Defence Force Journal

Contributions of any length will be considered but, as a guide, 3000 words is the ideal length. Articles should be typed double spaced, on one side of the paper, and submitted in duplicate.

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ISSN 0314-1039
Published for the Department of Defence by the Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1990
90/20 504 Cat. No. 90 0613 2
Gallipoli 75th Anniversary – 1915-1990

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Printed in Australia by Better Printing Service
1 Foster Street, Queanbeyan, NSW
The decision of the Australian Government in August 1914 to send 'an expeditionary force of 20,000 men of any suggested composition to any destination desired by the Home Government' says a great deal about the way our young nation viewed itself at that time.

As a people we tended to seek guidance from our 'mother country'. We looked outwards for a focus for our identity, which we seemed to find in terms of our place in the British Empire.

While the structures of nationhood were in place we were, in a very real sense, still a group of colonies.

The expeditionary force, made up entirely of volunteers from cities, towns and rural communities in every State was truly Australian in character. But who could have predicted that the Australian Imperial Force, with their New Zealand comrades, were soon to create a tradition which would bind us together as a people?

The original ANZACS left our shores young and confident in their abilities; seeking adventure.

Locked in a dreadful stalemate, the cost of which continues to appal us today, they endured frightful hardships. Although their objective was not achieved they established a reputation for courage and endurance.

They returned to a different Australia, matured by the experience, and with a profound appreciation that only in facing the fact of our failures can we gain the maturity to know the extent of our achievements.

75 years after the landing at Gallipoli we recall, with gratitude, that the original ANZACS bequeathed to Australians a new, self-confident, image of ourselves.
Introduction

By Michael P. Tracey, Managing Editor

Early in 1915, a naval force tried to push through the Dardanelles to Constantinople to ease Turkish pressure on the Russians in the Caucasus. The attempt failed and four large ships were lost or crippled by mines. It was then decided to land troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula to silence the Turkish forts commanding the narrow Straits.

An Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) landed with French Colonial and British troops on 25 April, 1915 against stiff opposition from the Turks.

There were eight months of bitter and bloody fighting on the steep hill sides and narrow gullies of the peninsula. The Gallipoli Expedition twice failed to reach the objective. When it seemed likely that German troops would reinforce the Turks, it was decided to abandon the attempt. Without the Turks knowing it 92,000 men were evacuated during the first half of December. The remaining 50,000 were withdrawn on two consecutive nights. Less than half a dozen men were lost, and all guns were withdrawn or destroyed. The expedition had been costly. The Australians lost 7,818 killed and 19,182 wounded of the total allied casualties of 146,700. The Turks were also badly mauled, and seldom fought so well again.

By this time Gallipoli was a household word in Australia.

The ANZAC tradition had been created.

The collection of Australian states, bound by a common tie forged in adversity, had become a nation which continues to commemorate 25 April as ANZAC Day when the sacrifice of all Australian and New Zealand servicemen and women in all conflicts are remembered.

After the war a memorial was found in Athens to soldiers who fell in the Dardanelles in 440 B.C. Christopher Brennan translated the inscription:

These by the Dardanelles laid down their shining youth
In battle won fair renown for their native land,
so that their enemy groaned carrying war’s harvest from the field-
But for themselves they founded a deathless monument of valour.

This issue of the Defence Force Journal is dedicated to the ANZACs.
Wings Over Gallipoli

By Group Captain Keith Isaacs, RAA F, (Ret)

"The Gallipoli adventure has a unique place in the history of the war. For the first time a campaign was conducted by combined forces on, under, and over the sea, and on and over the land. Never again in the war were seaplanes compelled to work so much over the land, nor aeroplanes so much over the sea..."

H.A. Jones
The War In The Air - Vol II

Genesis of Combined Operations

The vicissitudes of the land and sea operations during the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) participation in the Dardanelles Campaign, 25 April - 19 December 1915, have been recorded, analysed, praised and/or criticised in great detail over the past 75 years. In contrast, the air actions in support of the Australians, New Zealanders, and other forces are rarely mentioned, and yet they laid the foundations for future land, sea and air joint operations. In fact, they established a watershed in the history of aerial warfare.

In addition to the ANZAC and Royal Australian Navy achievements at Gallipoli, it is not generally known that Australia also took part in the air war over the peninsula with the Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS) - albeit the sole representative was Captain A.H. Keith-Jopp, an Australian army gunner-cum-air observer. More importantly, but almost equally ignored, is the fact that Gallipoli was the first military campaign in which the Australian army co-operated with an air component to successfully enhance its operations.

Admittedly, Australian soldiers had gone into action, on occasions, during the Sudan War, March-May 1885, and the Boer War, 1899-1901, supported by observation balloons of the Royal Engineers, and elements of the Royal Navy. These rare engagements, however, were far from the combined land, sea and air operations that developed during the 1914-18 War.

Then again, in December 1914 a Royal Aircraft Factory BE2a landplane, and a Maurice Farman S11 seaplane, of the Central Flying School, Point Cook, were shipped to German New Guinea aboard HMAS Una, as part of the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force sent to capture the enemy territory. In the event, the task was completed so expeditiously, and decisively, that the aircraft were not required. They were returned from Rabaul to Point Cook in February 1915 still in their packing cases.

Prelude to ANZAC

Meanwhile, the British Government was deeply concerned about the part Turkey was taking in the war in support of Germany, with which it had signed a treaty on 2 August 1914. On 13 January 1915 the Admiralty was directed to "prepare for a naval expedition in February to bombard and take Gallipoli Peninsula, with Constantinople as its objective".

The Royal Navy bombardment began on 19 February with some 12 battleships, augmented by four French battleships. The British fleet also included the world’s first true aircraft-carrier, HMS Ark Royal, named after the flagship of the British warships that sailed out on 20 July 1588 to challenge, and eventually defeat, the great Spanish Armada of 130 ships.

Ark Royal had been commissioned for service as a seaplane-carrier by Commander R.H. Clark-Hall on 9 December 1914, and arrived at the Greek island of Tenedos, in the Aegean Sea, on 17 February 1915. The aircraft aboard included three Sopwith 807 Folder Seaplanes, Nos 807, 808 and 922, two Wight Pusher Seaplanes, Nos 172-173, the Short Folder Seaplane, No 136, and four crated Sopwith Schneider seaplanes.
When it became obvious that the navy alone could not force the straits, plans were made to despatch a large army force from the Eastern Mediterranean, and Major-General Sir William Birdwood was sent to the Dardanelles to review the situation. In addition to his recommendations, Birdwood also wired Lord Kitchener on 4 March urgently requesting that a shipborne, man-lifting kite (as based on Lawrence Hargrave's early experiments), or a captive balloon, for spotting naval fire and detecting concealed enemy shore batteries, be sent to the Dardanelles.

Action was taken immediately, and the tramp steamer *Manica* was hurriedly converted to accommodate a Drachen-type balloon for service afloat and, if required, ashore. HMS *Manica* arrived on station at Mudros Harbour, on the Greek island of Lemnos, on 9 April.

In the interim, land-based aircraft of No 3 Squadron, RNAS, commanded by the indefatigable Wing Commander C.R. Samson, had arrived at Imbros Island, about 32.2 kilometres (20 miles) from the Dardanelles, on 23 March. The squadron’s aircraft included Samson’s favourites, the BE2a No 50, and the Maurice Farman F27 No 1241, plus two Sopwith Tabloids, two BE2cs, and a French Breguet. In addition, two Maurice Farmans and eight Henry Farmans were shipped from Marseilles, but the latter aircraft were deemed unsuitable for operations.

Thus, with seaplanes, landplanes, a seaplane-carrier and a balloon ship on-station at the Dardanelles, the stage was set for the debut of air support on a scale never before achieved. History was about to be made.

For three weeks Samson and his dedicated fliers carried out many successful spotting, reconnaissance, photographic and bombing flights over the southern half of the peninsula. At the same time, *Ark Royal* and her brood of seaplanes covered the northern sector, mainly as a diversionary tactic to confuse the enemy. Vice-Admiral J.M. de Robeck, in charge of operations, declared “the RNAS has done excellent work of great value to our future operations”. These future operations were, of course, the military assaults on the Gallipoli Peninsula on 25 April 1915.
Air Support At ANZAC

The dawn of that historic day - a day of annual remembrance in Australian history - saw General Birdwood's ANZAC force go ashore about 2.4 kilometres (1.5 miles) north of its intended landing area; this small beach was subsequently named Anzac Cove. The ANZAC landings were supported by Manica's balloon and the seaplanes from Ark Royal, while No 3 Squadron's landplanes assisted the British landings at Helles.

Ironically, the RNAS inadvertently imposed an element of bad luck upon the ANZAC assault. Two days before the landing, five aircraft had bombed Maidos so effectively that two Turkish reserve battalions, positioned in the town, were forced to transfer to a camp, much closer to the ANZAC landing area. Consequently, these battalions were, fortuitously, in a position to attack the Australian even as they began to entrench. Casualties were high on both sides, but the ANZAC force held its position.

Meanwhile, the crew members of Manica's balloon and Ark Royal's seaplanes were finding it difficult to locate, and report, the Turkish positions among the forbidding and densely scrub-covered ravines, gullies and mountains facing the ANZAC advance.

The balloon, with its two observers, was in the air from 0521 to 1405 hours on 25 April, constantly reporting on the activities associated with Anzac Cove for almost nine hours. As early as 0535 hours, while the ANZAC troops were scrambling up the cliffs, one of the observers sighted the Turkish battleship Turgud Reis (ex-German SMS Weissenburg) in the Narrows. HMS Triumph was contacted by wireless, and its balloon-directed fire forced the Turkish warship to withdraw.

Soon after 0900 hours a similar engagement occurred, but this time the Turgud Reis got under way and began to fire on the ANZAC transport ships, while the troops were still taking to the boats. Disembarkation was disrupted until the balloon - Triumph combination again went into action. The Turgud Reis then steamed out of range of Triumph's four 254 millimetre (10 inch) guns, but returned in the afternoon to be chased away for the third time.

A spirited painting portraying a seaplane spotting and reporting the gunfire results of British battleships against Turkish warships at the Dardanelles. The aircraft would appear to be an artistic impression of one of the Wight A.I. Improved Folder Seaplanes (No 172 or 173) from Ark Royal.
During the same period, Ark Royal’s seaplane crews also had trouble locating the scrub-concealed Turkish batteries. Furthermore, the battery commanders added to the problem by holding back their fire whenever the seaplanes approached. The ever astute General Birdwood, however, subsequently turned this disadvantage to an advantage. He called for the seaplanes to patrol the lines when ANZAC troop movements were under way. The aircraft crews obliged, the quasi-cunning Turkish gunners kept their fire to a minimum, and the ANZAC troops breathed sighs of relief.

Early on 27 April Turgud Reis began shelling Ark Royal off Gaba Tepe, forcing the seaplane-carrier to leave the ANZAC area, and steam out of range. The Short Folder Seaplane, No 136, was then launched from the carrier, and the crew directed Triumph’s fire onto the enemy battleship which, in turn, had to retreat. On the same day one of Ark Royal’s Sopwith 807 Folder Seaplanes, operating from the light cruiser, HMS Doris, searched for an enemy submarine off Gaba Tepe. It was an ominous sign.

In the interim, Manica’s balloon made seven ascents on 26 April in support of the ANZAC operations. The observers also spotted for Triumph and HMS Queen Elizabeth the Royal Navy’s newest and most powerful battleship, and the first in the world to mount 381 millimetre (15 inch) guns - during the afternoon Queen Elizabeth blew up an armament store at Kojadere.

On the 27th the balloon crew sighted Turkish transport ships near Najara, apparently heading for Midos or Kilia Liman. Queen Elizabeth was put on to the largest ship, the Scutari, which was hit and sunk after three shots, at a range of 11.3 kilometres (7 miles).

### Insatiable Demand for Air Co-operation

Admiral de Robeck was so impressed with the achievements of Manica’s balloon that he telegraphed for two more Drachen-type balloons. As an interim measure, an old military spherical balloon, previously used in South Africa, was fitted to the tug HMS Rescue, but the experiment was not a success.

Evidence of the high regard the British warships held for Manica occurred when Triumph reported that the balloon ship was being attacked by a submarine. Every ship in the area revealed its fierce protective spirit by immediately setting up a terrific barrage against the suspect - suffice it to say, the “submarine”, drifting innocently with the tide, was found to be an inverted tin bath.

The demand for Manica’s services was out of all proportion to that which a single ship could provide. Consequently, a second balloon ship, HMS Hector, was hurriedly fitted out in a similar manner to Manica, and arrived at the Dardanelles on 9 July. A third balloon ship, HMS Canning reached Gallipoli on 2 October to replace Manica which had sailed for England in mid-September to be refitted. Canning was equipped with many improvements, including a large hold space enabling the balloon to be stored in the inflated condition.

The aircraft from Ark Royal were also continually in demand, while operating from their parent ship lying off Gaba Tepe in the ANZAC area. On 10 May however, the threat of submarine attacks forced the carrier into the shelter of Kephalo Bay at Imbros - the ship’s top speed of only 10 knots made her particularly vulnerable to submarine attacks. Ark Royal became a depot ship for all aircraft operating from Imbros, including her own seaplanes at nearby Aliki Bay: as time progressed these aircraft included the Short Folder Seaplanes, Nos 161 - 163 and 165 - 166. Ark Royal remained at Imbros until 1 November when she moved to Iero Bay, Mitylene, via Mudros, and finally left the Dardanelles for Salonika on 7 - 8 November 1915.

Meanwhile, the first German submarine, U21, under Lieutenant-Commander Hersing, arrived in the Dardanelles in mid-May and disaster followed in its wake. Almost immediately U21 torpedoed the battleships Triumph on the 25th, and HMS Majestic two days later. Like its flying counterpart above the sea, the submarine under the sea was establishing a new set of rules for the conduct of future war operations.

In the interim, an aircraft of No 3 Squadron, RNAS, making a reconnaissance on 17 May, reported unusual activity in the port of Ak Bashi Liman, across the peninsula from Anzac Cove. Four Turkish transports, and other smaller craft, were observed unloading stores and troops near a large new camp, which was
The RNAS aerodrome at Tenedos Island 49.88 kilometres (31 miles) from Anzac Cove in March 1915 with Wg Cdr C.R. Samson in BE2a, No 50, in the foreground. A French flying unit, No 98T Squadron, Aviation Militaire, commanded by Capt Cesari, shared Tenedos as from 1 May, providing support for the French army and navy.

already occupied by many soldiers. These men comprised the Turkish Army's 2nd Division, which had moved forward from Constantinople.

Flight Lieutenant R.L.G. Marix, accompanied by Wing Commander Samson, flew his Breguet biplane back to the port in the afternoon and bombed the camp with one 45.36kg (1001b) bomb, and 14 9.07 kg (201b) bombs. The dock hands fled in panic, and 57 soldiers were killed or wounded. As a result of the enemy build-up, it was concluded that an early attack on the ANZAC position was imminent, and General Birdwood was informed accordingly.

The Turks attacked on the night 18-19 May, intent on driving out the ANZAC defenders. The RNAS reports, however, had robbed the assault of surprise, and the ANZAC troops held their ground. By 24 May so many Turkish soldiers had been killed during the five days of fierce fighting, that an armistice was granted to the enemy to bury the dead. The official historian of The War In The Air recorded that "there is, perhaps, no better example than is offered by the story of this action, of the far-reaching effect of a simple and timely piece of observation from the air".

Australia Takes To The Air

It was during May that the Australian army gunner, Captain A.H. Keith-Jopp, was attached to No 3 Squadron, RNAS, as an air observer. In The War In The Air Volume II, H.A. Jones records his surname in a hyphenated format, and Jones' predecessor, Sir Walter Raleigh, also refers to his brother, W.L.S. Keith-Jopp, in similar manner in Volume I. In contrast, the autobiographies of Air Commodore C.R. Samson and Vice-Admiral Richard Bell Davies name the Australian as Captain Jopp - although, three of the four references in Davies book inadvertently refer to "Jupp", and the caption of a photograph in Samson's book bears the name "Topp"!

To add to the confusion, articles appeared in Popular Flying (edited by Captain W.E. Johns of Biggles fame), 1933-34, written by Stewart Keith Jopp, "who has been flying since 1916...in spite of the fact that he lost a hand in 1917, and an eye in 1918..." Apparently, Keith-Jopp was the brother's surname on enlistment, but it would appear the use of the hyphen was subsequently deleted.
In the event, Samson first refers to his new observer in his book, *Fights and Flights*, as "Captain Jopp an Australian who was a great fellow, and usually came with me". By June Samson revealed that "as well as Helles and the Fleet, we now had Anzac to look after; and we did a lot of artillery cooperation for the Australians, registering their heavy batteries on the Turks' guns...Jopp was the observer whom I detailed to specialise on Anzac; he had an eye like a hawk, and it wasn't long before he discovered most of the guns that were causing trouble".

While Samson was commenting upon his Australian observer, an Australian soldier was doing likewise about Samson. On 19 May he wrote overseas to a friend that "we have the best English and French flyers here. One named Samson, the Germans have offered 6,000 pounds (for) dead or alive".

Davies' book, *Sailor In The Air*, also introduces Keith-Jopp about May 1915 - "After the landing we were joined by more military observers for pin-pointing batteries and for spotting. These were Captain Jopp, an Australian, Walser, Edwards and Knatchbull-Hugessen, all gunners. The latter was very young. He afterwards became Lord Brabourne and died as Governor of Bengal". Captain Keith-Jopp was in distinguished company.

In August, while operating from Imbros to cover the new landings at Suvla Bay, north of Anzac Cove, Squadron Commander Davies wrote "on the 6th a reconnaissance of the Anzac objectives was ordered. I took Jupp (sic) the Australian gunner..." The Suvla Bay assault occurred on 6-7 August and, although RNAS reconnaissance revealed that there was no serious enemy opposition for the next two days, no advance was initiated. The golden opportunity of surprise was lost, and another tragic stalemate developed on the peninsula.

On 10 August Davies and Keith-Jopp were airborne in one of the newly arrived Henry Farman E27 biplanes when, as Davies records, "we met a German Etrich (sic) Taube over Anzac. The pilot did not see us and I was able to come close behind him. Jupp (sic), who had a rifle, started shooting and must have made good practice, for at about the fifth shot I saw the pilot's face as he turned to look behind before going into a vertical dive. We heard afterwards that the Australians had full view of the encounter from their trenches. Convinced that we had shot down the German, they all started cheering".

The *Taube* (Dove) monoplane was designed by Austrian engineer Igo Etrich in 1910. As from 1911 some 500 single and two-seat improved versions of the *Taube* were produced.

The balloon ship, HMS *Manica*, with its inflated Drachen'-type balloon about to ascend from the hangar in the forward hold. The balloon crew provided invaluable support for the ANZAC forces as from 25 April 1915.
A panoramic sketch in pen and watercolour by Sapper Horace Moore-Jones, New Zealand Engineers, off Anzac Cove showing, L-R, Walker's Ridge, Russell's Top, The Sphinx, and north-western face of Plugge's Plateau. This unique painting was completed while Moore-Jones was aloft in Manica's balloon.

The only known photograph of the Australian aerial observer, Capt A.H. Keith-Jopp, AIF while serving with No 3 Squadron, RNAS, at Tenedos, 1915. L-R, Capt I.A.E. Edwards, British Army, Keith-Jopp (in background), Lt R. Bell Davies, RN, Lt W.L. Samson (brother of C.R.), RNVR, and Flt Lt G.L.T. Thomson, RNAS.
under licence by various German aircraft manufacturers, but mainly by Rumpler. The Tauben used for reconnaissance at the Dardanelles were manned by German pilots and Turkish observers and, like their RNAS counterparts, were not initially equipped with machine-guns. In fact, Wing Commander Samson’s Standing Orders for No 3 Squadron included the following extracts:

“Pilots always to be armed with a revolver or pistol; to carry binoculars; some safety device, either waistcoat, patent life-belt, or petrol can.

Observers always to carry rifle; proper charts for journey (in addition small scale chart of whole Peninsula); binoculars; life-saving device or petrol can; watch if not fitted to the aeroplane”.

In the interim, persistent demands for increased air support led to Colonel F.H. Sykes arriving in the Dardanelles on 24 June to confer with General Sir Ian Hamilton and Admiral de Robeck. Sykes submitted his report on 9 July, and on 24th he was appointed to command the RNAS units in the Eastern Mediterranean with the rank of wing commander.

On 12 June the fast 24 knot seaplane carrier, HMS Ben-my-Chree (“Woman of my heart” to the Manx people), a converted Isle of Man cross-channel packet-steamer, arrived at Iero Bay on the island of Lesbos. Although more than twice as fast as Ark Royal, Ben-my-Chree carried only half the number of aircraft. Her complement on arrival in the Aegean Sea comprised three Short Folder Seaplanes, Type 184, No 841, Type 830s, Nos 820 and 821, and two Sopwith Schneider seaplanes, Nos 1445 and 1560. Successive replacement aircraft until December 1915 included the Short Folder Seaplanes, Type 184, Nos 814, 842, 846, 849 and 850, and the Schneider seaplanes, Nos 1561, 3721 and 3722.

By 11 August Turkish transport ships were pouring reinforcements into Ak Bashi and Kilia Liman from Chanak on the Asiatic shore, for new assaults against the Suvla and ANZAC fronts. In a counter action to impede the transference of enemy troops across the straits, and to harass their movements down the peninsula, Ben-my-Chree’s aircraft spotted for the monitor, HMS M16, while both ships were in the Gulf of Xeros - where a new technique of war was about to be introduced.

On 12 August, Flight Commander C.H.K. Edmonds, flying Ben-my-Chree’s Short Folder Seaplane, No 842, equipped with a 254 millimetre (10 inch) Mark 14 torpedo, flew across the isthmus north of Gallipoli. Sighting a 5080 tonnes (5000 tons) steamer off Injeh Burnu he glided down, launched his torpedo, and hit the ship which settled down by the stern. This was the first successful aerial torpedo attack in history, notwithstanding that the target had been immobilised four days earlier by the British submarine, HMS E14. Clinching his claim to fame, however, Edmonds torpedoed another supply ship on 17 August, while again flying No 842.

During this second history making flight, Edmonds was accompanied by Flight Lieutenant G.B. Dacre in the torpedo-equipped Short Folder Seaplane No 184. This aircraft experienced engine trouble, and Dacre had to alight in the Narrows near a Turkish hospital ship, which he gallantly waved on to a safe passage. He then sighted a large tug, taxied towards it, and fired his torpedo which sank the boat in False Bay. Dacre then became airborne after a take off run of 3.2 kilometres (2 miles), and flew back to Ben-my-Chree. These three episodes were the only aircraft torpedo attacks of the 1914-18 War, and they were the precursors of the Allied and Axis great torpedo-bomber victories of the 1939-45 War.

