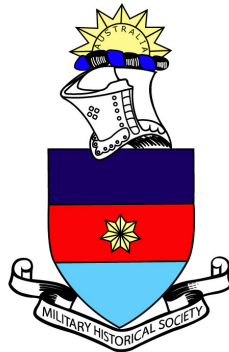


Military Historical Society of Australia
Sabretache



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The Journal and Proceedings of
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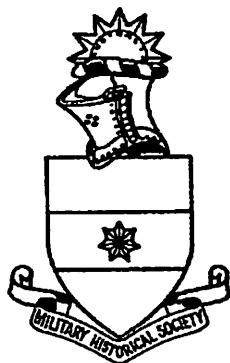
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Contributions in the form of articles, notes, queries or letters are always welcome. Authors of major articles are invited to submit a brief biographical note, and, where possible, submit the text of the article on floppy disk as well as hard copy. The annual subscription to *Sabretache* is \$26.

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SABRETACHE

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

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The Federal Council of Australia is located in Canberra. The Society has branches in Brisbane, Canberra, Albury-Wodonga, Melbourne, Geelong, Adelaide and Perth. Details of meetings are available from Branch Secretaries whose names appear below.

Sabretache

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The Buffs in Australia — 1822 to 1827¹

Clem Sargent

In 1821 the British Government instructed the War Office to reinforce the New South Wales garrison, then the 48th, the Northamptonshire Regiment, with a second infantry battalion. This was in response to requests by Major General Lachlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales, for more troops to garrison his expanding domain and to control the rapidly growing convict population. As reinforcements, the War Office selected the 3rd Foot, the East Kent Regiment, more commonly known as the *Buffs*, a nickname taken originally from the colour of the facings to the regiment's uniform. At that time the regiment was stationed at Mullingar, in central Ireland, between Dublin and Longford. In August 1821 the Buffs were ordered from Mullingar to Woolwich, in England, and from there the regiment was to move to New South Wales in detachments as escorts on parties of convicts being transported to the colony.

The 3rd Foot was an ancient regiment. It traced its history back to 1572 when, on 1 May, Captain Thomas Morgan's privately commissioned company was raised for service in the Netherlands. In May 1665, survivors of the British units which had contributed to the fight for Dutch independence from Spain, and which later formed part of a garrison in Holland after independence, returned to Britain when King Charles II declared war on Holland. There they were formed into the Holland Regiment. In 1672, the Holland Regiment was granted permanent permission, by Royal Warrant, to enter the City of London to raise recruits by beat of drum and with colours flying. This privilege is still exercised by the Queen's Regiment, lineal descendants, through the Buffs, of the Holland Regiment. A change of title occurred in 1689 when the Holland Regiment became known as Prince George of Denmark's Regiment. Under this title it fought in the Lowlands in 1689 to 1697 and in the War of Spanish Succession (1702 to 1713) when the battle honours "Blenheim" (1704), "Ramilles" (1706), Oudenade (1708) and Malplaquet (1709) were won, although the honours were not awarded until 1882!

After service against the Jacobites in Scotland in 1715, the Buffs were back in Europe from 1742 to 1745 during the War of Austrian Succession in which the battle honour "Dettingen" was won. The regiment was in Scotland again in 1746 to 1747 and took part in the defeat of the Scots at Culloden. In the 1751 Clothing Regulations the regiment is referred to as the "3^d Regiment or The Buffs" and in the Army List for 1754 as "Third Regiment or The Buffs" so it may be assumed that the title "Buffs" was officially recognised from 1751 onwards.

Short periods of service in Europe, the West Indies and in the War of American Independence followed. In 1782, while the regiment was still in the West Indies, in the move by the War Office to establish a county affiliation for each infantry regiment, the Buffs were given the title "East Kent Regiment". The regiment returned to Britain in 1790 and, in 1794-95, served in Flanders with the Duke of York against the French. This was followed by more service in the West Indies until September 1802 when, with the signing of the Treaty of Amiens, the 3rd returned to England once more.

¹ These are the years of arrival of the first detachment in NSW and the departure of the last. The normal convention to identify the years of a regiment's service in the colony is to give the dates of arrival and departure of the regimental headquarters. In the case of the Buffs this would be March 1823 to December 1827.

The Buffs next major overseas commitment was in the Iberian Peninsula. The regiment landed at Lisbon on 2 September 1808 to form part of the Lisbon garrison. Although the 3rd followed Sir John Moore's force into Spain as an escort on stores and money, it did not join the main body and, when Moore's retreat to Corunna began, the Buffs withdrew to Oporto and, ultimately, to Lisbon. One company only, the Grenadier Company, which had reached Moore's army with stores, took part in the retreat to Corunna. In April 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command in the Peninsula and, on 12 May 1809, the Light Company of the Buffs were the first troops to cross the Douro River at Oporto in the successful campaign to drive Marshal Soult and his troops out of Central Portugal. "Douro" became the first battle honour awarded to the regiment.

During the following years, the 3rd Foot was engaged at Talavera, formed part of the unengaged right at Busaco and, after the pursuit of Marshal Massena from the Lines of Torres Vedras, took part in the bloody battle of Albuera (16 May 1811). There the Buffs, after a gallant advance against the French infantry, along with the 2/48th and 2/66th, was swept away by an onslaught of French cavalry on the troops advancing in line. In this action one of the memorable events in the regiment's history occurred—the saving of the King's colour of the regiment by Lieutenant Matthew Latham—commemorated in a magnificent silver centre-piece commissioned by the officers of the regiment on the occasion of the tercentenary of the regiment in 1872.

After Albuera the remnants of the Buffs were incorporated in a provisional battalion until reinforcements enabled the regiment to resume its own identity. The 3rd formed part of General Hill's 2nd Division covering the siege of Badajoz and did not become involved in any significant fighting until the battle of Vittoria. The Buffs later fought in the battles of the Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes and Toulouse, all of which were added to the regimental battle honours as well as the all-embracing "Peninsular". Three of these honours were not awarded until 1890.

With the fall of Toulouse and the end of the Peninsular War, the Buffs marched west to Bordeaux and, in June 1814, sailed for Canada to join the force there commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost in his campaign against the Americans on Lake Champlain. The regiment took part in Prevost's abortive attack on Plattsburg where one of the brigade commanders in the British force was Sir Thomas Brisbane, under whom the Buffs were to serve during his term as governor of New South Wales. After a further nine months near Montreal the Buffs were recalled to Europe on the return of Napoleon from exile in Elba but the regiment arrived too late to fight in the battle of Waterloo. From August 1815, Buffs formed part of the army of occupation in France until May 1818 when the regiment was moved to Ireland. It was there that the regiment received its orders to prepare for service in New South Wales.²

The first of the Buffs to reach New South Wales were those acting as escorts on two convict transports—the *Southworth* and the *Shipley* which arrived at Port Jackson on 9 and 10 March 1822, respectively. The party on the *Southworth* was commanded by Lieutenant W T Woods who was accompanied by his wife. They had left Cork on 18 November 1821 and had touched only at Teneriffe on the voyage out. The *Shipley* had sailed from the Port of London on

² Information on the history of the 3rd Foot has been derived from *A Guide to the Museum of THE BUFFS* pp 1-4 and from Captain C R B Knight, *Historical Records of The Buffs, East Kent Regiment 1704-1914*, Pts One and Two, London, 1925.

7 November and the escort was under the command of Lieutenant R Stirling. Two sergeants and 51 Rank and File made up the two escort parties.³

Apparently the significance of the arrival of the first parties of the Buffs was lost on the staff of the *Sydney Gazette* as it was not until 24 May 1822, following the arrival of the transport *Richmond* on 19 May, that the paper announced that the "3rd Reg of Foot (Buffs) is coming out to New South Wales to perform Garrison duty with another Reg". The *Richmond* had discharged its convict passengers in Hobart Town before proceeding to Sydney with the escort party. Perhaps the officer commanding this party, Lieutenant Samuel Wright, carried more authority than the previous two arrivals, he was certainly more senior, for the news of the Buffs' commitment to garrison duty in New South Wales to be included in the weekly news. Wright was accompanied by Ensign Everard and they had sailed from London on 6 December 1821.⁴

Detachments continued to reach the colony as more convict transports arrived. The *Phoenix* reached Sydney on 8 June 1822 after landing its contingent of 182 convicts at Hobart. On the *Phoenix* were Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cameron and Ensign Piggott. On 14 June Cameron and the other officers of the Buffs, along with the officers of the Russian Imperial ship *Appollo*, were entertained at a dinner given in their honour by Colonel James Erskine and the officers of the 48th Regiment. And the arrivals continued; The *Mangles*, *Arab*, *Caledonia*, *Eliza* and the *Countess of Harcourt* all docked before the end of 1822.

The Regimental Headquarters with the Staff and the band of the 3rd did not reach Sydney until 29 August 1823. They arrived on the *Commodore Hayes* which had disembarked its convict passengers at Hobart. There, on Sunday 17 August, the band had played the regimental colours to church. The Headquarters detachment was under the command of Captain J S Cotton "accompanied by his Lady and family" with Ensign Christie, Surgeon Anderson, Paymaster Boyd and 46 Rank and File of the regiment.⁵

Detachments of reinforcements continued to join throughout the service of the Buffs in New South Wales, sometimes arriving under the command of officers going on to join their own regiments in India. The Commanding Officer, Colonel William Stewart, who had been on leave in England did not rejoin the regiment in Sydney until April 1825. He was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of the colony before leaving England but restrictions which limited his exercise of power in that role had been imposed.

Almost immediately after the arrival of the first detachments of the regiment parties of the Buffs were dispersed on duty throughout the colony. By mid-1823 they were serving at Port Dalrymple, Parramatta, Liverpool, Newcastle, Emu Plains, Windsor, Bathurst, Cox's River, Botany Bay Head and South Head. The largest detachment was that at Port Dalrymple which had relieved the company of the 48th commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Cimitiere. Cimitiere was required in Sydney to take command of the 48th Regiment when Colonel James Erskine, its commanding officer, returned to England on leave. The Port Dalrymple detachment of the Buffs sailed in two parties, one direct to Port Dalrymple in the colonial brig *Elizabeth Henrietta*, the second, under the command of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Cameron, to Hobart on the *Caledonia*. It is not clear how the second party reached Port Dalrymple from

³ *Sydney Gazette*, 15 March 1822.

⁴ *Ibid*, 24 May 1822.

⁵ *Ibid*, 4 September 1823.

Hobart—either by sea or by marching. With the Port Dalrymple garrison were Captain Rolland, Lieutenant Hughes and Lieutenant Woods “and Lady”.⁶

It is interesting to speculate why Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Cameron was selected to command the garrison at Port Dalrymple. Certainly he was relieving another brevet lieutenant colonel—Gilbert Cimitiere. Perhaps it was considered that the station, relatively remote from the headquarters at Hobart called for a senior officer in charge but the matter of relative ranks may have entered into the considerations. The presence of a brevet lieutenant colonel, with regimental seniority of captain, could perhaps have caused embarrassment to officers who were more senior in the regimental list. Charles Cameron had transferred into the 3rd as a lieutenant in 1800 and had been promoted to captain in 1804. He had distinguished service with the regiment in the Peninsular campaigns at the crossing of the Douro River, at Talavera, Busaco, and at Albuera where he escaped after capture by the French although severely wounded in the neck and chest. At the actions on the Nivelles and Nive Rivers Cameron commanded the brigaded light companies of Byng's brigade of the 2nd Division and for his exercise of the command in these actions was awarded the Gold Medal, inscribed *Nivelles* and *Nive*, one of only 25 captains to receive this award. He was promoted to the brevet ranks of Major on 22 November 1813 and Lieutenant Colonel in 1819.⁷

In October 1823 even while the detachments of the Buffs were still arriving in the colony, Governor Brisbane received a despatch from London advising him that the 40th Regiment, the 2nd Somersetshire, was about to proceed to New South Wales to relieve the 48th. The latter regiment was to move to India, to Madras, as soon as four companies of the 40th had reached Sydney. The first detachment of the 40th arrived hard on the heels of the despatch—Lieutenant Low, with 32 Rank and File on the *Albion*, on Saturday, 15 November 1823. They had sailed from Portsmouth on 21 May, two weeks before the despatch had been written, calling at the Cape of Good Hope and Hobart, where 202 male prisoners had been landed. With more detachments of the 40th en route to New South Wales the relief of the outlying parties of the 48th became more urgent.⁸

Following the change-over of the garrison at Port Dalrymple the next detachment of the 48th in Van Diemens Land to be relieved was the party at the penal settlement of Macquarie Harbour. Lieutenant Wright was sent down from Sydney to command the detachment of the 3rd, to be drawn from the Port Dalrymple garrison. On 5 December 1823, Lieutenant Governor William Sorell issued instructions to Wright covering his duties at that remote place of secondary punishment. The only significant changes to the instructions previously issued to Lieutenant Cuthbertson, of the 48th, who had first established the settlement, was for the siting of a “Depot of Logs at the Pilot's Beach” and for the cultivation of vegetables “a very important pursuit as the sure mode of preventing scurvy”. The direction to increase the cultivation of vegetables followed from a recommendation of Assistant Surgeon J Spence who had been on the staff of the penal settlement and was concerned by the incidence of scurvy amongst the prisoners.⁹

Before Wright could take up his appointment a tragedy occurred at Macquarie Harbour. On 24 December 1823, the Commandant, Lieutenant John Cuthbertson, was drowned in a boat

⁶ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 1 February 1823.

⁷ Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs 1704-1914*, Pts 1 & 2; *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol I, Melbourne, 1966, pp 196-197.

⁸ HRA I, 11, pp 89-90; *Sydney Gazette*, 20 November 1823.

⁹ Archives Office, Tasmania, CSO 1/134/3230, ff.99-103.

accident at the mouth of the Gordon River. For two weeks before the arrival of Lieutenant Wright the penal settlement was under the command of Corporal Robert Douglas, a Peninsular War veteran, who, according to reports maintained a firm discipline over a difficult command. Lieutenant Wright and soldiers of the 3rd Regiment were to remain at Macquarie Harbour until 21 April 1825 when they, in turn, were relieved by a detachment of the 40th Regiment commanded by Lieutenant James Butler. The troops of the 48th returned to Hobart where they joined the company commanded by Major Thomas Bell CB and the whole body embarked for India on 9 April 1824. They were replaced in Hobart by two companies of the Buffs who arrived progressively from 5 February and who were under the command of Major Marlay. He had with him Captain Cotton, Captain Innes, Lieutenant Evernden and Ensign Christie. In June 1824, the new Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant Colonel George Arthur, reported that he had four companies of the 3rd Regiment in Van Diemens Land, amounting to 230 men. In the north he had troops at Launceston, George Town, Macquarie Harbour, and a small party at the South Esk ferry crossing; from Hobart parties were detached to New Norfolk, Ross and Jericho.¹⁰

Acting on Sorell's instruction to develop the cultivation of vegetables, Captain Wright established a garden on the mainland adjacent to Sarah Island. While visiting the garden in June 1824 with Assistant Surgeon Garrett, Wright, no doubt as yet still inexperienced in handling the desperate convicts under his control, allowed himself to be surprised by the gardeners who, taking hold of the doctor and using him as a hostage, were able to seize a whaleboat and to escape from Macquarie Harbour. This was the only escape by a large party from the settlement. Fourteen convicts escaped and successfully reached the Derwent area. The most famous of these escapees was Matthew Brady. Although members of the original fourteen were recaptured or killed, at various times the gang plundered the country from the Derwent to Port Dalrymple and it was not until October 1825 that the last of this gang of bushrangers, Brady, was taken near Launceston by John Batman, founder of the settlement on Port Phillip Bay which later became Melbourne.

