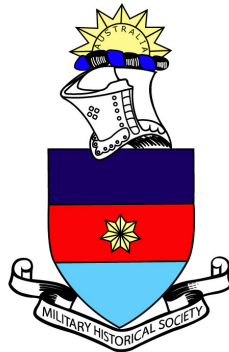


Military Historical Society of Australia
Sabretache



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EDITORIAL

It's an interesting and educational experience to view Anzac Day through the eyes of other cultures. This, the centenary of the Gallipoli landing, found my wife and me holidaying in the south of France. While we didn't spend much time in front of the TV, it was apparent that the only detailed coverage the event was receiving was on the BBC news channel, despite the fact that the French sent a sizable contingent to the landing – not to mention their navy's serious losses in shipping in the assault on the Dardanelles which preceded the military expedition. French media was obviously too involved in looking forward to the 70th anniversary of VE Day to devote much time to what was for them, after all, just another campaign in the Great War. In fact, more time was devoted to 2015 marking the centenary of the Armenian genocide than of the Gallipoli campaign.

Instead there were seemingly endless documentaries and dramatisations of Second World War subjects: the Resistance, the liberation of Paris and other cities, the crimes of the Gestapo and the SS, and, curiously, a substantial emphasis on the career of General Charles de Gaulle. Not only did his tall, beaky figure feature prominently on the screen, most notably in a miniseries where the actor playing him bore a startlingly close resemblance to the general, but there was a special ceremony in front of his statue at the Grand Palais, Paris as part of the VE celebrations. Perhaps this revival of interest marks a sign of the times; when the statue was first unveiled in 2000 his brand of politics termed 'Gaullism' had been seriously discredited and his reputation, according to one source, was 'in ruins'. My suspicions were reinforced by a visit to the Musée de l'Armée at Les Invalides, where the entire basement floor is devoted to a newly-opened permanent Charles de Gaulle 'monument' – yet another example of those loud and lively, but ultimately rather alienating, multimedia displays.

Returning to the reporting of Anzac Day, it was clear that even for the BBC the centenary represented 'someone else's' celebration. That is, it effectively carried little intrinsic significance for British audiences, and instead was reported – apart from some footage of the ceremony at the Cenotaph in London – as an almost purely Australian and New Zealand affair. This is only to be expected, of course, when Anzac Day in the UK receives its full due in Bury, the 'home' of the former Lancashire Fusiliers, and few if any other places. And so the coverage of events at Anzac Cove itself consisted almost entirely of a New Zealand reporter presenting items and interviews of Antipodean visitors and dignitaries dealing with Anzac's importance in shaping the identity of their respective nations. The more I think about it, the more paradoxical it seems how our involvement in a European war in support of a British empire has led, a century later, to our almost complete separation from both Europe and that empire – in our eyes, certainly, but also very obviously in the eyes of others.

On a final note, and before we get accused of, well ... not present for the big event, I should add that back in 1990 we attended the 75th anniversary of Anzac at the site itself. What a different time and occasion that was: Cannakale was full of backpackers playing cricket in the main street while Turkish police looked on with puzzled amusement; we stood all night on the beach waiting for the dawn; Bob Hawke was prime minister and security was light; and more tellingly, surviving veterans – one of whom celebrated his 104th birthday that day – were able to retrace their steps ashore after all those years. It all felt rather spontaneous and improvised, but it had an authenticity that for me can never be surpassed, not even by centenary celebrations.

Paul Skrebels

‘VETERAN SOLDIER AND A GOOD CITIZEN’: CORPORAL WILLIAM JOHN BURK (1886-1926)

Paul A. Rosenzweig¹

The Baker has not been an active trade within the Royal Australian Army Ordnance Corps for several decades now, but throughout many campaigns and operations field bakeries were the mainstay of deployed Australian forces. Corporal William Burk from Adelaide served in France in 1916-17 with one of the five field bakeries raised to support the AIF, and recently accessed files show that he was also with the Military Provost Staff for a year before enlisting. Burk was certainly a baker by trade, but the tattoos which were recorded on his upper arms and forearms suggested he was much more – supposedly a former Royal Marine Gunner and a veteran of conflicts against Boers and Boxers. More notably though, researching William Burk has unearthed a unique Anzac Day commemoration which began in a northeastern suburb of Adelaide after the war and continued for at least the next three decades.

Ladysmith and Peking

According to his statements on his AIF application in 1916, William John Burk was born in May 1876 in Burton-on-Trent in the east of Staffordshire, and he served for three years in the Royal Navy and two years in the Territorial Army. This history is supposedly backed up by his medals (see Fig.1, p.34): the Queen’s South Africa Medal with the single clasp ‘RELIEF OF LADYSMITH’ and the China War Medal with the clasp ‘RELIEF OF PEKIN’. However, neither of the medals are mentioned in his AIF records, and both are renamed – giving Burk as a Gunner (Royal Marines Artillery) from HMS *Terrible*.

Burk has not been identified in any British census or naval records however, nor in any medal rolls. Both medals bear the number ‘54’ and rank ‘Gunner’, suggesting he belonged to the Royal Marines Artillery: the service records for 1842-1925 held by the British National Archives list twelve marines with a service number of ‘54’ as having served at various times over several decades, but Burk is not among them.² There is no Burk listed as a member of the Naval Brigade despatched from HMS *Terrible* in South Africa,³ and there is no ‘William John Burk’ or variant of that name listed in the Queen’s South Africa Medal roll for HMS *Terrible*.⁴ Neither does that name or a variant appear in the China Medal roll for HMS *Terrible*.⁵ These facts initially led to the presumption that Burk had either served under a false name, and then resumed his birth name when he immigrated to Australia, or he served under his birth name and assumed the new identity ‘William John Burk’ when he emigrated. Alternatively, the

AWM	= Australian War Memorial
MPARR	= <i>Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record</i> (Renmark, SA)
NA	= National Archives, Kew (UK)
NAA	= National Archives of Australia

¹ Paul Rosenzweig is a collector of orders, decorations and medals, and is a non-professional military historian and biographer. He has contributed to *Sabretache* and various other historical journals and Defence publications on a voluntary basis regularly over the last thirty years.

² NA: ADM 159: Records of the Admiralty, Naval Forces, Royal Marines, Coastguard, and related bodies [Admiralty: Royal Marines: Registers of Service].

³ NA: ADM 171/54: ‘Nominal roll of the officers and men of the Naval and Marine Brigade who were landed in South Africa for service ashore with the naval guns’.

⁴ Fevyer & Wilson (1983) pp.115-125, 147-148; NA: ADM 171/53: ‘Medal roll of naval and Marine Brigade personnel who served ashore and afloat during the Boer War and were eligible for the Queen’s South Africa medal and the clasps listed below’.

⁵ NA: ADM 171/55: ‘Medal roll of naval and marine personnel who were landed in China during the Boxer Rebellion’.

medals may have been fraudulently renamed after his death.

New research has identified two specific known personal facts about Burk: he married in Norwood, SA on 8 June 1914 and he died in Renmark on 16 October 1926. For each of these events, his recorded age gives a date of birth in May 1886 (not 1876 as his AIF application claims), making him aged 13 or 14 when he was supposedly in South Africa and China. Fortuitously, the marriage record and corresponding newspaper entry names Burk's father as John Charles Burk who was at one time a resident of Petersburg in the mid-north of South Australia.⁶ From this information, it was revealed that John Burk was aged 28 when he married in Quorn, South Australia on 31 December 1881. His bride was Elizabeth Arbery (1867-1884), the 16 year old daughter of Joseph Arbery (1836-1913; born in Middlesex, England, and later of Crystal Brook, South Australia) and Elizabeth Anne, nee Smith (1843-1920).⁷ John and Elizabeth Burk had a total of nine children,⁸ of which William John Burk was their third child and second son, born in Petersburg on 1 May 1886⁹ – not Burton-on-Trent in Staffordshire, and not in 1876.

William Burk later came to Adelaide where he worked as a baker and cook, and it was in the leafy suburb of Norwood to the northeast of Adelaide that he met Gertrude York Edwards from England. She actually was from Staffordshire – born in Shropshire in the West Midlands on 3 August 1885, the fourth child of Edward Edwards and Sarah Ann (nee Lewis). While the details of Burk's life to this time are scant and lacking in evidence, the first solid fact is that in 1914 he married Miss Edwards at St Bartholomew's Anglican Church in Norwood, just west of Osmond Terrace (the bride's age was given as 29 years; groom's age 28 years):

MARRIAGES.

BURK-EDWARDS. On the 8th June, at St. Bartholomew's Church, Norwood, by Canon Andrews. William John, second son of the late John Charles Burk, of Boston, U.S. America, to Gertrude Y. Edwards, late of Wolverhampton, Staffs, England.¹⁰

Burk however is not listed as a resident in any local council assessments nor in any South Australian Directories from the period from 1910 to 1914. On his attestation papers from January 1915 he stated that his wife's address was 'care of Mr Edward Edwards' at 41 King Street in Norwood, one block west of Osmond Terrace. It seems that during 1914 William and Gertrude were living in the house owned by her brother Edward (born in 1880, Edward and Sarah's first child). King Street is very close to St Bartholomew's Church, at 77 Beulah Road, where William Burk married Gertrude Edwards. Among the bakeries in the Norwood area at that time were Carter's Bakery on The Parade, opposite the Norwood Hotel and close to Osmond Terrace, Opie Brothers' Bakery also on The Parade, and W J Hill's bakery (with Mr Hill being President of the Master Bakers Association of South Australia). It is most probable that Burk worked in one of these bakeries.

⁶ Petersburg was one of the names targeted by the South Australian 'Nomenclature Committee' during World War 1 to be changed to a more acceptable name, which was effected by the *Nomenclature Act* (No.1284 of 1917): Petersburg was simply anglicised to 'Peterborough'.

⁷ SA Marriage Index, 1909: 240/474; *The Advertiser* (Adelaide) 15 November 1913, p.18; 16 February 1922, p.6; Joseph died on 9 November 1913 aged 77 and was buried in Crystal Brook Cemetery: Row 9, Plot 547C; Elizabeth Arbery (nee Smith) died on 16 February 1920.

⁸ SA Marriage Index, 1881: 129/1311; Elizabeth Ann Burk (nee Arbery) was buried with her parents in Crystal Brook Cemetery, Row 9, Plot 547D.

⁹ SA Birth Index 1886: 371/460.

¹⁰ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide) 10 June 1914, p.14; see also *The Chronicle* (Adelaide) 13 June 1914, p.33; SA Marriage Index, 1914: 259/963.

Working in conjunction with the Renmark RSL historian, the details of Burk's death in 1926 were discovered. His obituary was replete with descriptions of his service with HMS *Terrible* and the naval brigade at Ladysmith and Waggon Hill in 1899-00, and then at Pekin in 1900, including specific references to his medals and clasps. However there are a number of significant inconsistencies in these reports, and the more Burk has been researched the more inconsistencies have arisen. It is now abundantly clear that Burk was born in South Australia, and there is no record of him entering the UK in the 1890s to enlist, individually or with a parent. And there is also no doubt that he was born in 1886: his tales of serving in South Africa and China were a fabrication.

Australian Military Forces

Accessing Burk's military records from 1915 reveal that on 18 January 1915 Burk enlisted in Liverpool, NSW in the Australian Military Forces (AMF) for Home Service.¹¹ He claimed to be English-born, but on this occasion stated his age to be 28 years and 8 months, which indicates a date of birth in May 1886 (at this time he probably had no reason to lie about his age). He claimed previous service with the Royal Navy and Territorials¹² and the tattoos on his right arm and forearm noted by the medical officer probably supported this claim.

Burk was appointed to the Military Provost Staff (MPS) of the 2nd Military District (2MD). The MPS had been raised in 1911 within each Military District to enforce the compulsory obligations of the Universal Training Scheme (but notably, the MPS had no military policing responsibilities). After the outbreak of war however, the provosts were increasingly assigned to security duties such as guarding internee compounds, prisoners-of-war and vital installations, and policing the garrison cities such as Sydney and Melbourne. In Liverpool, Provost Staff were posted as pickets at every available entrance to the railway station and even the traffic bridge across the railway line after the town was made absolutely out-of-bounds to the encamped troops in late 1915.

Burk had stated his trade as 'baker and cook' when he applied, and it seems he was employed as such at the Liverpool Military Depot. In March 1915 Sgt Trinaman and Cpl Burk demonstrated the use of a 'travelling field kitchen' at Victoria Barracks in Sydney for cooking under service conditions, one of three such kitchens donated by the Women's Liberal League of New South Wales:

Three legs of mutton, soup, stew, and potatoes were cooked to a turn, and tasted by members of the league, who pronounced the result as 'excellent'. One of the kitchens was harnessed up and taken round the ground by its pair of horses and driver, first at the walk and then at the trot, so that the donors might see how it looked when actually travelling.¹³

At the beginning of 1916 Burk prepared to join the AIF, and on 1 March 1916 he transferred to Depot Company with the rank of sergeant. By this time, Burk and his wife were living at Mark Lodge in Fairfield, and Gertrude had just given birth to their first child Joan, born at Paddington on 18 February. Burk was discharged from the AMF on 25 March 1916 for the purposes of volunteering for the Australian Imperial Force, having completed 429 days' service in Australia.

¹¹ NAA: MT1486/1, 'BURK/WILLIAM JOHN', item barcode 6530821.

¹² The Territorial Force was established in 1908 under the *Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907* which combined the previous Volunteer Force with the mounted Yeomanry.

¹³ *The Maitland Daily Mercury* (NSW) 4 March 1915, p.2; *The Sydney Morning Herald* (NSW) 4 March 1915, p.5.

3rd Field Bakery

William Burk applied for the AIF at Victoria Barracks in Sydney on 27 March 1916. The *Evening News* described him as a ‘baker’ from Fairfield in a list published under the heading ‘ANSWER THE CALL. RECRUITING IN SYDNEY’.¹⁴ On his ‘Application to Enlist’ the medical officer initially wrote down that Burk was 29 years and 10 months but someone later changed this to read ‘39’. On his attestation papers Burk stated his age as 39 years and 10 months, although the medical officer wrote down 29 years and 10 months.¹⁵ Was Burk concerned that at the age of 29 he might be allotted to an infantry battalion, so instead claimed to be 39 to guarantee getting in to a bakery unit? There are many stories from both world wars of teenagers putting their age up in order to enlist, but how many 29-year-olds claimed to be ten years older? This theory is reinforced by an analysis which was conducted of the enlistment ages of 467 members of the five Australian field bakeries: bakers as a group drew far fewer recruits aged under 20, and far more aged over 40, than the infantry and the AIF generally.¹⁶ Burk, married with a young child, clearly felt that stating a higher age might keep him safe.

Again though, he claimed to be English-born and stated his previous service with the Royal Navy and the Territorials, but gave no dates or details. This medical officer also recorded his tattoos, which had grown more extensive in the past year, again supporting his claim of prior naval service. Burk was enlisted in Sydney on 6 April 1916 – five days after Lt William Nash, a baker from Balmain, NSW, was authorised to raise a field bakery. Burk was allocated the regimental number 11448, and was assigned to the Australian Army Service Corps (ASC). On 1 May, he was promoted to the rank of corporal and was allotted to the 27th (Bakery) Company ASC commanded by Nash. Together with the other prospective members of this unit, his baking skills were tested at the State Bakery at Stanmore in Sydney.

With the raising of the 3rd Australian Division, various assigned units underwent name changes to become the 3rd Divisional Supply Column and 3rd Field Butchery, for example – as well as the 3rd Field Bakery, which was created from the 27th (Bakery) Company ASC.¹⁷ Of all of the services and amenities provided to the AIF, perhaps none were more appreciated by the troops in the field than freshly baked bread. To provide these daily supplements, there were eventually five field bakeries established – each supplying enough bread to feed an entire division. Over 700 men served in these five AIF bakery units. First, supporting the Anzacs on the Gallipoli Peninsula had been the 1st Field Bakery on the nearby island of Imbros (briefly on Lemnos at the start of the campaign), also known as the ‘ANZAC Field Bakery’ (earlier supporting the AIF in Egypt at Zeitoun and Tel-el-Kebir).¹⁸ Outdoor ‘Aldershot’ ovens were used to bake the bread, some 10,000 two-pound loaves daily. The 2nd and 3rd Field Bakeries were then raised in Australia to support the 2nd and 3rd Divisions respectively.¹⁹ To support the 4th and 5th Australian Divisions, two further field bakeries were raised from the existing units in March 1916.²⁰

¹⁴ *Evening News* (Sydney) 28 March 1916, p.6.

¹⁵ NAA: B2455, ‘BURK W J’, item barcode 3168792.

¹⁶ Etccl (2004) p.123.

¹⁷ AWM: AWM4, 25/40/1 – 3rd Australian Field Bakery War Diary 1916-19; *The Sydney Morning Herald* (NSW) 16 August 1916, p.11.

¹⁸ 1st Field Bakery – formed in September 1914 from the 13th (Bakery) Company ASC; departed Melbourne on A35 HMAT *Berrima*, 22 December 1914; served Egypt, Gallipoli and the Western Front.

¹⁹ 2nd Field Bakery – formed in July 1915 from the 19th (Bakery) Company ASC; departed Sydney on A23 HMAT *Suffolk*, 30 November 1915; served Egypt and the Western Front.

²⁰ 4th Field Bakery – formed in Egypt in March 1916 from the 1st Field Bakery; 5th Field Bakery – formed in Egypt in March 1916 from the 2nd Field Bakery.

Burk embarked at Woolloomooloo in Sydney with the 3rd Field Bakery and the 1st Reinforcements on 18 May 1916 on the transport 'A64' HMAT *Demosthenes* bound for England. On the unit's nominal roll, Cpl Burk's age was given as 40, which is now known to be incorrect. Because of time pressures, the loading of stores continued right up to the moment of embarkation, as Lt Nash noted in the war diary:

In this connection, I cannot but enter a word of praise for the way in which my NCOs carried out their duties, and the smoothness with which the unit embarked was due in great measure to their indefatigable efforts and organisation.²¹

For four months at Larkhill Camp on Salisbury Plain, the 3rd Field Bakery undertook the issue of bread for the whole division, producing an average of 25,000 pounds per day from the British 'Aldershot' ovens there. Burk embarked with the Bakery at Folkstone on 21 November 1916 for passage to France, and the 3rd Division moved to Armentieres in December under the command of Maj Gen John Monash. The hundred-man 3rd Field Bakery established itself at Calais, collocated with the 2nd Field Bakery and a number of British bakery units, from which daily pack trains were dispatched to the divisions at the front.²²

Logistics has been a key warfighting enabler ever since humanity first took up arms, and the sustenance of an army in the field has long been recognised as a limiting factor. Sun Tzu saw no need to carry food into battle: 'Bring war material with you from home, but forage on the enemy. Thus the army will have food enough for its needs'. Otherwise, food could be found in the field: 'Make forays in fertile country in order to supply your army with food'.²³ But foraging is not always successful, or possible. To sustain prolonged campaigns, it has long been recognised that some form of support must accompany the military contingent. Modern Australian Defence Force logistics doctrine begins with the observation that the success of operations depends on appropriate logistics support being provided where and when needed. This aspect has long been acknowledged: to ensure that campaigns were not lost through lack of supplies, a British Corps of Wagoners was formed in 1794. Throughout the ensuing two centuries, one of the hardest-learned lessons in military operations was the indivisibility of vital supplies (food, fuel and ammunition) from their delivery system – hence the amalgamation of several British Corps into the Royal Logistic Corps in 1993.

For the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, the Prussian Army deployed with a complete 'rear services' organisation, including field bakery companies. Commonwealth formations during the Great War similarly had bakery units within their logistic structure. The Canadian Expeditionary Force in France for example, had four field bakeries, while a fifth deployed with the Canadian Siberian Expeditionary Force to Vladivostok. During the war, the US Army's Service of Supply included field bakeries in which a squad of six men could bake enough bread to sustain a regiment: using one field oven, they could produce 756 loaves of bread every 24 hours.²⁴ From their reliance on these garrison loaves, or 'doughs' in baker's terms, the American troops gained their nickname 'doughboys' – reflecting the words of the French gourmet and lawyer Anthelme Brillat-Savarin in 1825: 'Tell me what you eat, and I will tell

²¹ AWM: AWM4, 25/40/1 – 3rd Australian Field Bakery War Diary.

