Patron
LTGEN P.H. Leahy, AC (Retd)

President
Nigel Webster

Vice President
Russell Paten

Secretary
Vacant

Treasurer
Justin Chadwick

Membership Officer
Ian Curtis
members@mhsa.org.au

Councillors
Justin Chadwick
Terry Dinneen
Katrina Kittel
Russell Paten
Russell Linwood, ASM

Editor
Justin Chadwick
editor@mhsa.org.au
2a Alpha St
Kensington Park SA 5068

Society Website
www.mhsa.org.au

Webmaster
Duncan McConnell

SABRETACHE

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

JUNE 2023

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.

Constitution and Rules

The Constitution and Rules of the Society, dated 2021, are available on the website at www.mhsa.org.au.

Sabretache

The Federal Council is responsible for the publication of the Society journal, *Sabretache*, which is despatched to each member of the Society quarterly.

Membership subscription

The annual membership subscription, due on 1 July each year, is $40 plus branch subscription. Details of subscriptions and meetings are available from branch secretaries. Non-branch members should contact the Membership Officer.

Federal Council

PO Box 5030, Garran ACT 2605

Branch Secretaries

ACT: James Smith, c/o 165 Belconnen Way, Hawker ACT 2614
Queensland: Ian Curtis, PO Box 243, Maleny QLD 4552
South Australia: Peter Staker, 68 Reynell Road, Woodcroft SA 5162
Victoria: George Ward, PO Box 854, Croydon VIC 3136
Western Australia: Richard Farrar, 2a Zamia St, Mt Claremont WA 6010

Fellows of the Military Historical Society of Australia

Mr Tony Harris FMHSA	1992	SA
Mr Peter Shaw FMHSA	1992	WA
Mr Peter Epps FMHSA	2000	WA
Major Ian Barnes OAM RFD ED KStJ FMHSA (Decd)	2002	VIC
Brigadier A.R. 'Tan' Roberts FMHSA (Decd)	2002	ACT
Mr Pat Hall FMHSA	2008	WA
Mrs Rhonda Grande FMHSA	2008	WA
Major Paul Rosenzweig OAM JP FMHSA (Retd)	2009	SA
Mr Don Wright FMHSA	2011	QLD
Mr John Meyers FMHSA (Decd)	2018	QLD
Mr Anthony Staunton FMHSA	2018	QLD
Mr Colin Simpson FMHSA	2019	ACT
Dr Paul Skrebels FMHSA	2019	SA
Mr Wayne Gardiner OAM RFD FMHSA	2019	WA
Mr George Ward FMHSA	2021	VIC

Editorial

The release of the Strategic Defence Review in April indicated Australian strategic planning and the future of the ADF. Significant investment has been tabled with new capabilities and technologies over the five domains (land, sea, air, cyber and space). The publicly available document clearly lacks certain details, but it is evident that the focus has returned to the past. Much like the defence policies of the post-Federation and interwar periods, the strategy is based on naval activity. Like the Lyons government that endorsed the 1934 Hankey Report the current government has agreed to most of the recommendations of the strategic review that places emphasis on naval protection. Like the interwar policy decisions, the army takes on a coastal defence role. The concern with this focus is the repetition of policy that will reduce the army of its traditional capabilities and reliance on Reserves to fill any expanded force if major conflict arises. If timelines no longer allow slow mobilisation, the stripping of the army of assets will leave the country in a similar situation to 1939. This is something that we want to avoid.

Justin Chadwick

JUNE 2023

VOLUME LXIV — NUMBER 2 ISSN 0048 8933

CONTENTS

4 Flight Sergeant Stanley Black's Unknown Story to defend the village of Graignes
Geoff Tilley

10 Chasing a Star: The Evidence for Posthumous Issue of Italy Star and Recognition of Service for WX12891 Ronald 'Jimmy' Dean and VX42361 Douglas Smedley
Katrina Kittel

19 The Library of Victory: Geographical Handbook Series of the Naval Intelligence Division
Rohan Goyne

20 Dazzle Ships: Design and Dispute
Justin Chadwick

32 Overdue Recognition of the Inventor of the Tank
Bruce Cameron

39 Like Lord Haw Haw?: The Case of Major Charles Cousens, the Japanese Propagandist
Rohan Goyne

46 Letters to the Editor

47 Reviews

55 From the archives

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

Flight Sergeant Stanley Black's Unknown Story to defend the village of Graignes

Geoff Tilley[1]

The Bayeux War Cemetery in France has over 4,000 Commonwealth service personnel buried within the cemetery. The cemetery was completed with burials from the Second World War in 1952. There are 17 Australians, one from the Royal Australian Navy with 16 from the Royal Australian Air Force.[2] This is one of those Australian airman's story.

The youngest son of four siblings Stanley Kevin Black was born on 12 March 1923 at North Fitzroy, Melbourne to George and Lillian Black. He attended the North Fitzroy Central University High School. A keen sportsman Stanley played cricket, football and tennis. In 1938 he left school, working as an insurance clerk for Sun Insurance Company in Melbourne.[3]

After the outbreak of war, Stanley enlisted as a reservist before volunteering for the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) in June 1942. Initially he trained as a navigator but was later reassigned as an air bomber being promoted to sergeant. In May 1943 he embarked from Brisbane for overseas service as part of the Empire Air Training Scheme. Over 27,000 Australians entered this scheme who joined Royal Air Force (RAF) squadrons based in Britain over the course of the Second World War.[4]

He was posted to several training units in England before been transferred to 106 Squadron RAF Metheringham in May 1944 as a part of Bomber Command.[5] The squadron flew Avro Lancaster four-engined heavy bombers where Stanley joined a British crew.

By 7 June 1944, Stanley had already flown four missions, with his fifth mission to bomb targets surrounding the city of Caen in Normandy. Their mission was to destroy key infrastructure preventing the German forces moving men and equipment to mount counter attacks against the Normandy landings, which had commenced the day before on 6 June 1944. Stanley's crew was one of 565 Lancasters involved

---

1 Geoff Tilley is a retired WA police officer and member of WA Branch of the MHSA with an interest in Australian military history.

2 'Bayeux War Cemetery', www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/2033300/bayeux-war-cemetery/, accessed 22 February 2023.

3 RAAF Casualty Repatriation, NAA A705, 166/5/559.

4 'The Last Post Ceremony commemorating the service of (418790) Flight Sergeant Stanley Kevin Black', www.awm.gov.au/collection/C2121643.

5 RAAF Casualty Repatriation, NAA A705, 166/5/559.

in the airborne operation which consisted of a force of 1065 aircraft.[6]

Stanley's Lancaster bomber – serial number NE150 code ZN-H – took off at 0025hrs 7 June 1944 from Metheringham, Lincolnshire on route to the Caen area. Sixteen other Lancasters from 106 Squadron were detailed to attack bridges surrounding Caen. En route to the target, Stanley's Lancaster was hit by anti-aircraft fire from the German flak battery near the village of Lison. The bomber crashed in occupied France near the village of Saint-Jean de Daye with five of its crew members perishing, unable to bail out. It was Stanley along with the navigator who were able to bail out of the doomed Lancaster, with Stanley landing safely near the village of Saint-Jean de Daye. It was in this village that Stanley was sheltered by the local French people for a day.



Image 1: Flt Sgt Black's Headstone, Bayeux Military Cemetery. Source: Author.

The remains of the five other crew members were later recovered and buried in the local church cemetery by the villagers of Saint Jean-de-Daye, who even draped a French flag across the coffin of the aircrew on the 8 June 1944.[7]

The navigator, Flying Officer Drylie, evaded capture and was hidden by Monsieur Michael for 42 days before returning to England. Flying Officer Drylie reported,

> Our aircraft was badly hit by flak and the bomb aimer, and I had time to bale out. Cannot say regarding the others as I was completely on my own when I reached the ground. Warren (pilot) was not wounded and would have had a fair chance of getting out.[8]

---

6 R Wilcock, 'No 106 Squadron Lancaster NE150', aircrewremembered.com/warren-merrick.html, accessed 22 February 2023.

7 Martin KA Morgan, 'Battle of Graignes: An HQ Company's Heroic Last Stand in Normandy' warfarehistorynetwork.com/article/battle-of-graignes-an-hq-companys-heroic-last-stand-in-normandy/, accessed 22 February 2023.

8 RAAF Casualty Repatriation, NAA A705, 166/5/559.

With the invasion of Europe underway and the 101st and 82nd US airborne troops scattered in the surrounding French countryside, Stanley with the assistance of local French villagers was taken to the neighbouring village of Graignes. There he joined about 180 American paratroopers from the 507th Parachute Infantry Regiment of the 82nd Airborne Division. The village of Graignes which had little strategic value was located about four miles (6 km) from Carentan which was an important crossroad junction. Too far from Carentan, the paratroopers decided to defend the village against German attacks until the arrival of Allied ground force pushing inland from the landing beaches.[9]

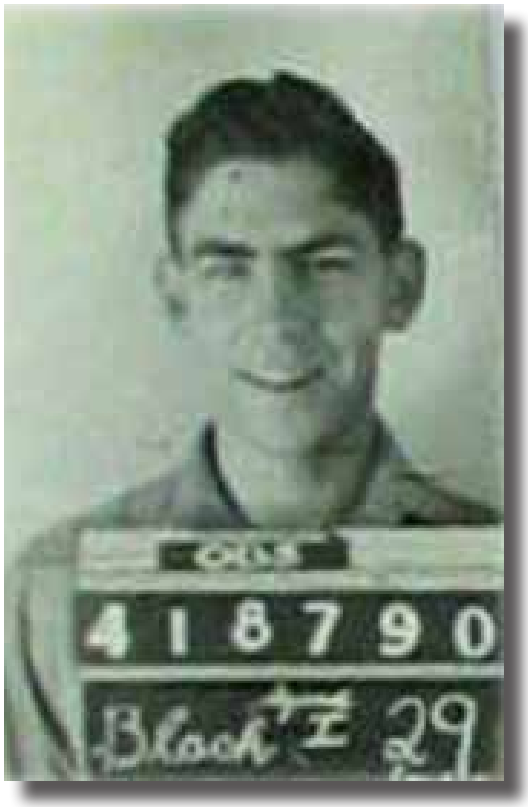


Image 2: Flt Sgt Black's personnel file photograph. Source: NAA A705 166/5/559.

On 11 June 1944 Graignes came under attack by the 17th SS Panzer Grenadier Division 'Gotz von Berlichingen'. It is understood the American paratroopers with Stanley were outnumbered by the Germans. The paratroopers inflicted heavy casualties on the Germans before being overwhelmed by the SS Panzer grenadiers who inflicted reprisals, killing the wounded Americans, executing French villagers along with two French priests before setting fire to the village. It is believed that about 30 American paratroopers escaped the village. Stanley's exact fate is unknown during the assault, whether he was killed in action defending the village or killed in the reprisals by the Germans.[10]

By now 106 Squadron Wing Commander had listed Stanley and his crew missing whilst conducting air operations over occupied France failing to return to base.

In a letter to Stanley's parents dated 11 June 1944, the Wing Commander of 106 Squadron wrote 'We are all most appreciative of the motives which brought him from Australia to help us in our great fight and I can assure you that he, and many others, will not be forgotten'.[11]

---

9 Morgan, 'Battle of Graignes'.
10 RAAF Casualty Repatriation, NAA A705, 166/5/559.
11 Letter, Warren to Black, NAA A705, 166/5/559.

In December 1944 Stanley's father had received a letter from the father of the pilot of the missing Lancaster, Pilot Officer Merrick Warren. He states there was no further news of his son Warren or Stanley's fate. Warren's father was of the opinion that they may have been taken prisoner or failing that the Germans must have shot them.[12]

For some reason initial reports by the navigator indicated that Pilot Officer Warren was not wounded and had time to bail out. This information was to be incorrect with Pilot Officer Warren going down with the Lancaster. He was buried with the five other crew members.

On 26 June 1945 Stanley's father wrote to RAAF Casualty Section, Melbourne seeking further clarification into his son's fate. The official response was that his son had been killed on 11 June 1944.[13]



Image 3: Flt Sgt Black (right of photo). Taken 1944 at 1661 Conversion Unit, RAF Wigsley. Source: Michel Tardivat.

12 RAAF Casualty Repatriation, NAA A705, 166/5/559.
13 Squadron Leader Foster's Report, NAA A705, 166/5/559.

However a postwar report dated 25 January 1946 by Squadron Leader J.E. Foster attached to No 1 Missing Research and Enquiry Unit of the RAF had interviewed a Monsieur Desire Cardin and his son Bernard, who stated they had taken care of Stanley giving him civilian clothes to wear over his battle dress. Stanley had retained his uniform as some protection in a likely charge of espionage. Foster also interviewed the mayor of Graignes who said that Stanley was wearing an American uniform when the Germans attacked the village, with most of the parachutists killed. Their bodies were transported to Mesnil-Angot and burnt by the Germans. Its Foster's opinion that Flight Sergeant Black most likely was killed with the American parachutists.[14]



Image 4: Flt Sgt Black's original grave marker Bayeux Cemetery. Source: Aircrewrembered.com.

Not until 1947 was Flight Sergeant Stanley Kevin Black's grave located. He had been buried with the American paratroopers in the temporary American cemetery at Blosville.[15] It was on 7 May 1947 that he was re-interred at the Bayeux War Cemetery along with the five other aircrew of the Lancaster bomber.

For almost 60 years, Stanley's family had believed he had died in the crash of his Lancaster bomber, shot down over occupied France by enemy fire. It was not until many years later the family found out that he had survived the crash, was taken in by the French people and taken to the nearby village of Graignes where he helped the American parachutists defend it from the Germans. The village had never forgotten their Australian hero.

It was an English lady, Liane Ward-Cleaveley living in Graignes who was aware of the village's history who noticed that Stanley's name was not on the local village plague commemorating the battle. She was determined to have Stanley's

14 Squadron Leader Foster's Report, NAA A705, 166/5/559.
15 Wilcock, 'No 106 Squadron Lancaster NE150'.

name on the village memorial, contacting a Lancaster enthusiast in Australia who eventually tracked Stanley's relatives down in Australia in 2008.[16]

For years the story that had been told the airman killed at the Battle of Graignes was an American fighter pilot. If not for this English lady's endeavour to have the Australian's name placed on the memorial plaque of Graignes, Stanley's heroic story would have never been told and forever may have remained a mystery to his family.

Flight Sergeant Stanley Kevin Black was 21 years of age. His name will be projected on the Roll of Honour, Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra on Friday 7 April 2023 at 4.50am.

He is remembered with honour.[17]



Image 5: Graignes Memorial Plaque. Source: John Knifton.

16 JFW Knifton, 'A Few Days After D-Day', johnknifton.com/2016/06/, accessed 22 February 2023.

17 AWM Roll of Honour Name Projection, www.awm.gov.au/collection/R1703693, accessed 22 February 2023.

Chasing a Star: The Evidence for Posthumous Issue of Italy Star and Recognition of Service for WX12891 Ronald 'Jimmy' Dean and VX42361 Douglas Smedley

Katrina Kittel[1]

In mid-November 1944, a group of Special Operations Executive (SOE) operatives parachuted into northern Italy to begin anti-scorch activities and a mission to co-ordinate action against the enemy by means of subversion and sabotage on behalf of the Allied war effort. Mission Cherokee began its search for Australian and New Zealander prisoner of war (POW) stragglers who were at large in northern Italy. Many of these young, army-trained soldiers were ready to become POW-partisans having 'another crack at Jerry' and the fascist regime. This active service warranted eligibility for the Italy Star campaign medal.

The 1944 SOE operatives' landing target of partisan-controlled areas was premised on a need to co-ordinate and direct attacks and sabotage operations, and to bring in supplies and munitions. It had to identify, train, supply, and co-ordinate the efforts of resistance groups in occupied Europe, to raise secret armies to fight in concert with the eventual Allied invasion.[2] Under command of Major Alastair Macdonald, the British operatives included Captain John Patrick 'Pat' Amoore, as well as explosives and sabotage expert Captain James'Jim' Bell and radio operator Corporal Tony Birch. Major Macdonald drew on various means to contact escapers. Before too long, the initial training by the Mission Cherokee demolition experts to the partisans led to frequent attacks on the upper Piedmont rail networks.[3]

For a subset of these escaped POWs who had engaged in subtle low-scale sabotage and subversion tactics during internment mid-1943 at Campo 106's farms dotted on the Piedmont plain north of the Po River, and who were still at large in Italy in late 1944, the dial of sabotage and subversion activity notched up to deploying explosives to blow up train-lines and bridges. These POWs, who had been cloistered in prison camps and post-escape were cooped away in hideouts

---

1 Katrina Kittel holds Bachelor of Arts/Bachelor of Science (History and Physical Geography) and post-graduate qualifications from the University of Newcastle and Charles Sturt University. She is the author of *Shooting Through: Campo 106 POWs after the Italian armistice* (2019) and is currently working on a book about Campo 57.

2 William Fowler, *The Secret War in Italy: Special Forces, Partisans and Covert Operations 1943–45*, Ian Allan Publishing, Addlestone, (2010), p. 7.

3 Ken Fenton, *Alamein to the Alps: War in the Piedmont with Mission Cherokee and the Lost Anzacs 1943–4*, Frontier Press, Blenheim, (2011), p. 456 and p. 488; Macdonald (141261), Bell (322338) and Amoore (255667) were attached to No.1 Special Force, Canadian Army.

by civilians, probably tussled with the frustration of being trained soldiers taken out of the fight. Joining partisans was one way to re-enter the war. By the end of December 1944, rewards of one million lire were touted for the capture of Mission Cherokee operatives, dead or alive.[4]

This paper considers examples of Australian prisoners of war (POWs) during the Second World War who joined partisans and British special missions in Italy, and who faced challenges post-war to evidence eligibility for the Italy Star award. This paper discusses current bureaucratic constraints to the public recognition of these former POW-partisans. Firstly, in instances where eligibility for the award of the Italy Star has been evidenced, and posthumous issue of the medal has been made, there is no documentation or annotation to update a veteran's war service record to acknowledge this honour. Secondly, the Directorate of Honours and Awards will not consider a submission—such as a case by a non-relative historian—that provides evidence for the eligibility of the veteran for the Italy Star unless a family member comes forward to apply for the issue of the physical medal.