The depredations of Brady and his gang and the rapidity with which they moved through the country provided ample employment for the newly arrived detachments of the Buffs. Captain Innes was notably active in pursuit of the escapees and Private William Allan, who was involved in the taking of one of the Brady gang in March 1825, was singled out for particular mention in the *Hobart Town Gazette*—"That brave and respectable warrior Allan" who had "repeatedly distinguished himself" was then a second time in search of McCabe and Brady "with a 'mede and persian resolve' to bring them in". Unfortunately the *Hobart Town Gazette* was as inaccurate in its facts as it was lavish with its florid prose—there was no Private Allan in the Buffs but a Private Allum whose sterling capabilities were recognised by promotion to corporal on 25 March 1826 and to sergeant on 25 December 1827.¹¹

The record of Allum and others of the regiment appears to throw some doubt on the opinion of a later historian, R W Giblin, who wrote "that it would have been well for the settlers if this unfortunate breakaway from Macquarie Harbour had occurred earlier, while yet the detachments of the 48th were garrisoning the colony. The various companies of this regiment had gained experience in seeking out runaways, knew the country and where suspected characters were located." It is unclear whether Lieutenant Governor Sorell's earlier

¹⁰ Thomas James Lempriere, *The Penal Settlements of Early Van Diemen's Land*, Launceston, 1954, p 13; Davies, *Memoir of Macquarie Harbour*, MS8, Dixon Library, Sydney; HRA I, 12, p 149.

¹¹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 25 March 1825; WO 12/2119, 25 December to 24 March 1827, 25 September to 24 December 1827.

recommendation that a few men of the outgoing regiment be transferred to the relieving force had been acted upon. He believed that this would provide the incoming garrison with a few "Leaders & Guides perfectly acquainted with the Country and the Bushranging system" and would enable the new troops to adapt to this service more rapidly.¹²

There is another possible reason why, if Giblin's opinion is correct, for a lack of ability to take bushrangers. Another historian, M H Ellis, advanced the view that the Peninsular veterans in the garrison regiments brought with them an ability "to rough it" and to contend with bush conditions. By 1825, there were many less veterans in the 3rd than had been in the 48th. In June 1826, when inspecting the Buffs in Sydney, Governor Darling noted that there were 96 men in the regiment who had seen service in the Peninsular War. When the 48th arrived in 1817 it had almost 250 veterans still serving.¹³

Shortly after the relief of the 48th at Hobart the Buffs were also committed to replace Captain Allman's company of the Northhamptons at Port Macquarie. The relief party of the Buffs, under Captain John Rolland, took over at the settlement at the end of April 1824. Lieutenant G H Carmac replaced Lieutenant Wilson of the 48th as Engineer and Inspector of Public Works. In August 1824 in a report that he had appointed the Reverend Thomas Hassell to be the Assistant Chaplain at Port Macquarie, Governor Brisbane also reported that he had given orders for the construction of a church "... a plain building without any spire, of 14 feet Wall only, ... to hold six or seven hundred sitters ...". Before construction of the building began, on 16 November, the commandant, Captain Rolland died of a fever and his body was buried within the church precincts, the foundation stone of which was not laid until 8 December 1824 by the now Acting Commandant, Lieutenant Carmac. St Thomas' church was not dedicated until 24 February 1828 but it is among the oldest churches in Australia. Rolland's gravestone can be viewed beneath the floor of the front right pew. Captain Rolland's death was formally reported in the Monthly Return for November 1824. In the same return it was reported that, "Lance Corporal Geo^o Blair and Private W^m Brown were decoyed away by the Black Natives at Port Macquarie about the 3rd Nov. when on duty, & certain information has been received that they were barborously murdered by these Savages".¹⁴

At this time the ship *Hugh Crawford* was en route to New South Wales carrying a despatch to Governor Brisbane advising him that the 57th Regiment, the West Middlesex, was about to embark for the colony as relief for the 3rd. The latter regiment was to proceed to India as soon as four companies of the 57th had arrived. The 57th, too, had been in the battle of Albuera, along with the 3rd, and had earned there the regimental nickname "The Die-Hards".¹⁵

On 24 August a party of Captain Maurice Barlow, Ensign Everard, one sergeant, 23 Rank and File of the Buffs, an assistant surgeon, three commissary clerks, three free mechanics and 44 convicts sailed in an expedition led by Captain J J G Bremer, RN, to form a settlement on the Coburg Peninsula in the now Northern Territory. The formation of a settlement in that locality had the aims of establishing British sovereignty on that part of the continent, of providing a victualing base for ships passing through Torres Strait on the route to India and of securing trade links with the Macassans of present-day Indonesia who traditionally fished in the area for trepang (beche-de-mer or sea slug). A suitable site could not be found on the mainland of the

¹² R W Giblin, *The Early History of Tasmania*, Melbourne, 1939, Vol II, p 349; HRA III, 2, p 275.

¹³ M H Ellis, "British Military Regiments in Australia", *RAHS Journal*, Vol XXXVII, Pt VI, 1951, p 328.

¹⁴ HRA I, 11, p 347; WO 17/2308, f 85, 25 November 1824.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 376.

peninsula and the settlement was eventually established on the western end of Melville Island in the Apsley Strait between Melville and Bathurst Islands. A fort was constructed there, named Fort Dundas in honour of the head of the Admiralty at the time. Captain Bremer sailed from Fort Dundas on 12 November 1824 handing over command of the settlement to Captain Barlow.¹⁶

Barlow and his command continued with the development of the settlement but there was a complete absence of any traders. The difficulty of access through Apsley Strait and the traditional hostility of the Melville and Bathurst Island natives to the Macassans ensured that none attempted to visit the settlement. Additionally, two ships, the *Lady Nelson* and the *Stedman*, which had sailed from the settlement to the Indonesian islands for supplies and to trade, were taken by pirates and the crews slaughtered. Any despatches which Barlow may have forwarded to Sydney on the state of the settlement have not survived the passage of time. Nevertheless, in September 1826 the detachment of the Buffs was relieved by Major Campbell in charge of a party of the 57th Regiment, by then in New South Wales. Governor Brisbane, writing later on a magisterial hearing involving Barlow, was to say, "In a recent and arduous Command at Melville Island, I have reason to believe him to have shown considerable talent". Fort Dundas was abandoned in early 1829 when equipment and some personnel were transferred to a new settlement—Fort Wellington—in Raffles Bay. In time, it too was to be abandoned.¹⁷

Back at Port Macquarie, in January 1825 Captain Henry Gillman had taken up the appointment of commandant as the replacement for the unfortunate Rolland. Gillman was accompanied by his wife and two children as Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies and Governor Brisbane both thought it desirable that the commandants at outlying settlements should be married men. It seems that Gillman, who had joined the Buffs as an ensign in 1807, displayed some energy in his office. During his term of office at the settlement a 120 ton brig, the *Mary Elizabeth*, was constructed, the Government House rebuilt, a female prison built and, with a convict population of 1500, the sugar cane plantation was extended to 400 to 500 acres and the land under general agricultural cultivation to 1000 acres. In evidence to a Commission of Enquiry set up by Governor Darling in 1828, Gillman also claimed that he had built the church but in the report of the commissioners he was criticised for assigning convict carpenters to himself, Assistant Commissary General Bowerman and Dr Moran who all had quantities of cedar furniture fabricated. Gillman was replaced by Captain Samuel Wright in February 1826 to become the Major of Brigade at headquarters in Sydney. There, he was, in effect, military staff officer to the governor as commander of the forces in the colony.¹⁸

In 1823, under direction of Earl Bathurst, Governor Brisbane had despatched the Surveyor General, John Oxley, accompanied by Lieutenant Robert Stirling of the Buffs, to determine whether Moreton Bay offered any potential for the establishment of a penal settlement. Following a favourable report from Oxley, Brisbane resolved to open up a new settlement in the north. In reaching this decision Brisbane was influenced by the ease with which prisoners from Port Macquarie were then escaping to the Hunter region and because the Port Macquarie area was becoming attractive to free settlers. Brisbane's plan was to make Port Macquarie the place for those guilty of "first grave offences; Moreton Bay for runaways from the former, and

¹⁶ Ibid, pp 769-781; *Sydney Gazette*, 26 August 1824.

¹⁷ Peter G Spillet, *Forsaken Settlement*, Melbourne, 1972, pp 13-15.

¹⁸ Iain McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, Marrickville, 1988, pp 119-127; Frank Rogers (ed), *Port Macquarie*, Port Macquarie, 1982, pp 51-55.

Norfolk Island, as the *ne plus ultra* of Convict degradation." The Moreton Bay settlement was established by Lieutenant Henry Miller and troops of the 40th Regiment in September 1824 and, in June 1825, Captain Turton, of the same regiment, opened up again the settlement at Norfolk Island. The Buffs were fortunate not to be involved in either of these activities.¹⁹

Sir Thomas Brisbane, in May 1825, received notice of his recall and his replacement as the Governor of New South Wales by Lieutenant General Ralph Darling. He was advised that Darling would not arrive in the colony until October or November. Brisbane acknowledged notice of his recall in a private letter to Earl Bathurst and informed him that he would delay his departure from the colony until the arrival of Darling. His long acquaintance with Colonel William Stewart, Commanding Officer of the Buffs and Lieutenant Governor of the Colony, had convinced him "how incompetent he [Stewart] is to have the reins of so difficult, so delicate and so arduous a Government entrusted to his care". Also Lieutenant Colonel Thornton, of the 40th Regiment, who would become second-in-command could not "be considered responsible for his actions arising from the severity of the fits, with which he is repeatedly attacked". It appears that the command of the colonial garrison was in a perilous state.²⁰

In spite of his apprehensions, Sir Thomas Brisbane left the control of the colony in the hands of Acting Governor Stewart when he sailed from Sydney on 1 December 1825. In the 16 days before the arrival of Governor Ralph Darling, Stewart completed the organisation and deployment of the first body of Mounted Police. It consisted of two officers, two sergeants, and 22 Rank and File of the Buffs. They were equipped as light cavalry with one half of the organisation deployed in the Bathurst area and the other in the Hunter region. The Mounted Police were to absorb the Governor's Mounted Bodyguard and some of the men from the Bodyguard, by transferring from out-going regiment to in-coming regiment were to serve in the colony from 1816-17 to as late as 1844. Stewart has been credited with having established the Mounted Police but in a report to Earl Bathurst, dated 12 December 1825, Stewart stated that the troop had been formed in response to a request by Brisbane and members of the Legislative Council. The Bathurst detachment had actually been deployed in the field where it had performed "important service in clearing that part of the country" of bushrangers before Brisbane's departure.²¹

As he passed through Hobart en route to Sydney, Darling proclaimed the independence of the Colony of Van Diemens Land from the Government of New South Wales, although Darling was to be the first governor of the new colony. In January 1826, in response to a request by Lieutenant Governor Arthur, Governor Darling transferred the headquarters of the 40th Regiment to Hobart Town and that regiment became responsible for manning all the military posts in Van Diemens Land. Any detachments of the Buffs still in Van Diemens Land returned to New South Wales.²²

There was a further change-over of commandants at Port Macquarie towards the end of 1826. Captain Wright returned to Sydney in November of that year when he was selected to command a party detailed to establish a new settlement at Western Port, on Bass Strait in the present state of Victoria. Wright was in turn replaced by Captain Archibald Innes who was

¹⁹ HRA I, XI, pp 553, 604, 697-698; Charles Bateson, *Patrick Logan*, Sydney, 1966, pp 34-44.

²⁰ HRA I, 11, p 589.

²¹ *Ibid*, 12, p 85.

²² *Ibid*, p 158.

then in Sydney after his service in Van Diemens Land. Innes' term at Port Macquarie was also short as he was recalled to Sydney in April 1827 to take up the appointment of Brigade Major, replacing Captain Henry Gillman who had permission to return to England on leave. Innes' replacement was Lieutenant Owen who, in September 1827, handed over the garrison at Port Macquarie to Captain Crotty and a detachment of the 39th Regiment. By then, under Governor Darling's administration, the number of convicts at the settlement had been substantially reduced.

Archibald Innes elected to remain in New South Wales when the Buffs left for India, his resignation of commission becoming effective in 1829 and he became a substantial settler in the colony. Innes had joined the 3rd Regiment as an ensign on 23 September 1813 and, in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, is credited with service in the Peninsular War. This is clearly an error based on the assumption that he would have joined the regiment in France after the date of appointment. Innes is not included in the regimental history appendix listing the officers of the regiment who embarked at Bordeaux for Canada in June 1814, he is not included in "The Peninsula Roll Call", a comprehensive list of all the officers who served in the Peninsula, compiled by Captain Challis and commonly called "The Challis Index", nor did he receive the Military General Service Medal 1794-1814 when it was issued in 1847. As Innes was only thirteen when appointed to his ensigncy, and considering the above evidence, it appears most unlikely that he served in the Peninsular War.²³

Following Innes' resignation of his commission he was appointed superintendent of police and a magistrate at Parramatta and, while there, he married Margaret, the daughter of the Colonial Secretary, Alexander McLeay. In 1830, Innes returned to Port Macquarie where he was allotted a grant of nearly 2 600 acres of land around Lake Burrawan which became known as Lake Innes. Here he built "Lake Cottage" and, with ample convict labour, his estate, business and grazing interests flourished both at Port Macquarie and inland, particularly in the New England district. The end of transportation imposed a significant reduction in his free labour force and, following the depression of the 1840s, in 1852 Innes was bankrupt. He died at Newcastle on 29 August 1857 but is remembered by the township of Glen Innes which was established on one of his properties. "Lake Cottage" was later largely destroyed by fire but a model of the establishment can be seen in the museum of the Port Macquarie Historical Society. It well illustrates the squireachal style in which Innes lived.²⁴

The settlement at Western Port is one of the lesser known activities in which the Buffs were engaged during their service in New South Wales. It is not mentioned in the regimental history published in 1935 and little has been made of it in Australia. The selection of Western Port as the site for a new settlement arose from two misconceptions. First, Hamilton Hume, in his report of 24 April 1825 to Sir Thomas Brisbane, on his successful expedition to the south stated that he had reached Western Port when he had, in fact, reached Port Phillip Bay. His report of "immense Downs and forests" and the country being "well watered" was consequently misleading. This report had been forwarded to Earl Bathurst who then judged the area a suitable site for development to forestall any French plans to establish themselves in the region. This was the other misconception which Bathurst formed when he received intelligence of a French expedition of discovery being mounted to explore that part of Australia. Governor Darling presented to Bathurst Surveyor General John Oxley's recollections of the unfavourable

²³ ADB Vol II, pp 3-4; R B Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, p 737; *Peninsula Roll Call*, NLA microfilm G 7310, A L T Mullen, *The Military General Service Roll 1793-1814*.

