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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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Editorial

Recently in Adelaide there has been a push by a descendant to include Harry 'Breaker' Morant onto the Boer War memorial on North Terrace. The request, by Cathy Morant and argued by her lawyer James Unkle, has rekindled the controversy of the Breaker and appears to coincide with Peter FitzSimons' book on the subject. While Fitzie writes in his usual novelised style, blending fictionalised narrative with the occasional smattering of actual history, his conclusion is pretty much on the money – Morant was a war criminal. Tony Stimson, writing online in InDaily on 17 August as president of the South Australian Boer War Association, concurs. He points out that Morant's name is not on the honour roll at the Australian War Memorial and the AWM states that he was 'guilty of a war crime'. Not only that, but the memorial only lists 60 of the 2000-odd South Australians who served, being indicative of those who served. City of Adelaide policy states that memorials – for which they are responsible – cannot be altered once they are erected. So, according to this, the appeal will go nowhere. But when we have seen statutes of individuals destroyed or defaced by demonstrators against their past actions, it seems odd that the name of a war criminal should be added to what is a limited list of those who served.

Justin Chadwick

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The Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital, Cliveden During WW1: Australian Connections

Marilyn A Gendek, Vivien E Lane and Miltiadis G Roxanas¹

The First World War aroused the patriotism of the wealthy class in Great Britain and motivated them to offer their estates and mansions to be used as hospitals for the large number of wounded. Some of the hospitals were purpose-built within the expansive grounds of an estate and soldiers admitted were from diverse backgrounds and cultures. Some expressed their awe of their luxurious surroundings in letters home. The Astors' stately home, Cliveden in Buckinghamshire, was one of these estates where the Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital (No 15. Canadian General Hospital) was established. Through researching the hospital, some Australian connections were discovered which included that throughout the duration of the war many Australian soldiers were treated there, and three are buried in the grounds. This led to a search of online sources with the aim of identifying some of the Australian soldiers who passed through the doors of the hospital. This focus of this article is to illuminate experiences of Australian soldiers who were identified as having found themselves evacuated to a Canadian military hospital located in the grounds of a stately home. It first provides insight into the formation and environment of the Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital and its significance in treating wounded and sick soldiers including Australians. While some other connections to Australia are noted, the article ends with those Australian soldiers buried in the Cliveden War Cemetery who maintain the ongoing connection.

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Image 1: 'The Mansion, Cliveden'. Howe, Sgt JR (1918) Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital, Taplow Bucks. Source: The Qualis Photo Co, London. Courtesy of the Alfred Deakin Prime Ministerial Library, Deakin University, Victoria.

The Hospital on Cliveden Estate

Waldorf Astor (1879-1952), a Member of Parliament and Briton of American descent, offered his estate, Cliveden, to the British War Office to 'equip and maintain a hospital of 150 beds, either in the indoor tennis courts or house and to run it for two years after the duration of the war'.² The War Office inspected the covered tennis courts and after spending £2000 connecting water, building an operating theatre and dining room, it was decided the hospital was not needed. As the Canadian Expeditionary Force started arriving in England, the Astors cabled the Canadian government and offered Cliveden for a hospital site which was accepted on behalf of the Canadian Red Cross.

The hospital was first established on the covered tennis court, but it was soon realised that more beds were required. An architect was engaged to design new buildings and these were erected on the polo field within six months and

² See previous research undertaken by the authors in relation to the hospital established at Cliveden during the First World War: Miltiadis G Roxanas, Marilyn A Gendek, and Vivien E Lane, 'Cliveden: The Canadian Red Cross Hospital, William Osler and the 'Taplow Affair'', *Journal of Medical Biography*, 27 (2019): 220-229; War Diary 15th Canadian General Hospital (Duchess of Connaught Red Cross Hospital), Library and Archives Canada (LAC), 1915/07/01–1919/05/31, pp. i-vi; Andrew MacPhail, *The Medical Services. Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919*, FA Acland, Ottawa, 1925; JD Morgan, 'History of the Hospital', *Stand Easy: Chronicles of Cliveden*, 1 (1918), p.1. LAC, MIKAN No. 4167644.

commissioned on 12 July 1915. The new hospital was named The Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital (DCCRCH). The Duke of Connaught was the Governor-General of Canada and the Astors and Connaughts were friends. The DCCRCH was officially reassigned the No. 15 Canadian General Hospital in 1917, but continued to be known as DCCRCH, and was often referred to as CRX (Cliveden Red Cross), or by the soldiers as 'Lady Astor's hospital'.³

The new purpose-built hospital consisted of five pairs of wards connected by corridors with a scullery, bedpan room and a small kitchen on either side. Provisions were made for an isolation ward and eventually the hospital expanded to accommodate over 1000 patients, staffed by 70 nurses. The nursing and medical staff lived in a variety of residences, including the main house and cottages on the estate, Taplow Court (home of Lord Desborough), Taplow House (now a hotel) or Hitcham House (now divided into several lodgings). One building was converted into a chapel through the generosity of the sister of Waldorf Astor, Mrs Pauline Spender-Clay.⁴

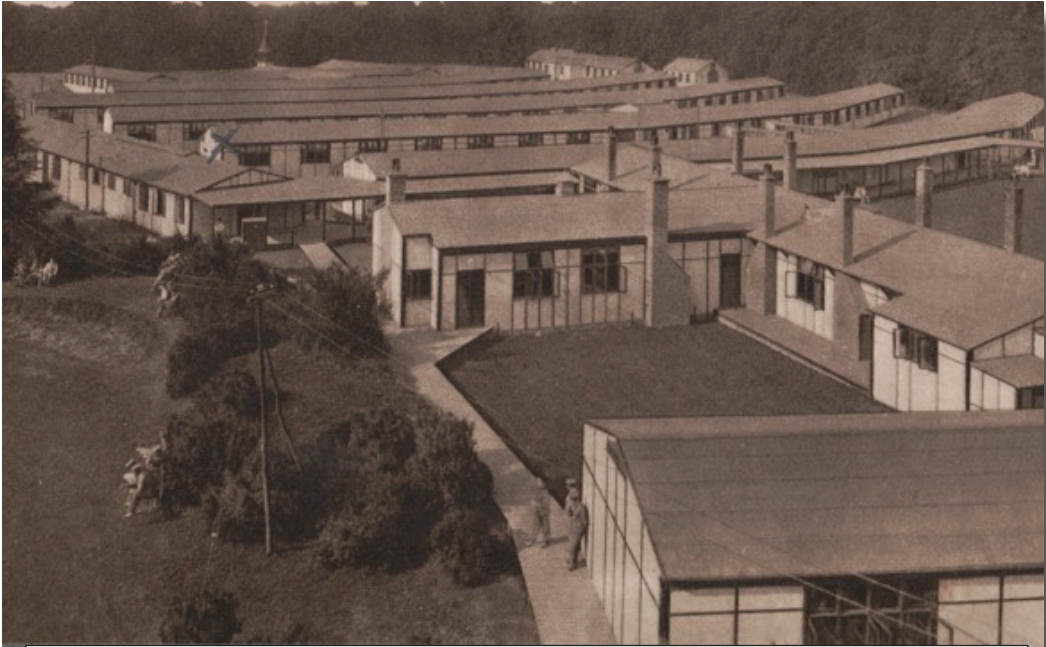


Image 2: 'General View of the DCCRCH built on the Cliveden Estate'. Sgt JR Howe, Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital 'Cliveden', Taplow, Bucks. Source: The Qualis Photo Co, London. Courtesy of the Alfred Deakin Prime Ministerial Library, Deakin University, Australia

³ Roxanas, Gendek and Lane, 'Cliveden', p.222.

⁴ Morgan, 'History of the Hospital', p.1; Anon, 'The War-Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital', *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1915), p. 655.

DCCRCH and Military Staff

The hospital was staffed by the Canadian Army Medical Corps (CAMC) and Cliveden rapidly became populated by people in military uniforms. Military staff, medical and surgical specialists, and patients at DCCRCH were usually relatively transient, whereas Waldorf Astor and Sir William Osler, Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, remained for the entire war. Osler was appointed Consultant Physician at DCCRCH and given the rank of honorary colonel.⁵ Astor tried to join the army but was rejected because of a 'weak heart' and tuberculosis, but he insisted on a role and was appointed Inspector of Quartermaster General Services, checking army waste, with the rank of Major.⁶ Osler was on good terms with the Astors and after doing rounds every Monday would enjoy lunch with Nancy Astor.⁷

Other noteworthy military people appointed to DCCRCH included Lieutenant-Colonel Charles W.F. Gorrell (1871-1917) and Matron Edith Campbell (1871-1951) who became one of Canada's most highly decorated officers in the First World War.⁸ However, both Gorrell and Campbell were linked to a scandal in 1916 known as the 'Taplow Affair'.⁹ One version of the 'Taplow Affair' is that these two were accused of having a 'liaison', and Gorrell was suspected of black-marketing Red Cross socks, leading to his dismissal, hospitalisation and later suicide. Campbell was 'relieved' from her position.¹⁰ This 'removal' of the hospital's two most senior military administrators can also be traced to Nancy Astor's behaviour towards 'her' hospital, its patients, and influence in elite circles. Osler was considerably affected by the 'Taplow Affair'. He and others resigned temporarily in sympathy with Guy Carleton Jones, Canadian Director of Medical Service and Surgeon-General of Canada. Jones was returned to Canada even though he was an expert in army medical work.¹¹

5 Sir William Osler (1849-1919) was appointed to Oxford in 1905. He was Canadian born and educated; Michael Bliss, *William Osler-A Life in Medicine*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1999), p.403.

6 Adrian Fort, *Nancy: The Story of Lady Astor*, Vintage Books, London (2012), p. 142.

7 Roxanas, Gendek and Lane, 'Cliveden', pp.223-224.

8 Canadian Matron rank was Captain.

9 Jean-Robert Bernier and Vivian C McAlister, 'The Canadian Army Medical Corps affair of 1916 and Surgeon General Guy Carleton Jones', *Canadian Journal of Surgery*, 61 (2018), pp. 85-87.

10 Campbell was posted back to France in 1917. She had served in France before DCCRCH, had been mentioned in despatches, and was awarded a Royal Red Cross (1st Class), the first Canadian nurse to do so in WWI. She was later mentioned in despatches and awarded the Military Medal after the bombing of No 1CGH in 1918. See: Roxanas, Gendek and Lane, 'Cliveden', pp. 226-227; and Anjna Harrar, Vivien E Lane, Marilyn A Gendek, 'Edith Campbell (1871-1951)'. In *Sir William Osler. An Encyclopedia*, Charles S Bryan (ed), Novato, California (2020), pp.130-131.

11 MacPhail, *The Medical Services*, pp. 181-182.

Comprehensive Model of Convalescence

The Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital was described as a 'hospital for the patients, and not the patients for the hospital'.¹² The buildings consisted of wards that could be opened to the outside. Those who felt fatigued could rest on their beds, while others were encouraged to participate in the active social program involving physical activities, occupational rehabilitation, and preparation for civilian life, for example, tailoring, woodwork and other trades. Nancy Astor arranged visiting musicians, sporting events, and social evenings with dancing and entertainment at the Astor's main house. Boating on the River Thames was often provided, and speakers were organised for the patients, including Sir William Osler who spoke, inter alia, on the 16th century pioneer battlefield surgeon Paré. George V and Queen Mary visited the hospital on occasion as did other members of the royal family, the Prime Minister of Canada, and various other dignitaries.¹³

Osler's Contribution

Sir William Osler was born in Canada to English parents. and was revered for his contribution to the advancement of medicine, particularly clinical education. He was an advocate for public health and vaccination against preventable diseases and lobbied for the vaccination of British troops, citing the benefits of this on the US Army, and thus by newspaper accounts, a support for the Australian officials doing likewise. Australian soldiers were vaccinated against typhoid and later paratyphoid whereas the British and other soldiers were not or could opt out.¹⁴

Osler was consulted on a range of patients at DCCRCH, and elsewhere and stimulated research into various war related conditions as DCCRCH became a specialist hospital for the treatment of soldiers who had been gassed, Osler assisted in directing some of the victims to the hospital as they arrived in England. As a result, research carried out by an ophthalmologist at DCCRCH on the effects of gas

12 Anon, 'The Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital', *British Journal of Nursing*, 54 (1915), p. 320-321.

13 For a fuller account see: Roxanas, 'Cliveden', p. 224; Ruth Ward and Milton Roxanas, 'Canadian Red Cross Hospital at Taplow'. In *Sir William Osler: An Encyclopedia*, pp. 133-134; Monthly reports, War Diary 15th Canadian General Hospital.

14 William Osler, 'Compulsory Anti-Typhoid Vaccination', *Times* (London), 29 August 1914, p. 6; Bliss, William Osler, p. 403; 'Inoculating Troops- Australia's Example', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 February 1915, p.9; Early in the history of the AIF, vaccination against small-pox and typhoid were made a condition of service. AG Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services, 1914-1918, Vol 1, Gallipoli, Palestine and New Guinea*, (2 ed), (1938), pp. 26-27 and pp. 456-457.

on eyes was able to influence the Veterans Administration in the USA in accepting keratitis as a service condition.¹⁵ Other conditions included effects of gas on the lungs; treatment of chest wounds (which mentions an Australian soldier who was sent home as per ‘change’); concussion and aphasia with reference to management by anaesthesia.¹⁶ Osler also wrote on trench foot, trench fever, and warnings about venereal disease.¹⁷ He was instrumental in the establishment of a special hospital for diseases of the heart and encouraged the production of the Canadian Army Medical Service Journal.¹⁸ *The Sydney Morning Herald* in September 1915 reported on Osler’s ‘... striking picture of the advances in medicine and surgery’ in war, which could be illustrated by comparing losses between the current and former wars.¹⁹

Osler has been described during this time as indefatigable, a friend of every man, showing kindness and offering advice.²⁰ But in his last publication before his death in 1919, Osler strongly criticized the modern weapons of war, used by both the enemy and allies. He was particularly disgusted about the use of poison gasses, writing that ‘Nothing more piteously horrible than the sufferings of the victims has ever been seen in warfare’ and abhorred the submarines’ use of torpedoes against military and civilian ships and the aeroplane bombing of civilians.²¹

15 Walter S Atkinson, ‘An Osler Memorandum’, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 211 (1970), pp. 2018.

16 John C Meakins and TW Walker, ‘The After Effects of Irritant Gas Poisoning’, War Diary 15th Canadian General Hospital, April, 1918, undertaken on behalf of the Medical Research Committee; MacPhail, *The Medical Services*, pp. 299-306; John C Meakins and TW Walker, ‘The After-Effects of Wounds of the Chest and their Treatment’, *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 8 (1918), pp. 910-924; AP Procter, ‘Three Cases of Concussion Aphasia: Treatment by General Anaesthesia’, *Lancet*, 186, (1915), p. 977; ‘Speech Lost by Shell-shock Restored by Anaesthetics’, *Sunday Times* (NSW), 13 April 1919, p. 11.

17 William Osler, ‘Cold-Bite + Muscle-Inertia = Trench-Foot’, *Lancet*, 186 (1915), p. 1368; William Osler, ‘Trench fever: A Critical Analysis of the Report of the American Commission’, *Lancet*, 192 (1918), pp. 496-498; Sir William Osler, Oration to the Medical Society of London, ‘The Campaign Against Venereal Disease’, *British Medical Journal*, 1 (1917), pp. 694-696.

