captain Johnston's alleged malpractice. Bennett took his discharge on 24 March 1801.

The third paymaster clerk to the NSW Corps was Nathaniel Cotton, who was appointed on 25 November 1800. Cotton appeared to be a professional soldier of above average intelligence. Born at Thornton, Leicestershire, Cotton came from nonconformist stock.

He was the son of Nathaniel Cotton, being baptised at Bevdon Park Presbyterian Chapel near Thornton on 4 July 1772. He had two sisters, Sarah baptised on 20 March 1776 and Mary on 21 January 1779. There may have been an older brother, William, baptised on 23 October 1761. Evidence that the Cotton family may have been literate can be gleaned from a will held in Leicestershire Record Office of Thomas Cotton, Nathaniel's grandfather. It is not known what the Cotton family's trade or calling was. The main economic activity of the Thornton area during the mid to late 18th century was framework knitting and agriculture. It is also possible that the Cotton children were received into the Anglican church, being baptised in Ashby de la Zouch parish church. The Anglican baptisms of dissenter children was quite common, especially dissenter persuasions close to Anglicanism, notably Presbyterians and Wesleyan methodists.¹⁵

Cotton enlisted into the 45th Regiment (First Nottinghamshire) on 7 January 1790.¹⁶ At this time the 45th were under orders for duty in the Caribbean. During the period December 1795 to January 1796 Cotton is recorded in the muster roll as being a corporal in Europe—the 45th were still in the Caribbean.¹⁷ Shortly afterwards, Cotton was discharged from the 45th in the rank of sergeant in 1797. By this time the 45th were garrisoning Portsmouth but under orders for Ireland.

Nathaniel Cotton enlisted into the NSW Corps at Chatham on 15 February 1798, some two months after his discharge from the 45th Regiment. He arrived in New South Wales on board the *Minena* with Paymaster Cox in January 1800, being posted to Captain Prentice's company. Cotton replaced Bennett as paymaster clerk on 25 November 1800, holding office until 24 March 1803 when he reverted to private and returned to regimental duties in Captain Abbott's company. By 1805 Cotton was once again a sergeant on regimental duties¹⁸ in Captain Abbott's company. With the return of the 102nd Regiment to Britain in 1810, Cotton, along with 300 former NSW soldiers, voluntarily transferred to the incoming 1/73rd Highlanders. Along with Samuel Young, Cotton received 3 guineas bounty for the privilege of transferring to the 1/73rd Highlanders and remaining in the Colony.¹⁹

Cotton was 38 when he transferred to the 1/73rd Highlanders. Cotton removed with the 73rd Highlanders to Ceylon in 1813, being promoted to colour sergeant in Captain George Harris' company stationed at Columbo. The paylists for 25 March 1816 to 24 June 1817 showed Nathaniel Cotton being returned to England to be invalided from the army.²⁰

Nathaniel Cotton had probably received his education in one of the dissenting schools in the Leicestershire area, of which there were a number in the Leicestershire and Nottingham areas, or from his family.

¹⁵ Dresser, 1995

¹⁶ WO/12/5719

¹⁷ WO/12/5719

¹⁸ PRO/WO/25/642

¹⁹ WO/12/8000—supplementary account to the paylist of the 1/73rd Highlanders

²⁰ WO/12/8003

The final paymaster clerk to the NSW Corps was George Pitt, whose career has previously been given by Parsons (1978). Nevertheless, although Parsons states that Pitt was originally enlisted into the NSW Corps from the Savoy Military Prison, London, this is not supported by the Corps Description Book. Pitt is shown to have served in the First Garrison Battalion and either enlisted or transferred to the NSW Corps in London on 14 May 1792. Pitt held office throughout Cox's difficulties and suspension, throughout the reign of the paymaster committee, and with the Corps' new paymaster John Mell.

George Pitt returned to Britain with the reformed 102nd Regiment. Pitt's son had also enlisted into the NSW Corps in 1808 but died at Horsham Barracks in 1811. Pitt remained paymaster to the 102nd Regiment whilst in Guernsey, Channel Islands, until 28 August 1811. The paylists show his reduction to private and his eventual discharge on 16 November 1811.²¹ It is thought that a family tragedy had occurred that affected George Pitt. He would have been in his mid fifties at this point of time.

Pitt was succeeded by one Denis Keogh, who also tends to reflect an enigmatic character as he had previously served in Australia with the NSW Corps for two years from 1802 to 1804. He then returned to Britain on board the *Calcutta*. The reason for this return after so short a tour is not known. What he was doing between 1804 and 1811 is also not known.

It is interesting to compare and contrast the paymaster sergeants who served with the NSW Corps with other regiments who successively garrisoned the colony. Most were described as labourers. For example, James Marshall from Perth, Scotland enlisted as a drummer aged seven years. Marshall was promoted from drummer to pay sergeant in 1806 and served in this capacity until 1816, including three years in New South Wales from 1810 to 1817. Marshall was invalided home for discharge in 1816 and became an out pensioner of Chelsea Hospital.

The only paymaster sergeant who appears to have had a previous though similar clerical position in contemporary civilian life was Paymaster Sergeant Robert Phair of the 48th Regiment. Phair was born at St Wegburg's Dublin and enlisted at the age of nineteen at Canterbury, Kent on 1 January 1820 where he was described as a clerk. However, Matthew Bacon of the 46th Regiment was appointed as paymaster sergeant in New South Wales on 11 August 1815. Bacon took his discharge in the colony and for a time was a storekeeper for the Commissariat.

John Mell, who assumed the office of paymaster to the NSW Corps in 1808, was with Colonel Foveaux, Acting Governor of Sydney, to greet Governor Macquarie on his arrival at Port Jackson. Mell returned to Britain with the 102nd Regiment. He embarked for Bermuda in 1814 on the Regiment's first stage of the war with the United States. John Mell apparently deserted in Bermuda.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have attempted to present this paper concentrating on the personalities, characters and composition of the NSW Corps rather than focusing on the technicalities of record keeping, financial reporting and the audit of the paylists at the time. A paper on this theme is currently being prepared for the *Australian Accounting Historian*.

The paylists themselves offer much to the historian in any assessment of the contemporary army of George III, and of the early economic and social development of the emerging New South

²¹ WO/12/9905

Wales. The paylists were maintained in the Colony whereas the Cox and Greenwood Ledger was maintained in London. The NSW Corps provided the Colony with a Treasury, Ministry of Supply and state education in the pre-Macquarie era of Australia. Evidence from the paylists tends to reflect that the NSW Corps is superior in composition and character than has hitherto been stated. They also reflect that the composition of the Corps itself is not unique in comparison with King George's army of the time. The Duke of York's reforms were far-reaching. In the bicentennial decade of "The Grand Old Duke of York" as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, his role in establishing an army on a more professional level also needs to be re-assessed.

Both the NSW Corps and the Newfoundland Fencibles were raised to line status in 1808, the NSW Corps became the 102nd Regiment and the Fencibles became the 104th Regiment of Foot. The 102nd and 104th both garrisoned Lower Canada during the war with the United States between 1812 and 1814. In November 1815 the Infantry regiments of the line from the 95th dropped down two in seniority so that the 102nd Regiment became the 100th Regiment and the 104th, the original Newfoundland Fencibles, became the 102nd Regiment. Both regiments were disbanded in 1818. Mark Twain said of Australian history that it is so curious and strange (1897). Yet Australian history must not be assumed to be anachronistic, the NSW Corps itself was a reflection of the Army of King George III.

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A footnote to history

Brian Murray

The official history of the Papuan campaign in 1942-1943 includes the following footnote:

Late in August Lieutenant Owers, with a small survey party, was looking for an alternative route forward of Ilolo by which the troops on the Kokoda Track might more easily be supplied. With Owers working ahead of them the 2/14th Field Company and other engineer units became responsible for the construction of a jeep track from Ilolo to Nauro ... The ruggedness of the country, however, made their task one of surpassing difficulty. Subsequently they had to abandon it in the face of the Japanese advance.¹

Owers² and his party were from the New Guinea Survey Section, later renamed the 8th Field Survey Section AIF. Excepting the ubiquitous ANGAU, it was the only unit to serve both on the Kokoda Trail³ and with Kanga Force. The unit was “highly commended” by General Douglas MacArthur for its services.

In 1942, Port Moresby, Australia’s last remaining outpost in Papua and New Guinea seemed doomed. Its small garrison, neither combat trained nor fully equipped to AIF standards, would be facing Japanese veterans of a score of victorious campaigns. Its fall would also seal the fate of the handful of men known as Kanga Force, still fighting a bitter guerilla war from its base in Wau against the Japanese seeking to push inland from Lae and Salamaua. Time would also run out for the legendary “Golden Voice”, Leigh Vial, and other coastwatchers.

Apart from Admiralty charts, the garrison commanders awaiting a Japanese landing had no maps, so in March 1942, the New Guinea Survey Section was formed. In all, some 85 officers and men were to serve with the unit. They would come from every State and from what was then Papua and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

The unit’s original 25 officers and men were drawn from the garrison and reinforced by 33 volunteers from the 3rd Field Survey Company, then at Colac in western Victoria. Despite Port Moresby’s uncertain future, most of the 3rd had taken the traditional “one pace forward”. Almost all were under age and did not have their parents’ consent to enlist in the AIF, but did not require it to volunteer for New Guinea as “Chocos”, the AIF’s derisory name for militia. Some of the volunteers were awaiting aircrew interviews. Others had failed to meet the more stringent AIF medical and age criteria before enlisting for home service. One was completely blind in one eye; he had passed the militia eyesight test by covering his blind eye, changing the card to his other hand, and then covering his blind eye again.⁴ Most, however, passed their

¹ Dudley McCarthy, *South West Pacific Area—First Year. Kokoda to Wau* (Australian War Museum, 1959), p.261, fn.

² NGX369 Lt, later Capt, Noel (Gerry) Owers. Born in Inverell NSW on 12 April 1907, he died in Perth on 20 February 1990. He qualified as a surveyor during the Great Depression but, unable to find work in Australia, gained employment with New Guinea Goldmines, arriving in Wau on 3 March 1933. He married in 1936 and his wife and twin sons were evacuated from Wau in December 1941. After the war, he resumed work with New Guinea Goldfields, retiring in 1972.

³ Known to troops at the time both as “The Kokoda” or “The Track”, which was later to become the generic name of all main-force tracks. The official history refers to “The Kokoda Track” but, in the map facing p.114, it is called “The Kokoda Trail”, and maps preceded the narrative by many years.

⁴ He was VX116361 P S J (Chips) O’Brien who, as his service number confirms, was later accepted as medically fit for the AIF, and was a fieldman throughout the unit’s service in New Guinea.

medicals when given the opportunity to enlist in the AIF after arriving in New Guinea, when there was little point in parental consent still being withheld.

The 3rd was a particularly “bush-wise” unit. Some had recently mapped Wilsons Promontory where Australia’s commandos were being trained. Landed by dinghy from fishing craft, they had cut tracks inland, portered in their supplies and worked in rugged bush in two man parties, fortuitous experience for what would await them in New Guinea.

After four days final leave—too little time for some from inter-State to see their families—the Special Detachment, as the volunteers were now known, were given two weeks intensive training in weapons handling and bayonet fighting by infantry instructors brought down from Bonegilla. This included, somewhat optimistically, use of the Thompson sub machine-gun, which they were not to see until the 2/6th Independent Company came up the Kokoda in the latter part of 1942. Then, armed only with rifles and bayonets, carrying their ammunition with them in rope-handled wooden boxes and now known as the New Guinea Survey Section,⁵ they set off on the long, slow journey north, sailing from Sydney on the SS *Anhui* shortly after the midget submarine raid.

Built before the Great War, the *Anhui* had evacuated civilians from Hong Kong before becoming a troopship. Grossly overcrowded—many Diggers defied orders and slept on deck—it had only the most primitive facilities and is remembered without affection; troops, fed in endless relays from a small galley, were either hungry or seasick and large galvanised gutters running alongside the deck rails, flushed with sea water, served as latrines.

Most of the troops on board were from the 14th Field Regiment, which was later to go into action on the Kokoda. They had been told that they were being taken to Brisbane by ship because the railway system was too overloaded to take their guns. Some had only been in the army a month and refused to believe that they would be sent to New Guinea untrained but others, who had that indefinable “old soldier” quality, were less sanguine.

The *Anhui* had artillery pieces sandbagged on deck, apparently to augment the guns of the small RAN escort; quite apart from what hazards may have existed further north, enemy submarines were sinking coastal shipping and, after successfully test-firing their 25 pounders at sea, the gunners professed to believe that the Navy were sailing under their protection.

The small convoy arrived in Port Moresby at dusk, having hove-to offshore while an air raid was in progress. In contrast to the “phony blackouts” further south, as soon as the raid was over, the wharf and garrison area were ablaze with lights and working parties greeted the newcomers cheerfully with the traditional Diggers’ welcome of “You’ll be sorry” and the garrison’s own catch-cry, “More mosquito bait”. Disembarkation was noticeably faster than their embarkation had been and within an hour of docking, the surveyors were on their way to their first New Guinea “home”.⁶ Daylight revealed this to be a patch of kunai in Bootless Bay adjacent to a large dump of 44 gallon petrol drums and on the flight path for Japanese bombers attacking the harbour. Some days were quiet, but on others, there were morning, afternoon and evening raids, and two-man slit trenches had a high priority in the garrison’s lifestyle. Four feet long, two feet wide and three feet deep, slit trenches minimised casualties in the event of a direct hit and, being shallow, reduced the possibility of being buried by a near-miss. The Japanese also used

⁵ An over-zealous censor excised “New Guinea” from their unit name in their first letters home, preventing any return mail for the first few weeks after they arrived in Port Moresby.