²⁴ ADB Vol II, pp 3-4.

report on Western Port which he, Oxley, had presented to Governor King in 1805 but to no avail.²⁵

In spite of his misgivings, Darling, bending to the instructions from the Secretary for Colonies, selected Captain Wright, of the Buffs, "an officer who appears well qualified for service of this nature" to be in charge of the new settlement. Wright, with a military detachment of two officers, including himself, and 18 Rank and File of the regiment, and a party of 20 convicts, sailed from Sydney on the *Dragon*, arriving at Western Port early in December 1826. They were accompanied by Captain Wetherall RN on the *Fly* to assist in setting up the settlement and also by William Hovell who was "sanguine in the realisation of the expectations, which he had formed with respect to Western Port". These were expectations of which Hovell was to be somewhat disabused after he had the opportunity to explore the country immediately around Western Port.²⁶

When Captain Wetherall on the *Fly* sailed into Western Port he found Phillip Island already occupied by sealers from Port Dalrymple. They were accompanied by aboriginal women and had even developed gardens. This did not deter Wetherall going through the ceremony of official occupation—his seamen landed on the island near the present-day location of Rhyll, they erected a flagpole, ran up the Union Jack, fired a salute of 21 guns and Wetherall took possession in the name of the British Crown. A fort, named Fort Dumaresq, was established on the site. Meanwhile, Captain Wright's party, on the *Dragon*, landed on the eastern side of the bay on 10-12 December 1826 and began setting up a camp near the present location of Corinella. In establishing his party, Wright, in the first place, no doubt carried out the instructions which had been issued to him in Sydney by Colonial Secretary MacLeay on 4 November "... When the site is determined upon, you will display the Colors [sic] with which you are furnished for this purpose, cause the Troops to fire a 'feu de joie' and observe all the formalities which are usual on such an occasion". Building of barracks, storehouses and a "Government House" went ahead apace, in spite of a fire which destroyed some of the first buildings.²⁷

While Captain Wright and his party pressed on with the development of the settlement, Hovell undertook a series of exploratory journeys to examine the country surrounding Western Port struggling with difficulty through areas of swamp and tea tree scrub close to the settlement. Wright accompanied Hovell on one of these expeditions and on this occasion they were unsuccessful in penetrating the scrub. Perhaps it was this experience which influenced Wright to report adversely to Governor Darling on 26 January 1827 on the suitability of Western Port for further settlement. However, in later expeditions, Hovell found land which he assessed suitable for settlement if there were an increase in the number of potential settlers seeking grants. Darling began negotiations with the home government for the withdrawal of the troops and convicts manning the settlement as early as February 1827 and, in January 1828, orders were given for the abandonment of the Western Port settlement. Before then, Wright had handed over command of the settlement to Lieutenant Burchell of the Buffs and returned to Sydney where, in May 1827, his resignation of commission became effective. He was appointed Superintendent of Police at Newcastle. Wright later took up a grant of land in the Hunter Valley and died at his estate "Bengalla", near Muswellbrook, in March 1852. Samuel Wright, a veteran of the Peninsular War, in 1848 was awarded the Military General Service

²⁵ HRA I, 12, pp192-195, 640-643.

²⁶ Ibid, p 699.

²⁷ Keith Bowden, *The Western Port Settlement And Its Leading Personalities*, Cheltenham, 1970; HRA III, V, p 828.

Medal 1793-1814, with clasps for Busaco, Albuera, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes and Toulouse. He was the only officer of the Buffs who served in New South Wales to receive this medal.²⁸

Lieutenant Burchell did not remain long at Western Port; in November 1827 Burchell and his detachment of the Buffs returned to Sydney when they were relieved by Lieutenant Taylor and a detachment of the 57th Regiment. Long before Burchell reached Sydney, contingents of the Buffs had sailed to India. In a despatch of 1 February 1827 the Governor reported that "the 1st Division of the Buffs, consisting of three Companies had proceeded to Calcutta". In this division were Colonel Cameron, two captains, four lieutenants, one ensign, 17 sergeants, four drummers and 245 Rank and File. They had sailed on the transports *Woodford* and *Speke*. In the same despatch Darling said that he intended to retain the headquarters of the regiment in Sydney until the whole of the 39th arrived and in May, in a further despatch to Bathurst, Darling reported that due to a shortage of both officers and men to meet the duties of the wide-spread garrison, he must continue to keep the remainder of the Buffs under his command until the situation improved. It was not until 27 November 1827 that the last major detachment of the Buffs sailed from Sydney on the *Prince Regent*. Some members of the regiment elected to remain in the colony and the Buff's Muster Roll for December 1827 shows that one sergeant, one corporal and 21 privates transferred to the 39th Regiment while the Buffs' sergeant schoolmaster, Alex Manson, two other sergeants, three corporals and 18 privates transferred to the 57th. In all, 47 stayed in New South Wales including those who elected to serve on with the Mounted Police. Most of that 47 would eventually be discharged in the colony.²⁹

Deaths from cholera began to occur almost immediately after landing in Calcutta. Although reinforced with a draft of 327 men from Britain, which brought the regiment to a strength of almost 900, by October 1828, it had lost nearly 200 men and several officers. It was 23 years from the time the first detachments had sailed for New South Wales before the Buffs returned to Britain. Only five officers and men, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Christie, Ensign Colburn, Privates Byrne, Tennant and Palmer, of the original detachments to New South Wales and Sergeant Sanderson and Privates Wright, Betts and Waring, of those who arrived in the colony later, survived to return with the regiment. In India, Colonel William Stewart was promoted to the rank of major general but he retired in 1832 to return to New South Wales, to his property at Mount Pleasant near Bathurst, where he had received a grant of 3 200 acres in 1826. He died on 8 April 1854 and was buried on his property. He had been awarded the Gold Medal for command of the Buffs at Albuera in 1811.³⁰

The Buffs went on to serve in the Crimea, China, India, Zululand, India again and in two World Wars. In post-World War II reorganisations it became part of the Queen's Regiment. In the Colony of New South Wales the service of the 3rd Foot, the Royal East Kent Regiment—The Buffs—while contributing no honour and glory to its history brought no disgrace. It was typical of the steadfast service of the garrison regiments in the colony.

²⁸ HRA I, 13, pp 74, 667; HRA III, 5, p 825 et sequi.

²⁹ WO 17/2311, fs 5,97; HRA I, 13, pp 62, 274-275.

³⁰ ADB, Vol II, pp 482-483.

**3rd Regiment recipients of the
Military General Service Medal 1793-1814
who served in Australia**

Name	Date of enlistment	Clasps
Wright, Capt Samuel	Lt - 13 August 1806	B, A, P, N, Nive, O, Toul
Blackmore, John	5 April 1809	A, P
Butler, Joseph	1 May 1811	P, T
Christie, James	4 April 1809	P, N, Nive
Danford, Daniel	29 November 1808	N, Nive
Davis, Edward	1 May 1811	P
McPherson, Hugh	1 July 1807	A
Myletts, Thomas	21 August 1806	T, P, N, Nive, O, Toul
Newman, Henry	1 May 1811	P, Toul
Nicholls, William	19 June 1808	A, P, N
Otway, Sgt James	29 November ?	N, Nive, O, Toul
Rivers, William	23 August 1811	P, Toul
Stone, Joseph	26 June 1809	T, A, P, Toul
Taylor, Sgt John*	14 October 1807	T, B, A, P, N, Nive, O, T
Wilkins, Robert	15 July 1811	P, N, Nive

* Colonial List

Code: T - Talavera, B - Busaco, A - Albuera, P - Pyrenees, N - Nivelle, O - Orthes, Toul - Toulouse.

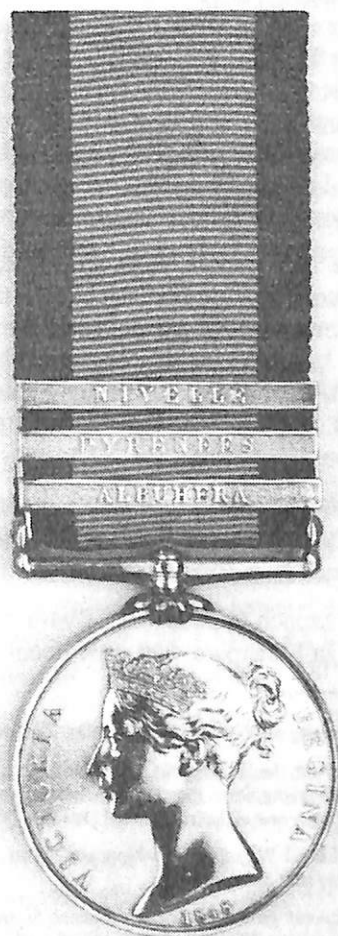
This list does not purport to be definitive. It has been compiled from Mullen's *The Military General Service Roll 1793-1814* and from an examination of the Muster Rolls, particularly the section on "Men Charged For The First Time, For Additional Pay" which shows those men who in 1823-1827 had 14 years' service in the regiment. The entry for Sgt John Taylor indicates that his application for the award of the medal was received from the colonies; unfortunately there is no indication of the specific colony.

The Military General Service Medal Awarded To Private William Nicholls

After his arrival in New South Wales in March 1823 Private William Nicholls served briefly in Sydney before being posted to Port Dalrymple. He remained there until February 1826 when he was transferred to Newcastle. Leaving the colony with one of the detachments of his regiment, he reached Calcutta on 3 May 1827. Nicholls continued to serve with the Buffs in India until 31 December 1833, returning then to England for discharge. He reached Gravesend on 8 August 1834.

Nicholls, a weaver from Mohill in County Leitrim, Ireland, enlisted in the Buffs at Roscrea, in Limerick, on 19 June 1805 at the age of fifteen. His service for pension, at the date of discharge, amounted to 32 years and 207 days. He had served in the Peninsula from 1808 to 1814 and although his MGSM only carries the clasps Albueira, Pyrenees and Nivelle, his discharge certificate states, "that he was present at the Douro, Battles of Talavera, Albueira, Orthes, Nive, Nivelle, Ronces Valles, Toulouse, near Pampeluna, at Plattensburgh in North America". At discharge he was recorded as being "47 Years of Age, 5 Feet 7¼ Inches in Height, Grey Hair, Hazel Eyes, Fair Complexion". His character had been "very good" and he was discharged "On the Modified rate of Pension"; the amount of pension was not stated. Nicholls indicated that he intended to reside at Mohill after discharge. The award of the MGSM to Nicholls indicates that he was still alive in 1847, then aged 57, a fair age for an old soldier with his length of service.

Service details taken from WO 12/2118, WO 97/255.



Battlefield Interdiction and Close Air Support: the RAAF over Kelantan, December 1941

Dr Laurie Barber¹

On 8 December 1941 (Malayan time) the first air battle of Japan's Pacific War was fought over the coastal approaches and beaches of the Malayan state of Kelantan.² Ninety-five minutes before the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour the first assault wave of the Japanese 25th Army's "Takumi Detachment" hit the beaches of Malaya: its target, the capture of Kelantan's three military aerodromes and the neutralising of the defence's air force. Not only did the Pacific War begin with a Japanese attack aimed at the airbase of No.1 (B) Squadron, RAAF; but the first shots recorded in the war were fired by a Japanese cruiser at a reconnaissance Hudson of No.8 Squadron, RAAF, at 1545 hours on 7 December 1941—over eight hours before Pearl Harbour.³ From 0200 hours, 8 December, until 1500 hours the same day, the Lockheed Hudson bombers of No.1 (B) Squadron based at Kota Bharu's military aerodrome, were in action against the transports, cruiser and destroyer screen, landing barges, and landed troops of Major-General Takumi's augmented Brigade Group. From dawn the squadron was reinforced, albeit with little effective result, by the obsolete Vildebeeste torpedo planes of No.36 Squadron, RAF, based at the nearby Gong Kedah aerodrome. Only when the original 12 operational Hudsons were reduced to five, with a land battle tide turning against the defenders; and with Japanese Navy fighters from acquired Vichy airbases in French Indo China, and captured airstrips harassing their landings and refuelling, was No.1 Squadron ordered to evacuate Kelantan, to the dubious security of Kuantan base station, 370 kilometres to the south.

During the course of the Battle for Kelantan, No.1 Squadron, RAAF, inflicted heavy casualties on the invaders: destroying two and damaging another of the three troop transports, sinking the Japanese Brigade Headquarters, affecting the destruction of most of the invasion barges, and killing large numbers of Japanese assault troops and their horses on the beaches.⁴ From 0200 hours until dawn, the RAAF held undisturbed command of the air over Kelantan, and the Japanese casualty list of 1 900 can to a large measure be attributed to the Squadron's repeated and determined attacks.⁵

This paper is written to ensure that the RAAF's role in the Battle for Kelantan receives its proper credit, and to answer the calumny, still rife in some less than well researched historical works, that the RAAF abandoned Kota Bharu's military aerodrome prematurely.

How did an RAAF Squadron happen to be in Kota Bharu in December 1941? From 1940 Air Headquarters Far East, based in Singapore, had little doubt that with the Japanese occupation

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² The attacks on Kota Bharu, Pearl Harbour, the Philippines, Guam, Hong Kong, and Wake Island, were launched in that order, over a period of seven hours. As Pearl Harbour lies to the east of the International Date Line, the attack there took place on the morning of 7 December (local time). On the west of the International Date Line (Kelantan) the date was 8 December.

³ This is the first attested shooting. Lionel Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust*, Canberra, 1957, p. 124. An RAF Catalina disappeared earlier, and was probably shot down.