Private Ronald 'Jimmy' Dean (WX12891) embarked on 7 November 1941 at Fremantle for overseas service, disembarking at the Middle East on 24 November 1941. Dean would later report in 1945 on a Statement by a Repatriated Prisoner of War that he was at Alamein with A Company of the 2/32nd Australian Infantry Battalion when they 'were left without support and overrun by German tanks'. He was not wounded in action. When interrogated as a newly captured POW by enemy officers at Mersa Matruh, he wrote that he gave them 'no answers.' In apparent relief, he added: 'nothing was done to me.' Dean documented that his early captivity transits were at Benghazi until September 1942, then at Tripoli to January 1943. After transfer across the Mediterranean Sea to southern Italy, Dean was interned from January to April 1943 at a holding camp in Capua located about ten kilometres north of the outskirts of Naples. From there, he was moved by train to Campo 57 Gruppignano in north-east Italy, arriving later that month.[5]

During April 1943, Dean was part of a contingent of Campo 57's Australian and New Zealander prisoners loaded on trains destined for rice and maize fields on the Piedmont plain between Turin and Milan. With young Italian men fighting

4 For further detail on Campo 106 and escaper outcomes, see Kittel, *Shooting Through: Campo 106 POWs After the Italian Armistice*. For further research re POW-partisans, see Peter Monteath and Katrina Kittel, 'Prisoners of war to partisans: Australian experiences in Italy during the Second World War', *War & Society*, vol. 40 (2021), pp. 188-205.

5 War service records, NAA B883 WX12891. Dean Ronald James, includes Statement by a Repatriated Navy, Army or Air Force Prisoners of War, 9 June 1945; Permission by T. Dean to cite Dean's correspondence as held on this NAA B883 file; Liberated Prisoner of War Interrogation Questionnaires, General Questionnaire for British/American ex-prisoners of war for Private Ronald Dean, 3 June 1945, National Archives, United Kingdom (NA), WO 344/372.

the war, farmers needed workers on their farms as the Spring season got underway. On 27 April 1943, Dean arrived at a Campo 106 farm barracks near Tronzano Vercellese village, about 40 kilometres north-east of Turin.[6]

Most, if not all, of the Australian POWs at Campo 106 ceased to be under internment at the Campo 106 rice farms soon after the 8 September 1943 promulgation that Italy had changed sides in the war and signed an armistice with the Allies. Most POWs left the farm camps with little resistance from farmers and guards, generally heading north towards Switzerland or south toward Allied lines. Men drifted into small groups or mateship pairs. As escapee Private Frederick Tabram put it, POWs from different camps 'got out of control and were wandering everywhere.'[7] According to a 1945 POW liberation report by another Victorian, Private Gordon Dare, he absconded from camp with Dean, as well as other Australians he referred to as Ralph Abercrombie, George Weedon, Stan Booth and Ted Peachey.[8] These six POWs all remained at large in Italy into 1945, with the assistance of Italian civilians and partisans. Archival records also reveal that both Peachey and Dean spent 19 months on the loose in northern Italy, at times together, and that service included Mission Cherokee. Dare, Tabram and Peachey were also snapped up by Mission Cherokee.



Image 1: Enlistment photograph of Ronald Dean. Source: NAA B883 Dean, Ronald.

Peachey (VX2556), a married man from Pascoe Vale, served in the 2/2nd Field Ambulance.[9] According to his son , Peachey was fortunate to have had a head-start in Italian before the war.[10] In contrast to the predictability of their former POW camps, the escaped prisoners battled on in a context of unpredictability and high-level vigilance, and any familiarity with Italian language must have helped them. The evasion phase of their war —the weeks and months on the loose, weighing up needs for shelter and the dangers for Italian helpers—was likely more taxing on their resilience than the longer periods spent within prison camps.

6 Missing, wounded and prisoner of war enquiry cards, Red Cross, are digitised at the University of Melbourne. The card for WX12891 Dean includes date of his 1943 arrival to Campo 106.

7 Fred Tabram, unpublished memoir, courtesy R. Tabram.

8 Liberated Prisoner of War Interrogation Questionnaires, General Questionnaire for British/American ex-prisoners of war for Private Gordon Dare VX38610, 4 June 1945, NA WO 344/372.

It is unclear when Peachey and Dean first crossed paths in Italy, and how often during that time, but they were together when Europe's war officially ended on 8 May 1945, VE Day. Peachey and Dean's war ended with a frightening event, according to Peachey's son. Just a day or two before VE day, Peachey and Dean stewed together in a prison cell, sitting side-by-side with backs rigid against the door below a tiny window when suddenly the window flung open. Machine-gun fire shot above their heads and killed three other internees sitting on a bunk. Peachey and Dean were not wounded, and soon liberated by Americans. Post-war, Peachey's son recalled that his father and Dean shot off annual telegrams to each other to commemorate their lucky dodge from death on that watershed day in May 1945.

On 26 May 1945, as preparations were underway for their repatriation, Peachey and Dean wrote identical 'chit' notes to acknowledge assistance by Italian people. The chits read: 'I the undersigned have been under the command of Vironda Giovanni (Bixio), commander of a Brigade of Partisans. During the three months under this man, I was treated with respect and all that he could do for me.' Peachey and Dean respectively added mention on their chits whether they had received clothes, money, and boots.[11]

On 3 June 1945, probably at a reception centre in Italy with other liberated POWs, Dean completed a general questionnaire for the British intelligence service, MI9. He wrote that he had escaped camp on 8 September 1943 with POW companions and went into the mountains, staying with people at first and then joining the partisans. Of his POW-partisan role, he wrote that he had been attached to the 6th Alpine Division in Canavese region in Piedmont. He elaborated that he had served within partisans' magazines, and guarded prisoners. Dean acknowledged the villagers of Nomaglio and Andrate (about eight kilometres west of Biella in the Piedmont), saying: 'They supplied me with food and clothing at any time I wanted it.' Dean joined an American armoured column at Cuorgnè (about 35 kilometres north of Turin) on 3 May 1945. He joined Captain Bell within Cherokee Mission and remained with Bell until 28 May, when Dean reported to repatriation authorities in Biella.[12]

On 8 June 1945, Dean and Peachey deplaned in the United Kingdom. Dean was at sea heading for Australia in early August 1945, two days from Australian shores, when the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. He disembarked *B.2* at Sydney on 8 August 1945. His Army personnel dossier informs that he had served on continuous full time war service in the AIF for a period which included 1370 days active service outside Australia.

9 Peachey, Edward.John, war service records, NAA B883, VX2556.

10 Ted Peachey (senior), conversation, date not recorded.

11 Chits by Peachey and Dean provided to author by Italian researcher (name withheld on request).

12 Liberated Prisoner of War Interrogation Questionnaires, Ronald Dean WX12891, NA WO 344/372.

In 1946, the governments of the United Kingdom and Australia were in negotiations to determine 'the eligibility of escapers and evaders for the award of the Italy Star'.[13] The authorities insisted that POWs' first-hand accounts of active service with partisans needed corroboration and evidence. In 1956, more than ten years after Dean returned to Australia, he made enquiries to the Army about eligibility for the Italy Star. Written on a slim slip of paper, he succinctly asks: 'Am I entitled to the Italian Star as I fought with partisans in 1944-45.' A clerical annotation, in response to his query, notes Dean's mention on his Statement as a Repatriated POW at Eastbourne (9 June 1945) of action 'with partisans 1943 to 1945'.

According to a document held on Dean's war service record, Melbourne Central Army Records Office (CARO) replied to Dean in May 1956, reiterating that the Italy Star is awarded for:

> entry into operational service in Italy between 11 June 1943 and 8 May 1945. Former prisoners of war may qualify for this award only when it is shown that the member took an active part in a fighting partisan organisation, or in officially organised operations under arms in a forward zone during or after the process of liberation.

The above examples of correspondence to the former POW-partisans from authorities assessing their eligibility for the Italy Star do not mention of a minimum duration of partisan service.

One month after the above reply to Dean, Peachey received the same template letter in response to his April 1956 letter asking for the medal before Anzac Day, reminding the Army he had inquired years earlier. Indeed, Peachey's first letter to the Army had been in October 1945, soon after returning to Australia. He stated that he had served with partisans and with special missions; the latter he was still involved with at the end of the war. In 1948, assessing authorities sent Peachey correspondence that put onus on him to source corroborative evidence from the 'Senior British Officer present at the time such service was rendered'. (italics added). The preciseness of this request—or suggestion—by authorities is indicative of a lack of understanding of the volatility and variability of partisan warfare and of mission operations.

On 2 January 1957, Ted Peachey, then living in Yarrawonga, resumed his case for the Italy Star by submitting the required questionnaire. He referred to partisan contact following the arrival of the SOE group under command of Captain Bell, as well as partisan command under Italian 'General Bizio'—probably

13 Correspondence from Military Command to HQ Southern Command dated 1946, re delay in assessment of Italy Star applications, NAA B883, VX38610 Dare. Tabram supported Dare's application for Italy Star by statutory declaration.

referring to General Bixio. Ted highlighted his colleague 'R. Dean of Nannup' as a reliable witness. Ted cites example of special service on 22 April 1945, when he acted 'as ordered by Captain Bell to capture the town of Cogne from fascist and Russo German troops', and 'handed over to Americans 400 prisoners on 1 April as ordered by Captain Bell from town of Ivrea, HQ of military mission'. On 29 April 1945, he 'handed everything to American troops under command of Captain Verdianni [sic]'. Cogne is in the Aosta region, and about 50 kilometres north of Turin, but he may be referring to Cuorgnè.

In August 1957, Army Headquarters advised Peachey that they're unable to contact Captain R. Bell, clearly aware of this former British operative. A month later, a letter from Australian Army Staff based in Australian House, London, advised Ted that correspondence sent to Captain R. Bell has been returned with annotation that he's 'gone away' and whereabouts unknown. They again place imperative back on Ted to '…provide the necessary corroborative evidence to show that he took part in organised active operations against the enemy after his escape from captivity in Italy.'

Dean's army personnel dossier does not include the same template questionnaire as Peachey submitted, indicating Jimmy probably did not return the form. Like many returned POWs, Jimmy probably did not have contacts post-war to obtain written evidence. Probably too, he was not in the vicinity of Mission Cherokee authorities from May to June 1945 to receive a personalised certificate documenting his service, a certificate received by Tabram and several other POW-partisans. Another post-war hurdle for POW-partisans—particularly for other POWs with shorter periods of partisan contact—was the identification of partisans by their actual names. Battle names were commonplace, as alluded to by Peachey when, in 1957, he again wrote in frustration to authorities to tell them that Captain Bell may have used a name 'suitable in enemy territory'. He also mentioned a 'Captain Patt', most likely referring to Captain John Patrick 'Pat' Amoore.

In October 1957, Peachey broke through bureaucratic barriers and was advised by CARO that 'in light of the latest information you have supplied … we approve the issue to you of the additional award of the Italy Star'. It is no wonder that ex-POW Sapper William 'Bill' Rudd, an astute post-war researcher and supporter of his fellow ex-POWs in Italy, concluded that the Italy Star was a 'difficult medal to pin on.'[14]

As a historian in the 21st century with world-wide web search strategies and networks, I could achieve what most ex-POWs could not do, to have the means to source archival evidence in Australia, Italy, and the United Kingdom, as well as other primary and secondary sources.[15] In 2021, I supported the descendants of Dean

14 Bill Rudd in conversation with author.

to resume the medal chase. I sent supporting documentation to the Directorate of Honours and Awards simultaneously to the submission of application by Dean's family for the issue of the medal. The Directorate awarded the posthumous issue of the Italy Star for Dean in 2022.

In 2022, the Directorate also posthumously awarded the honour of Italy Star for Douglas Smedley. Smedley also escaped Campo 106, remaining at large in Italy until April 1944 when he and two New Zealander POWs were executed by soldiers of Mussolini's Republican National Guard near Andorno Micca, north of Biella. Statements by other POWs and Italian witnesses, as held in Australian and United Kingdom archives, provided evidence that at some stage following Smedley's escape, he associated with Communist partisan leader Cino Moscatelli's partisans, as well as other POW-partisans.[16] As for the Dean family, I was able to bring forward corroborative documents to support the Smedley family's application.



Image 2: Enlistment photograph of Douglas Smedley. Source: NAA B883 Smedley, Douglas.

In 1974, a plaque was erected at Tavigliano's cemetery, located near to Smedley's execution site. The plaque lists names of Smedley and companion New Zealanders POWs on that day, as well as other executed Italian partisans. In a poignant expression of shared history and ongoing commemoration, the plaque declares: 'non importa se il vento del tempo sbiadira, i nostri nomi dei morti partigiani scritti sul marmo: resti – ben inciso nei vostri cuori – oggi domani e sempre l'amore per la liberta'. In English: 'It does not matter if the wind of time fades, our names of the partisan dead written on the marble remains – well engraved in our hearts – today tomorrow and always love for freedom'.[17] Such commemorative plaques in Italy exemplify the significant local connections made by POWs with partisans and civilians during wartime service.

In 2023, a plaque was installed on the wall of Santa Liberata church, in the Comune of Valdilana, located a kilometre north-west of Mosso Santa Maria, at

15 To support the Italy Star applications, other primary and secondary sources were submitted, including publications in Italy, as well as statements/reports by other POWs.

16 Shooting of Pte Batt, L.G., Clark, J.L., Smedley, J.D. at Biella, province on Novara, NA WO 310/65. See Kittel, *Shooting Through* for expanded details of the context of Smedley's execution, witness statements as well as outcomes for POWs who survived the incident.

17 Memorial plaque, Tavigliano, image courtesy of Luciano Guala. The bodies of the POW-partisans were exhumed after the war and reburied CWGC cemetery in Milan.

the spot where Australian Private Harry Miller (WX11952) and a New Zealander Corporal Franklin Bowes (12626) were executed alongside Italian partisans in February 1944.[18] I emailed the NAA-held enlistment photo of Harry Miller to ANPI Cossato for inclusion on the plaque. Another memorial plaque listing Miller (as his alias of Kenneth Osborne), Bowes and five Italian partisans was installed earlier at the Mosso Santa Maria cemetery. Despite evidence on Miller's army file, and within other sources, there is no file annotation regarding his eligibility for the Italy Star. There are another five Australians listed on a plaque at a bridge near Trivero. These five POWs were shot in May 1944, and further research may reveal partisan involvement.



Image 3: Memorial plaque, Tavigliano, Italy, lists Smedley. Source: Luciano Guala.

In Italy, the service of POW-partisans is not forgotten. With only a small minority of Australian POWs remaining at large in Italy until mid-1945, any active service with partisans was undoubtedly of significant contribution to the collapse of the German army in Italy. The issue of the Italy Star medal, once evidenced, is a glimmer for POW families that the unique service of their veteran had been recognised. But where will this honour be acknowledged, or publicly recorded? I asked the Directorate in 2022 whether the respective army dossier files for Dean and Smedley will include a

18 Memorial plaque Santa Liberata church, Valdilana, image courtesy of President, ANPI Cossato, Vallestrona; See Susan Jacobs, *Fighting with the Enemy: New Zealand POWs and the Italian Resistance*, (2004), for expanded story of Miller (aka Kenneth Osborne) and Bowes. Miller and Bowes are also commemorated in CWGC Milan.

document to publicly record the posthumous issue of the Italy Star. I was told by a Directorate staff member that no such annotation or document will be added to their records. Yet, such an update was done in 1957 to Peachey's army file, by the inclusion of correspondence that 'in light of the latest information' supplied, approval was attained for 'the additional award of the Italy Star'.

A second hurdle stifles the chase for the award of the Italy Star. The Directorate's consideration of eligibility for the award of this campaign medal can only be initiated by a veteran's family member. Because any application can only be for the issue of the physical medal, a non-relative historian cannot put the case, regardless of sufficient documentation at hand to support eligibility for the Italy Star. Even though I have documentation to hand, (like that provided to the Directorate for Dean and Smedley) to evidence eligibility for issue of Italy Star for several other former POW-partisans, I cannot present a case to the Directorate without an accompanying application by a family member, for issue of the medal. If there was provision for assessment of a POW-partisan's service (regardless of family coming forward to apply for the medal) and subsequent annotation (or official correspondence) added to the service file to publicly acknowledge and confirm a status of eligibility for the award, this would expedite any later application by family members for issue of the physical medal. I believe that these current bureaucratic hurdles to the recognition of active service by former POW-partisans warrants a further chase.



Image 4: Memorial plaque, Santa Liberata church, Valdilana, Italy, lists Harry Miller. Source: Author.

The Library of Victory: Geographical Handbook Series of the Naval Intelligence Division

Rohan Goyne[1]

A chance find in a Canberra op-shop of a tattered copy of the *Geographical Handbook of the Netherlands East Indies Volume 2* by the British Admiralty Naval Intelligence Board 1944 (Image 1) is the centrepiece for this historical vignette of a little-known element of the machinery of the Allied intelligence effort during the Second World War.

Published by the British Admiralty between 1941 and 1946, the Geographical Handbook Series comprised comprehensive geographical information bibles on many countries in which allied forces were fighting in during the war. With 31 titles comprising 58 volumes, the series was the single largest body of geographical writing ever published. Written by academics, 28 titles were written by a team based at Cambridge University and another 30 titles by Oxford University. The handbook shown in Image 1 was Netherlands East Indies, B.R.518A Volume 2 was written by the Cambridge University team in 1944 and, based on stamps within, it was part of the Department of Foreign Affairs libraries.

As the handbooks were used by all arms of the Allied armed forces in the field the accuracy of the information and speed of production was essential throughout the war. The handbooks covered countries including relief, coasts, history, administration, climate, population geography, vegetation zones and medical notes.