It is of interest to recall that Australian-born Squadron Commander A.M. Longmore (later Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Longmore, RAF, who died on 11 December 1970) made the world’s first successful torpedo drop at Calshot on 28 July 1914 in the Short S.84 Folder Seaplane, No 121.

HMS Ben-my-Chree remained on station at the Dardanelles, supporting the ANZAC and British forces, until 20 December 1915 and 7 January 1916, respectively. On 2 September 1915 the seaplane-carrier played an important role in the ANZAC campaign, when it rescued 694 Australian and New Zealand troops of the 6th Brigade, AIF, after the troopship SS Southland was torpedoed by a submarine some 48.3 kilometres (30 miles) of Mudros; 121 crew members were also rescued.

Back in August 1915, the tempo of work
became intense for Samson's No 3 Wing; in June the Admiralty had decreed that wings would replace squadrons, and the latter designation would be reserved for groups of six landplanes, or seaplanes. The aircraft crews were fully occupied spotting for ships firing at shore targets, co-operating with the troops at Anzac, Helles and Suvla, searching for submarines, and flying frequent anti-aircraft patrols to restrict the enemy's reconnaissance flights.

"August 19th was a black day", recalled Samson. He and Keith-Jopp were on patrol over the Suvla area in one of the two new Henry Farmans, when shrapnel put the engine out of service, and a forced landing was hurriedly carried out within the British lines. The enemy then relentlessly bombarded the aircraft and crew for about 10 minutes, although little damage was done. Leaving their aircraft to be repaired, Samson and Keith-Jopp returned to Imbros by the mail trawler, which had to battle heavy seas - "Jopp got sicker and sicker", related Samson, "until he turned from a six-foot Australian into a mere helpless invalid".

**Air Arm Reinforcements**

Towards the end of August a second RNAS land based flying unit arrived at Imbros under the command of Wing Commander E.L. Gerrad. This was No 2 Wing, which augmented Samson's No 3 Wing also at Imbros. No 2 Wing's 22 aircraft comprised six Morane Parasols, six BE2cs, six Caudrons, and four Bristol Scouts. No 3 Wing also received new aircraft between June and August, including five Voisons, two improved Maurice Farmans, four Henry Farmans, and six Nieuport single-seat scouts.

In addition, three small SS (Sea Scout, or Submarine Scout) non-rigid airships arrived in mid-September. Colonel Sykes had originally proposed a force of eight Blimps, as they were sometimes known. In the event, only one was put into service, and the other two were never inflated. The operational SS survived several bombing attacks against its shed at Imbros until 21 October, when the SS Section was transferred to Mudros.
On 30 August Samson and Keith-Jopp excelled themselves. They were spotting for the monitor M15, which was positioned off Anzac Cove and firing at targets in Ak Bashi Liman - a range of some 16459 metres (18,000 yards). "In Ak Bashi Liman were lying two steamers alongside each other, both 200 feet long, three or four tugs and about twenty dhows busily loading", reported Samson. "I got up to 6000 feet where I could get a good view both of M15 and Ak Bashi Liman. I took care to keep about four miles away from Ak Bashi in order not to arouse their suspicions. When ready I ordered fire. The first shot fell about 800 yards short, fortunately behind the hills so that no notice was taken by the Turks. The next shot fell on the beach and killed some Turks. The third shot fell into the sea. We now had the range".

"A terrible panic occurred", continued Samson. "The tugs that had got dhows in tow cut them off and steamed for the Asiatic shore. The gangs on the beach who were now well used to aeroplane bombs, dropped everything and fled to the hills. I was trying to get a hit on the two steamers which were still at anchor. The eighth shot hit one. Jopp said, "What correction must I signal?" I said, "Report O.K." (hit). The ninth shell hit the second steamer. When it is remembered that these two ships were lying alongside each other, the range was 18,000 yards, that hills 800 to 1,000 feet were intervening, and that M15 was just lying with her bows up against a little mark buoy and rolling in the swell, this shooting is really wonderful. One steamer sank and the other got on fire..." As a result of this raid, big ships never came into Ak Bashi again in daylight hours.

On 18 September "was rather a red-letter day", recalled Samson. "General Birdwood came over to the aerodrome and said he would like a trip in the air. I took him up in a Maurice Farman, intending to do a local flight; but he told me to go over the Turks at Anzac. Off we went, and he made me go as far as Maida, and fairly low down, so that he could see well. We got a proper reception from "Archie", and I felt very anxious carrying such a distinguished passenger. He was the only big noise that went up. I think it rather a pity that some more didn't!"

As the Anzac Commander, Birdwood was admired by one and all, and the Commander of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, General Sir Ian Hamilton accorded him a special tribute in the following dispatch - "Lieutenant-General Sir W.R. Birdwood has been the soul of Anzac. Not for one single day has he ever quitted his post. Cheery and full of human sympathy, he has spent many hours of each 24 hours inspiring the defenders of the front trenches, and if he does not know every soldier in his force, at least every soldier in the force believes he is known to his chief".

The Battle Intensifies

Samson also recalled that on 10 November, "I despatched Thomson (Flight Lieutenant G.L. Thomson) with Jopp as his observer to see what they could do to the large camp I had located at Kara Bunar; right thoroughly they stirred things up with two 112-lb and four 20lb bombs. As they approached, the Turks began to stream out of the tents; but some were too late. One 112-lb fell amongst the tents and demolished three of them, the second one fell amongst a large body of men running to seek shelter in a gulley. Jopp observed that the explosion killed a great many".

Keith-Jopp had a busy day on 1 December. He flew with a new pilot, Flight Sub-Lieutenant Vernon, to Ferejik junction where Squadron Commander R.B. Davies had won the Victoria Cross for landing his single-seat Nieuport scout and rescuing Flight Sub-Lieutenant G.F. Smylie, whose Henry Farman had been shot down by rifle fire on 19 November. Vernon's debut was most effective, as he hit the railway line with one of his bombs.

Later in the same day Keith-Jopp was flying with Flight Commander H.A. Busk and, as Samson recorded, they "had a good scrap with a German aeroplane... They were spotting for one of the monitors doing a bombardment when they sighted the German. They got close to him and opened fire before the German saw them. Jopp said that the German observer looked round and saw them right on his tail. He flung his arms round the pilot's head, shoved the stick forward, and the German dived nearly vertically. Busk followed down, but the German could dive quicker than the Henri Farman. They got the German right
A Turkish town in Gallipoli on the eastern coast of the peninsula, photographed during a reconnaissance flight of a Maurice Farman S.11, No 3 Squadron, RNAS. The photograph was taken in May 1915, when Capt Keith-Jopp was flying as an observer.

Wg Cdr C.R. Samson, who maintained a particularly energetic, and effective, war in the Dardanelles, culminated his outstanding achievements by dropping the first 226.8kg (500lb) bomb on a Turkish barracks between Anzac and Kilia Liman. He is seen about to depart with the bomb in a Henry Farman F27 from Imbros on 18 December 1915.
down to 20 feet or so off the ground, and
chivvied him at that height, firing all the time
until they got to Galata aerodrome. They
failed to score a bulls-eye unfortunately..." Some days later one of Samson’s pilots
accidently dropped a 45.36 kilogram (100
pound) bomb in a foremost Turkish trench
about 18.29 metres (20 yards) from the ANZAC
lines. On return to base he despondently
reported to Samson that he thought he must
have killed some Australians. That is, until a
signal arrived requesting more of the same.
“One of your aeroplanes bombed Turk’s trench;
bits of Turk seen in the air, remainder of
occupants got on to parapet, where we killed a
lot with machine-guns; please repeat bombing”.
The pilot was elated. Samson kept mum about
the fluke, but quietly admitted that “No 3 lived
on this reputation for accuracy for a long
time”.

On 18 December, Samson took off from
Imbros with a 226.8 kilogram (500 pound)
bomb fitted to his Henry Farman. “This was
by far the biggest bomb that up to that date
had been dropped by an aeroplane in the
War”, wrote Samson. “The Henri took it up
like a bird, much to my delight. I searched
around for over half an hour between Anzac
and Kilia Liman looking for a suitable target...”
He eventually dropped the bomb on a large
building and scored a direct hit which entirely
demolished the occupied quarters.

On 7 December the British Government
decided to withdraw from Anzac Cove and
Suvla, and by dawn on the 20th the evacuation
was successfully completed. During the preced­
ing week, the RNAS aircraft of Nos 2 and 3
Wings constantly patrolled the two beaches to
prevent enemy aircraft flying over the areas; a
similar procedure occurred when the Helles
area was evacuated by 9 January 1916. On
11-12 January the RNAS lost its first two
aircraft and the four crew members, by enemy
air attacks. These attacks coincided with the
arrival in the area of three Fokker Eindeckers
(monoplanes), the first enemy single-seat fight­
ers with a synchronised machine-gun firing
through the propellor arc.

In summary, Samson observed that the
“aeroplane pilots belonging to No 3 were not
overburdened with decorations for the Camp­
aign, nor were the five observers Edwards,
Hogg, Jopp, Knatchbull-Hugessen and Walser,
who were unrewarded. I don’t know how
many hours they each did...they got all the
kicks and none of the plums”. In contrast, the
three Royal Navy midshipmen observers, St
Aubyn, Sissmore and Chappell, were each
awarded a DSC.

When the ANZAC troops first arrived at
the Dardanelles, the aeroplane was something of
an oddity. As early as 1910 The Chief of the
Imperial Staff, General Sir William Nicholson,
declared in England that the aeroplane was “a
useless and expensive fad, advocated by a few
individuals whose ideas are unworthy of atten­
tion”. In France, General Foch updated this
statement during 1914 by adding that “the
aircraft is all very well for sport - for the army
it is useless”.

In the event, campaigns such as Gallipoli
soon changed these assessments. For eight
months after their arrival, the Australians had
front row seats at the rapidly unfolding drama of
air power development. Before their eyes
passed a panorama of landplanes, seaplanes,
seaplane-carriers, aircraft-equipped warships,
balloon ships, non-rigid airships, and torpedo-
equipped seaplanes. They were witnessing the
forging of a new weapon of war, in which one
of their own officers was participating.

Included among the ANZAC soldiers at
Gallipoli who were inspired by the new air
weapon - and, particularly, its potential for
peace time application - were two young men
destined to become world famous aviators;
Captain Sir Ross Smith KBE, MC and bar,
DFC and two bars, AFC (1892-1922), and Air
Commodore Sir Charles Kingsford-Smith,
MC, AFC (1897-1935).

Private Ross Macpherson Smith joined the
Australian Light Horse in August 1914, and
arrived at the Dardanelles from Egypt in May
1915 as a non-commissioned officer in the
infantry. When he left Gallipoli on 12 Septem­
ber, as a newly commissioned 2nd-Lieutenant,
he had already made up his mind to try and
transfer to the air arm. In October 1916 he
joined No 1 Squadron, Australian Flying
Corps, first as an observer, then as a pilot. His
flying war record was brilliant, as affirmed by
the array of outstanding decorations he recei­
vied. Postwar, his first flight from England to
WINGS OVER GALLIPOLI

Short Folder Seaplane No 166, on Ark Royal’s steam crane, displaying the fuselage Union Jack and the blue, white and red rudder stripes (inadvertently shown in this reproduction in reverse order of red, white and blue). Five Type 166 seaplanes, Nos 161-163 and 165-166, were progressively received by Ark Royal throughout 1915, and the earlier machines provided support for the ANZAC force as from 25 April.

Australia with his crew in the Vickers Vimy, G-EAOU, 12 November - 10 December 1919, ensured his fame in aviation history.

Charles Edward Kingsford-Smith joined the Australian Imperial Force in February 1915, and arrived at Gallipoli as a corporal in late September. “When we were landing about 2am”, he wrote to his mother on 6 October, “a Taube aeroplane spotted us and dropped some bombs, but they were wide, thank goodness. I felt mighty uncomfortable while the brute was overhead. We see so many planes now they don’t matter to us. Anyway, most are British”. In another letter during November he stated “we have much of the best gunners on our side. The Turks fire dozens of shells at our planes and seldom go near them, whilst our chaps only put two or three at those Taubes, and everyone of them looked as if it would bring them down”.

Smithy, as he became known, transferred to the Royal Flying Corps as a lieutenant in 1917,
and in June was posted to No 23 Squadron, equipped with Spad VII single-seat scouts. He was awarded the Military Cross, and finished the latter months of the war in 1918 as a flying instructor. His postwar flying achievements, particularly from 1928 to 1935, put him at the pinnacle of aviation greats.

There were other Gallipoli soldiers who gazed skywards and dreamt of the future—not to mention 15 years old Charles Jackson who joined the AIF three years below the minimum recruiting age. He served at Gallipoli, was wounded, repatriated to Australia, and discharged as a minor. He then re-enlisted and served with the 45th Battalion, 1916-18, under his real name, Charles Thomas Phillippe Ulm (1898-1934) - of Smithy and Ulm fame.

In addition to the Gallipoli veterans, Ross Smith, Charles Kingsford-Smith, and Charles Ulm, it is poignant to recall that Geoffrey Lewis Hargrave, only son of “Australia’s Father of Aviation”, Lawrenece Hargrave, was killed at Gallipoli on 4 May 1915, at the age of 23. Lawrenece Hargrave was grief stricken, became seriously ill, and died in hospital on 6 July 1915. It has been said, he was killed by the same bullet that took his son’s life.

Geoffrey Hargrave was but one of the estimated 8709 killed, and 19,000 wounded Australians at Gallipoli. In proportion to Australia’s contemporary population of less than five million, this was the most terrible introduction to war by any country in history. In hindsight, so much could have been done at Gallipoli to turn defeat into victory, but the campaign was a continuing saga of poor leadership and missed opportunities.

From such disasters, however, there sometimes comes a ray of hope. In this instance, the Australians at Gallipoli witnessed the genesis of a new arm of warfare that, within three decades, became a great weapon of deterrence against world wars. Perhaps, after all, Orville Wright’s prediction might yet come true -

“When my brother and I built and flew the first man-carrying flying machine, we thought we were introducing into the world an invention which would make future wars practically impossible”.}

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Note: “The spelling, Henri Farman, was used by airmen in the field, whereas the aircraft was taken on charge under the official title of Henry Farman".
The White Gurkhas of Gallipoli

By Captain R.J. Austin, RFD, ED, (RL).

Introduction

The 25th April 1990, commemorates the 75th Anniversary of the landing at Anzac Cove, Gallipoli. The battle was fought by a citizen army and was to have enormous significance on Australia's perception of itself as a nation.

The declaration of war on 5th August 1914, saw Australians caught up in a vast swell of patriotic enthusiasm which led to the rapid raising of the Australian Imperial Force (A.I.F.), initially consisting of an infantry division and a light horse brigade. Following so soon after Federation it was necessary for the new nation to establish and assert its emerging identity within the British Empire and beyond.

National and military traditions are frequently founded upon success in battle. In the case of Australia and the Australian Army, the basis of its early tradition was its performance under fire during the early weeks of the Gallipoli campaign.

The early Anzac spirit or legend developed from the military performance of the Australians during the landing on 25th April, and the consolidation of that toehold over the following days. The other battle that significantly contributed to the early emergence of the Anzac legend was the Second Battle of Krithia.

Move to Cape Helles

Most Australians tend to think of Gallipoli solely in terms of Anzac Cove. Few are aware that the Australians and the New Zealanders played a prominent, albeit brief role with the British and French forces located at the southern part of the Gallipoli Peninsula at Cape Helles.

The Australian involvement at Cape Helles arose from the need to assist the battered 29th Division, a British regular division, which had lost heavily on 25th April and the subsequent days.

General Sir William Birdwood, as commander of the Australian and New Zealand Corps at Anzac, was requested by General Sir Ian Hamilton, commander of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, to release part of his force to assist in the big British and French offensive due to commence at Cape Helles on 6th May. The original objectives set for the 29th Division on landing at Cape Helles on 25th April were to capture the small village of Krithia, about five miles north of Cape Helles, and the low but dominant twin humped feature of Achi Baba about a mile to the north east of Krithia. With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that these objectives were probably beyond the capacity of the Allied forces on 25th April, and the subsequent battles of May and June 1915 merely confirmed the unattainability of such objectives.

One soldier recalled that night:

"We didn't know anything about it - we thought we were going for a holiday - for a spell after all our casualties during the landing. Everything was secret - they wouldn't tell you nothing."

At about 3 am. the two brigades were transferred by lighters to the awaiting ships, and after a two-hour journey, reached V Beach at Cape Helles. On arrival the vessels berthed alongside the ill-fated River Clyde, which had been the scene of futile slaughter and great bravery on the morning of 25th April. As the Australians moved ashore, it was very obvious that Cape Helles was totally different to the rugged country at Anzac. The wild, scrubby hills and the gullies of Anzac contrasted with the flat cultivated fields, inundated with colourful wild flowers.

Whilst the Australians were digging at their bivouac site, they were able to observe the artillery bombardment that opened the Second Battle of Krithia and the British and French troops as they moved into battle. The objectives were still to capture the village of Krithia and
Achi Baba hill. The 29th Division which had been badly knocked about in late April, was to carry out the attack, supported by a frugal artillery bombardment. General Sir Ian Hamilton preferred a night attack, as did some of the battalion commanders, however, Hamilton unwisely bowed to the view held by the commander of the 29th Division, Major General Hunter Weston, that the battalions had lost too many experienced officers during the previous days to risk the problems of control endemic to a night attack.

Second Battle of Krithia

The brief artillery bombardment commenced at 10.30 am on 6th May, and was followed by attacks by the British on the left and the French on the right. As the attacks ended in failure, the battle was resumed on the next day. The artillery opened fire at 10 am for a mere 15 minutes, as there was a critical shortage of high explosive ammunition for the British guns. One of the problems facing the British Army at Gallipoli was that the 29th Division did not receive its full complement of guns, neither did it have sufficient stocks of high explosive shells. Due to this deficiency, the British artillery had to use schrapnel against the Turkish defences.

C.E.W. Bean, the Official Correspondent, who accompanied the 2nd Brigade to Helles, was concerned at the continued use of frontal attacks in broad daylight. After the failure of the British attacks on 7th May, Bean wrote:

"The usual order came along today. 'Operations begin at 10 o'clock' It was almost like a circus."

During the three days of the battle, the Australians along with their Allies, had the opportunity of observing the battle in the distance. The Second Battle of Krithia could be likened to battles of a century earlier, when commanders could view the movement of their armies on the fields before them.

The 8th May saw the usual brief artillery prelude followed by an assault by the New Zealand Brigade and the British 87th Brigade at 10.30 am. Attacks were again carried out with a minimum of information, no reconnaissance and insufficient artillery support. The commander of the New Zealand Canterbury battalion briefed his assembled company commanders thus:

"The battalion will attack from the front line trenches at 10.30 am precisely. 12th Company will lead - I am sorry gentlemen that I cannot give any further information."

Needless to say, the New Zealanders failed to make any significant progress and suffered heavy casualties. One of their officers later wrote:

"It was a terrible sight in that clear sunshine, men going down like ninepins everywhere, falling with a crash with the speed they were going."

Later that morning, the 2nd Australian Brigade moved in artillery formation across open ground to a new bivouac in a dry creek bed, where they waited in anticipation of being used to support the New Zealand attack. During the afternoon of 8th May, Sir Ian Hamilton, despairing of the level of progress over the three days, decided to commit his entire front line and reserves to an advance forward to capture Krithia and Achi Baba. The attack would see a simultaneous advance at 5.30 pm, by the British on the left, the New Zealanders, Australians and the French on the right flank.

The Advance up Central Spur

The Australians were settling down to prepare their evening meal, when the order to advance was received at Brigade HQ at 4.55 pm. Colonel J.M. McCay, a long serving militia officer and former Federal Defence Minister, was the brigadier of the Victorian brigade and quickly drafted out a message to his four battalion commanders, which gave the direction of the advance and also urged that:

"Every opportunity is to be taken to use the bayonet."

Despite the acute shortage of time in which to prepare the brigade for battle, the Australians commenced their move up Central Spur at 5.30 pm, following a brisk 15 minutes preliminary bombardment.

Central Spur was a wide gently sloping
spurline to the left of the Krithia - Helles road, which led to the outskirts of the Krithia village. The ground was open wheatfield dotted with an occasional olive tree. As the Victorians advanced, the Turkish artillery, machine gun and rifle fire opened up. One soldier wrote of the advance:

“We were formed up and went out in artillery formation, that is in scattered groups of fifteen in each, and hardly were out in the open than we were met by a hail of bullets and schrapnel”.

The Australians with 6th Battalion on the left and 7th Battalion on the right, advanced across the open ground until they reached a trench that unknown to them was occupied by British and Indian troops. This trench represented the furthest advance of the earlier British attacks. The Victorians’ portly brigadier, Colonel McCay, had moved forward with 6th Battalion and on reaching the British trench, later known as Tommies’ Trench, he climbed into the parapet oblivious to the Turkish fire and urged the Australians forward.

“Now then Australians. Which of you are Australians? Come on Australians!”

As the leading companies moved beyond Tommies’ Trench toward Krithia, the enemy fire took an even heavier toll. One corporal described the attack as a:

“mad rush across the open, pelted by rifle and machine gun fire and schrapnel. No formation was kept and our objective appeared to be utterly unknown to officers and men alike”.

As officers and senior NCO’s quickly fell, killed or wounded, junior NCO’s and private soldiers quickly took command, rallied any troops in their vicinity and moved toward the Turkish positions. Following behind the leading battalions came the 5th and 8th Battalions, whose turn it was to brave the deadly fire sweeping the open slopes of Central Spur.

At the front of this attack, Major Gordon Bennett, second-in-command of 6th Battalion, was the only unwounded senior officer in the two battalions. His own CO, Lieutenant Colonel W. McNichol was wounded and the CO of the 7th Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gartside had been killed while leading his men. Bennett gathered together the scattered groups of men on both flanks and established a firing line some 400 yards from the Turkish trenches. As more troops made their way forward, Bennett instructed them to dig a firing line that could withstand a Turkish counter attack. By 6.30 pm, the Australians had consolidated their position and had advanced the Allied firing line a further 400 yards.
beyond Tommies' Trench. Nonetheless, Sir Ian Hamilton's grand push had failed, despite the foolish audacity and bravery of the Australian charge. Krithia remained securely in Turkish hands.

A soldier with an Australian artillery battery described the Australian advance:

"It was sheer murder, but it was wonderful. They charged over the open ground, with not a scrap of cover, and it was like looking at a spectacle on some great theatre stage. The whole world was looking on - French, British, Africans, Indians to say nothing of Germans and Turks. They fell by scores under schrapnel, machine gun fire and rifle fire till they had won 700 yards in front of the first line. Then they dug themselves in on open ground and wouldn't budge a yard".