⁴ Wing Commander R H Davis' "Report on British Reconnaissance Sighting, Invasion of Kelantan by Japanese and Action Carried out by No.1 Squadron, RAAF" repeatedly refers to the destruction of Japanese troops and horses.

⁵ The Japanese casualty list is summarised in "Japanese Account of the Landing in Kota Bharu, 8 December 1941" (Japanese Records: captured 1945), pp. 9-10.

of French Indo-China of July 1941 and the weekly diminution of goodwill between the United States and Japan, war would erupt in South-East Asia. There was a forlorn hope that Japanese troop transports might leave Malaya untouched as they sailed south in their search for oil to continue the China War. But even blind Freddy saw this as a delusion, and the RAF with only a fraction of the 22 squadrons needed for an effective defence of Malaya, was glad to accept the Australian and New Zealand governments' offers of air support.⁶ On the day before the Japanese landings, 16 Buffalo fighters of No.453 Squadron, RAAF, were based at Singapore's Sembawang aerodrome, together with four No.8 Squadron, RAAF, reconnaissance Hudsons. At the north-west Malaya airbase at Sungei Patani 12 Buffalo fighters of No.21 Squadron, RAAF, stood ready. Kota Bharu's 10 operational Hudsons of No.1 Squadron have already been noted as have been the eight Hudsons of No.8 Squadron based at Kelantan's Gong Kedah aerodrome. The New Zealanders of No.488 Squadron, RNZAF, awaited development at Singapore's Kallang airfield with 30 Buffalo fighters. Thus, of the 164 operational front-line aircraft fit for battle at the out-break of the Pacific War, 82 were ANZAC warplanes.⁷

No.1 (B) Squadron RAAF, formed in 1925 and initially used in Australia for survey, convoy escort, and anti-submarine patrol, had been moved to Singapore in 1940 after being rearmed with Hudsons. Under the command of Wing-Commander R H Davis, the squadron was moved to Kota Bharu in mid-1941 and was closely involved, with Wing-Commander Wright's No 8 Squadron, in air reconnaissance over the Gulf of Siam, from whence any Japanese Fleet must approach. D Gillison notes that, "The purpose was to provide sufficient time to send out striking forces to attack in daylight in the hope that the enemy would be either destroyed or turned back."⁸ There was, in reality, little chance of an opportune pre-emptive strike, given the unwillingness of the Singapore command to fire the first shot in an inevitable war. This strategy also assumed a capability for air success against convoys likely to be protected by Japanese Navy fighter cover. It was thoroughly unrealistic. Even so, Headquarters Far East Air Command, had few options, and this was the best they could do given their limited air resources.

Wing-Commander R M Davis' "Report on Initial Reconnaissance Sighting, Invasion of Kelantan by Japanese and Action carried out by No 1 Squadron, RAAF", was completed in late December 1941 and secreted by the Wing-Commander during his captivity following the fall of Singapore.⁹ In the beginning of the report he clarifies that RAAF reconnaissance sightings of 6 December 1941 (local time) indicate the approach of an invasion fleet, with cruiser and destroyer escorts. A further search was made on 7 December (local time):

"Aircraft searching Sector 1 reported at approximately 1848 hours four large vessels steering 180°T approximately 60 nautical miles North of Patani. Since it was just after dusk and the cloud base was about 500 feet, the pilot was unable to give a clear description of the ships but thought that the force consisted of 1 Cr [cruiser] and 3 MV's [motor vessels]. Aircraft searching Sector 4 reported 1 Cr and 1 MV on a bearing of 009°T, from Kota Bharu, distance 112 nautical miles steering on a course of 270°T."¹⁰

⁶ Major-General S. Woodburn-Kirby, Singapore: *The Chain of Disaster*, London, 1971. Calculations by the Chiefs of Staff showed that to defend Malaya properly without the fleet at least 22 air squadrons, with a total of 336 first-line modern aircraft were needed.

⁷ Lionel Wigmore, in *The Japanese Thrust*, Canberra, 1957, p. 121.

⁸ D G Gillison, *Royal Australian Air Force, 1937-1942*, Canberra, 1962, p. 195.

⁹ Wing Commander R M Davis (later Group Captain Davis, OBE) was RAAF IO, AHQ, RAF Far East, 1940-41, before his appointment to Command 1 Squadron, RAAF.

¹⁰ R H Davis, "Report", op.cit., p.3.

To win this intelligence Davis' squadron had taken off on a runway that would, given the extreme conditions, have normally been closed as unusable. Monsoon conditions forced pilots to fly 200 feet above the sea for the first 50 miles of their approach to their home airfield.

Air Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, the Commandor-in-Chief for East refused to order a pre-emptive strike but he did order first degree readiness in his command.¹¹ At Kota Bharu, Davis fuelled and bombed-up six of his Hudsons, and had them on stand by. It is fair to ask why Brooke-Popham failed to appreciate that the intelligence that the Japanese Fleet possessed a strong naval escort was the give-away as to its target? An escort would not have been needed for an invasion of Thailand. Davis' conviction that the invasion Fleet was on its way was confirmed by the appearance at the 8th Indian Infantry Brigade Headquarters near the Kota Bharu aerodrome of a British agent, Bill Bangs, who reported Japanese agent storing of aviation fuel at the Thai Singora airstrip and the boasting of a Japanese agent who had celebrated prematurely the Japanese landing, and had informed Bangs of the target and place.¹² Small vessel movement off the coast of Kota Bharu was reported at 2230 hours on 7 December (local time).¹³ Wing-Commander Davis' account of the outbreak of hostilities is succinct and informative:

"8.12.41. Sometime between 0030 and 0100 hours heard firing coming the beach and reported by green line to AHQ, FE. I then called W/Cdr Noble [The RAF Station Commander] who came over to the Operations Room. I then asked his permission to call out the station and to return to my squadron. Those aircraft which were not already bombed-up were fitted up immediately [four] and I stood by for instructions to send them off. When permission came to attack seven aircraft were sent off at approximately two minute intervals but in view of the low cloud base at sea and the close proximity of the vessels to the coast all pilots were instructed to carry out individual attacks on army troop ships and to report on what forces they could see."¹⁴

Air Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham had vacillated over the launching of "Operation Matador", a pre-emptive strike into Thailand to deny the Thai airstrips to the Japanese. As Chairman of the ADA Conference (Anglo-Dutch-Australian) of April 1941, he agreed to a provision whereby any movement of Japanese naval vessels south of latitude 6° north should be considered an act of war.¹⁵ Given that decision, No.1 (B) Squadron, RAAF should have been delegated authority to act on the sight of the Japanese Fleet. It had not, and was bound by Singapore made standing-orders to report and await instructions. The delay between the reporting of the first "Takumi Detachment" landings, near 0100 hours, and the launching of the first No.1 Squadron strike, at 0200 hours, was slight and in part occasioned by a delay in permission from Singapore, where Brooke-Popham held a hurried conference with Air Vice- Marshal Pulford—but more so by weather conditions that eclipsed the moon until a little before 0200 hours. When No.1 Squadron launched its attack weather conditions were marginal, the runway should have been closed as unserviceable, and given the low cloud base there was no opportunity for squadron size attacks.

Wing-Commander Davis' report on the attack by Sortie 1, commanded by F/Lt J A Lockwood, immediately indicates the attack tactics used and the nature of the Japanese anti-aircraft defence:

¹¹ The neutrality of Thailand (pro-Japanese and neo-Fascist in government since the early 1930s) and unwillingness to strike the first blow, led to timidity in Singapore, and an over-reliance on London decision making.

¹² Chye Kooi Chong, *The Frontier Patrol - 1941*, unpublished MS, Kota Bharu, 1985.

¹³ R H Davis, "Report", op.cit., p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Woodburn Kirby, op.cit., p. 67.

"0208 hours took-off. Flew over convoy of 3 MVs at 2000feet. Dived to 50 feet and released 2 bombs on northern most MV. A/A fire started so took avoiding action and approached again to release 2 - 250 lb S A P bombs from 200 feet. A/A fire now very heavy. F/Lt F C Ramshaw in another aircraft confirmed direct hits by these latter bombs amidships. Front guns U/S. Saw no troops landing on the beach. Appeared to be at least two cruisers and other ships about five miles out. Four barges seen between convoy and beach. Returned to base 0230 hours and re-armed."¹⁶

No.1 (B) Squadron, RAAF, could throw 10 Hudson bombers into the fray. Crews and ground crews were in action for 14½ hours, and for the two days prior to the battle most of the pilots had been on reconnaissance operations. Japanese anti-aircraft fire, from the accompanying cruisers and destroyers as well as from transports and landing barges, was intense, and caused the loss of two Hudsons with crews. Sortie 4 took off at 0218 hours and was not heard from again. Attacks on landing craft were pressed home at low level, so much so that rarely could aircraft be seen by officers looking seawards from the aerodrome. Sortie 11, took-off at 0320 hours, and was also a casualty to anti-aircraft fire. Hudsons returned to the aerodrome damaged, to have parts from unserviceable Hudsons used for replacements. Two Hudsons were landed with flat tyres.

Davis' tactics were straightforward and effective. Attacks on the transports and barges were classical battlefield interdiction aimed at confining the numbers of the enemy in conflict. These attacks were highly successful. Colonel Masanobu Tsuji, the Chief of Operations and Planning for the Japanese 25th Army, was impressed:

"Before long enemy planes in formations of two or three began to attack our transports, which soon became enveloped in flame and smoke from the bursting bombs and from shells fired by the shore batteries. The *Awagisan Maru* after two direct hits caught fire; later the *Avatosan Maru* did likewise after six hits ... As the fires burst through the decks of the ships the soldiers still on board holding their rifles jumped over the side. Kept afloat by the lifejackets with which they had been equipped, some managed with difficulty to get into boats, while others swam towards the shore. For these men it was a grim introduction to war".¹⁷

Tsuji's second-hand account is in places inaccurate but at this point he is exact. The Japanese official report on the landing confirms that out of 12 landing craft two-thirds were sunk and only three of the five landing craft that survived landed where they should have.¹⁸ While Japanese casualties must be shared by the RAAF, Dutch submarines, and the 8th Indian Army Infantry Brigade, the fighting potential, of the NASU regiment after landing indicates heavy losses. Two battalion commanders were severely wounded, four company commanders were killed, and in all companies were reduced to 54 percent of the embarkation rolls.¹⁹

From 0200 hours until 0900 hours No.1 Squadron (B) RAAF, reinforced by ineffective torpedo bombers from Gong Kedah, were the undisputed masters of the sky over Kelantan. Colonel Tsuji's master plan for the invasion had been unable to provide fighter cover in monsoonal conditions for the first night assault by the "Takumi Detachment". The assault timing was dictated by the Japanese Imperial General Staff, to coincide as closely as possible with the bombing of Pearl Harbour, and no

¹⁶ R H Davis, "Report", op.cit., p. 4.

¹⁷ Masanobu Tsuji, *Singapore: The Japanese Version*, Sydney, 1960, p. 88.

¹⁸ "Japanese Account of the Landing in Kota Bahru, 8 December 1941", op.cit., pp. 8-9.

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 9-10. Dutch submarines were based at Singapore. K12 sank five Japanese transports from 12-13 December, and may have contributed to the sinking of a transport on 8 December.

latitude for local conditions off Malaya and Thailand was allowed.²⁰ However, shortly after 0900 hours, 8 December (local time), formations of from five to nine Japanese Navy bombers and 97 fighters, from French Indo-China bases, began attacks on the Kelantan military aerodromes. These formations were later reinforced by planes from captured Thai airstrips. These attacks coincided with RAAF re-fuelling stops, landings and launchings, and appear to have been timed to fit Japanese agent reports.²¹ The eight attacks on the Kota Bharu aerodrome rendered repairs to damaged aircraft by the ground crews dangerous and difficult and reduced the original 10 Hudsons to seven by noon, 8 December, (local time). Two more No.1 Squadron bombers were put out of action by the last Japanese air raid of the afternoon, at 1700 hours. Such was the intensity of the Japanese air raids that two aircraft requiring wheel only repairs could not be serviced.²²

The initial "Most Secret cipher telegram" reports from the C-in-C, Far East, to the War Office in London, gave a misleading summary of the situation. Telegram 422/6 cipher 8/12 reports the situation at 0930 hours (local time) on 8 December. It states:

"By 0800 hours all surface craft retiring course 33°. Mopping up operations in progress on shore. Air attacks at night claim hits on two ships which were left on fire ... Gong Kedah and Machang aerodromes in Kelantan bombed this morning. No damage reported. Machang unoccupied. Light scale air raid on Singapore Island at 0415 hours 8/12 concentrated mainly on Seletar and Tengah aerodromes. No appreciable damage reported."²³

This report fails to acknowledge that 8th Indian Infantry Brigade were hard pressed on the beaches and that the RAAF and RAF no longer controlled the skies. It also fails to address the fact that Japanese bombers were able to penetrate Singapore's air defences. This report parallels propaganda in the press and on the wireless at the time. There is a minimising of the danger to Malaya and Singapore posed by Japanese landings and Japanese air superiority.

The Japanese fighters over Kelantan were surprised at the opposition they encountered in the air from the Australian bombers. Fl/Lt G T Hitchcock's Hudson, of No.8 Squadron RAAF, engaged the first enemy fighter to attack an RAAF bomber over Kelantan, and destroyed it. But from noon, 8 December (local time), Wing Commander Davis faced a new problem. Ground crew were now aware of rifle fire from Japanese snipers close to the airfield perimeter. Movement to and from the barracks and the disposal area became dangerous. As the battle grew closer to the aerodrome the Station officers became jittery. Wing Commander Davis is quite clear that the order for the aerodrome's evacuation did not come from No.1 Squadron, nor did any request for the same:

"Prior to the last attack on the aerodrome by enemy fighters the order to evacuate the aircraft to Kuantan was ordered but as the authority could not be ascertained the Squadron Commander ordered the engines be stopped and informed the Captains to form into groups by their aircraft ... The Squadron Equipment Officer then gave each aircraft its boxes of consumable stores and spares which were sufficient for six weeks operations away from base. Several months before this a Squadron Movement Order designed to operate at a advanced base for six months had been prepared in considerable detail ...".²⁴

²⁰ British WO 106/258. Most Secret: Cipher Telegram.

²¹ Dato H L Wigglesworth, *The Japanese Invasion of Kelantan*, Kuala Lumpur, 1991, p. 24 and p. 53.

²² R M Davis, op.cit., p.13.

²³ British WO 106/258. Most Secret: Cipher Telegram.

²⁴ R M Davis, op.cit., p.136.

But Davis' instructions and planning were interfered with by panicking RAF Station officers. The ground situation around the airfield was still controllable and a phone call to Air Command in Singapore was made without reference to the Squadron Commander. The Operations Room was prematurely set on fire. The Squadron Equipment Officer was scathing in his condemnation of a further RAF order.