⁶ A unit HQ was later established at the 17 Mile, with a galvanised iron drafting hut built by the unit’s carpenters from materials salvaged from Moresby homes, with a tent fly mess and sleeping quarters, a rudimentary cook-house, open-air thunderboxes and, of course, the ubiquitous slit trenches.

“daisy-cutters”, anti-personnel bombs which burst on impact with a flat trajectory. These could be lethal, but even a slight fold in the ground provided complete protection.

The newcomers found that the garrison’s trucks had no doors, experience having shown civilian luxuries of this kind to be an impediment when vehicles were being shot up by low-flying Zeros. The garrison clearly resented this practice, because notices on trees ordered troops to “cease discharging sub machine-guns and pistols at enemy aircraft”, a futile, if understandable, reaction. However, the newcomers’ first opportunity to discharge their personal weapons at enemy aircraft did not occur until Zeros and dive-bombers attacked Wau when they were serving with Kanga Force in 1943.

Notwithstanding such displays of aggressiveness, Diggers in the garrison were realists and, like senior officers at AHQ, gave themselves little chance of defeating a Japanese landing.⁷ Determined not to surrender when Port Moresby fell, they had “getaway kits” for what, with grim humour, they called “the Daru Derby”.⁸ The same logic led some to loot the homes of evacuated civilians of anything useful; they saw no point in leaving everything for the Japanese. The fact that, in the critical first half of 1942, the garrison were almost all militia strengthened the widely-held belief that Moresby’s fall was expected; “the Brass are not going to waste AIF units on Moresby, mate” was a frequent comment. But there was no bitterness; it made sense to them that AIF units should be saved to defend Australia itself.

In those early days, Port Moresby was living in penury. Except for rations, all canned, supplies and equipment of all kinds—except, it seemed, picks and shovels—were in short supply and cars and trucks abandoned when the civilian population was evacuated augmented the garrison’s transport. Troops were limited to two sheets of ACF writing paper and one envelope a week and a munificent government required them to pay postage on their letters home. There was no beer, but cigarettes and tobacco were duty-free and more plentiful than soap, of which they could buy only one cake a week. For entertainment, the garrison had a film projector but apparently only one film. When the surveyors finally managed to attend a film show at the 7 Mile airstrip, an air raid forced its abandonment.

The unit’s first priority was to complete mapping the Moresby area, since a Japanese assault was still likely, and maps would be vital to battle commanders, the gunners and the infantry. They were also given a variety of other tasks, including pegging-out a T-bar extension to the small existing wharf. However, after the Japanese landed in the Buna-Gona area of northern Papua on 21 July 1942 and began to move inland, their role changed dramatically.

The Japanese were faced by a single company of Australian infantry who had just trudged over the Kokoda, the first of many who were to do so. The rest of the 39th battalion were committed to battle as soon as they could make their way up that terrible track but were too few and too ill-supplied to stop the seemingly inexorable Japanese advance, which continued even after AIF battalions relieved the decimated 39th.

⁷ Before enlisting, I had been a civilian clerk at AHQ and called in on my final leave. The Staff Corps engineer for whom I had worked, Lt Col Scriven, shook hands, wished me luck and then added, “but I am afraid, Brian, that they may have left it (reinforcing Port Moresby) a bit too late.” I heard later in the war that “Scriv” had been killed in a plane crash.

⁸ Daru, in the south-west of the Gulf of Papua, was more than 400 kilometres from Port Moresby in a straight line and twice as far by land over some difficult terrain. From there, they hoped to make their way to Cape York peninsula. Few would have made it, and the Daru Derby would have seen a repetition of the Tol Plantation massacre on the southern coast of New Britain, when some 150 sick and unarmed escapees from Rabaul who had surrendered to a Japanese landing party were butchered. The massacre was common knowledge among troops.

Because of the horrendous problems in getting supplies forward and evacuating the wounded, the New Guinea Survey Section was given the task of blazing a jeep track through the Owen Stanleys to replace the Kokoda Trail.⁹ On 15 August 1942, Lt Owers led ten of the unit up the track, followed by a second party of six. With them went a major part of the unit's capacity to produce the maps of the fighting areas which were being demanded of it. Every possible source of information was tapped. But fieldmen were needed "on the ground". And these were otherwise engaged.

The contrast between the Kokoda Trail and the dusty terrain and sparse vegetation around Port Moresby, which resembled parts of Australia, could not have been more marked. Increasingly cut up by the passage of troops and carriers, the track varied between deep mud which clung tenaciously to one's boots and steep greasy slopes which gave no footing. Seemingly endless lines of carriers and heavily-laden infantry were moving forward, the human debris of battle, walking wounded and stretcher cases, were coming out, young signallers, dropped off in pairs, were patrolling their sections of the line to keep it open, small parties of ANGAU, supply and medical personnel were staged along the track, sappers were cutting and laying corduroy on the mud over which heavily-laden jeeps and trailers were crawling and, when the Japanese finally came within range, two 25 pounders sited on the forward slope beyond Owers Corner commenced a measured and remorseless shelling of their positions.

It was an army in microcosm, maintained on a single, narrow jungle track once considered impassable for Europeans. Between the Goldie River and Uberi there was even a Corps Provost control post. In contrast to the usual role of military police, they were not needed to pick up deserters fleeing from the Japanese, but to stop small groups of "unauthorised personnel", mainly LOBs,¹⁰ from going forward and firing on the King's enemies without permission; it was one of the few times that the surveyors had to show the passes which authorised them to go anywhere in the Territories of Papua and New Guinea.

The alarm created at MacArthur's HQ in Brisbane, far to the south, by the seemingly relentless Japanese advance might have been assuaged had there been any US troops, US Liaison officers or even US war correspondents to report on the situation on the Kokoda through American eyes. But the nearest of these were back in Moresby.

The morale of Australians actually on the Kokoda Trail remained surprisingly sturdy; beaten armies have deserters but there were none even from one raw militia unit which "failed" in action. But there was bitterness, exemplified by the Digger who said to a couple of the surveyors heading up the track: "Have you heard what's happened, mate—the Japs have landed in Tassie and cut off our retreat!" Far more common, however, was the promise Diggers made to themselves and to each other, "Wait until we get the bastards out in the open!"; in those early weeks, Australians were still learning to survive and fight in the jungle by on-the-job training.

Some of Owers' party reached as far as Menari and narrowly escaped being cut off by the advancing Japanese, while the second party had a head-on encounter on a side track, not with the Japanese, but with a patrol from 2/2nd Battalion which had no way of knowing that other Australians would be coming from the "wrong" direction. This was always a potential hazard and some of the surveyors, given a choice, would have preferred to take their chances away

⁹ The official history speaks only of a jeep track to Nauro, but some of the surveyors had reached Menari, beyond Nauro, when they were forced by the Japanese advance to abandon their work.

¹⁰ "Left out of Battle" by units before going forward, these Diggers wanted to be with their mates. Others were apparently following the example of those Diggers who, in earlier months, had sought to fly with the Americans as replacement air-gunners.

from mainforce areas. However, experiences of this kind were infrequent and their life in forward areas tended to be arduous rather than hazardous. Their small parties were concealed by, and therefore protected by, the jungle and, away from mainforce areas, they rarely travelled the same tracks twice. But there remained always a degree of uncertainty.

The Japanese advance to the Ioribaiwa Ridge put an end to the surveyors' trail-blazing task and, when the Australians began to fight their way back over the Owen Stanleys, the idea of a jeep track was not revived. By then, too, air transport was becoming easier.

On Sunday, 13 October 1942, General Blamey paid a surprise visit to the unit's HQ at the 17 Mile. He was greeted by a small group of NCO's and sappers returning from a swim in the Laloki River wearing only their boots. Blamey chatted to the "laddies", as he called them, as amiably as if they were regimentally dressed before going on to see their OC. Subsequently, a party of seven was detailed to be flown into Popondetta; a WOII was to be attached to Advanced NGFHQ and two corporals were each to lead a three man party to map the fighting areas. They never made it. On the days they were to fly, the Dakotas were either grounded by the weather or needed urgently for ammunition and rations. Unable to lift then as a party, the American pilots tried putting one on each of their aircraft but the first plane, with Sapper Chips O'Brien, could not get airborne. After several weeks on 12 hour stand-by, the plan to fly surveyors in to map the fighting areas was abandoned.

Early in 1943, fourteen of the unit, now renamed 8th Field Survey Section AIF were detailed to join Kanga Force. After a number of abortive attempts, they were flown to Wau in March. Japanese air bases being only a few minutes flying time away, the Dakotas had an impressive fighter escort, but the flight was uneventful. The next day, the surveyors established their small HQ and, without even a rudimentary knowledge of the topography, the military situation or even what Australian units were in the area, the first two two-man parties, led by the corporals who were to have been flown into Popondetta. set off for the Mubo Track to begin compass traverses.

In contrast to the Kokoda, which had been "as busy as Bourke Street", Kanga Force seemed invisible. There were few troops to be seen around Wau and the few jeeps which had been flown in were frequently grounded by lack of petrol, giving the valley an almost deserted air. Occasional graves of Australians along the Crystal Creek road and Japanese dead at the Slaughter House were the only signs of war. After climbing the Wandumi ridge to Ballams, an old NGVR staging camp and Banistongi, which held horses from the 17th Brigade pack transport unit, the low kunai gave way to jungle. As with the Kokoda, it was like entering a different world.

Climbing to over 6,000 feet, the Mubo track traversed a dank moss forest. From the Summit, a small and cheerless cluster of native-built huts in a world of perpetual twilight, it led to the equally dank main staging camp, Skindewai, where tent flies over two-decker sleeping platforms provided a measure of shelter. Deep mud evoked images of Flanders and crude duckboards of bush timber ran everywhere. Beyond "Skindy" lay turn-offs to other tracks and even smaller camps built in the early days of Kanga Force, but the Mubo track itself led to The Saddle, home to the mountain gunners, it was so narrow that a sleeping platform had been built on its lee side between the two gun positions.

Below The Saddle lay the Bitoi River and Mubo village which, like the ridge rising steeply to its right, was held by the Japanese. On a spur line to the left of the Bitoi were the commandos. A track led down from the battery position and along the river. There were no Australian positions in the valley, but it was patrolled below Mubo by the commandos.

The absence of firmly-defined "front lines" in many parts of Kanga Force's operational area created some problems for the surveyors. Their first attempt to make compass traverses of the area around Mubo failed when one of the two-man party went down with malaria. After helping his mate back to Skindy, the NCO decided to see what local maps the commandos' I Section may have made. Leaving The Saddle, he followed the track along the Bitoi to a kunda bridge beyond which lay a turn-off to the commandos. Missing the turn-off, which had been concealed, he was saved from walking into a Japanese "woodpecker" by a lone commando who had just lost his mate to it.

Despite occasional incidents of this kind, the absence of firmly-defined "front lines" also had the advantage of enabling the surveyors' small field parties to work further forward, concealed and protected by the jungle or tall kunai.

In time, there was no track in Kanga Force's large operational area that the New Guinea Survey Section did not cover, none that its small field parties did not map. They had learned much from their experience on the Kokoda, and "weight" had become an obsession with them. Abandoning their heavy army issue dixies, they carried a fruit tin billy, which also served as a mug, and a jam tin in which to heat their food if they could get a fire going. They had a knife and spoon, but no fork, a flat tin of 24 hour emergency rations¹¹ inside the webbing of their water bottles, a lightweight camouflaged gas cape instead of a groundsheet, half a blanket, a pullover against the cold of the mountains, half a towel, spare socks and, for long trips, a spare shirt and shorts.¹² Regardless of whether they smoked or not, they carried "the makings" and so-called waterproof wax matches which tended to crumble when used. Their one luxury was a Dubbin lamp with a shirt tail wick. Some even cut the wooden handles of their shaving brushes down to the bristles: shaving when they could was good for their morale. Away from mainforce areas, they also carried salt for trading; "boong twist", black plaited trade tobacco, was rarely available.¹³

Each had learned to carry a small medical kit: quinine tablets, and later Atebrine, as a malarial suppressant and treatment, Acriflavine for their tropical ulcers and Myccosol for their mokka bites and skin diseases. A post-war survey showed that 85% of the unit's fieldmen had suffered multiple attacks of malaria and there was a high incidence of dengue fever, tropical ulcers and other skin diseases, an inevitable result of the conditions in which, for much of the time, they were living. On field trips, they treated themselves as best they could, sweated out the fever and went on.

¹¹ The same size as a pre-war fifty-cigarette tin, these emergency rations contained a small cellophane packet of granulated M&V, a compressed block of dried fruit, some malted milk tablets and aspirin-sized tablets of powdered tea and salt. The M&V was unpalatable even when cooked, which was rarely possible in jungle conditions, and defied adequate description when eaten dry.

¹² In 1943, troops were ordered to wear long-sleeved shirts and slacks and to use mosquito repellent as an anti-malarial measure. However efficacious this may have been in base areas, in the field rain, sweat and fording rivers caused the thin jungle greens to cling to one's body, providing no protection from mosquito bites. Worse, the sodden slacks abraded and exacerbated the tropical ulcers on one's legs. And, in circumstances in which even iron rations were usually "light on", mosquito repellent was not on issue and, had it been, would have rated low on the priorities of field parties.