The Australians in their charge at Krithia sustained casualties of 1,056 killed, wounded or missing. In the space of little more than an hour, the 2nd Australian Infantry Brigade had been reduced by one third. Over the next few nights, the Australians consolidated their position. However, there remained the problem of bringing in the many wounded who lay on the open ground. The 7th Battalion War Diary noted that:

"On looking back over the table top like ground that our men had advanced over, one could see hundreds of his dead, dying and wounded comrades lying all over the ground. The worst of the whole business was that except in a very few instances, we could not give any relief".

The volume of wounded was too much for the battalion RAPs and the 2nd Field Ambulance Advanced Dressing Station to cope with. Stretcher bearers had a carry of 3,000 yards to bring wounded back to the ADS and a further 6,000 yards to reach the British Casualty Clearing Station. The enemy fire throughout the night made it a hazardous venture to reach the wounded and carry them back for treatment. One soldier wrote in his diary:

"All this time for two nights and a day the wounded were calling. 'Have you forgotten me cobbers' and 'water'".

In one of the ironies of battle, Colonel McCay, who had defied the Turkish marksmen during the attack, was returning from the forward trenches at about 2 am on 9th May, when a stray bullet hit him in the leg.

On 12th May, the Australians were relieved and returned to a safer bivouac nearer Cape Helles, in preparation for their return to
Anzac Cove, which took place on the night 16/17th May.

Following these unsuccessful attempts to capture Krithia, a further attack was made in June. This attack was planned by Hunter-Weston who had been promoted to Lieutenant General and given command of the newly created XIII Corps. Although the planning was superior to the earlier attacks, the end result was the same. Opportunities were squandered and the British came to reluctantly accept that they were not likely to capture Krithia. One British officer writing of this Third Battle of Krithia concluded:

“We are back in reserve trenches. The whole attack was more or less of a failure, we lost most frightfully heavily and gained nothing to speak of”.

The persistence with frontal attacks against an entrenched enemy in broad daylight was apparently the only tactic that Hunter-Weston could devise. The British 29th Division in particular paid a very heavy price for Hunter-Weston’s stubbornness.

The story of Gallipoli has often been described as a “saga of lost opportunities”. In retrospect the Australians failed to achieve their objectives either at the Anzac landing or at Krithia.

However the military tradition established in those first two weeks set a high standard of audacity and courage that was to be confirmed in many subsequent battles both in the Great War and in later conflicts. Following the Australian charge at Krithia, correspondents and military observers described in glowing terms the Australian exploits of those early weeks at Gallipoli. The Anzac legend was born! There was a swell of national pride and emotion that followed the news of the early battles. The heroic sacrifices stimulated recruiting and the emerging image of a soldier-hero became fundamental to Australians’ view of themselves. The Melbourne Argus in its editorial of 15th June 1915 suggested that:

Every Australian heart must thrill with pride and satisfaction at the glorious record which our soldiers have so indelibly written for themselves on the pages of history.

Perhaps the most welcome recognition for the Australians of the 2nd Brigade came from their peers in the British divisions, who nick-named them the “White Gurkhas” in recognition of their brave charge at Krithia on 8th May 1915.
Forbidden to Dance

By Annabel Frost, Department of Defence

"I think the world knew Madeline the way we would like her to be remembered. She was popular, generous, fun-loving and gregarious. "Her clothes hung well on her erect posture. Her direct gaze from blue eyes could decimate anyone who offended her principles which she defended very jealously.

"Some might have found her outspoken but she was actually just an avant-garde rebel with an exceptionally strong mind..."

In an exclusive interview with the Defence Force Journal, Margery Mackenzie, daughter of Madeline Lawless Pyne who nursed the wounded from a hospital ship close to Gallipoli, remembers her mother's astounding life.

These memories come partly from diaries and letters and partly from the stories Madeline told her family. Extracts from her book are to be serialised by the ABC and later published.

Margery is currently collaborating on a script with the ABC about her mother's memories of the First World War.

"At the time Madeline was growing up, females who did not marry were relegated to the kitchen sink or the care of ageing parents. "Although she had a compassionate nature all her life and this may have been her reason for choosing to be a nurse, another possible reason was the fact that nursing offered women a rare opportunity to become independent.

"Madeline Alice Kendall Wilson was born at Sandgate, a suburb of Brisbane, on 19 October 1888.

"She was brought up on her family's cattle station, Tarong, Nanango, Queensland and educated first by governesses and then at Miss Burdorfs School for Girls in the centre of Brisbane.

"Pupils were expected to 'write a good hand' and know Shakespeare and the English classics almost backwards.

"Madeline adored Ancient History and had a very good knowledge of the Bible. In those days people did not make spelling mistakes — unlike their descendants.

"Three of the five girls in the family chose a medical career. Aunt Evelyn joined the AANS as a physiotherapist and Aunt Marjorie followed Madeline overseas in the Army but to France as a nurse.

"Their grandfather, the Rev Benjamin Gilmor Wilson, was a medical baptist clergyman specialising in homeopathy who arrived in Brisbane in the mid-nineteenth century and was responsible for the building of the Brisbane City Baptist Tabernacle which still stands on Wickham Terrace.

"All her male relations were either bushmen, doctors or engineers.

"After finishing her training at the Brisbane General Hospital, Madeline nursed privately in Brisbane and Sydney.

"She volunteered for overseas Army Service on the day war was declared and was accepted, sailing from Brisbane on 21, November 1914 in the Kyarra, a hospital ship converted from a coastal steamer of 6953 tons. It sailed without escort.

"She was a member of the 1st Australian General Hospital at that stage.

"Queensland was only a small community then and everyone knew everyone else. The Kyarra was loaded with friends including her uncle, Roderick Macdonald, who was a major at the time.

"There were two other senior medics on board who were friends — Dr Stanford Jackson from St Helen's Hospital and her old boss from the Brisbane General Hospital Dr John McLean.

"Most of the younger men were her colleagues from the hospital including a rather special friend of Aunt Marjorie's and most of the nurses were her friends already.

Only the very Best

"The Army consisted of volunteers only and Madeline always stressed that the reason why
the Australians were the cream of the fighting forces was that only the very best applied.

"After volunteering to work on the Suez canal in a Clearing Hospital and working with the 1st AGH until July at Heliopolis, she was one of the first four Queenslanders who volunteered for Gallipoli and sailed on 12 July, 1915 in the *Neuralia*.

"In wartime hospital ships are painted white and an international agreement protects them against being fired on. They can therefore travel with their lights on. The *Neuralia* however had to wait six months to be authorised as a Red Cross ship and in the interim they were shelled frequently. Working with lights on was too dangerous. The nurses had to feel under the bedclothes for haemorrhages.

"There were eight nurses on board and at times they had more than 100 patients each.

"Madeline's assistants were an untrained orderly aged 16 who was in the habit of falling asleep with exhaustion and two padres — Father Cavendish, a Roman Catholic, and Padre Dobson from the Church of England. These two washed, cut off clothing, deloused, comforted and wrote letters, bandaged, fed, lifted the patients and buried the dead onboard.

"They never had the bad taste to preach at the boys as one of their successors did.

"There were enteric dysenteries, pneumonia and dreadful abdominal wounds, spinal cases and a few mental cases too.

"Some of the boys slept all the way from the Dardanelles to Lemnos, Malta or Alexandria.

"Repeatedly in her diary Madeline laments not having more time to spend with the patients.

### Last Wish

‘He just waved me goodbye before going west’, she said of one patient. Another pleaded to have his gangrenous leg removed and she in turn pleaded with the surgeon ‘Wheel him up to the theatre and let him have an injection so he can die with a last wish and some hope’ but there was no time for such games and his cot was soon empty.

"She herself was never wounded. A piece of shell went through her skirt once as she was attending to patients on the crowded deck under fire.

"She never spoke of fear only sorrow unlimited and her intense anger at the way bungling from the War Office made gun fodder of so many lives.

"I do not think even the Army Reserve Nurses had any special training for war and my mother certainly had none before. I believe there was some attempt at instruction on the voyage out.

"However, the girls were fast learners from necessity. After Gallipoli, where more ships, medical staff and orderlies, even some VADs, would have saved thousands of lives, the amenities in the desert Campaign improved and the loss of life from the lack of them was not so apparent.
Madeline spending some time with her patients.

“All the frontliners inspired courage and fortitude especially those who returned so often wounded.

“Some would beg to be allowed to return to the Front instead of repatriation and then never return from the desert.

“My mother loved Miss Rosie Creal, her matron at the 14th AGH, and so evidently did everyone else.

“When she died in Sydney in 1921, I understand her pall bearers were mostly generals.

“My mother lamented repeatedly the deprivation of the soldiers both at Gallipoli and in Egypt. She would have liked higher pay to be able to buy more treats for the boys in action and at the 14th AGH she did extra cooking in the day room to rehabilitate the theatre cases before surgery.

“This prompted the doctors to wonder why the patients from her ward never fainted before surgery.

**Mystery Eggs**

“She had an orderly named Young who was very adept at finding eggs for the men and no one was tactless enough to enquire from where.

“What did enrage the nurses and then amuse them was an order from England — and Australians were never fond of orders from unknown — that the nurses were not to drink alcohol with their meals.

“Miss Creal proffered the order to Uncle Roderick, acting CO, to sign but he leapt to the defence of the nurses.

‘It is the correct thing for a woman to drink a glass of wine with her meals and it is often necessary after a long day’s work. I will sign no such thing’ he said.

“The order was rescinded.

“It seems bizarre today to think that whilst supplies, and nursing techniques should have been foremost in the minds of the admin officers in the UK, they could waste time bothering about whether nurses should be allowed to drink a glass of wine. However, there was a domestic dimension to every nurse’s life and details of what life was like away from the operating theatres and the wards are of interest too.

“I tremble to think of the starching needed for the stiff aprons. Madeline’s diary at Gallipoli tells of picking up laundry at Thomas Cook in Alexandria and of washing and ironing when the ship was returning empty. The showers in the Heliopolis Palace, the home of the first AGH, were marble as were the baths.
Clairvoyant Movie

“I can remember from mother’s diary that the nurses washed their hair with lashings of Pears soap. Even after the war she continued to use soap—never shampoo.

“Bobs and shingles came later so the girls all wore plaits or earphones or buns. In the film Gallipoli they had short hair and danced—our girls were forbidden to dance.

“There was utter chaos on the Neuralia when the wounded arrived from the Dardanelles.

“The enemy frequently fired on the trawlers carrying the wounded and they would bombard the decks of the ship with shrapnel. It was all hands on deck, cutting off clothes, bandaging dreadful wounds, eyes gone, brains hanging out, abdominal wounds, wonderful bravery with everyone trying to help each other with never enough medical or nursing staff or space or beds.

“In December the Neuralia went to England for a refit. She was transporting the terminally ill and the sick early in 1916 and then returned to Egypt and the 14th AGH.

“In July 1918 Madeline returned home on another hospital ship and was transferred to Kangaroo Point, Brisbane, nursing many of her old mates, some on their last legs.

“Until a few years ago former patients whom she had nursed in the war were still tracking her down.

“In 1919 she married John Lawless Pyne a badly wounded 5th lighthorseman whom she had met pre-war at the Nanango Picnic Races.

“He spent quite a bit of time in hospital over the years so he knew a fair amount about nursing. He’d say there’s nothing your mother enjoys more than a boil on Barney’.

“My younger brother Barney wasn’t actually subject to boils but my mother just adored poulticing and bandaging, fermenting and making beef tea in fact performing every trick in the nursing manual.

Old-Fashioned Remedies

“She accepted the evolution of better drugs but like me (and I’m an ex nurse) she believed in giving the old-fashioned methods a try first. For intractable colds she and her sister Marjorie would fall back on Aconite, a homeopathic remedy.

“Her sister, Marjorie MacTaggart, was once thrilled to the core when her son Peter, by then a FBCS, prescribed ‘good old-fashioned Eusol’ for a patient who had been sent to him with a leg ulcer.

“Madeline was recommended four times for the Royal Red Cross but did not get it.

“She had all the routine medals including a bronze Simpson and his Donkey and a brass ‘A’ for Anzac which incidentally at least one of the Anzac nurses, a friend of my mother’s, was denied because no one could find her name in the Anzac records.

Rendezvous at Shepheards

“She wore the “A” on most outings and was forever buying tins of Brasso to keep it spic and span.

“Madeline always contended that her proudest moments were walking up the steps of Shepheards Hotel in Cairo with Australian soldiers.

“I can see them beside me, in full view of members of almost every nation on earth, my bursting with pride because of their outstanding appearance and everything else about them”.

“After the war, civilian nursing would have been a distinct anti-climax. Her reaction to the war years was disastrous as her nerves had gone. Nightmares and headaches were a problem even to the end of her life and I don’t think she ever forgot a moment of her war experiences.

“The media, of course manipulate the truth, however unintentionally, and historians are therefore apt to misunderstand the past.

“The book Madeline wrote about her years as a war nurse became the focus of her life and kept her alert. The ABC are negotiating to serialise it and later to publish it.

“Maybe her greatest wish in later years was to have the book published. Yet she would not relinquish it to the publishers. She kept adding more. In the end they sacked her. She said nothing but went downhill from then on.
A moment of caring.

"With my mother and her sister as inspiration, some of the girls in our family followed her into the profession. I did too but I can't say I really enjoyed it.

"By and large, I think nurses today have a better life than they did 30 years ago. Certainly they have more time to be compassionate. Another advantage is that married girls can now come back to the profession having learned something of the realities of life.

"I don't believe that nursing can be taught at university. However, the studies involved take you half way to being a doctor and my preference, if I were starting out today on my working life, would be to go to university and take up medicine.

"The youngest Wilson married Lieut Cliff Abell RAN. Their daughter Elizabeth Anne (EA) is a girl with all the accolades for nursing and nursing administration.

Rebel Niece

"She positively galloped up the nursing ladder throwing aside ridiculous rules which had plagued the profession for generations and the girls loved the reforms she introduced.

"She became Matron of the Brisbane General and South Coast Hospitals whilst still young and was sacked by a rather older Board amidst great excitement from the media.

"The federation took the Board to court and EA was reinstated to the jubilation of the nurses. Subsequently she was made Director of Nursing for the Queensland Government and awarded an OBE.

"When I was a child my mother was certainly different from other mothers but mainly from the people who lived near us in the bush.

"She was cosmopolitan when she came back from the war and they were parochial after four years of staying home whilst the men were away.

"We were far from rich. My father bought a place too small to battle out the depression droughts and long periods in hospital. During these times my mother carried on alone teaching me my sisters and our brother Correspondence School and keeping an eye on the place.

"We lacked every amenity. I suppose most people did compared with today's standards.

"What our home lacked in modern comfort, however, it gained in charm.

"We loved visitors. Both my parents were charming hosts. They were very popular.

Nostalgic for Action

"But Madeline missed the action of the war. John, on the other hand, was happy to be at home with his horses, his bush and his cattle. He'd had enough.

"I must tell you about my mother's armoury. "We kept bombs, shells, bayonets, swords, 303s and pistols from the Turks and Germans and heaven only knows what else.

"There was a nasty-looking thing which looked like a pineapple and which nobody trusted until one day Dad could stand it no longer and buried it in the garden.

"They were all tokens of appreciation from the boys at the front.

"One day alone at home just before she died she confronted a couple of strangers on her property, brandishing a muzzle loader with a six-foot barrel from the Boer War. They asked where she got it. She told them where and to 'keep moving'. They did.

"She died the day after the Bicentenary and a couple of weeks before reaching her hundredth birthday.

"She was buried with full military honours under a whitewood tree at our home in the bush.

"Then with champagne, her favourite drink, we gave her a final toast: to Madeline Lawless Pyne — goodbye and God bless".

Annabel Frost started her journalistic career with the Rand Daily Mail in Johannesburg South Africa. As their colour supplement editor and then as correspondent she visited many countries on the African continent. She freelanced for two years in France, Italy and India before coming to Australia where she was successively editor of Choice, feature writer for Australian Consolidated Press and features editor for POE during the years when it was published by Sungravure Magazines in the Fairfax empire. She came to Canberra to join the Department of Defence in 1984.
Father and Son on Gallipoli
Alfred Hobart Sturdee and Vernon Ashton Hobart Sturdee.

By Colonel John Buckley, OBE, ED, (RL).

Foreword
By The Right Honourable, Sir Paul Hasluck, KG, GCMG, GCVO.

For the 75th anniversary of ANZAC, Colonel Buckley has written about the service of a distinguished father and son who were both on Gallipoli. I am honoured by his invitation to write a foreword to the study but have no qualification except old age to do so.

I can recall vividly the strong emotion that the story of ANZAC aroused in 1915. As schoolboys we were stirred by pride and patriotism. Hearing that story we found the first heroes of our own - Australian men of valour who had proved themselves in battle and now stood as heroes alongside all the great legendary figures from Ajax to Nelson. Seventy-five years later, despite any disparaging reassessments by youngsters who prefer to honour the shoddy brutalities of Ned Kelly, the men of ANZAC are still national heroes for me.

My personal military experience is limited to the drill hall and rifle range. When old soldiers tell stories of campaigns and comrades in arms I can only give a few anecdotes about the top brass whom I met without danger in various situations.

I met my first Australian General in the winter of 1923, in drizzling rain shortly after dawn, at the entrance to the Army camp at Karrakatta (near Perth). He was Sir Harry Chauvel, Inspector-General of the Australian Forces. I was a sergeant in the 44th Battalion attending my first annual camp under the compulsory training scheme known as the Citizen Forces. Having had my stripes in the school cadets I had passed a few tests and was promoted to sergeant on the same day as I attended my first parade as a private.

General Chauvel's military career had begun in 1886 and he had fought in two wars. My military career was two night parades at a drill hall and two days in camp, the first of which had been wholly occupied with induction, filling a palliasse with straw, finding my allotted tent and being issued with a .303 Lee-Enfield, bayonet and webbing equipment. I also had needle and thread to stitch three stripes on the right sleeve of my tunic. At nightfall on the second day I marched a small squad to mount guard at the front gate. The "old sweats" in the Army Instructional Corps with the rank of Warrant Officer took training seriously. The guard was mounted ceremoniously morning and evening. Sentries were posted and relieved every two hours. A guard tent near the front gate sheltered those who were resting.

The Inspector-General came with the dawn. He and his party were challenged and recognised by the sentry. Then the full guard tumbled out of the tent, formed a line and presented arms. The General inspected us. We had been awake all night and were rather damp and tousled. We must have looked like a bedraggled clutch of unfeathered cockerels. But, we had all mentally rehearsed the drill and made no mistakes. The General complimented us. We squared our shoulders and lifted our heads like men who shared a great tradition. The General asked me about my rank. Because of the drizzle we were all in greatcoats. He told an aide to look into the question whether the greatcoats, as well as our tunics, should have colour patches and chevrons on them. Thus, in a very humble way, I may have been present at the inception of improvement in the Citizen Forces.

Twenty years passed before I met another serving officer of high rank. Towards the end of 1942 I made a call on Lieutenant-General Sturdee at Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, during his first term as Chief of the General Staff. I was then an officer of the Department of External Affairs and needed to establish liaison with the services on a subject I was handling. The Defence Department arranged for me to call on the Chief of the General Staff. We had a good talk. I remember that, with the ineffable conceit of the civilian, I reported to my departmental head, Colonel Hodgson (himself a Duntroon graduate and Gallipoli veteran) that I found Sturdee "both interested and intelligent". Hodgson retorted: "Soldiers often are".

From that first meeting and subsequent
That passing reference to public relations pointed a notable contrast between Sturdee and some of his contemporaries.

Colonel Buckley has added to many notable contributions to service history by this article on Sturdee and his father. While writing primarily of the events at Gallipoli and the unusual circumstance of both father and son being in operations together, he has also reviewed Sturdee's later service in higher posts during and after World War II. This complements some of his earlier articles in the same field of study.

As an historian, I believe that there are still gaps to be filled in the study of Australian military history, the participation of Australian forces in two World Wars and in international peace-keeping, and the interaction of Australian foreign policy and defence. There are also gaps in the biographical study of the Australian service chiefs who played a notable part in that history. Colonel Buckley has cleared the way for a full and comprehensive biography of Sturdee touching on all phases of his long career and notable contribution to defence - both in policy and in methods.

Alfred Sturdee was the descendant of a family which has rendered and continues to render, most distinguished service in the Royal Navy. His great-nephew, Admiral Sir William Staveley, whose father was the principal Beachmaster at the evacuation at Anzac and Cape Helles is the present First Sea Lord.

Family Background

Alfred Hobart Sturdee, was the youngest of four children of Captain Frederick Raney Sturdee RN., and was born into a family with strong Royal Navy ties at Southsea near Portsmouth, Hampshire UK on the 6 May, 1863. Alfred's older brother, Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee (1859-1925) also entered the
Navy, and eventually became Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Doveton Sturdee Bt (1916), GCB, KCMG, CVO, RN. The father, Captain F.R. Sturdee (1814-1885), known by his middle name, "Raney", was commanding HMS Waterwitch at St. Helena in 1842 when he married Anne Frances Hodson in a ceremony on board his ship. Anna's father was Lt-Col. Charles R.G. Hodson (1779-1858), CO of the 53rd Regiment, a British Army Unit of the St Helena Island Garrison whilst Napoleon was held there in exile 1815-1821. Anna's mother, Maria, was the daughter of Sir William Dove-ton, a Commissioner of the East India Company, who served also at St. Helena for many years. During his captivity at St. Helena, Napoleon developed a warm personal regard for Lt. Col. Hodson. Because of Hodson's imposing stature (198 cm. 6'6" tall) Napoleon was said to have styled him "Hercules". At the request of the French authorities, "Hercules" was present when Napoleon's body was exhumed on its return to France.

As a youngster, Alfred Sturdee enjoyed a warm family background and a close relationship with his father and brother. His early ambition was to follow them into the Royal Navy, but he was not accepted because of a minor finger disability. Instead, he studied medicine and after graduating in the UK served as a ship's doctor on a voyage to Australia in the 1880s. After that he settled at Williamstown, Victoria, where he established a successful private medical and surgical practice.

In April 1889 he married Laura Isabel Merrett at the Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Williamstown. Laura, known as "Lil", was the sister of Charles Merrett (later Sir Charles) who became a prominent businessman and officer of the Colonial Victorian Militia, with an especially keen interest in rifle shooting. He took several teams to Bisley, UK for international competition and was honoured for his rifle club work when the Merrett Rifle Range at Williamstown was named after him. A half-brother of Laura's was another well-known officer, Colonel Harry Perrin, whose militia dress uniform is displayed at the Victorian State Museum.