"Shortly after the last air attack at 1700 hours whilst the Squadron Commander was busy on the aerodrome despatching the serviceable aircraft to Kuantan, some officer or officers from Station Headquarters set all personnel in flight to the main gate without any clear instructions. This was most unfortunate because all airmen knew their orders...and further the order was given without the Squadron Commander's permission."²⁵

This evacuation, later stopped and made to conform to the Squadron plan, left the Squadron Commander and a small party of pilots, to tend those aircraft that could not be flown off. Four No.1 Squadron Hudsons were burnt, but the party, under fire, could not reach the crashed No.8 Squadron planes. By 1815 hours, the ground crew had been located and re-directed to enter trucks for the rail head at Krai. Later, following Davis' phone call to A Headquarters, Far East, 60 airmen were sent by bus to Kuantan, but the Kuantan aerodrome was abandoned before their arrival.²⁶

In all, five No.1 (B) Squadron Hudsons were flown off to Kuantan. F/Lt T K Douglas daringly flew a Hudson with a damaged hydraulic system, with wheels down, and with flaps tied by wire in the "up" positions. He wired the flaps under enemy ground fire. Even as they arrived at Kuantan the aerodrome was under Japanese air attack and one of the five No.1 Squadron Hudsons was destroyed on the ground. The remaining four were soon after flown to Sembawang, in Singapore. Thereafter, until the Squadron's evacuation to Sumatra at the close of January 1942, No.1 Squadron, RAAF, was involved in convoy protection, patrolling, and attacks on enemy shipping.

Davis' No.1 (B) Squadron, RAAF, could have done no more than it did in the defence of Singapore. For the first five and a half hours of the battle the Squadron inflicted casualties sufficient to stall the landings, and allow the 8th Indian Infantry Brigade, in their well prepared beach defences, to exact a heavy toll, that came close to making Sabak Beach another Gallipoli. Davis' battlefield interdiction and close air support for the ground defences cannot be faulted. But he had neither sufficient planes nor the naval or ground resources to allow for a successful defence. Brigadier Key's 8th India Infantry Brigade were too few to man the 38 kilometres of Kota Bharu's beaches in depth, and HMS *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* might well have been at Scapa Flow for all the use they were against the Japanese transports. Admiral Sir Tom Phillips stayed in Singapore despite warnings of Japanese Fleet movements south, and then came to east Malaya's coast fatally late.²⁷ The fall of Kelantan was brought about by the persistence of the Japanese assault troops, despite their decimation, and by Britain's failure during the 1930s to buildup in Malaya modern air squadrons, and infantry formations with armour and training in jungle fighting, commensurate with a threat Britain knew existed.

²⁵ Ibid, p.15.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ HMS *Prince of Wales* and HMS *Repulse* were sunk, off Kuantan, by Japanese squadrons despatched from Indo-China on 10 December 1941. Winston Churchill later wrote: "The distance from the Saigon airfields to Kuantan was four hundred miles, and at this date no attack by torpedo bombers had been attempted at anything approaching this range." Winston S Churchill, *The Second World War: The War Alliance, Vol III*, London, 150, p.551. ARO.3

Postscript to Mutiny, James Steele at Deniliquin, 1902

The events surrounding the defeat during the Boer War at Wilmansrust of the 5th Victorian Mounted Rifles by Boer commandos under General C H Muller on 12 June 1901 have been recounted in detail both by those who blame and defend the colonial troops.¹ Wherever blame lay for the defeat in the military engagement both the troops and their commanding officer over-reacted afterwards. The commanding officer, General Stuart Beatson, whose previous experience was in India and who had a reputation for severity, called the Victorians a "fat ... round shouldered, useless crowd of wasters" and "white-livered curs".² He also commented that, "when the Dutchmen came along the other night you didn't fix bayonets and charge them, but you go for something [pigs being slaughtered] that can't hit back". For their part, the Victorians had lost faith in his leadership. Shortly afterwards, some of the men were overheard by a zealous subaltern saying they should pile their arms and refuse to serve under Beatson until he personally apologised. They were reported, and on 11 July 1901, three—Privates James Steele, Arthur Richards and Herbert Henry Parry—were tried by field courts-martial for incitement to mutiny and sentenced to death. The death sentences were later commuted to 10 years penal servitude for Steele and one year each for Richards and Parry (indicating Steele was considered the chief agitator and "mutineer").³ After a short period in South Africa, the three men were shipped to England to serve out their sentences.

The convictions of Steele, Richards and Parry resulted in questions being asked in the Commonwealth Parliament, a petition for their release from Australian residents in London, and calls for an inquiry. But the Judge Advocate General conveniently found the men had been tried under the wrong section of the *Army Act 1881* (Imp) and they were released, eventually returning to Australia in December 1901.

Although in January 1902 they unsuccessfully sought Commonwealth assistance to obtain back pay from the British, Richards and Parry drifted from view after stating their version of the post-Wilmansrust incident to the Australian press.⁴ But Steele soon found himself again at odds with authority. This second encounter with the law, an assault on a New South Wales policeman, was later used by the Victorian State Military Commandant, Colonel Tom Price, to deflect discredit from the unit as a whole to the three men. On the contingent's return to Australia in April 1902, Price said:

"They had had the bad fortune to strike a very sad disaster, but through whose fault it was not for him to say ... But he would say that he offered them his warmest and deepest sympathy ... Unfortunately for them they had had associated with them certain men—one of whom, the principal one, was now in goal—who had helped to drag their good name through the dirt ... One of the principal men he had met himself ... I said to him ... that if I had been there you should have dug your own

¹ A principal critic is Gavin Souter, in *Lion and Kangaroo. The initiation of Australia 1901-1919*, Sydney 1976, chapter 3; the main defender Max Chamberlain, in "The Wilmansrust Affair", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 6, April 1985, pp 47-55.

² He was also reported to have called them a "fat-arsed pot-bellied, lazy lot of wasters"—see Souter, op. cit., p59.

³ See Chamberlain op cit, pp 51-52.

⁴ Souter, op. cit., pp 69-70.

grave, and then I would have shot you like the cur you are. Australia wants no blackguards like you!"⁵

Price's comments strike a discordant note from those of the Australian community a few months earlier, and his comment on Steele's being in gaol seems to be an attempt to paint the "mutineers" as recidivist criminals (which Richards and Parry were obviously not). But was Steele? The facts of his behaviour in the "mutiny" are well known, but not those which resulted in his imprisonment.

Were there any redeeming features to his behaviour, or any explanations beyond character assassination?

Steele at Mathoura

James Steele's encounter with the New South Wales policeman occurred at Mathoura, north of Echuca on the road to Deniliquin and about 30 kilometres south of the latter town on 25 January 1902. Steele had returned to Australia five days before Christmas 1901. In early January 1902, while on a month's sick leave, he traveled to Mathoura to convey messages from "one of his mates in South Africa", William Prentice, another member of the 5th Victorians subsequently invalided to Australia at the end the same month.

Steele remained in Mathoura for three weeks, spending much of his time with Prentice's brother, Albert. On 25 January, Albert, in company with Steele, was apparently drunk and disorderly at the local hotel and "there had been a little trouble between Prentice and the landlady". Steele took Prentice home, but they were followed there by Mathoura's Senior Constable of Police, Thomas Hurst. Hurst delivered a summons on Prentice, prompting Steele to call the policeman, "a b— cur" and "a b— loafer". Later, when Prentice and Steele went to the railway station—Steele was to return to Melbourne the following Monday, 27 January, he claimed to join the Victorian Commonwealth contingent then being raised for service in South Africa—Hurst served a summons on Steele for using insulting words.

For reasons not discussed in the eventual court proceedings, Hurst then attempted to arrest Prentice. Prentice resisted, striking Hurst and causing his nose to bleed. Hurst caught hold of a handkerchief around Prentice's neck pulling it so tight Steele thought Prentice was choking. Saying, "Let the man have fair play: don't choke him", Steele pulled Hurst away, allowing Prentice to run off about 60 yards. Hurst drew his revolver and threatened to shoot Prentice, but did not fire. Instead he turned to Steele, to arrest him for obstruction.

Now Steele resisted on his own part, punching Hurst on the nose and eye. With the assistance of Mathoura station master, Peter Black, Hurst threw Steele to the ground and restrained him by tying one of his arms with twitches—presumably similar to those used to restrain horses; a loop or noose tightened by twisting a stick or handle to which it is attached. Hurst then led Steele out of the railway yard, but before they went far Steele complained that the twitches were hurting him and asked Hurst to remove them. Hurst refused. Steele's response was to say "I will get no more for assaulting you again. Take that", and again to strike Hurst in the face. Once more Hurst threw Steele to the ground—this time with the assistance of passing Mathoura farmer, William Joss—and secured him with handcuffs. Steele was then finally led

⁵ Age, Melbourne, 26 April 1902, quoted in Souter, *op. cit.*, pp 70-71.

away to gaol. What had happened to Prentice, and what he did, while this was going on is not recorded.⁶

Trial at Deniliquin

When tried before a jury and Acting-Judge Browning at Deniliquin on Wednesday, 5 February, for assaulting Hurst, Steele's defence was that Hurst had unfairly treated both Prentice and himself. Steele had only acted when Hurst appeared to be choking Prentice, and then only to the extent of making him let Prentice go. His second struggle with Hurst resulted from Hurst refusing to release the twitches which were causing him pain—"He asked anyone there if they would be likely to stand by quietly and see a man in the street treated by a constable such as he saw. If it was done in England the policeman would have his uniform torn off him".

Steele's solicitor, A H (Archibald Hulbert) Windeyer, took the same tack in defending him, trying to blame Hurst's provocative over-reactions as the cause of the trouble. "Any man", he said, would have responded as Steele had to Hurst's treatment of Prentice; Hurst had dealt with Steele, "in a brutal and harsh manner"—

"It was very hard on the accused, who had been fighting for the Empire in South Africa and then to be convicted in a case like this and have his life dammed [sic] for ever. He hoped they [the jury] would give him every indulgence seeing that he was under strong provocation and was ill-treated by Hirst, and that they would not deprive him of his liberty."⁷

The jury were unconvinced and found Steele guilty. When considering the sentence, Acting-Judge Browning asked if anything was known about Steele. At this time it was formally revealed what everyone probably already knew—that Steele was one of the 5th Victorian Contingent "mutineers" who had been reprieved. Browning, while allowing that the reprieve indicated "there was something to be said on the other side", nevertheless regarded it as "a previous record of insubordination", the results of which Steele had ignored when he returned to Australia "to lead a lawless life here".

Steele responded that in South Africa he had "stood out in an honorable cause", for "the honour of his country". He said he "had been a miner in Gippsland for eight years before volunteering for service in South Africa, and had never been in a court house apart from his military trial—

"He hoped His Honour would take into consideration all he had gone through in the last twelve months. He would have pleaded guilty, but he wanted to let them see how he had been ill-treated by the constable ... If dealt with leniently he would go back to Africa with the next contingent."⁸

Unfortunately, His Honour saw no reason for leniency and sentenced Steele to six months imprisonment with hard labour in Deniliquin Gaol. A further month's imprisonment, resulting from the charge of obstruction to which Steele pleaded guilty, was to be served concurrently.

⁶ The account of the incident at Mathoura is taken from the report of Prentice's and Steele's trial in the *Deniliquin Pastoral Times*, 8 February 1902.

⁷ *Pastoral Times*, 8 February 1902. Hurst's name is given as both "Hurst" and "Hirst" in the reports.

⁸ *Ibid.*

James Steele's character

How should James Steele be assessed in the light of his two brushes with the law, military and civilian? Colonel Price certainly considered him a "cur" and a "blackguard"; Acting-Judge Browning seemed to regard Steele as at least a re-offending criminal, despite "something to be said on the other side"; and Australian authorities washed their hands of Steele and his two fellow "mutineers" once they had returned to Australia.⁹

But the "other side" has been defended strongly. The 5th Contingent generally, apart from Wilmansrust, performed well during its tour of duty in South Africa, and the defeat itself was more the fault of "inept senior officers" than the men, and of poor management by British officers in the field—

"The charge of mutiny was an over-reaction to an ill-considered outburst at a time of intense stress for men largely ignorant of military law. The Australians attitude was natural—a manifestation of independence arising from a more egalitarian way of life than that to which Beatson was accustomed ...¹⁰

The characterisation of Steele's response to Beatson's treatment of the 5th Contingent as "arising from a more egalitarian way of life" strikes chords with the way he and Windeyer defended his case in Deniliquin. The words Windeyer used—that Steele was "under strong provocation" and had been "ill-treated"—echo aspects of the defence of the 5th Victorians. Steele acted to defend "the honour of his country" in South Africa, and the life of a friend in Mathoura, and did not care that the abuser was a figure of authority. His view held true for British Generals and New South Wales policemen.

In these actions, Steele may have been an extreme example of the Australian type identified later as the prototypical "digger" of the First World War. Whether a miner, as the *Pastoral Times* reported, or a farmer, as he stated on his enlistment in the 5th Victorians,¹¹ he was a bush worker from rural Gippsland, possessing "that curiously unconventional yet powerful collectivist morality" of his class. He was,

"a fiercely independent person who hates officiousness and authority, especially when these qualities are embodied in military officers and policemen. Yet he ... will stick to his mates through thick and thin, even if he thinks they may be in the wrong."¹²

On the evidence, this description fits Steele well. But it did him little good, as it was not reciprocated. Abandoned by Australian authorities after his return, and vilified by Colonel Price, he was also apparently left to bear the brunt of the confrontation with Hurst. Albert Prentice pleaded guilty to the charge of assaulting Hurst. However, his solicitor argued successfully that he be treated as a first offender, and he was given only a suspended sentence. Prentice himself, his father and Deniliquin resident Charles Nance entered into recognisances for his good behaviour for 12 months. Only Steele, who had neither been involved in the incident at the Mathoura hotel nor initiated the violence with Hurst, went to prison.

⁹ See Souter, op. cit., pp 69-70.

¹⁰ Chamberlain, op. cit., p 54.

¹¹ Chamberlain, op. cit, p 55, quotes the muster roll as saying Steele was a farmer from Korumburra.

¹² Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 2nd edition, Melbourne, 1966, pp 117, 2.

To Arm a Governor—Lachlan Macquarie's Sword

Brad Manera¹

Lachlan Macquarie (1762-1824), soldier, governor, explorer, is one of the famous figures of Australian history. Macquarie spent all of his adult life in the army. The symbol of that service, Macquarie's sword, is now part of the collection of the National Museum of Australia.