²² The 3rd Field Bakery departed Calais on 14 August 1918 and relocated to Rouen.

²³ Giles, L (1910) *Sun Tzu on the Art of War, The oldest military treatise in the world* ('Art of War' by Sun Tzu, translated from the Chinese).

²⁴ *Manual for the Quartermaster Corps United States Army*. War Department. Doc 562. Washington, 1916; Deitrick, Capt L L (ed) *Manual for Army Bakers*. War Department. Doc 563. Washington, 1916; Karoly, S (1999) '1916 Field Bakery Schedule' – http://www.seabeecook.com/cookery/cooking/bake_sched1916.htm

you what you are'.²⁵

Lt Nash noted that the various bakery units in Calais were housed in an old four-storey paper factory; the second floor was used for moulding the bread, and the two upper floors were devoted to the making of dough. The 3rd Field Bakery was using twelve large and twelve small 'Hunt' steam ovens on the ground floor. A bread-train conveyed the finished loaves to a separate bread store; other separate facilities included a yeast room, a brewhouse for making yeast, and a flour store which received supplies from Calais or Dunkirk by rail. This facility, with around 1000 bakers in total, was later supplemented by nine 'Perkins' ovens, ultimately increasing to 39 to increase the output sufficient to cope with any damage sustained through air raids. Nash recorded an average output of 400,000 pounds per day from the facility, with the occasional maximum daily output of 440,000 pounds.

The war diaries of the 2nd and 3rd Field Bakeries both report little more than strengths and outputs, reflecting the monotonous regularity of the daily duties. Capt Nash noted his inability to give anything in the way of an 'illuminating diary'. As respite from the tedium of work and the incessant bad weather, of an evening the bakers were permitted to leave camp to visit the local cafés and taverns and enjoy beer, wine, fried eggs and chips. Burk's records indicate no evidence of disciplinary infractions as a result of these privileges.

On 13 February 1917, Burk was hospitalised in the 30th British General Hospital at Calais with a severe inflammation of the stomach. His enlistment medicals had noted an appendix scar, and there was later some suggestion that his abdominal complaint may have been related to his earlier appendectomy. He was evacuated to England and on 22 July he embarked for return to Australia on 'A71' HMAT *Nestor*. William Burk was discharged as 'medically unfit' at Sydney on 22 October 1917 with the rank of corporal.

Norwood

Burk returned to South Australia, living with his wife Gertrude and young daughter Joan in Margaret Street in Norwood, five small blocks east from Osmond Terrace. Once again, Burk is not listed as a resident in the local council assessments nor in any South Australian Directories from the period 1920 to 1925 (these were compiled once each year). Burk's two war medals are both correctly impressed on the rim, and a receipt on his service file shows that the Victory Medal was sent to Margaret Street from Keswick Barracks in Adelaide, and was received in February 1923.²⁶ By this time a second daughter had been born.

Burk was a member of the Norwood branch of the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA), which had its premises in Woods Street, off The Parade a little west of Osmond Terrace. This was a reasonably substantial branch, with a strength of 100 members reported in 1928. The Norwood branch was instrumental in erecting a Soldiers' Memorial to be a tribute to those from Kensington and Norwood who fell in the Great War. The Chairman of the Kensington & Norwood Soldiers' Memorial Committee was Alderman Nathan Solomons JP, who had served as Alderman from 1919 to 1927, and was Mayor of Norwood in 1918-20. He was also a Justice of the Peace and a member of the Justices' Association of South Australia, and served as President of that association in 1916-17. Funds were raised during 1919-20 through such activities as lacrosse and football carnivals at the Norwood Oval.²⁷ The intention was to create a long parkland as the wide median strip of

²⁵ Brillat-Savarin, A (1925) *The Physiology of Taste*. A Sauterlet & Cie, Paris.

²⁶ NAA: B2455, 'BURK W J', item barcode 3168792.

²⁷ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide) 4 August 1919, p.9.

Osmond Terrace running south from Magill Road, which is today a unique aspect of Norwood's urban landscape.

The memorial itself was a tapered square-cut obelisk of grey granite mounted on a pedestal and two-tier base, bearing bronze plaques displaying the names of the fallen. It was erected at the intersection of Osmond Terrace with The Parade, which was just a short walk from the RSSILA clubhouse. Completed in May 1923 and unveiled by the Governor on 3 June, the first Anzac Day service at this Soldiers' Memorial was held in April 1924; from that date this Osmond Terrace Soldiers' Memorial became the focal venue for Anzac Day services for the Kensington and Norwood communities.²⁸

The 3rd Field Bakery AIF and its 1st Reinforcements, had comprised Lt (later Captain) William Nash and 92 men, with a total of 102 members recorded as serving in the unit throughout the war.²⁹ It was intended that the unit would comprise solely men from NSW but just prior to embarkation numbers were made up by around twenty from Victoria and Tasmania: the Nominal Roll reflects this, and shows that none of the unit's members had a home address in South Australia, and neither did any have a next-of-kin residing in South Australia. There were no deaths from the 3rd Field Bakery attributed to the war, and there were only some 20 bakers in total from the five field bakeries who gave South Australia as their place of birth. The significance of this is that William Burk returned to South Australia as the only member of his unit, with no mates to be listed on the proposed local war memorial to honour and no mates to 'reunite' with on Anzac Day – he was a solitary baker in a returned soldiers branch dominated by veterans of the 10th, 27th and 43rd Battalions and other 'fighting' units.

Any glance at the historical record from the Great War shows an overbearing emphasis on the combatants – the 'gunslingers' in modern Army parlance – with some brief mention of support services but generally only those which operated in hazardous circumstances. It is clear that, 'Very few historians have studied the roles of non-fighting combatants whose contribution is considered as lacklustre, such as the Australian Field Bakeries'.³⁰ More so perhaps than any other support service, without any laurels or battle statistics the Australian field bakeries do not feature at all in the historiography of the Great War or the Anzac legend.

Captain John Treloar of the Australian War Records Section in London wrote in 1917 about the bakery units then serving in France:

These units are doing good and useful work, and I can conceive of no greater injustice than that there should be no reference to them in the history of the A.I.F. merely because their duty does not place them more in the limelight.³¹

But in fact they did not receive anything more than a passing mention. A doctoral study of the field bakeries concluded that, 'a perceived lack of masculinity and heroism have seen the men of the Australian Field Bakeries excluded from all existing Anzac historiography'.³² It would not be surprising to find that Burk did not feel comfortable within RSSILA gatherings so soon after the war, given his 'lacklustre' and 'unmasculine' contribution. But clearly he *would* have

²⁸ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide) 1 June 1923, p.8; 2 June 1923, p.17; *Daily Herald* (Adelaide) 5 June 1923, p.4; *The Register* (Adelaide, SA) 2 June 1923, p.8; 21 April 1924, p.7.

²⁹ AWM: RCDIG1067515 (AWM8/25/40/1) - 3 Field Bakery and 1 Reinforcements (27 ASC) (May 1916).

³⁰ Etccl (2004) p.1.

³¹ AWM: AWM4/25/39 Captain J Treloar, letter to Captain J Miles, 2nd Field Bakery AIF dated 29 October 1917 (cited by Etccl, 2004, p.5).

³² Etccl (2004) p.i.

been attracted to a commemorative service organised by a fellow baker.

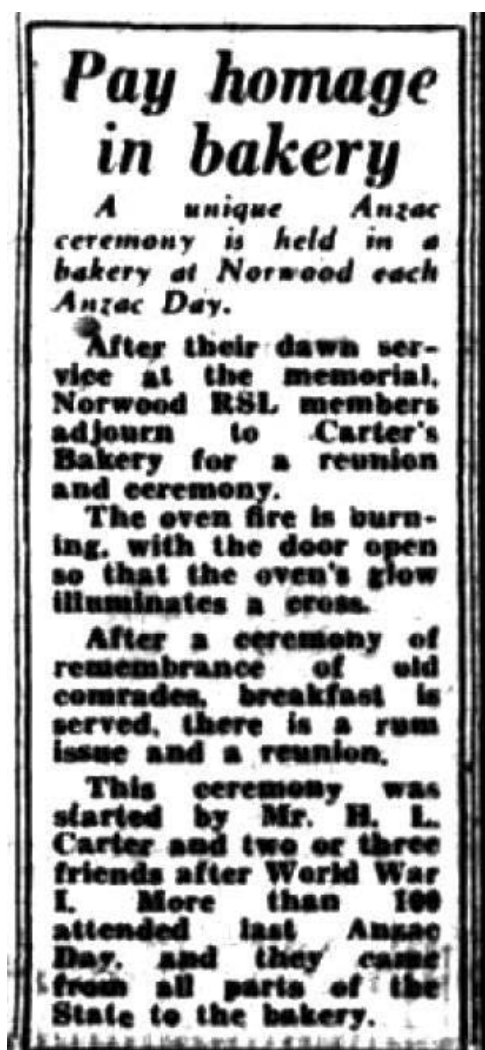
Working as a baker in Norwood, it is understandable that Burk would join with a fellow baker and veteran to commemorate Anzac Day. This act became a tradition, as was reported thirty years later:

A unique Anzac ceremony is held in a bakery at Norwood each Anzac Day. After their dawn service at the memorial, Norwood RSL members adjourn to Carter's Bakery for a reunion and ceremony. The oven fire is burning, with the door open so that the oven's glow illuminates a cross. After a ceremony of remembrance of old comrades, breakfast is served, there is a rum issue and a reunion.³³

While it may seem odd to pay homage in a bakery (see Fig.2), there are three key aspects to this. Firstly, the ceremony was begun by Mr Herbert Carter and two or three friends after World War 1: although 3053 Pte Herbert Lionel Carter had served as a rifleman with the South Australian 27th Bn AIF³⁴ he was a master baker in Norwood before the war and for many years after. The second important aspect is that Carter's Bakery was located at 128 The Parade, just two doors down from Osmond Terrace and a block away from the RSSILA clubhouse. And thirdly, from 1919 to 1923 there was no cenotaph or war memorial in Norwood (the first Anzac Day service at the new Kensington & Norwood Soldiers' Memorial was held in 1924). The RSSILA clubhouse was just a few blocks west along The Parade from where William Burk was living in Margaret Street and to get there, Burk *had* to walk past Carter's bakery.

The old cottage which housed Carter's Bakery, opposite the Norwood Hotel, is today 'Parade Thai' and amid the expected Siamese décor on the walls of this restaurant is an old framed photo of the original bakery. It was reported in 1953 that more than a hundred veterans from all parts of the state took part in this unique annual oven-front Anzac Day commemoration.

Fig.2: The 'oven's glow illuminates a cross' – this report on the unique Anzac Day ceremony at Carter's Bakery featured in a special commemorative edition of The News (Adelaide) on 13 October 1953, marking the Norwood municipal centenary.



Watermaster

During 1923, Burk took his family to the Riverland area, as District Foreman in the South Australian Water Works Department based in Renmark. The township of Renmark on the banks of the River Murray 250km northeast of Adelaide was the first 'Irrigation Colony' established in Australia. The agricultural fields received their water from an irrigation system

³³ *The News* (Adelaide) 13 October 1953, p.18.

³⁴ Embarked with the 7th Reinforcements in Adelaide on 12 January 1916 aboard A7 HMAT *Medic*.

which had been developed by the Chaffey brothers in 1887, whereby water from the Murray was pumped via open drains to irrigate the fruit orchards being established on the flat plains in this semi-arid region. This reticulation scheme became the Renmark Irrigation Trust in 1893, regulating the water supply for individual growers in the settlement areas.

The following year, Burk was appointed Renmark's Watermaster – managing the open channels of the original furrow irrigation system (a closed pipeline system was not introduced until the late 1960s). He succeeded Mr George Burns, a 27th Bn veteran who had received the Military Medal for his service in France and after the war was a soldier-settler on an irrigation block in Renmark and later sub-overseer of construction work.³⁵

Burk's daughters attended the Renmark Convent School. Burk was a member of the Renmark branch of the RSSILA, and would have patronised the new Renmark Soldiers' Memorial Hall which had been officially opened on 3 May 1923: the downstairs rooms were council offices and a library, but the upstairs rooms were used by returned servicemen.³⁶ Burk attended the Anzac Day service at this Soldiers' Memorial Hall in 1924, 1925 and 1926. The vestibule, containing four Rolls of Honour, served as the focus for Anzac Day commemorations until 1937 when a Cross of Sacrifice was erected in the park opposite the hall.

William Burk died in Renmark Hospital on 16 October 1926 from ruptured gastric ulcers, most likely related to the inflammation of the stomach he suffered in France in 1917.³⁷ His obituaries reflected his good standing in the small community of South Australia's mid-northeast, despite having been there only a few years: William Burk was a mason and a member of the Renmark branch of the RSSILA: 'As a citizen he had many friends, and he was a good neighbour, always ready to do a good turn'.³⁸

The obituaries unreservedly referred to William Burk as a 'veteran soldier and a good citizen', and a 'veteran soldier and sailor'. Of note, they expounded on his pre-war naval career including active service in South Africa and China, and his medals and clasps for Ladysmith and Peking were clearly referenced. But in 1915 and 1916 he had only mentioned service in the Royal Navy with no dates specified – if he had the medals at that time it seems improbable that he would not have shown them to the recruiting officer, or at least stated that he had them. Acquiring such a significant pair of medals in pre-war South Australia seems very unlikely, but in London during the war with ready cash he might easily have found these medals (as a pair or separately) and had them renamed. His claimed naval service was the first part of his legend before 1915, but after the war he specifically related his service to the Boer and China Wars. Until recently, the re-named medals and absence of his name on the medal rolls could be explained away by a name change. But with more recent access to genealogical databases it is now known that William John Burk was born in country SA and was actually aged 13 when he was purportedly gaining distinctions in Ladysmith.

William Burk was buried in the Renmark Cemetery on 17 October 1926.³⁹ He was survived by his widow Gertrude, who relocated to Fullarton in Adelaide with her two young daughters, Joan (aged 10) and Betty (5). Gertrude York Burk (nee Edwards) died in Blackwood, South

³⁵ MPARR 31 August 1923, p.10.

³⁶ The foundation stone for the building was laid by Sir William Birdwood on 16 March 1920. The Cross of Sacrifice, which stands opposite the Soldiers' Memorial Hall, was erected in 1937 as part of Renmark's jubilee celebrations.

³⁷ SA Death Index 1926: 490/525; *The Register* (Adelaide) 23 October 1926 p.11.

³⁸ MPARR 22 October 1926, p.6.

³⁹ Renmark Cemetery-Old Section, Section C, Grave 104, Burial/Order Number 565.

Australia on 3 July 1961.

Postscript

In Adelaide in 1940, William Burk's younger daughter Betty married Mr Reg Anderson (1916-1959). On 9 December the year before, his elder daughter Joan (1916-2003) had married Mr Laurence Moore (1914-1989) in Blackwood, South Australia. Moore was a member of the Australian Army⁴⁰ and son of the late 517 Bugler Alfred Stephen Moore of the 43rd Bn AIF (a former nurseryman from Unley, SA) who had been killed-in-action at Messines, Belgium on 9 June 1917. Bugler Moore is commemorated on a Roll of Honour in the Unley Town Hall and on a plaque on the Memorial Arch at the Unley Soldiers' Memorial Gardens, and also on the Roll of Honour at the Australian War Memorial. While the unique Anzac Day ceremony continued at Carter's Bakery in Norwood into the 1950s, and her father lay in rest in Renmark, for Joan and Laurence Moore the Soldiers' Memorial Gardens in Unley became their place of reflection on Anzac Days.

In Burk's obituaries it was stated that Burk had been born in England '40 years ago'⁴¹ and his headstone certainly records the dates '1886-1926' – confirming that he was in fact 29 when he enlisted in the AIF – and was a young teenager in 1900. Today in Renmark, the Girl Guides and Scouts have identified all war veterans in the local cemeteries, and over a two-week period around Anzac Day every year they place Australian flags on these graves. Included among them is the grave of 11448 Corporal William John Burk (see Fig.3. p.34) – certainly a veteran soldier and by all accounts a good citizen, but not a bluejacketed Marine gunner.

Acknowledgments

I am very grateful for the assistance of Ms Denise Schumann, Cultural Heritage Adviser, City of Norwood, Payneham & St Peters. Also Mr Dave Coombs, Historian of the Renmark RSL who was responsible for managing the project to acknowledge the veterans buried in Renmark's cemeteries and for the improvements to the Renmark Soldiers' Memorial Hall.

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⁴⁰ S47015 Corporal Laurence Alfred Moore, served with the 18th Field Ambulance, 1941-46.

⁴¹ MPARR 22 October 1926, p.6; *The Register* (Adelaide) 23 October 1926 p.11.

THE AUSTRALIAN ATTACK IN THE BATTLE OF AMIENS, 8 AUGUST 1918: A TRANSLATION OF THE OFFICIAL GERMAN VERSION – PART 2

David Pearson and Paul Thost¹

This is the second of a four-part series involving a translation from relevant pages of the German Official History pertaining to the Australian attack at Amiens. The original work is titled *Die Katastrophe des 8. August 1918 (Schlachten des Weltkrieges, Band 36)* [The Catastrophe of 8 August 1918 (Battles of the World War, Volume 36)] by Thilo von Bose, published by Gerhard Stalling: Oldenburg i.O./Berlin, 1930. The translated pages are from Chapter V(b) 'Between the Somme and the rail line Amiens – Chaulnes' and Chapter V(e) 'Conclusion'.

This is a literal translation. The authors have tried to keep as true to the original text as possible, although some effort has been made to make it more readable by the application (in places) of plain English techniques. The original pagination is indicated within the translated text in square brackets, while footnotes as they appear in the original are marked with asterisks. Footnotes added by the authors are numbered and formatted as standard footnotes. Any additional text by the authors appears also in square brackets. For ease of reference portions of Map 2 from von Bose showing the Australian attack are included in the colour section located in the middle of this issue, and are referred to as [Fig.2.2] and so on.

*

[page 91] **Between the Somme and the rail line Amiens-Chaulnes**

2) 13th Infantry Division

A glance at the map showing the positions of the 13th Infantry Division* would have given everyone who had not inspected its sector for himself a feeling of security. For immediately behind the most advanced observation posts there was a continuous line of natural obstacles and in the forest behind it another line of such well protected landmarks. The next backstop was offered by the W.L.V.² which was itself covered by the H.W.L.³ on a dominating ridge line. Between the H.W.L. and the favourably selected A.SCH.ST.⁴ on the rear of an incline there were three more strongpoints on the steep edge of the road Sailly-Warfusée. Add to this the numerous machine gun nests and mortar positions distributed over the entire depth of the defence net, all protected by barbed wire obstacles and troops billeted in sufficient dugouts, then one had to come to this conviction: the six battalions of battle and fortress soldiers of the division must certainly be able to hold this not excessively wide sector, even if the Australians were to attack again as forcefully as they did on 4 July (see page 33).

* The marks on Map 2 match exactly those of the Division's files (Scale 1:25 000)

However, was there not a lot of infantry in the very first line, compared with too few in and behind the H.W.L.? The basic rule of defence teaches that the enemy, the further he advances, should be exposed to more and more resistance by deploying weak posts at the front, thereafter

¹ See Part 1 of this series, *Sabretache* vol.56, no.1 (March 2015), pp.4-15, for the authors' biographies, acknowledgements and introductory remarks.

² W.L.V. = *Widerstands-Linie-des-Vorfeldes* (Defence line of the forefield).

³ H.W.L. = *Haupt-Widerstands-Linie* (Mainline of Resistance) (General Staff, 1918: 188).

⁴ A.SCH.ST. = *Artillerie-Schieß-Stand* (Artillery Position). Hereafter, Artillery Position is used instead of A.SCH.ST.

stronger groups and finally the main force of defenders in the H.W.L., the combined force of which should bring the assault to a halt! However, in this case almost the opposite was true: there were 13 companies in and in front of the W.L.V., and 11 in and behind the H.W.L.! It is easy to find a reason for this. In the course of the Australians' vigorous raiding activity the front posts had been frequently attacked and taken prisoner. In order to prevent this, the gaps between the posts should not be allowed to be too large and storm troops had to be ready nearby to expel the enemy immediately. Further, one had to have a satisfactory defence force in the front line to hold the blind forest area. Seven-and-a-half weak companies on a 3000m front were hardly sufficient to do this; the massive blue marked rectangles (on the map) easily fake a strong compact battle group, [page 93] where at best 8-12 men with a light machine gun were available; everyone else was assigned to posts, on patrol, stood watch, on a work detail, fetching food etc. This relative strength at the front was of course to the disadvantage of the manning of the line further back, which in turn could only have been reinforced by battalions currently on a rest period. However, in the case of an army unit that was at best 'only capable to defend itself at a quiet front', no battalion could do without this rare rest period!