¹³ In those days, the word "boong" had no pejorative connotation, especially for Diggers who had seen the magnificent work of the carriers on the Kokoda and in other campaigns. "Boong-bashing" would also be misunderstood today; this was when one or two riflemen were detailed to accompany kai lines in forward areas to give them a greater sense of security. The offensive term was "kanaka". Meaning a primitive, uneducated person from the bush, it was used by the carriers themselves as a term of contempt and abuse, and was the ultimate insult, as in "no-good kanaka bastard".

Understandably, an army claim that “malaria can be avoided by the intelligent soldier” was not well received. Back at base, one of the surveyors would intone the words, “Malaria can be avoided by the intelligent soldier” like a parson at matins. To which would come the chanted response: “Because he wouldn’t bloody be here!”

The unit’s field parties were small, usually a sergeant or corporal and a sapper, lightly armed and under standing orders to “stay out of trouble”. The NCOs carried .38 Smith & Wessons and the sappers cloth bandoliers of 50 rounds for their .303 Lee Enfields but, on what promised to be long, lonely trips away from mainforce areas, field parties occasionally carried one or two of the grenades which, primed and on base plates, normally served as paperweights for maps at their small Wau HQ. The party which was to map the Markham for the subsequent attack by American paratroops and airborne Australian infantry was thought to be at particular risk, and was issued with a 9mm Owen sub machine-gun.

Depending on the pressures which the unit was under at the time, field men returning to their Wau HQ could expect a few days there before going out again. They would read their mail, go through their field books with the draughtsmen, repair their clothing—new issues of clothing and boots were rare in Kanga Force—and write post-dated letters to be sent to their families at weekly intervals while they were “out”. If possible, they would then be put in different field parties because, as time went on, tensions were beginning to build up.

In mid-1943, two surveyors on their way back to the Mubo area caught up with a small party of American officers and NCOs led by a major straight out of *Gone with the wind*. They were the first Americans the Australians had ever seen in the jungle and the sapper, an irreverent youngster, affected concern. “What happened to you blokes”, he demanded. “Did you get lost?”. The Americans took it in good part, and travelled with the Australians for some time before their paths diverged.¹⁴

Kanga Force was originally no more than a handful of NGVR who were joined by commandos and supplied, uncertainly and inadequately, over an arduous track from Bulldog, at the head of the Lakekamu River in southern Papua. In 1943, reinforced by the 17th (Victorian) Brigade of 6th Division it was to become the longest air-supported operation of the Second World War; some of the brigade were flown in under fire from Japanese who had reached the perimeter of the Wau airstrip.

Kanga Force’s operational area resembled a huge, crudely-drawn capital E. The bottom horizontal was formed by the Bulolo Valley, running south eastwards from Sunshine through Bulolo to Wau and thence to the Wandumi Ridge and the Mubo Track. This was Kanga Force’s main front, with either 2/5th or 2/7th Battalion and 2/7th Independent Company forward. Two 3.7 howitzers of 1st Australian Mountain Battery were sited at The Saddle. Made in India in 1922 and 1923, the guns were older than most of the gunners. Designed to be carried by pack horses, they had been man-handled down the Mubo Track with extreme difficulty and had expended all their ammunition beating off a determined Japanese attack shortly before the surveyors arrived; supply was even more of a problem for Kanga Force than it had been on the Kokoda and the frustrated gunners could only watch parties of Japanese moving, out of range of small arms, in the valley below. The Bulldog Track joined the Bulolo Valley through the Kudjeru Valley south of the Ilandumi Ridge.

¹⁴ The sapper was VX110657 Barry Kemp, who died of wounds a few months later when serving with 2/5th battalion. The mystery of the Americans on the Mubo Track was explained when an American regiment later landed near Salamaua and joined Australian troops in the final assault.

Beyond the mountains north of the Bulolo Valley, and roughly parallel to it, ran the Upper Snake Valley from which a track from Mapos village led over the coastal mountains to the "Jap track" linking the enemy garrisons in Lae and Salamaua. A platoon of 2/6th Battalion, later relieved by a 24th Battalion platoon when the 15th (Victorian) Brigade was flown in, held the coastal side of this track against possible attack. As a two-man survey party found, however, there was also a pre-war track running from the upper reaches of the valley to the southern bank of the Markham just below Lae.

Beyond the mountains to the north of the Upper Snake Valley was the Markham Valley, forming the upper stroke of the "E". A few former NGVR camps, small and well-concealed, provided shelter on the southern bank west of Markham Point. As with the Upper Snake Valley, it was the task of 2/6th Battalion, and later the 24th Battalion, to keep this back door to the Bulolo Valley—and the numerous side doors—firmly closed, but the battalion "front" was so large the platoon in the Markham was a day's walk from its company HQ.

The main link between the Bulolo, Upper Snake and Markham valleys was a track running north from Sunshine over the Zenag Plateau. Within this "E" there were other tracks, sometimes long disused and overgrown, which offered alternative routes. One such track, by-passing Australians on the Mubo Track, was used by the Japanese for their attack on Wau. Two of the surveyors who later traversed this "Jap Track" considered it even more terrible than the Kokoda.

While air transport had made it possible for Kanga Force to be significantly reinforced, it had not solved its supply problems; other demands on transport aircraft and poor flying conditions forced it to live mainly on iron rations—bully beef and biscuits—and black tea, and even these were frequently "light on". When the surveyors were back in Wau, they were told that all the kai (rations) was being sent forward. But when they were up the track, they were assured, "There's plenty of kai back at Wau, but they can't get it forward". Like Alice in Wonderland, it was a case of "jam yesterday, jam tomorrow, but never jam today" and despite their greatly shrunken stomachs—few could have eaten even a small orange—Diggers suffered constantly from hunger pains. One two-man party working between Lae and Salamaua received, for their week's rations, a week's supply of "dog biscuits" and a single tin of bully beef. Conditions in mainforce areas were no better; at Skindy, the morning meal consisted of broken "dog biscuits" mashed in warm water, without sugar. Back at Wau, the unit used to husband its rations in order to give field parties one good meal when they came in.

Inevitably, malnutrition began to develop and there were symptoms of beri beri. In an unprecedented move, beer bottles filled with bitter whole-pulped oranges were flown in, together with supplies of Vegemite, until the crisis passed. Then Kanga Force went back to its iron rations.

Despite its vulnerability to Japanese air attack, raids on Wau were rare. However, after a long period of tranquillity, it was attacked one Sunday morning by 15 dive-bombers and 67 Zeros which, after bombing the airstrip, shot-up targets of opportunity. In the open, but concealed in the lee of their HQ, two of the surveyors had some good zero-deflection shooting as the Japanese flew over. At least two other Brens near-by also went into action.

Pleased by this rare opportunity to hit back, the surveyors planned gunpits for the Bren and a Browning .5 salvaged from a wrecked aircraft but were stopped on the grounds that it was not why they were with Kanga Force and would only "draw the crabs" unnecessarily. When they next raided Wau, the Japanese targeted the area around the surveyors. The gun crew, still in the

open, prudently abandoned the Bren and took cover moments before their weather-board HQ was strafed. Most of the unit's rations were destroyed, but there were no casualties.

During one raid, an RAAF Wirraway came in to land, the pilot clearly oblivious to what was happening. Just as he was about to touch down, the runway disappeared in a large cloud of dust. Seeking sanctuary, the Wirraway flew "on the deck" towards the surveyors and over a near-by ridge. There, he found himself surrounded by Japanese aircraft turning for further strafing runs. Seeking to escape them, he promptly flew back over the ridge. There being little difference, head-on, between one low winged radial-engined aircraft and any other, he was fired on enthusiastically by the surveyors and every other gun crew in the vicinity, achieving the unsought distinction of having been bombed by the enemy and shot-up by his own side on a single flight. This time, he fled south over the mountains. Pilot and plane survived.

Among the unit's more important tasks during its time with Kanga Force was mapping the Markham Valley for the assault on Lae. This was not made any easier by the coastwatchers' blunt, albeit understandable, refusal to allow them to visit New Tojo, their observation post. However, a six-man party walked into the Markham from Wau and mapped it. When the assault on Lae went in some time later, the assault troops and their commanders had the maps they needed.

Their work was done. They came out over the Bulldog Road, cut through a 10,000 foot range to Edie's Creek, near Wau, and saw what the Owen Stanley jeep track they had tried so desperately to blaze so many months before might have looked like. Then, by barge and coastal ship, they returned to Port Moresby to find that the 8th Field Survey Section had been disbanded and that, after home leave, they would be drafted to other, larger units. Most were never to meet again.

In its brief history the unit, "highly commended" by General MacArthur on 19 October 1943 for its services, failed only once to do what was asked of it: to blaze a jeep track over the Owen Stanleys. To this day, it has never been done.

In 1995, the year of "Australia Remembers", the unit held its first ever reunion, realistically called its "Last Parade". Most of the unit's survivors—14 in all—attended, their ranks reinforced by their wives and the widows and next-of-kin of old mates. These included the daughter and grand daughter of Lt. Gerry Owers.

They were welcomed to Canberra by the Chief Minister, Mrs Kate Carnell, and presented with a unit banner by the High Commissioner for Papua New Guinea, Sir Frederick Reiher. On 2 August 1995, the Chief Minister and High Commissioner joined them in laying wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier. The following day, at a second commemorative service, the survivors and the High Commissioner also laid wreaths at the Carriers' Memorial in Manuka, ACT "In memory of the carriers who served with us and the people of Papua New Guinea who, unfailingly, gave us their support. We, and all Australians, owe them a debt of honour which can never be repaid."

It was a special tribute which they had wanted to pay for many years and, one might think, a fitting footnote to history.

Author's Note

This is neither a campaign history nor a unit history but an attempt to recapture some of the events of 1942 and 1943 as seen through the eyes of a few young NCOs and sappers.

Their's was an unusual role for a non-combatant unit. They spent much of their time in forward areas separated from their unit and sometimes a day's walk or more from other Australians. This imposed greater physical and psychological strains than was realised at the time and it was not uncommon for a two-man party, normally the best of mates, to return from a field trip barely speaking to each other. Above all, as non-combatants in forward areas under standing orders to "stay out of trouble", they became increasingly self-conscious of the fact that they were not fighting soldiers, and welcomed the rare opportunities to hit back when Japanese aircraft raided Wau.



Members of the New Guinea Survey Section, 8th Field Survey Section AIF at their reunion, in Canberra in August 1995.

The recent military history of Sulawesi

Paul A Rosenzweig¹

An Indonesian banknote autographed by Australian soldiers recalls their brief period of duty in the former Netherlands East Indies after the war's end, where they were witnesses to the earliest days of the Republican struggle. This was particularly so in Sulawesi, an island which has had strong links with Australia over the last few centuries, largely unrecognised other than by those inhabitants of the northern shores of Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory. Wells and tamarind trees are physical reminders of the many generations of Makassans who have visited northern Australia, also leaving behind a strong heritage of language. There is today a strong business link growing between Darwin and South Sulawesi's capital of Ujung Pandang, formerly the fabled Makassar, the busiest mercantile city in eastern Indonesia for five centuries. The post-war military history of Sulawesi however, is little known in Australia, where the revolts provided much of the impetus for the evolution of Indonesia's modern defence policy.

The island of Sulawesi, with its four distinctive peninsulas, is that which was for many years known as the Celebes² and which now comprises four provinces of Indonesia. With the Flores Sea to its south and the Malacca Strait to the west, the southwestern portion of the island and its capital have played a significant role in controlling the vital crossroads between the eastern and western portions of the Indonesian archipelago. It is little surprise then that incidents in Sulawesi should also have played a pivotal role in the formulation of national policy.

Northern Sulawesi, inhabited by native Minahasans, was first visited by the Portuguese in the mid-1500s, while the Spanish arrived via the Philippines early the next century, introducing corn, tomatoes, chillies and horses, and establishing a fort at Manado in 1617. In 1596 meanwhile, the Dutch arrived in Asia to enter the pepper and spice trade, replacing the Spanish by 1657, and in 1673 Fort Amsterdam was established in Manado. Southern Sulawesi, by comparison, is home to four ethnic groups: the sea-going Makassar and Bugis, the Torajans of the central highlands as well as Minahasans in the island's centre. Its capital of Makassar (known as Ujung Pandang since 1971) was a key trading centre in eastern Indonesia. This southern region was for a long time dominated by the kingdoms of *Luwu* (to the north), *Bone* (along the Bay of Bone) and *Gowa* (Makassar region).

Of particular interest to Australians should be the fact that the *Gowa* Kingdom had a sphere of influence which extended southwards to include the northern coastline of what is now the Northern Territory, known to the Makassans as *Marege*. Makassan and Bugis fishermen made regular visits to *Marege* in search of the sea cucumber, trepang, introducing pottery and iron smelting to the Aborigines they found there. The Makassan dugout canoe (*lepa lepa*) was adopted by the Aborigines to replace their bark canoes, and such canoes are today known as *lipa lipa*. Grave-sites and ground forges remain today, as sacred sites, as do Makassan wells. A significant well, fringed by tamarind trees, for example, can today be found at Milingimbi, named *Lembana Tudea* (Oyster Bay) by the Makassans.

¹ Paul Rosenzweig is an Army Reserve Major and ADC to the Administrator of the Northern Territory.

² Derived from the original Portuguese name, *Ponto des Celebres* (Cape Infamous).