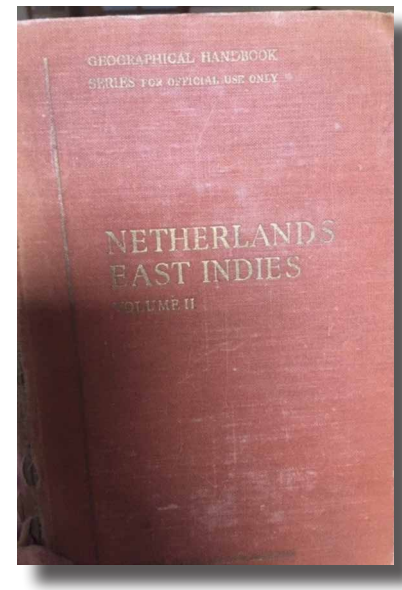


Image 1: N*etherlands East Indies, vol. 2*. Source: Author.

The importance of the Series was described in the preface: 'On the one hand they have proved beyond all question, how greatly the work of the fighting services and of Government Departments is facilitated if countries of strategic and political importance are covered by handbooks which deal, in a convenient and easily digested form ... They are now found in Service Establishments and Embassies throughout the world'.[2]

The enduring value of the Geographical Handbook Series was demonstrated when the series were converted into geographical textbooks after the war.

1 Rohan Goyne is a former president of the MHSA and regular contributor to *Sabretache*.
2 J Godfrey, N*etherlands East Indies, vol. 2*, Naval Intelligence Division, London, 1942, p. iv.

Dazzle Ships: Design and dispute

Justin Chadwick[1]

Concealment from an enemy during war (or a predator in nature) has been an invaluable part of military development since the end of the 19th century. Rudimentary camouflage was used by hunters to cover their presence from prey. Established as experimental units, British rifle regiments wore green jackets rather than the traditional redcoat and were used as skirmishers. Khaki was introduced in India for the Corps of Guides when raised in 1846. From the Persian *khak* meaning soil or dirt, khaki uniforms allowed soldiers to blend into their environment. The adoption of khaki became universal in the British Army from 1902. Experimentation in concealment of coastal gun emplacements was conducted by major militaries during the late Victorian period. But it was not until the First World War that camouflage would be become of increasing importance.[2] One of the more unusual developments in concealment was the use of dazzle paint on merchant shipping. This article will explore the development of maritime camouflage, the involvement of artists and their contribution to dazzle painting, and subsequent controversy over ownership.

Fundamental to the development of maritime camouflage was the work of Abbott Thayer. Building on the foundational work of British zoologist Edward Poulton, Thayer, an American artist, developed the theory of countershading. The book *Concealing-Coloration in the Animal Kingdom* (1909) demonstrated the concept using photographs and illustrations arguing that 'Animals are painted by Nature darkest on those parts which tend to be most lighted by the sky's light and vice versa'.[3] Although inaccurate in the claim that all animals are countershaded, his theory became known as Thayer's Law. Thayer had offered his services during the United States-Spanish war in 1898 to camouflage US Navy ships, but was declined. With another artist, Gerome Brush, Thayer filed a patent in 1902 for 'Improvements in Process of Treating Ships and Other Objects to Render them Less Visible'. Using the countershading principle, upward-facing surfaces of ships should be dark, downward-facing surfaces light and curved surfaces graded from dark to light. Following the outbreak of war, Thayer approached the War Office promoting the

1 Justin Chadwick holds a PhD in history from the University of Adelaide. He is the author of the *Sword and Baton: Senior Australian Army Officers from Federation to 2001* series of books and numerous articles on Australian and military history. He is the editor of *Sabretache*.

2 See Tim Newark, *The Book of Camouflage: The Art of Disappearing*, Osprey Publishing, Botley, (2013).

3 Gerald Thayer, *Concealing-Coloration in the Animal Kingdom*, Macmillan, New York, (1909), p. 14.

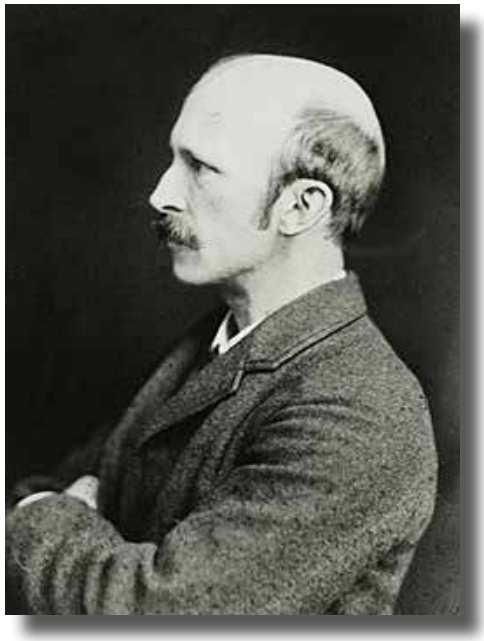


Image 1: Abbott Thayer.
Source: Smithsonian Institution.

use of camouflage. He wrote to Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in February 1915 of the benefits of countershading and that surface ships should be painted white. Admiralty tests were inconclusive. Thayer continued to campaign for adoption, travelling to Britain in November 1915 and writing to the First Lord, now Arthur Balfour.[4] Despite Thayer's persistence, his ideas were not accepted.

As the cost to Allied shipping of the German submarine campaign increased, new ideas were needed. Norman Wilkinson, a marine artist, had volunteered at the outbreak of war and served with the Royal Navy at the Dardanelles and Gibraltar. Returning to England in 1917 he commanded a minesweeper and, while trout fishing on leave, thought of the problem of making shipping unidentifiable. By breaking the solid black surface of ships with white, reminiscent of zebra stripes but geometric, Wilkinson was able to distort visual perception. Rather than invisibility, which was never truly possible, misconception was the goal. By rendering a vessel's course difficult for a submariner looking through a periscope aiming was impeded. Wilkinson explained that the 'whole aim was to use perspective and colour strength in such a way that the bow was pushed away from you and the stern



Image 2: Lieutenant Commander Norman Wilkinson. Source: IWM Q69609.

4 Peter Forbes, *Dazzled and Deceived: Mimicry and Camouflage*, Yale University Press, New Haven, (2009), p. 85-90.

5 Committee of Enquiry in Dazzle Painting, 5 November 1919, NA ADM 245/4.

was brought towards you'.[5] Sending his concepts to the Admiralty in April 1917 Wilkinson's contacts in the Navy and Royal Academy, according to Peter Forbes, ensured they were adopted.[6]

Contemporary artists were recruited to participate in the design of dazzle paint schemes. Established in the Royal Academy in London, artists were commissioned in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve. Assisted by students of the academy, Wilkinson commenced trials. Despite the urgency the Admiralty would not implement dazzle painted merchant shipping until a report on the trials was complete. The scheme was introduced in June. Scale models of ships were constructed of wood and painted before being placed on a rotating table. Using

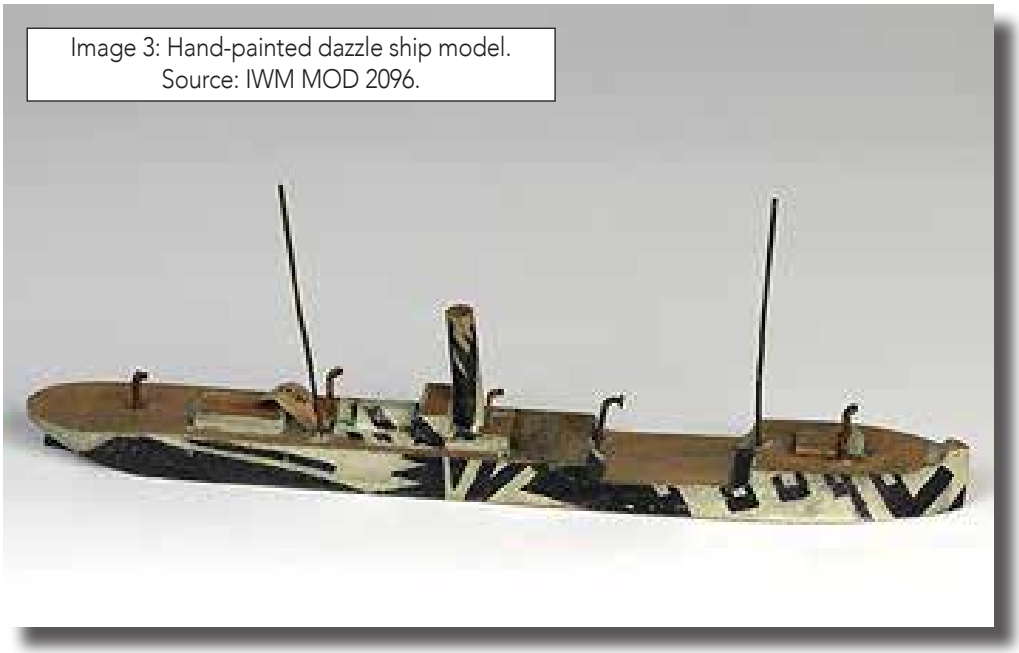


Image 3: Hand-painted dazzle ship model.
Source: IWM MOD 2096.

a submarine periscope the model was inspected against a background of different coloured skies. Profile plans were drawn of successful designs and then sent to an outport officer who oversaw the painting of ships in dock. In October Wilkinson's work was inspected by King George V who was asked to look through the periscope and tell which direction the model was going. After a while the king pronounced the direction as being south by west and was told that the model was pointing east-southeast. The king was impressed with the illusion.[7] At the same time the Admiralty completed a memorandum for the War Cabinet on the development of dazzle camouflage. Describing the purpose of the scheme, the memorandum noted

6 Forbes, *Dazzled and Deceived*, p. 92.

7 Chris Barton, *Dazzle Ships: World War I and the Art of Confusion*, Millsbrook Press, Minneapolis, (2017), p. 24.



Image 4: HMAS *Melbourne*, painted with dazzle camouflage, Rosyth, Scotland, c 1918. Source: AWM 301010.

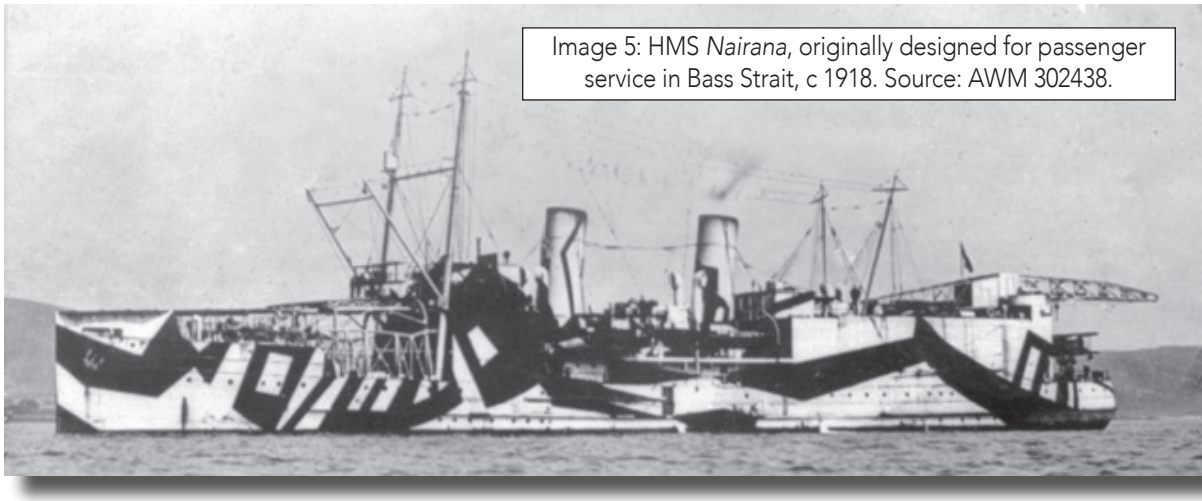


Image 5: HMS *Nairana*, originally designed for passenger service in Bass Strait, c 1918. Source: AWM 302438.

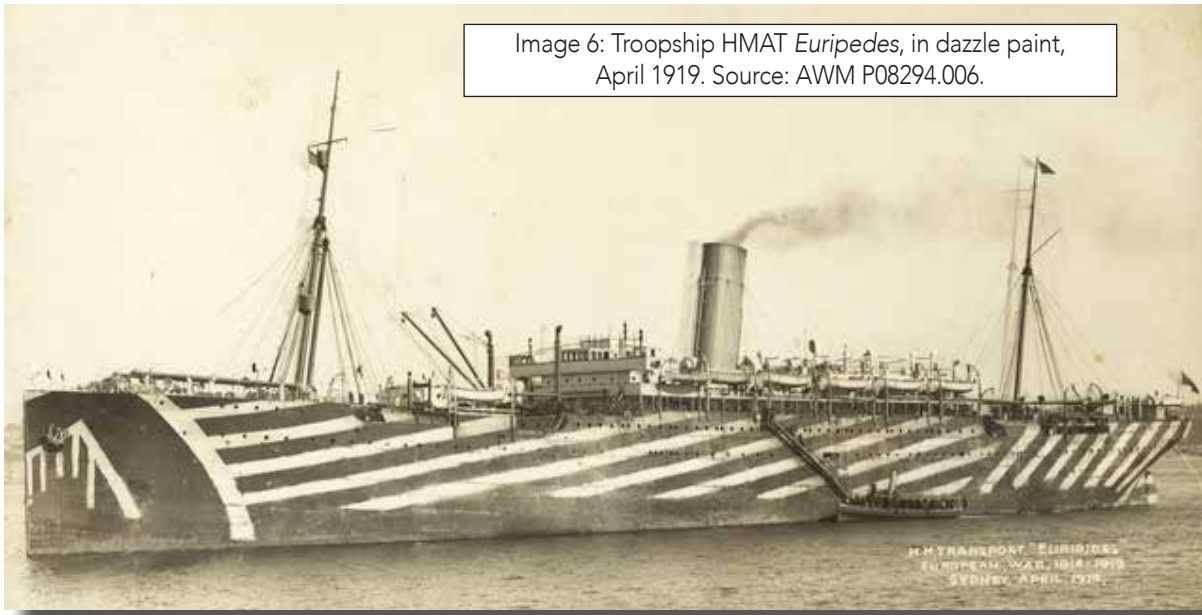


Image 6: Troopship HMAT *Euripedes*, in dazzle paint, April 1919. Source: AWM P08294.006.

that the by using Thayer's Law with 'extreme contrasts of colours and shapes', shipping would diminish visibility. By the time of the memorandum, 150 ships had been painted with ongoing tests being conducted. Designs had been sent to the United States Navy and naval attaches in France, Russia, Italy and Japan with the French mercantile marine to be painted 'in a short time'.[8]

Dazzle paint camouflage varied in design and colour palette dependent on vessel type. Different merchant vessels, such as single funnel ships, required different designs to allow for superstructure and length. Wilkinson arranged the designs in to types and then individual designs. Colour selection was just as varied, ranging from simple black and white to blue-grey, green, pink and mauve. Curves, straight lines, zigzags and arcs were all part of the multitude of designs. To ensure maximum effect designs differed between port and starboard sides. Examples of the variety of designs and colours can be seen on pages 27-31.

Efficacy of dazzle camouflage was a source of conjecture. British statistics varied widely, with some months having dazzled shipping attacked more often than non-dazzled ships. Some of this was due to dazzled shipping being larger, but less dazzled ships were sunk rather than just damaged. An Admiralty report, completed in September 1918, concluded that 'No definite case on material grounds can be made out for any benefit in this respect from this form of camouflage'.[9] This evidence was supported by reports from survivors of submarine attacks who claimed that dazzle painting was ineffective.[10] Evidence of inefficacy by those serving in ships sunk by submarines, though, must be treated as biased. Some U-boat commanders reported being unable to discern the direction of travel of ships even when close,[11] others found no difficulty.[12] While submarine attack rates had not declined there was an increase in merchant seaman morale.[13] American statistics revealed that of the 1250 ships camouflaged with dazzle paint only 18 were lost by March 1918, four accidentally and three by mines. This equates to less than one per cent of US dazzled vessels being sunk.[14] Wilkinson's scheme was never to make ships invisible, rather to 'present a more difficult proposition to a submarine'.[15] More recent scientific study

8 '"Dazzle" Scheme of Painting Ships', 10 October 1917, NA CAB 24/28/56.

9 Dazzle Painting of Merchant Ships, NA ADM 18533/215.

10 Interrogation of Survivors, May 1918, NA ADM 137/3060/22; Interrogation of Survivors, July 1918, NA ADM 137/3060/32.

11 Claudia Covert, 'Art at War: Dazzle Camouflage', *Art Documentation*, vol. 26, no. 2, (2007), p. 52.

12 Dazzle Painting of Merchant Ships, NA ADM 18533/215.

13 Dazzle Painting: Report of Committee appointed to investigate results, 1918, NA MT 25/16.

14 David Williams, *Liners in Battledress: Wartime Camouflage and Colour Schemes for Passenger Ship*s, Vanell Publishing, St Catherines, (1997), p. 78.

15 Norman Wilkinson, 'The Dazzle Painting Ships', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 68, (1920), p. 266.