Alfred Sturdee was a most enthusiastic and dedicated Militia Officer. He was first commissioned in the Colony of Victoria on 8 March, 1889, and served in the Boer War, was mentioned in despatches in July, 1901, and awarded the Queen's Medal with three clasps, and the King's Medal with two clasps. After being on the Reserve of Officers List from July, 1903, he re-enlisted in the Australian Army Medical Corps in January, 1905, was promoted to the rank of major in 2nd Field Ambulance in August, 1908, and Lieutenant-Colonel in the 16th Field Ambulance in December, 1912.

On 18 August, 1914, Lieutenant-Colonel Sturdee (then aged 51) raised the 2nd Field Ambulance at Victoria Barracks, Melbourne. Two days later the Unit marched to Broadmeadows Camp and were inspected five days later by the Governor-General, Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson. General Bridges inspected the Unit on 1 September, and Major General W.D.C. Williams the DGAMS presented X-ray equipment on 9 September. Surgeon General Williams, because of his size, had to be lifted onto his horse with a block and tackle. Somehow or other, he got himself to Gallipoli, but was refused permission to go ashore. General Bridges thought that Williams was now too old and had lost his drive, so he did not support his appointment to a posting at Gallipoli. He remained offshore for some time, and was finally appointed to head the Australian Red Cross Society in London. Certainly he was a trier and a man to be admired for his patriotism. He had been a very good officer in his earlier years.

On 11 September, the Governor-General again inspected the Unit and took the salute at the March Past. It was clear that it would not be long before the 2nd Field Ambulance would be moving overseas. In fact, two days notice was given to embark. It seems incredible that in just two months after being raised the Unit embarked on 18 October, 1914. It will be noted the Governor-General was very interested in the AIF and visited the Ambulance Unit twice in three weeks. However, he was keen always to keep the top AIF commands under British Army officers and tried to exert pressure on the Australian Government from time to time to accept British commanders. Lieutenant General Legge was one of the Australian victims. It was, of course, the policy of the UK generals in World Wars I and II to keep the "Colonial" generals in minor appointments if they could get away with it. However, there were a few exceptions.
On Sunday, 18 October, the Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, attended the Camp Church Parade at Broadmeadows and addressed the assembled troops. At 1350 hours 2nd Field Ambulance entrained for Port Melbourne, where they were met by a band and marched to what was called the Town Pier. They embarked on Troopship HMAT A18 Wiltshire at 1515 hours and by 1700 hours their ship was anchored off Point Gellibrand. The unit's wagons had been pre-loaded on 28 September. The ship was capable of carrying 36 officers, 720 other ranks and 505 horses. She was 10,390 tons and had a top speed of 14 knots. Also aboard was 4th Light Horse Regiment. Anchor was weighed on Monday, 19 October, and the long journey had commenced. Many aboard were never to see Australia again but they were all excited at the beginning of a great adventure. The Wiltshire arrived off Albany on 24th October, and anchored in King George Sound where she awaited the formation of the largest convoy ever to leave Australia - 38 troopships of which 28 were Australian and 10 from New Zealand. There were 30,000 troops, 12,000 horses and equipment. The flagship of the convoy was HMAT Orvieto with the GOC, 1 Division A.I.F., Major General William T. Bridges, and his staff of HQ. 1st Australian Division AIF.

On 1 November the Orvieto steamed out of the Sound and the long journey for the Naval escorts and the convoy to Egypt commenced. On 3 November, the Japanese warship Ibuki joined the Naval escort. In his diary entries of 9/10 November, 1914, Sturdee records the excitement of the destruction of the German cruiser Emden at Cocos Island. She had sunk or captured nearly 100,000 tons of Allied merchant shipping in the East Indian Ocean. The Emden was a part of the powerful German Fleet operating in the Pacific and South Atlantic Oceans under the Command of aristocratic Admiral, Count Graf Von Spee, who later destroyed a small Royal Navy fleet under the command of Admiral Cradock at the Battle of Coronel Island. Von Spee's fleet in turn was destroyed by the Royal Navy under the command of Alfred Sturdee's brother Doveton, at the Falkland Islands, but more of that later.

The victory at Cocos Island gave a terrific boost to the morale of the troops in the convoy. Also, it gave them greater determination to come to grips with the Germans in far off theatres of war. Colonel Sturdee and his Field Ambulance Unit were kept busy with various health problems of the troops during the voyage. Sturdee was a very experienced soldier and kept his unit to a very strict training program which was to pay dividends later. This quiet, good tempered man was a keen soldier.

I am now going to quote in detail some of Colonel Sturdee's diary notes because they give information about the naval escorts and the countries to which they belonged. I shall also give some details of his brother's victory at the Falkland Islands. (At this stage it is appropriate also to quote C.E.W. Bean, the author of The Official History of Australia in the War 1914-1918, who attached this warning of the contents of his war diaries and war histories: "These writings represent only what at the moment of making them I believed to be true...") --I give this same assurance. Diary entries for 11 November 1914 refer to "routine activities", but the next day "before Melbourne left the convoy and the lead was taken by Ibuki; the Empress of Asia passed on her way to Cocos; this evening the convoy crossed the Equator. On 13 November, HMS Hampshire joined the fleet and went on with the NZ transports to Colombo". (Next year on 5 June, Hampshire hit a mine off the Orkney Islands. Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War was drowned). On 15 November, Wiltshire approached Ceylon at daybreak and as the 1300 hrs signal gun on Orvieto was heard, anchor was dropped off Colombo. Catamarans, canoes and numerous "coin divers" greeted the ship giving the troops their first glimpse of the Orient. An impressive five-funnelled Russian Cruiser Askold arrived to provide added protection and the next day "in company with Hampshire, the Central and Port Divisions sailed for Aden".

The diary relates that the Arabian coastline could be seen off the starboard bow early on 25 November, and by 1630 hrs Wiltshire anchored off Aden. As at Colombo, no troops were allowed ashore. The voyage resumed
next day at 0630 hrs and *en route*. 2nd Field Ambulance received orders to proceed to Cairo to complete unit training. Their ship arrived off Suez on 1 December and at 1900 hrs began its passage through the Canal, reaching Port Said by 1800 hrs the following day. An hour later the ship was moored opposite the Customs House to take on coal. The troops were very excited and happy passing through the Canal. There were many strange things for them to look at. On 3 December, at Port Said, Sturdee went ashore for the first time since leaving Australia. One of his diary notes refers to “Victorias” (horse drawn light carriages) and their “beautiful little Arab ponies”. When the ship left the Canal to anchor outside on 4 December, the diary records: “Several of our men brought up at Orderly Room for breaking ship”. Indian transport ships came through the Canal on 6 and 7 December, escorted by a French Navy Cruiser and bound for “the front”. British guardships also mentioned were HMS Swiftsure and Doris. Leaving Port Said at 2000 hrs on 7 December, Wiltsire anchored in the Outer Harbour at Alexandria at 1000 hrs next day, opposite Khedive’s Palace. When the ship was berthed at a wharf at 1730 hrs 10 December, Sturdee wrote in his diary: “Got news of Doveton’s success”.

**Falkland Islands Battle - December 1914**

The news was of another great feat at sea, this time by the Royal Navy, the first for nearly a century. Vice-Admiral Doveton Sturdee RN., Commander-in-Chief of the British South Atlantic and South Pacific Stations, had gained a crushing victory over Vice-Admiral Count Graf Von Spee’s German Squadron in the Battle of the Falkland Islands on 8 December, 1914.

*Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, with other German warships of Von Spee’s East Asia Squadron, had been marauding through the South Pacific for several months. HMAS *Australia*, one of the then most modern and powerful cruisers afloat, was despatched to seek out the enemy raiders and remove the threat they posed. With *Australia* in pursuit, the German flotilla headed for Cape Horn and the Atlantic. After destroying Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock’s inferior RN fleet at Coronel, Von Spee rounded Cape Horn as he planned to recoll at Falkland Islands before making a dash to return to European waters, with his powerful squadron. In London, on receiving the news of the destruction of Cradock’s fleet at Coronel, Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, decided to send a strong RN force to deal with the danger of Von Spee’s powerful ships in the Pacific and Southern Atlantic oceans.

Sturdee, who had been Chief of Staff to Prince Louis of Battenburg, First Sea Lord, was selected to command the avenging force and proceeded in haste to Falkland Islands, and maybe beyond. He was refuelling (and refitting) when Von Spee’s ships appeared on the horizon. Sturdee, although unprepared, but flying his flag on the HMS Invincible, led the charge against the Germans and won a most decisive victory, the only major Royal Naval victory in WWI. In order to get maximum speed of his ships, Sturdee ordered that ships’ furniture and other combustibles be used to get steam up quickly and help fire the boilers of some ships. Having given the order to engage, Sturdee retired to his cabin for breakfast - a cool customer.

Von Spee went down with the *Scharnhorst*. His son, Sub-Lieutenant Graf Otto Von Spee, inherited his father’s title, but did not hold it for long, as he went down with his ship, the *Nurnberg*, hours later. Von Spee senior was regarded as a chivalrous opponent by some officers in the Royal Navy. Although Alfred Sturdee’s diary rated only a five word note of the Falklands victory, it was typical of the modesty of this fine, humble and gentle man.

**Disembarkation in Egypt**

2nd Field Ambulance began disembarking on 11 December, entrained at Alexandria next day and, travelling via Cairo, arrived at Mena House Camp near the Pyramids in the early hours of 13 December. The next few days were spent collecting unit wagons and stores, pitching bell tents, erecting hospital marquees and other tasks. On 24 December, Sturdee visited Colonel N. Howse VC. (later Major General
Neville Howse) at Mena Hospital. These two men were to be closely associated at Gallipoli, and from time to time Sturdee relieved Howse as ADMS of the 1st Australian Division. Sturdee had the highest possible opinion of Howse as a doctor and administrator. On Christmas Day, 1914 the Mena Camp Church Parade was taken by Chaplain W. Dexter DCM (Boer War), and later DSO MC, who was the father of David and Barrie Dexter, both outstanding Australian diplomats. (David is well known as the author of *Vol VI Official History of the New Guinea Offensives*).

The first mention of Alfred and Vernon Sturdee being together overseas is contained in the diary note of 6 January, 1915, when he sent Vernon to Mena House Hospital where he remained until 13 January. At this time Vernon was 24 and serving in the RAE as Adjutant 1st Australian Division. The CRE Colonel G Elliott was a British Royal Engineer Officer serving in the A.I.F.

On 24 January, 2nd Field Ambulance's patients were evacuated to No 2 General Hospital, Mena. Then on 26 January Alfred Sturdee: “Visited Heliopolis...with Hearne (Major Hearne), called upon Colonel Maudsley at Palace Hotel which was turned into No 1 General Hospital. Major Argyle took us through and showed us the sights. Met Dunhill, Summons and Turnbull”. (Major Argyle later as Sir Stanley Argyle, was Premier of Victoria in the 1930s. Dunhill became a famous surgeon in London). General Birdwood and some of his staff visited Mena Camp for a Church Parade and March Past on 31 January. Sturdee noted in his diary that he “lost a heel” during the ceremony; the diary for February and March refers to more field days, bivouacs, tactical schemes and other training. On 24 February, he noted: “A and B Sections field day 3 miles out. Surgeon General Babtie VC, Inspector, visited us at bivouac”.

Babtie, a Boer War veteran, was presumably Inspector, Army Medical Service. The last visit of importance was that of the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Ian Hamilton, who inspected the Australian Division on 29 March 1915. A Divisional exercise was held on 1 April, and there was great excitement throughout the Division as rumours were flying around the Camp about the likely destination of the force. The name “ANZAC” was about to be forged in bloody battle.

On 4 April, 2nd Field Ambulance and other AIF units at Mena struck camp to move out, having completed their training. They were now on their way to war. Lt-Colonel Sturdee and his unit, less vehicles, horses and baggage travelling separately, entrained at Cairo on 5 April for Alexandria. By 0230 hrs on 6 April, they embarked on troop-ship A13 HMAT *Mashobra*: “Cast off at 7.15 am with native pilot on board who managed the ship splendidly through the maze of shipping. He left us outside at 8.45. She pitched a bit and made the fellows fearfully sick”. On 9 April, *Mashobra* anchored in Mudros Bay, Lemnos Island at 1500 hrs. Also anchored there was HMS *Queen Elizabeth*, Lord Nelson, Agamemnon, and other warships and transports awaiting orders. It was clear now where the force was going. The troops were expectant, but few showed any signs of imminent danger, although underneath they must have been feeling concern and uncertainty which all soldiers feel before going into action. The diary for 12 April records: “CO of units were taken on board HMS *Queen Elizabeth* at 7 am. General Sir Ian Hamilton and his staff came also. Vice-Admiral Roebeck in command. After quarters, inspected turrets, torpedo room, engines and fighting top. Saw dummy warships at entrance to Dardanelles. Went up west side of Gallipoli Peninsula. Fired at from the shore”. This entry in the diary reveals that the *Queen Elizabeth* with the Commander-in-Chief, his staff and Commanding Officers of Allied units on board, made a reconnaissance run, in full view of the enemy to the Dardanelles entrance and along the Gallipoli Peninsula Coast from Helles to Suvla, in the course of which they drew enemy fire from the shore.

Between 13 and 22 April, the diary shows that Vernon visited his father three times. Vernon was on the *Minnewaska*, the Divisional Headquarters ship. On one visit: “Vernon brought a message that ADMs wanted to see me, so went on *Minnewaska*”. It brought great joy when they were together. The diary for 24 April reads: “Weighed anchor at 5.10 am, left Mudros Harbour preceded by Clan McGillivray which we afterwards overtook. At the exit we were overtaken by *Minnewaska*. At 10 am we cast anchor in Purnea Bay. By evening there are nine transports anchored. At 7 pm sighted five cruisers”.
25 April: "Got up at 5 am and found we were just off Gallipoli Peninsula, having started about 11.30 the previous evening. The bombardment of the shore, especially Gaba Tepe, had started by some of the cruisers Bacchante".

(Midshipman Eric Bush aged 15 serving in the Bacchante was awarded the D.S.O., the youngest ever, for his bravery at a beach landing. In later service he was awarded 3 D.S.O.s the last for service at the Normandy landing in World War 2. Bush died, age 85 in June, 1985).

"On the north side the covering party, 3rd Bde were being landed in boats towed by destroyers. Between 6.30 and 7 am the Foxhound came alongside to land our A Echelon including the three bearer sub-sections of 2 Fd. Amb. On the Destroyer were 6 or 7 seriously wounded men...removed to Clan McGillivray. Between 9.30 and 10 am, we were shelled from shore, one shot going close to our bows and another between bridge and funnel. We weighed anchor and stood off...". Later the beach became so congested with wounded, that the darkness made it extremely difficult for anyone to pick their way through the stretchers holding the wounded which covered the whole width of the beach for several hundred yards. It became an almost impossible task to deal with the wounded and dead. The beach had all the characteristics of a slaughterhouse. Sturdee does not dwell on the mass destruction of life and limb or the deplorable conditions of terrain, climate, disease and disease carrying insects, nor does he mention the terrible diet and scarcity of water.

For the next two days extremely heavy casualties were brought abroad for treatment by 2nd Field Ambulance doctors and staff while the ship shuttled between Anzac Beach area and Mudros Bay evacuating patients. On 29 April, when Sturdee was informed by Fleet Surgeon McMillan that Mashobra would be used as a hospital ship, he wrote: "Turned to and made all troop and promenade decks available for the reception and fitted up operating theatres. Fleet Surgeon Folliot and Surgeon Viney came to assist us. The casualties started to come in about 3 hours after in boat loads. Kept busy till after midnight". This became a nightly experience. The tempo of the battle was in sharp contrast to the more leisurely experiences in the Boer War.

In this initial period of great activity, a few brief side notes on casualties were jotted in the
diary. These refer to some soldiers by name and the nature of their injuries, or death in some cases, such as bullet or shrapnel wounds, amputations, ruptured kidney, a couple of scalp wounds and one, perhaps a member of his unit, about whom wrote: “28 April Pte Webster shot dead in back bending over attending to a wounded man in shallow trench...Major surgery and wound dressing continued seemingly at a frantic pace and for very long hours until 1 May when the Mashobra sailed from Anzac with a load of wounded, 10 officers, 395 other ranks “Australians, NZ, RMLI and Indians”, bound for Alexandria. There the patients were sent to hospitals in Alexandria or Cairo by motor ambulances or train”.

For 5 May, the diary noted: “ASC disembarked wagons”, and next day, “Disembarked the balance of Transport Division and 50 horses to camp at Alexandria. Only Tent Sub- Division of 2 Fd Amb remaining on board”. Then it was back to Anzac where he transferred to HS Seang Choon. On 15 May he wrote “General Bridges wounded in thigh, taken on HS Gascon”. Bridges died 3 days later en route to Alexandria. His KCMG was awarded the day before his death. Whilst he was dying, Bridges told Colonel Howse, his ADMS, to make sure that the Minister for Defence, George Pearce, (later Sir George) was informed that he (Bridges) was sorry that his despatches concerning the landing at Anzac Cove were not complete, as he was too tired to complete them now. At this time he was nearly dead. Sturdee was upset at Bridges death as he knew him well and regarded him as an outstanding soldier.

Part of Sturdee’s 2nd Field Ambulance took part in the dreadful disaster at Krithia when the 2 Australian Brigade, consisting of the 5, 6, 7 and 8 Battalions were sent in to assist the British and French troops who had suffered frightful casualties.

The British Commander, Major General Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston, flung the unfortunate AIF troops into mass attacks on three successive days. On the first occasion, with only a few minutes warning.

General Hamilton described how the AIF went into action - “Men rose, fell, ran, rushed in waves, broke, recoiled, crumbled away and disappeared”.

Sturdee’s troops established an Advanced Dressing Station in a forward position, which was often under fire and his stretcher bearers had to evacuate the most dangerous cases back to a British Casualty Clearing Station on the beach. The two man stretcher teams worked for 24 hours at times without relief under enemy fire. Often they carried the wounded two miles to the beachhead.

Fortunately, the dedicated work of a few bearers earned them the Distinguished Conduct Medal for their conspicuous bravery. There were many “Simpsons” at Gallipoli and they did not all have a donkey. “The Charge of the Light Brigade” was like a “bush picnic” compared with what went on at Krithia. The White Gurkhas, by Ron Austin, gives a devastating description of the battle.

On 30 May, Sturdee was shot at in his boat on his way to the ADMS at Divisional HQ. There he was delighted to meet Vernon. They had much to talk about, including news from home. There were few opportunities for them to get together as they were both extremely busy attending to their own arduous and dangerous activities. However, there was a very close relationship between them, not only on Gallipoli but also on the Western Front in later years. Vernon worried about his ageing father’s safety under the extremely dangerous conditions. Likewise, the father had similar worries about his son, who had a young wife and young son back in Australia. The worry about loved ones thousands of miles back in Australia was a thought ever-present with all servicemen. The greater the danger and the greater the distance, the greater the worry. Most soldiers wondered whether they would ever see their loved ones again.

Some babies were born after the soldiers left Australia and were never seen by their fathers killed in action. Others who did survive wondered if they would ever see the baby 10,000 or more miles back in Australia. (I can understand and appreciate the unnerving feeling because I did not see my son until I had returned from North West Europe in October 1945. He was then in his second year). On 10th June, Alfred wrote that he and Vernon were under shrapnel fire. Vernon was hit twice without any bad wound resulting. By the end of May, conditions on Gallipoli were dreadful. Plagues of flies bred on the rotting corpses of enemy dead which had been left behind the Turkish lines when the Anzacs fell back to their new
positions. Besides faeces, rotting foodscraps and dung from donkeys and mules all provided breeding grounds for the myriads of flies. It was not surprising that epidemics of diarrhoea, dysentery, hepatitis, enteric fever and other serious health problems caused concern. Whilst it was possible to improve the AIF hygiene, it became almost impossible to control the flies and the never ending plagues of fleas and lice. There was little sleep for the soldiers who spent most of their leisure time scratching or searching for lice eggs in the seams of their clothes.

Troops were allowed only one pint of water per day for shaving and washing, so skin complaints were also epidemic. All told it was a dreadful health problem for the medical authorities. It was fortunate that Colonel Howse was there to provide a driving force to try to improve conditions - it was like a hell on earth. Medical evacuations were more numerous than battle casualties. Howse was on the beach shortly after the landing organising an area for a Casualty Clearing Station and for 1st, 2nd and 3rd Field Ambulances.

It is hard to understand that dentists were not provided for the Army. Before long this became a great problem - anyone with a toothache had it pulled out by other soldiers, or if lucky, by a doctor. After an extraction, it was extremely painful to eat the hard army biscuits, with or without dental plates. The food was dreadful, which added to the health problems; however, the empty tins made excellent cases for making bombs. Sturdee sent some very critical reports about the oversight of the authorities, but it took some time before the first dentists were sent from Australia. By the end of 1915, there were only 15 dentists for the whole of the AIF abroad. Sturdee got on well with Howse, and it is a measure of his ability that the ADMS always used him for relief purposes. There is frequent mention of Sturdee visiting forward trenches to see conditions for himself and details of his talks with senior officers and the troops. Vernon tried to dissuade his father from visiting the front lines too often.

Alfred Sturdee continued his health-breaking, stressful work with complete dedication - he gave it his all - but at age 52, he could not keep up the pace because of chest problems and sheer overwork. By August, his health had seriously declined, and on August 22 he wrote: "Taken over ill to HS Gloucester Castle. The next day he was transferred to the troopship and ambulance carrier Franconia, which sailed from Mudros on 25 August, called at Malta on the 28/29th and Gibraltar from 31 August to 5 September, arriving in England at Plymouth on 8 September. He went by ambulance train to London and on 9 September: "Arrived at Paddington 3 am, being delayed on account of air raid on London. Motored to 3rd London General Hospital, Paddington". His diary notes do not reveal the nature of his illness or treatment, but on 13 September he was medically boarded and granted 3 weeks leave. In that time he spent a week at Tunbridge Wells and visited Droxford and Portsmouth. His note for the Portsmouth visit shows: "Visited Portsmouth with Margaret". (Margaret was his brother Doveton's daughter, and she married Captain Staveley RN, who was the senior Navy Officer, and later principal beachmaster at the evacuation of Gallipoli).