18 Norman M Keith, ‘William Osler at Oxford: A Reappraisal’, *Archives of Internal Medicine*, 106, (1960), pp. 443-53; MacPhail, *The Medical Services*, p.142.

19 ‘War and Wounds’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 September 1915, p. 12.

20 MacPhail, *The Medical Services*, p. 142.

21 William Osler, ‘The Old Humanities and the New Science’, *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1919), pp. 3053-3059.

Some Australian Connections with Cliveden

Both Osler and Nancy Astor had personal connections with Australians. Osler had befriended several Australian doctors, while the Astors and the hospital had several links with Australians.²²

The Astor's Nanny: Frances Gibbons

Nancy Astor is quoted in her biography that her children's nanny, Frances Gibbons, '... came to us, rather strangely, from Australia...' and was portrayed as a formidable lady.²³ To further quote Nancy '...she was my strength and stay and the backbone of my home ...' and travelled overseas with Nancy and the children. However, Gibbons was born in England and visited her brother in Australia in 1903 and appears to have returned to England before taking up the position of nanny to the Astors.²⁴ Gibbons did indeed go to the Astors from Australia but was not Australian. She lived with them for 34 years until her death.

Australian Nursing Sisters

The staff of DCCRCH included at least two nursing sisters from Australia who enlisted in the CAMC.²⁵ Leila M. Brown (33 years old, born Tasmania) and Mary Browne (36 years old, born Queensland) had both had been working in Canada. They spent nearly three months at DCCRCH at the end of 1915 before embarking for Salonika via Egypt with the No. 5 Canadian General Hospital (CGH). Both experienced serious illnesses and Browne was hospitalised for seven weeks in Malta. She spent her last two months of service nursing at DCCRCH in 1919 just as the hospital was closing. Both women were demobilised in Canada with debilities and they returned to Australia. Leila Brown was awarded the Royal Red Cross (2nd Class) and was greeted with great honour by the community on arrival to her family at Euroa, Victoria, in December 1919.²⁶

22 For Australian doctors, see: Milton G Roxanas, 'Osler and his Australian associations--Part 1: During his life', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 193 (2010), pp. 686-689; Milton G Roxanas, 'Osler and his Australian associations--Part 2: Continuing influence', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 193 (2010), pp. 690-693; Milton G Roxanas, 'Leslie Cowlshaw (1877-1943): the "bibliophile from the bush"', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 204 (2016), pp. 386-389.

23 Fort, *Nancy*, p.132

24 Gibbon's visited her brother who migrated to Victoria prior to employment at Cliveden. Findmypast, Passenger Records for Frances Gibbons, 'Passenger Lists Leaving UK 1890-1960', findmypast.co.uk. Accessed 13 May 2020.

25 Jenny Baker, 'Looking for the Evidence Archive. Canadian Army Medical Corps (CAMC)', <https://sites.google.com/site/lookingfortheevidencearchive/home/www1australianwomen/camc-1>. Accessed 18 September 2019; Service Records of Leila Mildred Brown, LAC, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 1167-32; Service Records of Mary Browne, LAC, CEF, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 1169 - 23.

26 'Concerning People', *Euroa Advertiser*, 5 December 1919, p.3.

The Cliveden War Cemetery

The Australian association with the Cliveden War Cemetery is significant. The Astors converted a section of their Italianate statue garden into a cemetery. It is laid out as a sunken Roman garden, with symbolic broken pillars, a large font, and an allegorical statue. It was intended for Canadians and was built as ‘it was felt that those heroes who died in the Empire’s cause should find their last resting-place together’.²⁷ The cemetery was consecrated by the Bishop of Buckinghamshire on 15 December 1916, in the presence of the Duchess of Connaught, Nancy Astor and many other dignitaries including Sir William and Lady Grace Osler.²⁸

Nancy Astor approached the famous London-based, Australian sculptor Bertram Mackennal to sculpt a statue representing Canada for the cemetery, a gift of the Canadian Red Cross Society. Mackennal accepted the commission provided Astor modelled for the head of the female form, which she did. The Cliveden War Cemetery contains 41 soldiers from the First World War, including three Australians, as well as one nursing sister.²⁹



Image 4: Cliveden War Cemetery, Taplow.
Source: Vivien E Lane and Milton G Roxanas, 2017.

27 ‘From Our London Correspondent’, *Western Morning News* (UK), 16 December 1916, p.5.

28 ‘From Our London Correspondent’, *Western Morning News* (UK), 16 December 1916, p.5.

29 Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Cliveden War Cemetery, <https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/36350/cliveden%20war%20cemetery/>. Accessed 4 July 2020.

Australian Soldiers at DCCRCH

The Deputy Director of Medical Services, Southampton directed injured and sick soldiers to the DCCRCH and some of those admitted came from countries other than Canada, including Great Britain, USA, New Zealand, Australia, and Germany. The war diary of the DCCRCH notes that some Australian Army Medical Corps personnel were stationed at the hospital for a week before proceeding to the Dardanelles, and while it is recorded that 82 New Zealanders arrived on 1 September 1915 from the Dardanelles, there is no mention of Australians in this period.³⁰ However, from time to time it was noted that Australian soldiers were amongst those admitted. In December 1916, the news about the consecration of the cemetery reported that there were 200 Australians in the hospital.³¹

Some indication of Australian soldiers hospitalised at DCCRCH also came from its own publication. Coinciding with the official renaming of the DCCRCH in 1917 to the No. 15 Canadian General Hospital, a journal was launched called *Stand Easy: The Chronicles of Cliveden*. It contained ward news, short stories, jokes, poems, sporting results and patients were encouraged to contribute. Names were often disguised but there is evidence of input from Australians, such as a reflection on the game of baseball by 'an Australian Bushwacker'; and two poems by 'W.T. Jenkins 51st AIF' titled 'Our Hospital' and 'The Anzacs Lament'. Using humour in the latter poem, Jenkins describes the lack of a break from the front for Australian soldiers, writing: 'They've been in rain and been in mud; you'd think they'd done a crime, And the hardest part of all is, that they cannot snatch their time'.³²

A search of online sources, mainly the internet and digitised newspapers on Trove, was undertaken next to discover the identity of Australian soldiers connected to DCCRCH. This elicited the names of over 80 Australian soldiers treated at the hospital and searching ceased at this point. The First World War service records held in the National Archives of Australia were used to verify that soldiers found had been admitted to DCCRCH. This process revealed that in the 26 months from 5 November 1916 to 31 December 1918, at least 82 soldiers were treated at DCCRCH with many being discharged to facilities such as No.1 and No.3 Australian Auxiliary Hospitals (AAH).

Most of the soldiers found were admitted in 1918 (44) compared to the previous two years, 20 and 18, respectively.³³ Their service records showed the age

30 War Diary 15th Canadian General Hospital, July, and September 1915. For a list of the wounded New Zealand soldiers admitted, see: *Southland Times*, 13 September 1915, p. 6.

31 'From Our London Correspondent', *Western Morning News*, p. 5.

32 WT Jenkins, 'The Anzacs' Lament'. *Stand Easy: Chronicles of Cliveden*, 34 (1918), p. 15, LAC, MIKAN no. 4167644; William Thomas Jenkin, war service records, NAA B2455.

33 This may have been due to an increase in brief notices in newspapers by 1918 with relevant search terms.

range on enlistment was between 18 and 41 years, with the average being 22, slightly younger than the average of volunteers throughout the war which is considered to be 25 years.³⁴ However, the average age varied depending on the year, for example, 27 in 1916 and 20 in 1918. More than half of the soldiers discovered came from rural and remote communities and their most common civilian occupations were in agriculture, manual labour, and other occupations of railway worker, bank worker, baker, jeweller, fireman and police officer. Over the course of the war, six of the soldiers were awarded the Military Medal, with four already recommended or gazetted before hospitalisation at DCCRCH, and three were awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal.

The soldiers arrived from France after having generally been through a medical system line of command. Often this was not always straight forward and evacuation took longer in some cases than might be expected and the soldiers arrived at DCCRCH from one day to approximately 14 weeks.³⁵ The admission process was efficient, taking one hour from Taplow railway station. In that time, they were transferred into an ambulance, received at hospital reception, names checked, bathed in hot water, and put to bed.³⁶ Surgical cases outnumbered medical cases and the most common reasons for admission were gunshot wounds, concussion, and in 1918, gas poisoning.³⁷ Other common reasons for hospitalisation were trench fever, trench foot and nephritis. The overall length of stay at DCCRCH ranged from three days to just over seven months; and deaths occurred between one day and 26 weeks after arrival. Only four of the 82 Australian soldiers are known to have died at DCCRCH, with three having been buried in the Cliveden War Cemetery.

Soldiers' Experiences

Much of what we know about soldiers' experiences of DCCRCH are glimpsed from hospital and military records but particularly from soldiers' letters home and from newspaper reports.

Private Simon Donald Fullerton was admitted to DCCRCH in December 1916 with trench foot and stayed 47 days before being transferred to No.3 AAH. He wrote to his mother in Mulwala, Victoria, a lengthy and heavily censored letter

34 er Stanley, *Bad Characters. Sex, Crime, Mutiny, Murder and the Australian Imperial Force*, Pier 9, Sydney (2010), p. 38.

35 For approximate times for each step of the evacuation process, see Jean Bou and Peter Dennis with Paul Dalglish, 'The Australian Imperial Force', *Centenary History of Australia and the Great War*, Vol. 5, Oxford University Press, Melbourne (2016).

36 'The War-Duchess of Connaught Canadian Red Cross Hospital', p. 655.

37 Many soldiers who had been gassed were sent to DCCRCH due to the research being undertaken there. See 'Osler's Contribution' in this article.

in January 1917 about where he had been sent and the conditions: ‘...we were up to our knees in water and mud...when I came out I could hardly walk and my feet were nearly bursting in my boots... when I arrived here I could not walk... But now I am up and can toddle about’. Fullerton also expressed indignation about the unsuccessful referendum on conscription following the experience at the front, and the impact it was having on views of Australia.³⁸

Another patient with trench foot was Private Keith Stevens from Dookie, Victoria who described his feet as ‘worse than my wounds’ and mentioned in his letter of December 1916, that there were other Australians in the hospital, an Australian lady provided paper for writing, and the Australian Red Cross gave each ‘boy’ a present for Christmas. He noted that once a week was a meatless day and that he planned to go to London on his holidays.³⁹

One sad case is that of Private John Gall from South Australia who was admitted a few days after Fullerton with bronchitis, then developed mumps with orchitis but was accidentally given 14.6 grains of ‘bichloride of mercury’ by an orderly (Private Charles Thomas CAMC), instead of aspirin. He was treated with emetics then gastric lavage but there must have been sufficient absorption of the mercury as he became anuric, then developed a rash, fever, and chill. Gall died 52 days later and was buried with a full military funeral at the Brookwood War Cemetery, Surrey. The post-mortem revealed he had military tuberculosis in lungs, liver, spleen, and pancreas, and his kidneys were almost twice the normal size. The inquest into his death concluded that ‘poisons should be labelled and kept in a locker’. It seems the report was initially suppressed but detail of the tragedy was conveyed in several Australian newspapers.⁴⁰

Admitted around the same time as the previous soldiers was Private William Frederick Murray, an Indigenous man from Aboriginal Station Framlington, Victoria. He was admitted to DCCRCH with trench foot also in December 1916 after less than three months at the front. He stayed 51 days before being discharged to furlough. Murray was admitted to No.3 AAH a week later for the same condition.⁴¹

Private George Lunn from Drysdale, Victoria, was admitted to the hospital ‘dangerously ill’ on 11 July 1917. He wrote a long ‘bright and cheery letter to his wife’ giving meticulous detail of how he was wounded in action on 2 April with 21 bullet wounds, and how he had saved himself. ‘I was bandaged from head to toe’, he

38 ‘Soldiers’ Letters’, Tungamah, Lake Rowan Express and St James Gazette, 22 March 1917, p. 1; Simon Donald Fullerton, war service records, NAA B2455.

39 ‘Our Soldier’s Letters. Pte Keith Stevens’, *Dookie and Katamantite Recorder*, 22 February 1917, p. 3.

40 War Diary 15th Canadian General Hospital, March 1917; ‘Poisoned Australian’, *Critic* (Hobart), 18 May 1917, p. 8; John Gall, war service records, NAA B2455.

41 Donna Baldy, ‘Sapper Herbert Murray’ https://www.tunnellers.net/pages/nominal_rollpag.html. Accessed 22 December 2019. Herbert Murray was William Murray’s brother and is included in the same record.

wrote, with one bullet hitting his 'Testament' [Bible] in his tunic and bouncing off into his lung, five bullets exiting, and the rest having to be removed. Lunn had been at DCCRCH for one week and considered it had 'plenty of the best of everything'. He liked the food, which included porridge, eggs, custard, jelly, chicken, and a daily pint of stout. He finished by saying it took him three hours to write the letter as it was difficult to use his right hand. This soldier was present when the King and Queen visited DCCRCH in August 1917, finally being discharged to No.1 AAH after staying for five months.⁴²

Another soldier, Sergeant James Lyons from Victoria, was discovered in the photo album of Private Albert Rooks from Queensland when Rooks was at DCCRCH during 1917.⁴³ Lyons was admitted with a gunshot wound to his thumb. He was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal while recovering at DCCRCH and the award, gazetted on 24 August 1917, was for gallantry in organising and encouraging his company when they 'were suffering from the effects of a gas shell' and more. He was at the hospital the same time as Lunn but just missed being presented his medal by the King at DCCRCH.⁴⁴



Image 5: Sergeant James Lyons DCM, 39th Battalion AIF, standing right side. Source: Albert James Rooks Photograph Albums 1916-1918, John Oxley Library, State Library Queensland.

42 'Drysdale', *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 September 1917, p. 5; George Lunn, war service records, NAA B2455.

43 Private Albert James Rooks, Divisional Supply Column, photographed Sergeant Lyons and others at DCCRCH during this period. He does not appear to have been a patient at the hospital.

44 James Lyons, war service records, NAA B2455.

For many of the at DCCRCH soldiers, Australian and others, it would have been the first time they had entered such an opulent environment.⁴⁵ Armies consisted of citizen soldiers from a range of locations, political backgrounds, and social structures. Many had been conscripted unlike Australian soldiers, but their commonality was the appalling conditions under which they were expected to fight a war. Thus, when entering the premises of the stately home as a patient, ‘...they became honoured guests’.⁴⁶ They had varying experiences, and it is known that Australian soldiers were often unruly, with alcohol a main cause of trouble,⁴⁷ but their behaviour at DCCRCH is not specifically reported. While limited alcohol such as stout may have been prescribed for medicinal purposes, consuming alcohol and drunkenness in general was banned. However, soldiers were known to find their way to a pub or access alcohol elsewhere. One DCCRCH patient was fined seven shillings and six pence for drunkenness.⁴⁸

Nancy Astor took a great interest in the soldiers at the DCCRCH. She visited ‘her’ hospital daily, sometimes exposing them to her guests, and with her personal beliefs about medical care, often challenged the patients to virtually heal themselves. However, she provided vases of flowers for the bedside lockers and ensured that not only the soldiers, but the staff shared the luxuries of the Astor estate. Some of the splendour of Cliveden and the Astors made it into the newspapers back home in Australia. For example, Private John Whittaker (Jack) Davis from Bourke, New South Wales, reported sick with trench foot on 3 November 1916 and took fourteen days to reach DCCRCH. He spent 63 days in hospital. In a letter to his father published in the local newspaper, Davis wrote that

This is a fine hospital. It is part of the estate of Major Astor the millionaire. Mrs Astor is a fine woman and I often have a yarn with her...at her invitation all Australians who are in the hospital were taken to see Windsor Castle and Eton College...a party of us went to Mrs Astor’s house...it originally belonged to the Duke of Marlborough...⁴⁹

In an anonymous letter published in a Western Australian newspaper in 1920, a soldier reminisced when in 1917, as ‘one of many stretcher cases’, travelled on a

45 Jack M Davies, ‘A Very Haven of Peace: The Role of the Stately Home Hospital in First World War Britain’, PhD Thesis, University of Kent (2017), p. 19, <https://kar.kent.ac.uk/61547/>. Accessed 6 June 2020.