16 See Bettina von Helversen, Lael J Schooler and Uew Czienskowski, 'Are Stripes Beneficial? Dazzle Camouflage Influences Perceived Speed and Hit Rates', *PLuS ONE*, vol 8, no 4, (2013), pp. 1-7; Benedict G Hogan, Innes C Cuthill and Nicholas E Scott-Samuel, 'Dazzle camouflage, target tracking, and the confusion effect', *Behavioral Ecology*, vol. 20, no. 6, (2016), pp. 1547-1551; Benedict G Hogan, Nicholas E Scott-Samuel and Innes C Cuthill, 'Contrast, contours and the confusion effect in dazzle camouflage', *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 3, (2016), pp. 1-7.

of dazzle camouflage in nature has uncovered its benefits.[16]

The ownership of the idea of dazzle camouflage for shipping has been disputed. While most literature enshrines Wilkinson as progenitor, Regius Professor of Zoology at Glasgow University John Graham Kerr could equally claim rights. According to Hugh Murphy and Martin Bellamy, Kerr was well-placed to develop maritime camouflage. A keen yachtsman, he had an entrenched love of ships and sailing. Discussing the coming war with naval friends Kerr offered to conduct a study for the Admiralty on reducing ship visibility at sea. Kerr had also met Thayer during a visit to England in the 1890s and later received a copy of his book. In September 1914 Kerr wrote to Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, on his ideas to reduce ship visibility using scientific principles. Drawing on Thayer's theories, Kerr promoted 'compensating shading' and 'parti-colouring' that contrasted dark and light painting on the sides of ships. A response was received soon after and, in November, a general order was issued permitting flag officers to test the concept. From a former student aboard HMS *Implacable*, Kerr heard that the order was readily accepted, implemented and successful. He offered his services to the Admiralty in late 1915 but was ignored and his approach to the First Sea Lord, now Arthur Balfour, was rejected. Postwar acceptance of Wilkinson as the developer of dazzle annoyed Kerr who desired recognition. The ensuing public debate, often through letters to the *Times* and *Nature*, resulted in the Admiralty establishing a Committee of Enquiry on Dazzle Painting to report on origin claims. Kerr's claim was eventually rejected as his proposal was originally intended for protection from long-range gunnery rather than submarines. When offered to apply to the Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors – established to compensate wartime inventors – Kerr accepted. Again, the finding was against Kerr based on the inability to render a ship invisible. Without public recognition, Kerr was to be eclipsed by Wilkinson as the creator of dazzle.[17]

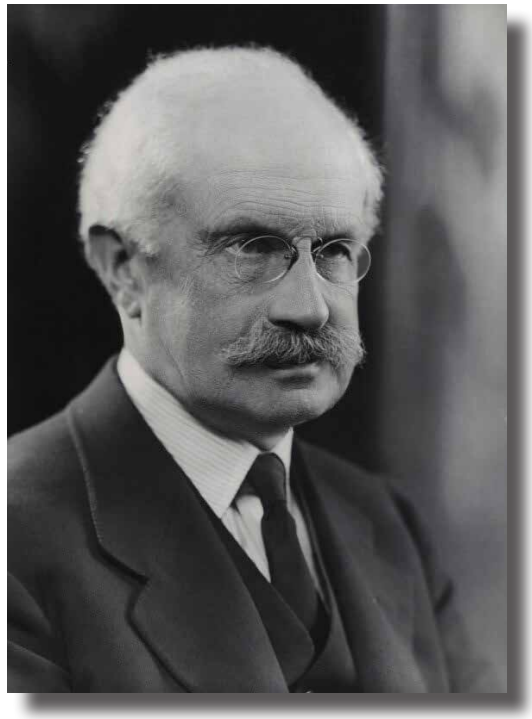


Image 7: John Graham Kerr.
Source: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Dazzle painting continued after the end of hostilities though in a very

17 Hugh Murphy and Martin Bellamy, 'The Dazzling Zoologist: John Graham Kerr and the Eerly Development of Ship Camouflage', *Northern Mariner,* vol 19, no. 2, (2009), pp. 171-192.

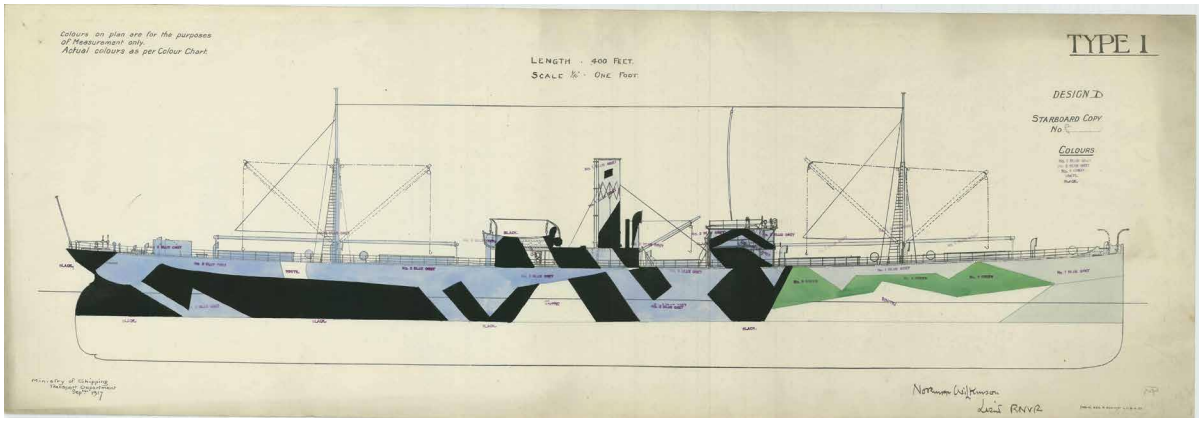


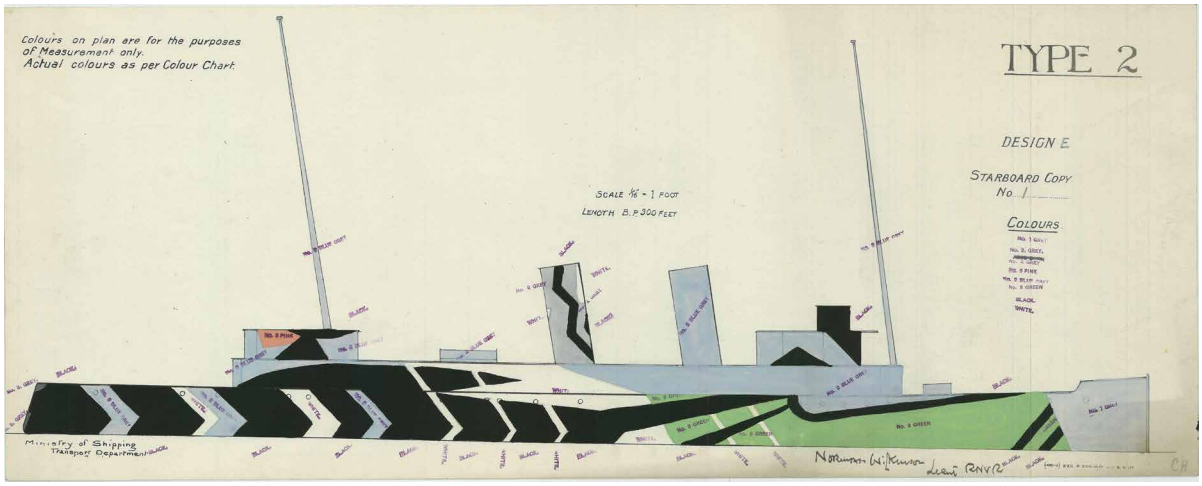
Image 8: Edward Wadsworh, *Dazzle-ships in Drydock at Liverpool in 1919*, oil on canvas. Source: National Gallery of Canada, Ottowa.

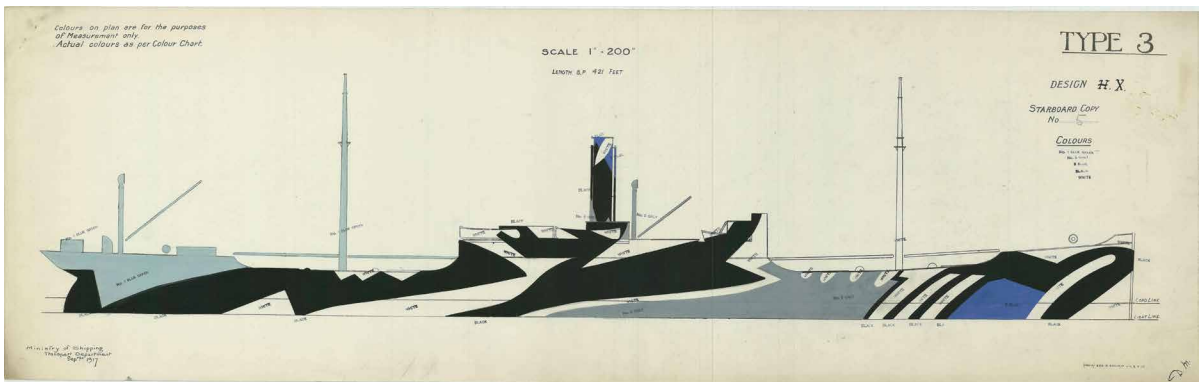
non-naval manner. Vorticist artist Edward Wadsworth, who worked at the Royal Academy to develop designs for Wilkinson, painted *Dazzle-ships in Drydock at Liverpool in 1919* (Image 8). Celebrating the end of the war, the Dazzle Ball was held at the Royal Albert Hall by the Chelsea Arts Club in March 1919. Students made their own costumes based on dazzle principles (Image 9). A similar ball was held in Sydney in October. Even dazzle-based swimsuits were seen at beaches in Britain. Later, in the 1960s, Op Art embraced the optical illusionism of dazzle paint. Although dazzle paint may not have performed as effectively as its creators intended, the concept produced a range of interesting designs that inadvertently influenced popular culture for decades after.

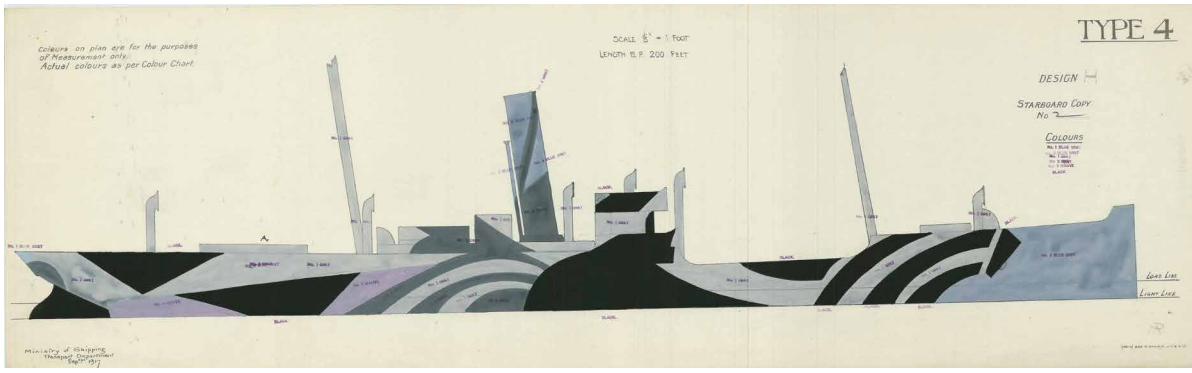


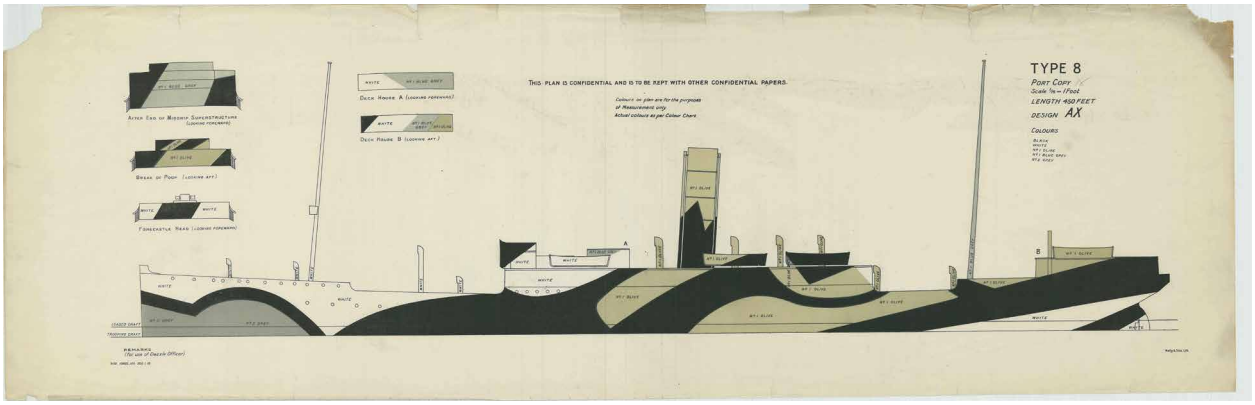
Image 9: Cover of *The Sketch*, March 1919, showing costumes for the Dazzle Ball.

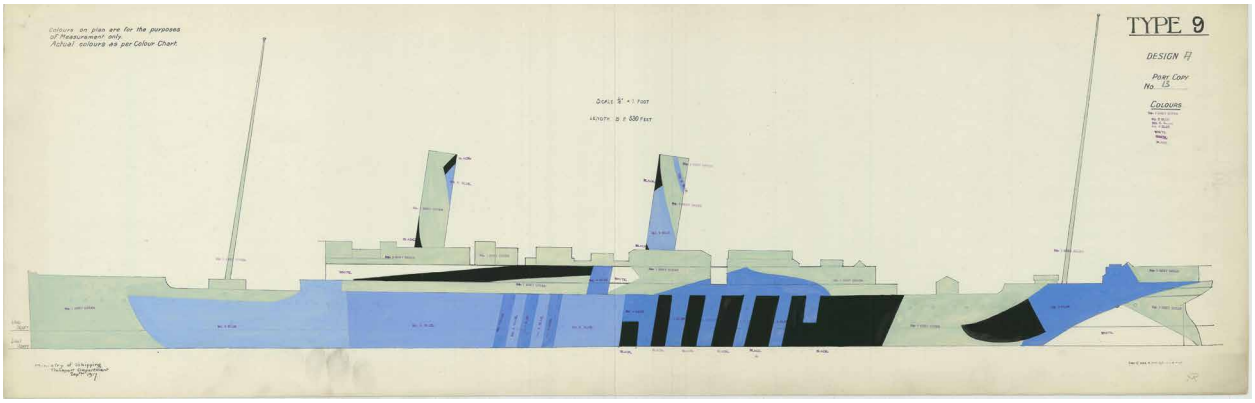

Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
LENGTH - 400 FEET.
SCALE ½" - ONE FOOT.
TYPE 1
DESIGN D.
STARBOARD COPY No 2
COLOURS
Ministry of Shipping Transport Department Sept 1917
Norman Wilkinson Lieut RNVR

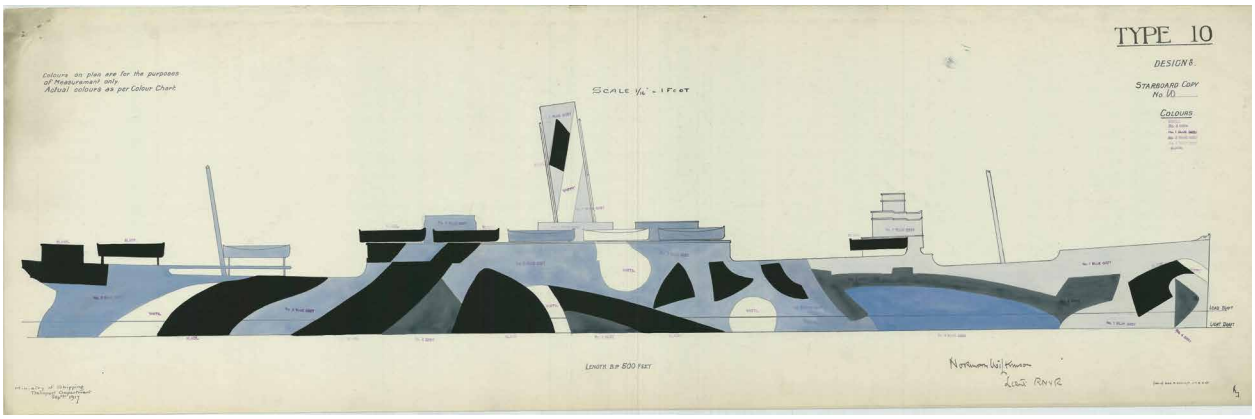

Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
SCALE 1/16 - 1 FOOT
LENGTH B.P 300 FEET
TYPE 2
DESIGN E
STARBOARD COPY No 1
COLOURS
Ministry of Shipping Transport Department
Norman Wilkinson Lieut RNVR

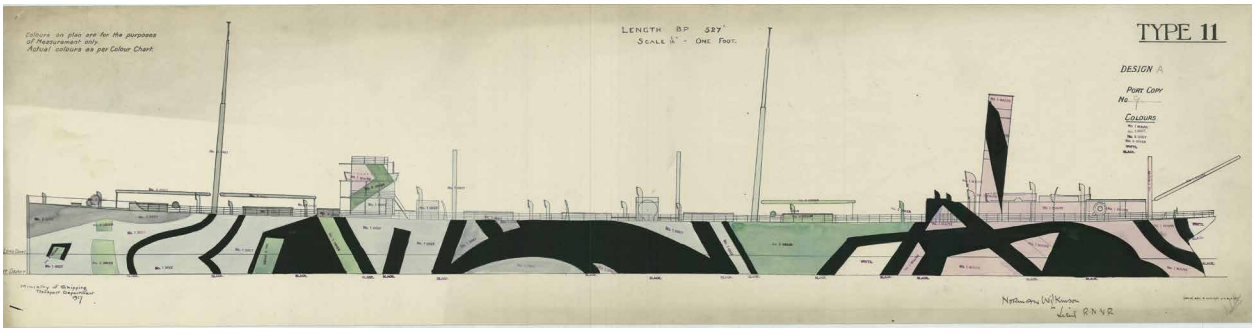

Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
SCALE 1" - 200"
LENGTH B.P 421 FEET
TYPE 3
DESIGN H. X.
STARBOARD COPY No 5
COLOURS
Ministry of Shipping Transport Department Sept 1917

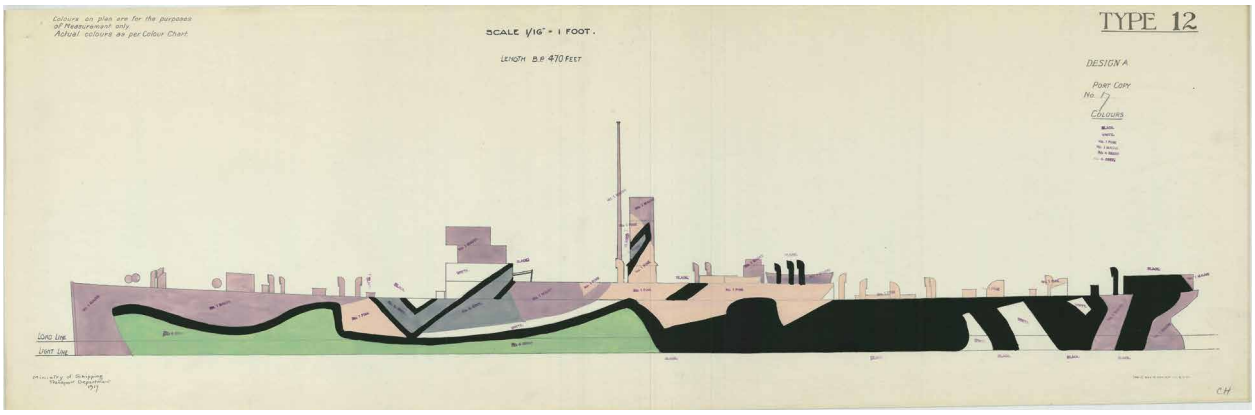

Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
SCALE 1/8" - 1 FOOT
LENGTH B.P. 200 FEET
TYPE 4
DESIGN H
STARBOARD COPY No 2
COLOURS
Ministry of Shipping Transport Department Sept 1917