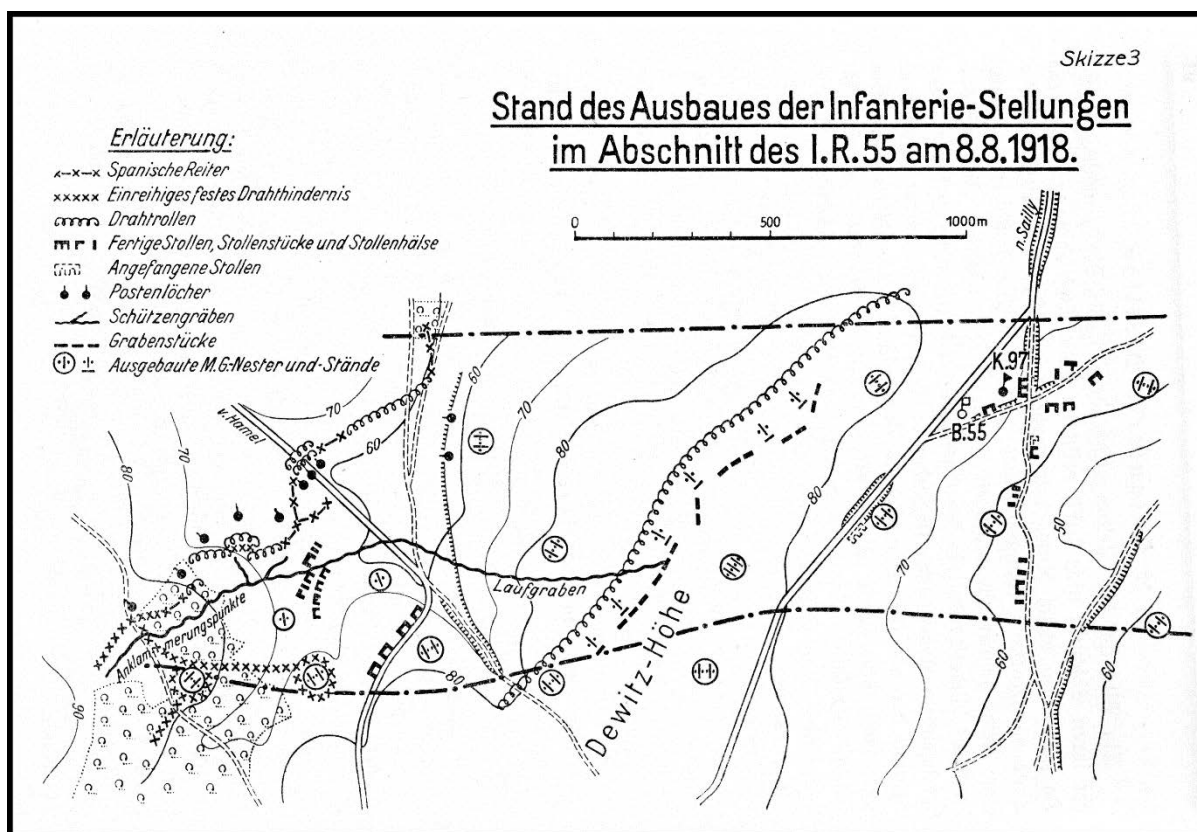


Fig.2.1. Sketch 3: Status of Infantry Positions in the Sector of the 55th Infantry Regiment on 8/8/1918. (von Bose, p.92)

However, the satisfactory picture drawn by the map of the defence positions leaves a rather misleading impression of the true status of the erected field fortifications. Whatever was shown on paper did not even exist in large parts. Only with distress can one look at the sketch of the map (on page 92 [Fig.2.1 above]) of the sector of Infantry Regt. 55. It could hardly have been much different with the other regiments.

Where is the W.L.V., where [is] the Artillery Position? Paltry are the wire obstacles, the main defence line (H.W.L.) consists of individual parts of trenches and six machine gun posts only,

with a single approach path from there to the front!

The Division had issued instructions for the conduct of battle:

If there exists a risk that the troops in the forefield are cut off, they are to retire to the H.W.L. that must be held absolutely or must be regained from the Artillery Position. This counterattack must be carried out so timely, that it is already ongoing by the time the enemy is approaching the H.W.L.

This general instruction could not have been given more briefly or more explicit; but what was to happen when the risk referred to was not recognised in time, the counterattack not commenced early enough? Then a third or even half of the infantry was eliminated from the battle in the H.W.L. and the enemy got to it before the counterattack! And the risk of the forefield troops to be cut off was very real, especially for the III./55; because the rearward movement of the position from the western slope of the fog gully to the eastern ridge of the *Wuthenau* depression enabled the enemy to penetrate through this depression from the northern side into the flank of the three Companies further forward, if the *Wuthenau* depression was not blocked, in particular for tanks, by devastating artillery fire. As the forested area prohibited the use of tanks, the enemy had to try all the more to pass around it in north and south. And that is precisely what he did.

[page 94] But even the artillery was not as effectual as one could assume from the map [see Fig.2.2, p.31]. As a result of the earlier strong enemy artillery activity the batteries of the *Felda.* Regt. 58⁵ did not have the normal number of 36 guns but only 27. But the heavy artillery was in a worse position yet: the 1st, 2nd and 3./Fußa. 151⁶ had only seven guns capable to fire instead of 12, the 6./Res. Foot Artillery 7 had three and the 3./Foot Artillery 146, that had only just arrived in the last night, had two that had not yet been adjusted; therefore only ten heavy guns were ready to fire.

Of course with this division it also took a fair while before all batteries had started the destructive fire. It could not be avoided that this could not be very effective and without gaps as there were so many guns missing. It was especially unfortunate that with the two northernmost Field artillery batteries (9th and 2./Field Artillery 58) each had lost by gunfire two guns (of three each) by 5.30am, so that artillery support for the feeblest sector of the divisional front (Section III./55) was very inadequate. At any rate, there could be no talk of a satisfactory fire barrage in the *Wuthenau* depression.

So the enemy tanks could proceed on their way without trouble into the flank of III./55 [see Fig.2.3, p.32]. As a result, the fate, not just of the two furthest forward companies, but also the sections of the battalion further back, was quickly decided. While the first named were completely surprised by the assault that had started immediately after the commencement of the drum fire, so that no infantry fight at all was heard at the 11th and 9th Company, it found the last mentioned themselves taken at once by the tanks advancing from the flank.

The surprise in the first line must have been total, because the attack by the infantry had started, when the artillery fire was still laying heavily on the line. The K.T.K.⁷ post was still under heavy fire when the enemy skirmish lines were already standing in front of us as shadows. No people from the front line did come back, as far as I could see. (Report of Res. Lieutenant Nöhles,

⁵ *Felda* = *Feld Artillerie* (Field Artillery) (General Staff, 1918: 181). Hereafter, Field Artillery is used.

⁶ *Fußa* = *Fuß Artillerie* (Foot Artillery) (General Staff, 1918: 184). Hereafter, Foot Artillery is used.

⁷ K.T.K. Stand = *Kampf-Truppen-Kommandeur* [– Stand] (Commander of the Front Line Troops [General Staff, 1918: 194] – Stand [position]).

adjutant of III./55, the only officer of the Battalion who came back.)

The leader of the 11th Company, Res. Lieutenant Höfken, gives a short report about the fate (of the unit):

When the fire passed over us many tanks charged ahead through the side valleys so that we were surrounded immediately.

So too, said the leader of the 9./55 Res. Lieutenant Hochmuth:

The fire had only just passed further back when we heard the rattle of tanks. We couldn't see them. We fired into the fog for a short time at vague targets but stopped soon after, as there was no point to it and we didn't want to endanger our own troops.

[page 95] The whole battalion was taken prisoner, the leader of the 12th Company was killed in action, the leader of the 3. M.G.K.⁸ badly wounded. The resistance of the machine guns in action in the H.W.L. can also have been only of short duration, as its subjugation spread at once to the stand-by battalion. The leader, Captain von Klaß⁹, reports:

Finally, when the fire does not slacken and gradually increases, I get up and put on my boots to check up on things. As I get to the top of the entrance to the shelter a gunner rushes at me and reports that the English had penetrated our front with numerous tanks followed by masses of English infantry. He had already seen the English enter a bunker about 100 paces behind my command post (where the staff of the neighbouring battalion was located). I think to myself, that fellow has gone mad and ask him where he is from. He came from the staff of the Combat battalion and was to deliver a despatch from the A.V.O.,* Lieutenant Wörner. If the man's observations were correct, the Tommies were in fact already in the rear of my battalion. They could not yet have reached the reserve company that was located some distance further back. I decide to leave the command post in spite of the continuing heavy fire in order to reach some of the widely scattered battalion and to be able to intervene personally in the battle. There is a fog outside, so thick that one cannot see ten paces away. We wander through the territory and finally reach a dugout occupied by our reserve company. I issue orders to the Company Leader, Lieutenant Nieweg, to take up immediately a position with his company in the direction of the enemy. Teams from the neighbouring regiment to our right hurry back and report that the English had bypassed us on the right and were now in our rear. We finally retreat and come across a field cannon battery.** No sign of the gun crew, they sit in the dugout. I get my people to take up position between the guns and fetch the gunners from the dugout. In reply to my query as to why they are not firing, they tell me that only a few moments ago several tanks had passed by and opened such heavy fire on the crew that they had to seek shelter in the dugout. I order the battery to open fire immediately. So it does and for a while we keep the enemy off our back. But as we come under machine gun fire from behind, there is nothing I can do to make the people hold their position. Some throw away their rifles and run away. The rest is discouraged and there is nothing that would convince them to stay where they are. So we continue to retreat and reach several heavy machine guns southwest of Cérisy. Amongst them is an officer, he is a first lieutenant from our neighbouring regiment.***¹⁰

* A.V.O. = *Artillerie-Verbindungs-Offizier* [Artillery Liaison Officer].

** See footnote**page 96.

*** First Lieutenant Spengler, Commander of I./97.

With his assistance I erect a machine gun nest on the road [page 96] Cérisy-Lamotte. We had a

⁸ M.G.K. = *Maschinen-Gewehr-Kompanie* (Machine Gun Company) (General Staff, 1918: 197). Hereafter, Machine Gun Company is used instead of M.G.K.

⁹ Captain von Klaß (Klass) (II./55 I.R.) is mentioned in Bean, 1942: 564 in connection with the attack by the 14th Bn. (4th Bde.).

¹⁰ First Lieutenant Spengler (I./97 I.R.) is mentioned in Bean, 1942: 564, 567.

total of four heavy machine guns available; we positioned two west of the road, two on the road or close next to it for protection against tanks. In this machine gun nest we held out for three hours, from 8 to 11am. We brought the advancing English riflemen to a halt by our fire. So they send their tanks forward. Now and then they were repulsed but several times they were able to drive past our machine gun nest on the road, while firing to both sides with machine gun and revolver cannons. We then climbed as quickly as possible up the slope west of the road – the territory here was rather steep – and so could not be caught. Pieper,* Res. Lieutenant Adjutant II./55, threw a concentrated charge¹¹ from the upper edge of the slope onto the roof of a tank; it started smoking and left in a hurry. But finally we had to leave this foothold, too, as we had expended all our ammunition. Of our teams, several were taken by the enemy, some were wounded. The brave first lieutenant was shot in the head. Under constant fire of enemy machine guns and tanks we reached the steep ridge north-west of Morcourt held by our troops. Of my battalion no one was left with me except Pieper. We went to the north-western exit of Morcourt, where we hoped to find our regimental staff. The house was empty, but the English not yet visible. We hurried into Morcourt to join the 1st Battalion that must have been located as reserve in the camp *Hannover* east and southeast of the village. However, it was impossible. The heavy enemy fire that was now directed onto Morcourt forced us to leave the village and to escape northwards into the Somme lowlands.

Res. Lieutenant Nieweg, leader of 5./55, supports this report:

We quickly established a position (there was no trench) as ordered by Captain von Klab and sent a patrol to the neighbour on the right. The enemy artillery fire was by now behind us. We could not see a thing in the fog. I ordered to open fire aimlessly into the fog with rifles and machine gun. A multitude of tanks and aircraft were in action, too, judging by the audible sounds. Soon we could not hear any more sounds of firing from our neighbours on the right. New patrols to the area did not come back. The enemy must therefore have advanced further and so had the opportunity to get at us from the rear. The retreat now ordered by Captain von Klab to the battery which by the way had previously still been firing proceeded smoothly. Some still undamaged guns of this light Howitzer battery hurled everything they could discharge through the barrels. Other batteries which we passed by had been shot to bits.** We covered the battery by emplacing half of the 30 men each that were left in the Company [page 97] (one platoon had been in a separate position further in the front from the company from the beginning and had not returned to the company) to the left and to the right with one light machine gun. Now and then one could see the flat helmets of the Australians which we instantly fired at. The guns fired at closest range. Everywhere the rumble of tanks could be heard; enemy aircraft made themselves unpleasantly noticeable with their bombs. Suddenly from the rear, shells from a tank that had penetrated in the fog into the gully close behind us tore into our ranks and brought the defence to an end.

* Res. Lieutenant Pieper, Adj. II./55

** The discrepancy in the reports by von Klab and Nieweg (field cannons and howitzer) could not be clarified. Presumably it [the report] relates to the 7./Res. Field Artillery 43 which was equipped with six guns and positioned in two separate groups. As there was only this one battery here, what is meant by ‘the batteries which we had passed by’ is probably the one group of the 7th battery.

Parts of the Company reached the Brigade Ridge where they tried anew to defend themselves, other groups joined the 3rd and 4./97, Res. Lieutenant Balzer from the right wing met up with the group Spengler and von Klab and fought the desperate final battle until the bitter end in captivity.

Exact details of the battle by other sections of II./55 are missing, however, it is certain that 7th and 8th Company had opened fire near their mustering area into the fog. However, as there were

¹¹ *Geballte Ladung* = Concentrated charge, consisting of up to six stick hand grenades tied together, a very effective weapon against tanks.

no connections to the right or left, they too became victims of encirclement, without being able to hold the enemy in check for long.

The combat battalion of the centrally positioned regiment (Infantry Regiment 13) was subjected to the same fate. While the three most advanced companies – surprisingly attacked from the front by the enemy infantry – mounted, at best, only a brief defence, the tanks primarily coming from the north right away penetrated as far as the H.W.L. The leader of the 12th Company had been killed in action at an early stage. The only officers from the IIIrd Battalion to come back were the Adjutant Lieutenant Groos and the mortar officer, Lieutenant Krah.

Lieutenant Groos reports:

We received no reports from the front companies. During the drum fire we had to remain in our shelters. As the drum fire decreased, I got hold of a flare cartridge and fired that. Then I wrote a message that was to go to the regimental staff by messenger dogs. Now I heard the machine gun nests near the K.T.K. open fire. On my way to the officers' shelter I was suddenly surprised by a group of Australians with drawn pistols. I had no choice but to follow their instructions. They took off my belt and everyone took a 'souvenir'; then they grabbed me by the scruff of the neck and pointed towards our rear positions, to have me serve as a guide. But I decided to lead the fellows astray. In the meantime their attention was diverted, as they discovered other Germans in the shelters. Now I went galloping away in the direction of, and luckily crossed, the H.W.L. The IInd Battalion had already occupied the H.W.L. and [page 98] was ready to open fire. I left the B.T.K.¹² at the moment when Res. Lieutenant Schmidt (7th Company) reported that the enemy had intruded into the H.W.L.

The invasion into the H.W.L. occurred at about 6.00am, however, Res. Lieutenant Scholmeyer, leader of 5./13 estimates that the first appearance of Australians in front of the line already occurred shortly after 5.30am. So it seems that the enemy was held up after all for a little while by the troops of the H.W.L. This Officer reports:

But now there appeared tanks behind us, they had circumvented the forest area to the right and to the left. The whole area was fogged in to such an extent that one could not see three metres away. That was our biggest problem. Wherever we saw something, we hit it, but all firing was pointless, the tanks proceeded mercilessly.

In the meantime, Lieutenant Groos had arrived at the regimental H.Q. but before they could issue any further orders, 'we already heard', reports the Regiment's Adjutant, Res. Lieutenant Struck, 'in the depression behind the command post the Englishmen who had come from the right side. As we retreated through the Regiment forest we met with them only five metres away from us. Fired at with a light machine gun we took cover. Major Neumann, the deputy leader of the regiment, was badly wounded; I suffered a flesh wound in the right upper thigh.'

They were unable to remove the leader of the regiment. The adjutant was able to escape. This happened at about 6.30am and so quickly that the other officers and teams of the H.Q. did not notice it at all. The Communications officer, Res. Lieutenant Westphal, reports:

We burnt maps, diagrams, etc., and as soon as it cleared up a bit we let the carrier pigeons fly. At the edge of the depression where the H.Q. had been, Res. Lieutenant Jaeger still tried to get a defence organised with members of the staff and some people who had come from the front. At first the tanks appeared amongst us, behind them and at times between them were enemy soldiers with light machine guns.

¹² B.T.K. = *Bereitschafts-Truppen-Kommandeur* (Commander of the Supports) (General Staff, 1918: 176).

The enemy barrage fire to the east of the command post was very accurate. As I tried to get through it I was very soon wounded. As I was carried through our front line later on I saw several tanks there that had been put out of action. At any rate, the enemy had significant fatal casualties and at the English first aid station, where our first position had been, I saw a lot of wounded enemies. I could not be bandaged there but only at a first aid post much further back, near where some German guns were firing.

The stand-by battalion was also completely overrun by 6.30am, only few people of both battalions returned, of [page 99] the staff of the IInd Battalion only the Commander with his adjutant and orderly officer. The leader of the 2nd Machine Gun Company had been killed in action.

The combat battalion of the left regiment (Infantry Regt. 15) was led by the very experienced First Res. Lieutenant Berghaus. By his reports, supported by Artillery Liaison Officer Res. Lieutenant Liman (Field Artillery 58) the two most advanced companies and the machine gun nests between the main support points and W.L.V. (2nd Machine Gun Company) were subjected to very heavy artillery fire of light and medium calibre, while the W.L.V. was not hit so hard. Our own artillery fire started moderately but was soon reduced and then faded away. Even at this elevated sector the fog only allowed 5 metres visibility. As we could only hear isolated machine gun fire, the two most advanced companies had apparently not been able to offer defensive fire worth a mention. Shortly before 6.30am reports arrived almost simultaneously from the 4th and 7./15, that the enemy had penetrated the W.L.V. in their sector and was rolling up the line to the centre. Now rifle and machine gun fire and crashing of hand grenades increased and quickly approached the K.T.K. No doubt there was also hand-to-hand fighting and vigorous defence, but it did not last very long. By 6.50am the defence of the 7th, 8th and 4th Company was broken. Shortly thereafter First Res. Lieutenant Berghaus rushed back to the B.T.K. to arrange for the counterattack of I./15 (without 4th [Company]). But soon after his arrival the command post of the B.T.K. was attacked from the right rear, probably shortly after 7.00am. The B.T.K., Captain zum Sande, collapsed immediately, badly wounded.

With the few survivors, some wounded, we took up position about 50 paces behind the B.T.K. We fired and tried to reach the command post again. But the enemy had already erected light machine guns, it was impossible. Now we wanted to try to get the 1st Company to join us, but the enemy had already infiltrated between us and this last reserve, so that we had to retreat via the south-east.

(Combat Report of First Res. Lieutenant Berghaus).

The 1./15 had probably been overrun from the north earlier on. Because at 6.20am the Australians had already surprisingly invaded the 5./Field Artillery 58 from the right rear, so that they did not even have time to destroy their guns. The whole battery was captured. Only three officers and 20 men in total returned from II./15, from I./15 hardly any more. It is remarkable that neither battalion referred to [page 100] tank attacks. Even before that, the staff of the regiment had been eliminated. A direct hit on the shelter had mortally wounded the Regiment Commander, Major von Bila,¹³ the adjutant Lieutenant Spring was wounded lightly. Both were captured.