46 Davies, ‘A Very Haven of Peace’, p. 19.

47 Stanley, *Bad Characters*, p. 38.

48 Davies, ‘A Very Haven of Peace’, p. 135. For a discussion on the use of alcohol and other drugs during the First World War, see Łukasz Kamiński, ‘Drugs’ in Ute Daniel et al. ed. 1914-1918 online. Internal Encyclopedia of the First World War, <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/drugs>. Accessed 23 May 2021.

49 ‘Private Jack Davis’, *Western Herald*, 28 February 1917, p.2.

luxurious train to Cliveden, and described Nancy Astor as ‘...beautiful young, fair, slight build and medium height with tremendous vitality, eyes which could bring merriment or fill with deepest sympathy and concern’.⁵⁰ He was impressed with her good memory of names and nicknames and her personal interest in every soldier. In the detailed reminiscence, he also recalled the splendour of his environment such as the magnificent library that was ‘lined with Australian wood’, patients taken down the Thames in the Astor motor launch, and an Australian soldier playing the organ on Sunday church services. He ends by stating that Lady Astor was the comforter-in-chief of the hospital.

The experiences of the soldiers at DCCRCH however, was not always recovery. Some died at the hospital while others recovered sufficiently from their convalescence process to be returned to the front where they were later killed in action. Such was the case for privates Fullerton, Stevens, and Murray.

Our Hospital

It's just a lonely little place beside the river Thames,
 Where swans abound in plenty, also the water hens.
 It's on the Cliveden estate, where you can always roam,
 The place is absolutely bon, in fact, it's just like home.
 We go for picnics once a week -I tell you they are great -
 Sometimes aboard the old " Good Hope "; sometimes on the estate.
 The Sisters here are just O.K., you can find none to beat them,
 In fact, we like them all so much, we fancy we could eat them.
 And once we leave this little joint, and move along our way,
 We'll often long to be back here, if just for half a day.
 So now, before I leave from here I've one more word to say,
 Three cheers for the good old hospital -"Harrah" "Harroo" "Harray."
 W. T. JENKINS, [51st AIF, Ward] Ontario 2.

WT Jenkins, 'The Anzacs' Lament', *Stand Easy: Chronicles of Cliveden*, 2 (1918), p. 14.

Anzacs Buried at Cliveden

As well as the three Australians who died at DCCRCH during the First World War and are buried in the Cliveden War Cemetery, there is also one soldier from the New Zealand contingent who had arrived from the Dardanelles in September 1915.

50 'First Lady Commoner: A Soldier's Reminiscences of Lady Astor', *Western Argus*, 27 January 1920, p. 36.

Two of the soldiers were first buried at Taplow before the Cliveden cemetery was consecrated.

Private Frederick Barry, an 18-year-old farmer from Te Awamutu, New Zealand, was admitted to a Casualty Clearing Station on Gallipoli in late August with paratyphoid fever and dysentery. He embarked on the *Caledonia* for England the same day and arrived at DCCRCH on 1 September. Barry died 26 days later and was buried in St Nicholas Taplow Church. He was later moved to Astor's statue garden.⁵¹

Private Harry Element, a 28-year-old painter from Newtown, New South Wales, sustained gunshot wounds in France on 21 November 1916 to his left thigh and perineum, which ruptured his urethra. He developed gas gangrene, was taken to No 1 AGH at Rouen, and four days later embarked for DCCRCH where he died one day after admission on 27 November. Element was first buried at the Taplow cemetery on 29 November 1916.⁵²

Gunner Edward Hugh Carley, a 22-year-old printer from Camberwell, Victoria, had survived being wounded in Gallipoli, but sustained gunshot wounds to his right thigh in France in November 1916. He arrived at DCCRCH nine days later but after several months of treatment he died from tetanus in June 1917.⁵³ Carley was one of the first to be buried in the newly consecrated Cliveden War Cemetery. He received a full military funeral in a coffin draped by the Australian flag, carriage drawn by six horses from the Royal Engineers which was preceded by a firing party from the Canadian infantry. His uncle followed the coffin with 16 comrades from the AIF who were in the hospital with him. The coffin was borne by six pall bearers and the service was conducted by Reverend Father Curtis RC, Maidenhead. Wreaths were sent from Major and Mrs Astor, the nursing staff, Mrs Allison on behalf of the Australian Red Cross Society, and 'ward Alex 2' of DCCRCH. A cross was donated from the Australian patients and Mrs Allison while Mrs Astor was to arrange a permanent memorial.⁵⁴

Corporal Joseph James Riley, a 23-year-old tailor from Horsham, Victoria, had been wounded in action in 1916 and was returned to the front following his recovery. On 25 June 1918, he presented at the Casualty Clearing Station with pneumonia and was moved via the usual evacuation chain to England arriving at DCCRCH 14 days later.⁵⁵ Riley unfortunately died on 12 July from heart failure following septicaemia related to the pneumonia. His death notice was published in Taplow's newspaper and in Victoria. Reverend Trench officiated at his funeral

51 Frederick Barry, war service records, Archives New Zealand, R22273017.

52 Harry Element, war service records, NAA B2455.

53 Edward Hugh Carley, war service records, NAA B2455.

54 A full record of the funeral is contained in the war service record.

55 Joseph James Riley, war service records, NAA B2455.

and it was reported that many officers, nursing sisters, and patients of the hospital were present. The coffin was taken on a gun carriage to the Cliveden cemetery and wreaths were sent from Mrs Douglas, a friend from Ilford in London, Mrs Allison, and Mrs Nancy Astor. The 'Last Post' was sounded by two buglers and the customary volleys fired. Photographs were taken and sent to relatives.⁵⁶

War's End

Many Australian soldiers who suffered a 'Blighty' wound or succumbed to illness in the battlefields of the First World War found themselves being delivered for recovery, or possibly death, to the Canadian military hospital, DCCRCH, situated in the very large and finely landscaped gardens of Cliveden estate in Buckinghamshire. Situated on a bend of the River Thames, and overlooked by the imposing stately home, they were surrounded by luxuries which, prior to the war, were the exclusive domain of Waldorf and Nancy Astor and their elite, political and noteworthy guests.

Through searching online resources, 82 of these soldiers were discovered including the three who are buried in the Cliveden War Cemetery. Some of these soldiers, through correspondence, provided a brief look into their experiences, not just of the DCCRCH, but also of war.

After the First World War the hospital and its equipment were dismantled and sent to Birmingham. The 'Memorial to Canadians' at the Cliveden War Cemetery, sculpted by Bertram Mackennal, was officially unveiled by Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada on 4 April 1919.⁵⁷ As for Sir William Osler, like so many other parents, his only son Revere was killed in France in August 1917. It



Image 6: Grave of Gunner Edward Hugh Carley, 21st Field Artillery Brigade. Cliveden War Cemetery (Grave No. 25). The grave is not identified but is presumed based on its interest to Rooks, date of photos, and burial date of Carley. Source: Albert James Rooks Photograph Albums 1916-1918, John Oxley Library, State Library Queensland.

⁵⁶ A full record of the funeral is contained in the war service record; See also: 'Corporal Riley's Death', *Horsham Times*, 24 December 1918, p.4.

⁵⁷ War Diary 15th Canadian General Hospital, April 1919; 'Topical Notes: General and Local', *The Bucks Herald* (UK), 12 April 1919, p. 3.

seems he may not have attended the unveiling of the statue preferring to leave the war behind him. He died in December 1919.⁵⁸

The estate at Cliveden was again offered to Canada for a hospital in the Second World War and named the 'Canadian Red Cross Memorial Hospital'. It was a more substantial building and at the end of the war was designated as a maternity and paediatric rheumatology hospital for the National Health Service in 1948. This was subsequently closed in 1985 and some of the land was subdivided into housing. The Astor's donated their Cliveden estate to the National Trust with the proviso that the Astor family could stay there for as long as they wished, and Cliveden House was repurposed as a luxurious hotel.⁵⁹



Image 7: Bertram MacKenna's allegorical statue with the head modelled on Lady Nancy Astor, erected 1917, officially unveiled 1919. Source: Vivien E Lane and Milton G Roxanas 2017.

58 A service commemorating the centennial of Osler's death was held in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford on 26th January 2020 and attended by two of the authors (MR and VL).

59 Roxanas, Gendek and Lane, 'Cliveden', p. 227.

Walter Parker: First Aboriginal Soldier to Die on Overseas Military Service

Sue Mills¹

As the SS *Devon* moved slowly away from the Fremantle Wharf in 1901 little did Walter Parker or his family know that he would die in South Africa the following year or the mark his service would make on Australian history. For with his death, Walter has become the first known man of Aboriginal descent to die on overseas military service for Australia and the only such man to die in the Boer War.

Born in Gingin, Western Australia on 6 July 1874, Walter was the child of Joseph Mortimer, a stockman who lived in the same area and the son of one of the first families to reside along the Gingin Brook. Walter's mother was Mary Elizabeth Benyup, the daughter of Noongar woman Banyap (also known as Caroline) and Charles Brazely, a shearer, who was also known as William Brazely. Although Walter's name was recorded on his birth registration as 'Walter Joseph Mortimer', he became known as Walter Parker when, four months after his birth, his mother Mary married John Selby Parker.

The Boer War

With the outbreak of war in South Africa in 1899, the Australian colonies, as part of the British Empire, sent troops to support the 'Mother Country'. Walter's attempt to enlist in the 1st West Australian Contingent was rejected.² Initially, the wave of patriotic fervour was high with an inpouring of hopeful applicants anxious to support the Empire, with the men in the militia of the colonial forces being favoured. But it is also possible that Walter's Indigenous ancestry was the reason for his rejection as in the case of Fred Mead.³ At that stage there was no legislation preventing Indigenous men from serving their country as was later the case, but it seemed it was often the decision and at the discretion of the enlisting officers at the time and place.

On 1 January 1901, Australia became a nation with federation uniting the six colonies as one and establishing a national defence force. Early that month it was decided to send additional troops to South Africa and there was a calling

1 Sue Mills is an avid Western Australian family historian. While investigating her three children's paternal ancestry she discovered that their great great grandmother, Mary, was one of the first mixed race Aboriginal children born in the West Australian colony. Mary had nine children of which Walter was the eldest.

2 'District News, Greenough', *Geraldton Advertiser*, 14 February 1902, p. 3.

3 'A Loyal Offer', *The West Australian*, 28 November 1901, p. 5.

for volunteers to enlist in the 5th West Australian Mounted Infantry Contingent.⁴ Walter volunteered his services again, successfully enlisting in Coolgardie.

As a volunteer Walter would have been faced with a strict criterion; applicants were required to be single men of good character between the ages of 20 and 34, to be not less than 5ft 6in in height, with a chest measurement of 34 inches.⁵ They also needed to be expert riders and good shots, skills that were valued in the warfare on the veldt.

In *The West Australian* on 7 March 1901, Walter was named as having been born in Gingin, aged 26 years, a labourer who enlisted in Coolgardie and with no previous service. These details were taken from the attestation papers, now non-existent.⁶ His rate of pay would have been 5s per day - a private's wage. Although given the number as 30 in the newspaper, Walter's service number was 140 on the Nominal Roll.

A camp at Karrakatta was established in mid-January and the men began arriving from all over the state. They took riding tests and those that passed began mounted drill to prepare them for service.



Image 1: The Karrakatta Camp Source: *Western Mail*, 9 March 1901, p. 31.

On Saturday 2 March 1901, a review by His Excellency the Administrator, Sir Alexander Onslow of the troops of the 5th West Australian Contingent was held on the Perth Esplanade. Small crowds gathered on street corners, significantly less than when previous contingents had paraded before leaving for South Africa.

Initially, Australians at home had supported the war in Africa but as the conflict lingered on, some were dissatisfied with the effects on Boer civilians. However, when the Contingent descended the hill from the old barracks, the force of almost 200 men on horseback was a fine spectacle and after arriving at the Esplanade they were surrounded by a crowd of more than 3000 onlookers.⁷

4 'Two Hundred Men from West Australia', *The West Australian*, 10 January 1901, p. 5.

5 'Two Hundred Men from West Australia', *The West Australian*, 10 January 1901, p. 5.

6 'The Men', *The West Australian*, 7 March 1901, p. 3.

7 'Reviewed on the Esplanade', *The Western Mail*, 9 March 1901, p. 39.

After many speeches and a demonstration of the excellent horsemanship of the men, the contingent was formed into columns and then, led by the headquarters band, proceeded to make their way back to Karrakatta.

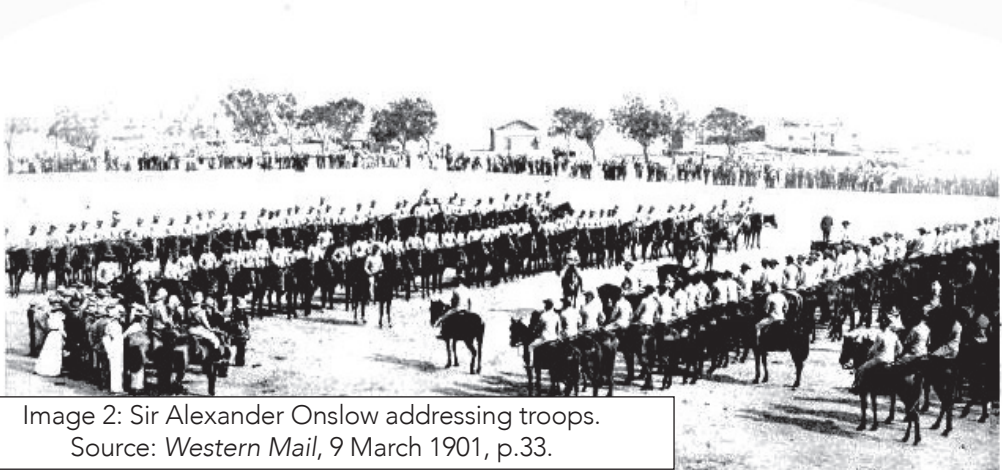


Image 2: Sir Alexander Onslow addressing troops.
Source: *Western Mail*, 9 March 1901, p.33.

Finally, after completing their training, most of the 206 men bound for South Africa were entertained with a farewell dinner at Government House and an evening in the gardens attended by family and friends. Approximately 176 men were selected to attend and they travelled by train to the city where they were greeted by an enthusiastic crowd. They were then marched to Government House where they enjoyed a farewell banquet in the ballroom. Following the speeches, the men were free to mingle in the gardens with their families and friends before returning to Karrakatta by a late train.⁸

And so, on 6 March 1901, the soldiers of the 5th Contingent heard reveille sound at 5 am and by 7.30 were on parade and ready to proceed to Fremantle. At North Fremantle they were ‘ambushed by the hospitable residents, who captured the whole corps and treated the members to refreshments, both liquid and solid’, as reported in the newspaper.⁹ They then continued their march to Fremantle, reaching the South Quay, Fremantle at 9.30am where the troopship SS Devon was berthed. Within three hours the men boarded the ship with their kits, baggage and stores and 230 horses were loaded on deck in their stalls.