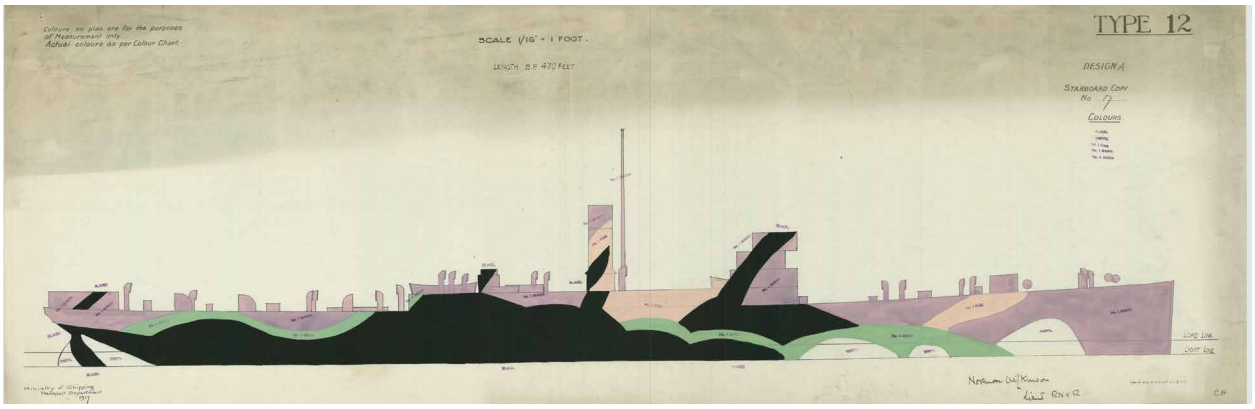

TYPE 8
PORT COPY
SCALE ⅛" = 1 FOOT
LENGTH 450 FEET
DESIGN AX
COLOURS
THIS PLAN IS CONFIDENTIAL AND IS TO BE KEPT WITH OTHER CONFIDENTIAL PAPERS.
Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
REMARKS
(For use of Dockside Officer)

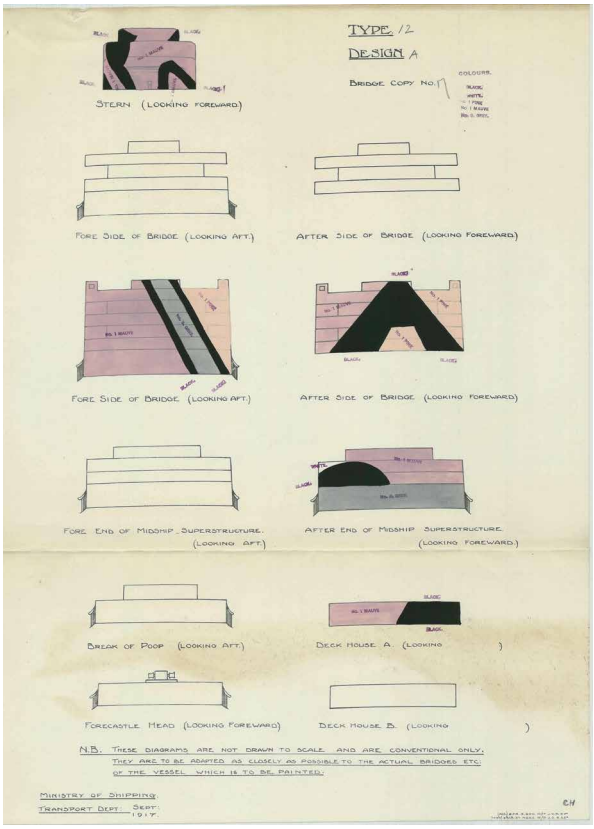

TYPE 9
DESIGN H
PORT COPY
No. 13
COLOURS
Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
SCALE ⅛" = 1 FOOT
LENGTH B.P. 630 FEET

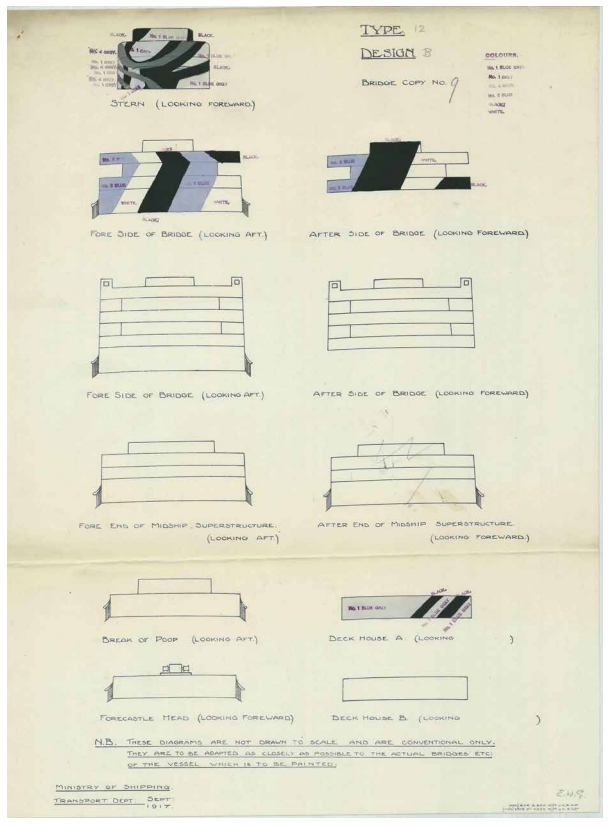

TYPE 10
DESIGN 8.
STARBOARD COPY
No. 10
COLOURS
Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
SCALE ⅛" = 1 FEET
LENGTH B.P. 800 FEET
Lieut RNVR

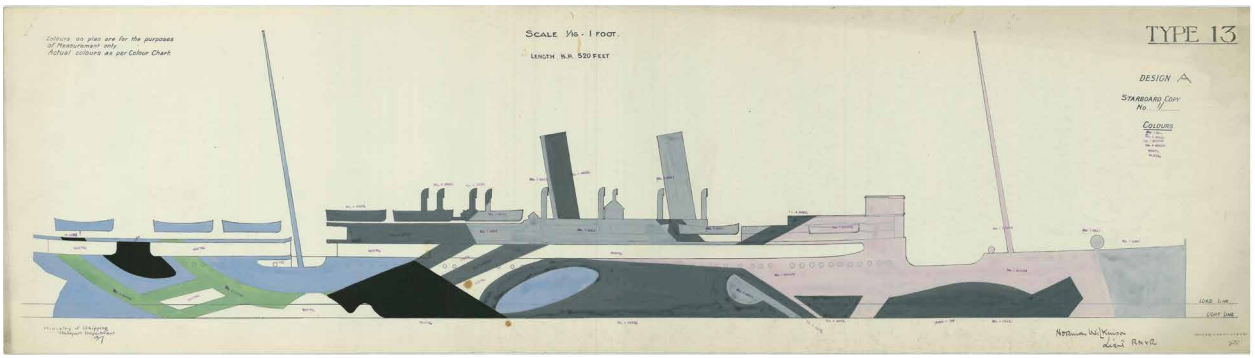

TYPE 11
DESIGN A
PORT COPY
No. 9
COLOURS
Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only. Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
LENGTH BP 527'
SCALE ⅛" = ONE FOOT.
Lieut RNVR

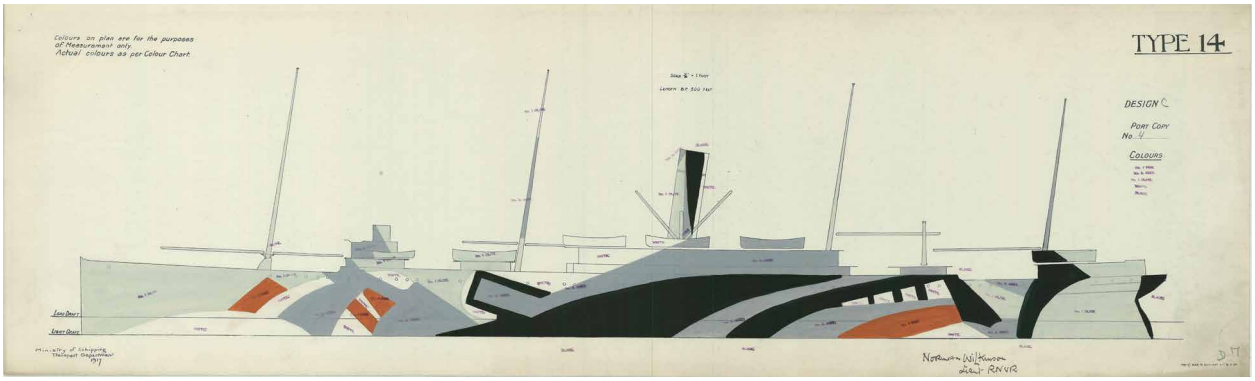

Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only.
Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
SCALE 1/16" = 1 FOOT.
LENGTH B.P. 470 FEET
TYPE 12
DESIGN A
PORT COPY
No. 7
COLOURS
LOAD LINE
LIGHT LINE
Ministry of Shipping
Transport Department
1917
C.H.

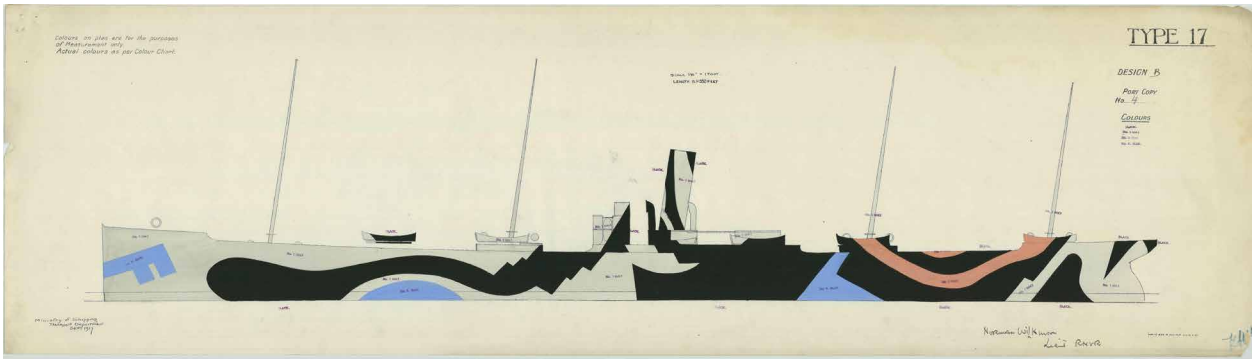

Colours on plan are for the purposes of Measurement only.
Actual colours as per Colour Chart.
SCALE 1/16" = 1 FOOT.
LENGTH B.P. 470 FEET
TYPE 12
DESIGN A
STARBOARD COPY
No. 9
COLOURS
LOAD LINE
LIGHT LINE
Ministry of Shipping
Transport Department
1917
Norman Wilkinson
Lieut. R.N.V.R.
C.H.

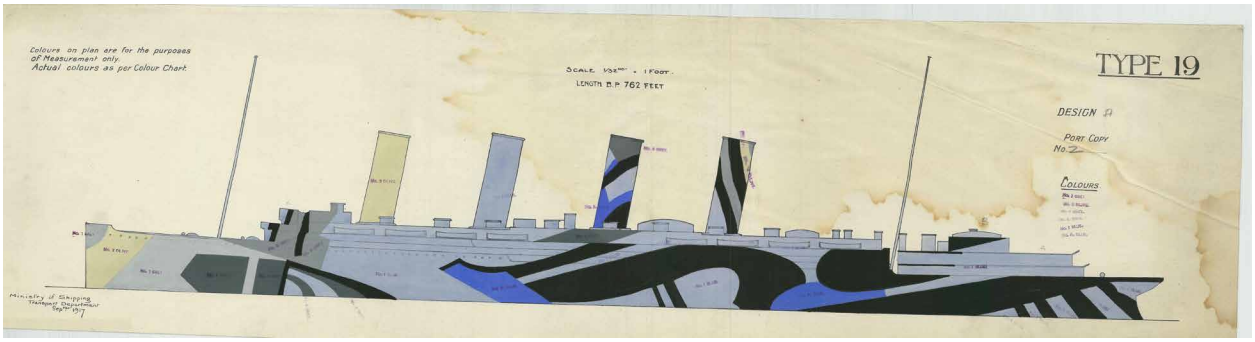

TYPE 12
DESIGN A
BRIDGE COPY No. 7
COLOURS
STERN (LOOKING FOREWARD)
FORE SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING AFT.)
AFTER SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING FOREWARD)
FORE SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING AFT.)
AFTER SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING FOREWARD)
FORE END OF MIDSHIP SUPERSTRUCTURE. (LOOKING AFT.)
AFTER END OF MIDSHIP SUPERSTRUCTURE. (LOOKING FOREWARD.)
BREAK OF POOP (LOOKING AFT.)
DECK HOUSE A. (LOOKING)
FORECASTLE HEAD (LOOKING FOREWARD)
DECK HOUSE B. (LOOKING)
N.B. THESE DIAGRAMS ARE NOT DRAWN TO SCALE AND ARE CONVENTIONAL ONLY. THEY ARE TO BE ADAPTED AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE TO THE ACTUAL BRIDGES ETC OF THE VESSEL WHICH IS TO BE PAINTED.
MINISTRY OF SHIPPING
TRANSPORT DEPT. SEPT. 1917.
C.H.


TYPE 12
DESIGN B
BRIDGE COPY No. 9
COLOURS
STERN (LOOKING FOREWARD)
FORE SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING AFT.)
AFTER SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING FOREWARD)
FORE SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING AFT.)
AFTER SIDE OF BRIDGE (LOOKING FOREWARD)
FORE END OF MIDSHIP SUPERSTRUCTURE. (LOOKING AFT.)
AFTER END OF MIDSHIP SUPERSTRUCTURE. (LOOKING FOREWARD.)
BREAK OF POOP (LOOKING AFT.)
DECK HOUSE A (LOOKING)
FORECASTLE HEAD (LOOKING FOREWARD)
DECK HOUSE B. (LOOKING)
N.B. THESE DIAGRAMS ARE NOT DRAWN TO SCALE AND ARE CONVENTIONAL ONLY. THEY ARE TO BE ADAPTED AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE TO THE ACTUAL BRIDGES ETC OF THE VESSEL WHICH IS TO BE PAINTED.
MINISTRY OF SHIPPING
TRANSPORT DEPT. SEPT. 1917.
E.H.S.









Camouflage Design Drawings for U.S.Navy Commissioned Ships, U.S. Merchant Ships and British Ships, 1917–1919. Source: US Archives, Record Group 19.

Overdue Recognition for the Inventor of the Tank

Bruce Cameron[1]

Following the First World War, a Royal Commission on inventions was set up in Britain to acknowledge and reward those who contributed to the development of the mobile protected weapon system which became known as the Tank. Paradoxically, although Britain was the first nation to field a tank in combat, the title 'inventor of the tank' belongs to an Australian.

Inventions do not just happen. The starting point is usually the need for something to solve a problem, followed by ideas as to how this can be done. Finally, with more thought, a concept results. Further work identifies the main issues involved and leads to the development of a prototype.

The Need

As the 19th Century came to an end, the conduct of warfare was being revolutionised by the invention of the machine gun. Trenches had to be resorted to and the day of cavalry reigning supreme on the battlefield was almost over. The idea of an armoured vehicle which could break the foreseeable stalemate, was advanced by a number of people.

In 1887, the French artist and illustrator, Albert Robida, published *War in the Twentieth Century*. Appreciating the need for some form of mechanised weapon system, one of his drawings featured moving fortresses.[2] Six years later, HG Wells published a story featuring 'land ironclads'. Like their naval counterparts, these machines were protected by armour plate. The enemy were engaged in their trenches by riflemen who could fire from inside; mobility being provided by petrol engines which operated eight pairs of 'pedrail' wheels. This was the critical element: armour was heavy and to be successful, the weight of the ironclad had to be spread over a wide area. Each pedrail wheel comprised fourteen spring loaded pads which

1 Lieutenant Colonel Bruce Cameron, MC (Retired), served in the Australian Regular Army for 19 years. After commanding the last troop of tanks in action in Vietnam, his career saw him attend the UK's Long Armour Infantry Course and Royal Military College of Science, as well as the Australian Command and Staff College. His last appointment involved responsibility for helping to develop the Army's future ground mobility requirements. He left the Army in 1987 to take up a position with the Office of Defence Production. He is the author of *Canister! On! FIRE! : Australian Tank Operations in Vietnam* (2012).

2 A Robida, *War in the Twentieth Century,* Hachette Livre BNF, Paris, (2018); www.theriddleofthesands.com/1883-robida-a-la-guerre-au-vingtieme-siecle, accessed 16 January 2023.



Image 1: Cover of Robida's
La Guerre au Vingtieme Siecle, 1887.

could adapt themselves to the contours on the ground. This was not Wells' idea, but a recent invention he adopted to compensate for the weight of the vehicle.[3]

Up until this time, all attempts to develop a mobile weapon system had been based on a wheeled chassis. One example was the Motor War Car produced by Frederick Simms in 1902.[4] This was the forerunner of the armoured car, something quickly adopted by many armies (first used in action by Italy in the Italo-Turkish War of 1911).

Unfortunately, military planners did not predict a future battlefield which involved attacking an entrenched enemy whilst being vulnerable to their fire and/or stopped by ground conditions. The concept of a heavily armoured machine which could navigate the battlefield without becoming bogged, was something best left to the domain of science fiction. Armoured cars would certainly be able to meet any need for mobile weapons systems in the future (or so the thinking went).