They also introduced a significant vocabulary to the Yolngu Aborigines of northern Arnhem Land, with several *yolngu matha* words (*rrupiya* = money, and *dhambaku* = tobacco, for example) having their origins in ancient Makassan and today held in common with Bahasa Indonesia (*rupiah* and *tembakau*). Familial links with the Yolngu were established, and some Aborigines actually visited Makassar, making stone pictures of such traditional items as a perahu, dugout longboat and a Torajan house seen during these visits; some of these can today be found at Wirrawirrawuy on the Gove Peninsula.

The many forts constructed throughout Sulawesi (including Manado, Talaud Island, Gorontalo and Limboto) attest to the intense military rivalry which existed throughout the whole island. The most striking memorial of this era is the impressive Benteng Ujung Pandang, built by the 10th King of Gowa, Tuni Palanga, in 1545. In the form of a giant turtle overlooking the Malacca Strait, it was one of a series of forts established to protect the strategic harbour from pirates, and is the only complete fort to remain standing today.³ In the early 17th Century, after the VOC was established in 1602⁴, the Bugis united with the Dutch to overthrow the kingdom of Makassar and this fort was captured by the Dutch in 1608. It then became a centre of government during the Dutch period of occupation after the Treaty of Bungaya (18 November 1667), and at that time the Dutch Admiral Cornelius Speelman renamed it Fort Rotterdam after his birthplace⁵. A State Museum today, Benteng Ujung Pandang contains eleven buildings built by the Dutch and two built by the Japanese during World War 2.

The island's more recent pre-war history is a history of the Dutch domination of the region, enforced since 1830 by the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (*Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger*—KNIL) — native Moluccan troops with Dutch commanders to fulfil a purely internal security role. By 1938, Makassar had assumed such importance as to have been designated capital of the province of "The Great East" by the Dutch. As Japan embarked on a campaign to forcefully bring the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) into the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Makassar was seen as an attractive target, a stepping stone to Bali and thence Java itself.

World War 2

Sulawesi was the objective of the central of the Japanese XVI Army's three amphibious thrusts into the NEI in 1941-42 in an effort to cut off the eastern approaches to Java. In a classic operation, keeping within the range of land-based aircraft, the Sasebo Combined Special Landing Force⁶ and the 1st Yokosuka Special Naval Landing Force⁷ first took Manado and Kema in the north on 11 January. Fort Amsterdam was razed to the ground and no trace of it remains today. Then, supported by aircraft operating from the new base at Manado, Kendari in the southeast was easily captured on the morning of 24 January. The Japanese 21st Air Flotilla moved to this new base at Kendari: its land-based Mitsubishi "Betty" bombers were among the 54 aircraft which participated in the second raid on Darwin (11.58 am until about 12.25 pm) on 19 February 1942, that was specifically directed against RAAF Base Darwin and in which seven RAAF personnel were killed.⁸ Aircraft of the 23rd Air Flotilla moved to Kendari in April

³ The original earthen walls were replaced by brick just before World War 1.

⁴ *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (United East India Company).

⁵ Speelman was later Governor-General from 1681 until his death in 1684, a period of rule subsequently noted for corruption, abuse of power and general debauchery.

⁶ A regiment of two battalions of marines, totalling about 1,600 men.

⁷ A battalion of 520 paratroops; see Wigmore (1957) p.490.

⁸ Leading Aircraftman Leonard Arthur BARTON; Leading Aircraftman Philip Stonham LATHAM (the Latham Club at RAAF Base Darwin is named in his honour); AC1 Francis NEAYLON; Leading Aircraftman Albert Victor

and participated with some impunity in many of the subsequent raids on Australia during the following year.⁹

The Yokosuka's paratroops then landed at Makassar on 9 February, and Fort Rotterdam was once again occupied as a military garrison. It was from Makassar that the Japanese launched their assaults on Bali (19 February) and Java to force the capitulation of the KNIL on 8 March 1942.



Japanese bunkers at Macopa on the road to Bantimurung, Kapupaten of Maros, South Sulawesi.

For the remainder of the war, Kalimantan and eastern Indonesia were administered by the Japanese Navy (*Kaigun*) from a headquarters in Makassar, the Governor's Palace housing the Japanese military commander for Sulawesi and Kalimantan. Relics of this era, difficult to find, include uniform buttons and helmet badges featuring the fouled anchor and cherry blossom. Physical relics of the Japanese occupation can still be readily seen today: bunkers beside the road—at Macopa in the south (on the road to Maros and Bantimurung), for example—while other signs are less obvious, including highways built upon roads first laid by the Japanese. In North Sulawesi, a monument in Manado beside the Protestant Church honours those citizens killed during the destruction of the town during the war. In Bitung, a home base for Japanese forces in northern Sulawesi during the war, is found a cemetery and a monument, jointly funded by the governments of Japan and North Sulawesi. Further caves are found at Ranowangko along the road between Kiawa and Kawangkoan, supply storage centres for the Japanese during their period of occupation.

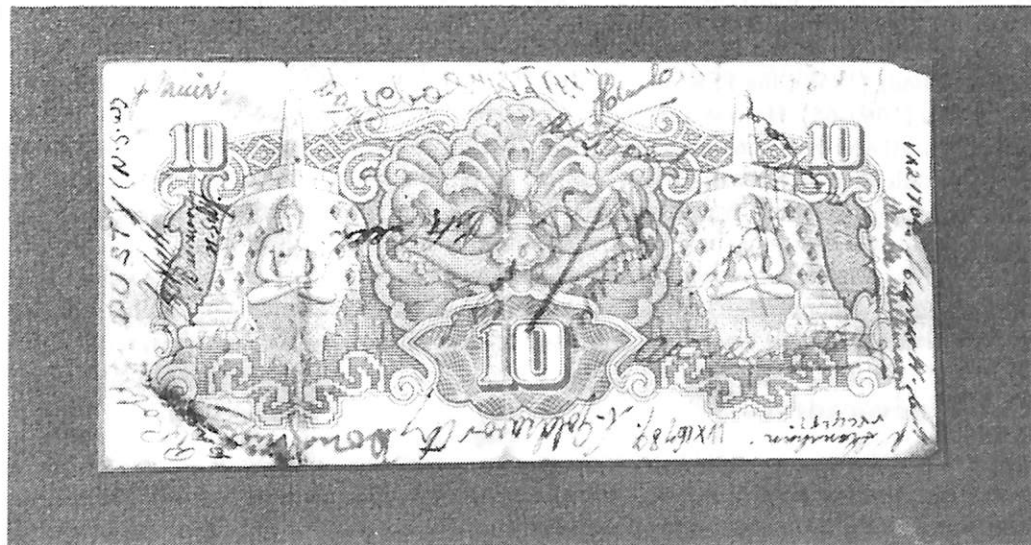
Australian troops had no involvement in South Sulawesi during the war and just two Australian prisoners-of-war were held at Makassar.¹⁰ Upon the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945 and

Leske SCHULTZ; Corporal Robert Frederick SIMMONS; AC1 Stanley George SMITH; Wing Commander Archibald Robert TINDAL; refer Rosenzweig (1994a).

⁹ Kendari was out of reach of the Darwin-based Hudson bombers. Only later could the B24-D Liberators of the 319th Squadron, 90th Heavy Bombardment Group (the "Jolly Rogers"), based at Fenton Strip south of Darwin, reach Kendari. This squadron conducted operations in the North Western Area from January to July 1943.

¹⁰ Wigmore (1957) p.633.

the declaration of Indonesian Independence two days later, Sulawesi became a province of Indonesia with Makassar as its capital. Australia was given responsibility for administering Kalimantan and eastern Indonesia, and from Balikpapan Australian troops arrived in Makassar on 21 September 1945 (known as Makassar Force or Makforce) and in Manado on 2 October (Manado Force),¹¹ accompanied by officials of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA), to accept the Japanese surrender.



Indonesian 10 Rupiah banknote, autographed by Australians serving in the NEI in 1945, among them WX16789 Goldsworthy, a member of the 2/16th Battalion AIF.

The Japanese Navy had not encouraged republican aspirations within its area of responsibility, so most Australian patrols were able to penetrate to population centres before nationalist groups could form. In the heavily populated region of southern Sulawesi however, the nationalist and anti-Dutch movements had already mobilised some degree of popular support. Thus, the

¹¹ Other forces were distributed as follows: 7th Australian Division (Borneo), Ternate Detachment (Halmahera), Ambon Force (Ambon) and Timor Force (Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores & Timor).

Australians who came to administer this region were placed in the situation of having to determine policy towards the aspiring nationalists, with little or no official guidance from Canberra, as against supporting the authority of NICA. In Makassar, the members of the 21st Infantry Brigade which made up Makforce were based at the former Dutch military headquarters, and in the Empress Hotel (now the site of a primary school) facing Karebosi Field.

The 21st Infantry Brigade was commanded by Brigadier Ivan Dougherty DSO* ED¹², a former school teacher and veteran of Libya, Greece, Crete and New Guinea, having recently commanded a brigade at Balikpapan. He recalls that, with the Dutch reluctance to surrender control, this period was the most difficult time of his war-time career¹³. Commanding the NICA unit to manage civil affairs was Major Wegner, reasserting Dutch colonial arrogance, while Admiral Ohsugi ensured that the Japanese co-operated fully with the Australians. Dougherty's 21st Infantry Brigade Headquarters was based in Makassar, with his battalions deployed as follows:

- **2/14th Battalion** (Lieutenant Colonel Philip Rhoden)
North and Northwestern coast: Pinrang, Rappang and Pare Pare
- **2/16th Battalion** (Major "Ben" Hearman)
Eastern and Southern coast, including Palopo, Watampone and Bantaeng
- **2/27th Battalion** (Lieutenant Colonel Keith Picken DSO)
Southwest: Makassar, Jongaya

Brigadier General Andi Oddang served in Sulawesi as a teenager and is an infantry veteran of the War of Independence and post-war campaigns in Sulawesi, including the RMS and Islamic State rebellions (1950), the PERMESTA Revolt (1958-61), Confrontation and the campaign in Kalimantan (1963-65). He was a regimental commander in South Sulawesi (1967-75), Chief of Staff for KODAM XIV / *Hasamuddin* (1975-78) and was then Governor of South Sulawesi, (1978-83). Along with the majority of veterans of this era, General Oddang readily recalls the Australian troops for their friendliness and generosity during their time in Makassar, Ardath, Capstan and waterproof matches featuring prominently in his memory of their short stay¹⁴. It is hoped that an Australian representation will be included in a museum to be established in *Gedung Juang '45*, opened in Ujung Pandang for veterans by the President on 16 July 1992 and of which General Oddang was a Founding Member and is currently Chairman.

War of Independence

In southern Sulawesi the republican movement was particularly vigorous, supported by the various Bugis and Makassan leaders. After undisciplined KNIL troops opened fire on a group of republicans on 2 October 1945, there were many skirmishes. A soldier of the Australian 2/14th Battalion was killed by nationalists at Pare Pare, and after a particularly bloody clash in Makassar on 15 October left 18 dead and 14 wounded, Brigadier Dougherty responded by confining the KNIL troops to their barracks and ordering them to desist from provocative actions. By this stage Dougherty was becoming increasingly concerned with resuming his civil career, and attended an interview in Sydney for a Headmaster's position. Caught in the dilemma

¹² Commanded 2/4th Battalion in Libya, Greece and Crete (1940-42), Commander 23rd Brigade in the Northern Territory (1942), Commander 21st Brigade (1942-45); MID 3 times during WW2, DSO in 1941 and Bar to DSO in 1943; appointed CBE in 1946 and Knight Bachelor in 1968.

¹³ Major General Sir Ivan Dougherty CBE DSO* ED (ret), pers comm 21 January 1996.

¹⁴ Brigadier General Andi Oddang, pers comm, 6 October 1994.

of conflicting requirements, he was reluctant to leave Makassar yet eager to return to Australia, while Blamey was keen to see him continue serving, so he returned to Indonesia administering command of the 7th Division at Balikpapan.

Dougherty was succeeded as Commander Macassar Force by Brigadier Frederick Chilton DSO*¹⁵. He recalls: "We received no political guidance whatever and had to make our own judgements and decisions".¹⁶ While the disarming of the Japanese was achieved quickly and smoothly, the restoration of civil administration through NICA was far more problematic. Chilton further recalled, "the Makassans, Buginese and others and their leaders would not cooperate in any way with the Dutch and it was left to the Australians to maintain some public order and so to enable the local economy to re-establish itself".¹⁷ Chilton was considered by the locals to be pro-Dutch for ordering his troops to break up processions and enforce NICA road-blocks. When he met with republican leader Dr Sam Rathulangie,¹⁸ however, in an attempt to obtain cooperation in reducing violence, this was interpreted by NICA officials as tacit support for Rathulangie's claim as republican Governor of Sulawesi. Thus caught, Chilton's response was to take a firmer stand in support of the Dutch, which led the republicans to await the departure of the Australians in January before confronting the Dutch alone.

Meanwhile, the Australian 2/16th Battalion broke up a 350-strong republican procession at Watampone on 26 October, and the 2/27th Battalion drove off raids on radio stations and other Dutch installations in Jongaya on 29 October, suffering one wounded when they were attacked by militant youth with swords and knives. On 20 November, the Commanding Officer of the 2/16th Battalion led an armed party to Bantaeng to arrest a strongly anti-Dutch raja, while on 28 November Chilton himself applied considerable pressure to the Raja of Gowa to maintain order. Finally, on 13 and 16 December, in the Makassar and Pare Pare regions respectively, a total of 60 chiefs signed declarations accepting NICA as a component of the Allied Military Occupation.