The scene of the departure was described in *The West Australian*:

At a quarter-past 3 o’clock the Devon began to move from the wharf. Cheers were given by the soldiers on her and were answered from the wharf by the crowd, which by this time had grown to respectable dimensions. As the big vessel gathered way, the whistles of locomotives and tug-boats screamed farewells to which the Devon replied. A fluttering of handkerchiefs from the wharf, and a response fluttering from the troopers on the steamer, and the Devon was gone from the river. She anchored in Gage Roads whilst the captain fixed up his papers finally and sailed about 8 o’clock.¹⁰

8 ‘Entertained by the Government’, *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 8 March 1901, p. 1.

9 ‘March to Fremantle’, *Western Mail*, 9 March 1901, p. 41.

10 ‘March to Fremantle’, *The West Australian*, 7 March 1901, p. 3.

Image 3: 5th Contingent inspection of kit.
Source: *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 26 March 1901, p. 25.



Image 4: 5th Contingent awaiting the train at Karrakatta.
Source: *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 19 March 1901, p. 23.

Image 5: On the March: The 5th Contingent Takes to the Road.
Source: *Western Mail*, 16 March 1901, p. 36.



South Africa

A month after arriving in Durban on 28 March, the 5th Contingent amalgamated with the Western Australian 6th Contingent which had arrived in late April, forming one strong battalion under the command of Major JR Royston.¹¹ The two contingents were in Major General FW Kitchener's Column serving in Eastern Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State and later with Colonel Campbell's, Colonel Benson's and Colonel Wing's Columns in Eastern Transvaal. They were engaged in several operations of Sir Bindon Blood - to the north of the Delagoa railway and in the Middelburg district in April and in the Ermelo-Bethel district in May of 1901.¹²

Through 1901, the combined battalion saw many engagements and losses of men. Three soldiers were killed on 15 May at Grobelaar Recht, one being Lieutenant Anthony Alexander Forrest, aged 16 years and nephew to John Forrest, explorer and first Premier of Western Australia. The following day, Lieutenant FW Bell of the 6th showed tremendous courage which earned him a Victoria Cross, the first awarded to a West Australian. Both contingents were serving under General Bruce Hamilton in the Eastern Transvaal at the end of 1901 and the first months of 1902, engaging with the enemy at Waterval River, Rolspruit and Roodepoort.

Together, the 5th and 6th Contingents returned to Australia 29 April 1902 aboard the *Colombian* and were greeted in Perth by a cheering crowd of about 4000 assembled on Victoria Quay.¹³ Of the original strength of 221 men, six soldiers were killed or died of wounds and three died of disease – one of those being Walter. He died of typhoid fever on the 22 January 1902 at Standerton, Mpumalanga, South Africa.¹⁴ He was buried in the Military Cemetery in Standerton and, unfortunately, his name and rank have been incorrectly recorded on the Central Memorial as Trooper W. Barker which it is hoped can be rectified. Walter's service entitled him to receive the Queens South Africa Medal with clasps - Transvaal, Orange Free State, South Africa 1901 and South Africa 1902.

It was written in the *Geraldton Advertiser*:

Mr Walter Parker, who was well known here, has died in South Africa from fever. Poor Walter was anxiously waiting for his turn to go to South Africa. He wanted to go badly with the 1st W.A. Contingent but did not seem to be able to get on, and till recently. Walter was strongly advised to stay on the Greenough. Like a good many more young fellows, however, he was anxious to see the Boers.¹⁵

11 P. L. Murray, *Official Records of the Australian Military Contingents to the War in South Africa*, Albert Mullett, Melbourne (1911), p. 418.

12 Murray, *Official Records*, p. 419.

13 'Hearty Welcome at Fremantle', *Western Mail*, 3 May 1902, p. 21.

14 'Australasian Casualties', *The West Australian*, 27 January 1902, p. 5.

15 'District News, Greenough', *The Geraldton Advertiser*, 14 February 1902, p. 3.

With the new-found knowledge of Walter's identity and sacrifice in the Boer War, he can now be recognised and commemorated for his courage and willingness to serve his country along with his half-brother James Dickerson who died from wounds received at Gallipoli. James was the only known Western Australian man of Aboriginal descent to die during the Gallipoli campaign.

Before the discovery of Walter's service in South Africa, the Australian War Memorial had reported that there were nine known Aboriginal soldiers who had fought in the Boer War and they had all returned to Australia. Consequently, Walter has become not just the only known Aboriginal soldier to die in the Boer War but the first known man of Aboriginal descent to have died on overseas military service in the history of Australia, a contribution and legacy that can now be honoured and commemorated in his home state of Western Australia and by the whole nation.



Image 6: Boer War Memorial, King's Park, Perth. Source: Author.

The foundation stone for a memorial – the first to be erected in King's Park, Perth – was laid by His Highness the Duke of Cornwall and York in July 1901, with the current statue unveiled on the monument on the 23 May 1915 in dedication to the Western Australian soldiers who gave their lives in the Boer War.

The Consequences of Supplying Kanga Force 1942-1944, TPNG

John Steel¹

The Second World War came to the Australian Trust Territory of New Guinea on the 23 January 1942 when Australian troops were defeated by a Japanese force at Rabaul on New Britain Island. Rabaul was to provide a defensive stronghold and cover for the key Japanese naval centre at Truk in the Caroline Islands. Similarly, other centres on the New Guinea mainland, such as Salamaua and Lae, would provide a defence screen for Rabaul.

Following the Japanese successes, General Douglas MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief, South-West Pacific Area, was ordered by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff 'to hold Australia as a base for future offensive action against the Japanese'. Amongst several of MacArthur's responses to pursue this action was his intention to reinforce the detachment of Australian New Guinea Volunteer Rifles (NGVR) who were screening the Japanese positions at Lae and Salamau. This operation was undertaken by the 2/5th Independent Company and one platoon of the 2/1st Independent Company. Code named Kanga Force, these units were headquartered at the former gold mining town of Wau, some 147 kilometres from Lae, up in the mountains of the Wau and Bulolo Valleys.

Wau was a cleared site on which houses, offices, a bank and workshops had been constructed. It also possessed a water supply and an electricity grid. Importantly, Wau was linked to the rest of the Territory's Centres by an airstrip. This was a rough grass strip, 940 metres long with a 10% slope, heading directly into Mt. Kaindi. Aircraft could only approach from the northeast, landing uphill and taking off downhill. The mountain at the end of the runway did not allow a second attempt at landing and prevented a strip extension. Pilots also had to contend with cloud build up, dangerous mountain passes, mountain peaks, rain, as well as air current up drafts. At this time, early in 1942, Wau was also the centre for civilian evacuees fleeing the Japanese onslaught. Non-native women and children were evacuated by plane and the men of military age were called up into service with the NGVR. As the war drew closer it became too dangerous to fly evacuees out. Wau was bombed on 22 January 1942.

¹ John Steel worked in PNG for the Department of Education between 1958 and 1978. After returning to Australia he continued in education and completed a postgraduate degree at ADFA. Retired now he spends his time researching Pacific campaigns of the Second World War. He is a member of the Queensland branch of the MHSA.

² Neville Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents of Five Toaripi Villages', Pacific Research Monograph Series Number Two, Canberra, ANU, 1979, p. 84.

A group of about 250 European and Asian men found themselves stranded. So desperate was their situation that they decided to escape southward overland on foot. This involved a hazardous trek over the mountains by way of Kudjeru and Tekadu to Bulldog at the foot of the mountains on the southern 'Papuan side'. This group then had to undertake a canoe voyage down the Lakakamu River to reach the Papuan village of Kukipi on the coast and eventually down to Port Moresby.



Image 1: Supply canoe on Lakekamu River, July 1942. Source: AWM 127953.

This feat was not ignored by the military. The commandant of New Guinea Force (NGF), Major General Basil Morris, had insufficient air transport to meet the needs of Kanga Force. The successful journey of the evacuees showed him there was a way by which a supply line to Wau and Kanga Force could be established. Morris ordered a platoon of the 2/1st Independent Company leave Port Moresby by ship and complete the crossing to Wau. In establishing this supply line, little did Morris and his staff realize how greatly they would have to rely on the indigenous people of the Papuan Gulf for the supply of labour, building construction, transportation and food.

The 2/1st Independent Company began the first sea/river/overland journey in April 1942, which was to be repeated many times throughout the next two years. Small coastal ships, little bigger than fishing trawlers would sail west 225 kilometres from Port Moresby to the mouth of the Lakakamu River. Cargo would be

ferried ashore in pinnaces over the treacherous river bar. Canoes would be loaded at Terapo, an Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) settlement, then paddled up the Lakakamu passing through thick sago stands and mosquito infested waterways. This canoe journey of about 100 kilometres could take up to five days in the boiling sun. Later engine driven barges would be used. On reaching Bulldog, which was a substantial settlement of workshops, accommodation and a small airstrip, the canoes would be unloaded and the cargo packed into 25 kilogram one-man bundles or 50 kilogram two-man loads.² The carrier line would then be formed for the arduous and exhausting walk to Wau. This journey would last the best part of a week, depending on the track, weather and the condition of the porters.

The first camp along the way was 'Dead Chinaman Camp', named after an unfortunate refugee who succumbed to the privations during the civilian evacuation. Middle Camp was next and from there the track passed through the land and hunting grounds of the savage Kukukuku bowman. Coastal people, including the carriers, had experienced the violence and carnage of lightning Kukukuku raids. They were understandably terrified of them. Armed police of the Royal Papuan Constabulary (RPC) whose task it was to supervise and safeguard the carriers clashed with the Kukukukus during 1942. One Kukukuku was killed. Later in 1943, two RPC constables were killed at 'Dead Chinaman's Camp' by Kukukuku.³ Passing through Waterbung and Waterdry, the track reached its highest point on the Eku Mountain Range of 3000 metres. Mount Bellamy on the yet to be famous Kokoda Track was 2000 metres at its highest point. In these upper regions the moss forest was bitterly cold with an annual rainfall of between 375 and 500 centimetres per annum. The steep muddy path was described as abominable where a misplaced step could result in a broken limb. Here the sun was barely visible for only two hours a day. Finally passing through Kedjeru, Winima and Kaisenik, Wau was finally reached.⁴

The army required an estimated supply of 3000 kilograms of materiel per day. Forty carrier loads were received by Kanga Force on most days.⁵ From these figures it can be assumed that a carrier line of 40 carriers could be broken down into 30 carriers carrying 15x75 kilogram two-man loads totalling 1125 kilograms. The remaining ten men each carrying 25-kilogram loads totalling 250 kilograms, making an all up payload of 1375 kilogram. This supply was clearly inadequate. A Dakota transport plane could carry 27 passengers or 4500 kilograms of supplies, however there were insufficient aircraft available to service Kanga Force.⁶ Clearly, relying on carrier borne supplies was a desperate gesture. Thus, the Papuan male

2 Neville Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents of Five Toaripi Villages', Pacific Research Monograph Series Number Two, Canberra, ANU, 1979, p. 84.

3 Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents', p. 84.

4 Phillip Bradley, *The Battle for Wau*, Cambridge University Press: Melbourne (2008), p. 2.

5 Bradley, *The Battle for Wau*, p. 70.

6 Robert Kelly, *Allied Transport Operations, South West Pacific*, Volume 2, self-published: Buderim, (2006), p. 57.

was brought into a war, not of his own making, nor did he understand it. He was considered to be a unit of labour and no credit was given to his intellect or culture.⁷ Further he had no political representation. The consequences of Morris's decision to establish the supply line were now realised by the village people of the Lakakamu River:



Image 2: Carrier line in kunai-covered hills near Wau, April 1942.
Source: AWM 127956.

Responsibility for recruiting Papua New Guineans to serve as labourers and plantation workers fell to the operation section of a unique Australian Army unit, the Australian New Guinean Administrative Unit (ANGAU). Personnel in this unit were former patrol officers from the Territory of New Guinea or resident magistrates from the Papuan Service as well as plantation managers and overseers. Later, soldiers transferred into the ANGAU unit. The Australian government's, *National Security (Emergency Control) Regulation, February 1942* gave the ANGAU recruiters power to compulsorily recruit. Regardless of their previous experiences in dealing with the natives of Papua or New Guinea and the different ideologies possessed as well as ideas and attitudes as to the best methods of working with labour groups, the Army made it clear that in such times where native welfare may suffer, needs of Army would come first. Healthy village males between 14 and 44 years of age provided the pool of recruits. Recruits were classified as Class A - excellent physical

⁷ Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents', p. 107.



Image 3: Major General Basil Morris addressing local group during a district visit, 1942.
Source: AWM 069224.

shape, or Class B - in poor physical condition, but capable of doing plantation work, for example, gardening and domestic duties. All recruits were given a medical examination and issued with a rami (sarong), a blanket and a weekly issue of rice, tinned meat, sugar, tea and sometimes tobacco. Whilst on the track quality of food varied. The pay scale adopted paid five and fifteen shillings per month, following the pre-war New Guinea rates rather than the Papuan one which commenced at ten shillings per month.⁸ In theory, to prevent over recruiting, only 25 per cent of eligible men were taken. Recruiting the village men was not always a simple task. Difficulties were experienced if men were required to serve out of the area. Many of the Papuans feared going over into the 'New Guinea side'.

Women did not escape the Army's never-ending appetite for labour. Village women were required to make sago as a food supply for the carriers. This involved felling large sago palms by the men. The women would pound the pith of the tree into small pieces from which sago would be made. Using the naturally provided sago palm further depleted the supply of food required by the people remaining in the villages.

Villages along the Lakakamu provided the labour necessary to build bush material houses and carrying supplies from the Papuan side. Over the recruiting of these people between 1942 and 1943 resulted in subsistence gardens not

⁸ Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents', p. 120.

being made. This caused food shortages and family lives suffering and a general dereliction in housing and village conditions. The Lakakamu area was the most heavily recruited in Papua throughout the war. Between 1942 and 1944 the total effective male population of the area was 6133. Total males recruited during this period was 4734.⁹ Additional labour was also recruited from nearby areas such as Yule Island, Moveave, Orokolo and Kerema.¹⁰

Protests were made by some ANGAU officers to over-recruiting. One Australian soldier wrote home about his experiences,

they (the Papuan Natives) were not really exploited until the Army came to use them, to make up deficiencies, that would not have occurred if coal miners and unionists had pulled their weight instead of striking... am engaged in some sort of slave trading this trip. The Army may have a name for it and call it recruiting, but it's really only slaving and the re-cruits are told they are going and are not asked if they want to work... it's a damn shame that the Government that won't allow conscription of its own people, is allowed to con-script another race to the detriment of their home life and villages. We are all disgusted, but just have to carry out the order.¹¹

Oral evidence from many former carriers from five Toaripi Villages was obtained by Neville Robinson in 1971. These men listed their grievances as porters over the Bulldog Wau Track as:

1. continual police threats and harassment whilst carrying cargo
2. overloading
3. not being paid correctly
4. no rest days
5. arbitrary punishment - e.g. caning
6. possessions confiscated - especially shorts and shirts
7. rami's only to be worn
8. food shortages when they returned to their villages

The porters only means of protest was to desert. Some simply dumped their cargo and run away into the bush. When Bulldog was bombed during the first week of June 1943, hundreds of terrified labourers ran away and returned to their coastal villages. ANGAU officers and police eventually rounded up these runaways and returned them to their work, though they were not punished for this.¹² No doubt as this was their first experience of a bombing attack their behaviour was understood and for-

9 H Nelson, 'Taim belong Pait na Taim belong Hatwok Tru', unpublished manuscript, Canberra (undated), p. 21.

10 Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents', p. 4.