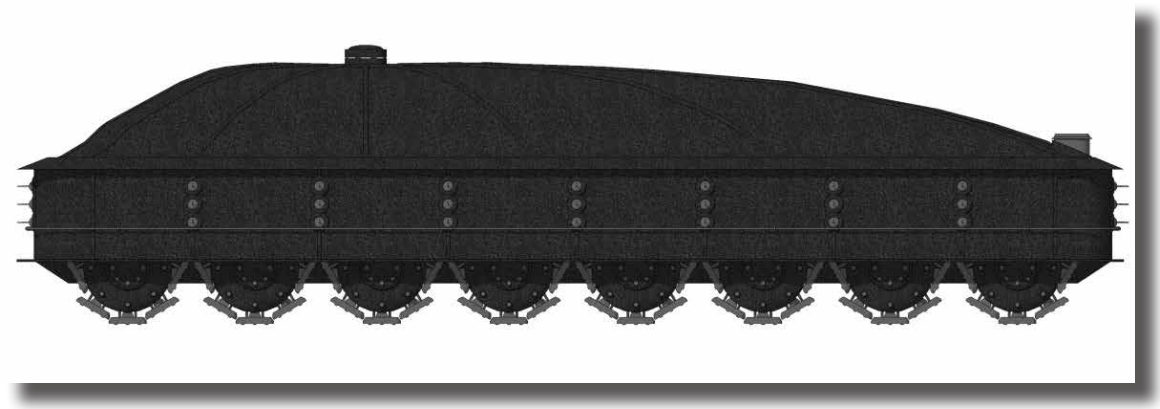


Image 2: Landship envisioned by HG Wells.
Source: tanks-encyclopedia.com/hg-wells-land-ironclads-fictional-tanks/.

3 HG Wells, 'The Land Ironclads', HG Wells Library, 2016; 'H G Wells Land Ironclads (Fictional Tank) tanks-encyclopedia.com/hg-wells-land-ironclads-fictional-tanks/, accessed 16 January 2023.
4 Jack Livesey, *Armoured Fighting Vehicles*, Hermes House, London, (2006), p. 10.



Image 3: Early armoured vehicle. Source: Jack Livesey, *Armoured Fighting Vehicles.*

The Development of Tracked Vehicles

The name tractor did not come from a machine using tracks, but rather a machine driven by a steam powered traction engine. The usefulness of these engines in supplementing human labour was quickly realised. With the development of an internal combustion engine came the real break-through; horses could now be replaced. As the 20th Century approached and steam gave way to petrol, the mechanisation of agriculture was almost, but not quite, complete. Difficulty in negotiating ploughed land and soft ground meant that tractors were often limited in terms of where they could go. This shortcoming was finally solved with the adoption of the 'continuous track'.

Although various prototypes had been developed during the 19th Century, it was not until 1905 that real success was achieved. A version of the Hornsby Chain Track Tractor was trialled for use by the British artillery in 1907, but not adopted.[5] This was not the first time that the value of the military application of an invention failed to be appreciated; nor would it be the last.

In 1911 an Australian, Lancelot Eldin de Mole, was involved with construction projects in Western Australia.[6] Frustrated with vehicles becoming bogged on sites, he set out to find a solution. As work progressed, he realised that his 'chain-rail' design had application on the battlefield: it could carry heavy loads, cross rough

5 'Hornsby Tractor', tankmuseum.org/tank-nuts/tank-collection/hornsby-tractor, accessed 16 January 2023.

6 Lancelot Eldin de Mole (1880–1950), adb.anu.edu.au/biography/de-mole-lancelot-eldin-5950, accessed 16 January 2023; 'Model prototype De Mole Tank', www.awm.gov.au/collection/c111929, accessed 16 January 2023.

terrain and trenches, and was easily steered. De Mole submitted sketches to the British War Office, but they were returned in June 1913; reason … there was no perceived military need!

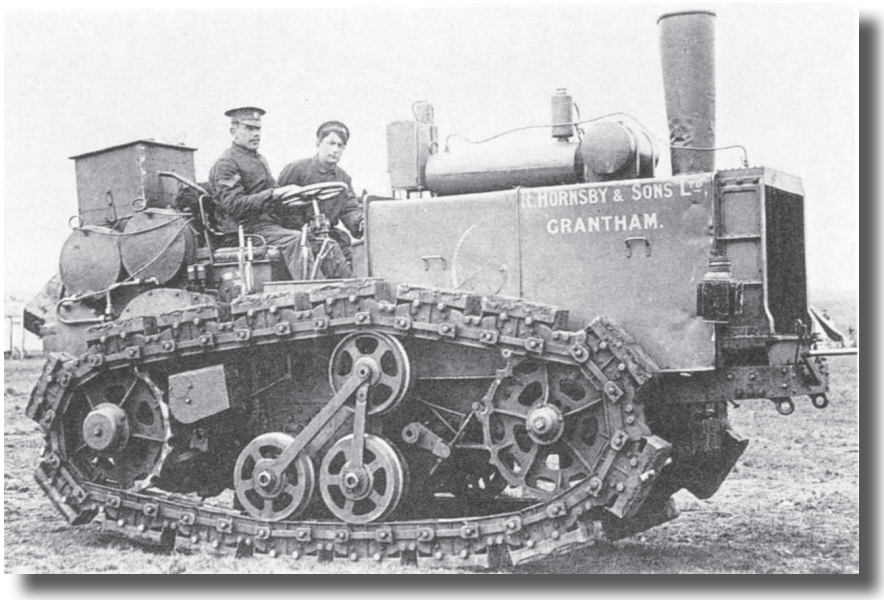


Image 4: Hornsby Tractor.
Source: tankmuseum.org/tank-nuts/tank-collection/hornsby-tractor.

The Landships Committee

The First Battle of Marne was an all-out effort by the armies of Britain and France to halt the German advance on Paris. Fought during 5-12 September 1914, it was a major victory for the Allies with the Germans being forced to fall back and defend long lines of trenches. Huge losses resulted on both sides as the fighting stagnated into trench warfare, dominated by artillery and machine guns.

The need for an armoured weapon system able to close with and break through enemy trenches was now not only necessary, but extremely urgent. While heresy in terms of conventional military thinking, this was the strongly held view of the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill.[7] On his direction, a Landships Committee was formed in February 1915 to develop an armoured fighting vehicle for use on the Western Front.

7 Eric Morris, *Tanks*, Octopus, London, (1975), p. 20.

Initially, the existence of the Committee was concealed from the War Office which was thought likely to have scrapped it. Come July 1915, however, things were different. The situation on the Western Front could no longer be ignored and when the Committee's work became known, the project was taken over by the Army. It must have been a busy time. Having followed up by providing detailed drawings of his invention, de Mole was informed that all inventions had to be accompanied by a working model.

In December 1915, the importance of the project saw an emphasis being placed on secrecy. The story goes that, rather than landships, it was proposed to refer to the development of water carriers to supply troops on the front line. To avoid the initials 'WC', the word Tank was decided upon, with the committee becoming the Tank Supply Committe.



Image 5: Scale model of de Mole's design.
Source: AWM RELAWM01900.

The Prototypes

In August 1915, 'Little Willie', a first prototype was produced (the name being a satirical reference to Crown Prince Wilhelm of Germany).[8] Unfortunately, its manoeuvrability was not good; in particular its ability to meet the criteria of crossing a 2.4 m (8 ft) trench. William Tritton and George Wilson, both engineers, were heavily involved.

8 Kenneth Macksey, *Tank Facts and Figures*, The Two Continents Publishing Group, New York, (1974), p. 51.

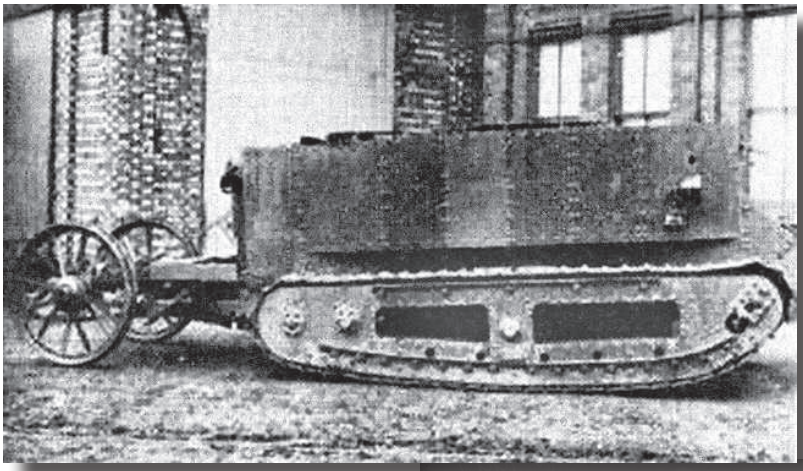


Image 6: 'Little Willie'.
Source: Wikipedia.



Image 7: His Majesty's Land Ship (HMLS) *Centipede*.
Source: IWM Q2488.

The second prototype was much more promising: a rhomboidal shape, the tracks going up and over the top of the hull. Known initially as His Majesty's Land Ship (HMLS) *Centipede* and later *Mother*, it was in this form that tanks first saw action on 15 September 1916 at the Battle of Flers-Courelette.[9]

When Lancelot de Mole saw photos of the Mark 1 tank, he knew that his design was superior. Having previously been rejected because of ill health, de Mole was passed as fit for the Army and embarked for England in September 1917, taking a working model with him (made with borrowed money). On arrival, he argued his case and a demonstration was recommended and approved. Before this could be arranged, however, he was sent to France as part of a contingent of reinforcements.

9 'Voices of the First World War: Tanks on the Somme', https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/voices-of-the-first-world-war-tanks-on-the-somme, accessed 16 January 2023.

The Royal Commission on Inventions

In November 1919, the findings of the Royal Commission on Inventions were handed down in London. With respect to the invention of the tank, the Commissioners decided that:

> … the Tank built for war, by Britain, was in no part designed by Corporal de Mole, therefore he could not be awarded any compensation. They did however agree that his design was superior to that used.
>
> The rewards for the Tank had been awarded to the individuals who had designed the model that Britain had manufactured and used in the war. One of whom was a Major Wilson who received £7,500 and was the same person who had rejected Corporal de Mole's plan in 1912. The Royal Commission went on to state, that they [the Tank Supply Committee] had designed an inferior vehicle, unaware that a better design was within their keeping.[10]

De Mole sought compensation for expenses incurred in the manufacture of his working model and was awarded £985.[11] In 1920, he was made a Commander of the British Empire (CBE).



Image 8: Lancelot de Mole. Source: AWM P09319.

Conclusion

Is it possible to credit a particular individual with being the inventor of the tank? It would have to be someone who both foresaw its role on the battlefield and had the inventive genius to provide a design solution (whether or not the need was accepted at the time). Without doubt, this honour belongs to Mr Lancelot de Mole, CBE.[12]

Finally … when war came in 1914, failure to anticipate the fundamental change in the nature of its conduct, most certainly resulted in a prolonged conflict costing millions of lives. Could such a lapse in forethought and planning for future warfare, happen today?

---

10 'de Mole, Lancelot Eldin', www.campbelltown.sa.gov.au/library/collections-and-resources/local-history-room/localhistoryarticles/local-history-articles-people/de-mole,-lancelot-eldin-engineer-and-inventor, accessed 16 January 2023.

11 Winston Churchill declined to accept any reward for his part in the development of the tank; it was all part of his service to the nation.

12 After a long illness he died in NSW on 6 May 1950.

Like Lord Haw Haw? The Case of Major Charles Cousens, the Japanese Propagandist

Rohan Goyne[1]

Major Charles Cousens was captured by the Japanese with the rest of the 8th Australian Division in Singapore in February 1942. He was subsequently flown to Tokyo and ran the Imperial Japanese English Language Radio propaganda services on Radio Tokyo as part of the Japanese propaganda services during the Second World War. This article examines the case of Cousens, his wartime service, capture and use as a propagandist, his broadcasts and subsequent prosecution in Australia after the war.

Charles Cousens established himself as a Sydney radio personality as radio began to become a prominent form of entertainment in Australian homes. He emigrated to Australia in 1925 and worked at 2GB as a presenter. His popularity was evident on his return to the station after a year working in advertising in 1936 with phone calls and letters to the station welcoming his return.[2] As the German bombing campaign intensified during the Blitz and English children were evacuated, Cousens ran an appeal to raise funds for the Mayor of London. Culminating in a concert at Sydney's Town Hall in November 1939, the campaign raised £1200.[3]

Cousens already had military experience before he joined the AIF in July 1940. Prior to his arrival in Australia, he saw active service with the 2nd Battalion, Sherwood Foresters in Waziristan in India. On enlistment he told the Wireless Weekly magazine that he had 'hankered to soldier with Australian troops, and now I'll get the opportunity in more realistic form than I anticipated'.[4] Promoted captain, Cousens was given command of 'A' Company, 2/19th Infantry Battalion. He sailed for Singapore after attending Officers' School in February 1941. Attached briefly to the Punjab Regiment in April, Cousens took up broadcasting duty briefly in June. After the Japanese invaded Malaya in December, Cousens was hospitalised with burns received accidentally while destroying Jemaluang village 'to allow the completion of urgent defence work'.[5] The battalion had moved to the village, important as a north-south junction, in October where it prepared defences.

1 Rohan Goyne is a former president of the MHSA and regular contributor to *Sabretache*.
2 A'Charles Cousens Back at The 2GB Microphone', *Wireless Weekly*, 24 January 1936, p. 2.
3 'Gift to English Children', *Wireless Weekly*, 18 November 1939, p. 6.
4 'Chas Cousens Joins AIF', *Wireless Weekly*, 13 July 1940, p. 5.
5 War service records, NAA B883, NX34932.

Following the Japanese invasion, civilians were evacuated, houses were demolished to create fields of fire and anti-tank mines laid.[6]

The battalion departed Jemaluang on 16 January 1942, handing the defences over the 5th Norfolk Regiment.[7] Moving to Bakri, east of Muar on the west coast, the battalion experienced intense fighting, suffering heavy casualties on 19 January. More fighting occurred the following days as the battalion, supported by other units, attempted to capture a bridge west of Parit Sulong. On 22 January the order to withdraw arrived after a further attempt to take the bridge failed.[8] Moving to Yong Peng the battalion recovered, allowing time for the commander, Colonel Anderson to reorganise his unit. As this happened, Cousens returned to his company.

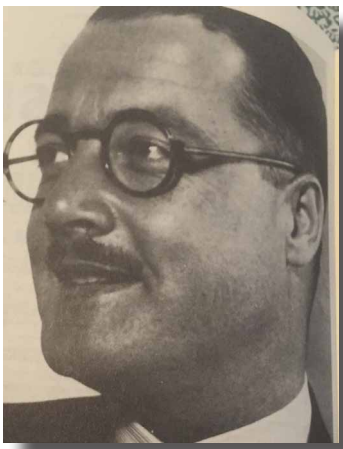


Image 1: Pre-war portrait of Charles Cousens. Source: Russell Howe, *The Hunt for Tokyo Rose.*

Ordered to defend the outer bridgehead of the Johore causeway, the battalion was to allow Allied troops to withdraw to Singapore Island. Cousens's company was established at Johore Barracks until withdrawn with the rest of the battalion over the causeway not having contacted the Japanese. On Singapore Island the battalion took up defences on the western side of the island with Cousens and his company moving to Choa Chu Kang village. Covering a frontage of 3800 yards to a depth of 9000 yards, the country was thick and swampy and lacking in defences of any kind.[9] While the Japanese attacks increased, Cousens's company had avoided the enemy fire but lost contact with the rest of the battalion. As Australians who had been separated from their units in the fighting appeared from the swamps before the company position, Cousens despatched his liaison officer to find battalion headquarters. On his way the officer was informed that the headquarters was isolated and that the company was to withdraw to the Tengah airfield.[10]

On arrival the company joined Merrett Force in a reserve position near the 2/18th Australian Infantry Battalion to the south-east of the airfield.[11] The force comprised remnants of units and on 10 February was ordered to withdraw east to Keat Hong village. With the Japanese following the 200-odd men of Merrett Force moved into Sleepy Valley establishing a small perimeter. That night the

6 2/19th Australian Infantry Battalion War Diary, entries 9-20 December 1941, AWM 52, 8/3/19/8.

7 Lionel Wigmore, *Australian in the War of 1939-1945: The Japanese Thrust*, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, (1957), p. 226.

8 2/19th Australian Infantry Battalion War Diary, entries 19-22 January 1942, AWM 52, 83/3/19/9.

9 2/19th Australian Infantry Battalion War Diary, entry 30 January 1942, AWM 52, 8/3/19/9.

10 Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust*, p. 321.

11 Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust*, p. 324.

Japanese launched a strong attack, assisted by the ignition of a fuel dump. Those asleep were bayoneted and the headquarters, clearly seen by the light of the fire, was targeted. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued and when the position was overrun survivors dispersed to prevent being isolated.[12]

Reorganised at the Botanic Gardens, Cousens, promoted major, took command a company of 180 men in four platoons and by the evening of 13 February took up positions on the southern flank of the Australian defences.[13] Patrols were conducted which saw enemy movement but did not come into contact. Japanese artillery fire intensified over the following days until a warning order was received on 15 February of an impending cease fire.[14]



Image 2: Charles Cousens in uniform.
Source: AWM P00102.020.

After the capitulation Cousens's civilian occupation had been revealed to the Japanese by AIF headquarters. He refused to broadcast for the Japanese while incarcerated in Changi prison and was taken from a prison camp in Burma to Japan in July 1942.[15] Interned in Bunka Camp in Tokyo, Cousens came under the control of Major Shigetsugu Tsuneishi. As part of the 8th Japanese Army's Psychological Warfare Section, an office was established at Radio Tokyo. Tsuneishi interrogated Cousens in August 1942, threatening him with torture and death if he did not broadcast for the Japanese. Cousens delivered his first broadcast that night and worked alongside other Allied prisoners who read news stories and played music. The best known of these broadcasters was Tokyo Rose, Iva Toguri, who was hired and trained by Cousens. After the war Cousens told newspapers that he broadcast 'only because the lives of large numbers of prisoners would have been endangered by refusal' and desired to convey important information to the Allies through the broadcasts.[16] Cousens wrote propaganda scripts, announced news and read messages from prisoners of war. Using 'The Zero Hour' program he spoke in a monotone voice which often had double meanings that Japanese listeners would not understand.