Elements of Makforce were relieved by KNIL units from 11 January 1946. A British Indian Brigade of Southeast Asia Command arrived in Makassar later in the month and assumed responsibility from Brigadier Chilton on 2 February, and they in turn handed control back to NICA. By the time the British departed, the Linggadjati Agreement had been established, giving *de facto* recognition to the Indonesian Republic on Java and Sumatra. Later in the year, the Dutch initiated a federated State of East Indonesia (Negara Indonesia Timur—NIT) with its capital in Makassar and Nadjamoeddin, a Makassan, as its first Prime Minister.¹⁹ NIT was later absorbed as an autonomous component of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia Serikat*—RIS) which was formed on 28 December 1949, although it continued to oppose the formation of a unitary Republic.

In Tondano in northern Sulawesi on 14 February 1946, Bernhard Wilhelm Lapien and Charles Chus Taulu led one of the earliest rebellions against NICA known as *Peristiwa Merah-Putih* (the "Red & White Incident"). A memorial to their efforts, featuring golden busts and a revolutionary mural, was dedicated by the Governor of North Sulawesi on the 40th anniversary of the rebellion. In Minahasa on the same day, some KNIL units revolted in support of

¹⁵ Commanded 2/2nd Battalion in Libya and Greece (1940-42), Commander 18th Brigade in the Ramu Valley and Balikpapan campaigns (1943-45); appointed CBE in 1963 and Knight Bachelor in 1969.

¹⁶ Brigadier Sir Frederick Chilton CBE DSO*, pers comm, 17 January 1996.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Born 1890, Tondano, Minahasa, North Sulawesi; educated in Zurich; died 1949. A monument and mausoleum in Tondano honours his revolutionary spirit and heroism.

¹⁹ Nadjamoeddin was indicted for corruption in September 1947.

independence, and the rebels held the Minahasa-Manado area for a month before a settlement was reached with the Dutch. Pro-Dutch sentiment was as strong in the north as perhaps in Ambon, and northern Sulawesi for many years had actually been referred to as a "Province" of the Netherlands.

In April 1946, the Dutch arrested Rathulangie, his six principal lieutenants, and the Rajas of *Bone* and *Luwu*. The youth resistance movement in Sulawesi then moved to Java and, better trained and experienced, returned at the end of the year to wage a guerilla campaign against the Dutch. The Dutch responded by deploying the KST—Dutch "Special Troops"—under the command of Captain Raymond Westerling as part of a "pacification programme". Westerling waged a campaign of terror in Makassar and district from December 1946 to March 1947 in which at least 3,000 Makassans and Bugis were killed, for which he became known to the locals as "Killer" Westerling.²⁰ A memorial to the bravery of the Makassan and Bugis citizens was erected in Ujung Pandang on the site of one particular massacre on 11 December 1946, dedicated by the Mayor in 1974.

On 21 January 1947, Indonesian troops in south and southeast Sulawesi were gathered together as *Divisi Hasanuddin* (Hasanuddin Division) of the *Tentara Republik Indonesia* (TRI),²¹ commanded by Major Andi Mattalatta.²² Like so many of his era, Mattalatta was Dutch-educated and Japanese-trained, a *Shodancho* (platoon commander) in PETA²³ (Home Guard) in Makassar during the war and then Chief of Staff of the Hasanuddin Regiment (1945-47) before being appointed Commander of the Hasanuddin Division (1947-49). The Division's title honoured Sultan Hasanuddin (1629-1670), the 12th King of *Gowa* and a patriot in the struggle for independence from the Dutch colonialists in 1667-69. Hasanuddin's grave, together with those of other *Gowa* Kings, is in a cemetery located 8 kilometres from Ujung Pandang. Repairs effected by the Government of Indonesia were completed on the anniversary of Independence, 17 August 1952, and the cemetery is today guarded and cared for by the local military. Perhaps in a touch of irony, the rusting barrel of a Dutch cannon barrel lies impotent beside the entrance.

The Dutch launched their first military action against Indonesian forces in West Java in July 1947 while in Sulawesi, young nationalists attacked a Dutch unit at Palopo and held the town for two days, before suffering many casualties against the better-armed Dutch. The republicans were armed with weapons derived from a smuggling network which had its origins in the Australian camp at Balikpapan across the Malacca Strait.²⁴ The youth of South Sulawesi were formed into an irregular unit under the command of Mochammad Syah, known as *Kelasykaran Harimau Indonesia* ("Indonesian Tigers"). There were five regional commanders throughout southern Sulawesi, including First Lieutenant Robert Wolter Mongisidi, who raised and commanded *Pasukan LAPRIS* (*Lasca*r Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia Serikat—Army of the United States of Indonesia) in the Makassar region. The acronym is also locally known as *Lasca*r *Pembebas Republik Indonesia Sulawesi* to acknowledge the role of the youth as "Liberators of Sulawesi". Mongisidi fell in battle on 5 September 1949, and is buried at the *Taman Makam Pahlawan* (Heroes' Cemetery) in Ujung Pandang, while a life-size statue of him

²⁰ He later led a major insurrection in Bandung and Djakarta in January 1950; see note 27.

²¹ Formed on 25 January 1946.

²² Born Barru, South Sulawesi, 1 September 1922. Attended *Renseitai Tentara Pembela Tanah Air* (1943), and Indonesian Staff and Command College (1959). Other appointments included Commander, *Batalyon Mattalatta*, 16th Brigade, Yogyakarta (1949-50); Commander, *Batalyon 705*, Pare Pare (1952-53); Inaugural Commander KODAM XIV / *Hasanuddin* from 1 June 1957 to 6 November 1959.

²³ PETA - *Tentara Pembela Tanah Air* ("Defenders of the Motherland"), a form of Japanese Home Guard.

²⁴ Reid, A, *Australia and Indonesia's struggle for independence*. In O'Hare & Reid (1995) p.17.

stands on one of the main thoroughfares in Ujung Pandang.²⁵ Another monument stands in Manado in North Sulawesi overlooking Manado Bay.

At the same time, First Lieutenant Emmy Saelen raised and commanded a female Army in Makassar. She fell in battle on 21 January 1947 during the first civil war against NICA and is also buried at the *Taman Makam Pahlawan* in Ujung Pandang. A special monument with a metre-tall Mills grenade, now almost lost in sprawling suburbs, recalls her end, falling on her own grenade rather than accept capture by the Dutch.²⁶



Memorial to Emmy Saelen who fell on her own grenade on 21 January 1947 to avoid capture by the Dutch, dedicated 10 November 1965.

A monument to the "Tigers" was erected in Ujung Pandang on 27 April 1985, and officially dedicated on 10 November 1985, dedicated to the new generation by veteran Brigadier General H Andi Sose. Sose had served as a PETA *Shodancho* in Makassar during the war and then as an officer under Mongisidi (1947-49), while he later rose through the ranks of the Indonesian Army. An influential property developer and owner of some significant hotels in modern Ujung Pandang, he not only erected the *Harimau* monument, but was also Founding Member and Chairman of the Committee for *Gedung Juang '45*. Another of the Founding Members was Major General Andi Mattalatta, as was Major General H Z B Palaguna, then the military commander for Sulawesi and now the Governor of South Sulawesi.

After the two military actions by the Dutch, the transfer of sovereignty of all territories (except West New Guinea) was effected on 27 December 1949. In *Negara Indonesia Timur*, Lt Col Achmad Yunus Mokoginta headed a Military and Territorial Commission for East Indonesia,

²⁵ Born Malalayang, 14 December 1925; awarded the *Bintang Guerilya* (Guerilla Star), *SL Peristiwa I* (War of Independence Medal I) and *SL Peristiwa II* (War of Independence Medal II).

²⁶ Born 15 October 1924; awarded the *Bintang Guerilya* (Guerilla Star) and *SL Peristiwa I*.

accepting the surrender by KNIL Major Nanlohy. Mokoginta then became Acting Commander of the East Indonesian Territorium. The Indonesian Patriots' Monument (*Monumen Pahlawan Indonesia*), a simple stone obelisk, was erected opposite the entrance to Fort Rotterdam in Ujung Pandang in 1951 to honour the heroes of the nationalist struggle.

Andi Azis rebellion

During the period from April to November 1950, Indonesian troops were called upon to crush the second "Colonial Time-Bomb", a rebellion by former Dutch troops and Muslim separatists in Sulawesi and Ambon.²⁷

By April 1950, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RIS) comprised three components: the Republic of Indonesia (including several small federal states), the semi-autonomous East Sumatra State, and Van Mook's State of East Indonesia (*Negara Indonesia Timur*) which had Andi Abdul Azis as Adjutant-Lieutenant. Former KNIL troops were incorporated into the RIS Armed Forces (*Angkatan Perang RIS—APRIS*) and, on 30 March 1950, Andi Azis was appointed as a Captain commanding a company of former KNIL soldiers. In Makassar on 5 April 1950, with the support of a KNIL battalion which had refused to join APRIS, Azis arrested the Acting Commander of the East Indonesian Territorium, Lt Col Mokoginta, and his staff. Azis declared that his rebellion had the aim of ensuring the viability of the East Indonesian State, and that only former KNIL troops would be responsible for security in the region, opposing the deployment of Indonesian APRIS troops from Java. The RIS Central Government issued Azis an ultimatum to report to Jakarta to explain his actions which Azis failed to meet, so APRIS expeditionary troops were despatched on 7 April.

The RIS expeditionary force was commanded by Colonel Alex Kawilarang,²⁸ the son of a KNIL Captain and a graduate of the KNIL Academy in Bandung, who had served as a brigade commander during the War of Independence. He had as his Chief of Staff Sentot Iskandardinata, who had commanded a succession of battalions during the War of Independence.²⁹ The Navy provided transport ships and the corvette *Hang Tuah* while the Air Force provided B-25 bombers. The ground force comprised exclusively Javanese units, as follows:

- Garuda Mataram 10 Brigade from Central Java
(commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Soeharto)
- 16/I Brigade from East Java
(Lieutenant Colonel Warouw)
- Mattalatta Battalion from 16th Brigade, Yogyakarta, East Java
(Major Andi Mattalatta)
- Siliwangi Battalion I from 14th Brigade, West Java
(Captain Bohar Ardikusumah)

²⁷ The first was the APRA rebellion in Bandung and Djakarta, West Java, 23-24 January 1950, by former Dutch KNIL troops under the command of Captain Raymond Westerling, fighting for a Moslem Indonesian republic.

²⁸ Born Jatinegara, West Java, 23 January 1920. Attended the KNIL Academy in Bandung, served as a staff officer in West Java (1946-48), commanded Brigade I / Siliwangi (1948) and was a Sub-Territory Commander in North Sumatra (1949-50).

²⁹ A graduate of the Command & General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and subsequently Governor of the National Military Academy, Magelang, passing on his knowledge of anti-guerilla warfare to the *Konfrontasi* generation of officers, and was then Director General of Land Communications.

- Mobile Brigade (BRIMOB) two companies from East Java (Lieutenant Colonel Soeprapto Sokowati)
- Air Force a detachment of airmen (Captain Wiradinata)

The assault was spearheaded by *Batalyon Worang*, which had been despatched from Java and was already in Makassar waters, commanded by Lt Col Hein Victor Worang³⁰ who had been a battalion commander in East Java during the War of Independence. There followed what was to become recognised as a classic counter-revolutionary operation, comprising an assault phase (to bring the rebels into conventional battle), a prolonged anti-guerilla phase (where the remaining rebels were picked-off from their remote bases by immensely superior forces), and finally a destruction phase (encirclement and destruction of the remaining pockets of resistance).

The Worang Battalion landed at Djenepono at the very south of the peninsula on 18 April, while the expeditionary force itself successfully landed on 26 April, enveloping South Sulawesi in a pincer-like movement, with forces landing on the west (Pontjana), south (Bonthain) and east (Balangnipo) coasts. The spearhead battalion and those units at Bonthain moved quickly and soon occupied the city of Makassar. Although Azis surrendered in those last days of April, KNIL and Dutch Army (KL) troops still resisted and bitter fighting continued from May to August in the second and third phases of the operation.

Appointed Regional Commander of Makassar at this time was the Commander of the Garuda Mataram 10 Brigade, Lt Col Soeharto³¹, a Corporal and then Sergeant in the KNIL (1940-41), *Shodancho* and then *Chudancho* (company commander) during the Japanese occupation and then battalion commander during the War of Independence. On 5 August, Soeharto's staff headquarters was surrounded by KL/KNIL troops using armoured cars but this attack, later known as the "5-8 Incident", was repulsed. The following day, Soeharto launched a general attack and, as their position became untenable after two days of intense fighting, the KL/KNIL requested negotiations. Soeharto offered them just two alternatives—leave Makassar or be destroyed completely. His demands were accepted on 8 August, and the KL/KNIL accepted Soeharto's terms—to leave all arms behind and to depart through one corridor to the harbour. By the end of the month the forces had withdrawn completely, but unfortunately most went to Ambon where they joined Soumokil's RMS rebellion which was finally put down by Kawilarang's expeditionary troops in November 1950.³²

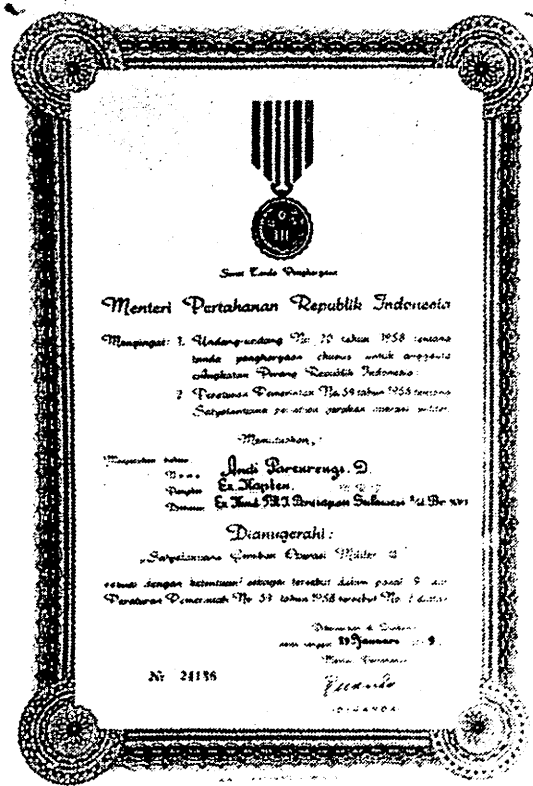
Negotiations between RIS and the States continued and on 15 August 1950, Dr Soekarno read out the Charter of the Establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the entire archipelago became united with Soekarno as President, in fulfilment of the original Proclamation of Independence. Azis himself was captured and brought before a Military Court in Yogyakarta in 1953, and was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment.