In the early 1980s the National Museum of Australia loaned Macquarie's sword to the Army Museum (Victoria Barracks, NSW). While on display at that museum it was viewed by a number of museum professionals and military historians, some of whom questioned the authenticity of the sword as it did not strictly conform to known patterns of British military swords of the period.² In a report from 1982, curatorial staff from the Army Museum (Victoria Barracks, NSW) and the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences offered the opinion, "that the pommel is typical of a style current in 1803 while the basket dates from 1822. ... It is possible that the sword had an earlier basket prior to this."³ This is an interesting theory and worthy of examination lest doubt mar future displays of this very important piece of Australia's cultural heritage. There are no known primary sources, like contemporary images of Macquarie carrying a sidearm or surviving purchase documents describing this sword, to provide immediate proof. We can only work with what we have. In this article I describe the sword, document its history and discuss the question of its authenticity.

This sword is similar to the British 1803 pattern infantry officer's sword.⁴ It has a curved, unfullered, single edged blade ending in a spear point. The blade is etched along half its length with designs including a crown, a symbol similar to the Prince of Wales feathers and crossed pikes with a halberd all interspersed with floral motifs. The flat back of the blade is impressed "J J Runkel, Solingen". The hand grip is of wood covered in fishskin and bound with wire. The end of the grip is capped by a pommel in the form of a lion's head. Unlike most 1803 pattern swords, the grip of this sword is guarded by a half basket hilt. The gilded brass hilt comprises a cross guard linked to the pommel by a knuckle bow and two scroll shaped bars. Within the knuckle bow is a disk engraved with "73" the number of Macquarie's regiment. The disk has a tear-drop void above and below it. It is in the section of the knuckle bow that would be occupied by the royal cipher on a more conventional 1803 pattern British infantry officer's sword.⁵ The brass bars of the hilt frame a large thistle inside a circle, a symbol popular with Scottish highland regiments, of which the 73rd Regiment was one.⁶

¹ Department of Australian Society & History, National Museum of Australia

² For a detailed account of British sword patterns read Robson, Brian, *Swords of the British Army, The Regulation Patterns 1788-1914* (Arms & Armour Press, London, 1975).

³ National Museum of Australia file 1982/7, Alexander Ferguson Collection—Governor Macquarie's sword and dirk (purchased), folio 60.

⁴ Robson, op.cit, Chapter 7, pp.109-115.

⁵ Ibid, plates 117 and 118.

⁶ Montague, Ronald, *Dress and Insignia of the British Army in Australia and New Zealand, 1770-1870* (Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1981), p.28.

WE May and PGW Annis, in their detailed study of British naval and military swords,⁷ would probably describe this sword as having an "S-bar hilt", that is a semi basket guard made up of "S" shaped bars. Their research has indicated that the "S-bar hilt" was most common in the middle of the eighteenth century but was also known to have been used in combination with the 1803 style pommel, grip and guard in some documented cases.⁸ Macquarie's sword appears to be one such example.



This sword was carried in a gilt brass mounted, black leather scabbard. The locket—the brass fitting at the throat of the scabbard—has a frog button and the middle band has a loose ring. These fittings allow the

sword to be attached to a sword belt or shoulder cross belt. Like all swords of its time it was purchased privately by the officer to whom it belonged.⁹ Because each officer purchased his own sword there was much variation in style and quality. By the beginning of the nineteenth century regulation patterns for swords had just been introduced and were treated purely as guidelines to be accepted or ignored as fashion, availability, personal taste and regimental preference dictated. Another cause of the great variety of swords was the large number of sword cutlers and suppliers in Britain. Surviving examples, prints and documentary evidence would suggest that variety was more likely than uniformity.¹⁰

This particular sword was made at Solingen, Germany, and imported to Britain by John Justus Runkel, of 8 Tookes Court, Castle Street, Holborn. Runkel, a German by birth (he became a naturalised British subject on 7 March 1796), was one of the leading suppliers of Solingen blades. He is known to have imported blades from 1795 to 1808 but there is evidence that he

⁷ May, EW and Annis, PGW, *Swords for Sea Service* (HMSO, UK, 1970), Vols 1 and 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 p.29.

⁹ The lack of standardisation of British infantry officers' swords is discussed in chapters 1 and 6 and on page 190 in Robson, op. cit.

¹⁰ A useful source of contemporary images of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century British soldiers is Neville, Rolfe *British Military Prints* (Connoisseur Printing Co, London, 1909).

was importing blades at least 10 years earlier, possibly using the business name of another supplier. Runkel had a reputation for being able to supply swords cheaper than English manufacturers, a situation that caused conflict with those manufacturers and occasionally with British authorities. On 11 March 1806, for example, it was reported that Runkel had considerably undervalued 1 650 swords and blades he had imported through Emden, they were "detained for the benefit of the Crown".¹¹ Despite his somewhat questionable business practices, blades bearing Runkel's signature are perhaps the most common named blades found on British swords of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.¹²

Dating the sword is made easier because the blade bears Runkel's name. As Macquarie would not have begun to outfit himself for his appointment to the 73rd Regiment until the closing months of 1807,¹³ and J J Runkel does not appear on the register of sword cutlers and retailers after 1808,¹⁴ we can assumed with some certainty that the sword in the National Museum's collection is from this 12 month period.

As mentioned above, some who had seen the sword on public display in the early 1980s noted features of the sword that seemed out of context with the known pattern of the day. This led to speculation about the provenance of Macquarie's sword. These observations are understandable given that there are few late eighteenth and early nineteenth military (as opposed to naval) swords on public display in Australia and reliable references on the earliest patterns of British swords are not readily available.

There is a resemblance between the hilt on this sword and the "Gothic-hilt" of the 1822 pattern infantry officer's sword—a pattern of sword that did not become widely used until after Macquarie's death. But, on closer examination, this sword has a much more pronounced guard than that of the 1822 pattern weapons. A guard that has more in common with the type of swords carried when sixteen year old Ensign Lachlan Macquarie of the 84th Regiment was fighting the American colonists during their revolution: May and Annis' "S-bar hilts". The detailed photographic study of almost 400 British, German, French and American swords from the second half of the 18th century in George Neumann's published research,¹⁵ demonstrate that the hilts of several of them are clearly the ancestors of this sword. If Lachlan Macquarie had any input into the design of the hilt of this sword, he could well have chosen the shape from his previous military experience. He would have been sure to included the thistle motif as the emblem of his highland heritage. The evidence of the surviving examples leaves little room for doubt as to the sword's authenticity and untampered purity. It is also highly unlikely that the sword was extensively modified to resemble more closely an 1822 pattern weapon by Macquarie himself months before his death in 1824.

The guard shows no sign of having been added later and it still carries the number of the regiment he had joined in 1807. Macquarie had left the posted strength of the 73rd long before 1822 and by this time was lobbying for a pension, not looking for a posting to another

¹¹ Quoted in May and Annis, op. cit., Vol. 2, p.302 from the Customs House Minute Books Customs 102/19, 11 March 1806.

¹² Robson, op.cit., p.190.

¹³ Ellis, M H, *Lachlan Macquarie*, 3rd ed. (The Discovery Press, Penrith, NSW), p. 142.

¹⁴ May and Annis, op. cit., Vol. 2, p.302.

¹⁵ Neumann, George C, *Swords and Blades of the American Revolution* (David & Charles: Newton Abbot, USA. 1973) Chapter 4.

regiment.¹⁶ He may not necessarily have decorated his sword with this regiment's number. If he was to choose a regimental number for the sword he would carry into retirement and hang above his mantle piece he could have chosen from any of the five regiments he served with during his career, such as the 77th, the regiment he served with as a major at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799, one of the great battles of his age.¹⁷

Lord Strathallan and later his descendants became custodians of the sword after Macquarie's death. It is unlikely that the Strathallans would have altered the sword as the first generations retained it as a reminder of their friendship with Lachlan Macquarie, and subsequent generations do not appear to have held a commission in the 73rd,¹⁸ and therefore can have had little motivation to modify the sword.

I believe, therefore, that the sword that is part of the collection of the National Museum of Australia is, beyond doubt, the sword that was purchased by Lachlan Macquarie in late 1807 or 1808. It was carried by him as an officer of the 73rd Regiment and as governor of New South Wales and has not been altered to this day.

Before offering himself to the post as governor of the colony of New South Wales, after Major General Miles Nightingall declined the position, Macquarie had spent his life soldiering. For the last decades of the eighteenth century he had fought the Empire's wars in America, Asia and Africa. By October 1807, he returned to England from India to take up the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 73rd Regiment. This was when he acquired the sword that is now in the National Museum's collection. Macquarie would have carried the sword with him when he came to Australia at the head of his regiment to restore order to a colony recovering from the Rum Rebellion. In less than a dozen years he turned the squalid and rebellious penal settlement into a rapidly expanding and increasingly valuable outpost of the British Empire. Tragically, the final years of his governorship and of his life were to be tarnished by the criticisms of the controversial Bigge report. Macquarie returned to Britain in 1822 and died in 1824.¹⁹

Lachlan Macquarie died on July 1, 1824. The executor of his estate was an old friend, William Drummond MP, soon to become Lord Strathallan. Macquarie's sword and other personal effects were held by the Strathallan family for generations. In 1917, Lady Margaret, wife of the eighth Viscount Strathallan sold the sword, along with other material formerly belonging to Macquarie, through Sothebys in London. The sword was purchased by Sir John Ferguson (1881-1969), High Court Judge and Australiana collector, who brought it back to Australia. He presented it to his son, Alexander, on his 21st birthday. Alexander Ferguson offered the sword for auction in 1976 and it was purchased by the Commonwealth government. Macquarie's sword was displayed in King's Hall of the Provisional Parliament House, then, in the 1980s, it was added to the collection of the National Museum of Australia. It has been loaned to other museums on several occasions and was on display at the Army Museum (Victoria Barracks NSW) for many years. It is one of the most asked about objects in the collection and provides a tangible link with our nation's past.

¹⁶ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p.517.

¹⁷ Joslin, E C, Litherland, A R, and Simpkin, B T, *British Battles & Medals* (Spink, London, 1988) page 24.

¹⁸ National Museum of Australia file 1982/7, Alexander Ferguson Collection—Governor Macquarie's sword and dirk (purchased). Folio 21.

¹⁹ Ellis, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXXI.

Dogs and other mascots

Don Pedlar

This article is concerned with animals mentioned in connection with the New South Wales Citizens' Bushmen, particularly the dog, "Bushie". Bushie is described on the reverse of a photograph in my possession as, "The first dog officially sent to the South African War".¹

The dog, a collie, was introduced by Mr F Montagu Rothsay of the Animal Protection Society of NSW to the Premier, the Colonial Secretary, the Minister for Works, the Principal Under Secretary, the Railways Commissioners and others². Named by Sir Frederick Darley, the Lieutenant Governor, Bushie was taken to the Bushmen's camp where he positively declined an introduction to the regimental dingo on the ground, it was decided by interested Bushmen, that the native dog was of too decidedly inferior caste. Bushie was provided with a kennel, but the dingo seemed the more popular. Bushie was placed in the care of Colonel Airey's³ orderly.

On 28 February 1900, the Contingent marched through the streets of Sydney to the transports *Atlantian* and *Maplemore*. Bushie was led by 4' 10" (147cm) high Rupert de Lacy Peek⁴. The dog, decked out with resettes of red, white and blue trotted along but as the noise increased, the much decorated Bushie was continually frightened so that his bugler master could scarcely hold him in. Other unofficial pets in the parade included a ringtail possum and a terrier dog.⁵

The Animal Protection Society announced⁶ that it would have an enlargement of the photograph, which appeared in the *Sydney Mail* with the intention of sending it to Her Majesty, the Queen. Copies could be purchased from the Grouselle Studio with half the profits going to the Bushmen's Contingent Fund.

The voyage to Hobart was smooth until a strong head wind with rain commenced and the vessel rolled considerably. A few horses were off their feed but the remainder were well. The pets on board the *Atlantian* comprised Bushie, a dingo, an opossum and a black swan.⁷

On the voyage to Africa, Bushie seems to have been well, but his rival, the dingo, brought himself into great nototiey by howling whenever the trumpets sounded. The possum vanished, being last seen on the rigging.⁸

The Rev James Green,⁹ in a letter from Beira dated 1 April,¹⁰ wrote at length on Regimental Pets. The following extract is about animals of concern to the Bushmen.

¹ I have learned to be wary of such claims and would welcome comments.

² 23 February 1900—*Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) of 24 February 1900, p.10

³ Henry Parke Airey, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding NSW Citizens' Bushmen

⁴ No.21, Rupert de Lacy Peek, Trumpeter, A Squadron, invalided to Australia, 13 December 1900.

⁵ SMH, 1 March 1900, p.7, also, *The Australian at the Boer War*, R L Wallace, 1976.

⁶ SMH, 5 March 1900, p.7

⁷ SMH, 5 March 1900, p.7. This is the only mention of the swan.

⁸ SMH, 11 May 1900, p.6.

⁹ Wesleyan Chaplain to the Bushmen, also 1st Australian Commonwealth Horse.

¹⁰ SMH, 13 June 1900, p.8.