11 Jonathan Fennell, *Fighting the People's War: British Commonwealth Armies and the Second World War*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge (2019), p. 611.

given. However, in other situations deserters were punished, usually by caning and returned to the car-rier line. Noah Riseman sites an ANGAU publication 'Native Labour and Australian New Guinea' and identifies the reasons for desertions:

1. they were not volunteers
2. many promises were made and not kept - e.g. the carriers would be allowed to re-turn to their villages once the Japanese had been driven away.
3. labourers worried about their family, village life, the state of their gardens and food supply.
4. unsuitability of some people to work on tasks in which they were not capable
5. lack of experience of overseers.¹³

Climate and sickness also affected the plight of the carriers. Assistant Director of Army Medical Services, Major Mack, on visiting the Bulldog-Wau Track was appalled by the conditions under which the natives toiled. Observing a carrier line passing through Heinan's Camp, 3000 metres above sea level, Mack commented that the carriers working in such cold and rain, without adequate protection, should not be allowed.¹⁴ Sickness, caused mainly by malaria, pneumonia and bronchitis reduced rates of the work force by 25 per cent, when 14 per cent was considered normal.¹⁵

Relations between the carriers, and ANGAU and their overseers were not cordial. Carriers complained that the ANGAU officers often spoke harshly and scolded them. During the arduous task of carrying cargo, boss boys and policemen constantly harassed them and urged them to 'walk about, walk about'. On the return journey from Wau, unburdened by the heavy loads the carriers made slow progress over the rugged terrain, knowing that on their immediate return to Bulldog they would be reloaded and dispatched once more up the track. When asked by Robinson why they accepted such hardship they replied ANGAU said it was for the good of the people, it was for the good of the land and it was for the good of their wives and children, so they carried.¹⁶

12 Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents', p. 6.

13 Noah Riseman, *Defending Whose Country? Indigenous Soldiers in the Pacific War*, University of Nebraska: Lincoln (2012), p. 12

14 Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents', p. 81.

15 Peter Ryan (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, Volume 1, Melbourne University Press: Melbourne (1972), p. 126.

16 Robinson, 'Effects That World War 2 Had on the Residents', p. 101.

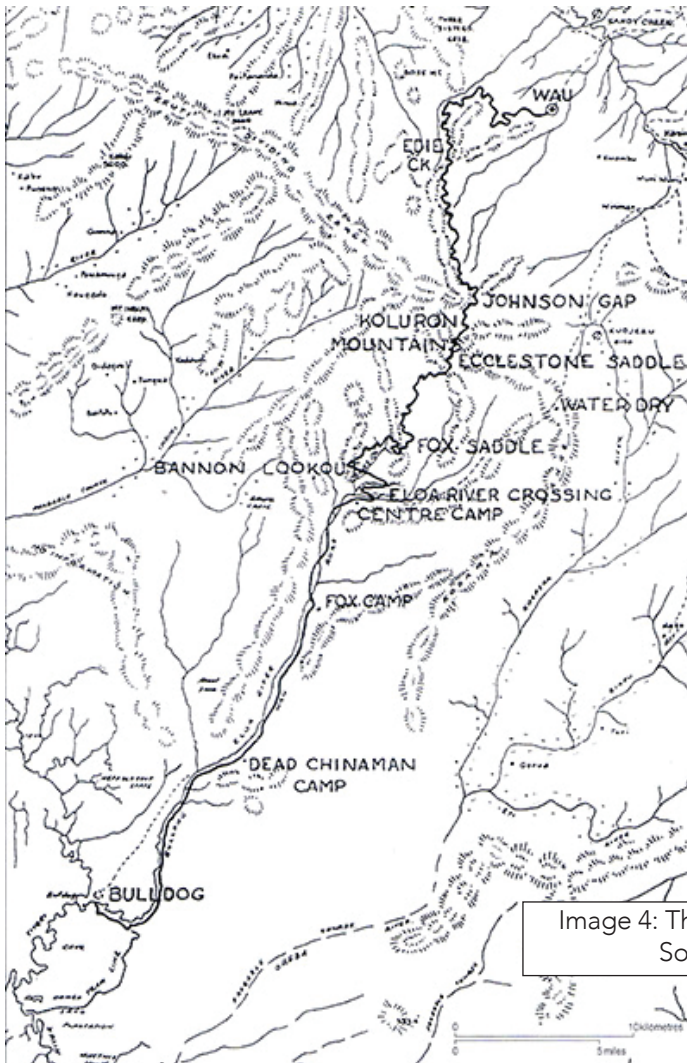


Image 4: The Bulldog-Wau track.
Source: Author.

In November 1942, General Thomas Blamey, Commander-in-Chief of Australian Forces decided that a road should be constructed between Wau and Bulldog. His reasoning was based on the need to meet supply of materiel to the Australian forces for an offensive against the Japanese at Lae.¹⁷ This herculean project to cross the rugged mountains began in January 1943. It took a further eight months to complete. In doing so the Army's appetite for New Guinean labour was far reaching and insatiable. One thousand natives were recruited in far off Mount Hagen and prepared to fly to Wau. Only a lack of fighter aircraft cover to protect the transport planes prevented the movement of Mount Hagen men.¹⁸ At its peak

17 WJ Reinhold, *The Bulldog-Wau Road*, University of Queensland: Brisbane (1946), p. 4

18 Reinhold, *The Bulldog-Wau Road*, p. 4.

the road construction was made up of the following personnel:

European (army engineers)	1038
Natives (construction)	1825
Natives (carriers)	524 2349

By August, 114 kilometres of road had been completed and was ready for traffic and the first four-wheel drive vehicles travelled its length.¹⁹ No war materiel for use during the Lae campaign was carried along this road. Its significance, or lack of it, the efforts of all who laboured to complete it, is not mentioned in any of the official histories on the capture of Lae. One commentary on the road and its strategic value is given as ‘absolutely superfluous’.²⁰

By January 1943 the progress of the war favoured the allies. The Owen Stanley campaign and the battles of Gona, Buna and Sanananda had been won. This freed a sufficient number of United States Army Air Force Dakota aircraft to be available for reinforcement and supply to Kanga Force. On 29 January 1943, 57 planeloads carrying elements of the 17th Australian Infantry Brigade flew into Wau in dramatic circumstances. The settlement, including airstrip was under a sustained enemy attack.²¹ However the Japanese were repulsed. By the end of February Japanese forces had been turned back to the coast and Kanga Force now had a direct air supply to support its 3000 troops engaged against a determined enemy along the coast to Salamaua.

For the 2000 or so Papua New Guineans working for the Army in this theatre, improved air supply did not mean they could return to their homes. At the end of 1943 most of the men from the Lakakamu were employed at the large army camp at Lae. Here they worked as wharf labourers, constructed bush material houses, grass cutting, malarial controllers and in general duties such as house boys and mess orderlies.²² In May 1944 the first of these men began to return home to Papua. By June this process had been completed. They were taken by ship from Lae to Port Moresby, then on to Yule Island. Here they collected the pay owing to them from an ANGAU officer. Others walked from Kukipi to Kerema to be paid. Pay was calculated on the length of service and ranged from £5 10/ to £16. According to Neville Robinson all were dissatisfied with their pay and the way ANGAU personnel confiscated items which they had received or collected during their service. Some carriers spent money on European items such as knives, plates, spoons, dishes and axes. Others saved their money. This ‘saved cash’ allowed the former carriers to invest in a co-operative society which was established at Toaripi some years later.

19 Reinhold, *The Bulldog-Wau Road*, p. 24.

20 Bradley, *The Battle for Wau*, p. 70.

21 Kelly, *Allied Transport Operations*, p. 420.

22 Nelson, ‘Taim bilong Pait na Taim bilong hatwok tru’, p. 42.

From a strategic perspective the supply of raw material up the Lakakamu River to Bulldog then on to Wau via the track to Kanga Force was not a success. Supplies could only be delivered in limited quantities, insufficient to support any sustained aggressive action against the enemy. Still the forced contribution made by the village men of the Lakakamu and other Papuan regions to this isolated army unit was indeed valuable. They provided some supplies when no other means were available. The track and the road are now reclaimed by the jungle. Nowadays some trekking companies offer walking tours of these former wartime supply routes.

Regardless of the hazards and dangers experienced, the peoples' service with ANGAU brought a new dimension to their lives. As Alan Powell points out, through travel to other places, contacts with other native peoples, as well as with Australians and Americans, both black and white, these Papuans formed a new confidence. A confidence as a group they could develop economically and socially. The most widespread desire which manifested itself at this time was the desire for schools and education and the development of cash crops.²³

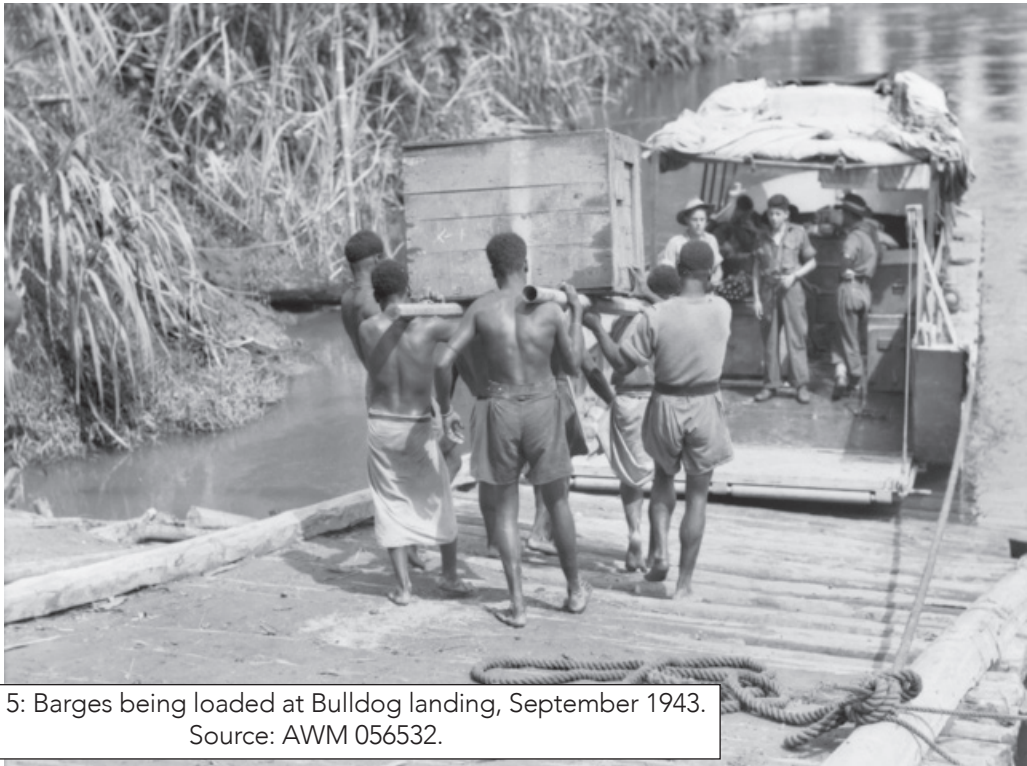


Image 5: Barges being loaded at Bulldog landing, September 1943.

Source: AWM 056532.

23 Alan Powell, *The Third Force: ANGAU's New Guinea War 1942-46*, Oxford University Press: Melbourne (2003), p. 254.

Always Prepared: The Army in Victoria in 1914

Graham McKenzie-Smith¹

While researching for the World War One Unit Guide Project, I came across the District Mobilization Orders for 3rd Military District dated 1 August 1914 which are online at National Archives.² This 66-page book gives an insight into the preparedness of Australian Army in 1914 and helps to understand how the AIF was raised, equipped and despatched so soon after the declaration of war.

Introduction

In 1911 the Kitchener Report was adopted and the Army organization changed.³ With the introduction of compulsory service for all men at age 18 a new intake of recruits would become available each year and the Army would expand until the service period for the first intake was complete. To accommodate this expanding force, Australia was divided into 94 Training Areas, each of which could by 1919 field a battalion of troops and contribute to the many supporting units. The existing militia infantry units were reorganised into some of these new battalions, along with the first inductees and as the regular new intakes swelled the ranks these were to be divided to gradually fill out the 94 battalion Order of Battle. The outbreak of hostilities and the separate raising of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) upset this orderly growth, but the mobilisation orders set out the plans as at 1 August 1914.

Victorian Order of Battle

The Mobilisation Orders grouped the Victorian units into three forces: The Port Phillip Defences incorporated the coast defences at Port Phillip Heads and their supporting units which were deny entrance to Port Phillip Bay and they would concentrate at Queenscliff.

1 Graham McKenzie-Smith is a member from WA and after releasing his unit guide to the Australian Army in World War 2 is now working on a similar unit guide for World War 1, including all the AIF, AN&MEF, PMF and CMF units.

2 Commonwealth Military Forces – District Mobilization Orders – 3rd Military District – Revised to 1 August 1914, NAA: A1194, 23.02/7001.

3 Report on the Defence of Australia by Field Marshall Viscount Kitchener 1910, NAA: A463, 1957/1059.

PMF HQ Staff, 5th Coy RAGA, 6th Coy RAGA, 7th Coy RAGA
 CMF 7th Coy AGA, 8th Coy AGA, 9th Coy AGA
 8th Eng, 34th Eng, 38th Eng
 46th Inf Bn, 70th Inf Bn, C Sqn 29th LH Regt
 15th Coy AASC, 13th Fd Amb AAMC

The District Field Force would be available to the Commandant 3rd Military District for the defence of the rest of Victoria and would concentrate at Broadmeadows.

CMF HQ 7th LH Bde, 17th LH Regt, 19th LH Regt, 20th LH Regt, 29th LH Regt (less C Sqn)
 21st Eng (Sig Tp), 30th Coy AASC, 30th LH Fd Amb
 7th Fd Arty Bde, 19th Bty AFA, 20th Bty AFA, 21st Bty AFA, Amn Col
 46th (Hvy) Bty AFA, Amn Col
 26th Eng (Sig Coy)
 HQ 13th Inf Bde, 48th Inf Bn, 49th Inf Bn, 51st Inf Bn, 52nd Inf Bn
 HQ 18th Inf Bde, 71st Inf Bn, 73rd Inf Bn
 14th Coy AASC, 16th Coy AASC, 18th Coy AASC
 17th Fd Amb, 18th Fd Amb

Other Army units in Victoria would also concentrate at Broadmeadows and be ready to join units from other states as part of the Field Army.