The enemy could now without a fight overrun the final sector toward his first target of the attack. Because on the way to the crest of the *Gerber* projection there were only a few machine guns of the Machine Gun Detachment 22 left and those were taken without difficulties. Now there had to be a prolonged pause in the battle, as the enemy had a two-hour halt at his first

¹³ Major von Bila (15 I.R.) is mentioned in Bean, 1942: 538.

target line. It was a disaster for the artillery that the fog did not disperse as, except for the 5./Field Artillery 58, it had not yet been reached by the enemy.* They had no idea yet in which line the leading enemy wave was located at this time, because the gloomy reports that were brought back by returning individual infantrymen were not clear enough to allow them to obtain a realistic picture. Wherever there were still guns ready to fire, they fired as fast as they could, but as the 1./Field Artillery 58, at a much too great distance (from 7.30am onto the H.W.L.). However, at this time there were only ten field guns and eight heavy guns left to fire. All the others had been made unserviceable. At this stage the loss of the entire artillery had already become inevitable if the rest battalions would not come forward before 9.20am, when the Australians would resume their assault. And they did not come! As the enemy assailed the second attack target with fresh infantry and even more tanks, one battery after another fell into its hands. At 10.15am the enemy reached the Mörser battery,¹⁴ the guns of which had not been destroyed in the hope of a counterattack. At the same time, Morcourt was occupied by the enemy.

* The artillery group near Lamotte (7th, 3rd, 6./Field Artillery 58 and 2./Foot Artillery 151 is dealt with in the chapter on the 41st Infantry Division.

The staff of the 26th Infantry Brigade based in Morcourt had only received the first reliable reports of the dangerously rapid advance of the enemy at 7.45am [see Fig.2.2, p.31]. However, since any contact to the rear had been destroyed for the last three-quarters of an hour, the staff did not know if any and which orders of the division had been received for the deployment of the rest battalions and any other contactable reserves. Likewise, the staff could not contact those combat elements directly with the exception of the I./55, which was located in the camp in the *Römer* depression about 500 metres southeast of Morcourt and which had already been alerted at 6.30am. Unfortunately [page 101] the Division Commander had gone on leave in the previous night and the Brigade Commander was to take over the division. He now delegated the leadership of the Brigade – two-thirds of which had already been eliminated in the battle – to the Commander of Regt. 55, who reported to him at about 8.00am. The Brigade Commander left with the Commander of Regt. 55 from Morcourt in the direction of Méricourt in order to establish contact with the Divisional staff as quickly as possible. I./55 received orders to occupy the ridge east of the *Römer* depression in the first place. As the depression was by now already under very heavy artillery fire and as enemy wings of 30-40 aircraft dived onto any movement of German troops, I./55 were only able to carry out the ordered occupation by 9.30am to 9.45am (for positions see Map 2). Ten minutes earlier the enemy had resumed his assault from his first target line, therefore it did not take long for the first tanks and skirmish lines to appear on the height west of the *Römer* depression. As mentioned, the newly deployed 4th Australian Division now attacked between Somme and *Römer* Road (incl.). This division had attached no less than 30 tanks and a field artillery brigade, the batteries of which took up position on the Brigade Ridge and south of Cérisy from 9.45am onwards. Even though a part of this support artillery was now being engaged effectively by German batteries on the northern Somme riverbank (see pages 60-61), a long defence by the I./55 could not be expected in view of the enemy superiority in infantry, tanks and aircrafts. There was hardly any German soldier to the left, behind the meagre German front no gun, no mortar, no heavy machine gun available. Even so, the fire fight started full of hope shortly after 10.00am. The 4th Company shot down an enemy aircraft; the frontal attack by the Australian infantry hesitated noticeably when it descended into the depression, which also appeared awkward for the tanks. But soon enough four of those monsters had crossed the depression further south and pushed on, followed by strong skirmish

¹⁴ Mörser = (21cm.) mortar (heavy howitzer) (General Staff, 1918: 104).

lines, to encircle the left wing of the battalion.

Then infantry reinforcements approached from the northeast; it was III./15 that had been alerted by the Divisional staff in its rest area east of Méricourt and ordered into the *Römer* depression. They had met the Division Leader at about 9.00am and received the order to occupy the heights south of Morcourt and to hold on to it. But it was already too late for that. The Commander of the Battalion, Captain Böhm,¹⁵ deployed his battalion from the heights 1km south of Méricourt in order to occupy the ridge east of the *Römer* depression without recognising the position of I./55. [page 102] The men of the 15th also had to make their way through the enemy artillery fire and were subjected to heavy attacks by enemy aircraft formations. At about 10.30am they intervened with meagre forces to the right and with the main force to the east in the battle of I./55. Immediately the ever increasing number of tanks that appeared from the forested area north of the *Römer* Road moved further out to the east, to be able to get at this developing front from the flank and from behind. At the same time other tanks also attacked from Morcourt. What value was there in keeping the Australians attacking from the front at bay! The two flanks of the I./55 and III./15 were more and more encircled by tanks and the infantry behind them. By 11.00am the situation had become hopeless, the most tenacious defence at the front could not prevent the encirclement and when a short time later the front on both wings started to break, it had become too late for an orderly retreat of the two battalions. Reinforcements did not arrive, artillery support did not materialise. Hunted by the ceaselessly diving aircraft, chased by the fire of enemy infantry, machine guns and tanks, the troops, if any, that were able to escape were widely dispersed, large sections had to lay down their arms after being completely surrounded. At about 11.30am this battle was over, too, the enemy had reached its second target of the attack as scheduled.

Once again it was the batteries on the northern banks of the Somme, especially the 4th, 1st, and 7./Field Artillery 243, which made it hard going for the enemy, who was already behind their positions on their left [see Fig.2.4, p.33]. The 4th battery knocked out two tanks east of Morcourt and engaged a battery that had pulled up on the eastern ridge of the *Römer* depression (southeast of Morcourt). A gun of the 7th battery was pulled through Méricourt onto the southern bank of the Somme. Res. Lieutenant Imig¹⁶ (3./97) who had just returned through Méricourt from the engagement between Cérisy-Morcourt reports:

When I arrived in Méricourt Res. Lieutenant Schroer¹⁷ (7./Field Artillery 243) asked me to cover him, as he wanted to advance through the village to knock out a tank that was driving about some 1000 metres to the south. The gun went into position on the southern perimeter; a corporal in a drill tunic acted as gun layer and fired, two shells hit close to the tank, the third was a direct hit. The monster blew up in smoke and flames.¹⁸

The effect of these reverses from the north for the enemy was that he discontinued his advance on Méricourt and attempted to attack his third target Height 84 northwest of Proyart further from the southwest. This would be easier to accomplish for him, [page 103] as the rest of the reserves in the sector of the 13th Infantry Division was no longer sufficient to prevent an attempt of encirclement from the *Römer* Road.

Of the available reserves, the Divisional Reporting Section* had on their own initiative occupied the most important position in the sector, Height 84, as soon as they had heard the

¹⁵ Captain Böhm (III./15 I.R.) is mentioned in Bean, 1942: 570.

¹⁶ Res. Lieutenant Imig (3./97 I.R.) is mentioned in Bean, 1942: 567, 594.

¹⁷ Res. Lieutenant Schroer (7./Field Artillery 243) is mentioned in Bean, 1942: 591.

¹⁸ See Bean, 1942: 591.

bad news. They had taken a light mortar along. Subsequently I./13 from the Divisional Staff had also been ordered to proceed to the Height. At about 9.45am both groups had occupied the old trenches on the Height and to the north of it. II./Res. 203** arrived to their left at about 10.30am and occupied the ridge south of Height 84 as far as the road Proyart-Morcourt. But further along the *Römer* Road there were no more of our own troops anywhere.

* [The Divisional Reporting Section] Consisted of radio operators, lamp signallers, leaders of messenger dogs, of the Infantry Regts. – about 40 to 50 men.

** Action Unit for 13th Infantry Division, until now in the *Vosges* camp, northwest of Proyart.

Res. Lieutenant Haupt, the leader of the Reporting Section reports:

As the fog dispersed an alarming picture emerged before us. There was forceful enemy infantry approaching from the west, some in columns, especially on the *Römer* Road. On the Brigade Ridge field artillery was deploying openly. There was no sign of any German resistance. At about midday a weak English skirmish line proceeded to build up against our Height. Only when they got to 300 metres did I order to open fire. The completely surprised enemy suffered significant losses and retreated immediately. Enormous masses of troops and further back squadrons of tanks, artillery, cavalry and trucks advanced slowly. In the meantime the rest battalion (I./13) arrived. As the English incomprehensively neither fired on the Height nor attacked anew, while they moved about more and more openly in the absence of any German artillery action, and as we had absolutely no connection with our rear, I tried to get the artillery to join us. By coincidence I met the 9./Res. Field Artillery 43. The very dashing Battery leader immediately agreed to come to our support and deployed his Battery east of Height 84 under cover and placed his observation post to us on the Height. The impact of the first shells on the marching English columns, especially on the *Römer* Road, was unprecedented. In the first surprise the sections that were hit remained literally lying on the road in rows. It is thanks to the brilliant success of this battery, that everything on the enemy's side came to a halt and the mood of my people became very elated. In the meantime some stragglers had returned to us from the front. The people were for the most part still disciplined and willingly joined my division or I./13. [page 104] Having now detected the lay-out of our position from the numerous battle planes continuously attacking us with machine guns and bombs, the enemy started his attack on us. In the lead there were eight heavy tanks that held us down with machine gun and cannon fire.

It is likely that the battery mentioned here was the 9./Field Artillery 243, however it was deployed openly on the Height. The leader, Res. Lieutenant Borchardt¹⁹ reports:

Suddenly the fog was as blown away and at the same time one could see the tanks working their way forward from the *Römer* depression. It was a spectacle that I shall never forget. I assigned the targets etc to the leading gunners and had them open fire at the tanks. The tanks were closely followed by English infantry. Each time when a tank was hit, the English rushed away to be fired at with shrapnel by one gun of the battery. In the heat of the action we hardly noticed the answering fire from English artillery or aircrafts but of course the battery had already casualties at this stage. We certainly destroyed four tanks, with another three or four we could not really see the result; they disappeared into the ground and did not reappear. At about 1.00pm (I do not know the exact time) Lieutenant Schulz, an especially smart officer, and I noticed that the so-called small tanks, the armoured cars, turned into Proyart. Schulz called out to me: 'Mr Borchardt, we must retreat now or the limbers have had it and the battery is finished!' I had to agree, especially as tanks and English infantry had come in close proximity and I could not let the battery fall to the enemy. I signalled the limbers within sight to me, and ordered to limber up. While we were previously not much bothered, as I said, there were now suddenly 20-25 aircraft over the battery that fired with machine gun between the battery and the retreating vehicles and

¹⁹ Res. Lieutenant Borchardt seems to be mentioned in Bean, 1942: 591 [footnote] under a different name, 'Lt. Burchardi', for a similar incident.

caused heavy casualties. However, thanks to the discipline of the battery, even though the superiors had to prevent a panic with vigorous directions we were able to get the vehicles off the Height and onto the road in direction of Chuignolles, with the exception of two ammunition carriages, whose teams had been shot.

This brave battery lost on 8 August no less than one officer killed-in-action (Lieutenant Schulz), one officer badly wounded, eight men killed-in-action, 14 men wounded, six men missing.

At about 12.20pm the enemy started a left enveloping attack with strong forces against Height 84 and the position of the II./Res. 203. Once again tanks, the number of which for this third part of the attack had been increased by 12 per Division, cleared the way for the infantry. Yet again aerial bombs crashed continuously onto the infantry and especially the battery position and yet again [page 105] the encirclement from the south was decisive. Although several tanks were destroyed by the fire of the 9./Field Artillery 243 as well as the I.M.W.²⁰ of the Reporting Section and of the I./13 and although the enemy infantry suffered significant losses in the hail of machine gun, rifles and hand grenades as well as the light mortar, the weak II./Res. 203 was impotent against the encirclement and the simultaneous frontal attack by the tanks. At about 1.30pm its resistance was broken; only the staff and the Reserve Company were able to escape into the forest area to the northwest of Proyart. A few men only of the three front companies and the Machine Gun Company were able to evade capture and made it back, the majority was overpowered and taken prisoner. Facing the same fate was the 'little reserve'* that had been fighting on the left wing of I./13, after they had exhausted their ammunition. So the enemy had taken possession of the domineering height and thus his ultimate target. He did not push any further. I./13 and the Reporting Section were therefore able to hold a position on the edge of the forest northeast of Height 84 in the direction towards Méricourt, by withdrawing the left wing (3./13) and by deploying all available reserves.

* Assembled from clerks, orderlies, etc, about 30 rifles.

In the meantime Major Kuhlwein von Rathenow²¹, Commander of Res. Regt. 202, had arrived on the *Georgs* mountain. He had all available machine guns that had come back from the battle between Cérisy and Morcourt (especially the 1st Machine Gun Company/Res. 201 and 2nd Machine Gun Company/Res. 202) occupy the southwest slope of the mountain and had the infantry deployed in the forest behind as reserves (mainly 3rd and 4./97 with the rest of fortress and stand-by battalions of the Regiments 97, 55 and 13). At about 1.00pm he contacted 85th Res. Brigade, who ordered him to close the gap between the *Kanal* mountain and the I./13. For this task, the following units were attached to his command: 2./Res. 202, which was already deployed at the bridges west of Méricourt (see page 59), as well as the 5./97** which secured the southern perimeters of Méricourt, likewise the 6th and one specially assembled Storm Company 97, which was deployed in the sector between Méricourt and the right wing of I./13. At about 2.00pm a continuous, if sparsely manned, front between the *Kanal* mountain and the forest northwest of Proyart had been established. The front was backed-up by the troops on the *Georgs* mountain, on the northeast slope of which [page 106] the 4th, 6th and 9./Res. Field Artillery 43* were deployed. These troops consisted of platoons at rest of the 1st and 2./Pi. 7 [2./Pioneer 7],²² the 3rd and 4./97 including parts of the Regiments 55, 13 and 15, some men of which had come from the front position, others of which had escaped from the battle east of the *Römer* depression. Later on, remaining men of the II./Res. 203 also dropped in here.

²⁰ I.M.W. = *leichter Minenwerfer* (light Minenwerfer – trench mortar) (General Staff, 1918: 195).

²¹ Major Kuhlwein Rathenow (202 R. I. R.) is mentioned in Bean, 1942: 566–567.

²² Pi = *Pionier* (Pioneer) (General Staff, 1918: 201). Hereafter, Pioneer is used.

** [page 105] II./97 had been positioned as reserve battalion in Tappy and advanced early on the *Georgs* mountain. Compare page 59.

* [page 106] These batteries had been withdrawn in the night to 8 August from the sector of the 43rd Res. Division north of the Somme.

The enemy with his enormous superiority could easily have thrown this thin defence line, too, into the Somme ground and thereby eliminated the position on the *Kanal* mountain. But his enterprising spirit was exhausted once he had conquered Height 84.

Montgomery (*ibid*, page 43) says about this stage of the battle:

The Brigades of the 4th Australian Division were unable to advance as fast as those of the 5th Division** because of the casualties they had suffered from enemy fire from the left flank. As they marshalled anew at about 12.00 midday, they suffered yet again heavy casualties as the enemy had been able to bring more artillery to bear on the northern Somme riverbank. As the troops on the outermost northern wing were exposed to this flanking fire and even fire from the rear, the left wing of the battalion south of Méricourt bulged back. As soon as we recognised that our advance north of the river was coming close to a halt, the 1st Brigade held in reserve for the 4th Brigade was brought forward to an advanced position along the southern Somme riverbank to the west of Morcourt.²³

** Further to the south.

This account clearly illustrates the excellent effect that the batteries had around the *Celestinen* forest and on the *Kanal* mountain.

The series resumes with Part 3 in the next issue.

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²³ Montgomery n.d. [1920]: 43. However, it should be noted that due to translation into German and back to English this is not a direction quotation.

FORFEITED VICTORIA CROSS MYTHS

Anthony Staunton

it is ordained that, if any person be convicted of treason, cowardice, felony, or of any infamous crime ... his name shall forthwith be erased from the registry of individuals upon whom the said Decoration shall have been conferred, and by an especial Warrant ... We shall at all times have power to restore such persons as may at any time have been expelled

(Extract clause 15, original Victoria Cross warrant, 1856)

The King feels so strongly that, no matter the crime committed by anyone on whom the VC has been conferred, the decoration should not be forfeited. Even were a VC to be sentenced to be hanged for murder, he should be allowed to wear the VC on the scaffold.

(Lord Stamfordham, Private Secretary to King George V, 26 July 1920)

No Victoria Cross (VC) has been cancelled following the views expressed by King George V to his Private Secretary, Lord Stamfordham, in 1920. Prior to this, eight VC recipients, one a Royal Naval officer and seven British Army soldiers, had their awards cancelled between 1861 and 1908 in accordance with clause 15 of the original VC warrant signed by Queen Victoria on 29 January 1856 and published on 5 February 1856 in the *London Gazette*.¹

This article examines misconceptions and errors about VC forfeitures published in books and articles in the last twenty years. The misconceptions include published War Office lists of recipients being confused with the ‘registry’ mentioned in the VC warrant; whether any cancelled awards were restored; when and what amendments were made to the VC warrant and whether the eight forfeiture warrants meant recipients were required to return their medals.

The original VC warrant in 1856 contained provision for both the cancellation and restoration of awards. The warrant was redrafted in 1920 and included the same cancellation and restoration provisions except for minor grammatical corrections. The 1920 warrant added the requirement that cancelled and restored VC awards be published in the *London Gazette*.

Orders in general including the Order of the Bath created in 1725 and more modern orders such as the Order of the British Empire created in 1917 and the Order of Australia created in 1975 include cancellation clauses detailing conditions under which an order can be cancelled. This clause is included to preserve the integrity of an order. For example, this year, Rolf Harris, recipient of both British and Australia orders had his awards cancelled after conviction for serious offences.² The initial draft of the original VC warrant included a cancellation clause modelled on the existing clauses for orders. Naval Captain George Treweeke Scobell MP who is credited as giving impetus for the idea of the VC, moved in the House of Commons on 19 December 1854 ‘That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying that she would be graciously pleased to institute an Order of Merit’. The proposed ‘Order of Merit’ evolved into the VC but it was not until the King’s comments in 1920 that the issue of treating VC misconduct in the same manner as misconduct by recipients of orders was raised.

¹ M.J. Crook, *The Evolution of the Victoria Cross*, Midas, 1975, p.64; *The London Gazette*, 21846, 5 February 1856, p.411.

² On 19 February 2015, the appointments of Rolf Harris as Officer and Member of the Order of Australia in the General Division, were terminated by the Governor-General of Australia (*Commonwealth of Australia Government Notice Gazette*, Thursday, 19 February 2015). On 3 March 2015, the Queen terminated his appointment to be a Commander of the Civil Division of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (*The London Gazette*, 61161, Tuesday, 3 March 2015, p.3902).

Despite the cancellation provisions of the VC warrant, the King's views prevailed during the 1920s and no action was taken thereafter to deprive any VC recipient of their medal following misconduct or conviction of an offence. An interdepartmental committee met in the late 1920s to review the matter; 'their recommendation was that all gallantry awards should now be regarded as irrevocable'.³ In 1931, the words of the 1856 and 1920 warrants' cancellation clause referring to 'treason, cowardice, felony, or of any infamous crime' were modified to the powers 'to cancel and annul' and 'to restore'. These provisions continue to this day. An example of a gallantry award being treated as irrevocable is the case of former Queensland Police Commissioner Terence Murray Lewis, who was convicted and jailed for corruption and forgery in the early 1990s. In 1993, he was stripped of his Knight Bachelor, Officer of the Order of the British Empire and Queen's Police Medal for Merit but retained the George Medal he had been awarded for gallantry.⁴

Provisions for cancellation and restoration of VC awards have appeared in all VC warrants. Similar clauses are included in warrants for most Orders, Decorations and Medals. The *London Gazette*, on 9 September 1916, promulgated the VC to Private William Jackson, Australian Army. The original recommendation for his action was for a Distinguished Conduct Medal (DCM). The recommendation was upgraded to the VC. However, the DCM recommendation was processed and on 22 September 1916, the *London Gazette* promulgated the DCM for the same action that he was to later receive his VC. This was an administrative error and the following month the DCM was cancelled. During the First World War, more than one hundred Military Medal (MM) recipients were erroneously awarded second MMs which were cancelled. The majority of recipients were awarded the Bar to the MM in lieu.