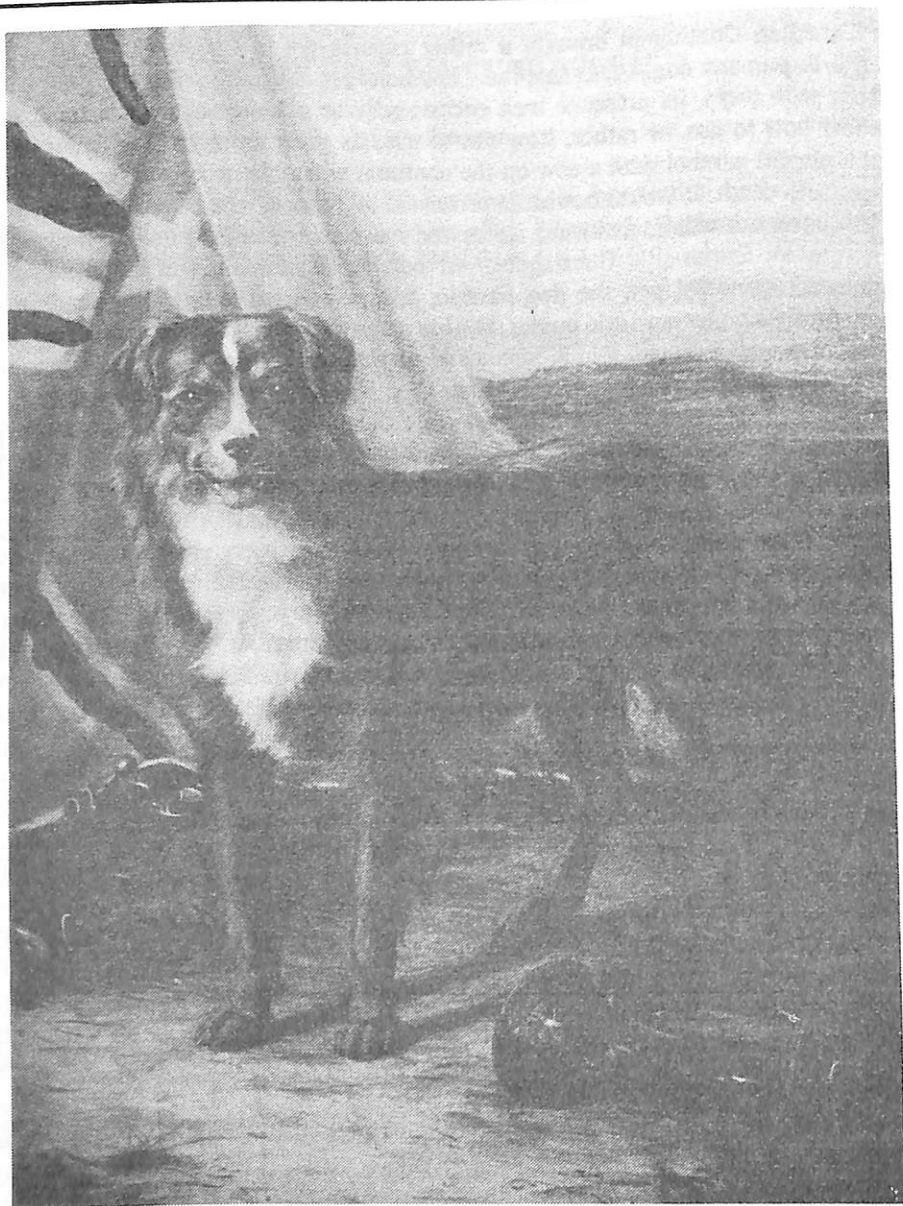
"The Canadian Contingent brought a rather curious pet to Capetown—a large and powerful Expumaux dog. I fear that the Canadians are allowed to take their big pet to the front with them, its presence may occasionally be a source of trouble for it does not know how to use, or rather, how not to use, its great strength. The other day it ended a playful gambol with a cow on the common where the troops are encamped by shaking it to death. It would not be so serious if he "shook" the Boer cattle, but if he attacks our own it will be awkward for us and more awkward for him. With regard to the Australian Bushmen's Contingent, our pets are legion. First of all, there is the recognised regimental pet, the dog Bushie, which was led behind the band in the Sydney procession by our little bugler. Bushie came on the *Atlantian*. I have not heard of the fate of the opossum, which also came on that transport. We had two dogs with us on the *Maplemore* when we left Sydney. One was said to be a good sheep dog, the other was an intelligent looking mongrel which, the owner credited with a good deal of gumption. These two dogs were a great trial to the officers near whose quarters they were tied up, for they howled piteously at night. This was borne in a spirit of resignation until we reached Port Adelaide where the South Australian Contingent brought on board no less than six other dogs. Then peremptory orders were given that they all had to go aft where they could howl to the accompaniment of the swirling propellor and, as the Cape Town authorities only allow dogs to land under stringent conditions they were all to be sent ashore at Fremantle. At Fremantle, more dogs came on board. The order to "dismiss dogs" had now to be carried out and you might have gone round the ship and not seen a single dog. No doubt some were sent ashore, but as soon as we had got out to sea beyond Rottneest Island and the pilot had left us, some of the dogs reappeared. The pet on board the *Maplemore* is a beautiful performing collie, "Sailor", owned by Lance Corporal Clarke¹¹ of the South Australian Contingent. The dog performs at our concerts on deck. With a service cap on his head he looks very comical as he sits up for a long time with a pipe in his mouth. If a number of troopers stand in line he will run between their legs or he will jump over their shoulders. He goes lame and will fall dead at a word of command and is with all a good cattle dog. When we drew near to Cape Town, the owner of this dog was anxious to evolve some idea by which he could get him through, so he taught him to go quietly into a bag and used to tie him up like a spare saddle. The dog got quite accustomed to the tying up. As we did not disembark at Cape Town our anxiety about dogs is over."

Writing from Marandellas on 3 May, the Rev Green wrote¹² about the notorious horse sickness, blue tongue, which apparently affected the animals if allowed to graze at night or in the morning while the grass was wet with dew. Mules were liable to infection, but donkeys were immune. The tse-tse fly was also a problem.

The Canadians had also gone to Rhodesia, and their "cow-killing" dog seemingly got on well with Bushie as the pair would accompany fatigue parties. The South Australians lost Sailor as he was purchased by the war correspondent of the *Daily Mail* for 15 guineas. Good dogs were valuable in Rhodesia. One of the men sold a greyhound for £2, but the purchaser, a hunter, boasted that it was worth £20.

¹¹ No.15, Frederick John Clark, Corporal, 3rd South Australian Bushmen.

¹² SMH, 26 June 1900, pp.5-6



Bushie

Regretably, I can find no more on Bushie's adventures with his namesakes in South Africa. Two further items were found:

"The Australian Contingent Dog Steps are being taken by Mr F M Rotheray¹³ of the New South Wales Animals' Protection Society to ensure that the Australian Regimental Dog, 'Bushie', goes with the Australian Contingent to England in order to be presented to the Queen, Her Majesty having signified her willingness to accept

¹³ Various spellings of this name appear in SMH references.

the gift. Mr Rotheray communicated with Lady Roberts on the subject and received an acknowledgment through Colonel Stanley. Mr Rotheray has again written, forwarding a photograph of 'Bushie' and requesting that Lady Roberts arrange to have Colonel Airey informed that the Queen will be pleased to accept the dog."¹⁴

"Mr F Montague Rotheray of the Animals' Protection Society informs us that Mr Arthur Battye¹⁵ of the New South Wales Bushmen's Contingent (who had charge of 'Bushie', having received him from the Lieutenant Governor Sir Frederick Darley on behalf of the Animals' Protection Society) and who has just returned from South Africa, personally handed the dog over to Lord Roberts at Pretoria having received permission to do so from Colonel Airey in command of the Regiment. 'Bushie' will accompany the New South Wales Bushmen's Contingent to England where the dog will be presented to the Queen."¹⁶

Whether the remarks regarding the Bushmen going to England were founded on fact or merely pious hopes, it was not to be. The Bushmen returned to Australia, arriving in Sydney on 11 June 1901. Bushie was duly presented to the Queen at Windsor by Lord Roberts and became the pet of the Royal Kennels.¹⁷ Her Majesty Queen Victoria passed away on 22 January 1901.

Bushie's first home was a cottage in Wentworth Falls, NSW: his last, a palace. He died while in the custody of the King's¹⁸ Land Steward, Sir Andrew Slater. The Rev James Green remarked, "The fact is a fairly well conducted and good looking dog is pretty safe. He makes many friends."¹⁹ Although the therapeutic value of pets as company was not mentioned, it seems obvious when they are introduced to hospitals and nursing homes as has occurred lately.

References:

Sydney Morning Herald (I regret not having access to the *Sydney Mail*)

Records of Australian Contingents to the War in South Africa, Lt Col P L Murray, Melbourne, 1911

The Australians at the Boer War, R L Wallace, Australian War Memorial, 1976

The Story of the Bushmen, James Green, Sydney, 1903

South Australians and the South African War 1899-1902

Acknowledgments:

Leslie Mallett of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, John Sweetman, David Vivian and R L (Bob) Wallace.

¹⁴ SMH, 11 October 1900, p.7

¹⁵ Arthur E Montague Battye, Lieutenant, C Squadron, NSW Citizens' Bushmen, invalided to Australia, 10 October 1900.

¹⁶ SMH, 21 November 1900.

¹⁷ Notes on the back of my photograph of Bushie.

¹⁸ King Edward VII.

¹⁹ SMH, 13 June 1900.

A unique tribute to heroism

Clem Sargent

On Friday, 10 February 1995, Rhonda Jones, daughter of Chief Petty Officer Jonathon Rogers GC DSM presented to the Australian War Memorial the George Cross awarded posthumously to her father for the heroism he displayed in the HMAS *Voyager* disaster on 10 February 1964, thirty-one years previously.

The citation for the award, in the *London Gazette* of 19 March 1965, reads:

In recognition of his outstanding gallantry and devotion to duty in saving life at sea when HMAS *Voyager* was sunk after a collision on 10th February 1964, for maintaining the morale of junior ratings in great adversity, for organising the escape of as many as possible, and for supporting the spirits of those who could not escape and for encouraging them to meet death alongside himself with dignity and honour. He upheld the highest traditions of service at sea and his rating of Chief Petty Officer (Coxwain).

The circumstances leading to the collision of HMAS *Voyager* with the aircraft carrier HMAS *Melbourne* are well documented. CPO Rogers was in the forward cafeteria of the *Voyager* with between fifty to sixty young men, many young Ordinary Seamen on their first commission on a sea-going vessel. It was obvious to Rogers that the forward section of the ship would sink rapidly and he began organising escape for those able to pass through the escape hatch. CPO Rogers was too large to be able to do so. As the forward section began to sink CPO Rogers was heard to lead his trapped comrades in a prayer and a hymn.

Chief Petty Officer Rogers had joined the Royal Navy in 1938 and was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for coolness and leadership as coxwain of an MTB in actions on the nights of 23/24 March and 23/24 May 1944. He left the RN in 1946 and in July 1950 joined the Royal Australian Navy, rising to the rank of Chief Petty Officer in August 1956.

Jonathon Rogers was a Welshman, born at Llangollen in Denbighshire. Three weeks after the presentation to the Australian War Memorial, on 5 March 1995, one of the best known Welsh male voice choirs, the Morryston Orpheus Choir, visited Canberra. The Choir's Musical Director, Mr Alwyn Humphreys, was made acquainted with the circumstances of the award and its recent presentation to the Australian War Memorial. At that night's performance by the choir, in his introduction to the last item before the intermission, Mr Humphreys recounted the story of CPO Roger's heroism and announced that the next item by the choir was dedicated to the memory of Jonathon Rogers. The 112 male voice choir then sang the famous hymn *Guide me O Thou Great Jehovah* to the equally famous Welsh hymn tune *Cwm Rhondda*. It was a spirited rendition, moving to the large number of Welsh in the audience and an equally moving tribute to the heroism of this gallant Welshman.

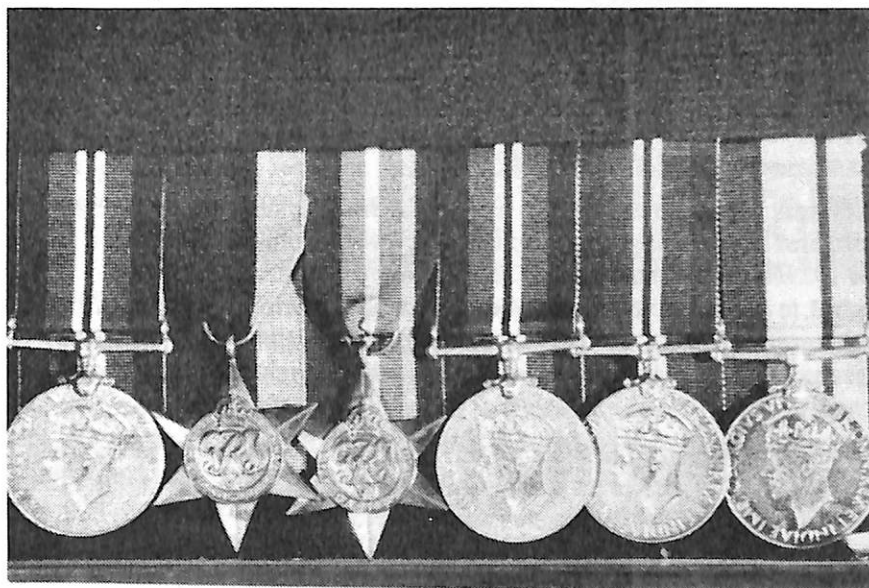
James Irvan "Trader" Horn— "soldier, sailor, scalliwag"

Paul De Pierres

It was the "W" prefix (denoting a Western Australian militia enlistment), on two of the six medals in a World War II group claimed to be all to the same man which first interested me. On receipt of the medals from a dealer, I set out to unravel the story lurking behind them, and I was not disappointed.

The group consisted of a 1939/45 War Medal (named to 4093 I J Horn), a 1939/45 Star, a Pacific Star, and another War Medal, (all named to I J Horn, Merchant Navy Radio Officer), and finally another War Medal with an Australia Service Medal, (impressed to W54146 J I Horn). All medals were correctly named.

James Horn was born on 29 March 1905 at Boulder in the goldfields of West Australia. He trained in radio and, after working for the WA Government Observatory from 1925 to 1938, went to sea as a Merchant Navy Radio Officer. Between then and September 1940 he travelled extensively on a number of British and Australian merchant vessels, often taking an engagement for the outward passage then complaining that conditions were not adequate and, by the terms of his employment, being returned home as a passenger on another ship.



War Medal
1939-45

1939-45 Star

Pacific Star

War Medal
1939-45

War Medal
1939-45

Australia
Service Medal

Such was the shortage of trained radio operators, that Horn had no trouble getting employment when he wished and was even seconded to the RAAF as an instructor at the No.1 Wireless Air Gunners School at Ballarat, Victoria for approximately six months. From here it was back to sea with trips to Hong Kong, Durban, and on coastal ships until he was officially enlisted into the RAAF in early 1942 as a Pilot Officer radio instructor. This service only lasted for three months, when he went back to sea on the coastal trader *Tung Song*.



W54146, Private James Irvan Horn

From December 1942 until March 1943, Horn worked on his brother's wheat farm at Perenjori, WA, and at the Yellowdine Goldmine, as an electrical fitter. Then the system caught up with him and he was required to present himself for a medical examination for army service. He immediately registered as a conscientious objector, which was refused by a magistrate, and when he failed to comply with enlistment orders was sent to a civilian jail for two months. On release, he reluctantly submitted to military authorities and commenced his army service on 16 June 1943.

From the outset, he was a reticent soldier, posted to the 26th Employment Company Royal Australian

Engineers he was found to have a powerful wireless receiver set in his possession and was investigated as a security risk, a notion which was unproven. In September 1943, he was issued the 1939/43 Star ribbon for his Merchant Navy war service. For the next 16 months, he was detached to various units around West Australia incurring the wrath of his superiors for several minor transgressions until he was discharged on 4 January 1945. The reason given was that he was required for essential services, but one might conclude that the Army were happy to farewell him.

For one who was so reluctant to serve, James Horn was very thorough in claiming his service medals and managed to receive his entitlement from all three forces giving him the War Medal in triplicate—a situation that the system is supposed to avoid.