On 29 September he wrote: "Went to Chatham for medical board. Returned to London and then to Kensington". The next note is on 19 October "Left for Southampton to board HS Karoola. "Steamed out same afternoon". After a brief stop at Malta a week later, he arrived at Port Said on 29 October and the next day "left by train for Cairo and reported". On 10 November he boarded HS "Seang Choon at Alexandria, arrived at Mudros on the 13th and returned to Anzac Cove on the El Kalam, on 17 November. His diary note of 29 November simply states: "Appointed ADMS (temporarily) vice Col. Howse VC CB transferred". (Neville Reginald Howse - 1864/1930 - won his VC for conspicuous bravery at Vredefort, South Africa in July, 1900, while serving with military forces from the Colony of New South Wales, rose to the rank of Major-General AAMC AIF in World War I. He became DGMS of the AMF 1921/22, and later, Australian Minister for Defence 1925/27, and Minister for Health 1928/29. He died in England in 1930. He was a very great Australian and he was the father of
A scene of the deck of the Minnewaska, on 25th April 1915, whilst the Australians were waiting to disembark for the landing on Gallipoli. (AWM G902)

The divisional headquarters staff wading ashore at Gallipoli, on 25th April 1915. The officer with the spade is thought to be Colonel Foote. (AWM G903)
John Howse, a past member of the House of Representatives.

The next diary note is “8 Dec Col Howse arrived from Egypt”. On 10 December: “Consultation with Howse re evacuation of Anzac”. Sturdee was very heavily involved with the planning for the expected heavy casualties during the evacuation and it was anticipated that medical units would be left behind to look after the wounded who could not be embarked. A letter was written in French and addressed to the enemy Commander-in-Chief requesting that a British Hospital ship be allowed to embark the wounded on the following day. This ship was to be handed over to the Turks, if necessary. The entries that follow are: “15 Dec HQ (Anzac Gully) left by boat from Hospital Pier 8.50 and got on board Heroic”.

“16 Dec. Landed at Sarpi, Lemnos”, and finally “19 Dec. Final evacuation of Anzac and Suvla.” All the wounded had been evacuated so there was no need for any medical staff to stay. As mentioned earlier, Captain C.M. Staveley RN (later Rear Admiral Staveley CB CMG DSO) was the senior Royal Navy Transport Officer and Principal Beachmaster for the evacuation. It should never be forgotten that it was the Royal Navy which had to get the AIF safely off the beaches and away.

Sometimes, one would be excused for thinking that the AIF got themselves away from Gallipoli; at least some historians would have us believe that, by their writings and their neglect of the Navy's role.

Staveley and Captain A D E H Boyle of the Bacchante worked closely with the brilliant Brudenall White (later General Sir Brudenall White), chief AIF Planner. Together they worked out the remarkable evacuation plan. Covering the actual evacuation, Bean wrote “Colonel Paton, (7th Brigade) with his staff officer Wisdom, Captain Staveley RN, Littler and one or two others embarked on Captain Staveley’s small steam boat”. (Vol II page 896). At ten past four, a sailor (presumably Staveley) gave the order “Let go all over - right away” (Moorehead’s Gallipoli, page 289).

Geoffrey Searle, in his book “Monash” quotes the same order “Let go all over-right away”, which Monash had written in his diary letter to cover the last party remaining on shore (page 249).

Colonel Paton was the last Army man to leave the shore, no doubt Staveley was the last man to step aboard his steamboat and give the final order. It is of interest to note that in 1986 when the present First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Sir William Staveley, was addressing the Defence Academy in Canberra, he mentioned that his father had been the Principal Beachmaster at Anzac and Cape Helles. Unfortunately there is nothing to show whether Colonel Sturdee knew then that the man who would marry his niece, Margaret, was to be in the last steam boat to leave the shore. Sturdee returned to Egypt from Lemnos on 15 February, 1916, where he received a wire from General Birdwood congratulating him on his award of the Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (CMG).

**Note 1** - Captain Staveley had a very unusual service career. He was in command of a gunboat on the Nile during operations in the Sudan including battles at Atbara and Khartoum. With Major J.K. Watson KRR he raised the British Flag over Gordon's Palace at the relief of Khartoum on 4 September, 1898, in the presence of General Kitchener. He was attached to the Egyptian Army in 1898-99 and accompanied the Spanish Army operating in Morocco in 1909. He joined the Admiralty War Staff in 1914, serving under Doveton Sturdee, specialising in Signals. After the Gallipoli evacuation he was Senior Officer of a detached Squadron in the Northern Aegean, attached to staff of GOC-in-C British Salonica Force for occupation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, then Naval Attache at Constantinople during the Armistice 1918-1920. Later, he flew his flag in Valiant as Rear Admiral and ADC to King George V. In addition to his British decorations, he was appointed an Officer of the Legion d'Honneur and Officer, Order of the Redeemer. As mentioned previously, he married Margaret Sturdee, and they had 2 daughters and one son.

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**The General’s Horse**

There has been very little humour in the story so perhaps I can be excused for telling a story about Captain Staveley and his dealings
with the French Army landing at V beach, on 26 April 1915, where he was beach master.

One of the French officers approached Staveley on the beach and told him that the French General's valuable horse would be arriving at night. It would be easily recognised because it was a well-bred Arab with a very, very long tail. Staveley arranged for a number of French soldiers who had been fishermen before the war to look out for the long-tailed horse which could be difficult to recognise at night.

Next morning, whilst Staveley was resting in his dugout, after working all night, he was woken by the ear-shattering noise of the French General, who threatened to "clamp him in irons". Apparently the General had his horse delivered without some of its tail and was bent on revenge. After some time Staveley suggested that they go down to the beach and make enquiries from the beach head staff. On approaching the beach, the General suddenly made a sudden ear-splitting roar and rushed to the gun wale of a grounded ship, where fishing quietly among all the action were a couple of old French fishermen turned soldiers. "*****-******-******-******", shouted the General, literally banging their heads together and holding up their fishing lines. 'Look at the tail of my beautiful horse'.

We do not know what happened to the fishermen!

Note 2 - Captain Boyle (later Admiral Sir Algernon Boyle) had been Lieutenant in charge of the Naval guard of Honour at the funeral service for Queen Victoria in 1901. When the horses pulling the gun carriage carrying the coffin became almost uncontrollable the quick thinking Boyle drew his sword and cut the
traces. He then ordered the sailors to pull the drag ropes. Since that time the R.N. has had the honour of pulling the drag ropes of the gun carriage carrying a deceased monarch. Thus are service traditions created and observed.

**Vernon Sturdee’s Service**

Born 16 April, 1890 at Frankston, Victoria, died 25 May, 1966 at RGH Heidelberg, Victoria, Vernon has been mentioned many times in the above narrative. It is now intended to give an abbreviated summary of his activities on Gallipoli. In fact, his service during his Army career would make a first-class biography, which could be sponsored either by the Australian Defence Academy or the Army School of Engineering. He was appointed as Adjutant to the CRE, 1 Australian Division, and embarked on 21 October, 1914 for the Middle East. He sailed in the same convoy as his father, but not in the same ship, and as mentioned earlier, his first meeting overseas with his father was on 6 January, 1915, in Egypt. At that time he was sick and he was despatched to Mena House Hospital. There was little time for visits to his father in Egypt because both were extremely busy preparing and training their units for operations. On the trip to Lemnos, Vernon was on the S.S. *Minnewaska*, which was used as a HQ ship for the detailed planning for the attack on Gallipoli.

The *Minnewaska* was a converted Canadian Pacific Liner. Between 13 and 22 April, father and son saw each other 3 times when Vernon was able to visit his father’s ship at Mudros on the island of Lemnos.

On the night of 23 April, Birdwood and his service staff moved to the *Queen*. Bridges and his staff moved to the *Prince of Wales*. Sturdee mentions that General Birdwood gave a “very good and heartening talk in the main lounge”. Sturdee regarded Birdwood as a very friendly man who always took an interest in junior officers and made a point of talking to them freely. Later he was to be idolised by the AIF and affectionately known by the troops as “Birdie”. Birdwood was aware that the Stur-
Lieutenant Watson supervising the building of the Pier at Anzac in June 1915. (AWM G1046)
dees, father and son, would be on Gallipoli together. He knew also that Alfred Sturdee’s brother was the hero of the Falkland Islands.

At 9pm on 24 April the Minnewaska sailed from Lemnos. There was no time for sleep that night. On Sunday 25 April, 1915, the 3rd Brigade landed on the beach between Fisherman’s Hut and Gaba Tepe, and after a bayonet charge, won the sea side ridges. 2nd Brigade followed and then 1st Brigade. Sturdee accompanied the CRE., Lt. Col. G. Elliott, leaving the ship before 9 am. By this time, 1st, 2nd and 3rd Field Companies (Engineers) were ashore and there was plenty of lead and high explosive flying everywhere on the beaches. A priority task for the sappers was to find water; even the CRE and Sturdee walked south along the beach looking for it and they found some.

“Williams was getting the supply ready”. (Lieutenant T.R. Williams, affectionately known as “Toc”, later became Director of Signals for different periods after WWI. In WW2 Major General Williams was MGO, and later Chief Military Adviser to the Ministry of Munitions. I served as his Director of Army Research, Design and Development for a period in 1942/43. “Toc” Williams was a most colourful, knowledgable officer. He was an excellent “boss” and there are many stories told about him. He certainly had charisma).

Sturdee was kept very busy keeping check on the situation involving the 3 Field companies of the Division. There was a multiplicity of tasks and some which were never envisaged in pre-battle planning, e.g. “making bombs”, digging tunnels to mention only two. By 2 May, he had his own Company, two sections of which were “flat out” preparing home made bombs to throw into the adjacent Turkish trenches. The bombs were made from discarded jam and condensed milk tins which were filled with small pieces of barbed wire and small pieces of metal packed with explosive. They were highly lethal. Soldiers of both sides kept a sharp lookout for the missiles which were conspicuous by the hissing fuze.

Some troops became skilled in catching the bomb in mid-air and hurling it back to its source. Sturdee’s sappers did not mind making the bombs because they could sit down on the job. They soon learned not to smoke whilst working because of the explosive; however, it took several explosions to convince them. On 18 May, the big attack by the Turks took place at night with “7000 enemy casualties, ours about 500”. The dead and many of the wounded remained between the enemy and Australian trenches. The conditions became deplorable with the stench of the fly-blown
and decaying bodies. Sturdee tells that an Armistice was agreed on 24 May from 7.30 am to 4.30 pm. The nine hours cessation of hostilities gave both sides the opportunity to bury their dead and recover the wounded. In this period there were some examples of fraternisation, and in a few isolated cases, gifts of cigarettes were exchanged. At 4.30 pm the ghastly battle resumed. During the truce both sides took the opportunity to study each other's territory, but tried to hide their interest. No cameras were allowed by either side.

On 25 May, Sturdee watched the HMS Triumph sinking after it had been torpedoed. Triumph had been one of the escorts which had been used from Lemnos to Gallipoli. At the landing it had a vital role to play - its seaward light was used as a marker for the boats taking the troops to the shore.

It was now clear that a stalemate had been reached in the offensive. At all vital points the enemy's defences were being strengthened and to attack from the front was suicidal. This left only one means of overcoming the strong defences - undermining them and blowing them up. General Birdwood decided the best chance of successful assaults was by tunnelling beneath the enemy at the Nek, Popes, Russells Courtneys, Ryries, Lone Pine, Quinns, the Apex and other defences.

It is not generally known that tunnel warfare became the dominating means of attack by both sides. The Turks, under German guidance and Australian example, also became formidable at tunnelling. The magnitude of the underground warfare is well covered in Bean's The Story of Anzac Vol II. Sturdee had four Sections of his 5th Field Company working underground at the Nek, Pope's, Quinns and Courtneys. Sturdee's notes give a vivid description of the underground work and its dangers. He became absorbed in developing work practices and procedures and the problems for which few had any experience. He had a most inventive mind. He describes the problems of illumination for the digging parties and the hazards of explosive or foul gas in the confined tunnels. The bravery of his own troops in rescuing their mates from fire, explosions and poisonous gas in the tunnels is well documented by recommendations for gallantry awards.

Sturdee describes some of the hand to hand battles underground when one or the other suddenly broke through into enemy galleries or were trying to undermine the other's position. At one stage he was trying to develop a gas mask for his troops, and to develop suitable equipment for use in the tunnels for listening posts to detect enemy working underground. Sturdee had his fair share of shrapnel hits and sickness. He was evacuated twice for hospital treatment for enteric fever and for serious damage to his stomach lining from internal burns due to too much "Condy's Crystals" being put into drinking water by the hygiene section. He was to suffer stomach problems from this incident for the rest of his life. The visits to his father were limited, but this did not decrease his worry, because he knew his father never hesitated to get as far forward as he could. Sturdee senior was a fearless soldier, and this had been inherited by his son.

On 26 November, 1915, Vernon Sturdee describes a "silence stunt", which had been ordered the previous day and was then in full operation. Originally the stunt was to last 48 hours, but this was extended for a further 24 hours. During the exercise the troops had been ordered to fire no rifles or grenades, unless they were attacked by enemy. The object was to make the Turks think that our force was being evacuated and to provoke them into launching an attack. In hindsight we know that this exercise was part of the plan to deceive the enemy when the evacuation was eventually in operation.

The notes give little personal detail - everything seemed to revolve around work. For example, there is no mention of the famous "Waterloo Dinner" which has great historic significance to the RAE and RA Signals. The Dinner was held on 18 June, 1915, in a dugout at Gallipoli. It was organised by that excellent "Sapper" Officer, Lt Col C.H. Goott, AA & QMG, of 1st Australian Division (later Brigadier General) to commemorate the Battle of Waterloo Centenary; thirteen officers attended including Vernon Sturdee. It happened also to be the day when Captain Watson's pier was completed. Copies of the menu of the Dinner have received a fairly wide distribution within the "Sappers" and "Signals" Officers circles. The Waterloo Dinner is now commemorated every year on 18 June with due respect and ceremony. Sturdee always attended and was treated with great respect. The younger officers never tired of hearing his description of the
actual dinner at Gallipoli and he was always glad to tell them.

On 16 December, 1915, Sturdee met Bean, who was looking at the plans for the evacuation and the magnitude of the tunnelling, also, the proposals for blowing the mines under some of the Turkish defences at the completion of the evacuation. The quantities of high explosive used was most impressive, several tons in some places, which explains the terrific “bang” when they were detonated.

On the same day, Sturdee was directed to start getting rid of surplus weapons, stores and equipment and be ready to move his unit out at 4.30 pm. Bean recorded in his Diary of 17 December, 1915, that he watched “Sturdee's Sappers burning their rifles, picks, shovels, tubing, and breaking the pumps, then he went “home” and destroyed his own possessions “including his home made furniture and put a knife through the waterproof sheets which I left in my dug out. Somehow I don’t like to think of that furniture as a curiosity in some Turkish officers home”. (Note - Bean wrote up his Diary the day after he visited Sturdee, which explains the difference in dates, i.e. 16/17 December).

They arrived at the beach at 6 pm and
embarked on the *Prince Abbas* at 8 pm. Next day at 1 am they sailed for Mudros, reaching there on 17 December, on the day after his father had arrived. Sturdee does not give any detail of his thoughts on leaving Gallipoli.

Colonel Alfred Sturdee and his son, Major Vernon Sturdee had both arrived on Lemnos safe and well, after distinguished service on Gallipoli, but in a short time, both would be with the AIF fighting in the blood baths of the Somme and other “killing” grounds in France and Belgium. I intend to give a short summary of their impressive service after Gallipoli which follows as an epilogue.

One can readily imagine the feeling of relief by father and son that they had survived Gallipoli. Each had not only to think and ponder over his own safety, but equally for that of the other. As we will see this was to be repeated in France.

Colonel Alfred Sturdee CMG VD

Colonel Alfred Sturdee commenced service on the Western Front on 30 March, 1916 as ADMS of 1 Australian Division. The notes mention service at many places well known to Australians: Sailly-Sur-La-Lys, Merris, Hoograaf, St Omer, Menin Gate, Vignacourt, Passchendale, Ypres, Baillieu, Bullecourt etc. He was horrified and distressed at the terrible casualties, dead and wounded, on the Western Front. Following on his service at Gallipoli, it was amazing that a man of this age was able to
serve so long and so well. On 21 November, 1916, Sturdee was evacuated from the Front with chronic bronchial disability. On 3 December, he visited his brother, Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee, then with the Grand Fleet at Scapa Flow. (This was the last time the brothers were to meet. Alfred Sturdee had great pride and admiration for Doveton's service and that of his son, later Admiral Sir Lionel Sturdee Bt, whose daughter, Elizabeth, is the wife of Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Doveton Sturdee. As mentioned elsewhere, Doveton Sturdee's grandson is the present First Sea Lord). On returning to London, he was met by his son, Lt. Colonel Vernon Sturdee, who had been promoted a Battalion Commander at age 26, and he was on leave.

On 10 February, 1917, Sturdee Senior embarked for return to Australia and arrived in Melbourne on 12 April, where he took up duty as DDMS 3rd Military District and later Director of Medical Services, Repatriation Department, until he retired.

(Note by Brigadier K.R. Colwill -- It was an eminently sensible arrangement for an officer of Colonel Sturdee's calibre and experience of war, to be appointed to a senior post in the newly formed Australian Repatriation Department. As the conscientious, caring and skilled physician that he was, he continued in this capacity to serve his country for the remainder of World War I and some years later.

Mrs. Margret Buckley, daughter of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Vernon Sturdee, remembers her grandfather clearly as being a meticulous man, warmly regarded by his patients and held in high esteem by men, women and children alike. His exceptionally strong ideals of patriotism and duty were well balanced by his likeable nature and his loveable and calm disposition. He had an unhurried manner, which in situations of stress earned the admiration of many, and as a genuinely nice person to be with, his company was eagerly sought by others. He died in Melbourne, aged 76, on 19 June, 1939).

Lt. Colonel V.A.H. Sturdee D.S.O.

Following his service on Gallipoli, Vernon Sturdee made rapid progress up the military ladder on the Western Front. He was Acting CRE, 4th Division, by 4 January, 1917. The following month he was C.O. of the 4th Pioneer Battalion, at age 26. Later he was CRE 5th Division and in March, 1918, was appointed to the General Staff of General Haig's GHQ. Until Sturdee was appointed, Haig had refused to accept AIF officers (Colonials) for staff appointments on GHQ in spite of protracted argument between the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. W.M. Hughes and the British Government. However, some bright person decided to put up "the nephew of Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Doveton Sturdee for an appointment". Haig could hardly refuse without giving offence. Thus, Sturdee was accepted and served out the War at GHQ. Several other AIF officers were appointed. Sturdee finished the war DSO and OBE. He returned to Melbourne in November, 1918, no doubt lucky to return after four years of high risk active service. He was badly wounded in France and had several minor wounds and near misses both at Gallipoli and in Europe.

In between the two World Wars he held various Staff appointments and attended the Staff College at Quetta and the Imperial Defence College in London. Also, he served at the War Office. In October, 1939, Sturdee was appointed GOC Eastern Command and was promoted from Colonel to Lieutenant-General in one promotion to the top appointment outside of Army HQ's. Later he was appointed GOC 8 Division. He voluntarily accepted a drop in rank to Major General to get this active command. Following the death of Sir Brudenall White, Sturdee was appointed GOC on 30 August, 1940, on the strong recommendation of General Sir Harry Chauvel. After the fall of Singapore in February, 1942 an exchange of terse cablegrams took place between Curtin and Churchill about the return of the AIF to Australia. Churchill wanted to send the force to Burma.

At this time the troops were all in converted passenger ships and their fighting equipment was, in some instances, a thousand miles behind them. If they had landed in Burma, they would have had nothing to fight with - I know because I was in the convoy. Sturdee was determined that 7 Division and Corps troops should be returned to defend an almost defenceless Australia. At that time, over 120,000
AIF were overseas, the RAN was scattered all over the oceans and the RAAF was fighting mainly over Europe. The equipment situation was deplorable.

Sturdee told the War Cabinet that he would resign if his recommendation was not approved and he meant every word that he said. Prime Minister, John Curtin, accepted the advice and informed Churchill accordingly. Churchill had turned the AIF convoy towards Burma without awaiting the approval of the Australian Government. This incident is covered in the Official History by Lionel Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust*, page 465: "It is now evident that the 7th Division would have arrived only in time to...take part in the long retreat to India. In that event it could not have been returned to Australia, rested and sent to New Guinea in time to perform the crucial role it was to carry out in the defeat of the Japanese offensive which would open there in July, 1942. The Allied cause therefore was well served in sound judgement and solid persistence of General Sturdee who maintained his advice against that of the Chiefs of Staff in London and Washington". Sturdee won this important decision.

It will be remembered that 21 Brigade and others under Brigadier Potts fought the Japs to a standstill in the Kokoda Trail Battle. The 18 Brigade performed with distinction at Milne Bay, and the 25 Brigade chased the enemy from Kokoda back to the beach head at Buna. 7 Australian Division performed with great distinction throughout the New Guinea Campaign and after.

In retrospect, Sturdee's decision to bring 7 Division back was crucial to the defence of Australia. In his book *The Commanders*, published in 1984, David Horner wrote of Sturdee: "He was the rock on which the Army, and indeed the Government rested during the weeks of panic in early 1942".

On the return of General Blamey in March, 1942, Sturdee remained CGS until he was appointed Head of the Australian Staff in Washington, to put aggressively Australia's case for manpower and war material, in the highest military circles in the United States. It will be recalled that at this time Churchill and Roosevelt had decided on a "beat Hitler first" policy, and although Australia was to be regarded as the major base for operations against Japan in the SW Pacific Area, it was getting precious little help. More equipment and manpower had to be provided to the Area if Australia was to be held. General MacArthur, John Curtin and Dr. Evatt fought for the Pacific theatre, to at least get some help. Sturdee argued strongly in Washington putting Australia's case, and eventually Churchill and Roosevelt released the men and equipment which turned the tide against the enemy. On returning to Australia in 1944, Sturdee was appointed GOC HQ 1 Australian Army, which was the highest field command, with HQ in Lae. He served there until the end of the war.

After General Blamey had accepted the surrender of the Japanese Forces on behalf of the Australian Government, Sturdee took the surrender of the Japanese Army and Navy Forces in 1 Army Area of responsibility. This took place on board HMS *Glory*, the R.N. aircraft carrier, of Rabaul on 6 September, 1945. The swords used by General Imamura and Admiral Kusaka in the ceremony, together with Sturdee's sword were presented to the National War Memorial by Lady Sturdee in February, 1982. The Instrument of Surrender was donated also to the War Memorial, and a duplicate to the Naval and Military Club, Melbourne. On the retirement of General Blamey in December, 1945, General Sturdee was appointed Acting Commander-in-Chief and directed by the Government to re-introduce the Military Board system.