Myth 1: The War Office published the VC Register in 1953

Much of the misunderstanding about forfeitures results from an ad hoc 1953 War Office publication being confused with the 'registry' specified in the original VC warrant. The warrant states that the names of recipients shall be included in 'a registry thereof kept in the office of Our Secretary of State for War'. The expulsion clause states that 'his name shall forthwith be erased from the registry'. Two weeks after the Admiralty submitted their first list of names on 13 February 1857, they requested certain details of christian names and spelling to be corrected. The War Office decided that mistakes could be rectified 'in the registry' which was described as 'A suitably bound book ... ordered from the Stationery Office'.⁵ This was to become Volume One of the Victoria Cross Register now held in the National Archives at Kew.⁶

Many publications, including the three-volume *Victoria Cross and the George Cross* published in 2013, in discussing the question of forfeited awards mention the 1953 War Office publication in which the first part is an alphabetical list of VC recipients prior to 1914. There is a note at the end of the alphabetical list stating the names of the eight recipients whose awards have been cancelled including the date of each expulsion warrant.⁷ In 2010, Kevin Brazier in the *Complete Victoria Cross* stated that 'There is a widespread belief that the forfeited VCs were reinstated but in fact none were ever removed from the VC Register'.⁸ The 3rd edition of the *Register of*

³ Crook, *The Evolution of the Victoria Cross*, p.66.

⁴ *Queensland Gazette* no.69, 26 March 1993, p.1543.

⁵ Crook, *The Evolution of the Victoria Cross*, p.36.

⁶ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/victoria-cross-registers.htm>

⁷ C.J. Wright and G.M. Anderson (eds), *The Victoria Cross and the George Cross: The complete history in three volumes*, Methuen, The Victoria Cross and the George Cross Association, 2013, vol.1, p.xviii.

⁸ Kevin Brazier. *The Complete Victoria Cross*, Pen and Sword Military, 2010, p.2.

the Victoria Cross published in 1997 states, ‘no mention of the forfeiture is made except as a note at the bottom of the War Office list which covers the period 1856 to August 1914’.⁹

The three works seem to assume that the ad hoc War Office list is the ‘registry’ specified in the warrant. Most references to the War Office list refer to the 1953 list.¹⁰ It does not seem to be well known that Part 1 of the 1953 publication, both the alphabetical list and the forfeiture endnote, had previously been published in 1920.¹¹ As a result of this ignorance many references incorrectly claim that it was not until 1953 that the War Office issued a list of VCs which included the eight cancelled awards. Both lists have the same endnote stating ‘the undermentioned whose names are included in the preceding list, forfeited the Victoria Cross under authority of the Royal Warrant quoted in each case’. Eight names are listed.

Myth 2: King George V restored all eight cancelled awards

Regarding Gunner James Collis of the Royal Horse Artillery, Max Arthur (2005) writes:

After Collis’s death, his widow wrote to ask George V to restore his name to the VC Register. The king restored all eight, declaring that even convicted murderers should be ‘allowed to wear the VC on the scaffold’.¹²

After Collis’s death it was his sister, rather than his wife, who wrote to ask King George V to restore his name to the ‘registry’. The request was denied but his sister received a sympathetic reply from Lord Stamfordham on the proposal that Collis’s name should be inscribed with those of other VC recipients on the tablets of the Royal Artillery Victoria Cross Memorial at St George’s Chapel at Woolwich. There is no evidence that the King’s view on forfeitures expressed by Lord Stamfordham on 20 July 1920 was in response to the petition from Collis’s sister. No forfeited VC has been restored and if any or all awards had been restored such notice should have been published in the *London Gazette*. The War Office lists in 1920 and 1953 noted names and dates of the eight expulsion warrants but included no note of any subsequent warrant restoring the awards.



Fig.1 (right): James Collis, whose VC was cancelled 1895, served with the Suffolk Regiment in the First World War. He died in 1918 and is commemorated by Commonwealth War Graves at Wandsworth (Earlsfield) Cemetery, England.

Myth 3: The VC warrant was amended in 1920 to reflect the King’s view

In 1998, *The Times* published an article on the aforementioned James Collis, who was awarded the VC for gallantry on 28 July 1880 during the retreat from Maiwand to Kandahar in Afghanistan. In 1895, he was convicted of bigamy and was the seventh of the eight men whose awards were cancelled. The article states:

⁹ *The Register of the Victoria Cross*, 3rd edition, This England Books, 1997, p.6.

¹⁰ *List of the recipients of the Victoria Cross*, The War Office (MS3), January 1953 see TNA database CAB 106/320 - List of the recipients of the Victoria Cross from the institution of the distinction in...

¹¹ *Alphabetical list of recipients of the Victoria Cross from the institution of the decoration in 1856 to the 1st August 1914*. It does not seem to be listed on the TNA database but I obtained a copy from the National Archives of Australia.

¹² Max Arthur, *Symbol of Courage: A History of the Victoria Cross*, Sidgwick & Jackson, 2005, p.118.

In 1920 Churchill approved amendments to the Royal Warrant for the Victoria Cross, specifying that only ‘treason, cowardice, felony or any infamous crime’ should lead to forfeiture of the award. But the amendments were not made retrospective.¹³

The brief history of the Victoria Cross in *Monuments to Courage* (1999) states:

Original Royal Warrant clauses include expulsion, allowing for FORFEITURE in ‘wholly discreditable circumstances’ of which there have been eight cases. A Royal Warrant of 26 July 1920 changed this provision, when King George V felt strongly that the decoration should never be taken from any man, even if a recipient ‘be sentenced to be hanged for murder’.¹⁴

Winston Churchill was Secretary of State for War in 1920 and signed the amendments to the VC Warrant. However, the words ‘treason, cowardice, felony or an infamous crime’ were not amended and remained unchanged from the original 1856 warrant. The new warrant, which replaced the original 1856 warrant and a number of supplementary warrants issued between 1858 and 1911 was published two months before Lord Stamfordham’s letter of 26 July 1920. However, the review of the VC warrant had begun in August 1918 and the new warrant was signed on 7 March 1919. The same day, Lord Stamfordham wrote to Winston Churchill that the ‘The King has ... signed the Warrant, but His Majesty hopes that its publication may be deferred until we are no longer in a state of war. This would ensure no question of making the Warrant retrospective’. Mr Churchill agreed and although the warrant had originally been signed on 7 March 1919, when finally published it was dated 22 May 1920.¹⁵

Myth 4: Forfeiture Warrant meant recipients should have returned their medals

Kevin Brazier in *The Complete Victoria Cross* states that the forfeiture warrant signed by the sovereign meant that recipients should have returned their medals but not all of them did. The entry in volume one of the *Victoria Cross and the George Cross* for George Ravenhill, awarded the VC at Colenso, South Africa in 1899, says that his VC sold at Sotheby’s in 1908 even though it should have been returned to the War Office on being forfeited.



Fig.2 (left): George Ravenhill, whose VC was cancelled in 1908, served with the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry in the First World War. He died in 1921 and is commemorated by Commonwealth War Graves at Birmingham (Witton) Cemetery, England.

The War Office took no action to seek the return of the VC of George Ravenhill, the last of the eight whose awards were cancelled. When it was announced that Sotheby’s would auction the VC awarded to Ravenhill on 14 December 1908 the War Office sought a legal opinion on the issue. According to the reply from the Treasury Solicitor on 8 December, ‘There is no provision for the forfeiture of this decoration which therefore remains the property of the man, or of any purchaser from him. I do not therefore think you can stop the sale. Possibly you might think it proper to inform the

¹³ Michael Evans, ‘Disgraced war hero gets back his honour’, *The Times*, Saturday, 9 May 1998, p.17. Very similar words were written by Lord Ashcroft in ‘The hero who was stripped of his Victoria Cross’, *Express*, Thursday, 23 October 2014; see <http://www.express.co.uk/news/history/526592/War-veteran-stripped-Victoria-Cross-medal>

¹⁴ David Harvey, *Monuments to Courage: Victoria Cross Headstones and Memorials* Naval and Military Press, 2008, [p.xvii].

¹⁵ Crook, *The Evolution of the Victoria Cross*, p.178.

auctioneers of the facts of the case; it really is not a genuine VC now.’¹⁶

On the question of returning surrendered medals, the Military Secretary ruled that it was unnecessary to take any steps unless or until a recipient applied for its return. In 1908, the only other recipient who had forfeited his award and was still living was James Collis, and he was not advised that he could apply to have his medal returned.¹⁷

Conclusion

The King in 1920 in graphically expressing that a recipient ‘sentenced to be hanged for murder ... be allowed to wear the VC on the scaffold’ was saying that later disgraceful conduct should not deprive a recipient of their medals. This view is widely accepted in the case of gallantry awards and service medals with disgraceful conduct as grounds for cancellation being confined to orders such as the Order of the British Empire and the Order of Australia.

Much of the misunderstanding about forfeitures arises from confusing the ‘registry’ specified in the VC warrant with ad hoc War Office lists published in 1920 and 1953. The War Office lists, while including the eight names in the alphabetical list, do note at the end of the alphabetical list the names and dates of the cancellation warrant which is the requirement of the VC warrant for expulsion. While the 1953 list is often cited, many seem unaware of the 1920 list.

No forfeited VC has been restored and if any or all awards had been restored such notice should have been published in the *London Gazette*. The War Office lists published in 1920 and 1953 note the date of each expulsion warrant but have no note of any restoration warrant.

The 1920 VC warrant was published two months before Lord Stamfordham’s letter of 26 July 1920. The warrant had originally been signed on 7 March 1919 but publication was deferred and when finally published it was dated 22 May 1920.

The War Office sought the return of the VC from some of the recipients who forfeited their awards. It was only when Sotheby’s announced that the VC awarded to George Ravenhill would be auctioned on 14 December 1908 that the War Office sought a legal opinion on the issue. The legal opinion found the VC warrant contained no provision for the forfeiture of the actual decoration.

The last word deserves to go to M.J. Crook, author of *The Evolution of the Victoria Cross*:

So far as the eight men in question are concerned time has practically annulled their expulsion, since virtually all lists of VC recipients (even including one prepared by the WO itself in 1953) do include the names of these eight, even though the subsequent forfeiture may also be indicated.¹⁸

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¹⁶ *ibid*, p.64.

¹⁷ *ibid*, pp.63-64. Two VCs were auctioned at Sotheby’s that day. The VC of George Thomas Symons awarded in the Crimean War sold for £31. Ravenhill’s VC which was the first from the South African War 1899-1902 to be auctioned, sold for £42.

¹⁸ *ibid*, p.67.

THE AUSTRALIAN ATTACK IN THE BATTLE OF AMIENS, 8 AUGUST 1918: A TRANSLATION OF THE OFFICIAL GERMAN VERSION – PART 2 (MAPS)

David Pearson and Paul Thost

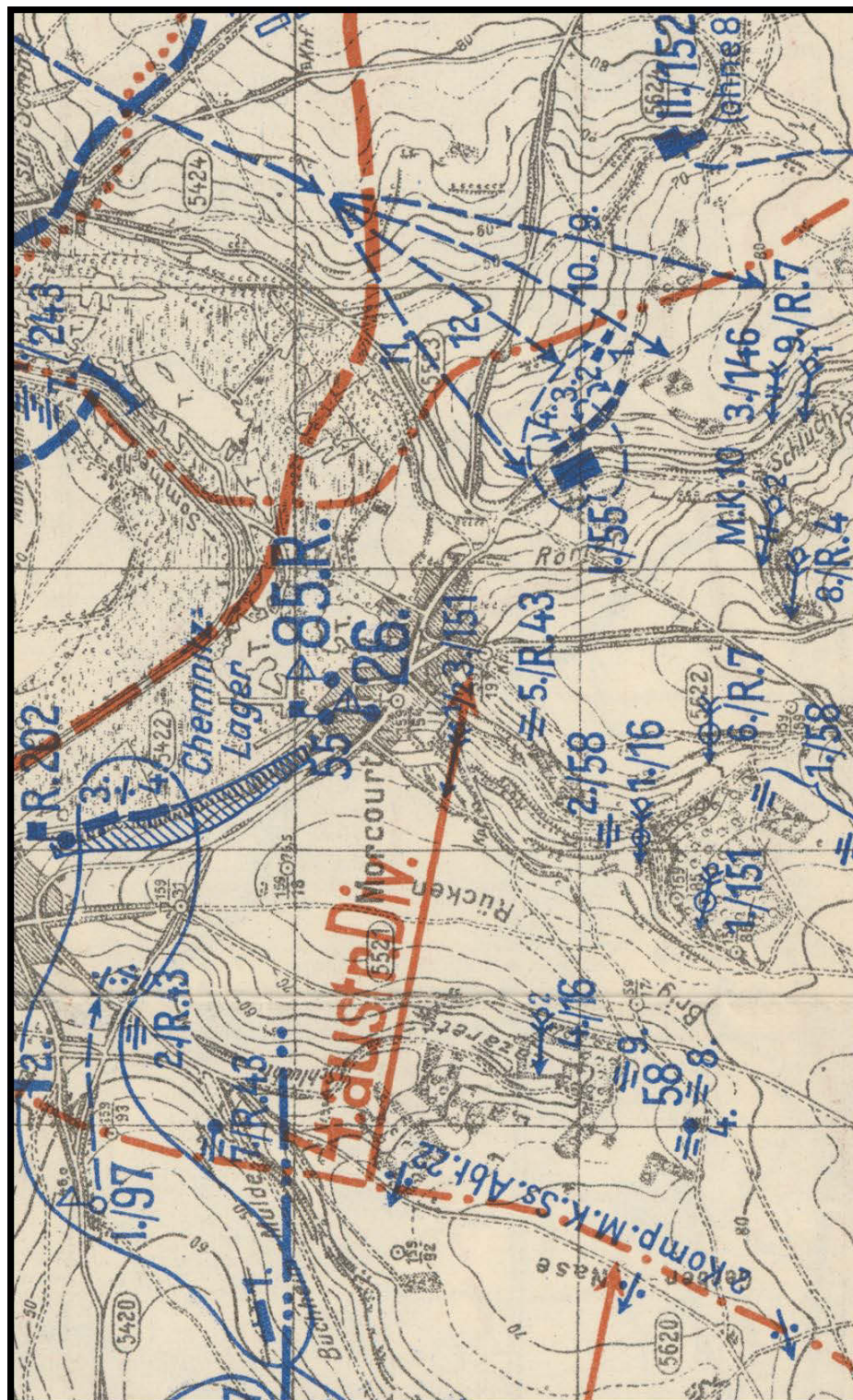


Fig.2.2: A portion of the German map of the Amiens battlefield from von Bose (1930: Map 2) showing the positions of the 5./Res. Field Artillery 43 (5./R.43); 1st, 2nd, 4th, 8th, and 9./Field Artillery 58 (9./58); 8./Res. Foot Artillery 4 (8./R.4); 1st and 4./Foot Artillery 16 (4./16); 6th and 9./Res. Foot Artillery 7 (9./R.7); 3./Foot Artillery 146 (3./146); 1st and 3./Foot Artillery 151 (3./151) and other units around Morcourt. Scale: each grid square = 1000m²

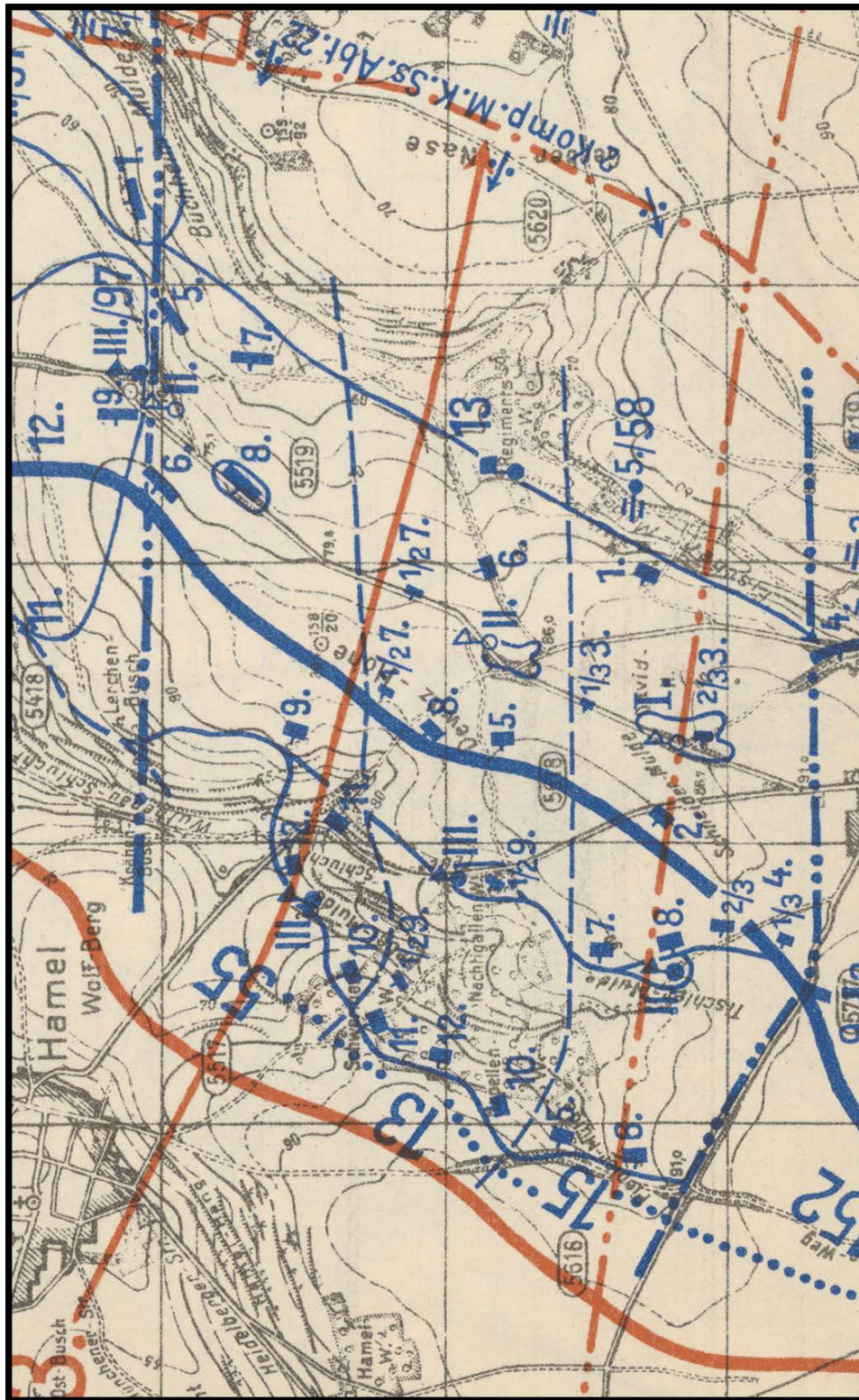


Fig.2.3: A portion of the German map of the Amiens battlefield from von Bose (1930: Map 2) showing the positions of the II./55 Infantry Regiment (5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Companies); III./58 Infantry Regiment (9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Companies); II./13 Infantry Regiment (5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Companies); III./13 Infantry Regiment (9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Companies); I./15 Infantry Regiment (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Companies); II./15 Infantry Regiment (5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Companies); 5./Field Artillery 58 (5./58) and other units south-east of Hamel and north of the Roman Road. Scale: each grid square = 1000m²



Fig.2.4: A portion of the German map of the Amiens battlefield from von Buse (1930: Map 2) showing the positions of the 3rd and 8./Res. Field Artillery 43 (8./R.43) and 1st, 4th and 7./Field Artillery 243 (7./243) and other units on the Chipilly Ridge, north of the Somme River. Scale: each grid square = 1000m²

**‘VETERAN SOLDIER AND A GOOD CITIZEN’: CORPORAL WILLIAM JOHN BURK
(1886-1926), (PHOTOGRAPHS) Paul A Rosenzweig**



Fig.1: The medals which belonged to William John Burk, mounted to display the reverse designs of the first three medals; only the Great War medals are officially named, and only these are believed to be his legitimate entitlement. (Author's photo)



Fig.3: William John Burk's headstone in the old Renmark Cemetery, featuring a now somewhat eroded 'Rising Sun' and evidence of a 3rd Division ASC colour patch insignia. (Author's photo)

MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER MILITARY FORCES IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA TO 1950

Michael Firth

The defence of Australia started with the landing of the First Fleet and the armed personnel sailing with it. They were soon relieved by a series of British Army units which were rotated through the colony. As the colony in New South Wales grew, other colonies were formed along the eastern coastline with other countries beginning to take an interest in this southern landmass. The French took an interest in Western Australia, leading to a landing by a detachment of the British 39th (Dorsetshire) Regiment of Foot at King George's Sound, Albany in 1826. This start to the defence of Western Australia lasted until 1831 when the detachment was recalled.