CMF HQ 5th LH Bde, 13th LH Regt, 15, LH Regt, 16 LH Regt,
 5th Bty RAFA, Amn Col
 19th Eng (Sig Tp), 28th Coy AASC, 28th LH Fd Amb
 8th Fd Arty Bde, 22nd Bty AFA, 23rd Bty AFA, 25th Bty AFA,
 31st Bty AFA, Amn Col
 7th Eng
 HQ 16th Inf Bde, 55th Inf Bn, 56th Inf Bn, 63rd Inf Bn, 64th Inf Bn
 HQ 17th Inf Bde, 58th Inf Bn, 60th Inf Bn, 66th Inf Bn, 67th Inf Bn
 13th Coy AASC, three AASC companies to be formed
 14th Fd Amb, 16th Fd Amb

Units at Annual Peace Establishment

From 1 July 1914 the units to be maintained for the second half of 1914 and their Peace Establishments for that year had been the subject of a series of Military

Orders.⁴ For the Victorian battalions they were to have HQ, MG Section and either six or eight companies. The Annual Training Establishment for 51st Inf Bn was low with only 31 officers and 420 men (31/420) and it was similar for 52nd Inf Bn (31/500) as they had recently split to form the two battalions. The Annual Establishments for 55th Inf Bn (39/1000) and 70th Inf Bn (39/1000) were high as they were scheduled to be split later in the year to form the new 54th Inf Bn and 69th Inf Bn. Around these prescribed Annual Training Establishments, the actual enrolments in each unit varied and one of the first tasks for unit COs on receiving orders for the First Stage of Mobilisation was to try to increase recruiting to reach their designated establishment.

Reserves from Rifle Clubs

The Army supported rifle clubs around Australia on the basis that their members would be available as a reserve force and when mobilised they would be used to bring all units up to their War Establishment. For an infantry battalion in 1914 this was 39/985. Appendix C (iii) (a) of the Mobilization Orders lists the number of rifle club members to be allocated to each unit, from each club, to bring the unit up to its war establishment. For example, 66th Inf Bn had an Annual Establishment of 670, so needed 315 rifle club members. The appendix listed the number of members needed from the Castlemaine, Chewton, Taradale, Malmsbury, Lancefield, Maldon, Dunolly, Mia Mia, East Metcalfe, Bealiba, Gisborne and Donald Rifle Clubs. Some of the 'non-specialized' service units such as AASC companies were to have up to 70% of their men from this source, while the 'specialized' units such as artillery and engineers had none. The 299 rifle clubs around Victoria are listed as having 13,397 members, with 7,412 of them required to bring all units up to their War Establishments on mobilization. Rifle club members would make up 26% of the light horse units, 33% of the infantry and 65% of the AASC and AAMC units after mobilization.

Officers and Specialists

As well as the rifle club members other groups were needed to bring units up to strength on mobilisation. Officers on the Unattached List and retired officers in the Reserve of Officers were to be recalled to fill 109 specified appointments (Appendix B). A further 3,552 men with specific trades were to be called upon to enlist (Appendix C (ii)), with the largest groups being drivers and grooms (2,919),

4 MO 166/14 as modified by MO 537/14.

storemen (179) and shoeing smiths (122). Most of the drivers and grooms were to go to the ammunition columns to be formed for the artillery brigades. As units moved out to their concentration areas, they were to leave behind staff to man their depots to handle reinforcements and 56 officers and 365 men are detailed in Appendix D (1) to man the 31 depots. Appendix E (1) allocates an extra 53 medical officers from the AAMC Reserve.

Supplies, Equipment and Horses

A Base Supply Depot was to be established at Kensington, staffed by 12 officers, 100 men and 200 civilians and Appendix L (i) gives details of all supply items from bread, meat, vegetables, candles, forage and firewood, with the daily quantities of each for the 18,055 men and 4,787 horses in camp. For example, the mobilised forces would each day require 27,204 pounds (12.3 tonnes) of fresh meat, 6,807 ounces (193 kilograms) of cheese, 490 candles and 163,224 pounds (74 tonnes) of firewood. Advanced Supply Depots were to be established at Broadmeadows and Queenscliff to carry two days supplies for all troops in camp. The Appendices detailing the operation of the Ordnance Department were to be issued separately, so are not available. However, Appendix F (i) details the times available for the RMO of specified units to attend the Advanced Depots of Medical Supplies to be issued with their initial stock.

The Army relied on horses for movement and five Purchase Boards were to be established at Warragal, Ballarat, Geelong, Shepparton and Prahran to arrange purchase of 500 riding horses, 6,350 draught horses and 375 pack horses. Light horsemen could report with their own horses and these would also be purchased. A Remount Depot was to be established to hold 622 horses at Flemington Racecourse staffed by eight officers, 50 men and 200 civilians. A Base Veterinary Hospital was to be established at Ascot Vale Showground to hold 128 sick horses.

Rail Movements

Appendix M allocates troop trains to move all units to their concentration areas. Eighteen standard train configurations are defined with mixtures of passenger, horse and vehicle carriages and the set required for each unit is specified. The train timetables for each unit are detailed. As an example, two trains were required for 73rd Inf Bn. G Coy would join Train 'Y' leaving Warracknabeal at 0600 on Day Four, picking up at Minyip and reaching Murtoa at 0745. H Coy from Nhill, Dimboola and Horsham would have reached Murtoa by civilian trains and after picking up at B Coy at Stawell the train would reach Ararat at 0945. Picking up

Bn HQ, MG Sec and A Coy they would reach Broadmeadows at 1545 with 358 troops, 49 horses and 10 wagons. A second troop train ('Z') would leave Mildura at 0200 with F Coy, pick up E Coy at Donald and St Arnaud, then D Coy and C Coy at Dunolly and Maryborough to deliver the other 252 troops and eight horses to Broadmeadows at 1715.

A Wealth of Data

These District Mobilisation Orders are a treasure-trove of data for researchers who can overcome the desire to concentrate on the activities overseas of the AIF and look at the equally valid activities of the CMF in Australia. Here you can find the organisation of the units into formations and their likely role in the defence of Victoria. The strength of each unit and the home location (or at least their closest train station) of the men are detailed. The number and strength of each rifle club and their affiliation to the local militia unit is set out. The organization of the support units is demonstrated as are the quantities of supplies needed to feed the mobilised forces. Combined with the Military Orders that set out the authorized establishment for each unit (in this case MO 427/14) and the District Defence Plan (not yet located), a complete picture of the 1914 Army in Victoria can be drawn. A similar set of documents existed for each military district, but they are yet to be discovered in the Archive system.



Image 1: Buglers of the 6th or 7th Battalion,
Broadmeadows Camp, August 1914.

Source: AWM H18390.

Hedley Cullen's Portraits of the Loveday Internment Camp Garrison

Paul Skrebels

South Australians of my vintage may be familiar with the name of stage and screen actor Hedley Cullen. If not, they will probably remember his television persona, *Deadly Earnest*, host of late-night horror movies from around 1966 to 1972. Hedley Keith Cullen was born on 20 July 1915 and followed in his father's footsteps by becoming a professional photographer, working for Metro Studios Ltd, Adelaide, when he was mobilised for military service in December 1941. Categorised as a Class II (later classified as B2) enlistment owing to short-sightedness, he served initially as a signaller in the 4th Military District Area Signals unit. By mid-1942 he was on attached duty with the 25th Garrison Battalion, the main guard unit at the Loveday Internment Camp, near Barmera in South Australia's Riverland district. By February 1943 he was transferred permanently to that battalion, which eventually re-amalgamated with its fellow unit as 25th/33rd Garrison Battalion, as part of what became known formally as the Loveday Internment Group. In May 1944 he reached the rank of lance sergeant, serving until the end of the war and his discharge in January 1946.

Loveday Camp was ordered set up in July 1940 near Barmera, and would eventually become the largest civilian internee camp in Australia. Initially it encompassed Camps 9 and 10 to take in so-called 'enemy aliens', although at various times it also held Italian, German and Japanese POWs. With the entry of Japan into the war extra sites were established, mainly in the form of Camps 14A to 14D, so that Loveday was not one camp so much as a complex prison infrastructure. As such it needed quite a large contingent of both guards to secure it and supporting services to make it run efficiently. Therefore, as will be seen, members of the Australian Military Forces stationed there belonged not only to the garrison battalions, but also to various other organisations.

Not surprisingly, given his pre-war profession, Cullen took photos of the camp and its inmates, some of which at the time of writing may be viewed on the 'Loveday Lives' website.¹ But he also embarked on a photographic record of members of the garrison, and these images, as far as I am aware, have not appeared in the public domain before. The circumstances of their discovery were quite accidental. After his death in November 1994, elements of Cullen's estate were auctioned off. Much of it consisted of a collection of indigenous artefacts, but it included assorted boxes of miscellaneous items, one of which I acquired for a very

1 <https://lovedaylives.com/gallery/hedley-cullen/>

modest sum. Subsequent closer inspection of the contents revealed a packet of glass negatives, some of them clearly dating from his father's era, but the rest made up of portraits of individuals and groups belonging to the Loveday Internment Group. There turned out to be 35 individual plates in the set, all stored in ones and twos inside the distinctive brown YMCA/Australian Comforts Fund envelopes of the Second World War period. Each envelope had at least a name pencilled on the front, often with a rank, and in a couple of cases a small amount of other detail.

The overall condition of each negative was relatively sound, albeit with the emulsion of a few in danger of peeling off. In order to preserve the images as they stood, and keen to get a better look at their subject matter, I had contact prints made by a professional photographer. The results vary in the quality of their lighting, composition and preservation, but I include here some of the more interesting images. I have added captions containing as much information as I could ascertain from the pencilled descriptions combined with a small measure of cross-referencing and research, but I am well aware that there is plenty of scope for additional work to be done on each subject. Nevertheless, I am sure that they will prove of interest, if only for the fact that they are fresh on the scene and help throw further light on a fascinating aspect of South Australian history.



Image 1: Hedley Cullen's photo ID attached to his attestation form in 1941. It shows his service number and the unit colour patch for the 4th MD Area Signals: a white over light blue rectangle within a purple hexagon on a yellow square.

Source: NAA B884, S47517.



Image 2: The original pencilled description reads, 'VE Day – Members since the commencement of camps.' Whether this is all of those who lasted the distance from 1941 to 1945 or just a selection, isn't specified, nor are their names. They represent a mix of units, not just the Garrison Battalions, and all except one or two are wearing First World War campaign ribbons.



Image 3: The original pencilled caption is simply 'Canteen Group 1945', a reminder that a garrison needs to be properly fed (and watered!). General Blamey, C-in-C of the Australian Military Forces, had a particular interest in maintaining a well-run and staffed Defence Canteens Service.



Image 4: Captioned just 'Lennane', this is a delightful view of S531 Lance-Sergeant Harold Lennane at work. A member of the garrison battalion and a First World War 10th Battalion veteran (regimental number 5144), he was obviously proficient at getting the best out of kids and animals!



Image 5: S481 Captain Edwin Louis Roesler wears the 25th Garrison Battalion colour patch of a green oval within a black circle, with a miniature First World War 4th Division HQ patch – a white circle within a black circle – above. He ended the First War in the Australian Provost Corps after service with 27th and 50th battalions (reg't'l no. 1770).



Image 6: Labelled cryptically as 'Salvo', this anonymous portrait is worth including despite the condition of the emulsion. It demonstrates clearly how the Salvation Army transitioned into khaki to continue its mission in time of war.



Image 7: Sapper Wilson (specific details unknown), wearing the patch of Royal Australian Engineers Line of Communication Units, which covered a multitude of organisations carrying out all manner of duties. Above it he sports a miniature First World War 1st Division infantry patch (of the 10th Battalion?) with its tell-tale brass 'A' denoting service on Gallipoli.

Image 8: Labelled 'Sgt Skinner', this portrait shows a man wearing the ribbon of the Military Medal and a diamond-shaped First World War miniature patch. He is therefore almost certainly Henry Matthew Skinner, who as 4210 Corporal Skinner won the MM in June 1918 serving with 27th Battalion. Curiously, no record of his Second World War service seems to exist, although his main colour patch suggests a posting to either the Canteens Service or an Employment Company.



Image 9: S313 Sergeant John Albert Dodgson who served as 3414 in the 9th Light Horse.



Image 10: Sergeant Fletcher,
details unknown.



Image 11: Corporal Harris,
details unknown.



Image 12: S1659 Sergeant Harry Brand, who served as 6218 in the 27th Battalion.

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Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs, Nominal Rolls, <https://nominal-rolls.dva.gov.au/home>

Keith Glyde, *Distinguishing Colour Patches of the Australian Military Forces 1915-1951*, self-published, Claremont, Tasmania, 1999.

'Loveday Lives,' <https://lovedaylives.com/>

National Archives of Australia, Defence and War Service Records, <https://www.naa.gov.au/explore-collection/defence-and-war-service-records>

The Secret of the Battle of the Sunda Strait

Rohan Goyne

The Battle of Sunda Strait is remembered for the loss of the allied cruisers USS *Houston* and HMAS *Perth* in a confused night action off the island of Java on 28 February 1942.

A much lesser-known element from the Japanese story of the battle is the loss of a secret ship, the *Shinshu Maru*, which was one of several Japanese Imperial Navy vessels lost to friendly fire during the confused night action. The *Shinshu Maru* was the prototype of the modern amphibious assault ship/carrier equivalent to the HMS *Fearless* which saw service four decades later in the 1982 Falklands War.

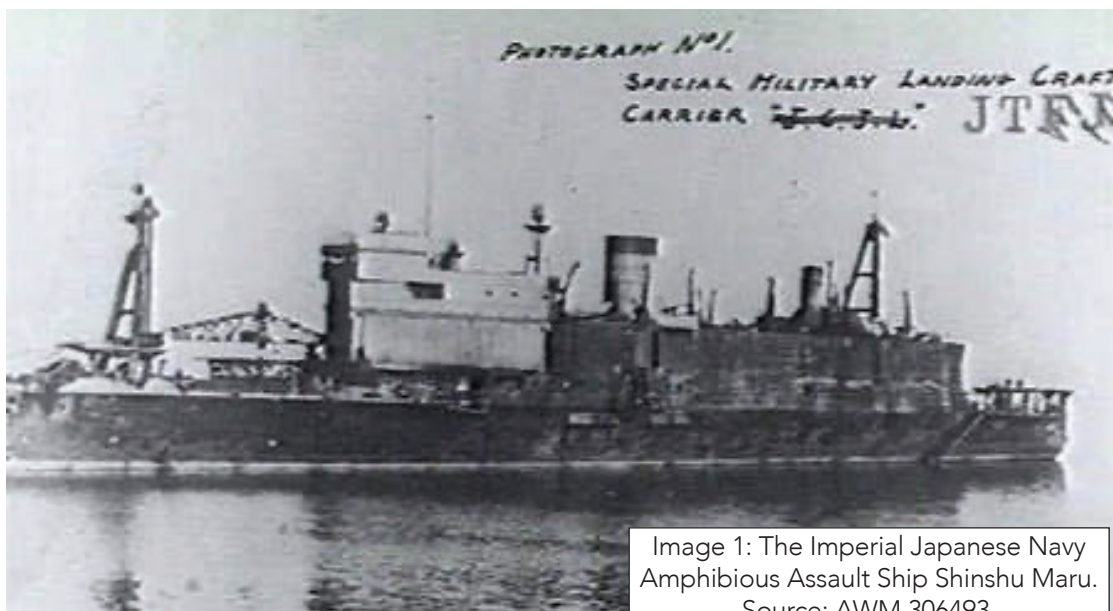


Image 1: The Imperial Japanese Navy Amphibious Assault Ship *Shinshu Maru*.
Source: AWM 306493.

Shinshu Maru

The *Shinshu Maru* was built by Harima SB Co in Harima in 1934-1935, displaced 12,000 tonnes, was 492 feet in length and was powered by two shaft geared turbines for a top speed of 19 knots. Armed with 5 x 75 mm anti-aircraft guns, the *Shinshu Maru*'s internal structure included a through-deck for carrying 20 full laden landing craft which could be discharged two at a time through stern doors. Tanks and other heavy cargo could be taken aboard through loading ports located amidships.¹

¹ H Jentschura, D Jung, and P Mickel, *Warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy 1939-45*, Arms and Armour Press, London, 1977, p. 235.