³⁰ Born Tontalet, Minahasa, North Sulawesi, 12 March 1919. Battalion commander in Brigade XVI in the Kediri/Blitar region (1947-49). Later commanded RI-24 in Manado (1952-56), RI-6 in South Sumatra and graduated from the Indonesian Staff and Command College (1965). He was a member of Parliament (1960-66), rose to the rank of Major General and returned to North Sulawesi as Governor (1967-70). Died in Jakarta, 3 February 1982.

³¹ Born 8 June 1921. Served with KNIL (1940-41) and then the Japanese Police (*Pasukan Kepolisian Jepang*) as Assistant to the Chief of Police in Yogyakarta. Entered the Indonesian Army on 5 October 1945; PETA platoon and company commander at Wates, Surakarta and Madiun; later Major General, and currently the second President of the Republic of Indonesia.

³² In Ambon on 25 April 1950, Dr Christopher R S Soumokil had proclaimed the independent Muslim state, *Republik Maluku Selatan* (Republic of the South Moluccas), detached from both RIS and East Indonesian State; refer Rosenzweig (1994b).

Military Campaign Medal III, *Satya Lencana*³³ *Gerakan Operasi Militer III*, rewarded service in putting down the rebellions in Makassar and Ambon, and then crushing the remnants of *Republik Maluku Selatan*—hence it is colloquially known as *Satya Lencana RMS*. The medal is circular with a scalloped edge, and bears the letters GOM III, and has a plain reverse with the inscription REPUBLIK INDONESIA in raised capitals. The ribbon is red with five yellow stripes towards the centre, not evenly spaced.³⁴ A local hero from Makassar who fought in this rebellion was Captain Andi Baso Parenrengi. Parenrengi commanded Battalion IV of the Hasanuddin Division, TRI in Makassar in 1950 and was awarded *Satyalantjana GOM III* as well as earlier receiving the two War of Independence medals. Parenrengi retired as a Major and was a Member of the South Sulawesi Legislative Assembly after the war; he died on 15 August 1981 and is buried in the Ujung Pandang *Taman Makam Pahlawan*.



Award certificate for the Indonesian Military Deployment Medal III (*Satyalantjana GOM III*) awarded to Captain Andi Baso Parenrengi for service during the RMS Rebellion in Sulawesi in 1950.

APRIS under the name of the Hasanuddin Brigade, but this was rejected on the basis of APRIS's strict screening process and a policy of channelling former guerillas into the National Reserve. Agreement was finally reached however, and the Brigade was to be commanded by

Darul Islam

While the Andi Azis revolt was being quelled, another revolt was being fomented. In South Sulawesi there were many lascars who had fought as guerillas during the war, and then against the Dutch during the War of Independence. The question of their placement after Indonesia's liberation was to cause internal security problems for the young Government and its Armed Forces. Kahar Muzakkar, a Bugis teacher who had fought in Java during the War of Independence, returned to South Sulawesi and gathered together these lascars and formed them into the Guerilla Command of South Sulawesi (*Komando Gerilya Sulawesi Selatan*—KGSS).

On 30 April 1950, Muzakkar demanded that his KGSS be admitted into

³³ Spelt "*Satyalantjana*" prior to 1972.

³⁴ Refer Rosenzweig (1994b) for a photograph of this medal.

Muzakkar himself with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. On the day of his installation however, 17 August 1951, Muzakkar and his men seized the equipment and weapons that had been made available to them and fled into the jungle to launch an insurrection. In January 1952, Muzakkar declared South Sulawesi to be part of the Islamic State of Indonesia (*Darul Islam*—DI) rebellion which had been proclaimed in West Java by Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwirjo, commander of the Islamic Army of Indonesia (*Tentara Islam Indonesia*—TII).

The TII was a wide-spread organisation supported by several rebel movements throughout the archipelago. Failure to aggressively deal with these several individual insurrections allowed them to temporarily flourish, causing more problems for a struggling Cabinet, which actually resigned in the following month. As the years went on, the Armed Forces were given greater freedom in suppressing the rebel activities of this “DI/TII Movement” through a declaration by the President on 14 March 1957 that the Republic of Indonesia was in a State of Emergency, increased to a State of War later that year.³⁵

The Muzakkar revolt involved a campaign of terror and insurgency in South and Southeast Sulawesi for some 14 years. One of the results of both this and the Azis campaign was a massive influx of refugees into Makassar, which had always been the centre of affairs in the eastern region but was now growing into a seriously overpopulated city. A series of military offensives were launched in the hinterland to finally end the revolt: firstly *Operasi Merdeka*, followed by Operations *Halilintar*, *Guntur*, *Kilat* (1961), *Tumpas* (1963) and then *Tekad* (1964). This is not an indication that each successive operation was unsuccessful and another attempt had to be made. Rather, it is a demonstration of the Indonesian military doctrine which had been developed at that time, a counter-revolutionary doctrine whereby a conventional battle was followed by extended anti-guerilla phases to whittle away the remaining rebels until they were finally encircled and destroyed. Among the troops used to pursue the rebels were battalions of the famous Siliwangi Division, brought from Java in 1963, with the tiger’s head shoulder patch which became so well known to Australian servicemen during Confrontation.

By October 1961, some 100,000 rebels had surrendered to government forces and in the following year, Kartosuwirjo, deserted by his men, was finally captured, sentenced to death by a State of War Military Tribunal, and executed.³⁶ Without effective leadership, the DI/TII movement was then crushed completely³⁷ and the State of War was ended by Presidential Decree on 19 November 1962. Finally, in an operation which commenced on 3 February 1965, Kahar Muzakkar was shot dead by soldiers of the Siliwangi Division and his corpse was transferred to Makassar in an Mi-4 “Hound” helicopter. Gerungan, second-in-command of the Kahar Muzakkar Movement, was arrested in July 1965, and security was restored to South Sulawesi.

Military Campaign Medal IV, *Satya Lencana Gerakan Operasi Militer IV*, rewards service in putting down the *Darul Islam* rebellion in south and southeast Sulawesi from 30 March to 26 April 1950, and is colloquially known as *SL DI-Sulawesi*. The medal is circular with a scalloped edge, and bears the letters GOM IV, and has a plain reverse with the inscription REPUBLIK INDONESIA in raised capitals. The ribbon is red with five purple stripes. A

³⁵ By Presidential Decree on 17 December 1957.

³⁶ Kartosuwirjo was wounded in April and then captured in the Geber Mountains in West Java on 4 June 1962 by men of the Siliwangi Division participating in *Operasi Bratayudha*, in combination with an operation known as *Pagar Betis* (“fence of legs”) which called upon the people of West Java to co-operate in the destruction of DI/TII. Kartosuwirjo was executed on 16 August 1962.

³⁷ With the successive capture and execution of the rebels Ibnu Hadjar (South Kalimantan) and Daud Beureueh (Aceh, north Sumatra).

veteran of both the *Darul Islam* and Azis campaigns was Poang Depu, one of Emmy Saelen's leaders during the wars of independence. She retired with the rank of Colonel and was a prominent community worker after the war. As well as her four campaign medals and Independence Medal, she received the Guerilla Star (*Bintang Guerilya*) and Wound Medal (*Satyalantjana Bhakti*), and in 1962, *Bintang Mahaputera* Class IV to reward her distinguished service as Raja of Tinimbang, Mandar. Colonel Depu died on 18 June 1985 and is also buried in the *Taman Makam Pahlawan* in Ujung Pandang.



Indonesian Military Deployment Medal IV
(*Satyalantjana GOM IV*).

assumed responsibility as the first commander of Territorium VII / *Wirabuana*. Its title is drawn from the spiritualistic expression: "*Wira perkasa / kuat buana bumi; Bumi perkasa wira buana*", referring to the "universal soldier" (*wira buana*) as the defender of the "world". By 1957, Territorium VII was commanded by Lt Col H N Ventje Sumual, and comprised four infantry regiments (*Resimen Infanteri*): RI-23 (Pare Pare, South Sulawesi), RI-24 (Manado, North Sulawesi), RI-25 (Ambon) and RI-26 (Denpasar, Bali). Further revolts at this time were to clearly demonstrate that such a territorial organisation was not sufficient in a new nation made up of such diverse racial and cultural backgrounds without the back-up of central reserves capable of responding to internal dissent.

Territorium VII — East Indonesia

President Soekarno, as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, recognised that the widely dispersed nature of Nusantara necessitated a geographical structure for the Indonesian Army. He thus divided the archipelago into seven territorial Commands, with each significant portion of the Republic designated a strategic compartment. This allowed him to rapidly respond to any internal security problem while maintaining a strategy based on guerilla operations in the event of external aggression.

Accordingly, on 20 July 1950, Territorium VII / *Wirabuana* was established in eastern Indonesia, responsible for Sulawesi, Maluku (Moluccas) and Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda Islands), with its headquarters in Makassar. The commander of the RIS expeditionary force in Sulawesi, Colonel Alex Kawilarang,

PERMESTA revolt

The PRRI / PERMESTA revolt broke out on 15 February 1958 as a result of ongoing conflicts between the Central Government and several regions over the question of autonomy. At a reunion of Banteng Division veterans in late 1956, the *Dewan Banteng* (Banteng Council) was formed by Lieutenant Colonel Achmad Husein, demanding autonomy for Central Sumatra. The Army Chief of Staff responded on 9 December by prohibiting Army officers from engaging in political activities but the *Dewan Banteng* took over the regional government of Central Sumatra from the civil authority on 20 December. Shortly after, a number of other councils were established seeking regional autonomy, among them *Dewan Manguni* in Sulawesi established by the local commander Colonel Sumual.

Sumual arranged for a meeting of civil and military officials to be held in Makassar on the evening of 1 March 1957 at the residence of the Governor of Sulawesi; he was joined by Lt Col Saleh Lahade and Majors Gerungan and Runturambi. The meeting established a Charter for Overall Struggle (*Piagam Perjuangan Semesta*—PERMESTA), seeking changes in the management of regional affairs. The following day, 51 leading civil and military authorities signed the PERMESTA Proclamation and Sumual then declared martial law throughout eastern Indonesia. The Central Government sent a civil mission to North Sulawesi under the leadership of Maengkom, who held public meetings in Manado and other centres to peacefully solve the PERMESTA question and restore civil rule.

Unsuccessful, the Central Government responded to this on 26 May 1957 by dividing Territorium VII into four Military Area Commands (*Komando Daerah Militer*). Sulawesi itself became the responsibility of two of these divisions, KDM-SUT being responsible for *Sulawesi Utara & Tengah* (North & Central Sulawesi) with headquarters in Manado and KDM-SST being responsible for *Sulawesi Selatan & Tenggara* (South & Southeast Sulawesi) with headquarters in Makassar. Sumual was forced to withdraw to exile in North Sulawesi in June, where he established a secure base.

In West Sumatra on 9 February 1958, Colonel Husein issued a further ultimatum to the Central Government, which was rejected, the officers responsible were dismissed and the Central Sumatra Military Command was abolished, in response to which Husein proclaimed the formation of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (*Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia*—PRRI). In eastern Indonesia on 17 February, Lieutenant Colonel Somba, Commander of KDM-SUT, severed relations with the Central Government and declared his support for PRRI, joining the PERMESTA rebels led by Sumual who assumed overall command as Chief of Staff, Somba becoming his Deputy. They established four regional commands³⁸ and five autonomous formations³⁹, while the rebels also possessed a number of B-26 bombers and Mustang fighters which made a number of raids until the Indonesian Air Force regained air supremacy. One of these B-26 bombers was piloted by an American, Allan Lawrence Pope, who was shot down on 18 May 1958.⁴⁰

As it also did in Sumatra, the Central Government launched combined operations to immediately suppress the PERMESTA revolt. *Operasi Merdeka* was launched in Sulawesi

³⁸ *Maluku and Irian Barat*, Minahasa (4 Districts), Bolaang-Mongondow & Gorontalo, and Central Sulawesi.

³⁹ *Brigade 999, Brigade Manguni, Brigade Anoa Djantan, Brigade Sinobatu and Batalyon Sambernjawa*. A Mobile Brigade company was forced to join the revolt, but surrendered in its entirety when Indonesian forces landed at Tondano.