Horn returned to sea service for two years from January 1947 and then signed on again some 24 years later still as radio operator. Little else is known of Horn's life except that he gave his medals to a Perth collector around 1979, he died on 23 January 1985 at Bicton, WA, and was cremated at the Fremantle Cemetery. His story is perhaps most interesting to the medal collector for the fact that he is a "triple issue".

German Consular Records Returned

On 27 February 1995, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Gareth Evans, returned German Government documents seized during World Wars 1 and 2 to the German Ambassador to Australia, Dr Klaus Zeller. Present at the ceremony was Mr George Nichols, Director-General of Australian Archives which has held the documents for many years.

When Australia joined Britain in declaring war against Germany in 1914, the Australian authorities, conscious that Britain and its defence forces were a long way away, were fearful of possible subversion from Germans living in Australia. There were sizeable communities of German nationality or background, particularly in Queensland, South Australia and New South Wales. The military therefore acted promptly to seize the records of German Consulates in major Australian cities.

Today, the Vienna Convention of 1963 provides for the custody of consular records by a neutral country, which is what happened to some extent when World War II began in 1939. The Swiss Consulate held various records from German Consulates in Australia until 1946 when apparently they were handed over to the Australian Government which destroyed them by burning a few years later. Some German consular records nevertheless were obviously taken by Australian authorities in 1939 as there are references to them in files and court records relating to Germans interned in Australia during World War II. Some of these records have come to light since, incorporated in the files of the Commonwealth Investigation Service which, until the formation of ASIO in 1949, was responsible for Australia's internal security.

What happened subsequently to the records taken in 1914 and 1939 can only be pieced together partially from the snippets of information available. It seems that in the 1950s, after the restoration of diplomatic relations with Australia, the German Government formally requested the return of the records which had been held by the Swiss. The Department of External Affairs, apparently unaware of the files in the hands of the Commonwealth Investigation Service, replied that all such records had been burnt and no further German records were held in Australia.

In the late 1950s and 1960s a few of these records began to reappear in various parts of the bureaucracy. One large group of over 150 files taken from the German Consulate in Brisbane in 1914 had at some stage been given by the CIS in Brisbane to the Brisbane office of the then Department of External Affairs which eventually sent them on to its Canberra office. These files sat unremarked amongst quantities of other old records in the basement of what is now the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade until they were unearthed by the Departmental historian, Dr John Cumpston, in the 1960s. Their discovery, coming relatively soon after we had formally advised the German Government that all records had been destroyed, was regarded as a major embarrassment. It is said that Dr Cumpston was told to destroy them but could not bring himself to do it. Instead he sent them to Australian Archives in Canberra to be held in confidence, unrecorded in other historical documentation. They remained, still crated in a vault and largely forgotten, until a few years ago.

They came to light again through a combination of circumstances. A German archivist, Dr Jurgen Real, spent some time at Australian Archives in 1991 to assist with the analysis of records of the German Administration of New Guinea before World War I. The Archives was then conducting a major review of its holdings and approached the Department of Foreign

Affairs and Trade for permission to show Dr Real the German consular records from Brisbane. Many of them are hand-written in old German script which is a challenge even to native speakers. The Archives suggested, and the Department agreed, that these records belonged to the German Government and that the previous embarrassment had long since evaporated.

The German Embassy in Canberra was told of the Brisbane records and made an official request for their return. This provided the impetus for an extensive hunt for other old German records amongst the various holdings of Australian Archives in each of its regional offices. A few additional pre-World War I records from Brisbane and some pre-World War II material from Sydney and Adelaide were found, mostly amongst old CIS files. The German Government gave permission for copies to be kept in Australian Archives. The copies have been made and the originals will now be restored to Germany.

The contents of the files are routine and not littered with tales of espionage or intrigue. There are a few files from Sydney dealing with Australian membership of the Nazi Party but their contents have long been public. For the most part the records are normal consular material concerned with shipping, trade and the movement of people between Germany and Australia. There are records of deserting merchant seamen, a common occurrence in ports all over the world. Some may have settled in Australia and the records about them will interest their families. There are quite a lot of records dealing with the affairs of Germans visiting or living in Queensland which will be welcomed by genealogists in Australia and Germany. The German Government bought horses and cattle from Queensland for use by German troops stationed in China and elsewhere. German interests in New Guinea are reflected in many of the files. Overall a picture emerges, if only partially, of the extent and nature of early contacts between Germany and Australia which is part of the history of both countries.

Vale Raymond Kenner

The Military Historical Society of Australia notes with deep regret the passing of Ray Kenner, a well known and long serving stalwart from the ranks of the Victorian Branch. Ray died suddenly on Sunday 5 March 1995 and leaves behind wife Debbie and young children Sarah and Scott. The gap left in the ranks by Ray's departure is one that will never be fully filled, such is the part played in the Branch by Ray. For over 15 years Ray was a key figure in the Branch and throughout the Society. His long and outstanding service as a committeeman and editor of the Branch newsletter *Despatches* are testimony to Ray's boundless energies and enthusiasm.

Ray it seems has been a collector since childhood. His personal museum and data base certainly bear witness to the excellence of his collection. Generous too with his knowledge and material Ray was always quick to loan artifacts to other organisations such as the Shrine of Remembrance and his displays were seen by Victorians around the State. With what amounts to a lifetime of dedication to the pursuit of objectives akin to those of the Society it is not surprising that Ray's collection was of a high quality and well known. In particular his World War One medals collection to most Australian units with associated memorabilia was unique.

But it was Ray's zeal and enthusiasm which will be most missed in the Branch. He was respected by all who knew him and when spirits were flagging, Ray could always be counted on to initiate a Branch project or activity to raise morale and often, of equal importance, funds for diminishing Branch coffers. As a result his forays into port bottling, laminating, raffles and a host of other initiatives such as the Gallipoli tour by Branch members in 1990 will always be remembered with gratitude. Every such activity however was accompanied by a strong dose of socialising and as a consequence, the BBQs at the Kenner home became something of a ritual for Branch members and their families. Ray Kenner was a generous, caring and hard working man. Debbie, Sarah, Scott and all his family and friends can be assured that Ray's friendship and contributions will not be forgotten by the Military Historical Society.

Australian Service Medal 1945-1975

The Prime Minister, The Hon P J Keating MP issued the following statement on 21 March 1995:

I am pleased to announce today the formal establishment of a new award in the Australian honours system—the Australian Service Medal 1945-1975—which will be awarded to a large number of Australian service personnel who did not receive any award for their service in this period.

The creation of this award was one of the recommendations of Inquiry into Defence Awards which reported to the Government in March 1994 and final approval has now been granted by Her Majesty The Queen.

The award's aim is to recognise service in prescribed peacekeeping or non-warlike operations during the period 1945-1975 where recognition has not extended previously through an award.

The Government will be recommending that the following service will qualify for the award of the medal:

- Service in the occupation of Japan during the period 3 September 1945 to 30 June 1947 with a qualifying period of 90 days;
- Service in Korea from 28 July 1953 until 26 August 1957 with a qualifying period of 30 days;
- Service of Australian troops in anti-terrorist operations in the Thailand-Malaysia border area between 1 August 1960 and 16 August 1964 with a qualifying period of 30 days;
- Service of air crew who took part in operations in support of ground troops during the same period with a qualifying service of one operational sortie. In addition any member of air crew who in the period 17 August 1964 to 30 March 1966 flew an operational sortie in the Thailand-Malaysia border area but did not qualify for the GSM "Malay Peninsula";
- Service of Australian personnel at the Royal Thai Airforce Base Ubon during the period 1 May 1962 to 31 August 1968 with a qualifying period of 30 days;
- Service as a member of 2 Field Troop Royal Australian Engineers and other Australian personnel who participated in Operation "Crown" and served in Ban Kok Talat, Thailand during the period 1 May 1962 to 31 August 1968 with a qualifying period of 30 days;
- Service in the Territory of Papua New Guinea- from the formation of the Pacific Islands Regiment in 1951 until independence of PNG on 16 September 1975 with a qualifying period of 180 days. This also applies to personnel of all Services including RAN personnel posted to HMAS Tarangau and attached vessels;

- Service from 13 August 1948 to 13 February 1975 with the United Nations including the Military Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) and the United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission UNIPOM with a qualifying period of 90 days;
- Service with the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) force in West New Guinea during the period 1 October 1962 to 1 May 1963 with a qualifying period of 30 days;
- Other peacekeeping operations during the period 1945 to 1975 are being examined by Defence authorities with a view to establishing whether equivalent service warrants recognition by the award of this Medal. Announcement of which other operations will attract the Medal will be announced as soon as the Government has considered recommendations.

The Medal's design features the Commonwealth Coat of Arms on the obverse and is ensigned with the Crown of Saint Edward. The reverse of the Medal features the Federation Star overlaid with a plinth on which the wearer's name will be engraved. The obverse and reverse are decorated with clusters of mimosa blossoms symbolising the presence of Australian service personnel in overseas peacekeeping and other non-warlike operations. The accompanying ribbon will have bands of dark and light blue, khaki, green and gold.

The Australian Service Medal 1945-1975 will be placed on the same level as the current Australian Service Medal in the Australian Order of Precedence of Honours and Awards.

CANBERRA

21 MARCH 1995

Application forms for the Medal can be obtained from:

Navy:

Director

Naval Personnel Services

Medals Section

Navy Office

Department of Defence

CANBERRA ACT 2600

Army:

Medals Section

Soldier Career Management Agency

Central Army Records Office

GPO Box 393D

MELBOURNE VIC 3001

Air Force:

Director

Administrative Review

Air Force Office

Department of Defence

PO Box E33

Queen Victoria Terrace

CANBERRA ACT 2600

Letters

Darwin MM recipients

Dear Editor

With reference to the article "MM Awards to Australians" in the Jul-Sep issue of *Sabretache* I wish to bring to your notice an error regarding the awards of the MM in the Northern Territory. The following is the correct information:

N108358 Gunner W T Hudson received his award whilst serving with 2nd Heavy AA Battery at the Berrimah gunsite on 19 February 1942.

N270852 Bombardier F R Wombey received his award whilst serving with 14th Heavy AA Battery on the Darwin Oil Tanks on 16 June 1942.

The two units that you mention they were supposed to serve with did not exist in the Australian Army as far as we are aware.

A Kennedy
Assistant Secretary
Royal Australian Artillery Historical Society Inc
Manly NSW 2095

Mr Kennedy is quite correct that I was in error regarding the units of the two Darwin MM recipients. The units stated on the recommendation were the 2nd and 14th Batteries, Heavy AA Defences, 7th Military District. I was confused since both men were firing light machine-guns. The recommendations at the Australian War Memorial clearly state both awards were for 19 February 1942.—Anthony Staunton

ICCS medals for Vietnam

I have been able to find all the necessary information concerning the ICCS medals for Vietnam. What I am still after is the following:

- colour photos of both versions of the ICCS medal;
- a quantity of both types of ribbon (ICCS 1 and ICCS 2); and
- the numbers of medals awarded.

In reference to the ICCS 2 medal. To avoid any doubt the second version was issued after the Canadian contingent left in 31 July 1973. The second contingent was comprised of the original three countries as well as Iran and was issued from July 1973 to April 1975.

Robert Wear
D Coy 2 RAR
Lavarack Barracks
Townsville QLD 4810

Very Old Photo

Dear Editor

I have a very old photo of a relative of my mother's. It was taken in Melbourne but I do not know what year. My mother could not tell me much about it. It could have been her

grandfather or an uncle or cousin. The name could have been Edwards or Smethurst or Dickason or even Martin. It could be another name altogether, but she said it was on her father's side.

The photo has the red coat, blue cuffs and solid braid all painted on it. I will try and describe it for He has on a red coat with four solid buttons between a white belt and a white sash type belt (could be other buttons under the belts). The coat has blue cuffs and solid epaulettes on the shoulders, has solid braid on the sleeves (rough diagram below—(1)) and gold crossed rifles on the left sleeve above the braid (cannot see the right sleeve as he is slightly turned). You cannot see the collar because of the beard.

The white belt has a white purse type attachment on right side and a white attachment holding a gold tipped cane or sword or something similar. He is wearing white gloves—the right hand holding a rifle upright on the floor. There is a red stripe down his left hand trouser leg.

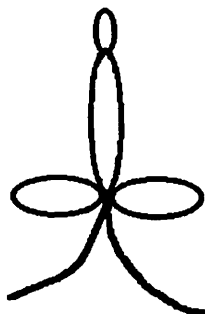
He is wearing a tall cylindrical hat with a blue tail or tassel coming from the top on his right side and a white upright cylinder type attachment coming from out of his left side of the hat, near the bottom bottom of the hat going upwards.

He has no badges or medallions on his uniform other than what appears to be a belt buckle (rough diagram below—(2)). The coat is somewhat similar to the Photo of the unknown lieutenant of the Victorian Military forces, 1885 Pictured on page 21 of a book called *A Soldier in the family* written by Allan Box, except that my photo has no braid on the blue cuffs.

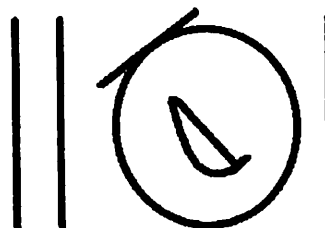
Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely

H. Goodman
RMS 1432
San Remo Vic 3925



(1)



(2)

STOP PRESS

Forged Medal

The front cover of the April 1995 edition of *Australian Coin Review* feature one of a number of fake medals groups unearthed by the Australian federal police. The edition carries two articles on medal dealer, Bradley Lederman who recently received a six months suspended sentence for the forgery of military medals and decorations. Copies may still be available at your local newsagent at \$3.60 or from the publisher PO Box 5, Thirroul NSW 2515.

Notes from the Editor on contributions to *Sabretache*

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

Typewritten submissions are preferred. Material should be double spaced with a margin. If your article is prepared on a computer please send a copy on either a 3.5" or 5.25" disk (together with a paper copy).

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

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

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

Articles, preferably, should be in the range of 2,000-2,500 words (approx 4 typeset pages) or 5,000-7,000 words (approx 10 typeset pages) for major feature articles.

Articles should be submitted in accordance with the time limits indicated on page 2. Recently, lateness in receiving articles has meant that the Journal has been delayed in publication. Nevertheless, where an article is of particular importance, but is received late, the Editor will endeavour to publish the article if possible and space permitting.

Elizabeth Topperwien
Editor



Application for Membership

I/*We
(Name/Rank etc.)

Of (Address)

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

..... Branch

My main interests are

I/*We enclose remittance of A\$26.00 being annual subscription, due 1 July each year.

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