Sturdee again became Chief of the General Staff in March, 1946. He did much to set the post-war Army on a sound footing, and had the support of the Chifley Government. It is interesting to note that he had been first appointed CGS by the Menzies Government in 1940, and re-appointed by the Chifley Government in 1946. He regarded the appointment always as a-political. He was equally comfortable in the presence of Chifley, Curtin, Fadden or Menzies. He was determined to keep the wartime association with the US and the UK Armies in peace, as it had been in war. He made frequent visits to see Field Marshal Lord Montgomery in London, and General of the Army Eisenhower in Washington. Montgomery returned the visit. Sturdee also visited the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan, and as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Melbourne, he had the overall
responsibility for the British component in Japan.

In 1965, Sturdee was invited by Brigadier Sir William Hall to lead the 50th Anzac Day March in Melbourne, but due to illness, he was unable to do so. Later he was admitted to St Andrew's Hospital, Melbourne, but when it became clear that he had a terminal illness, he directed his daughter and myself to advise the Repatriation Department that he wished to die amongst the "old Diggers" at Heidelberg. To him, Heidelberg was "hallowed ground", as it was also to Field Marshal Sir Thomas Blamey. (Sturdee had great respect and loyalty to Blamey, who he regarded as the best General to lead Australian forces during the grim years 1942-1945. He advised Curtin of this in 1942).

Lieutenant General Sir Vernon Sturdee died at RGH, Heidelberg on 25 May, 1966. I hope that the Government realise the importance that these two famous soldiers gave to Heidelberg Repatriation General Hospital, as Blamey also died there, on 27 March, 1951.

Sturdee was given a Military Funeral at which the Anglican Chaplain from Heidelberg took the Service. His boyhood friend at Melbourne Grammar School, Sir Edmund Herring, was the Principal Pall Bearer. Sturdee had always admired the gifted Herring.

In conclusion, Alfred and Vernon Sturdee were both very modest men, who never sought the limelight - in fact, it could be said that they both shunned it. It would surprise both to know that their record of service to the Australian nation in peace and war was sufficiently important to be a subject for the 75th Anniversary of their landing with the ANZACS at Anzac Cove, and their evacuation from Gallipoli the same year by the Royal Navy.

Vernon Sturdee was often heard to remark on the magnificent achievement of the RN in getting the AIF away from the beaches. The 75th Anniversary of ANZAC is a time to remember the part played, not only by our courageous soldiers, but also the gallantry of the Royal Naval officers and men.

This old soldier salutes and remembers the Royal Navy and the ANZACS with devotion, for their magnificent performance and sacrifice at Gallipoli. May their tradition forged in blood and fire on the beaches and cliffs at Anzac Cove never be forgotten by all Australians, irrespective of their origins, but in particular may they ever be remembered by our Commonwealth and State Governments and Parliaments.

It was Australia's proudest moment and that is why the landing on Gallipoli brought nationhood to our Country. As a small boy, 70 years ago, I remember our Victorian State School newspaper always included a poem on the ANZACS in its April edition -- to this day I can remember and quote the verse:

"On the 25th April far across the sea
Our brave Australian soldiers stormed Gallipoli
And its to their death and glory
How they scaled the heights..."

"I wonder what they are taught now???
Anzac Day is a day when old ex-servicemen get together to honour and remember fallen comrades who made the supreme sacrifice and to renew friendships with others who shared and survived the ghastly destruction of murderous battles. Some of the marchers were wounded, maimed or blinded and suffered pain and misery ever since. Some proudly sit in special buses. Some are too handicapped to leave hospital.

Anzac Day marches do not “glorify war”, nor are the men who fought for the freedom of Australia “war mongers”. That wonderful Australian, the late Sir Edmund Herring, had this to say at a Shrine of Remembrance Service in Melbourne.

“The greatest peace-lovers are those who suffered the horrors and barbarity of war at first hand”.

The Duke of Wellington and General Sir John Monash said much the same.

Lest We Forget Their Sacrifice.

Bibliography
In my own research I have been assisted by the following:

St. Helena’s Who’s Who by Arnold Chapman
John Monash by G. Searle
Monash by Peter Pedersen
The Japanese Thrust by Lionel Wigram
Gallipoli by Alan Moorehead
Full Circle by Sir Sydney Rowell
The Anzacs by Patsy Adam Smith
Coronet and Falkland by Barrie Pitt
Coronet and Falkland by Geoffrey Bennett
UK Who’s Who 1928
Nightingales in the Mud by Marianne Barker
The Commanders (and other books) by David Horner
Gallipoli by Tim Swifte
The Story of Anzac Vols I and II by Dr C.E.W. Bean
Gallipoli Correspondent by Kevin Fewster
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Defence Force Journal No 72 September/October 1988
Butlers Official History Medical Services 1914-1918 Vol I
The White Guekias by Ron Austin
Gallipoli by Captain Eric Bush
Images of Gallipoli by Peter Pedersen and Ross Bastian

I am very grateful to the undermentioned for their assistance:

Mr Michael Tracey, Managing Editor of the Defence Force Journal, who has helped me in preparing and efficiently editing both this and my previous stories. Mike has been assisted by that gifted artist Jeff Isaacs, and also by Irene Coombes, who has been able to gather historic photographs and give much general assistance. Rosemary Kennedy of the RSL and Jan Truscott of Department of Defence, Melbourne have also given valuable assistance.

Peter Ryan, Stuart Sayers, Alf Argent, Frank Hanily and especially Keith Colwill have given assistance in my previous writings. It was Hanily and Tracey who first published my earlier stories and have continued to do so. Professor Geoffrey Blainey has always been ready to read my stories and to provide welcome advice and criticism. A great historian.

Harry Powell, who helps everyone, but found time to type, edit and proof read the narrative. Without Harry’s help, the story may not have been written. He also types all of my book reviews in a honorary capacity.

My wife Margret, has provided nearly all of the Sturdee history and has encouraged me to write the story. Margret worked for General “Toe” Williams in WWII.

Commodore Dacre Smyth was always available to discuss matters concerning the history of the RN and RAN. So has Ken York Syme.

Finally, I am most grateful to Rt. Hon Sir Paul Hasluck KG, GCMG, GCVO, for his kindness in writing the Foreword and also for his past encouragement and helpful criticism on my stories of John Curtin and Sir Frederick Shedden. I regard Sir Paul as the outstanding contributor to the Official History of World War 2. His The Government and The People, Volumes I & II are excellent.
Queenslanders Your Country Calls! (AWM V33)
A Call from the Dardanelles. (AWM V5167)

Assisting Queensland’s Patriotic Day. (AWM V150)

New South Wales Troops of the Australian-Imperial Expeditionary Force marching through the streets of Albany prior to their departure.
The Gallipoli Campaign: A Broader Perspective

By Major Warwick Graco, AA Psych

Introduction

The Gallipoli Campaign was the first expedition where Australian forces fought as a national body after Federation in 1901 and it laid the foundation of what was to become the ANZAC tradition. This tradition was based on the image of the ANZAC as a tough, determined soldier who possessed a ready sense of humour and was nonchalant, who was loyal to his mates, who had an outward disrespect for formal authority and who was inclined to be spirited and mischievous.

The aims of this article are firstly, to outline briefly the background to the Great War and how the Allies became involved in the Gallipoli Campaign; secondly, to explain some of the consequences of the campaign for the Allies and the ANZACs; and thirdly, to list a number of reasons why Australian soldiers were resolute fighters.

Origins

The origins of the Great War lay in the Industrial Revolution. As the nations of Europe industrialised they sought new markets to sell their products, they sought new sources of raw materials for their factories and they sought new territories to settle surplus population. These developments set in train a new bout of imperialism in the second half of the Nineteenth Century where many European countries scrambled for colonies in Africa, the Middle East and the Pacific. This scramble was assisted by the decline of the Ottoman Empire and its withdrawal from North Africa.

The eruption of nationalism was to fan the fire of change in Europe. The unification of the German states and the Italian states into separate nations and the opening of Japan to western culture were portentous. Prussia, who was the dominant state in the German Confederation, flexed her muscles in three sharp wars after 1860. The first was against Denmark in 1864, the second against Austria in 1866 and the third against France in 1870. The war against Denmark added the states of Schleswig and later Holstein to German territory, the war against Austria ended Austria's hegemony over the German states, while the war against France united the German states as one nation and made Germany the dominant land power in Europe, just as France had gained ascendancy over Spain in the Seventeenth Century.

The unification of Italy in 1871 also weakened Austria's influence and set Italy on a path to territorial expansion in Southern Europe and Africa and ultimately to war against the Allies in World War II.

The same happened to Japan, who ending her isolation from the West in the 1860s, soon became aggressive territorially as she sought access to markets and raw materials in Asia. As is known, her aggression in Asia brought her into conflict with Britain and the USA and in turn war when aircraft from the Japanese fleet attacked US forces at Pearl Harbor on the 7th December 1941.

The emergence of Germany as the dominant land power in Europe in the late Nineteenth Century posed a threat to Britain. In the previous centuries, Britain had fought and triumphed over Holland, Spain and then France for control of the world economy and for security of her island base. When Germany challenged British naval supremacy by embarking on an arms race with her at the turn of the Twentieth Century and sought to establish a continental market stretching from Germany to the Middle East, these events helped to sow the seeds of the Great War. The other threat to Britain and her empire at that time was the growing strength of the USA.

When the war came in 1914 Britain faced a dilemma: she could not fight simultaneously a war against Germany and a war against the USA. The USA, being economically stronger and having a more powerful navy than Britain, meant that the USA either had to be defeated...
militarily or she had to be made an ally. Britain's dependence on the world economy for survival of its metropolitan base required as a minimum USA neutrality. Britain of course chose to defeat Germany in both World wars and to make an ally of the USA, but in doing so surrendered economic and military power to the USA.

When Britain declared war on Germany in 1914, Australia, along with other former British Dominions such as Canada, rallied to the support of the Mother Country. After the failure of the Schlieffen Plan in late 1914, where Germany tried to knock France out of the war by sweeping through Belgium and crushing Allied forces against the Swiss Alps, and after both sides became locked in a stalemate on the Western Front, Britain looked for an alternative solution to bring Germany to heel.

The Gallipoli Campaign

Turkish attacks in the Caucasus and Russian losses on the Eastern Front led Britain to respond to a Russian request in January 1915
A scene at General Bridges’ first Headquarters at Gallipoli, during lunch on May 3rd, 1915. The officers in the photograph, reading from left to right, are: General Bridges, (in dugout); Lieut. Riches; Pte. Wicks (batman to General Bridges); Captain Foster (A.D.C.); Major Gellibrand; Colonel Howse; Major Blamey; Colonel White; Major Wagstaff. The position was exposed to shrapnel fire and Major Gellibrand was wounded there. (AWM G933)

to mount a diversion to draw off Turkish reserves in the east. British fears were heightened by a Turkish assault on the Suez Canal in February 1915, by political unrest in the Sudan and in Egypt and by the British public’s restlessness with inaction by the powerful British Fleet against its German opponent.

The British War Council was attracted to an operation against Turkey for three reasons. Firstly, it would knock out one of Germany’s important allies; secondly, it would open a vital sea-route to Russia through the Dardanelles, a narrow passageway separating Continental Europe from Asiatic Turkey (see Figure 1); and thirdly, it would help persuade wavering neutral Balkan states of Greece, Rumania and Bulgaria to enter the war against Germany and Austria.

The operation mounted against Turkey at the Dardanelles was initially a naval one because Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, refused to release troops for the attack. The operation was to be carried out in stages with direct and indirect bombardments of the forts guarding the sides of the Dardanelles, the clearing of mines in the strait and the eventual advance into the Sea of Marmora followed by the taking of the prize of Constantinople.

The Staff at the Admirality were apprehensive about the operation from the start judging it to be a risky undertaking and they considered that military assistance was essential if the operation was to succeed. Because of Navy apprehensions, Kitchener agreed to despatch ground forces to Lemnos Island in the Aegean Sea but he refused to allow those forces to land on the Gallipoli Peninsula until the forts had been reduced by the Navy.

The lack of progress by the Navy in forcing a breakthrough led Kitchener to appoint General Sir Ian Hamilton as the C in C of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force (MEF) - the new title of the force allocated to support the Navy at the Dardanelles. However, Kitchener remained adamant that the MEF was not to undertake military operations unless the Navy failed to get through. After the loss of three battleships and serious damage to others in an attempt by the Fleet, under Admiral de Robeck, to force the Dardanelles, the decision was taken by Hamilton and de Robeck to mount a military operation at Gallipoli. This decision was supported by Kitchener.

The subsequent military campaign, launched on the 25th April 1915, was a failure and it is not intended here to give an account of the invasion and to list in detail the reasons why it did not succeed. These tasks have been done by others.
The landing was a hastily prepared one. It was initiated with the vague intention that the troops would take the peninsula and therefore would assist the Navy to breakthrough the strait. The military operation was not coordinated with the movements of the Fleet and there was no overall C in C to command both land and naval forces. Security was lax before the invasion commenced with the British telegraphing their punches from their base in Egypt, thus giving Turkish defenders at the peninsula ample warning of MEF’s destination. Vital intelligence on the peninsula went missing and logistic preparations, such as for water supply and medical support, were marred by oversights basically because Hamilton and his Staff thought the operation would be a brief one. Too much was left to chance and the major failing of the operation was the arrogant assumption that all the Allies had to do was storm the peninsula and Turkish resistance would fade away. The Turks, with German assistance, proved to be determined and resilient defenders who stopped repeatedly Allied attempts to take the key terrain on Gallipoli.

Overall, the Gallipoli Campaign promised much but delivered nothing with the Allies being forced to withdraw after 8 months of fighting. The campaign had been championed by Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, having to overcome the doubts of his cabinet colleagues and his Naval Staff. The penalties paid for failure were heavy. Churchill spent the next 24 years in the political wilderness until he was recalled as Prime Minister of Britain in the dark days of World War II. As is known, Churchill with his bulldog determination and tenacity rallied his nation to the call to defeat Germany.

Hamilton was another casualty being removed from command before evacuation of Allied forces from the peninsula. He had proved to be a competent commander and a progressive thinker prior to the Great War but the results of the Gallipoli Campaign were to taint his reputation and raise questions about his ability as a commander. He lived to the ripe age of 94 and defended stoutly his conduct of the campaign until the end.

The campaign revealed serious shortcomings with the British higher direction of war. For the remainder of the hostilities there was a conflict between the “frocks” (i.e. the frock coats of politicians) and the “brass hats” (i.e. the gold-braided hats of generals and admirals) over strategy. A number of the “frocks”, especially Lloyd George and Churchill, questioned the need for operations on the Western Front and were appalled by the lack of progress on the battlefields and the high casualty statistics. They believed that a better and less costly strategy was to knock out the props of the opposition, such as Austria and Turkey, rather than to attack the German Army in France and Flanders. Most of the “brass hats” were westerners who remained committed to defeating Germany in the west rather than fritter away precious resources and manpower in campaigns in the east. These differences between the two camps were to mar the British prosecution of the war until the end in 1918.

These problems were compounded by the failure to coordinate the operations of French and British armies on the Western Front. The lack of coordination was brought home when a German offensive in March 1918 nearly split British and French forces. This attack impelled the Allies to appoint Marshal Foch from France as Supreme Commander to coordinate strategy and operations on the Western Front. The appointment of Marshal Foch coincided with the arrival of US forces in France and this swung the balance of numbers in the Allies favour.

ANZACs

For the ANZACs, the Gallipoli Campaign had been their baptism under fire and despite being on the losing side, they had performed creditably under very trying conditions. The ANZACs had to endure the extremes of climate and terrain such as the heat of summer and later the cold of winter. They also had to put up with discomforts such as flies, dust, thirst, poor food, disease, and lack of sleep and they coped with these without allowing the Turks to drive them back into the sea. The ANZACs patrolling and trench work were of a high standard and their battle discipline was good but they had to learn these skills the hard way, suffering needless casualties until they profited from operational experience gained in the initial battles at Gallipoli.

The campaign unearthed a number of outstanding commanders. Officers identified inc-
cluded new brigade commanders such as Glasgow, Glasfurd, Gellibrand and Elliot and new battalion commanders such as Leane, Cass, Bennett, Scott and Howell-Price. Scott and Howell-Price were respectively 24 and 25 years of age. These officers had proved themselves under fire.

Chauvel and Monash, future commanders of respectively the Desert Mounted Corps in the Middle East and the 1st Australian Corps in France, also fought at the peninsula.

Outstanding staff officers such as White and Blarney established their reputations at Gallipoli. White spent the remainder of the war as Chief of Staff to Birdwood, the officer commanding the ANZACs at Gallipoli and later the 1st ANZAC Corps on the Western Front until the 1st Australian Corps was formed in 1918. Blarney, the future Australian Field-Marshal, became Monash’s Chief of Staff in Europe.

After Gallipoli the ANZACs were to gain honours on the battlefields of France and Flanders and on the battlefields in the Sinai, Palestine and Syria. Again ANZAC troops had to learn from experience gained in battle as they had done at Gallipoli. Intense training combined with good staff work and competent leadership were also needed before the troops mastered the intricacies of warfare as fought in Europe and the Middle East. By the latter stages of the war Australian forces had served their apprenticeships on the battlefields and along with their New Zealand and Canadian counterparts, had developed into formidable “fighting machines”.

Two battles where Australian forces distinguished themselves were at Beersheba on the 30th October 1917 and at Hamel on the 4th July 1918.

At Beersheba the 4th Light Horse Brigade under the command of Brigadier-General Grant were given the difficult task of taking the town before nightfall. This was necessary to cut off Turkish reinforcements heading to Beersheba and to allow watering of the horses at the wells in the town. The attack was launched late in the afternoon. The assault was led by the 4th and 12th Light Horse Regiments with the 11th following. The regiments attacked from approximately 6000 metres over a hill and then across a gentle, open slope to Beersheba.

The defenders mistook the Australian attack as a demonstration and when they realised their mistake, were not able to react quickly enough to the threat. Turkish artillery could not bring effective fire to bear because the Australians had closed the gap where artillery could be employed and Turkish machine-gun nests were quickly located and silenced by British batteries. Turkish riflemen also fired too high because the gunsights on their weapons were set for long range shots.

The Australian assault took out the eastern flank thus causing the Turkish defence to collapse and the Australian horsemen were able to save the wells which the Turks had intended destroying. Australian casualties for this bold and dangerous charge were light.

The 1st Australian Corps, under the command of Monash and including a sprinkling of US troops, conducted a brilliant combined arms operation against their German foes at Hamel. Tanks advanced with infantry, which in turn kept pace with lifting artillery barrages, while aircraft were used for aerial resupply of forward troops. The attack went to schedule with all objectives being achieved in 93 minutes of battle.

German defenders at Hamel were misled by Allied deception measures. Allied aircraft flew over the German lines to hide the noise of Allied tanks as they moved to their assembly areas at the frontline. Diversionary attacks were launched at the flanks to confuse the Germans as to the real tactical objective. In the days prior to the attack, daily artillery barrages consisting of smoke and gas were fired at the German lines causing the defenders, as a matter of habit, to don their gas masks when they saw smoke. On the morning of the attack only smoke shells were fired thus catching the Germans in their gas masks. Lastly stores, ammunition and extra guns were moved forward at night and were camouflaged by day to preserve secrecy.

There were a number of factors which contributed to the fighting prowess of the Australians in the Great War. One was leadership. Unit commanders were responsible for selecting their subordinate commanders and these officers in turn led comrades well known to them. Furthermore, officers were expected
to lead by example and share the risks and hardships of battle with their troops.

Secondly, initiative was encouraged at all levels and as Bean stated there were several instances where a suggestion volunteered by a soldier to his officer, at a critical moment, resulted in an important achievement.

Thirdly, social aspects cannot be ignored. Australian units were each raised in a particular state and therefore many troops in the same unit were likely to come from either the same or neighbouring regions. This helped to foster unit identification and esprit de corps. Many troops also had rural backgrounds and were accustomed to harsh climatic conditions and to surviving in the bush. Australia was a middle class society and the absence of social distinctions made it easier for officers and soldiers to communicate with each other. Other important attributes of Australian society were mateship and loyalty and the emphasis given to members not failing their fellow troops in battle.

Lastly, Bean considered the crucial fighting qualities of Australian troops were discipline, initiative and the willingness to take risks. Bean dismissed the caricature of the “dinkum” Aussie, which had emerged from the Great War, of drunkenness, thieving and hooliganism. Instead Bean suggested that Australians were good fighters because of their willingness to face the facts and their going straight for the objective.

To quote one observer:

“The typical Australian soldier... was above everything a realist. He had too much horsesense to make cannon fodder, the “death or glory” idea failed entirely to move him; the Digger believed wholeheartedly that it was much better to be a live dog with the will to bite and a bite or two left- than a dead lion with no will or bite at all. He could see no virtue in stubbornness for its own sake, nor in discipline. Give him a logical objective and competent leadership and the Australian soldier was one of the most dangerous and resourceful fighters in the world. But employ him on a task or in a manner beyond the limits of intelligent patience, and he made a poor defender of last ditches”.

Conclusion

The Gallipoli Campaign was a watershed event. It knocked the wind out the Allies’ sails and left them bankrupt for ideas on how to bring the war in Europe to a speedy and a successful conclusion. It took another three years of hard and costly fighting on the Western Front to wear down Germany and to force her to an armistice on the 11th November 1918.

In contrast, the Allies made better progress in the Middle East. The wide, open spaces allowed more room for manoeuvre and therefore opposing forces could avoid being bogged down in prolonged trench warfare. After their triumph at Gallipoli, Turkish forces suffered successive defeats in a series of campaigns in the Sinai, Palestine and Syria where the Allies gradually drove them back past Aleppo. By that stage Turkey was war weary and sought an armistice on the 30th October 1918.

The forces of social and political change unleashed in the Great War, though causing the collapse of four dynasties/empires (ie the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, the Hapsburg Dynasty and Empire in Austro-Hungary, the Hoehenzollern Dynasty in Germany and the Romanov Dynasty in Russia), were not brought back under control at the cessation of hostilities. It took another world war, some 20 years later, to curb the militaristic ambitions of Germany, Italy and Japan.

At the end of World War II, the world was left divided between the two superpowers of the USA and the USSR and their satellites, along with some sleeping giants such as China. The tensions and frictions between these powers are still being resolved today.

All nations have their folk heroes, myths, legends and traditions. The significance of the Gallipoli Campaign for Australia and New Zealand was not its being an inglorious defeat, but that it gave both a distinctive military identity. This identity is symbolized by the ANZAC tradition.

This tradition has served both countries well when servicemen and women have been called to arms in subsequent wars. Today it provides an ideal for all current and future members of the Defence Forces of both countries to live up to and maintain.
Gallipoli, 1915. Essad Pasha, Corps Commander of the Turkish forces, holds a conference with his staff on a hill overlooking the battlefields. (AWM A5295)

Notes


2. There were other reasons, besides economic ones, for the new bout of imperialism. Additional reasons included the prestige and power of having an “empire” and the strategic advantages gained by having bases in the new colonies. See A. Jamieson (1982) Europe in Conflict 1870 - 1980. London: Hutchinson, chap 7.