⁴⁰ Pope was an American citizen hired to help the PERMESTA revolt. He was shot down in the Gulf of Ambon on 18 May 1958 and tried by an Air Force State of War Tribunal held in Jakarta from 1 January 1960; on 29 April 1960, Pope was condemned to death by the tribunal.

commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Drs Roekmito Hendraningrat,⁴¹ who had seen active service as a PETA *Chudancho* during the Japanese occupation and as a battalion and brigade commander during the War of Independence. Manado was bombed on 22 February, and Sulawesi itself was invaded by Indonesian troops in May 1958, taking Manado on 26 June and capturing the rebels' headquarters at Kotamobagu in September 1959. *Operasi Merdeka* comprised the following operations:

- Operasi Saptamarga I central North Sulawesi
(commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Soemarsono)
- Operasi Saptamarga II southern North Sulawesi
(Lieutenant Colonel Agus Prasmono)
- Operasi Saptamarga III Islands north of Manado
(Lieutenant Colonel Magenda)
- Operasi Saptamarga IV North Sulawesi
(Lieutenant Colonel Roekmito Hendraningrat)
- Operasi Mena I Jailolo area
(Lieutenant Colonel Pieters)
- Operasi Mena II Morotai airfield in the north of Halmahera
(Lieutenant Colonel of Marines Hunholz)

Returning to his birthplace to conduct *Operasi Saptamarga III* in the Talaud archipelago and other islands north of Manado was Lieutenant Colonel Ernst Julius Magenda⁴²—Dutch educated and Japanese trained, a *Shodancho* and then a Sector Commander at Bone in South Sulawesi during the Andi Azis Revolt. He subsequently held senior intelligence positions in the Office of the Army Chief of Staff, and was Deputy Director and then Director of Army Intelligence in the lead-up to and during Confrontation. He was finally Director of Intelligence and died on 14 October 1972.

The regional situation favoured the well-armed rebels so the campaign in Sulawesi was hard fought. Among the rebel leaders was veteran Alex Kawilarang who had led the earlier expeditionary force to Makassar and Ambon; he had then commanded Territorium III in West Java (1951-56) and was Military Attache at the Embassy in Washington (1956-58). Upon his return to Indonesia he sided with the PERMESTA revolt in November 1960, commanding rebel troops in Minahasa, North Sulawesi until April 1961. In Sumatra, the PRRI leaders began surrendering, as also did Husein on 29 May 1961. Similarly in the east, Morotai fell on 20 May, and then Manado on 26 June 1958 and, by mid-1961, the last remnants of PERMESTA had also given themselves up, and security was restored. Those senior officers who remained loyal to the Central Government and to their Soldier's Vows (*Sapta Marga*) during this period were subsequently well rewarded and figure prominently in Indonesian history since this point.

The PRRI/PERMESTA Campaign medal, *Satya Lencana Saptamarga*, was awarded for a minimum of 90 days combat service in the campaign to put down the PRRI and PERMESTA rebellions in 1958. The obverse of the medal bears the words *Sapta Marga* (referring to the Seven Pledges of the Soldier) within the national wreath of rice and cotton, while the reverse

⁴¹ Born East Java, 1922. Educated at *Renseitai Tentara Pembela Tanah Air* and the US Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth. PETA *Chodancho* in Surabaya, 1943-45, and battalion and brigade commander in Madiun and Surabaya, 1946-49.

⁴² Born Kiama, Talaud, North Sulawesi, 10 February 1919.

bears the legend Republik Indonesia in raised capitals. The ribbon is red with seven thin blue stripes toward the centre.



PRRI / PERMESTA Medal, 1958.

Nasution made provision for a central reserve. Further, on the announcement of Guided Democracy in July 1959, Nasution assumed the position of Minister for Defence and Security as well as being Chief of Army Staff.

Also established in southern Sulawesi in 1957, as a means of establishing security in the region and particularly in the capital, was the Makassar City Military Command (*Komando Militer Kota Besar*), with Battalion 702 as its enforcement agency. The first Commander KMKB-Makassar was Lieutenant Colonel Andi Mattalatta, born in South Sulawesi and already with a significant military association with the region, having led his battalion in the expedition to South Sulawesi in 1950 and then commanding Battalion 705 at Pare Pare. Mattalatta was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Eddy Sabara (1958-60) who had previously commanded Battalion 709 in South Sulawesi (1957-58). He too had a significant military association with Sulawesi and was twice Governor of Southeast Sulawesi (1967-71 and 1972-78) and Acting Governor on several other occasions; Sabara was then Acting Governor of the Aceh Special Area (1980-81) and retired as a Major General.

Whilst Commander KMKB-Makassar, Mattalatta was concurrently also Deputy Commander, South & Southeast Sulawesi Pacification Command (*Komando Pengamanan Sulawesi Selatan & Tenggara*—KoDPSST) based at Maros. This was a powerful body comprising 13 Javanese

Komando Daerah Militer

With the increasing number of internal security problems throughout the archipelago, and in preparation for various major actions, the Indonesian Army expanded considerably. The PRRI/PERMESTA revolt had demonstrated the failings of a purely territorial command structure without a dedicated reserve element. Thus, each significant portion of the Republic was designated a Military Area Command (*Komando Daerah Militer*—KODAM), and there were established seventeen such KODAMs, organised geographically but structured functionally as divisions to enable them to better respond to any act of internal insurrection or external aggression. In Sulawesi, as mentioned above, two Military Area Commands—KDM-SUT and KDM-SST—were established on 26 May 1957, while in 1958 the Chief of Army Staff General A H

infantry battalions in addition to the 7 local battalions of the Hasanuddin Infantry Regiment at Maros/Malino. Commanding RI-Hasanuddin was Major Andi Mohammed Joesoef Amir (Yusuf), who had directed the operations which led to the capture of the rebel leader Kahar Muzakkar in February 1965, ending the 14 year campaign of terror and insurgency in South and Southeast Sulawesi. Yusuf had a significant association with Sulawesi: he had been Adjutant of Territorium VII (1953), Chief of Staff of RI-24 at Manado (1953-54), Commander of RI-Hasanuddin at Maros/Malino, and was later himself Commander of KMKB-Makassar.

KDM-SUT was retitled KODAM XIII / *Merdeka* in December 1957. Members of this KODAM wore a shoulder insignia featuring the traditional parang and shield of the Eastern Indonesian region, with the Army five-pointed star above, and the title "*Merdeka*" across the top. The title means "Independent" and was the name given to the operation launched by Colonel Hendraningrat to put down the PERMESTA revolt in Sulawesi in 1958—probably chosen by Hendraningrat himself, who was this KODAM's first commander.⁴³ Attaining the rank of Lieutenant General, he was subsequently Indonesian Ambassador to Pakistan and then Japan between 1960 and 1969, National Secretary with ASEAN in 1969-72, and then Ambassador to Singapore from 1972.

KDM-SST became KODAM XIV / *Hasanuddin* in June 1957. Members of this KODAM wore a shoulder insignia featuring a lontar palm, with the Army five-pointed star above, and the title "*Hasanuddin*" across the top. Lieutenant Colonel Andi Mattalatta was the inaugural Commander of KODAM XIV/*Hasanuddin* (1957-59).⁴⁴ He subsequently attained General rank and held various staff appointments, and was a Member of the Legislative Assembly and Member of Parliament through the 1960s and 1970s. Mattalatta was succeeded by Brigadier General M Yusuf (1959-64).⁴⁵ Together with Andi Oddang, both Yusuf and Mattalatta still reside in Ujung Pandang and are significant guests of honour at public ceremonies.

Yusuf's Chief of Staff, Andi Achmad Rifai,⁴⁶ had a record of service which saw him almost exclusively serving in Sulawesi. A veteran of the War of Independence, he had been Mattalatta's Chief of Staff in the 1950 expedition and was then Chief of Staff of RI-23 at Pare Pare under Colonel Soeadi Soeromihardjo (1954-57). Significantly, in 1957, Soeromihardjo⁴⁷ was appointed Commander of the first Garuda Contingent to a United Nations peacekeeping force, serving with the First UN Emergency Force in Gaza and the Sinai, leaving Rifai to command RI-23. Soeromihardjo was not only Japanese trained, but later attended Staff College at Quetta (Pakistan) and the General Staff and Command College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (USA), and was Commandant of the Indonesian Army Staff and Command College at Bandung (1959-61). Most notably however, he was the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia (1961-64) at the height of *Konfrontasi*.⁴⁸ Rifai was Chief of Staff of KODAM XIV (1959-65) under General

⁴³ Inaugural Commander KODAM III, 17 February to 23 September 1958.

⁴⁴ Inaugural Commander KODAM XIV, 1 June 1957 to 6 November 1959.

⁴⁵ Born Kajuara, Bone, South Sulawesi, 23 June 1928. Yusuf was one of three senior officers who particularly expressed their loyalty and faith in General Soeharto after the 1965 Coup attempt, and their willingness to overcome the security problems which existed. He was a Cabinet Minister (1964-78), Minister for Defence and Security and Armed Forces Commander (1978-83).

⁴⁶ Born South Sulawesi, 1928. *Batalyon C*, Brigade 16 in East Java (1948-49); Chief of Staff, *Batalyon Mattalatta* (1950); Chief of Staff (1954-57) and then Commander (1957) of RI-23, Pare Pare; Chief of Staff, KODAM XIV (1959-65); Governor of South Sulawesi (1965-68); Member of the Legislative Assembly (1968-72); Managing Director, PN Semen Tonasa.

⁴⁷ Born Ampenan, Lombok, 6 May 1921. PETA *Shodancho*, 1943-45; Commanded regiments and a Brigade (1946-49); Commanded Operation "*Merdeka Timur*" in the Merapi-Merbabu Complex (1950-51).

⁴⁸ Subsequently Ambassador to Ethiopia (1964-68) and Governor of the National Defence Institute (1968-70), having retired from the Army as a Lieutenant General.

Yusuf during the period of general mobilisation as a result of Confrontation, and was subsequently Governor of South Sulawesi (1965-68), a Member of the Legislative Assembly and then a Managing Director after his retirement, with the rank of Major General.



Insignia of KODAM XVI / Hasanuddin, 1957-83.

On 24 October 1959 Territorium VII was officially disbanded and the changes in titles were ratified while, on 31 March 1960, Government Regulation No.5/60 was promulgated, dividing Sulawesi into four separate provinces.

KOANDA-IT

During the tumultuous 1950s and 1960s, there were in existence three Inter-Area Commands (*Komando Antar Daerah*—KOANDA) for co-ordination between KODAMs outside of Java in the event of internal insurrection or external aggression. This was an attempt to establish a higher command intermediary between KODAM headquarters and the Armed Forces (ABRI) Commander. The eastern Indonesia region was designated as

KOANDA *Indonesia bagian Timur* (KOANDA-IT). Its final commander was Lieutenant General Achmad Kemal Idris.⁴⁹ A PETA *Shodancho* during WW2 and a battalion commander during the War of Independence, Idris later commanded the Garuda III Contingent to the Congo (1961-63) and was Chief of Staff and then Commander of KOSTRAD prior to taking up this appointment as Commander KOANDA-IT on 18 February 1969.

KOWILHAN IV

As security matters began to settle at the end of the 1960s, the Inter-Area Commands were abolished and in their place were established six Regional Defence Commands (*Komando Wilayah Pertahanan*—KOWILHAN) for co-ordination of defence matters.⁵⁰ While Sulawesi was the responsibility of two KODAMs, these were overseen by KOWILHAN IV, again intermediary between the KODAM headquarters and the ABRI Commander. KOWILHAN IV was established on 3 December 1969, and Lieutenant General Kemal Idris was its first commander (1969-72); he was subsequently Indonesian Ambassador to Yugoslavia (1972-76).

⁴⁹ Born Singaraja, Bali, 10 February 1923. Educated in Dutch schools in Makassar and served as a PETA *Shodancho*, 1943-45; Commander of Battalions 1 and 2, 12 Brigade, Yogyakarta (1945-49); Commander 14 Brigade, Jakarta (1949-55); Commander of Garuda III Contingent to the Congo (1961-63), Chief of Staff (1965-67) and Commander (1967-69) of KOSTRAD.

⁵⁰ Sumatra (I), Java (II), Kalimantan (III), Sulawesi (IV), Nusatenggara (V and VI).

In 1973 however, these Regional Defence Commands were reduced to just four,⁵¹ KOWILHAN III assuming responsibility for the five KODAMs of Sulawesi and Kalimantan (less West Kalimantan).

Trikora

Worthy of brief mention is Makassar's significant role in the early 1960s as an operational base for the campaign to liberate *Irian Barat*. After negotiations over the Dutch-administered Western New Guinea failed, Indonesia chose to follow a path of confrontation. In December 1961, President Soekarno issued the Peoples' Triple Command (*Tri-Komando Rakyat*—TRIKORA), which called on Indonesians to foil the formation of the Papua puppet state, to fly the national flag in West Irian, and to prepare for general mobilisation. On 2 January 1962, the Defence Council established *Mandala* ("Theatre of War") Command for the Liberation of West Irian, which was tasked with conducting *Operasi Trikora*. Having already played a significant role in Makassar, Brigadier General Soeharto returned as Commander of *Komando Mandala*.

Karebosi Field in Makassar, behind Fort Rotterdam, was filled with people when President Soekarno transferred the position of Territorial Deputy for East Indonesia from Major General Achmad Yani to the newly promoted Major General Soeharto on 13 January 1962. Meanwhile, an agreement was reached and a ceasefire was ordered on 18 August 1962, the UN Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) was established in September, and then, on 1 May 1963, in the presence of General Achmad Yani (now Commander of the Indonesian Army), liberated West Irian became the Indonesian province of *Irian Jaya*; *Mandala* Command was disbanded on this same day. A monument to the liberation of *Irian Barat* is currently being erected in Ujung Pandang, on the site of General Soeharto's *Mandala* Command Headquarters, on which site once stood the impressive Governor's Palace and now houses a Police Barracks.