The next troops in Western Australia arrived with Captain James Stirling when he formed the Swan River colony in 1829, being the 63rd (West Suffolk) Regiment of Foot. Various detachments from other British regiments were rotated through Western Australia until the late 1860s when the British Army was withdrawn from Australia. A significant unit raised by the British was the Enrolled Pensioner Guards who provided guards for the convicts transported to the Swan River colony; it served from 1850 to 1880 before it was disbanded.

With the impending withdrawal of the British troops, moves were made for the formation of local volunteer militia units with approval being granted in 1862 for the raising of three units. They were the Perth Volunteer Rifles (later known as the Metropolitan Rifles), Fremantle Volunteer Rifles and the Pinjarrah Mounted Volunteers. A horse artillery unit was formed in 1872 and over the next decade the infantry units were reorganised several times; mounted units were raised in Bunbury and Perth as well as the formation of garrison artillery units.

During this period numerous units were raised to be later merged, disbanded or raised again under another name. Units were raised in main areas of population including Perth, Fremantle, Guildford, Pinjarrah, Geraldton, Albany, Bunbury, York and Kalgoorlie. Generally infantry units were raised in the metropolitan areas, mounted infantry units raised in rural areas while artillery units were raised in Perth, Fremantle and Albany. By 1884 the infantry units had been formed into a group of a five battalions:

- Western Australian Volunteers
- Metropolitan Rifle Volunteers
- Albany Rifle Volunteers
- Geraldton Rifle Volunteers
- Fremantle Rifle Volunteers

By 1889 it had been decided to form a metropolitan defence force made up of partially paid militia troops and volunteers forming two infantry battalions, a field artillery battery and garrison artillery. By the late 1890s most units had adopted the khaki uniform and slouch hat. At the time of federation in 1901, the Western Australian Defence Force consisted of

- one mounted infantry regiment, the Western Australian Mounted Infantry
- two field artillery batteries: No.1 Battery Field Artillery and No.2 Battery Field Artillery
- a garrison artillery company, the Albany Volunteer Garrison Artillery
- one infantry brigade with five infantry battalions, the WA Infantry Brigade with battalion numbers 1 to 5

The force consisted of a total of 135 officers and 2561 other ranks.

Federation to 1921

With Federation came the forming of a single defence department combining all the forces of all the colonies. The colonies' militia troops formed into a single armed body, the Australian Military Forces (AMF) and this was reflected in the sending of Australian Commonwealth Horse contingents to the Boer War in South Africa. As these changes were occurring and combined with the return of military personnel from the Boer War, the defence forces in Western Australia were restructured to include the following units:

- 18th Light Horse Regiment
- No.1 WA Battery AFA (Australian Field Artillery)
- No.2 WA Battery AFA
- No.1 WA Company AGA (Australian Garrison Artillery)
- No.10 Company Royal Australian Artillery (RAA) Detachment
- 1st Battalion Western Australian Infantry Regiment
- 2nd Battalion Western Australian Infantry Regiment (Goldfields Infantry Regiment)
- 11th Australian Infantry Regiment
- 5th Field Company (Engineers)
- Australian Service Corps Detail
- Australian Medical Corps Company
- Various small support units

In addition to these forces there were also cadet units and rifle clubs which formed part of the reserve who could be called up for military service. The administrative and training duties of Australian army units were carried out by members of the Permanent Military Forces (PMF) who were part of the Administrative and Instructional Staff (A&I Staff) formed under the 1903 Defence Act. In early 1920s the A&I Staff had been split into two new corps:

- Australian Staff Corps, mainly for officers (formed 1920)
- Australian Instructional Corps, for warrant officers (WO) and non-commissioned officers (NCO) (formed 1921)

Other changes during this period included the building of coastal defence forces around Australia including the port at Fremantle. The Fremantle coastal defence position was manned by the No.2 Battery WA AFA which was renamed the No.2 WA Company AGA in 1908, reflecting its new role. By 1910 there was a further reorganisation of forces and an establishment of a compulsory universal training scheme for all able-bodied male British subjects. The training scheme was broken down by age group:

- 12-14 years: Junior Cadet service
- 14-18 years: Senior Cadet service
- 18-26 years: Citizen Military Forces (CMF) service

Over the age of 26 the men were expected to form part of the reserve and be members of local units or rifle clubs. At the same time the administrative military districts in Australia were redrawn and Western Australia became the 5th Military District, covering the state to its borders. This was not the case with some of the military districts as parts of New South Wales (2nd Military District) were allocated to districts on each of its state borders. The structure of the military forces in Western Australia by 1910 was

- 18th Light Horse Regiment
- No.1 WA Battery AFA
- No.1 WA Company AGA
- No.2 WA Company AGA
- No.10 Company RAA Detachment

- 1st Battalion, 11th Australian Infantry Regiment
- 1st Battalion, Goldfields Infantry Regiment
- 1st Battalion, Western Australian Infantry Regiment
- No.4 Electric Company, Australian Engineers (AE)
- No.8 Company of Signallers AE
- No.4 Field Ambulance, Australian Army Medical Corps (AAMC)
- Western Australian Garrison Ambulance, AAMC
- Western Australian Garrison Details, Australian Army Service Corp (AASC)
- Various support units

While this was occurring Lord Kitchener was invited to Australia to comment on its defence requirements, resulting in a major review which suggested a greater increase in the number of units in Australia and the use of local unit training areas. Kitchener's review saw a renumbering and renaming of most military units. With its planning in 1911, Kitchener's changes were implemented in 1912. The changes were for men turning 18 years old to join the local military units so units would come up to full strength over a period of several years. Unfortunately World War One broke out before these changes could be fully implemented.

In Western Australia the 5th Military District units were formed into a mixed brigade and allocated the title 22nd Infantry Brigade, consisting of the following units:

- 25th Light Horse Regiment (WA Mounted Infantry)
- 22nd Infantry Brigade (WA)
 - a) 84th Infantry Regiment (Goldfields Regiment)
 - b) 86th Infantry Regiment (Western Australian Rifles)
 - c) 88th Infantry Regiment (Perth)
- No.14 Battery AFA
- No.20 Battery AFA
- No.11 Company AGA (Albany)
- No.12 Company AGA (Fremantle)
- No.13 Company AE (Field)
- No.30 Company AE (Signals)
- No.35 Company AE (Fortress)
- No.22 Company AASC
- No.22 Company AAMC
- No.23 Company AAMC
- 4th Field Ambulance AAMC
- Various Support Units

The structure of the AMF remained in place during the course of World War One as entirely new volunteer units were raised for overseas duties forming the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). The numbering of the AIF units had no relation to the AMF units remaining in Australia. The local militia personnel could apply for the AIF but only after they had taken or had been allowed to 'take leave' from their local unit. The local unit members were occasionally called up to train the AIF personnel before the AIF personnel were shipped off for overseas service.

With the return of the AIF, it was decided to apply their numbering system to the AMF so maintaining a link to the battle honours won by AIF units. Each infantry regiment was given three battalions, with the first battalion being the AIF unit, the second battalion the militia unit and the third battalion made up of the senior cadets. The light horse units were also renumbered. Implementation of these changes occurred during the second half of 1918 with the AMF structure in Western Australia being

- 10th Light Horse regiment
- 2nd Battalion, 11th Infantry Regiment (The Perth Regiment)
- 2nd Battalion, 51st Infantry Regiment
- 2nd Battalion, 28 Infantry Regiment
- 2nd Battalion, 16th Infantry Regiment (Western Australian Rifles)
- 2nd Battalion, 2nd Pioneer Regiment
- No.22 Company AASC, which became No.16 Coy AASC in 1919

This situation was changed again with the final demobilisation and disbandment of the AIF troops in 1921.

1921 to 1939

The disbandment of the volunteer AIF on 1 April 1921 occurred at the same time as a major reorganisation of the defence forces in Australia, with the changes being completed by 1922. Changes occurred to militia units titles with infantry regiments becoming battalions. The 13th Infantry Brigade was reformed in Western Australia after it had been disbanded at the end of WW1. The 51st Infantry Battalion was not actually disbanded but the title was transferred from a west coast unit to an east coast unit. The units forming the defence forces in Western Australia include the following:

5th Military District

- 35th Fortress Company
- 6th Battery Royal Australian Garrison Artillery (RAGA)
- 23rd Battery AGA
- 24th Battery AGA
- Australian Garrison and Military District Medical Units
- 5th Military District Support Units

13th Mixed Brigade

- 10th Light Horse Regiment (Western Australian Mounted Infantry)
- 11th Infantry Battalion (Perth Regiment)
- 16th Infantry Battalion (Goldfields Regiment)
- 28th Infantry Battalion (Swan Valley Regiment)
- 44th Infantry Battalion (West Australian Rifles)
- 13th Brigade Supply & Transport Coy AASC
- 13th Field Company AE
- 7th Signal Company
- 3rd Brigade AFA; 7th, 8th, 9th and 103rd Batteries
- 13th Mixed Brigade Support Units

With the Great Depression and a change of government in 1929, the Universal Training Scheme was discontinued, forcing a downsizing of military units. This saw the merging of some units while other units became paper units remaining in name only. Over next few years there were many discussions on the major threats to Australia coming from countries in the northern Pacific region. The changing political situation in Europe caused a major rearming which started with the forming of Light Horse (Machine Gun) Regiments and Garrison Battalions. After the declaration of war in 1939, areas of military command had been formed in the military districts around Australia and its territories.

During 1930 in Western Australia the 16th Battalion was linked to the 11th Battalion to form the 11/16 Battalion. In this form only the 11th Battalion was actually maintained and a few years later it was called 11th Battalion (City of Perth Regiment). The battalions were unlinked

in the 1936-1937 period to form the 11th Battalion (City of Perth Regiment) and the 16th Battalion (Goldfields Regiment). By the middle of 1939 the 25th Light Horse (Machine Gun) Regiment was formed and the first garrison battalion in Western Australia had been mobilised, the 10th Garrison Battalion. By the end of the year the Western Command had been formed controlling the 5th Military District area. Western Command was made up of

Various Western Command HQ and support units

10th Light Horse Regiment

25th Light Horse (Machine Gun) regiment

3rd Field Brigade with

7th Field Battery

8th Field Battery

9th Field Battery

103rd Field Battery (Howitzer)

13th Field Company

22nd Army Field Company

6th Field Park Company

4th Field Survey Company

13th Mixed Brigade with

11th Infantry Battalion

16th Infantry Battalion

28th Infantry Battalion

44th Infantry Battalion

Various 13th Brigade Support units

21st Reserve Motor Transport Company

22nd Reserve Motor Transport Company

9th Auxiliary Horse Transport Company

13th Field Ambulance

6th Field Hygiene Section

Western Command Medical and Veterinary Support Units

Western Command Ordnance and Transport Support Units

Coastal Defence Troops;

3rd Heavy Brigade (RAA)

123 Heavy Battery (RAA)

124 Heavy Battery (RAA)

125 Heavy Battery (RAA)

10th Garrison Battalion

5th Anti-Aircraft Battery

55th Anti-Aircraft Company

66th Anti-Aircraft Company

Coastal Defence Support Units

1939 to 1950

With the declaration of war in September 1939 local militia troops were mobilised with duties which included the manning of coastal defences and guarding vulnerable points around the country. During this month the new volunteer force or Second Australian Imperial Force (2nd AIF) was created, eventually being formed into four new divisions. This again gave rise to two

armies in Australia, the 2nd AIF and the AMF, which was made up of the Permanent Military Forces, the Militia and local volunteer defence forces. Further mobilisations saw the raising of additional Garrison Battalions and AMF units. As a side note the Western Australian members of the 2nd AIF were given service numbers starting with the prefix 'WX' while the AMF members were given numbers with 'W' prefixes. The female members had an 'F' added to the prefix.

By 1942 some of the additional units raised in Western Australia were;

- 5th Garrison Brigade
 - a) 5th Garrison Battalion
 - b) 10th Garrison Battalion
 - c) 19th Garrison Battalion
 - d) 29th Garrison Battalion (raised from Y & M Garrison Battalions and eventually reduced to 29 Garrison Company)
- 11th Salvage Unit
- 20th Employment Platoon
- 8th Mobile Laundry & Decontamination Unit
- 9th Anti-Tank Regiment
- Various LAD units
- 5th Chemical Warfare Coy
- 13th Mixed Brigade Provost Section
- 5th Garrison Anti-Tank Coy
- 16th Employment Platoon
- 21st Employment Platoon
- Western Command Ammunition Sub Park
- 9th Reserve Motor Transport Company
- 8th Veterinarian Section
- 4th Ambulance Car Company
- 118th General Hospital
- 10th Ambulance Train
- 14th Ambulance Train
- Various Dental units
- Detention and Interment units

By the middle of 1942 the Volunteer Defence Corps (VDC) which had been raised for local defence was made part of the AMF. In Western Australia the VDC raised a total of sixteen battalions by the end of 1943. The Garrison and VDC units had been disbanded by the end of 1945. Also during 1945 many of the CMF units were being wound down or disbanded and in Western Australia these units included

- 10th Australian Light Horse Regiment, disbanded 1944
- 25th Australian Cavalry Regiment (previously 25th Machine Gun Regiment), disbanded 1942
- 44th Australian Infantry Regiment, disbanded 1944

By the end of 1946 all the local AMF units had been disbanded and Australia's defence relied on a standing army formed from 2nd AIF units and the PMF. Some of these troops formed part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF) in Japan. In 1948 it was decided to reform the Citizen Military Forces (CMF) which was to operate with a newly formed permanent Australian Army. By the end of 1950 the CMF units raised in Western Australia included

13 Mixed Brigade Troops

- HQ 13th Infantry Brigade

- A Squadron 10th Western Australian Mounted Infantry
- 3rd CRE (Wks)
- 3rd CRE (Tng & Admin)
- 3rd Field Regiment
- 13th Field Squadron
- 13th Infantry Brigade Signal Troop
- 3rd Field Regiment Signal Troop
- 11th/44th Infantry Battalion (City of Perth Regiment)
- 16th/28th Infantry Battalion (Cameron Highlanders of Western Australia)
- 10th Transport Company
- 3rd Transportation Squadron (Water Transport)
- 7th/13th Field Ambulance
- 15th LAD
- 25th LAD

Coastal Defence Troops

- HQ 3rd Fixed Defence Brigade
- 7th Coastal Artillery Regiment
- 6th Coastal Artillery Battery (merged with 11th CA Bty in 1949)
- 11th Coastal Artillery Battery (in 1949 it absorbed 6th CA Bty and formed 11th Coastal Artillery Maintenance Troop)
- 5th Static Anti-Aircraft Regiment

Reserve, Cadet and other Troops

- 5th Cadet Brigade
- 30th Cadet Battalion
- 31st Cadet Battalion
- 32nd Cadet Battalion
- Western Command Support Troops
- Western Command Signal Squadron
- Western Australian University Regiment
- 13th Field Supply Company
- 13th Field Workshop Company
- 5th Dental Unit

After this period there was a variety of changes affecting the Australian Army including the Korean War, peace-keeping duties around the world and the introduction of National Service during 1951. The reintroduction of compulsory service saw the unlinking of some CMF units to form training battalions and by 1952 in Western Australia the 16th Battalion had become the 16th Infantry Battalion (Cameron Highlanders of WA). Over the next few decades there was a continual reorganisation of the military forces including the formation then disbanding of the Pentropic Divisions and the forming of the Royal Western Australian Regiment in the early 1960s. Over time the CMF was renamed the Australian Army Reserve leading to further reorganisation and renaming of units.

Researching Militia Records

If you are looking for service information from the colonial period in Western Australia then the book *Vigilans* by James Grant is an excellent source of information as it contains nominal rolls for the majority of the volunteer units. For the period covering federation to pre-World War Two there is very little information on the militia units and very few nominal rolls.

For the World War Two period, the militia troops were issued service numbers which can be located on the Department of Veterans Affairs World War Two Nominal Roll website. This can be searched by a person's name or service number and provides a link where the service record which can be requested for a fee. Apart from the service record most state branches of the National Archives hold the pay cards for this period but to search these records you would need the person's service number as the records are very extensive and are in numerical rather than alphabetical order. The following records at the National Archives of Australia will prove useful:

Series	Title	Location	Arrangement	Size
PP113/1	Pay ledger and history cards (WF3, WF3H) and allotment ledger cards (WF45) Home Defence personnel, 1939-45 War, single number series with W prefix. Dates; 1939-1947	Perth	Single number with W prefix	23.04 metres
K1373	Pay history and allotment ledger cards, single number series with WP prefix. Dates 1940-c.1958	Perth	Single number with WP prefix	0.54 metres
B4717	PMF (Permanent Military Forces) and Army Militia Personnel dossiers, 1901-1973. Dates 1884-c.1973	Melbourne	Alphabetical	63.72 metres
B4747	Army Militia service records, attestation documents (Form A7), alphabetical series. Dates 01 Jan 1901-31 Dec 1940	Melbourne	Alphabetical	61.56 metres

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Web Sites

- Australian War Memorial: www.awm.gov.au
- Department of Veteran Affairs World War Two Nominal Roll: <http://www.ww2roll.gov.au>
- National Archives of Australia: www.naa.gov.au
- Royal Western Australian Regiment: www.rwar.org.au
- State Library of Western Australia: www.slwa.wa.gov.au/dead_reckoning/government_archival_records
- The Desert Column (Australian Light Horse Studies Centre): alh-research.tripod.com

AS YOU WERE ...

Feedback from Readers and Contributors

Mark Jamieson's article, 'Fire Support Patrol Base (FSPB) Coral Remembered', which appeared in the December 2014 issue, pp.17-31, prompted this response from veteran **Leslie J. Tranter**, the Platoon Commander, Anti-Tank Platoon, 1RAR:

- I have just read the article and beg the right of reply to allay some possible misconceptions. While I am sure there was no intent to impugn professional integrity, the article is ambiguous in that it is open to some interpretation as to meaning.

Page 23, 'The Use of Splintex':

The point of contention here is that Lt Jensen did call for fire but NOT from the Anti-tank Platoon - he called for fire from the guns which was duly delivered and anti-tank delivered their fire, on their own volition, in consultation with the 1RAR CP which was directed across the front of the guns and the mortar platoon. The account, and the Official History, are inaccurate in the matter of who was called to provide the covering fire and not, as the article could be interpreted, to whether the fire was provided. BOTH the gunners AND the anti-tankers fired splintex in support of the mortar platoon and in the case of the 90mm RCLs, they provided covering fire to the front of the guns as well.

Page 25, first paragraph:

This paragraph could be interpreted as indicating that the anti-tank platoon did not fire at all, for what is some very doubtful logic. The fact that no casualties were caused by the anti-tank 90mms is due to the fact that the left of arc for the left flank 90mm was carefully delineated by direct liaison between the Pl Comd of anti-tank and Sgt Stephens on gun No.4, and the right of arc for his M60 was aligned with the 90mm pit on the anti-tank left flank. In other words we had tied in our arcs of fire as should occur in any defence. Fig.5 clearly shows that anti-tank were in a spot where this fire could be well directed and, as far as can be determined in the confusion of a battle, should have been effective (and although some doubt exists in my mind as to the accuracy of scale, it must be borne in mind that effects at the mortar platoon may have been limited due to range).

The anti-tank platoon fired four or six rounds comprising HE, splintex and HEAT during the night as well as some small arms, knocked out a NVA 60mm mortar and crew (the HEAT round landing next to the aiming post) and caused unknown casualties to the assaulting NVA, especially on their left flank.

It is important that any ambiguity be addressed as articles such as these can be accessed by any number of persons for any number of purposes, so accuracy is essential, especially as it was originally written as part of an Honours Degree. It is a shame the facts were not checked with all the participants.