3. Holstein was initially under the hegemony of Austria but lost it when Prussia defeated her in the war of 1866.


5. ibid. 52-58.


9. James, 10-70.

10. For Hamilton’s views on the campaign see I. Hamilton (1920) Gallipoli Diary. London: Arnold.

11. Lloyd George was initially Chancellor of the Exchequer 1908-1915, Minister of Munitions June 1915-June 1916, Secretary of State for War June-December 1916 and Prime Minister 1916 until November 1922.


15. Bean 1946, 190.

16. For a description of the Australian performance on the Western Front see Pederson, 167-193.


18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. ibid.


Major Graco was called up for national service and was commissioned from the Officer Training Unit Scheyville in 1971. He was allocated to A A Psych and since commissioning he has served in a variety of corps and staff appointments. He is currently the SO 2 Computer Training at the Directorate of Communications and Information Systems- Army. He holds a BSc from the University of New South Wales and is currently doing postgraduate research into tactical decision making at the University of New South Wales and is currently doing postgraduate research into tactical decision making at the University of New England.
The Royal Australian Navy at Gallipoli

By Lieutenant T.R. Frame, RAN

Preamble

"Australians all let us rejoice
For we are young and free
We've golden soil and wealth for toil
Our land is girt by sea".

These words, written over a hundred years ago and long before Advance Australia Fair became the National Anthem, say something vital about the defence of Australia. The sea is the dominant element in Australia's security outlook and the foremost means for preserving its national sovereignty.

In 1902, Captain William Rooke Creswell - the father of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) - argued that the newly federated Australia needed its own Navy and a capable one as an independent island nation. He said that:

"For a maritime state furnished without a navy, the sea, so far from being a safe frontier is rather a highway for her enemies; but, with a navy, it surpasses all other frontiers in strength".

Introduction

This was the pervasive view when World War I broke out in 1914 and the RAN participated in the strategy of Imperial naval defence. The seas were considered to be the world's highways and every nation with a coastline and a seagoing navy was potentially Australia's neighbour. This accounts for the presence of the Royal Australian Navy at Gallipoli.

Yet the Australian military tradition built around the Gallipoli campaign seems to ignore the contribution of the sailor and forgets that gaining control of the Dardanelles was the whole point of the land campaign. Jeffrey Grey put it well when he argued that:

"When we speak of the sustaining myth of Anzac, of the "digger", of "nashos" and "chokos", it is the Australian soldier, not the sailor or airman, who is considered. This may seem curious for an island nation which long relied upon the seapower of a great and powerful ally for the first line of its security, a country which has possessed a formal navy and a concern with control of the sea for longer than some comparable nations, such as Canada. But both the RAN and the RAAF...have always tended to be outside the mainstream of Australian military experience and hence of the Australian military tradition. Small, long service, regular with at least as much emphasis upon the machine as upon the man, they have tended to place a higher premium upon technical professionalism than has the army, with its long tradition of citizen soldiers and rapid wartime expansion around a small regular cadre. Thus they are removed from the Australian military conceits of the bushman-soldier and the "natural fighter".

This whole debate on the reality and relevancy of the Anzac myths and legends and the impact they have made on Australian society, probably no greater than in the armed forces, is the main reason for the enormous public interest in the 1990 commemoration. There is no doubt that Australians will view Anzac Day differently after 1990 in the same way our views of the arrival of the First Fleet were challenged during the Bicentenary. But where the 1988 celebrations produced tension, frustration and animosity, the challenge to the Anzac myths prompted by this anniversary will be undertaken with sensitivity. It is a measure of the sacredness of Gallipoli that the RAN and the RAAF have never protested its use by the Army for polemical purposes or their implicit exclusion from the military tradition based on the Gallipoli campaign for which so much has been claimed. Yet arising from the commonality of the Australian experience of war and the unity of the human condition, both the Navy and the Air Force do find a place in the Anzac tradition. Their place is in the transcendence of Gallipoli for the Australian nation.
If the popular perception of Gallipoli and what it means to Australia does need to change to better reflect the historical accuracy and retain its relevancy for today, the role of the Australian sailor in the ill-fated campaign is worthy of closer examination.

"Jack", the sailor, possessed many of the same qualities displayed by the ANZACs and for which they earned their fame. Some of the sailor's traits the "digger" never even knew existed. The Australian sailors at Gallipoli demonstrated great professional competence, a tremendous range of technical skills and plain, natural ability. They were disciplined and thoroughly imbued in the ways and customs of the naval service, particularly the Australian submariners. They worked well with their British counterparts, with whom they shared a common heritage and accepted the leadership of Royal Navy officers.

The sailor embodied the outdoor life; not that of the bush but that known by many more Australians, life in the coastal cities and towns and its emphasis on the beach and the ocean waters. In reality, they, more than the "digger" and his bushman-soldier ethos, symbolised the Australian way of life and the essence of its development and prosperity.

For the Navy, the 75th anniversary is a time to rediscover a forgotten part of its history and, in the process, gaining greater public recognition for its contribution to the responsible expression of Australian nationhood and higher public profile. The deployment of HMA Ships Sydney, Tobruk and Oxley to support the Pilgrimage of Gallipoli veterans to Turkey is an opportunity for the RAN to broaden public understanding of the 1915 campaign, focus attention on the success of its participation in the midst of devastating failure, and highlight the role of ships and the place of naval power across history and in contemporary defence planning.

The involvement of the RAN in the Dardanelles Campaign was not large but it was nonetheless significant in determining the course of the war in the Eastern Mediterranean theatre. By a strange turn of history, the RAN was the first in when the Australian submarine AE2 penetrated the Dardanelles in the early hours of 25 April 1915, before the first troops had gone ashore. Eight months later when the Gallipoli Peninsula was being evacuated, a detachment of men from the RAN Bridging Train after, assisting with the final embarkation of troops, were the last out.
Crew of Australia’s AE2 Submarine, who took part in the Gallipoli Campaign, April 1915, and were later captured and held as POWs in Turkey. (AWM P371/01/01)

First In!

The AE2 and her sister submarine the AE1 were built by Vickers Maxims in Barrow-in-Furness and commissioned into the RAN in early 1914. AE2 was under the command of Lieutenant Henry Gordon Dacre Stoker RN, an Irishman, and had a complement of 33 officers and men.

On 10 February 1914 the two Australian submarines began their passage to Australia some 12,000 miles away creating a world record for the longest submarine passage to that time. When the weather permitted they would be towed, but most of the journey was made under their own power. It was not an altogether smooth trip. While transiting through the Mediterranean, AE2 suffered the fracture of several propeller blades as a result of poor manufacture and was almost rammed by AE1 which had a steering gear failure.

Following visits to Malta, Colombo, Singapore, Darwin and Cairns the two submarines arrived off Sydney Heads in the early hours of 24 May 1914. The successful passage of the two Australian submarines was hailed as a magnificent feat of seamanship and engineering. The submarine rose in esteem and became an advocate for its own cause. Australia now had a complete fleet unit and boasted the two most powerful submarines outside of Europe. By mid-1914 the clouds of war were gathering and it was not long before the RAN was tested in the hardest training grounds - war at sea.

The extent of the conflict in the Balkans was evident in August when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and Germany declared war on Russia. Within a few days Britain and thus Australia, as part of the British Empire, were also at war. Australia had pledged to "Stand beside the mother country to help and defend her to our last man and our last shilling".

AE2 was refitting in Melbourne when war was declared, but was quickly made ready and sent north to take part in the capture of German New Guinea. Rabaul, the administrative centre of German New Guinea, was attacked and seized on 11 September 1914. During this brief skirmish six Australians were killed (Able Seaman W.G.V. Williams becoming the first Australian to die in combat during World War I). Three days later AE1 was mysteriously lost without trace off New Britain. The wreck of the AE1 has never been located nor has a reason for her loss been established.

The AE2 returned to Australia in late 1914. The RAN had cleared the Germans out of the Pacific and dealt with the only direct threat to Australia. In the absence of enemy targets, Stoker and the men of AE2 were now without a
purpose. On Stoker's recommendation the AE2 was offered to the Admiralty for service in Home Waters, an offer that was gratefully accepted. The First Sea Lord, Admiral Sir John "Jacky" Fisher, commented to Winston Churchill the then First Lord of the Admiralty that AE2 was the most advanced boat the British then had and would be most useful for the Baltic campaign. In December she left Australia with the second convoy to the Middle East, destined never to return.

When the AE2 arrived in Port Said, she was diverted to the Eastern Mediterranean and put to work patrolling the entrance to the Dardanelles. The challenge of penetrating the Narrows in the Dardanelles was so imposing that Stoker, then Lieutenant Commander, lost no time in suggesting that the AE2 should be used. After all, two attempts to rush the Dardanelles—the first in February and the second in March—had both failed.

After much deliberation by Vice Admiral de Robeck (the Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern Mediterranean Fleet), and several unsuccessful attempts by other submarines to penetrate the Dardanelles, it was decided to give Stoker and the AE2 a chance. Just after midnight on 24 April 1915 the AE2 began her attempt. She evaded several Turkish searchlights and gun batteries on the shores of the Dardanelles before being forced to dive to avoid detection. As she did the shaft to the foremost hydroplane broke—reducing her maneuverability and forcing her to break off the attack. The damage was quickly repaired and the AE2 was ordered to try again on the 25th.

At midnight the Australian submarine began her second attempt. After passing several searchlights she was spotted and forced to dive and run the gauntlet of a Turkish minefield. It was then that the first Australians began to land at ANZAC Cove. AE2 continued on her way, occasionally surfacing to take bearings. However, a compass malfunction caused her to run aground and she was fired upon from the Turkish forts. Luckily the submarine was not hit and managed to get back into deep water.

By 8am on 25 April 1915 the AE2 had entered the Sea of Marmara, becoming the first Allied submarine to achieve this enormous feat. For the next five days the AE2 carried out her orders "to run amok generally" and Turkish shipping supplying the Gallipoli Peninsula was severely disrupted. The great tragedy for the Australian submarine was the failure of her torpedoes to function depriving them of several successes.

AE2 did, however, make a vital contribution to the Gallipoli campaign. After penetrating the Dardanelles, Stoker sent a signal to de Robeck informing him of AE2's success. This signal arrived at a critical moment. de Robeck and General Hamilton (Commander-in-Chief of the campaign) had just received reports on the position ashore from General Birdwood...
who wanted the whole force evacuated from ANZAC Cove. General Hamilton was deciding on his course of action when AE2's signal arrived. Hamilton made up his mind and sent a message to Birdwood:

"Your news is indeed serious, but dig yourselves right in and stick it out. Meanwhile the Australian submarine has got up through the Narrows and torpedoed a gunboat at Chanak. Make an appeal to your men to make the supreme effort to hold their ground."

Ideas of evacuating were forgotten and the ANZAC's dug in for what would be an eight month stay.

Stoker and his men in the AE2 had no conception of their effect on the campaign. Four days later, on 30 April, the AE2 was attacked by a Turkish gunboat, the Sultan Hissar, and sunk. All were taken prisoner and placed in Turkish prisons, where they languished for the next three years. This period proved to be equally as hazardous as their time in the Marmara. Several of AE2's men attempted to escape but all failed. Stoker narrowly avoided being executed following his attempt. Four of the AE2's crew died in captivity from disease and ill treatment.

With the AE2 gone, it appeared that the RAN's participation at Gallipoli had come to an end. But it was to be a short absence. By August the RAN was back again in a role that was just as unlikely and just as unexpected.

The story of the Royal Australian Naval Bridging Train (RANBT) begins in Melbourne in late February 1915. The Navy had a large number of Reservists who could not be effectively employed. An offer to the British Government of a 300 man horse-drawn Naval engineering unit was made and gratefully accepted. The RANBT was born. It was commanded by Lieutenant Commander (later Rear Admiral) Leighton Seymour Bracegirdle, who like many of the men who were to serve in this unit, had only recently returned from New Guinea where they had taken part in the seizure of the German territories there in September 1914.

The Train was encamped at the Domain (now the site of the Victorian War Memorial) and began its training in horsemanship and bridge construction, no easy task as few of the men could ride and no-one was really sure what a Bridging Train actually did.

Men enlisting in the RANBT were given the rank of Able Seaman Driver and wore Light Horse uniforms with anchor badges to denote
they were a Naval unit. On 3 June 1915 the Bridging Train embarked in the troopship Port Macquarie bound for England and further training, before being sent to the Western Front to act as an engineering unit for the British forces. However, the best laid plans often come unstuck when confronted by reality. As the troopship crossed the Indian Ocean the temperature began to rise steadily. Onboard ship the horses were stabled below decks and soon began to suffer from heat exhaustion, within three weeks nearly a quarter of the unit's 400 horses had died.

The Port Macquarie was ordered to Bombay and the surviving horses were offloaded and the RANBT became a dismounted unit. Passage to Britain was recommended, but on arrival at Port Said in Egypt, the Bridging Train found its orders had been changed. It was no longer going to Britain and then on to the Western Front but was being diverted to assist at the British landings at Suvla Bay (a few miles north of Anzac Cove). Its job was to construct and maintain piers over which troops would land and wounded would be evacuated. This was a task for which they were untrained but undertook willingly. The Train was to prove that what they lacked in knowledge they made up for in sheer common sense and a refusal to admit to failure.

On 7 August 1915 the RANBT landed at Suvla Bay, and within a few hours had begun their work of pier construction. On the 8th they constructed a 120 yard pier for the evacuation of wounded in twenty minutes which was in use five minutes later. It was completed under intense Turkish shell fire. As each day passed the Bridging Train was given more and more work to do. It took over control of the water supply, was responsible for unloading stores from lighters, the storage and control of engineering stores, the salvaging of grounded vessels, and it even set up a blacksmiths forge and carpenters shop. Within a few weeks the reputation of the Train had grown immensely. It was described by one British General as a highly organised and efficient unit. Another described their workshops as able to produce anything from a needle to an anchor. The Bridging Train's base was set up at a small cove in the northern sector of Suvla Bay and became known as Kangaroo Beach.

Movements of the AE2 in the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora
The fighting at Suvla Bay soon bogged down into the trench warfare that had persisted at Anzac Cove and Cape Helles since May 1915. The Bridging Train’s work was away from the front line but it still received a great deal of Turkish shell fire: casualties were light with only four killed and some 60 men wounded during the five months they spent on the Peninsula. Many more men suffered from illnesses such as jaundice, malaria, paratyphoid and blood poisoning from infected cuts and scratches. Toward the end of November, the weather worsened and it was not long before snow began to fall, the first experience of it for many Australians. The novelty soon wore off as men began to suffer from frostbite and the snow turned to driving rain. Trenches were flooded and men and animals washed away as the temperature continued to fall. The men from the Bridging Train were sent out to rescue any men they could find suffering from frostbite. Hundreds were saved but many died on the backs of RANBT men on their way to the beaches.

In December, the Bridging Train began to prepare for the evacuation of the Peninsula. Men were evacuated and not replaced, unnecessary stores were destroyed. Piers for evacuating troops were built, one such pier was built at a beach near the small mountain Lala Baba by Sub Lieutenant Hicks and a fifty man detachment from the Train. They also had to act as a body-guard for the British General and his staff. These last few days at Gallipoli were very tense. More and more men left the Peninsula and soon only a few hundred held the front line. If the Turks had known they could have easily attacked and slaughtered those on the beaches.

Hicks and his men spent the last few hours repairing the pier which had been damaged by Turkish shell fire. At 4.30am on 20 December 1915, Sub Lieutenant Charles Hicks and his fifty man detachment stood waiting in the dark on a beach below the heights of Lala Baba at Suvla Bay, Gallipoli.

A few minutes later, General Maude commanding the British forces in the southern sector of Suvla Bay, and his staff appeared. After a few brief words they all filed over the pier that the Bridging Train detachment had built, into a waiting lighter and were conveyed to a waiting transport vessel.

As the lighter pulled away from the pier a glow of flame could be seen to the north as the petrol soaked stores at Suvla cove were ignited. Thus ended the Royal Australian Navy’s role in the Gallipoli campaign.

The Bridging Train was sent to the Greek island of Lemnos where they spent Christmas. Lieutenant Commander Bracegirdle was sent to hospital and Lieutenant Bond assumed command of the unit. In early January 1916, the unit mutinied as they had not been paid in two months. The problem was eventually solved, but Bond’s failure to effectively deal with it caused him to be removed from the unit. For the remainder of 1916 the Bridging Train controlled the swing bridges over the Suez Canal. These bridges were designed to swing to allow ships to pass along the canal before reforming to allow road traffic to pass over the canal.

This was far from interesting work and many of them became bored and requested to be transferred to fighting units of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). Over 100 men succeeded...
Three members of the RAN Bridging Train.
in doing this. In December 1916, the Train was asked to provide fifty men to take part in an amphibious assault on the Turkish held town of El Arish on the northern coast of the Sinai.

The waters and beach at El Arish were heavily mined and the Turks were entrenched on the beach. On 22 December, the detachment waded ashore at El Arish to find the Turks gone, but the beach was still mined. Fortunately they suffered no casualties. Here they began to construct a pier over which supplies for the Australian Light Horse advancing into Palestine could be landed. While at El Arish they were subject to Turkish artillery fire and machine gun fire from German aircraft. The detachment remained at El Arish until late March 1917 when it was returned to the Suez Canal area and the whole unit disbanded.

The Legends of Gallipoli

For most Australians the mention of ANZAC conjures up images of the dramatic landing on 25 April and the vicious battles at Lone Pine and the Nek. Few know that the RAN was also involved. The RAN's contribution at Gallipoli was not large; less than four hundred men were involved while their casualties were very light when compared to those of the ANZAC forces. Yet these should never be factors determining their worth in the campaign.

If the AE2 had failed in her attempt to penetrate the Dardanelles then the ANZACs may have been evacuated on 26 April and the legend of ANZAC would have been stillborn.

At Suvla Cove the stalwart work of the Bridging Train was often the only bright spot in what was to become a pitiful episode of the Gallipoli saga. The RAN's activities at Gallipoli were successful and perhaps, given that Australian's are nurtured on the myth that the whole campaign was a tragic failure, this accounts for why they are practically unknown.

It is now 75 years since that fateful day in April 1915 when the AE2 penetrated the Dardanelles and the ANZACs first stepped ashore at Gallipoli. Their actions are legendary, the men involved, immortal. The sailors deserve their recognition in this important anniversary year. The role of the RAN at Gallipoli has been severely underestimated. The official naval historian of the RAN in the Great War, Arthur Jose, concluded his account by saying that the RAN had "its share of Gallipoli honour". Wider perceptions prompted by this anniversary will redefine and give fresh meaning to the sacred legends and from the enlightened writings of history greater understanding will undoubtedly come.

Lieutenant Tom Frame is currently serving in Navy Office as Research Officer to the Chief of Naval Staff. He is co-author of the soon to be released, First In, Last Out! The Navy at Gallipoli, which describes the RAN's involvement in the Dardanelles campaign. It is to be formally launched on 24 April in Sydney by His Excellency Rear Admiral Sir David Martin KCMG AO, Governor of New South Wales, and in Gallipoli by the Minister of Defence.
The Riddles of ANZAC

By Peter Stanley, Australian War Memorial

Introduction

The many ways in which Australians are marking the 75th anniversary of the Gallipoli campaign suggest that Gallipoli and what it represents remains an important part of Australia's national consciousness. The Australian War Memorial is contributing extensively to the anniversary. It is participating in the official Gallipoli 1990 trip to Gallipoli, funding "Gallipoli 75", a major project involving "schools and communities remembering", hosting a special lecture series and other educational activities, publishing a special "ANZAC" issue of the Journal of the Australian War Memorial and is co-publishing with ABC Enterprises a new edition of C.E.W. Bean's Gallipoli Mission. The Memorial is also mounting several temporary exhibitions, including two showing the ways in which two artists, Horace Moore-Jones and Sir Sidney Nolan, have depicted Gallipoli. A major temporary exhibition, The Riddles of ANZAC, opened at the Memorial's Gallipoli gallery in April.

A Special Place for Australians

The Riddles of ANZAC explores the question, "Why is Gallipoli a special place for Australians?" The title has a dual meaning. It is taken from a chapter in Bean's Gallipoli Mission and relates to the work of the Australian Historical Mission which visited Gallipoli early in 1919. The larger question which the exhibition seeks to answer is itself a riddle: why should an obscure, scrubby piece of Turkey occupied briefly by Australians in a failed military operation seventy-five years ago still be important to Australians in 1990?

At first sight the answer to the question "Why is Gallipoli still important to Australians?" might seem to be self-evident: Australians have for nearly seventy-five years grown up to accept "Gallipoli" and "ANZAC" as part of their culture. The question has become particularly relevant since the Anglo-Celtic Australia which created and nurtured the ANZAC legend has been transformed into the multi-cultural society of today. It may now be no longer safe to assume that all Australians know as much about the heritage of ANZAC as might once have been so. In mounting The Riddles of ANZAC the Memorial is helping Australians to learn more about their military history, and showing how the knowledge enshrined in the official histories and the Memorial's galleries was acquired and transmitted. The Riddles of ANZAC has been created by the Memorial's historians, designers and curators. Much of the research underlying the exhibition was undertaken by Anne-Marie Conde and John Moremon, the Memorial's 1990 Summer Vacation Scholars. It draws on all the Memorial's major collections, but particularly uses documents, many from the rich private records collection, and artefacts from the military heraldry collection to explore how deeply Gallipoli has affected Australia and Australians.

Bean's Mission

The first part of The Riddles of ANZAC deals with Bean's mission of 1919. It uses photographs, maps, paintings and relics found by Bean in 1919 to show what his mission sought to achieve and how it laid the foundations of the Memorial's collection of Gallipoli material which forms the core of the Gallipoli gallery in which the temporary display stands.

In returning to Gallipoli in 1919, Bean set out to solve several "riddles" which the evacuation from the peninsula concealed from the campaign's losers. How far did Australians penetrate on the first day? Where were the Turkish guns which made life at Anzac such a hell? Where did the boats actually land on 25 April? Why did the attack on Chunuk Bair fail? In setting out to answer these and other riddles Bean not only prepared to write his monumental history, but also collected relics of the campaign for the Memorial's collection
which are today among the Memorial's most precious possessions.