South Sulawesi, 1965

The G-30-S faction (*Gerakan 30 September*⁵²) of the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*—PKI) was responsible for an attempted coup against President Soekarno on the night of 30 September 1965, led by Syam alias Kamaruzaman, Chairman of the PKI Special Bureau. A number of leading generals were murdered that night, including General Achmad Yani, Army Minister and Commander of the Army. Following the coup attempt, Soekarno appointed Major General Soeharto as Army Minister and Commander on 5 October and then, on 11 March 1966, delegated his powers completely to General Soeharto to restore law and order. The following day, 12 March 1966, General Soeharto dismissed Soekarno from power, and embarked on a campaign in which the PKI and all other communist organisations were ruthlessly disbanded, and over 750,000 communists were captured and executed. The strongly anti-communist Soeharto was proclaimed President in October 1968 and instituted his "New Order" (*Ordo Baru*—ORBA).

Meanwhile, late in 1965, as the PKI communists embarked on a campaign in Sulawesi attacking local Army units, *Korps Mariner*⁵³ marines made numerous amphibious assaults on the southern coast, carried to shore in Soviet K-61 tracked landing vehicles and supported by Soviet PT-76 light amphibious tanks, obtained under an agreement for the purchase of arms from the

⁵¹ Sumatra & West Kalimantan (I), Java, Madura & Nusatenggara (II), Sulawesi & Kalimantan (III), and Maluku & Irian Jaya (IV).

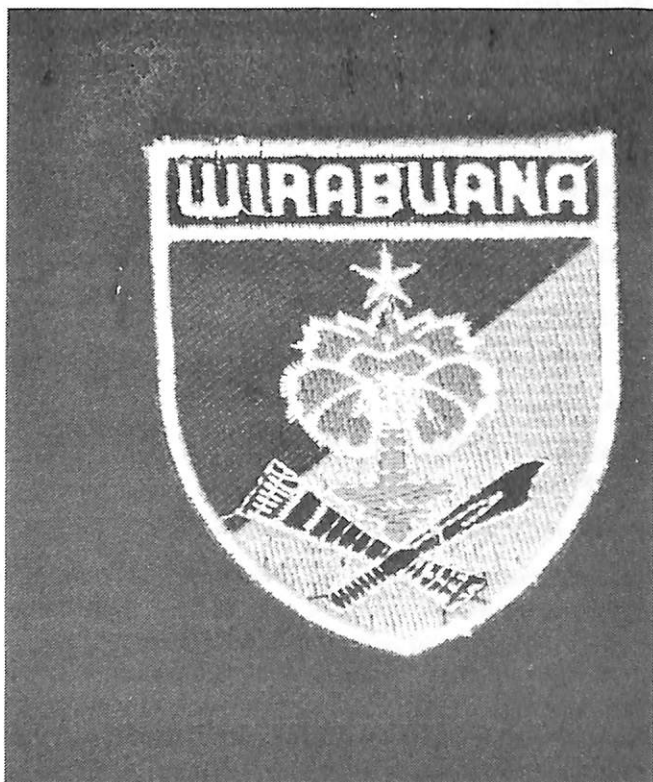
⁵² Also named *Gestapu* (from *Gerakan September Tiga Puluh*).

⁵³ KKO: *Korps Komando* or *Korps Mariner* (Marine Corps).

Soviet Union, signed in Jakarta on 4 March 1961.⁵⁴ Both vehicles were introduced into service into the Marines in 1962, and had served them well in Irian Jaya and Kalimantan, and would later be used in the campaign to liberate East Timor (1975-79). In this and several other actions at about this time, the value of a centrally controlled amphibious strike force was well demonstrated.

KODAM VII / Wirabuana

Upon the appointment of General Benny Moerdani as Minister for Defence and Security and Armed Forces Commander on 29 March 1983, succeeding General Yusuf (1978-83), Indonesian military strategy entered a new phase. There was a rationalisation between central and territorial forces, and the number of strategic compartments (KODAMs) was reduced to ten. The Navy and Air Force were in support, but centrally controlled, and there was established a central reserve able to respond effectively to major internal security problems as experienced through the 1950s. The two KODAMs which had held responsibility for Sulawesi from 1957 to 1985 were amalgamated to form a single Military Area Command. KODAM VII / *Wirabuana* was formed from KODAM XIII / *Merdeka* (dissolved on 1 May 1985) and KODAM XIV / *Hasanuddin* (dissolved on 3 May). Similarly, KOWILHAN III and the other Regional Defence Commands were abolished completely in July 1985.



Insignia of KODAM VII / *Wirabuana*, 1983-present.

KODAM VII has its Headquarters in Ujung Pandang and today comprises eight infantry battalions (of which one is airborne), one cavalry (assault) battalion, one field artillery battalion and one engineer battalion. As with all KODAMs, it provides a capability to deal with any internal security problem as it arises, or to provide an initial response in the event of external aggression, and is commanded by an Army Major General, who is answerable directly to the Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief. Of interest, commanding this KODAM until recently was the Acehnese Major General Tamlicha Ali who had led the Indonesian Garuda contingent to Cambodia, and served with the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) as Lieutenant General John Sanderson's Chief of Staff.

⁵⁴ In order to increase pressure on the Dutch Government and to improve Indonesia's military ability to liberate West Irian by force of arms if required.

Members of KODAM VII wear a shoulder patch which was created by the merging of the two insignia of its predecessors: crossed sword and shield beneath a lontar palm, with the Army star above, and the title "Wirabuana" across the top. The KODAM motto is "Setia Hingga Akhir" (Loyal to the End), a particularly appropriate expression of fidelity considering the history of this renegade region. The symbolism of the lontar palm lies in the region's earliest history, its leaves being the first form of paper; *lontara* is considered to be derived from *rontala*, from Makassarese *raun* (leaf) and *tala* (the Lontar palm, *Barassus flabelliformis*).⁵⁵ *Lontara* has come to represent the hieroglyphic script of the Makassans (which originated during the reign of the 9th King of Gowa in the early 16th Century) and all forms of written history recorded in that script. Thus, the lontar palm is the embodiment of Sulawesi history, and has been used by Territorium VII, KODAM XIV/Hasanuddin and by the present KODAM VII/Wirabuana to identify their role (both military and social) in preserving the heritage of the region.



From earliest times, Sulawesi and South Sulawesi in particular have had strong links with northern Australia. Wells, tamarind trees and language have today been replaced by commerce and trade, as the business link between Darwin and Ujung Pandang continues to develop. The NT Trade Expo held in Darwin, the Eastern Indonesia Trade Expo held in Ujung Pandang, and such sporting and cultural exchanges as the Arafura Games are helping rekindle links which existed in a previous era. Notably, a Trade Zone Partnership Agreement was established between the Makassar Industrial Estate (PT Kima) and Darwin's Trade Development Zone in 1992, the first major initiative to result from the Memorandum of Understanding on Economic Development Cooperation between the Indonesian and Northern Territory Governments, signed in Jakarta on 21 January 1992. Such initiatives are developing the potential held by Darwin as a strategic port, equidistant between southern Australian and the markets of Asia, and also that of Ujung Pandang as the central strategic port of Eastern Indonesia—a practical linking of fabled Makassar and legendary *Marege*.

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⁵⁵ Historical fragment, *Lontara*, *Journal of Hasanuddin University*. 1(2): 123-124.

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The Military Historical Society of Australia

Federal Council

Notice of 1996 Annual General Meeting

Monday 26 August 1996

RSL Club Civic

7.30 pm

In accordance with section 5(a) of the MHSa Constitution (1993), half the members of Federal Council retire at each AGM. Nev Foldi, Richard Murison and Peter Sinfield were elected for two years at the 1995 AGM. The other three positions on Federal Council will be declared vacant at this AGM. Nominations will be received by the Federal Secretary up to and at the AGM for three Councillors to serve for two years from August 1995.

Book reviews

Judith Ingle, *From Duntroon to the Dardanelles: A biography of Lt William Henry Dawkins*, Self-published, 36 Wilson Street, Curtin, ACT, 319 pages, \$30 soft cover plus postage

The wages and waste of war are illustrated in this recent biography of a young man who trained for four years and survived but 19 days on the battlefield at Gallipoli. The material used in the telling of this young man, Royal Military College graduate, Lt William Dawkins, is as fascinating as the result is disappointing.

First, the book will fascinate many for the sheer diversity of its original material arranged basically into three book sections; his training in Australia, his training in Egypt, followed by his death and a number of appendices. All sections are well illustrated, particularly the photographs, ranging from early life as a three year old to a young pith-helmeted cadet wielding a pick in a trench-digging exercise at RMC Duntroon. Reproduced are his letters home from the Australians' training camp at Mena in Egypt which fairly drip with the detail of life and training of a young man on his first big adventure. And the consoling letters to his parents on his death, from a grateful King, his friend Kitty McDougall, fellow officers, friends and relatives reveal a society of yesteryear.

The author is to be complemented for assembling such an array of primary-source material but the writing of a truly memorable book eludes her. For here was someone unique: William Henry Dawkins, aged 21 years and 9 months, five feet four inches high, the top graduating cadet of the Royal Military College First Class of 1911 landing at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915.

With the outbreak of war on 5 August 1914 Dawkins' training was cut short by four months, being discharged from RMC on 14 August 1914 and receiving his commission as a Special Graduate (for service in Expeditionary Force) on the same day. Much of the book (319 pages) describe his early days at Duntroon (pages 1 to 66)—which is well done—followed by a section (pages 67 to 154) consisting mostly of reproductions of letters home telling of his experiences as the Australians train in Egypt. His war service of nineteen days at Gallipoli is retold in barest detail between pages 155 to 164.

It is a shame that the meticulous narrative, and partly analytical style, featured in the book's early Duntroon section was not continued throughout. With little additional effort, using official sources, the letters of Dawkins' great mate, Mirams, and the memories of Sapper Morey, who was with 'Dawks' when he died, a memorable story might have emerged, explaining the naming of Dawkins Point, which seems significant, and the unfolding drama of Dawkins' last 19 days. Hopefully others may feel motivated. And it will be interesting if those others adopt the technique used by Bill Gammage in his brilliant study of soldiers in the First World War, *The Broken Years*, based on the diaries and letters of Australians. And more recently that by Denis Winter, who used the style, albeit sparingly, to great effect in *25 April 1915*.

I have some minor comments that might have improved the book. I would have preferred different treatment for the material provided in Appendix 2. Here the author presents reproductions of letters concerning the disposal and distribution of Dawkins' effects; his paybook, his medals and his stored effects to name just a few. Some comment on the actions, and inactions, of the officials involved might have made more interesting reading. And the

background and reasons for the Gallipoli campaign could have been more fully, and better, explained. For they were the reasons that placed young Dawkins in harm's way.

Notwithstanding, Judith Ingle is to be commended for gathering much unpublished material—notes, letters and photographs—for inclusion in her biography of the young Australian army engineer. Like fellow reviewer, Hugh Collins, in *Stand To*, April/May 1996, *From Duntroon To the Dardanelles*, will take a place in the literature of Anzac history. In particular it is a new and rich source of history surrounding Australia's Royal Military College, Duntroon, and the training of army officers before the First World War. — Barry Clissold

Book Launch

The ACT Heritage Festival, celebrating "Our Shared Heritage", and including a wide range of cultural displays and other activities, was conducted in the Canberra area from 1-30 April 1996. The Society accepted the organisers' invitation to participate and chose as its contribution, the launch of our long-serving member and office-holder Clem Sargent's book, *The Colonial Garrison 1917-1824*.

Our new Patron, Air Marshal Gratton, launched the book, which was reviewed in the January-March 1996 issue of *Sabretache*, at a well-attended function at RSL National Headquarters in Canberra on 10 April 1996, in the presence of a number of distinguished guests, members of the ACT Branch of the Society, and members of the public (including several who identified themselves as potential members). Useful publicity for the Society was generated both before and after the activity through the Heritage Festival Program, among the other national and ACT bodies that participated in it and by a full report of the launch in the *The Canberra Times*.

Letters

Major Bob Shillaker

It was with considerable interest that I read Barry Clissold's very fine article on the 2/48th Battalion's attack on Trig 29 (*Sabretache* Vol. XXXVI, No.3). In particular his many references to Major Bob Shillaker. Bob was a long time work mate of my father in the South Australian Public Service. I made Bob's acquaintance in the early 1980s when I was undertaking some research into the service career of my father's uncle who served with the 2/48th and who was killed in action with the Battalion at El Alamein.

Unfortunately, Bob was not able to shed much light on my great-uncle's service as my great-uncle was a private serving in another company (C Company). But I would like to record here that Bob was a man of great modesty (as Barry Clissold mentions), friendliness and generosity. He was very much a gentleman. One particular incident recalls for me his generosity. This was loaning me his medal group so that I could show it to fellow members of the South Australian Branch. Bob's group consisted of the Military Cross, the 1939-45 Star, the Africa Star (clasp "8th Army"), the Defence Medal, the War Medal, the Australia Service Medal 1939-45, and the Efficiency Medal (clasp "Australia")—a fine group of medals to a fine Australian.

David Vivian
4 Hamley Street
Morphettville SA 5043

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



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