The identity of the ship was protected by the Japanese by the use of false names such as Fuso Maru whilst on deployment.

Amphibious Operations 1935-1942

The *Shinshu Maru* first saw service in Japanese amphibious operations in the Second Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese conducted amphibious operations on many of China's navigable rivers such as the Yangtze River during that war. In 1937 the *Shinshu Maru* was used with other assets to relocate the Japanese 13th Division from Shanghai further upstream on the Yangtze River. By doing so they bypassed Chinese defensive lines which surrounded the city and contained the Japanese landing force for the previous two months.² This move changed the fate of the Chinese Army entrenched around Shanghai.

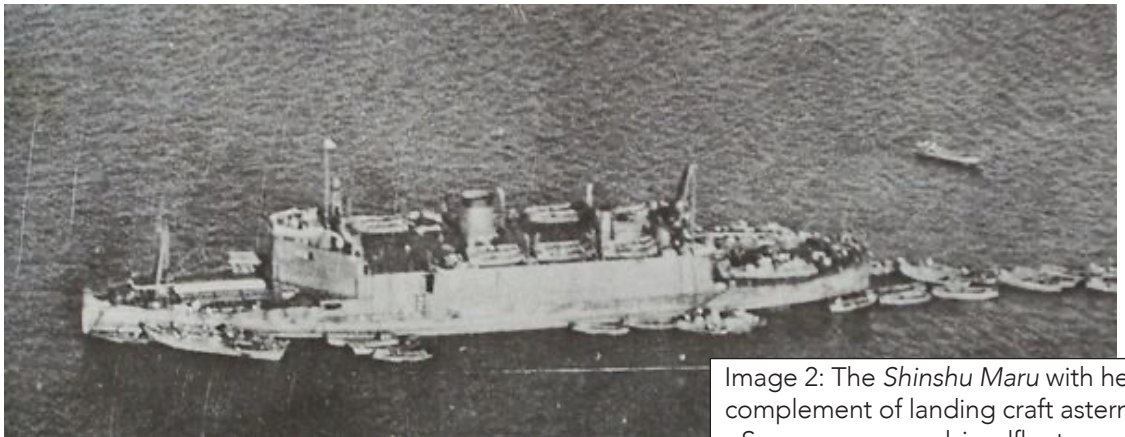


Image 2: The *Shinshu Maru* with her complement of landing craft astern.
Source: www.combinedfleet.com

On 27 February 1942, the *Shinshu Maru*, together with 32 other transports, was anchored on the Western shore of Bantam Bay off the island of Java. At around 2215hrs, USS *Houston* and HMAS *Perth* accidentally encountered the troop transports and their escorting destroyers. At 2300hrs, the Japanese Heavy cruisers *Mogami* and *Mikuma* with their escorting destroyers entered the Sunda Strait. The *Mogami*, on sighting the USS *Houston*, immediately launched six long lance torpedoes at the US vessel. The torpedoes passed under the *Houston* but exploded under several of the transports, including the *Shinshu Maru* in Bantam Bay. The *Shinshu Maru* sunk in shallow water with Lieutenant General Hitoshi Imamura and his 16th Army headquarters aboard. Hitoshi abandoned the ship and was rescued by a small boat and taken to shore on Java.³

The damage to the *Shinshu Maru* was not total, with the ship re-floated later and sent for repairs at Singapore.

2 T Lovering, *Amphibious Assault, Manoeuvre from the Sea*, Seafarer Books, Suffolk, 2007, p. 54-55.

3 www.combinedfleet.com. Accessed 26 August 2021.

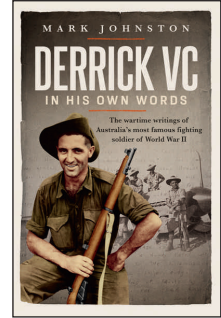
Reviews

Derrick VC in His Own Words

Edited by Mark Johnston

NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2021

Paperback, \$39.99



Tom ‘Diver’ Derrick was, for a period during and after the Second World War, probably Australia’s best-known holder of the Victoria Cross to that point, and possibly one the country’s most recognisable soldiers. Born into a working-class family in Adelaide, he enlisted in the 2/48th Battalion AIF in 1940 while employed as a fruit picker in the Riverland. He fought in all the battalion’s campaigns in North Africa and the Pacific, making his way up from private to NCO to lieutenant in the process. He was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal for gallantry at the first Battle of Alamein in July 1942, and the VC for his conduct in the fighting for Sattelberg, New Guinea, in November 1943. His death from wounds received in action on Tarakan in May 1945, leaving behind a young widow, Beryl, lent a tragic element to the story and helped enhance his legendary status within the popular culture of the era.

Throughout his time of service Derrick kept a series of diaries, the originals of which were apparently destroyed by Beryl’s last partner following her death in 2005. Luckily the Australian War Memorial had made copies of most of the diaries in the 1980s, and it is these copies that Mark Johnston has transcribed, edited and annotated to create *Derrick VC in His Own Words*. The diary entries are for the most part brief and matter-of-fact, providing a fairly basic form of chronicle of an ordinary soldier and his unit at war. ‘Ordinary’, because Derrick, to his credit, was not one to big-note himself, although at times he does seem keen to play up to the stereotypical Digger-as-larrikin image. Most entries are followed by meticulous notes, in which the editor glosses terms potentially unfamiliar to the reader, provides biographical or other contextual information based on the names, places and events mentioned in Derrick’s entries, and fills in missing information or endeavours to clarify the original text. Interestingly, they also point out disparities between what actually appears in the diaries and Murray Farquhar’s sometimes wayward references to and quotations from the entries in his 1982 biography of Derrick.

While here and there Derrick had the opportunity to expound on his experiences in more detail, it has to be admitted that the general terseness of most of the entries, coupled with his obvious lack of extensive formal education, do not make for especially riveting reading. What the book lacks in literary merit, however,

is offset by its value as a first-hand source of information about the war and the people caught up in it, and all through the eyes of a narrator who, whether he would have admitted it or not, became a paragon of the Australian fighting man. Above all, Derrick VC in *His Own Words* allows us – in the words of an officer whose Second World War writings lie towards the opposite end of the literary spectrum – to ‘see something of the real hero inside, ... the ordinary man of flesh and blood’ (Neil McCallum, *Journey with a Pistol*, Gollancz, London, 1959, p.142).

Paul Skrebels

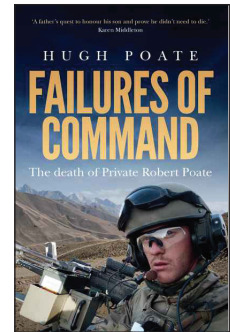
Failures of Command: The Death of Private Robert Poate

Hugh Poate

UNSW Press, Sydney, 2021

Paperback, \$34.99

Private Robert Poate, along with Lance Corporal Rick Milosevic and Sapper James Martin, was killed in Afghanistan on 29 August 2012 by a member of the Afghan National Army. The incident – a ‘green on blue’ – was investigated by the Army and reported. For the family, particularly after discussions with fellow soldiers that disputed the report, the outcome was unsatisfactory. For Hugh Poate the heavily redacted copy of the report that he received was unsatisfactory and was the beginning of an investigation that resulted in a civil inquiry fraught with difficulty, obfuscation and denial.



Reading *Failures of Command* and the plight of the Poate family was reminiscent of that encountered by the Larsson's in 1970 at the death of their son in Vietnam. A National Service rifleman, Stanley Larsson was killed by an enemy mine. The family laid blame at the Army's decision to send a man with very poor eyesight into the field. When the family failed to get an appropriate response, they approached their local member of parliament who raised the matter in the House of Representatives. In both instances the Army did not provide information that the families wanted to satisfy their need to grieve.

Throughout *Failures of Command* the reader senses a real anger at the military for attempting to cover-up flaws in its methodology and, for Hugh Poate, a lack of professionalism in senior officers. The pain of suffering is immense and is exaggerated by the responses provided to the Poate family by the ADF. The astonishment at the promotion and career development allowed to the officers in command at the time is questioned by the author. He sees the actions of the officers at the time and after, were self-serving and formulated to give the least embarrassment to the military and those involved.

At times the level of detail is unnecessary resulting in a microhistory that very long. However, Hugh Poate remains consistently supports his argument against the Army and the officers involved in the proceedings. This is a book that reflects poorly on the ADF, questions the reasons why Australia was in Afghanistan and gives a personal insight into the loss of a son in war.

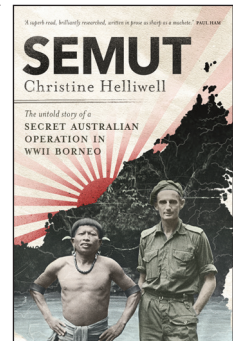
Justin Chadwick

SEMUT: The Untold story of a secret Australian operation in WWII Borneo

Christine Helliwell

Michael Joseph, Melbourne, 2021

Paperback, \$34.99



This is possibly the most honest war history I have read. The adjective ‘untold’ is too frequently used by shock Jocks whose stock in trade is the fomenting of outrage, hence the ludicrous assertion I have heard that Nancy Wake’s story is ‘untold’. Come now. However, it appears that this may well be the case, with the participants in the Semut operations, popularly known as Z Special Unit, sworn to secrecy by the Official Secrets Act keeping operatives silent for 30 years and Army reports ignoring the part played by the local indigenous people.

Christine Helliwell is currently Emeritus Professor at the Australian National University in Canberra. When she puts on her anthropologist hat her insights into the customs and social structure of the Dayak people of Borneo, she is inspiring. She has obviously developed a great affection for these people. Non-Europeans are paid the courtesy of being named, properly. Too often Asian players in history books are treated like a homogenous footnote.

There were three purposes for the Semut operation. Firstly, to smooth the way for the White Rajah of Borneo, the Brooke family, to seamlessly slide back into position after the war. Secondly, to be on location to keep an eye on POW camps in Borneo, one of course being Sandakan. The third reason was to harass the Japanese after the Allies landed on the coast of Borneo, anticipating, accurately, that the Japanese would retreat inland.

Some well-chosen operatives, people who either knew the area or spoke Malay or both, were inserted into the jungle to make contact with the Dayaks and get as much help as they could from them.

European operatives recalled many years later what a great experience being welcomed into Dayak longhouses was and were stunningly impressed with Dayak ability to move quickly and silently through dense, dark jungle where our

lads wearing their size 10 boots couldn't even see the path.

This is where the moral dilemma starts. When does the end justify the means? The Dayaks were headhunters, a custom that is repugnant to us. They were encouraged to collect as many Japanese heads as possible, and were paid per head. They frequently augmented the pile of Japanese heads with those of local Chinese storekeepers, Malays and a few Sikhs.

The descriptions of ambushes laid for the Japanese, quietly in the jungle, with heads being removed before the Europeans had time to reload their weapons, are jawdropping. I am not surprised the Japanese were scared witless of the Dayaks. Some poor young Mazayuki, barely out of high school, more at home in Tokyo suddenly finds himself in a jungle on the Equator with a silent headhunter behind every bush.,

However, there are two names that float through the narrative to keep the reader from feeling too sorry for the Japanese, Sandakan and Vyner Brooke. There was dissention between the commanding officers of the Semut groups, the usual rank pulling, the normal old boy's network, RAAF 'wanton destruction of civilian bazaars', senior officers delaying liberation of POW camps until they could organise a photo opportunity for themselves. It doesn't paint a very honorable picture of war.

The copy I have of Semut to review is marked 'uncorrected advance proof' and states inside that the final published book could be quite different as there will be a second book to cover other aspects of the operations. My advance proof has excellent maps which I recommend you photocopy enlarge and get a selection of three different coloured note pins and stick them in the map to follow the travels of each Semut group. I doubt whether too many people have an intimate knowledge of Borneo and without a good map the reader could get lost in the jungle.

This is Helliwell's first book for general readership and I hope all her non-academic readers enjoy this book as much as I did.

Gail Gunn

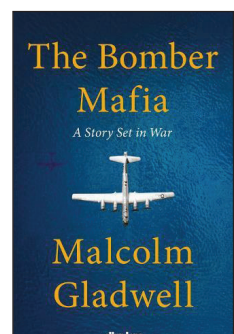
The Bomber Mafia: A Story Set in War

Malcolm Gladwell

Allen Lane, London, 2021

Paperback, \$32.99

Strategic bombing has been the focus of theorists, historians, moralists and philosophers since its widespread use during the Second World War. Malcolm Gladwell, better known for his writing on popular culture in books such as *The Tipping Point* and



Blink. In *The Bomber Mafia: A Story Set in War*, Gladwell writes on a subject that has interested him for years. In his conversational style, Gladwell provides a summary of the people and events surrounding the US efforts to achieve precision bombing. He provides insights into the development of the Norden bombsight, the role of senior officers, such as Curtis Le May, and importance of technology to reach distant targets.

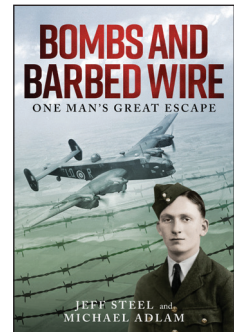
Gladwell clearly enjoys his subject and conveys this with ease throughout. However, the irrelevant asides detract from the story as does the lack of analysis of the reasons and outcomes. So too the flippant dismissal of the British reasons for their approach to bombing. The paucity of proper referencing leaves questions on sources for this reader.

While this is a very US-centric book, Gladwell's writing is easy to read and gives readers a (brief) American perspective of the strategic bombing campaign carried out during the Second World War.

Justin Chadwick

Bombs And Barbed Wire

Jeff Steel and Michael Adlam
Big Sky Publishing, Newport, 2021
Paperback, \$ 29.99



Bombs And Barbed Wire should be mandatory for all school children as it illustrates a slice of history perhaps long forgotten. This book describes the activities of a Sergeant Ambrose Adlam in his service during World War 2 and what he and others suffered at the hands of the Germans. The first few chapters detail his first several months in the air force and his career path, ending with his becoming a flight engineer. The authors describe Adlam's first bombing missions and how he felt knowing that the cost resulted in the possibility of a fiery death. The loss of crews, especially in the early part of the war, must have played heavily on the minds of the crews. The loss of so many of his friends would have stayed with him for almost all his life. This book provides a rare insight into the early days of Bomber Command through the eyes of someone who experienced the war from its early days. He spoke of the training, the boredom and the restrictions with rations, clothing and the results of German bombing on London.

The authors have provided detailed explanations of the bombing missions and the process that the bombers took leaving their RAF bases, the flight over to German held territory and the return to England. The entire journey would have been terrifying to say the least, but the crews were determined and went on mission

after mission. His squadron was eventually trained in the pathfinder role which in some respects was perhaps a greater danger to life and limb. His luck eventually ran out when his bomber was hit and he and the crew had to bail out over enemy territory. He was captured and eventually taken to a POW camp. His time in the camp led to helping to support the digging of escape tunnels and his role in that task. I found the chapters on his capture and the prison life, which are described in detail, most interesting.