---

12 Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust*, p. 348.

13 2/19th Australian Infantry Battalion War Diary, entries 13 February 1942, AWM 52, 83/3/19/9.

14 2/19th Australian Infantry Battalion War Diary, entries 15 February 1942, AWM 52, 83/3/19/9.

15 Ivan Chapman, 'Cousens, Charles Hughes (1903-1964)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cousens-charles-hughes-9842/text17409. Accessed 10 May 2020.

16 Quoted in 'Captain Charles Cousens', *Sydney Sun*, 20 September 1945, p. 1.



Image 3: Radio Tokyo building, c 1951. Source: AWM DUKJ4432.

At the end of hostilities Cousens returned to Australia under arrest.[17] Suffering heart problems caused by malnutrition Cousens was hospitalised and, by November 1945, went from close to open arrest.[18] Charged under British law, as Commonwealth legislation did not cover treason committed abroad, Cousens faced the death penalty.[19] In July 1946 Cousens was charged with 'traitorously adhering to and aiding and comforting the King's enemies'.[20] In an attempt to defray the charges, Cousens's legal defence appealed to the court for a writ of prohibition to restrain the magistrate from continuing the hearing on the ground that the court had no jurisdiction to hear a treason charge. The magistrate, though, held that he was only determining sufficient reason for the accused to stand trial.[21] By the end of the hearing the magistrate ruled that a prima facie case of treason had been established and Cousens was committed to trial. However, the New South Wales attorney general decided not to file an indictment. The matter moved to the acting solicitor general for the Commonwealth who held a conference in Canberra which inspected evidence 'including some 50 scripts of Japanese propaganda, being news commentaries prepared by Major Cousens and broadcast by Japanese announcers to both America and Australia'. During this deliberation in the House of Representatives, the Minister for the Army, Cyril Chambers, compared Cousens with William Joyce – Lord Haw Haw. Citing a broadcast in August 1942 in which Cousens allegedly called Australia to 'sever its connection with the British Empire, sue Japan for a separate peace, and take its position as one of the component powers in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere'. Chambers told the House that Cousens could not be tried by court martial due to the lapse of time, but 'found that the documents showed clearly that Major Cousens was unfit to hold

17 'Cousens Leaving for Australia', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 October 1945, p. 3.
18 'Cousens Under Open Arrest', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1945, p. 4.
19 Chapman, 'Cousens'.
20 'Cousens Charged', Perth *Daily News*, 23 July 1948, p. 3.
21 'Court Rules on Cousens', Melbourne *Herald*, 15 August 1946, p. 1.

a commission'. He called on Cousens to show cause why his commission should be cancelled under the Defence Act. Cousens furnished Chambers with a lengthy reply, which the Minister and the Military Board felt did not provide adequate reason. Cousens claimed he was acting under duress, but Chambers stated that he was residing in the luxurious Dai Ichi Hotel between August 1942 and March 1943; provided with tailored suits; purchased books at local shops; entertained on more than one occasion; allowed to dine at the exclusive Imperial Hotel; and, when not on duty, returned to Radio Tokyo 'in order to enjoy the company of the Japanese employees'.[22]

By November 1946 the charge for high treason was dropped, being announced by Attorney General Clarence Martin. Having considered the proceedings before the magistrate and the reports of the solicitor general Martin decided 'no bill should be filed against Major Cousens'.[23] Soon after Cousens's AIF appointment was terminated.[24] Throughout the period, Cousens received support from a variety of sources. One fellow 8th Division officer wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* of his 'disgust at the revolting treatment accorded Major Cousens'.[25] Even people who did not know Cousens wrote in support of his case. Charles Hughes of Brighton in Melbourne wrote to the Prime Minister that even though he did not know Cousens he believed that he deserved a 'fair deal'.[26]

Cousens's activities in aiding and abetting the enemy by running their English language propaganda on Radio Tokyo were treasonable. As Lucy Meo has argued, 'Probably the most important of all the prerequisites for successful propaganda is to have capable propagandists and it was in that very requirement that Tokyo at least was sadly lacking'.[27] As an experienced broadcaster Cousens could fill the Japanese need, though under duress.

It is interesting to note that an American and a Dutch co-conspirator at Radio Tokyo were quickly tried by their respective countries and executed for their treasonous activities after the war. Cousens commanded all the other Allied ranks and civilians who worked at Radio Tokyo between 1942 and 1945. He effectively managed the English Language Radio Propaganda Service being transmitted from Tokyo to the allies.

The primary evidence of Cousens treasonable activities comes from the texts of the excess of 500 broadcasts prepared by him and which were broadcast from Radio Tokyo.

---

22 *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates* (House of Representatives), 20 March 1947, pp. 932-933.
23 'No Cousens Trial', Melbourne *Herald*, 6 November 1946, p. 1; Major CH Cousens: alleged collaboration with the Japanese, NAA A472, W30733/3.
24 War service records, NAA B883, NX34932; Discharge from AIF, NAA A432, 1950/1286.
25 'Army Punishment of Cousens', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 1947, p. 2.
26 Letter, Hughes to Menzies, 2 February 1947, NAA A461, AN337/1/4.
27 Lucy Meo, *Japan's Radio War on Australia 1941-45*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, (1968), p. 43.

Seek and ye shall find broadcast 30 June/1 July 1943
'Let us see what existing knowledge we have. First, we have the fact that America has been engaged in a war in the Pacific for a full eighteen months without a policy. Next we have the threat by America that she will carry death, destruction and disaster into East Asia in an attempt to break up the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Again, with a policy…'

The war without a purpose broadcast 4/5 February 1944
'Sensation? Consternation? In heaven's name why? Can it be that the critics think an economically unsound Japan would be more beneficial to Australia? …To whom then is Australia to sell but to her nearest and biggest and most logical customer – Japan...'

Wanted – a leader broadcast 24/25 June 1943
'…the end of this extraordinary struggle against growing up came when the Roosevelt Government plunged the country into what it felt would be a short, successful war in the Pacific. Now eighteen months later, all illusions are gone and the American people – but not the American President – are beginning to face the facts…But no lead has been given to them. The leader America needs has not yet appeared…'[28]

The above texts contain statements among other things that the United States was fighting a war without a policy and that President Roosevelt was not the leader America needed. As Australia was allied with America in the Pacific War, the texts of the broadcasts authored by Cousens who was then a commissioned officer in the Australia Army were prima facie treasonous.

The Commonwealth Crimes Act as at 1945 did not contain the offence of treasonable actions committed in another country. Rather, an offence only existed for treasonable activities committed in Australia or its territories. When framed the Commonwealth Crimes Act did not envisage the possible extra-territorial application of the offence of treason.

At Cousens's postwar trial, 50 of his 500 broadcasts were selected randomly by the Crown as indicative evidence against him. Cousens's defence team did not dispute these broadcasts were authored by him. Instead, the defence team argued that Cousens had included in the broadcast scripts subtle structural tricks which undermined the propaganda value of the broadcasts. The magistrate ultimately found that a prima facie case existed against Cousens on the charges for which Cousens then entered a not guilty plea. The decision now rested for the matter to be brought forward as a jury trial in the NSW Supreme Court. The NSW Attorney General then sought formal opinions from eminent legal figures of the time about

28 Ivan Chapman, *Tokyo Calling: The Charles Cousens Case*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney (1990), pp. 372-375.

the likelihood of securing a conviction by a jury against Cousens. The two opinions confirmed that the likelihood was low of securing a conviction. On that basis the State of NSW did not proceed to trial in the NSW Supreme Court against Cousens. Cousens returned to Radio Station 2GB and subsequently moved to Channel 7 with the arrival of television in Australia. He died suddenly, in May 1964, aged 60.

Conclusion

The case of Charles Cousens divided opinion in Australia even amongst veterans of the 8th Division. As the magistrate concluded, there was a prima facie case against Cousens, but it did not proceed to trial before a jury of his peers. The fact that the Commonwealth Crimes Act did not contain an offence for which Cousens could be charged rather the charge had to be laid by the State of NSW under a colonial era law reflects poorly on those charged with maintaining the currency of the Commonwealth statute book given that Australia had already fought in overseas conflicts prior to the Second World War.

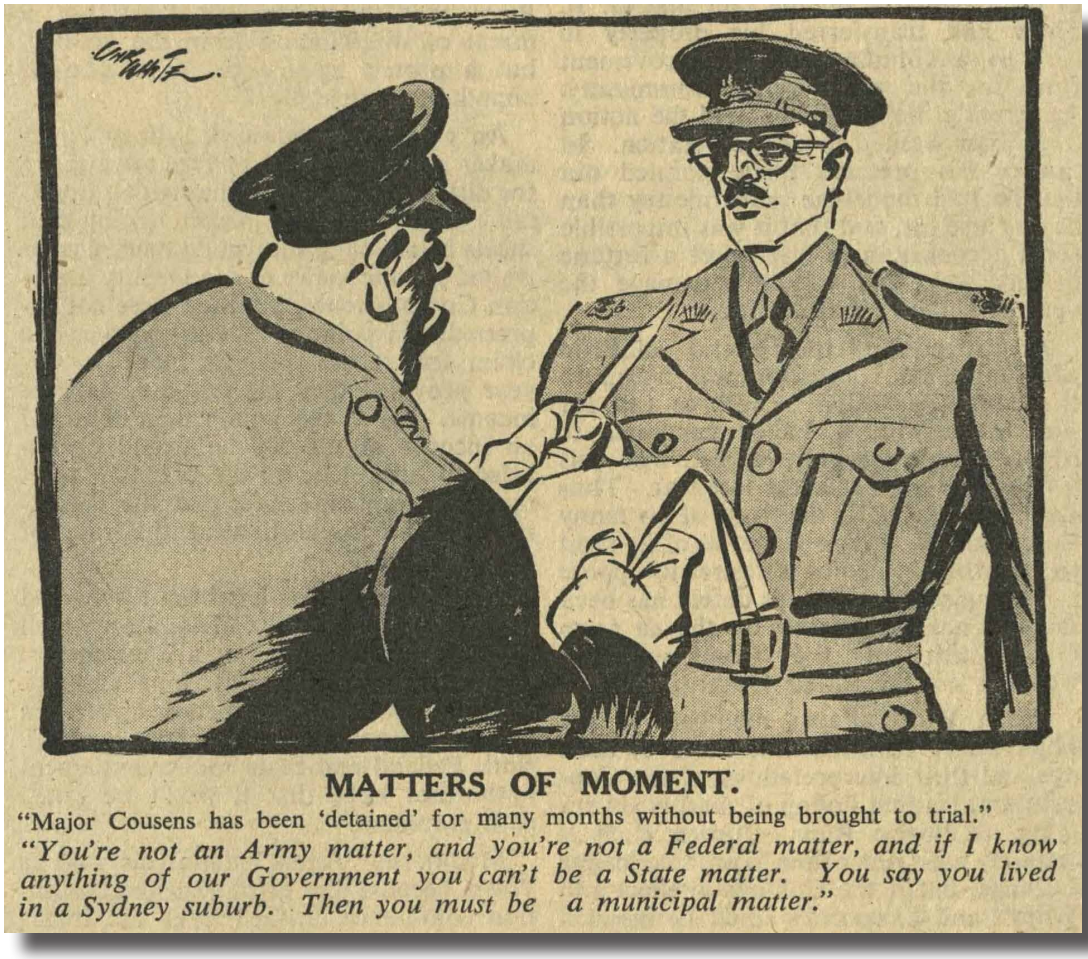


Image 4: 'Matters of Moment', cartoon by Unk White.
Source: *The Bulletin*, 5 June 1946, p. 13.

Letters to the editor

By email

I was very interested in your own article in the March 2023 edition of *Sabretache* about the Nation family of eastern Adelaide and the death of their three sons on the Western Front in 1917; and the repercussions for their parents. Your readers may be interested in the parallel story of another South Australian family whose three sons died on the Western Front in 1916 with consequences for their parents.

Benjamin and Elizabeth Potter saw their four sons enlist for the War and all the brothers were sent to the Western Front. Three of them (Edward, Hurtle, and Thomas) were killed on the same day in September 1916 during the Battle of Mouquet Farm. The fourth son called Ralph survived but he was seriously wounded only four days later. Ralph was allowed to return home to support his very grief-stricken parents but only two months later his mother died of a 'broken heart'.

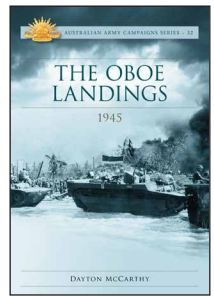
Gregory J Ivey

By email

I was interested in Rohan Goyne's article on RAAF Gungahlin (*Sabretache*, vol. LXIV, no. 1) as it brought back memories of my youth. In 1963 I was a 14 year old member of No 2 Flight Air Training Corps on my first ATC camp at RAAF Fairbain. I am sure we were probably a nuisance to the RAAF as they struggled to find things for us to do. One rather wet and drizzly day a number of us were bundled into a RAAF Dodge troop carrier and taken out to RAAF Gungahlin. The main buildings which were relatively minor from my memory were secured by a chain link fence and barbed wire top. On opening the gates and driving through I can not say as 14 year olds we were terribly excited. The RAAF WO explained things to us-apparently the station was automated and he had come out to perform some maintenance function. The drive in the truck was probably the key interest for us.

Kind regards
David Deasey
Lt Col (retd)

Reviews



The Oboe Landings 1945: Australian Army Campaigns Series – 32
Dayton McCarthy
Big Sky Publishing, Newport, 2022
Paperback, $19.95

Oboe was the codename for a planned series of six amphibious landings by Australian forces in 1945, on what was then the Netherlands East Indies and British North Borneo. In 1942 the Japanese had secured these islands as an important source of oil, rubber and other raw materials required for waging war. By 1944, however, with the US landings on the Philippines and elsewhere, the sea lanes to Japan were effectively severed and the island garrisons left isolated and immobilised. In an ironic twist on the wartime posters aimed at conserving resources, which asked 'Is this trip really necessary?', questions were raised then, and have continued to be raised and discussed ever since, as to the necessity of invading islands which were no longer capable of contributing to the Japanese war effort.

In fact, even before the planning stages got underway, Oboe 3, 4 and 5 were cancelled, leaving only Oboe 1, 2 and 6 to be carried out by I Australian Corps under Lt Gen Sir Leslie Morshead, supported by Australian and United States naval and air force assets. Despite his blatant sidelining of Australian ground forces in the Allied advance towards the Japanese home islands, US Gen Douglas Macarthur was adamant that the Australian Army not be reduced in strength, nor deployed outside of (his) South West Pacific Area. Its involvement in the proposed Oboe operations would seem to have offered some justification for upholding both demands. The War Cabinet under PM Curtin and C-in-C Gen Blamey was caught between the need to meet manpower demands by agriculture and industry at home, while wishing – rather like PM Hughes during the previous world war – to endow the nation with a certain degree of political clout at the peace table. In the end it acquiesced in participating in the now truncated Oboe plans.

I remember a veteran of the 2/43rd Battalion saying that any doubts he and his mates may have had about the value of the Oboe landings were swept aside by the joyful reception they received from the people of Borneo upon liberation from Japanese rule. The Oboe Landings 1945 makes no such observations, because it operates at a different level. The key to the book is in the title: it literally is about the actual landings themselves, almost to the exclusion of what followed. For in-depth descriptions of subsequent actions, the reader will need to consult the official history volume The Final Campaigns by Gavin

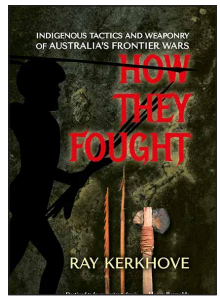
Long. Author Dayton McCarthy is forthright in presenting his remit: 'We know the Borneo landings made no contribution to the final defeat of Japan', he says. Instead, they 'are worthy of professional study' because they demonstrate the 'amphibious mindset' that had developed within the Allied forces operating in the Pacific theatre at the time (p.6).

Thus, after summarising the context in which amphibious warfare was conceived and developed in the SWPA, The Oboe Landings 1945 examines the hardware available in the form of ships and landing craft designed for specific purposes and phases in what the British termed 'combined operations'. Then a section is devoted to each of the three Oboe landings: Oboe 1 (1 May 1945) on Tarakan by the 26th Infantry Brigade Group; Oboe 6 – actually the second landing in order (10 June 1945) – on Labuan and Brunei Bay by the rest of 9th Division, chiefly the 20th and 24th Infantry Brigades; and Oboe 2 (1 July 1945) on Balikpapan by the 7th Division.

In keeping with the other volumes in the Australian Army Campaigns Series, there is a wealth of additional information supporting the main narrative, not only in the form of copious photos, maps and diagrams, but also very detailed orders of battle and tables of organisation, informative biographies, descriptions of weapons and hardware, and much else besides. Also true to the goals of the series, there are some pertinent observations for and lessons to be learnt by current practitioners in the field of amphibious warfare. All in all, while The Oboe Landings 1945 may not be a work for the general reader, it should prove of considerable interest and value to anyone wishing to delve more deeply into the intricacies and origins of modern combined operations.

Paul Skrebels

How They Fought: Indigenous Tactics and Weaponry of Australia's Fronter Wars
Ray Kerkhove
Boolarong Press, Tingalpin
Paperback, $39.99



At this moment pressure is increasing on the Australian War Memorial to include 'a comprehensive, historically accurate commemoration of the Frontier Wars'. Historians Dr David Stephens and Professor Peter Stanley with Vietnam veteran Noel Turnbull have proposed an Action Plan that advocates truth-telling about the Frontier Wars. The plan calls for an amendment of the Memorial's Act that permits inclusion of the Frontier Wars, a dedicated gallery (rather than a proposed inclusion in the pre-1914 conflict gallery) and consultation with historians and First Nations

representatives external to the Memorial staff and advisory body. As mentioned on the 'Honest History' website, there is a growing number of Australian historians who are making significant contributions to Indigenous history.