Ross Wilkinson read with interest John Steel's contribution "'*Gavman Bilong Jerman I Pinis! Taim Bilong Ol Ostrellya Em Kamap Na*": The Australian Military Administration of German New Guinea, 1914-19' (March 2015, pp.23-30), and offers a clarifying response:

- As someone with a close interest in the historical aspects of the colonial administration of Papua New Guinea, I am pleased to see a contribution on the military administration after the capture of the German Territories by the Naval and Military Expeditionary Force. Unfortunately, I believe that the article has a number of statements that are either factually incorrect or would cause inferences to readers that are also incorrect. These refer to events during World War One and subsequent civilian administrations.

The description of the captured territory by the Expeditionary Force by the author included Bougainville but excluded the Admiralty Islands (Manus). This military expedition was recognised for the award of the 1914-15 Star by specific dates as follows: New Britain 11-21 Sep 1914; New Ireland 16 Sep-18 Oct 1914; Kaiser Wilhelmsland 24 Sep 1914; Admiralty Islands 21 Nov 1914. It is interesting that Bougainville is excluded from the eligibility for the Star, yet the Force was mounted in strength to oppose an anticipated armed resistance from German forces and civilians no different to that of the other captured locations that were recognised.

Holmes was appointed as commander of the Force with the intention that he became the military administrator of the captured territory. As stated, his function was to ensure a smooth transition from the military situation to the pre-war administrative and economic status as soon as possible. To do this he made a decision to retain the German currency as the basis of the economy and set a conversion rate at one German mark equal to one English shilling. When this became known in Australia it caused outrage in Australia but time proved that Holmes's decision was correct.

When reports were received that the missionary, Cox, had been savagely beaten by German residents in the belief that he was a spy, Holmes ordered that the offenders be caned in a public demonstration. While he ordered that no cameras be present, pictures of the event soon emerged and were being sold in the form of postcards and caused condemnation of his administration. After the successful capture of Rabaul, looting did occur. In most cases it was random and in some cases, systemic. A number of courts martial were held that found some cases proved and in other cases dismissed because there was no official definition of the concept of 'War Trophy'.

Holmes had personally come to the conclusion that military administration was not for him and requested a transfer to the Australian Imperial Force. This request was granted and in January 1915 he handed over command of the administration to Col Samuel Petherbridge. Holmes then transferred to the AIF where he was promoted to Major General and given command of the 4th Australian Division. He was killed in action on 2 July 1917 by an artillery blast when escorting the Premier of New South Wales on a tour of the Ploegsteert battlefield. However, the expeditionary force under his command had been enlisted for a specific task and duration. The enlisted men of the military component of the Expeditionary Force had only signed on for four months when they enlisted in August 1914. As their term expired they were returned to Australia and replaced. Many re-enlisted in the AIF to serve in France. The article by the author implies that this change of both troops and commander was as a result of the poor behaviour of the troops and decisions of Holmes and that is not correct.

The author then incorrectly details the subsequent changes of military administrators by time. Petherbridge was in charge from January 1915 until October 1917 when he was evacuated suffering from malaria from which he subsequently died in January 1918. Seaforth MacKenzie was appointed to Petherbridge's staff in Rabaul as his Principal Legal Advisor. He became acting Administrator whenever Petherbridge went on leave and when he was evacuated in 1917 until April 1918 when Brigadier Johnston became Administrator. This is important because during this period the decision was made to progressively convert from German to Australian currency. The German one-mark coin was the same size as the Australian one-shilling coin and had the equivalent declared value. As Petherbridge's image was similar to that of King George V on the Australian coins, it made the acceptance of the new coins easier for the New Guinea natives to accept.

The article does not clearly identify that Papua was an Australian territory under a separate administration. It was formerly British New Guinea and ceded to Australia in 1906 by the Papua Act. During this time its administrator, Hubert Murray, was being constantly consulted on administrative methods to be used in the German New Guinea areas under military administration. At all times his recommendations were that the two areas should be administered under a single administration (preferably under his administration). In 1919, with the imminence of the Versailles Peace Conference, The Royal Commission referred to by the author initiated recommendations by its members, but what is overlooked by the author is that Murray's principal recommendation of joint administration with Papua was ignored.

The reference to the subsequent severity of the post-war administration in regard to punishment could be best summed up by the use of the Pidgin term 'gut taim' or 'good time' by New Guinea natives in relation to each administrative period. 'Gut taim' was used by each generation to refer to the toughness, effectiveness and respect of the administration. In the post-WW2 era, 'gut taim' meant the pre-war Australian strong administration but before WW2 'gut taim' meant the previous German administration. It was a challenging statement.

Gold was known to be in the Watut area well before 1914 as prospectors were illegally crossing over into German New Guinea but were being ignored by the Germans unless they created a problem. With the takeover by the post-war Australian administration, a former AN&MEF officer, C.J. Levien, became District Officer at Morobe under the new civil authority and became aware of the gold prospects in the area. He then resigned in 1923 and began financing these interests that later became the large New Guinea Gold company.

With the Japanese landing in Rabaul on 23 January 1942, the civil administration of both the Mandated Territory of New Guinea and the Australian Territory of Papua was put under military administration on 15 February 1942. The subsequent military administration of both Papua and New Guinea was by the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) until 1946 when civilian control was reimposed over both territories. The United Nations agreed to this joint administrative arrangement and the Territory of Papua New Guinea came into existence. Independence was gained for Papua New Guinea on 16 September 1975.

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A WORLD WAR TWO NOMINAL ROLL OF THE 27TH AUSTRALIAN INFANTRY BATTALION (AIF) – PART 5

Pablo Muslera, Claire Woods and Paul Skrebels

Here is the final instalment in the project to publish as complete a nominal roll as possible of the 27th Australian Infantry Battalion (AIF). Part 1 appeared in vol.55 no.1 (March 2014), Part 2 in 55.2 (June 2014), Part 3 in 55.4 (December 2014) and Part 4 in vol.56, no.1 (March 2015). In addition to names, ranks are provided as they appear in the sources in which they were found, together with service numbers – often both AIF and original enlistment numbers. Certain discrepancies in service numbers are also noted. The final column provides extra information such as the diary entry date in which the name was found, and casualty details. These are mostly self-explanatory, although 'BI' stands for Bougainville Island, 'in u.d.' for 'in the 27th Bn unit diary' and 'in n.d.' for 'in the *WW2 Nominal Roll*'. An asterisk (*) is a general alert to an anomaly or annotation. The editor welcomes any additions or amendments to the roll from readers, which will be published as they are received.

Sanders, William Joseph	Private	SX27588 (S23488)*S23988 in u.d.	17-Nov-1942
Sanderson, Henry Harold	Corporal	DX704 (S26132)	
Sanderson, John Gordon*not in unit diary	Corporal*	S19728*	
Sanford, Francis Joseph	Private	VX92266	14-Apr-1945
Sangster, Alexander Keith	Captain	SX22768 (S19665)	
Saunders, Kevin	Private	WX42019	2-Dec-1944
Saunders, Nathaniel Solomon	Craftsman	SX26874 (S26491)	
Savell, Clifford Rawson	Major	NX101560 (N17433)	4-Apr-1945
Sayner, William Leslie Ralph	Private	S50155	
Scanlon, John William	Corporal	SX23921 (S20266)	
Schloithe, Harold Raymond	Private	V509281	17-Jun-1944
Schmidt, Colin Frank	Private	SX26872 (S20947)	
Schmidt*/Smith in n.r. *, Jeffrey George	Private	SX31421 (S61357)	23-Feb-1943
Schneider, Rudolph Oswald	Private	SX26883 (S21395)	
Schollar, William John	Private	SX28580 (S19914)	
Schrader, Frederick James	Corporal	SX38809 (S19838)	10-Dec-1942
Schulz, Dave Leonard	Private	SX39792 (S62040)	10-Feb-1945
Schultz, Philip Michael	Sergeant	SX31404 (S19896)	7-Dec-1942
Schurgott, Dudley Milton	Private	SX29006 (S21244)	4-Dec-1942
Scott, Albert John Copeland	Private	S21370	
Scott, Archibald Allan*same as Adams, I.L.	Lance Sergeant	SX20001* (S21258, S32478)	13-May-1943
Scott, Norman Dudley	Private	S19841	7-Jun-1943
Scott, Victor Andrew	Sergeant	SX39112 (S21541)	
Scown, Claude Albert	Private	S17911	
Scudds, Donald	Private	SX38207 (S25742)	
Scurrall, Clifford Hutterson	Sergeant	SX28530 (S23699)	15-Jan-1943
Seabrook, Henry George	Corporal	SX39312 (S26295)	1-Dec-1942
Seale, Herbert Percy *(ANGAU)*	Lieutenant	NGX348 *(ANGAU)*	27-Dec-1944
Searle, Darcy Raymond	Corporal	NX172267 (N291615)	20-Feb-1945
Searle, Kenneth Norman	Private	S21531	
Selby, Roy Leo	Corporal	NX116926 (N37339)	5-Sep-1944
Sellick, Alexander Clyde	Sergeant	QX10655	
Semmens, Arthur George	Corporal	SX39955 (S20934)	16-Jun-1943
Semmler, August Herbert	Private	S9781	10-Nov-1942
Semple, Hugh Maxwell	Private	S29920 /S20920* in diary	
Shanahan, James Henry	Private	S43059	23-Feb-1943
Shanahan, Thomas	Private	SX39779 (S53560)	22-Jul-1944
Shanks, Gordon Hamilton	Lieutenant	QX787	KIA 25-4-45
Sharp, Leonard Albert	Corporal	S17120	27-Nov-1942
Shearer, Alwyn Monteith	Captain	SX26404 (S19659)*S19657 in diary	
Shearing, Maxwell George	Corporal	SX30302 (S14970)	
Shelden*Sheldon in diary, Edward Francis	Lieutenant	VX16822*Military Medal*	22-Apr-1944
Shepherd, Donald Bruce	Private	SX39353 (S51374)	
Shepherdson, Charles Henry	Private	SX25208 (S21462)	10-Nov-1942

Shirley, Maxwell Leonard	Private	SX26867	ill, Aus 17.02.1943
Shone, Reginald	Private	NX124168 (N166226)	28-Apr-1944
Short, Benjamin*(prob.)*Atchd*	Major	NX76537*NX76577 in u.d. (typo?)	
Shrubsole, Stanley Alfred	Private	SX28927 (S21596)	
Shuttleworth, Claude Harold	Captain	SX27624 (S19683)	
Simmonds, Victor Pade	Private	SX39962 (S30382)	9-Jan-1943
Simon, Allen Norman	Corporal	SX31403 (S20491)	5-Feb-1943
Simpson, Christopher Robert	Private	NX177753 (N410925)	11-Apr-1945
Simpson, Douglas Mason	Corporal	NX177121 (N24597)	11-Apr-1945
Sims, Claude Edwin	Private	SX39876 (S44087)	27-Mar-1943
Sinclair, Archibald John	Private	S20907	
Siviour, Philip Reginald	Private	SX39125 (S20639)	
Skewes, Garfield Sydney	Sergeant	SX28084 (S21459)*S21465	
Slater, Douglas	Lance Corporal	SX39586 (S20919)	
Sleep, Robert Alwin	Private	S21461	
Slinger, Edward William	Private	WX41283	20-Dec-1945
Slinger, Vivian Arthur	Private	S17473	
Sloggett, Alfred Bant	Lance Corporal	SX28531 (S21542)	
Small, John Michael	Private	Q114447	14-Apr-1945
Smallacombe, Ronald Dave	Private	S21651	
Smith, Albert Roy	Staff Sergeant	SX23943 (S20072)	
Smith, Arnold Max	Sergeant	SX31843 (S21109)	
Smith, Colin Clyde	Private	S21194	
Smith, Colin Henry	Private	SX39114 (S20287)	16-Sep-1943
Smith, Frederick Arthur Morris	Private	SX39758 (S49965)	7-Jun-1943
Smith, James Stuart	Private	SX38535 (S21100, S44871)	
Smith, Leonard Charles	Major	S20151	
Smith, Leonard Robert	Private	S21165	
Smith, Ronald Leslie	Lieutenant	NX132967 (N20005)	25-Feb-1944
Smith, Stanley Joseph	Private	NX128141 (N265685)	28-Apr-1944
Smith, Stirling Nottage	Private	SX23935 (S19826)	
Smith, Sydney Ross	Private	S47683	27-Feb-1943
Smith, Thomas Patrick	Sergeant	QX14415	
Solly, Allan Guelph	Private	SX27596 (S21608)	9-Jan-1943
South, James Hardwick	Corporal	SX25276 (S20294)	
Spavould, Joseph	Corporal	S17755	8-Sep-1943
Spellicy, Robert Sylvester	Private	S45711	23-Feb-1943
Spicer, C.M.*poss. Cyril Mortlock	Lieutenant	*N391224* (in n.r. if correct man)	
Spicer, Gordon Victor	Lieutenant	SX11738	1-Dec-1942
Speed, Jack Wallace	Sergeant	SX27334 (S21145)	
Squire*/s in diary, Robert William	Private	SX31405 (S19995)	29-Jul-1943
Staker, Gavin	Sergeant	SX23972 (S20564)	
Stalker, Harold John	Private	TX14573 (T102702)	8-Apr-1944
Stanfield, Frederick James	Lieutenant	NX120315 (N54200)	17-Jan-1945
Stanway, Kevin John	Private	S21463	20-Mar-1944
Starling, Clifford Joseph	Lieutenant	S19729	

Steele, Harwood	Private	S21162	
Steffanoni, Charles William	Sergeant	NX105041 (N36055)	27-Jul-1944
Stegall, Reg	Private	S21653	10-Nov-1942
Stenhouse, William	Private	SX31846 (S20712)	
Stephenson, Francis John	Private	NX161752 (N435532)	9-Nov-1945
Stephenson, Kenneth Hugh	Sergeant	SX32370 (S21457)	
Sternbeck, Noel Frederic	Private	NX177269 (N461483)	17-Jun-1944
Stevens, Frederick	Private	S21284	
Stevens, Thomas Francis	Private	S20713	
Stewart, George William	Private	SX31549 (S61308)	23-Feb-1943
Stewart, R. W. * might be Ronald William	Sapper	S48374* S48634 in n.r. *	
Stewart, Samuel Alfred Philpot	Private	SX38191 (S19901)	
Stillwell, William Leonard Roy	Corporal	S21245	
Stirling, Stanley	Lieutenant	QX47902 (Q39566)	13-Nov-1943
Stockton, Neville Thomas	Private	N201457	20-Feb-1945
Stokes, Ernest Albert	Private	NX172348 (N447376)	22-Jan-1945
Stokes, Robert Francis	Captain	SX26417 (S102)	21-Jun-1943
Strachan, Arthur Henry	Private	SX29818 (S9743)*S9746 in diary	
Streater, Allan Elliot Cosford	Private	S20769	
Strowbridge, William Henry Wheeler	Private	QX61156 (Q270748)	17-Jun-1944
Strugnell, Lancelot James	Private	S23129	11-Aug-1943
Stubbs, Kemp William	Sergeant	S20453	
Stuckey, William Eric	Private	SX28147 (S21344)	
Sturrock, Alexander Stuart	Lieutenant	VX108128 (V39822)	2-Jun-1944
Sullivan, Wilfred John	Corporal	S21153	
Summers, Victor Jack	Private	SX28826 (S17166, S7418)	
Surman, Alan George	Private	SX28288 (S21666)	
Surman, William Thomas	Private	S21051	
Sutherland, James Alexander	Private	SX23938 (S19814)	
Sutherland, Maxwell Desmond	Private	S19754	
Sutton, William McKenzie	Private	SX39584/*S21343 in diary	13-Nov-1943
Symons, John Henry	Corporal	S20309	
Symons, Raymond Allan	Corporal	SX31397 (S20314)	29-Jul-1943
Symmons, Ray Roy	Private	S20085	
Talbot, Clarence	Private	SX26866 (S23144)	
Tayler, Joseph Ben	Sergeant	SX29905 (S21311)	
Taylor, Charles Alfred	Sergeant	SX31395 (S19902)	7-Dec-1942
Taylor, Edgar Keith	Private	NX153704 (N17705)	7-Jun-1943
Taylor, Melville Reginald	Private	SX25245 (S17325)	
Taylor, Peter Randall	Private	SX28082 (S40729)	5-Feb-1943
Taylor, William James	Private	SX26873 (S33818)	
Taylor, William Keith	Captain	SX25136 (S19720, S19754)	
Teece, Cecil William	Private	QX15987	26-Oct-1944
Telfer, George James	Warrant Officer Cl. 2	SX23959 (S20507)	
Terrell, George Haywood	Private	S17404	
Thiele, Malcolm Ivan	Private	S21234	

Thiele, Theodore Clarence	Private	S27102	
Thomas, Jack Tyndall Keith	Private	SX39923 (S20760)	27-Feb-1943
Thomas, Reg	Lance Corporal	SX25272 (S30050)	
Threadgold, Hector Ernest William	Private	S20268	
Thrower, Roy William	Private	S18185	28-Dec-1943
Thompson, Cyril Garnet August	Private	S21033	
Thomson, William Patrick	Private	N24641	10-Mar-1943
Thornthwaite, Geoffrey	Private	S48370	
Tickle, Russell Mills	Private	SX38566 (S17477)	
Tidswell, Ernest Reuben	Lance Corporal	S29753	23-Nov-1942
Tiernan, James Alfred	Lieutenant	VX102602 (V45228)	18-May-1943
Tiggemann, Cyril John	Private	SX39901 (S21623)	
Tilley, Colin William Frank	Sergeant	SX38863 (S20163)	
Tobin, Maxwell Joseph	Private	S17919	
Todd, Cecil Emerson	Sergeant	NX153677 (N83825)	16-Sep-1943
Todd-Egglestone, Horace Edward	Lance Sergeant	S18133	
Tomlinson, Keith Alwyne	Corporal	SX26870 (S30402)	
Tomkins, Peter	Private	NX172268 (N460642)	10-Feb-1945
Tonkin, Arthur John Thomas	Private	SX37250 (S17918)	
Tosi, Ernest Mark	Sergeant	NX128114 (N265844)	18-Jun-1944
Treeby, Joseph James	Private	410537(SX32866)S20737*in diary	
Tregoning, Rex Prisk	Private	SX28399 (S20623)	
Trestrail, Hedley Raymond	Private	SX39772 (S21235)	
Trimmer, Keith Frederick	Private	SX31406 (S20112)	
Trinidad, James Laurence Edward	Private	SX26868 (S21099)	
Trott, Clement Haig	Private	SX39173 (S20086)	
Trout, Colin Joseph	Sergeant	SX23998 (S20169)	
Trout, Malcolm Ralph	Private	S19708	
Tuckey, Ivor Dickerson	Craftsman	SX28027 (S19997)	26-Jan-1943
Tuffin, Douglas Samuel	Warrant Officer Cl. 2	SX27416 (S19784)	
Tune, Arthur Ralph	Private	S55168	6-Mar-1943
Turner, Allan George	Private	SX31396 (S29573)	
Turner, Jack	Private	SX28549 (S21597)	6-Mar-1943
Turner, Lawrence Edward	Private	S33284	
Tyler, Cyril Eric Winston	Corporal	SX25273/ S21110* in diary	
Tyler, John Robert	Private	SX38567 (S21114)	
Underwood, Stewart Milford	Sergeant	SX28867 (S20254)	
Unwin, L. *	Private	S26570* doesn't match nr	
Vanstone, William Henry	Private	SX27589 (S20087)	17-Nov-1942
Vaughan, Albert	Private	SX38787 (S17410)	12-Feb-1943
Veale, Alfred Charles	Private	SX39368 (S21464)	
Venables, Ronald Victor Lawrence	Private	S31252	
Venn, Bruce	Private	NX193553 (N425585)	17-Oct-1944
Vidler, Ray	Private	N160581	25-Feb-1944
Vincin, Robert Herbert	Private	SX28148 (S17200)	12-Feb-1943
Vine, Frederick Walter	Private	S20937	