The authors have written a story with so much detail on the escape and the digging of the tunnels that it gives a sense that you were there with the prisoners. The book is easy to read as each chapter flows well into each other without being too complicated. I found the story riveting to say the least with the escape of many of the prisoners involved in a mass breakout and the eventual capture of many prisoners. Their efforts were later immortalized in the film *The Great Escape*. As always not everything went to plan and the book explains the events surrounding the murder of many prisoners.

Jeff Steel and Michael Adlam should be congratulated on providing a credible and interesting story on one man's involvement as a bomber crew member in World War 2. I would recommend this book to anyone who wants to read a great story. All in all, a great read.

Michael English

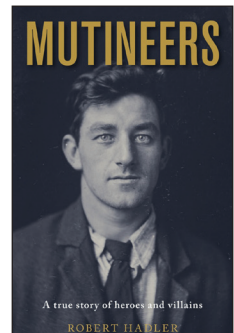
Mutineers: A True Story of Heroes and Villians

Robert Hadler

Wilkinson Publishing, Melbourne, 2021

Paperback, \$29.99

This is a very interesting account of five young sailors, two of whom were Rudd brothers, who in 1919, after five years at war, returning to Australia on HMAS *Australia*, got drunk in Fremantle and turned Bolshie when they got back to the ship. Fancy, sailors getting drunk. The captain treated the matter with common sense, but the ego of the Commodore was bruised. Commodore Dumaresq was described as a small man, didn't smoke or drink, with unrelenting principles. He dug his toes in and pursued the matter all the way to a court martial with the result the five sailors spent time in Goulburn Gaol. With an election looming the Labor Party got involved and stirred up public support. Billy Hughes ordered they be released before the election. Dumaresq held his breath till he turned blue and Billy Hughes had to do some serious sucking up to him. There follows the argument of who makes decisions for Australian citizens, the elected parliament of the country



or the British Admiralty who had borrowed HMAS *Australia* for the duration of the war?

The only thing that annoyed me about this book was the author's device of putting the chief villain/hero, Dalmorton Rudd, in conversation with a friend telling him of his ordeal. The narrative would jump between Dal in his dinghy with his mate Morrie fishing off Woy Woy to pages, even chapters, of well researched material. The reader becomes totally engrossed in the emerging story, when suddenly it is back to Dal in the dinghy with Morrie. So disruptive.

The lives of the five men after their release is sufficiently well told, sometimes with a little irrelevant padding. Lenny Rudd joined the army in World War Two and continued the practice of going AWOL, drinking and getting docked three days' pay. Dal Rudd had assault charges in the 1930s and joined an American Small Boats service in New Guinea. After the war he was perhaps slightly bigamist. Pitta Thompson ended up in Changi. Bill McIntosh became a small time criminal. Ken Paterson hanged himself. Were their lives ruined by the mutiny charge or were they always flawed characters?

There is a wonderful Yiddish word *chutzpah*, the explanation for which was once given as 'a man murders both parents then throws himself on the mercy of the court because he is an orphan'. Dal Rudd had *chutzpah*. In his twilight years he applied to the Navy for a pension. Thank God for badly kept naval records. They knew he had a DSM but had forgotten about the mutiny. He got the pension. In later years Dalmorton Rudd's name was put up as a naval man who should get a VC because the Navy never got their quota, along with the usual other suspects like Simpson and his donkey.

You will have to read the book to fill in the interesting details.

Gail Gunn

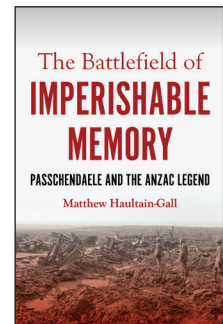
The Battlefield of Imperishable Memory: Passchendaele and the Anzac Legend

Matthew Haultain-Gall

Monash University Publishing, Clayton, 2021

Paperback \$34.95

Are the exploits of the Australian Imperial Force in Belgian Flanders during the second half of 1917 as well known in Australia as they ought to be? Think Third Ypres (for example, Menin Road, Polygon Wood, Broodseinde, Poelcappelle and the first and second battles of Passchendaele). All five of the AIF infantry divisions were engaged in this campaign (just prior to the formation of the Australian Corps on 1 November 1917),



spending more time in the front line than they did in any other year of the war. So what might have gone wrong?

The Battlefield of Imperishable Memory: Passchendaele and the Anzac Legend shows that relatively few efforts have been made, in the century since the Australians failed to seize Passchendaele, to ensure that these battles do not drift to the margins of the Anzac legend. Matthew Haultain-Gall investigates the influences on the modern national narrative of Anzac 'achievement' which grew out of the presentation of a martial tradition, representing a saga or epic, such as the 'test' – Gallipoli (the baptism of fire for our nation), the 'ordeal' – the Western Front (the sacrifices of 1916 - early 1917), the 'triumph' – the 100 Days of 1918 (with the Anzacs represented as the 'spearhead' of the campaign that ended the war). Haultain-Gall asserts that much of this Anzac narrative, the symbolism and memorialisation (mythologising? hyperbole?) of Australians in the First World War, was significantly influenced by Charles Bean in his reporting, the official history, and the development of the Australian War Memorial (AWM) exhibitions.

Bean was not fully present for this part of the war because he was engaged in other official projects, such as editing the Anzac Book, establishing the Australian War Records Section and collecting AIF documentation in London. When he did focus his attention on the battles of Third Ypres, Haultain-Gall asserts that Bean's opinion was negatively influenced by the:

- greatly increased role of technology in battle (the massive mines at Messines and the enormous amount of artillery employed at Menin Road, Polygon Wood and Broodseinde, the increasing use of tanks);
- weather, appalling conditions and less than inspiring outcomes (failure at Poelcappelle and First Passchendaele);
- presence of German pillboxes in the waterlogged terrain which presented a new and terrible threat (the brutal and ferocious fighting around these pillboxes was confronting and did not fit Bean's image of the chivalrous Anzac warrior either);
- involvement of others (Ypres was a key site of memory for the entire British Empire by the end of the war).

Consequently, like the broader historiography, this campaign is given far less space in his correspondence and the official history than Gallipoli and 1918. Haultain-Gall also examines Bean's influence in how the Belgian battlefields were represented after the war, in the temporary exhibitions in Melbourne and Sydney held by the AWM in the 1920's.

In other chapters the author examines how this campaign continued to fade from our collective memory compared with the battles at Villers-Bretonneux and Amiens, where the Australians who 'saved' Amiens, were celebrated, and are remembered, and had an intimate association with the AIF's victories in France in 1918.

Haultain-Gall identifies an irony in that some of the official photographs taken during these Belgian battles are among the most recognisable images of

the First World War, appearing in countless books, articles, and exhibitions, out of all proportion to the commemoration, remembrance, and historiography of the campaign. An irony brought home to me this year (as I read this book) when a Ken Burns documentary on Ernest Hemingway used a Frank Hurley photograph as part of the depiction of Hemingway's experiences, as part of the US Army, on the Italian front in 1918. Taken on 29 October 1917 at Chateau Wood on the Menin Road near Ypres, the photograph shows members of the 110th Howitzer Battery, 10th Australian Field Artillery Brigade, crossing duckboards in the shattered landscape.

Haultain-Gall identifies a shift from 'living memory' to 'cultural memory', after the Second World War, and an Anzac revival from the mid 1970's that refreshed the claim that Australia's involvement in the First World War had defined the nation and continued to extol the preferred qualities of sacrifice, mateship, classlessness, and larrikinism – less aggressive, all-conquering warriors, more young victims of war, sacrificed on the altar of British leadership incompetence.

The approach of the centenary of the war increased engagement with Anzac and led to a proliferation of books, blogs, local exhibitions, and commemorations. By exploring the official and unofficial acts of commemoration and remembrance in Belgium, from the Australian bicentenary to the centenary of the war, Haultain-Gall provides valuable insights into the involvement of politicians, official and non-official agents, and their motivations, as they took a more proactive approach in Anzac commemoration (without raising the profile of the Third Ypres campaign).

The author identifies the Ypres Salient as a truly multinational site of memory studded with American, Belgian, British, Canadian, French, German, Indian, Irish and New Zealand memorials. He also notes there is still no 'corner of Australia' in Belgium, like Villers-Bretonneux claims to be in France.

Haultain-Gall concludes that the exploits of Australian troops in this campaign ought to be better known. But they were too costly and too tragic to warrant consistent commemoration for those involved and the Salient too cluttered for the propagation of an Anzac-centric narrative. There is a gap to be filled.

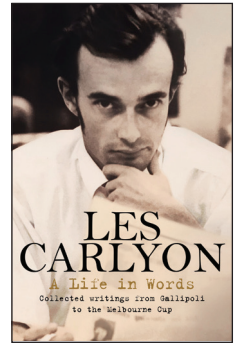
The Battlefield of Imperishable Memory explores an important discussion with very interesting insights into the variety of influences and actions that have shaped our collective memory of this conflict, from 1917 to the current day. An important addition to the bookshelf for anyone interested in what has influenced the development and commemoration of the Anzac legend over the last century.

Dennis Mulroney

*Les Carlyon: A Life in Words**Collected Writings from Gallipoli to the Melbourne Cup*

Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2021

Hardback, \$39.99



Many people will be aware of the contribution that Les Carlyon made to journalism, history and culture in Australia. This collection of his writing is based on themes of history, politics, sport, business, culture and conflict. Some are brief, but rightly so, while others are more substantial. What they all have in common, though, are Carlyon's insight into the subject. His eye for detail and nuance, at times poetical, but always readable. The chapter on war – the most relevant for this audience – includes work on Emperor Hirohito's defence, Eisenhower's leadership during the Normandy invasion, the Hiroshima bombing and Gallipoli. The latter are long pieces that appear to tie into his 2001 book on the subject.

On other topics Carlyon provides an, at times, acerbic wit. His description of the dismissal of the Whitlam government is thoroughly entertaining, as his piece on Paul Keating's use of language.

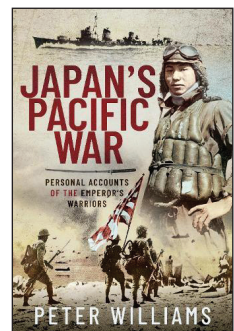
The wide-ranging nature of these pieces reflects the erudition of Carlyon and his skill as a writer, commentator and observer. As a collection *Les Carlyon: A Life in Words* provides an interesting glimpse into Australian history and events by one of Australia's leading writers.

Justin Chadwick*Japan's Pacific War: Personal Accounts of the Emperor's Warriors*

Peter Williams

Pen & Sword, Barnsley, 2021

Hardback, \$75.00



I highly recommend the latest book by Dr Peter Williams, *Japan's Pacific War: Personal Accounts of the Emperor's Warriors*. It is a collection of personal accounts from over 100 former Japanese soldiers, sailors and airmen recorded by the author when he lived in Japan in the 1980s. It has not been published until now to respect the wishes of some interviewees.

Williams's previous publications include: *The Battle of Anzac Ridge 25 April 1915* (2007); *Kokoda for Dummies* (2012); and *The Kokoda Campaign 1942: Myth and Reality* (2012).

Colonel Marcus Fielding commented in his review of this book that the Japanese government's official history of what we call World War II in the Pacific was not commenced until 1955 and was significantly disadvantaged by the deliberate destruction of government records prior to the Allied occupation of Japan. *Japan's Pacific War* improves our understanding of the 'enemy' and complements Steven Bullard's translation of the Japanese official history [*Japanese Army operations in the South Pacific Area: New Britain and Papua Campaigns, 1942-1943* (2007)].

Japan's Pacific War provides insights into the tactical and personal dimensions of the fighting from Japanese combatants and prisoners-of-war. Their candid views are often provocative and surprising, with admissions of brutality, the killing of prisoners and cannibalism. Stark descriptions of appalling conditions and bitter fighting blend with recollections of family life and close co-operation with locals in occupied territories. The Japanese soldiers' willingness and enthusiasm to give their lives for the Emperor, and their drive to die honourably, contrast starkly with the Allies' desire to minimise casualties.

Their views on the prowess of their enemy differ – air ace Kazuo Tsunoda believed the Australians were 'worthy' foes; others felt that the Allies' judicious use of artillery and airpower belied a lack of fighting spirit. Williams also usefully matches many Japanese accounts of encounters with corresponding versions from the official Australian records.

The last two chapters record how Japanese veterans after the war ended were stigmatised and marginalised by both the occupation forces and civilian Japanese. Many suffered from mental health issues, drank excessively or committed suicide. Many felt that they had been forced into the Pacific war by American trade policies preventing import of raw materials. Several saw their mission to be one of freeing east Asia from western colonialism. Some were ashamed of their actions in the war, while others remained unrepentant. 'I had no qualms fighting the Australians, just as I have killed without remorse any of the Emperor's enemies ...' states Takahiro Sato.

Japan's Pacific War includes one map, a number of black-and-white photographs and two appendices concerning Japanese air tactics and naval life. The book provides revealing insights into the mind of a formidable adversary. It is highly recommended to military historians as well as those interested in the cultural differences between the Eastern and Western attitude to war.

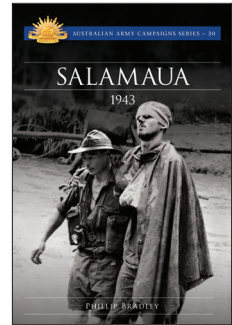
Nigel Webster

Salamaua 1943

Philip Bradley

Big Sky Publishing, Newport, 2021

Paperback, \$19.99



At the conclusion of the Kokoda campaign in January 1943 and before operations at Lae in September 1943, Australian forces fought an intense, difficult action for the ridges near Salamaua. What began as a minor, platoon-sized diversionary operation soon expanded to a brigade commitment involving an amphibious landing of US troops. The Japanese, who wanted to hold desperately to hold Salamaua, defended their positions tenaciously. The campaign was a lesson in how to operate efficiently in difficult circumstances.

Philip Bradley, author of *On Shaggy Ridge* (2004), *To Salamaua* (2010) and most recently *D-Day New Guinea* (2019), has written an excellent narrative history of the Salamaua operation. He has clearly drawn from his previous writing on the subject and shows deft handling of events at all levels. Extensive use of maps ensure that the operations are easily understood, and the inclusion of contemporary colour photographs give the reader an idea of the difficulty of the terrain. As with the other books in the series, *Salamaua 1943* has brief biographies of important figures and information on equipment used during the campaign.

The latest in the Australian Army History Unit's 'Campaign Series', Bradley's *Salamaua 1943* is another excellent, concise, but thorough, addition to the series.

Justin Chadwick



Australians examine a captured Japanese mountain gun and flag, Salamaua 1943. Source: AWM O15839.

MHSA BRANCH OFFICE BEARERS

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

President	Ian Stagoll 165 Belconnen Way Hawker ACT 2614 ian.stagoll@gmail.com 02 6254 0199	2.00pm, last Thursday of the month, Jan to Nov Canberra Southern Cross Club, Jamison
Secretary/Treasurer	James Smith canberrabomber@gmail.com 0414 946 909	

QUEENSLAND

President	Neil Dearberg	2nd Saturday Jan, Mar
Vice President	Russell Paten	May, Jul, Sep and Nov
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President	Elizabeth Hobbs	7.30pm, 2nd Friday of each month, except Good Friday Army Museum of SA, Keswick Barracks, Anzac Highway, Keswick
Secretary	Paul Skrebels PO Box 247, Marden SA 5070 paulnray@bigpond.com	
Treasurer	John Spencer	

VICTORIA

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President	Steven Danaher	3rd Wednesday of every month, Officers' Mess, Army Museum of WA, Artillery Barracks, Burt St, Fremantle
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