One such historian is Ray Kerkhove and his new book, *How They Fought: Indigenous Tactics and Weaponry of Australia's Fronter Wars*. Working with a variety of sources – historical, archaeological, anthropological – to ensure a diversity of information, Kerkhove has reversed the typical approach to the Frontier Wars from that of the coloniser. He admits that his book 'is at best an introduction' but hopes 'to evoke further studies and debates grounded more solidly in appreciations for the much-neglected warrior traditions of Australia's First Nations'. His extensive research is a sound foundation for further scholarship.

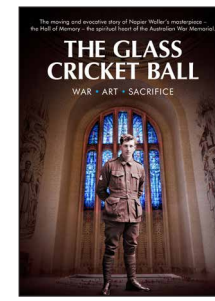
Structurally, *How They Fought* includes chapters on 'typical' engagements, organisation, command and control, strategies, weaponry, and defences. The chapter on command and control, for example, includes discussion of chains of command, insignia, inter-tribal meetings, long-distance communication networks, patrols and policing; each section using numerous historical sources. In many chapters tabulated research provides quantitative data of actions, including clashes and property destruction.

What Kerkhove argues, and is supported by his extensive research, is that Australia's First Nations comply with the terminology of a military force, albeit in a distinct manner. This may prove to be contentious for some readers. However, he demonstrates organisation, training and culture that complies with a military force. What stands out for this reviewer is the adaptability of the Indigenous populace to the introduction of alien people and animals. Tactics and methodologies were altered to combat encroachment on traditional lands, often using non-violence to achieve results.

How They Fought is a significant contribution toward Australian military and Indigenous historiography and will become a foundational work for historians of the Frontier Wars.

Justin Chadwick

The Glass Cricket Ball
Jan William Smith
Big Sky Publishing, Newport, 2022
Paperback, $29.99



Over the years I have had the privilege of visiting the Australian War Memorial and looked at the glass-stained windows in the Hall of Memory not fully understanding the significance of the glass panels. *The Glass Cricket Ball* goes a long way to explain

and provide the answer. In essence this book looks at the Melbourne artist Napier Waller OBE CMG and his work establishing the glass panels. Not only did he play a pivotal part in setting up the glass panels, even with the loss of an arm which he sustained from his service in the Western Front, he produced a great work. Jan William Smith has described the journey Napier undertook to establish the panels and the significance of each of them.

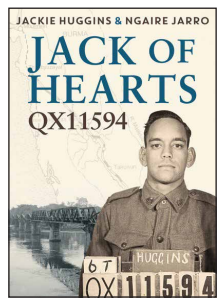
The tomb of the of the Unknown Soldier is located in the same area adding a special significance to the building. The author has traced the life of Napier Waller from when he became a casualty at the battle of Bullecourt and Napier realising that a loss of an arm would not hold him back from his love of continuing as a watercolour artist. With a steely commitment and not wishing to become an invalid or a burden on society, he pursued a career as an artist. I found gazing at the panels that I never really understood what the panels were trying to tell me. This book goes a long way towards explaining what the glass panels are. Australia's love of sport, especially cricket, provides the reason why there is a cricket ball and stumps located on the window as `ancestry', a tradition of the Anzacs of the First World War. Napier thought a sporting image was essential in highlighting the Australians' love of sport.

The book has eighteen chapters with an epilogue, notes and information on the author. In the centre of the book the author has provided several photos, one being of Napier Waller, with six photos on some of Napier's drawings produced in his time of service on the Western Front. In the notes section the author provides the biographical details of people who were close to Napier during his life and information of interest on Bullecourt, Napier's home and lastly the speech given by The Honourable Paul Keating at the dedication of the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, a fitting end to conclude the book.

I would recommend this book to anyone who is interested in the glass panels in the Hall of Memory, and the next time you have the opportunity to visit the War Memorial take a moment to reflect on the significance of the panels and look for the glass ball and stumps located on the `ancestry' panel and remember what one man was able to achieve even with the loss of an arm. All in all, a great read.

Michael English

Jack of Hearts QX11594
Jackie Huggins and Ngaire Jarro
Magabala Books, Broome, 2022
Paperback, $27.95



Born in north Queensland, John 'Jack' Huggins had an idyllic childhood in Ayr, where his family somehow escaped the harsh

Queensland government treatment of First Nations' peoples. Jack enlisted in the 2/29th Battalion AIF in March 1941. When Singapore fell in February 1942, Jack was taken POW by the Japanese and spent much of the war on the Burma-Thailand railway as part of 'A' Force.

Jack died at the age of 38 from his war injuries, leaving his wife Rita to raise four young children. Jackie and Ngaire grew up learning more about their beloved father from their grieving mother Rita. But the biggest gap in knowledge was of Jack's experiences as a POW and slave labourer in 'A' Force. As the authors discover, 'This is where his record gets patchy and the trail goes cold'. Jack's daughters and relatives 'walk in his place' by travelling to sites of his slave labour and captivity.

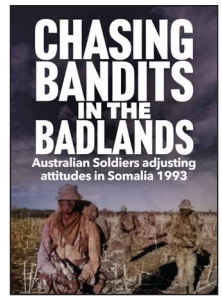
Rita Huggins had spoken to his sisters about Jack's wartime mates including Loftus 'Bluey' Dun and Robert Landers. Jackie, during research for the book, spoke with POW relatives of veterans Eddie and Eric Ruska. Although a veteran of different experience to her father, Jackie writes of her reflections on (Captain) Reg Saunders as her mentor in the Department of Aboriginal Affairs in Canberra in the 1980s. Jackie and Ngaire draw on other memories, such as being at school and playing sport with daughters of Len Waters, Australia's first and only known Indigenous fighter pilot during the Second World War.

From published and archival sources, including his POW Trust Fund application, the sisters learn more about the locations and context of Jack's war, as well as the nature of his war-inflicted illnesses. The authors discuss Jack's pre-war life as an Aboriginal man raised between two world wars, and as a strong sportsman. Jack's father John Huggins served in the First World War, and Jack of Hearts is richer for the pages that speak about the lives of the authors' grandparents, John and Fanny Huggins.

In this book, readers enter a deeper example of the process of 're-collecting' historical record and 're-membering its parts'. As the book's editor Alison Ravenscroft writes in her Afterword, this book Aboriginalises 'national' history as it gently insists on 'another account that deposes the habitualised telling of 'white Australia at war and its aftermath'.

I was privileged to be invited as a research assistant to assist Jackie and Ngaire to locate primary and secondary sources for this book project.

Katrina Kittel



Chasing Bandits in the Badlands: Australian Soldiers adjusting attitude in Somalia 1993
Bob Breen
Big Sky Publishing, Newport, 2023
Paperback, $29.99

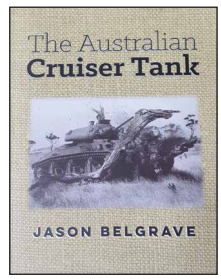
In January 1993 the Australian government committed troops to assist in the international effort to provide humanitarian aid to impoverished Somalia. Years of civil war had ravaged the country with criminal gangs rampant. The Australian force implemented a patrolling regime to return peace to the streets of Baidoa and instil confidence in the population. After an inauspicious start, the result was positive whilst challenging and established the reputation of (then) Lieutenant Colonel David Hurley.

Contributor to the official history of Australia's involvement in Somalia and author of the Army History Unit's monograph *Australian Force Somalia 1992-1993*, Bob Breen is well placed to write an accessible book on the subject. In *Chasing Bandits in the Badlands*, he endeavours to highlight the importance and contribution of junior leaders and their teams to the operation. What is demonstrated is that the professionalism of the infantry, through clear rules of engagement and mission command, was prevalent despite the intervening period of extended peacetime. Breen notes that, as with most military histories, the action is the focus while predominantly it is the times of inaction that predominate. This, he argues, is as important as successful contacts and shows the importance of the section leader and effective patrolling.

The lack of references and index, and some consistent editing problems, lessen the impact of *Chasing Bandits*. These, though, are really minor quibbles in what is otherwise an excellent narrative of the Australian involvement in Somalia during 1993 which is complimented with an excellent range of photographs.

For those readers who are not enamoured with reading official histories the combination of an official historian who has written on the subject and a concise and readable format would appear ideal. In *Chasing Bandits in the Badlands*, Bob Breen has achieved just that.

Justin Chadwick



The Australian Cruiser Tank
Jason Belgrave
Jabiru Publishing, Cairns, 2022
Paperback, $65.00

The Australian Cruiser 'Sentinel' tank was a remarkable

achievement for Australia during the Second World War as we did not have any previous experience in producing an armoured vehicle of this nature. Overcoming many hurdles, utilising techniques available and using several innovations, Australia was able to produce a tank comparable to other tanks being or which had been produced in other countries. Although not produced in great numbers, such as the British Crusader, American M3 and M4 mediums or the Russian BT-5, it was an outstanding vehicle.

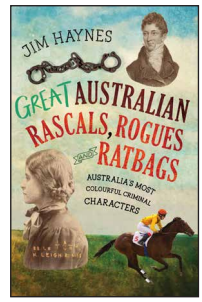
*The Australian Cruiser Tan*k fills a void in the story of the Sentinel tank providing many details of its design and construction with a range of previously unpublished photos taken during construction. The book provides many details of the design and manufacturing process without becoming too technical or general as other works on similar topics. The design and construction process are written in an easy-to-read style, highlighted with the appropriate illustrations.

Considering the limited information openly available, it is well-researched using many official archive sources to provide a well-balanced picture of the Australian made vehicle. I found the work very easy to read and understand, being a valuable addition to my knowledge on ar-moured vehicles. It could be considered a useful reference for anyone interested in armoured vehicles and who are looking to fill the void in their knowledge or library on this vehicle.

My copy was purchased during a visit to The Australian Armour and Artillery Museum in Cairns, website: https://www.ausarmour.com/.

Michael Firth

Great Australian Rascals, Rogues Ratbags
Jim Haynes
Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest,
Paperback, $22.00



Jim Haynes has written a thoroughly entertaining and easy-to-read book in Great Australian Rascals, Rogues Ratbags. I have read several books from the author over the years and this one is up to his usual high standard. The book is set out in fifteen chapters covering many diverse Australian characters who were not the pillars of society. But reading *Great Australian Rascals, Rogues Ratbags* I feel perhaps there is a little mischief in all of us.

Haynes has delved into Australia's past and presented fifteen larger than life characters who, for good or bad, are a quintessential part of our history. He has presented us with many different stories that may not have come to light without the author's deep research into to the background of these felons. In some cases, some of the individuals were wrongly charged with crimes that today would

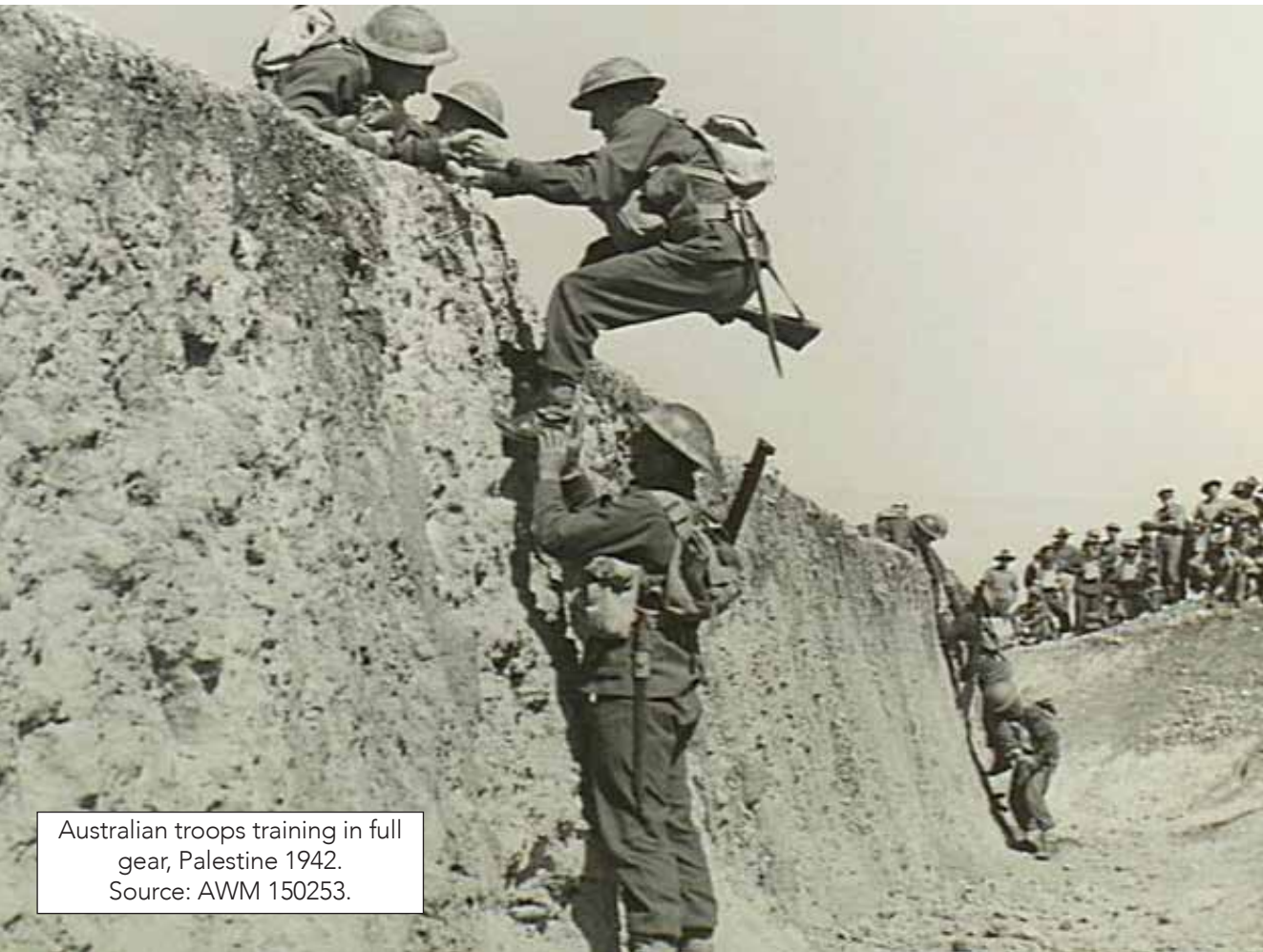
receive a slap on the hand and told to sort themselves out. On the other hand there were some who faced serious crimes and were dealt with as the law of the day dictated.

Perhaps our convict past has permeated through to present day society as today there are tales of individuals who, for one reason or another, carry out similar crimes, but still warrant jail time for being rouges or just plain ratbags.

I enjoyed *Great Australian Rascals, Rogues Ratbags* immensely as I found each story interesting and satisfied my I love of Australian history. Haynes's has produced a book that allows the reader to look into our past and smile. He has gone to great lengths to produce an easy-to-read book that gives the reader a look at some of Australia's past villains and their stories.

Jim Haynes is obviously a great storyteller and that comes out in *Great Australian Rascals, Rogues Ratbags*. I look forward to his next book. All in all, a great read.

Michael English



Australian troops training in full gear, Palestine 1942. Source: AWM 150253.

From the archives

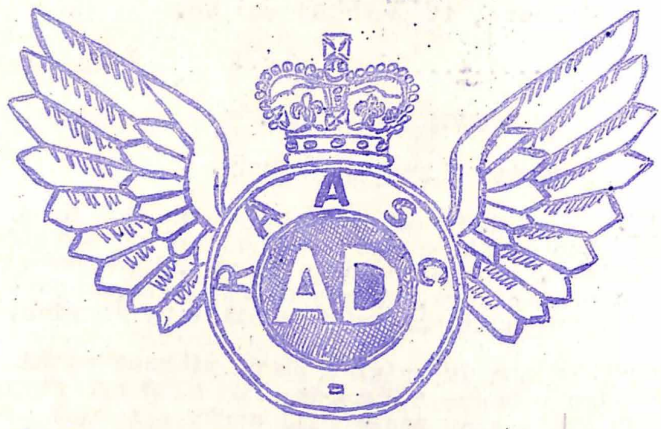
Sixty years ago, in the April 1963 edition of *Sabreatche,* MHSA members learned of the issue of a new badge for the Royal Australian Army Service Corps. Reproduced here as it appeared, the article has been taken from the *Sabreatche* archive available to all members on the MHSA website.

NEW BADGE FOR AIR DESPATCHERS R.A.A.S.C.

A Skill at Arms badge has been approved for Air Despatchers in the Royal Australian Army Service Corps.

It is similar to the badges worn by the Royal Army Service Corps and those in other British Commonwealth countries, the difference being in the corps initial letters.

It will be worn on the left upper arm, in silver and gold embroidery on blue, for mess dress, blue uniform, ceremonial whites, and on the walking out tropical uniform. In khaki winter service dress and battledress, the badge will be in worsted embroidery, blue and gold on khaki.



Those who may wear the badge are those qualified as Despatchers, who have completed 20 operational or 40 training sorties (or a combination of the two), and who requalify in the trade test every 18 months.

Approval for this badge was granted in May 1963.

.....

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
Secretary/Treasurer	Ian Curtis PO Box 243 Maleny QLD 4552	various locations South East Queensland

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

President	Elizabeth Hobbs	7.30pm, 2nd Friday of each month, except Good Friday National Servicemen's Association 41 Surrey Road, Keswick
Secretary	Peter Staker Peter Staker, 68 Reynell Road, Woodcroft SA 5162 stakerp@gmail.com	
Treasurer	David Hobbs	

VICTORIA

President	Leigh Ryan	8pm, 4th Thursday of each month except December Oakleigh RSL Drummond Street, Oakleigh
Secretary	George Ward PO Box 854, Croydon Vic 3136 geofw46@outlook.com	
Treasurer	Bill Black	

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

President	Steven Danaher	3rd Wednesday of every month, Officers' Mess, Army Museum of WA, Artillery Barracks, Burt St, Fremantle
Secretary	Richard Farrar 2a Zamia St, Mt Claremont WA 6010 wasec@mhsa.org.au	
Treasurer	Dick Kagi	