Viney, Murray Oswald	Private	S21539	Acc.(drowned), Aus 16.10.1942
Virgo, Colin Lewis	Signalman	S18134	
Virgo, Garnet Luxford	Private	S20995	
Vogt, Robert Hartley	Lance Corporal	S20959	
Vorwerk, John Cranston	Private	SX25246 (S20038)	
Walding, Clifford Raymond	Private	S20734	25-May-1943
Walkley, Douglas Jack	Sergeant	SX25295 (S17927)	
Wallace, Ivan Harold	Private*vol.reversion	SX39610 (S26139)	
Walliker, Robert Arthur	Corporal	VX150035 (V200070)	22-Jan-1945
Walmsley, George	Private	SX25274 (S18215)	
Walters, Elliott	Private	S20011	
Walters, John	Private	SX39116 (S50269)	25-May-1943
Walton, J.G.H.*	A/Lieutenant	SP6465* not in nr	
Warner/Warren, Raymond James *	Private	SX23995 (S26499)	
Warren, Allan Charles	Private	S18140	
Watchman, Robert Laurence	Corporal	S21161	
Waters, Albert John	Private	SX39763 (S21467)	
Waters, Burnit	Craftsman	SX29007 (S21265)	
Watson, Alan Richard	Private	S20492	
Watson, Donald Victor	Captain*Major in dry	NX137928 (N223466)	
Watson, William John			
Wear, Cyril Albert Robert	Private	SX39861 (S20069)	10-Nov-1942
Webb, Douglas Leslie	Private	NX144360 (N196115)	16-Aug-1944
Webb, Mervyn	Private	SX39409 (S21286)	
Webber, Jack Edward	Sergeant	SX23962 (S19915)	
Webster, Peter Glynn Clifton	Lieutenant Colonel	WX266	9-Nov-1945
Weidenhofer, George Albert	Sergeant	SX23923 (S20898)	
Wellman, Henry Edward	Private	Q267078	10-Feb-1945
Wells, Laurence Stacey	Private	NX171103 (N445016)	16-Aug-1944
Wellsby, Harold Michell	Private	S30051	
Welke (sp?)*, A.H. *Anton Henry(?)	Private*	SX29167*S20768 in diary	
Werner, Herbert Alfred	Lance Corporal	SX38025 (S52735)*S52135 in u.d.	27-Feb-1943
Western, Peter Clyde	Private	SX28897 (S21606)	27-Jun-1943
Whitbread, Leonard James	Private	SX28026(S20738)/S20736*	
White, Albert George	Private	S17919	
White, Laurie	Corporal	SX28765 (S21271)	
White, Leslie Alan	Private	SX39611 (S41605)	11-Apr-1945
White, Percival Cuthbert	Private	S26459	
Whitrow, Clive Lewis	Lieutenant	SX25127 (S19764)	
Whitten, Lyle Graham	Private	VX86107 (V19854)	5-Sep-1944
Whittenbury, Leonard Ross	Corporal	SX39769 (S21237)	7-Jun-1943
Whittington, Oswald William	Lance Corporal	SX39997 (S19998)	2-Dec-1944
Wickham, Ronald Clifford	Corporal	SX28533 (S9555)*S4555 in diary	15-Jan-1943
Wicks, Derek Goldsworthy	Lieutenant	SX26406 (S19730)*S19735 in diary	
Wiese, A.A. (sp?)*	NCI, 1st appt pdng	SP6404*not in n.r.	
Wigley, William Ernest	Lieutenant Colonel	469 (SP4486, SX35131)	

Wilkinson, Harold William	Corporal	VX108912	5-May-1944
Wilkinson, Reginald James	Private	VX76254	16-Jun-1943
Wilkinson, Robert Ewald	Private	S21267	
Williams, Colin Dean	Corporal	SX30082 (S20143)	
Williams, David	Private	S17923	
Williams, David Alexander	Private	S21655	
Williams, Richard Thomas	Lance Corporal	SX38648 (S20014)	
Williams, Robert Arnold	Private	SX39794 (S20916)	
Williamson, Gordon William	Private	N84407	5-Feb-1943
Williamson, Robert Bruce	Staff Sergeant	SX28814 (S21466)	
Williamson, William Cecil	Private	SX28811 (S15964)	
Willis, Clarence George	Private	QX35263	9-Nov-1945
Willis, Leslie Ralph/*Willis, LA in diary	Private	SX27190 (S9288)	10-Nov-1942
Willshire, Stanley	Private	S21036	
Wilson, Edward George	Private	S23656	20-Jan-1943
Wilson, Leonard Arthur	Gunner	SX23953 (S19767)	
Wilson, Malcolm Thomas	Private	NX146723 (N175887)	16-Aug-1944
Wilson, William Andrew	Private	S20045	
Winter, Frank	Private	SX25275 (S21196)	
Wood, Jack	Private	SX39746 (S20405)	10-Feb-1944
Woodard, Allan Archie	Sergeant	SX23934 (S20464)	
Woof, Robert George	Private	SX28820 (S21189)	
Woolman, Leslie Alan	Private	S26769	
Wordley, Dennis George	Private/stretchers br	SX31394 (S21465)	
Worsfold, Edward Gordon	Private	SX31407 (S20496)	27-Jul-1943
Wright, Allan Francis George	Private	S19937	
Wright, Douglas Albert	Private	S47098	9-Jan-1943
Wright, Lindsay George	Private	SX28528 (S18039)	
Wright, Oscar William	Private	S17481	
Wright, Walter Roy	Private	SX27520 (S20903)	
Wright, William John Henry	Private	SX39117 (S23159)	7-Aug-1943
Wynne, Lancelot Ewart	Sergeant	S17328	
Yeend, Allan Edward	Private	SX39960 (S40842)	22-Jan-1943
Young, Cuthbert Charles	Private	NX141752 (N220187)	20-Feb-1945
Young, Brice William	Private	SX27665 (S43536)	7-Dec-1942
Young, Raymond James	Private	SX26881 (S26380)	
Young, William Frank Edwin	Lance Corporal	SX23919 (S19962)	
Ziegler, Arthur Verdun			
Malcolm*(A.V.H. id)	Private	S21119	
Zuchelt, Theodore Herman	Private	S20317*S20517 in diary	

If you know of someone who served in the 27th Australian Infantry Battalion (AIF) in WW2 and has not appeared on this roll, or have spotted an entry that requires amending, please contact the editor, editor@mhsa.org.au.

HYDROGRAPHY AND THE WIRELESS: GERMAN PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IN THE PACIFIC PRIOR TO 1914

Rohan Goyne¹

This article will examine the preparations of the German Empire for war in the Pacific prior to 1914, analysing the evidence from a published report of the hydrographic voyage of the SMS *Planet* in 1906-07 against a German Imperial Naval Chart of German New Guinea dating from 1912, and the establishment of the wireless network in the German Empire with an emphasis on the Pacific, particularly Rabaul in New Guinea and Yap in Micronesia.

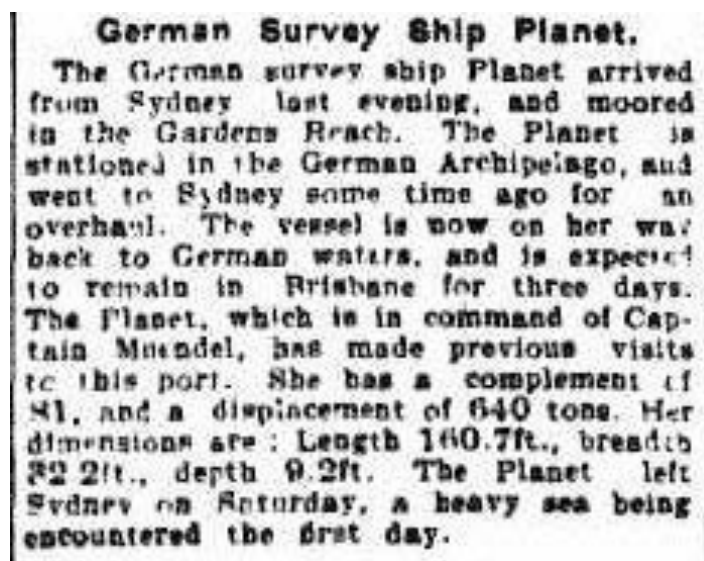


Fig.1: The report above from The Brisbane Courier, 18 June 1913, p.4, highlights that the SMS *Planet* travelled in Australian waters freely during the pre-war years. (<http://trove.nla.gov.au>)

SMS *Planet*

The hydrographic survey ship SMS *Planet* was part of the German South Seas Station, which also included the old cruiser SMS *Grier*. The function of a hydrographic survey ship is to conduct research from which nautical charts are produced which ensure safe navigation by military and civilian shipping.

SMS *Planet* was undertaking a hydrographic survey in 1906 and 1907 that was reported in the scientific literature of the period. The report includes a map of German New Guinea with depth soundings which was prepared following the voyage of the *Planet*.² That same map formed one of three sheets for German Naval charts produced in 1912 for the Imperial German Navy of German New Guinea. I fortuitously secured an original sheet of the same German Naval chart dated 1912 earlier this year through a colleague who has a strong interest in the history of Australia's former colonies, and which provided the inspiration for this military historical vignette.

¹ Rohan Goyne is a member of the National Archives of Australia Anzac Centenary Advisory Committee and will be reading for a Master of Arts in Military History at UNSW Canberra in 2015.

² K. Siegmund, *Oceanographic* (Berlin), vol.3 (1909), p.130.

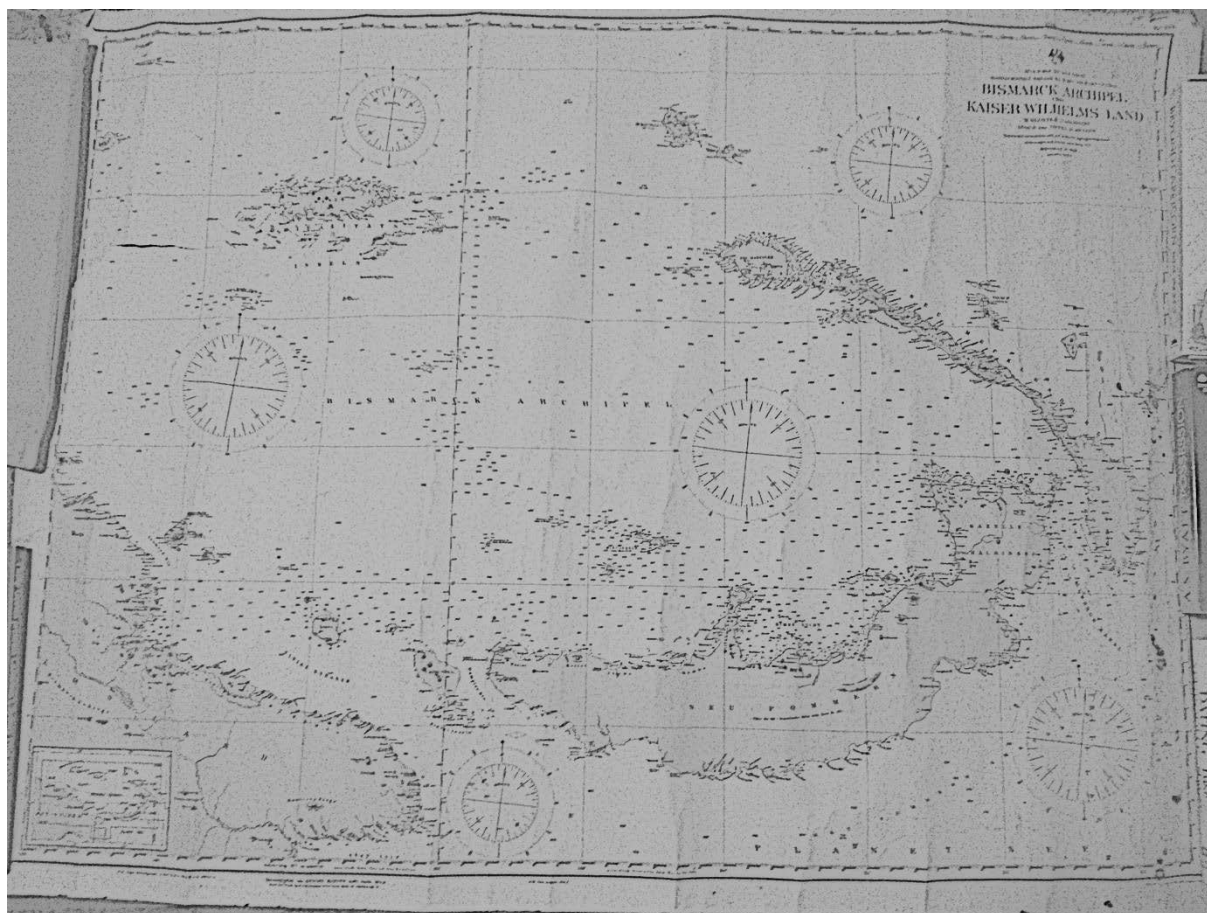


Fig.2: Photograph of German Naval Chart of German New Guinea from 1912. (Author's collection)

The chart (see Fig.2) when compared against the map contained in the report of the SMS *Planet*'s 1906-07 voyage, is primary evidence that the work of SMS *Planet* was intended for the use of the German Imperial Navy during any forthcoming war in the Pacific region. It represents the intelligence work and contingency plans that the German Empire were making as at 1906-07 in the Pacific.

The wreck of the SMS *Planet* was discovered in 2010 by an American diving team which was looking for World War 2 plane wrecks; instead they discovered the wreck of the Imperial German Naval survey vessel at the entrance to Yap harbour, where it had been sunk in an effort to deny the Japanese entry into the harbour when they came to seize what was then the German colony in 1914.

German Wireless Network

By 1914 Germany had developed the most advanced wireless network in the world.³ The German radio firm, Telefunken, was a leader in continuous wave technology, which allowed for the use of separate channels. The firm had also worked at extending the range of the German wireless network prior to 1914.

The German transmitter at Berlin could transmit to Togoland 3,000 miles away. The station at Togoland could then communicate with Windhoek, in German South West Africa, and Dar-es-Salaam in German East Africa. There were also stations in the Pacific: at Yap in the Carolines

³ Arthur Hezlet, *The Electron and Sea Power*, Davies, London, 1975, p.77.

Island, Nauru, Apia in Samoa and Rabaul in the Bismark Islands in German New Guinea.⁴

These wireless station locations were the strategic reason for the Australian New Guinea Expeditionary Force and the New Zealand Expeditionary Force to Samoa. The destruction of the German wireless network that exceeded the British network was a critical factor in the early planning for the British war effort. Indeed, SMS *Planet* was scuttled by German forces in Yap to try and prevent Japanese access to the harbour, who were there seeking to destroy the wireless station ashore.

In conclusion, Germany made contingency plans for conducting a global war as evidenced by their investment in a wireless network and the hydrographic voyages of the SMS *Planet*. Even as early as 1906-07 it was obviously not just envisaged as a potentially European-based conflict.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the staff of the *Bundesarchiv* – Military archives, who I contacted in June 2014; also Robert Hanna and David Pearson for their assistance in the research journey for this article.

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PAGE AND SCREEN

Resources for the Researcher and Collector

‘Thanks Digger’



‘Thanks Digger’ is a page on Facebook which was created as a tribute to all Australian Service personnel and others who have served in the defence of Australia and Australia’s interests – <https://www.facebook.com/Thanks.Digger>. The cover photo now being used by ‘Thanks Digger’ represents the spirit of the World War 1 Digger meeting his WW2 counterpart a century later.

⁴ John Keegan, *Intelligence in War*, Pimlico, London, 2004, pp.121-22.

For the 2015 Centenary of Anzac Dawn Service, the Semaphore-Port Adelaide RSL arranged for 're-enactor' Rob Huddy to dress in the uniform of South Australia's 10th Battalion AIF. MHSA member Paul Rosenzweig took a photo of Rob, which he then edited to look like a period sepia photograph of a World War 1 Digger. Paul then invited a 27th Battalion WW2 veteran to join Rob – this is how 'Thanks Digger' interpreted these images:

The first image is the spirit of the World War 1 Digger, solemnly standing guard at the Semaphore War Memorial which was erected and dedicated in 1925. For most South Australians who served overseas in the Great War, it was at Port Adelaide that they embarked for overseas service.

Like so many 'Digger statue' war memorials, he is a young Australian Imperial Force infantry soldier holding his rifle at the shoulder – the war is over and he can rest, but not relax: he remains alert and vigilant in case his country needs him again. He reflects on the memory of his mates who did not return, while at the same time adopting a posture of vigilance, as a sentry ready to defend the approaches to Australia. He represents the soldier from the first verse of Laurence Binyon's poem, 'For the Fallen':

*They went with songs to the battle, they were young.
Straight of limb, true of eye, steady and aglow.
They were staunch to the end against odds uncounted,
They fell with their faces to the foe.*

Then at the Centenary of Anzac Dawn Service on 25 April 2015, the spirit of the World War 1 Digger met his WW2 counterpart – 27th Battalion Association stalwart SX39980 Private Fred Best, who returned from World War 2.

The spirit of the World War 1 Digger is as depicted in the second verse of Binyon's 'For the Fallen' which has become adopted as the Ode of Remembrance. The Digger has not grown old, as we who returned from the wars and overseas missions have grown old. Age has not wearied him. He is thanking his WW2 counterpart for continuing the tradition of service in defence of Australia, and for actively keeping his memory alive.

Fred, a World War 2 survivor, is thanking the Digger for his service in the Great War, and renewing his promise that he will continue to honour his sacrifice – at the going down of the sun and in the morning, he will ensure that we remember them.

Lest we Forget

Paul A. Rosenzweig

Share your discoveries ...

Have you come across a book, magazine, DVD or website which you think may be of interest to readers of *Sabretache*? You can write a detailed review of it for the 'Reviews' column, or why not just a brief description of it – include illustrations if you think they help – and email your contribution (editor@mhsa.org.au) with the subject line 'Page and Screen', or contact the editor with your idea.

SOCIETY NOTICES

WW1 Battle Series for *Sabretache*

Federal Council has initiated a WW1 battle series to run in *Sabretache* from 2016-2018, with one article per issue written by a prominent military historian. So far Prof Peter Stanley, Peter Burness and Dr Mark Johnston have agreed to produce an article with the exact topics to be confirmed.

Gallipoli Centenary 1915-2015 Special Issue

The Federal President Rohan Goyne provided 20 copies of the *Sabretache Gallipoli Special Issue* to the Scouts ACT, one for each scout troop in the ACT as a resource for the centenary of the Great War. The Gallipoli issue was used at the Scouts ACT Gallipoli camp in March with particular mention being made of the use of Japanese trench mortars on the peninsula.

Rohan Goyne, Federal President

Batemans Bay

The Batemans Bay Museum has been trying to determine the wartime history of the port and some specific buildings but have not been able to find very much information. If readers can assist with the Museum's research to understand the engagement of people from Batemans Bay in various conflicts, and understand the coastal defences for the South Coast region, including any information on where relevant documentation, etc of such activities may now be archived, it would be greatly appreciated. Please email: enquiries@oldcourthousemuseum.com.

Colin Simpson

9th Battalion 'First Ashore Display' Official Opening

This Ninth Battalions Association display is focused on the 9th Bn AIF's service in World War One. Everyone is invited to attend the Display's Official Opening at 10am on Saturday 22 August 2015. The venue is the Milne Bay Memorial Library and Research Centre, 61 Kittyhawk Drive, Chermside, Brisbane Qld. For more details, contact Brad Shillig on 0431440066, email to gallipoli9bnfirstashore@gmail.com or visit www.gallipoli-9bnfirstashore.org.

Brad Shillig

Australian Airmen POW Research Request

Society member Kristen Alexander is now a full-time PhD candidate at the University of New South Wales (Canberra). She is researching the experiences of Australian airmen in Stalag Luft III. Much of her research will draw on personal documentation such as letters, diaries and published and unpublished memoirs. She would like to hear from the families of ex-Kriegies willing to provide her with access to their family records. Contact details: PO Box 746, Mawson, ACT 2607; (02) 6258 7348 (day time); Kristen.Alexander@student.adfa.edu.au.

Kristen Alexander

Jeep Remembers Project

I am working with the Jeep car company researching the availability of Jeeps from WW2 through to the Vietnam War. We are considering launching a collection initiative to find as many examples, photos and stories about Jeeps as we can. With this year marking the 70th anniversary of VE and VJ Days, it is fitting to share what we collect with all Australians and to protect such a collection in perpetuity for future generations. I am interested to hear of any suggestions readers may have that could add value to such an initiative. I can be contacted at gdrucker@dydx.com.au.

Geoff Drucker, Manager