The exhibition shows how Bean worked as an historian on the spot, walking the ground fought over in 1915, questioning a Turkish officer and interpreting the relics of the fight in the light of his wartime notes to reach an understanding of what had happened. It includes documents and relics which show how Bean pieced together the often melancholy story of the campaign - a map marked by one of the Australians who penetrated furthest on 25 April; shrapnel from "Beachy Bill"; the orders for the landing; scraps of uniform showing where men fell in the disastrous attacks of August. Some are displayed for the first time, including copies of Bean's field note books which reveal how he assembled the jigsaw of evidence in writing the official history.

The Story of ANZAC.

Paintings by the official war artist George Lambert, a member of the mission, are featured in this section.

Len Skipper, the Memorial's Exhibitions Manager and designer of the exhibition 'The Riddles of ANZAC', with researcher Sue Langford (left) and Anne-Marie Conde, one of the Memorial's 1990 Summer Vacation Scholars. (AWM)

Gallipoli is also a part of Australia in the sense that its war cemeteries hold the remains of some 6000 Australians. The dead draw back the living, and the ways in which Australians have returned to Gallipoli and its cemeteries is another major theme of The Riddles of ANZAC.

Though Australians first returned to Gallipoli in 1919, for many years very few travelled to the remote peninsula. From 1936 to the mid-1960s the area was part of Turkey's defensive perimeter and was virtually closed to visitors. Not until the growth of mass tourism in the 1960s did Australians, and particularly young Australians, become familiar with the peninsula. The exhibition includes photographs and relics of several official visits - a RAN bugle used to sound the last post in 1936 and an Australian flag which flew over commemorative ceremonies in 1948.

In the years before overseas travel became commonplace Gallipoli was for many Australians an almost mythical place, one which had created the ANZAC legend. It lived in old soldiers' memories and in books, particularly Bean's official history, and in the fifty years after the evacuation of Gallipoli very few Australians would not have recognized at least the roll call of names: the Nek, Lone Pine, Quinn's Post or Shrapnel Valley.
The first large “pilgrimage” to Gallipoli occurred in 1965, the fiftieth anniversary of the campaign. It coincided with a revival of interest in Australia's experience of war, and of the first world war in particular. Since then large numbers of Australians have visited the peninsula, rediscovering it as a place of importance to their nation. Many are drawn to find the graves of men whom they could not have known, but have yet not been forgotten. The exhibition includes relics found by tourists and researchers who have visited Gallipoli over the last twenty-five years, and a poster advertising the 1981 film, Gallipoli, one of the ways in which almost every Australian can be said to have “visited” the peninsula.

The Gallipoli campaign created what has become known as the ANZAC legend. As an expression of what war has meant for Austra-

Gallipoli can be regarded as a part of Australia in the sense that Anzac area bears many Australian names. Quinn's Post, one of the most well known, was named after Major Hugh Quinn of the 15th battalion. Quinn, pictured here as a Militia captain before the war, was killed repelling a Turkish attack on the post named after him on 29 May. (AWM H 17420).

ANZAC Day in Sydney between the wars.
rians the term is understood in a myriad of ways. For some it is a straightforward statement of enduring values of comradeship and nationhood. Others have a more ambiguous attitude towards this complex but nevertheless integral part of Australia's culture. The exhibition includes a letter describing the first Anzac Day celebrations, in Egypt in 1916, a poster advertising the second world war film, *Sons of ANZACs*, wartime crocheting celebrating the *ANZACs* and a variety of Anzac Day ephemera. This material, much of which has never before been exhibited, explores the connections between Gallipoli and ANZAC, illuminating some of the ways in which Australians have expressed their feelings about this aspect of Australia's national identity.

Finally, the third section of the exhibition brings its exploration of Gallipoli and ANZAC up to the present. It includes a video showing footage of the Gallipoli 1990 official visit, which features the ceremonies at Anzac Cove on Anzac Day itself. This, the latest expression of what ANZAC means for Australians, is a fitting centre piece of the exhibition.

*The Riddles of ANZAC* opened in the Gallipoli gallery on 25 April and will remain on display until the 75th anniversary of the evacuation of Gallipoli.
Malone of Chunuk Bair

By Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Pugsley, RNZIR, (Ret.)

"Yes we took Chunuk Bair and, unsupported (just seventy-six surviving of our seven hundred) lost it. A British gunner delivered my death. A gateway in Taranaki remembers my name".

The Commanding Officer
C.K. Stead

Anzac in 1915 severely tested the inexperienced officers and soldiers of the ANZAC Corps. If a man had a weakness then the conditions at Anzac would ruthlessly expose it. Many failed that test and a cynicism grew in the ANZAC ranks about the capabilities of British Regular officers. They were not alone and there were many Australian and New Zealand officers who also failed. At Anzac it was often the soldier who triumphed in spite of failures in command. In the New Zealand Infantry Brigade as part of Godley’s New Zealand & Australia Division there was one Commanding Officer who stood out in his professionalism and leadership.

William George Malone was 56 years old when he landed with his Wellington Infantry Battalion in the late afternoon on 25 April 1915. A lawyer and farmer from Taranaki, Malone had commanded the Xth Taranaki Rifle Regiment in the New Zealand Territorial Force and on the outbreak of war was selected by Godley to command the Wellington Infantry Battalion of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF). Soldiering fascinated Malone. In isolated rural Taranaki this Territorial officer had a standing order in England for books on current tactical doctrine and in an age where many professionals scorned such habits, Malone read widely and deeply into the science and practice of war. His son, the late Denis Malone, gave me his copies of Henderson’s The Science of War and Burde’s Tactical Principles and the pages carry margin notes and text underlined in his hand. Malone relished the thought of command in War and in raising his battalion in New Zealand and training it in Egypt. He gained a reputation as a stern unyielding martinet who sought perfection in everything he did and one who accepted nothing less from his officers and men. Those who did not measure up were removed and his first Adjutant, a regular officer, was sacked. His officers found that it was "...what I want and mean to have done". In Egypt the men cursed him for he worked them harder and longer than any other battalion, but on Gallipoli it produced results. “It was Malone’s battalion and every man in it breathed the spirit of Malone...”

The Wellingtons took little part in the events of 25 April 1915 coming ashore late in the afternoon and remaining in reserve, but their CO, in his fashion, took it upon himself to arrange parties to scour the beach for picks and shovels and send them forward to where they were needed. In the days that followed the Wellingtons played a critical role. In late April they secured and consolidated Walker’s Ridge from Turkish counter attack and at Helles on 8 May Malone’s battalion made the furthest gains in the fruitless attack by the New Zealand Infantry against Krithia. It was here that Malone became increasingly scathing of British command and urged his brigadier to question the order to resume the New Zealand attack after the first had failed. “I am quite satisfied that the New Zealand officer has absolutely nothing to learn from the imported man and that active service has taught the latter nothing”.

It was in the defence of Anzac that Malone excelled. In the critical months of June and July first at Courtney’s and then at Quinn’s Malone and his battalion took over posts that were a warren of battered trenches clinging to the side of Second Ridge and manned by tired and dispirited garrisons. “Such a dirty dilapidated and unorganised post. Still I like work and will revel in straightening things up...Quite a length of fire trench unoccupied owing to the bomb-throwing superiority of the Turks. No place for the men to fall in. The local reserve is posted too far away and yet there is at present no ground prepared on which they could be comfortably put. I...gave orders that every rifle shot and bomb from the Turks was to be promptly returned at least two fold. We can and will beat them at their own game".
Too Valuable to Remove

C.E.W. Bean recorded: “Quinn’s was absolutely transformed since my last visit. It is laid out in terraces, each with a shed on them with an iron roof, well sandbagged under which the supports sleep. We had tea with Col Malone... on a little terrace in front of his dugout. “The art of warfare,” he said “is the cultivation of domestic virtues”. If he had roses he would plant them there”.6

Malone’s domestic virtues are equally applicable to military personnel today: “Inspiring the men with confidence - cleaning one’s boots and shaving daily, bathe even in a pint of water, keeping calm no matter what the racket or noise. Getting and keeping everything as near normal as possible. No pigging it - no letting things slide - no “near enough” because it is war we are at. At the same time the utmost preparation to meet every possible contingency to the best of one’s ability. The insisting that every man and officer constantly asks himself -If such and such a thing happens what will I do, and answering and men knowing the answers to the questions”.7

Malone’s defensive arrangements transformed the situation at the head of Monash Gully and now it was the Turkish posts opposite that came under threat. Quinn’s became Wellington property and Malone its landlord, and other battalions as they came in for their spell as garrison had to be sure they left it in the condition they found it. Malone remained at Quinn’s throughout June and July as post commander and did not go out of the line with his battalion when it “rested”. In the summer at Anzac young and fit men soon broke down with the strain of combat, the limited diet, poor sanitation, lack of water, the flies and the stench and sight of the dead. Dysentery and disease were endemic and wasted the battalions away yet Malone at 56 thrived. But everything has its cost and while Malone fought tooth and nail to improve the conditions of his men, his refusal to take no for an answer soured his relationships with his brigade commander, Brigadier F.E. Johnston, and staff. He was seen as “extremely insubordinate” and was hated by some because he was too valuable to remove.8

Stern Martinet

Malone would be an uncomfortable subordinate for any commander. Things had to make sense and if they did not he would ask why? There was no question of unthinking obedience because this stern martinet had developed an admiration and love for his men that became his first priority. He was convinced they could do anything but it had to be done right. Conservative and with a strict and narrow moral code Malone had little regard for Australians and indeed anyone outside his battalion had to prove their worth.

Johnston’s New Zealand Infantry Brigade had a critical role in Hamilton’s August offensive. It was to advance up the dries onto Rhododendron Ridge and seize Chunuk Bair. By August the ANZACs of Godley’s division were shadows of the fit men that had left Egypt three months before. A soldier watching them move into position at the outposts below the foothills remarked that: “Battalions that had landed a thousand strong and had received the 3rd and 4th Reinforcements were now down to four or five hundred men...Many were thin and tired. The mile of march had exhausted them”.8

Not Fit Enough

Malone believed that the New Zealand Infantry Brigade was not fit enough to do the task they had been set, and was critical of the planning: “I do feel the preparation, as regards to our brigade anyway is not thorough. “The Brigadier (Johnston) will not get down to bed rock. He seems to think that night attack and the taking of entrenched positions without artillery preparation is like “kissing one’s hand”. Yesterday he burst forth, “If there’s any hitch I shall go right up and take the place myself! All as it were in a minute and on his own! He says, “There’s to be no delay”. He is an extraordinary man. “If it were not so serious it would be laughable. So far as I am concerned, the men, my brave gallant men, shall have the best fighting chance I can give them or that can be got. No airy plunging and disregard of the rules and chances”.9
Rhododendron Ridge

Dawn 7 August 1915 found Malone’s battalion leading the brigade up Rhododendron Ridge. The Wellingtons had been pushed forward in the night march as other battalions found themselves split and disorganised. Now the goal of the campaign was some 20 minutes climb in front of them. Malone reported to Johnston, whose headquarters was following his battalion, that he had secured the Apex some 500 metres from the crest and was sending scouts forward to confirm his position. Now was the time for Brigadier Johnston to live up to his boast “There’s to be no delay” and push Malone’s Battalion onto the high ground or pass another battalion through the firm base it established.

As the New Zealand infantry toiled up the slopes the 3rd Light Horse Brigade attacked across the Nek towards Baby 700, the strongest position in the Turkish line. They were cut to pieces as they left the trenches and only the dead fell across the Turkish parapets. Peter Weir’s film Gallipoli in its chilling climax captures the reality of the charge and gives the impression that it was all to aid the British at Suvla who were supposedly sitting on the benches drinking tea. It was not so. The attack was for the New Zealanders and as the Light Horse died, it was the New Zealanders who stopped below the crests and had breakfast. Johnston finding two of his battalions missing took counsel of his fears and the advice of his brigade major and decided to consolidate on the Apex. Scattered rifle fire was coming from Chunuk Bair and the brigadier decided to wait for the rest of his brigade to close up. So tired men slumped in the scrub on Rhododendron Ridge: ate their bully, took a mouthful of water, or sucked a beach pebble, as they grimly eyed the heights ahead.

It was 11am that the Auckland Battalion passed through the Wellingtons and attacked up the narrow spur towards the heights. By now it was evident that the Turks had reinforced the ridge and were holding them in strength. The Auckland CO had gone forward on reconnaissance and he and his scouts had come under accurate and intense fire. He recommended to his Brigadier that the attack be delayed until nightfall, but Johnston refused. Godley the divisional commander had been told of the New Zealand delay and had ordered Johnston to push on. Now with the opportunity gone, Johnston ordered the attack and as the Aucklands advanced, he stood on the skyline behind them cheering and shouting them on until he was dragged into cover by his brigade staff. It was rumoured he was drunk. In the space of 100 metres Auckland lost three hundred men and were driven to ground. Johnston ordered Malone to renew the attack. Malone refused: “My men are not going over in daylight - but they’ll go over at night time and they’ll take that hill...I will take the risk and any punishment. The men are not going until I order them to go”.

Chunuk Bair

Malone was as true as his word. Before dawn on 8 August 1915 the Wellington Infantry Battalion seized Chunuk Bair. Chunuk Bair was not the highest ground but it masked the two higher peaks to the north, known to the British as Hill Q and 971. It controlled the junction of Second and Third Ridges, the possession of which was vital to the security of the Turkish defensive lines around Anzac. Its capture was essential to the success of Sir Ian Hamilton’s August offensive and all other operations in August were of secondary importance.

The Wellington Infantry found the twin peaks of Chunuk Bair only lightly defended as the artillery bombardment during the night led the Turkish defenders to abandon the waist deep trench line that ran the 100 or so metres along the saddle between the peaks. Malone determined to hold it with two companies forward in the Turkish crestline trench and two companies in a support line to be dug on the seaward slopes some 20 - 30 metres behind the crest and connect the two with communication trenches.

Turkish Counter Attacks

Section strength posts, ten men strong, were sent forward to provide early warning as the 700 New Zealanders hacked at the stoney ground. Each man carried two sandbags that he filled and placed in front of him to build up
As the light grew, the men in the outposts and on the crest could see the village of Boghali in the valley below and beyond it in the distance the waters of the Narrows. It was the first glimpse seen by the ANZACs since the day of the landing when it was seen by Australians before they were driven back by Turkish counter-attacks. If it could be reached it opened the way for the ships of the British and French Navies to pass through into the Sea of Marmora and threaten the Turkish capital Constantinople.

Malone's Wellingtons was the first of four battalions ordered to move up that morning and secure the ridge. Two British New Army battalions were to follow and enlarge the New Zealand hold either side of Chunuk Bair. But only one battalion could move forward at a time and as the battalions moved into position they came under heavy fire from the high ground, from Battleship Hill to the south and from Hill Q in the north. The 7th Gloucesters moved onto the northern height of Chunuk Bair and started to organise a defensive line facing Hill Q, but almost immediately fire killed many of the officers and panicked the soldiers into cover behind the New Zealand lines. The 8th Welsh Pioneers fared as badly and only elements of the battalion reached the heights. Most of these remained throughout the battle in the dead ground behind the New Zealand support line. Those that could be organised were led forward and placed into the New Zealand line.

From daybreak Turkish pressure grew to remove the threat on Chunuk Bair. Fire from the flanks reduced reinforcements to a trickle. Turkish counter-attacks came from the flanks and front. Fire was opened at ranges from 10-20 metres when a man’s head could first be seen. “It wasn’t long before what there was of the trench, it was only about three feet deep in the first place. It wasn’t long before the dead and wounded were so piled in the trench that we were standing on them and we only had coverage very little above our knees. And there was this continual thought of the wounded. What can we do for them? But no one could do anything. No one”.

The Turks captured the northern crest of Chunuk Bair and fired along the line of the forward trench till it was filled with dead and wounded, and the crest was abandoned except for part of the southern knoll. The improvised jam tin grenades of the New Zealanders soon exhausted, and each counter attack was heralded by a volley of Turkish grenades that rolled down the slopes into the trenches where they were either thrown back or exploded among the dead and wounded.

All day the fighting continued and while elements of the Auckland Mounted Rifles reinforced the line in the late afternoon, for most of the day it was the Wellingtons’ battle. “The Wellingtons seemed to rise up each time from nowhere and the Turks were hurled back. In the first of these attacks the bayonet on Col. Malone’s rifle was twisted by a bullet, so after this he kept it with him; as he said it was lucky”. Their Colonel, as always, was at the crisis point. “There I saw the bravest man I ever saw. Colonel Malone who was doing the jobs from Lance Corporal to Brigadier General”.

There was little contact with the New Zealand Brigade on the Apex of Rhododendron Ridge. A signaller, Cyril Bassett, would become the sole New Zealand Victoria Cross winner for his efforts to establish a line between Malone and his brigade commander. Artillery fire from the ships at sea and the New Zealand howitzers in the Anzac perimeter pounded the crestline. It kept the Turks at bay but with 20-30 metres between trenches and in the surging of attack and counter attack by both sides, British guns inevitably killed both New Zealander and Turk. Malone died this way in the late afternoon. His adjutant who was one of three Wellington officers to survive the day unscathed recorded, “I have always believed it was the destroyer as I saw her swing broadside
on and the puffs of smoke from the guns as she fired.\(^{14}\)

That night the remnants of the Wellington Battalion were replaced by the Otago Battalion and the Wellington Mounted Rifle Regiment. “Of the 760 of the Wellington Battalion who had captured the height that morning, there came out only 70 unwounded or slightly wounded men...Their uniforms were torn, their knees broken. They had had no water since morning; they could talk only in whispers; their eyes were sunken; their knees trembled; some broke down and cried like children.”\(^{15}\)

They left their Colonel with their dead in the trenches on the slopes. They lie there still. Chunuk Bair is one of the epics in New Zealand military history. But for many years what Malone and his men achieved was forgotten. On 10 August, 1915, Mustafa Kemal recaptured the hill from two British battalions who had relieved the exhausted New Zealanders. In the brigade report of the action it was wrongly reported that Malone had not occupied the crest on 8 August, 1915 but had dug in on the reverse slopes and had surrendered the advantage to the Turks. “Now - Chunuk Bair has gone...trenches badly sighted. They say,...”\(^{16}\)

Malone’s bravery was praised but in death his competence was questioned. Chunuk Bair was also overshadowed by Lone Pine where Walker signalled the achievement of his Australians with seven Victoria Crosses. The single Victoria Cross to New Zealanders on Chunuk Bair suggested they had less to remember. Other VCs were recommended, but not awarded. It is only now that New Zealanders are starting to understand what they achieved. In 1990 it is likely that the largest number of Australians and New Zealanders to assemble at Gallipoli since the campaign will gather this year on Anzac Day to remember what it means to our two countries. For New Zealanders it is important that we also remember that other day and that other dawn on Chunuk Bair - 8 August 1915—the day we “beheld the Narrows from the hill”.

One senses Malone expected to die on Chunuk Bair. If not on 8 August then on the days that followed. Had he survived that day it was unlikely that he would have retired with the fragments of his battalion. As he had done at Courtneys and Quinns he would have stayed on to impose order and to strengthen the defensive line. Chunuk Bair was his property in the same way that he was landlord of Quinns. Gallipoli too was his campaign. At 56 years of age it is unlikely that he would have seen service in France, although one can see him as a superb brigade commander in trench warfare conditions. Yet his legacy continued, two of his subordinate officers, Hart and Young, became the first Territorial Infantry Officers to be appointed brigade commanders of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. In 1916 the New Zealand Division adopted Malone’s Lemon Squeezer, first worn by his XI Taranaki Rifles and then by his Wellington Battalion, as the distinctive headress of the New Zealand Army today, and with it his spirit lives on.

Notes

9. Malone Diary, 4 August 1915, quoted in Pugsley p. 278.

Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) Christopher Pugsley graduated from RMC Duntroon and served with the New Zealand Infantry Regiment until 1988. He is a freelance historian and “Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story” was published in 1988 and is reprinted in 1990 in paperback. He is a co-author of “The Anzac Tradition” (April 1990) and “In the Shadow of Death: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the first World War” is being published in July 1990.
Walter Dexter, widely known as Bill, knew about men and war. He served in South Africa and was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal. He worked as a master mariner taking pilgrims to Mecca and then he answered a call to serve his God in the church. Ordained in Britain, he volunteered for the diocese of Melbourne which explains how when war broke out he found himself a chaplain in the Australian Imperial Force. He was more than a spiritual guide for his men; his experience of life and of war meant that he could tell them what to expect in action.

Dexter took a camera with him to Gallipoli. On that terrible day on 24 May when a truce was called to allow both sides to bury their dead Dexter had his camera with him. He worked with a party of men, stretcher-bearers most of them, digging rough graves for the hundreds of Australians who had been lying out in the open ever since the landing. Dexter was able to say a hurried prayer over each body as it was consigned to the grave and to take some details to assist in identification. Back in their own lines he took a picture of the ten or so men who had formed his burial party. It is a harrowing picture.

**First Chaplain Ashore**

The men had seen awful sights that day and the smells would stay with them for a long time yet. Dexter told us what he had seen: “the bodies were horrible to look at being black and swelled out stretching out the clothing and in many cases when they were touched falling to pieces”. The stretcher-bearers stared past the camera, each man locked in his own world, saddened and sickened by the awful evidence of the tragedy of war. What words, we must wonder, looking at that picture, did Dexter use to comfort his men. What did the chaplain say?

There were not many chaplains at Gallipoli and few of them had the strength to endure the entire campaign. Dexter did, and so did John Fahey. Born in Tipperary in 1883 and ordained in 1907, Fahey left almost immediately for the Australian mission, serving all his priestly days in the diocese of Perth. He was a manly type of priest, an excellent sportsman, a fine shot, who lived a rough, unconventional life amongst the timber workers in the south-west of Western Australia. This bush experience equipped Fahey well for the chaplaincy.

John Fahey was the first chaplain ashore and he landed on 25 April, ignoring the order that chaplains were to remain behind on the boats because every place in the tows was needed for fighting soldiers. “I believe an order came out that we were to land only the second or third day...but it never reached me”. So Fahey was in the very first wave of troops ashore and as his tow came into view it was met with rifle fire from the Turks: “the sailor in the stern was hit first, then another fell across me; then an oarsman dropped his oar and fell to the bottom of the boat. It was horrible”.

While the troops rushed up the steep cliffs Fahey remained on the beach at the place where the wounded were brought together awaiting evacuation back to the boats offshore. He talked to the men, comforting them, praying with them regardless of their denomination. He would like to have advanced up the cliffs too to pray over the bodies of the dead or dying but believed he could be of more use to the living on the beach. The spiritual welfare of his Catholics was assured, he believed, for he had insisted that every man make his confession a few hours before the landing. In the first three weeks of the campaign he could not say Mass as it was too dangerous to gather the men together in close formation.

Dexter, meanwhile, grievously disappointed not to be allowed to land with his troops, worked as a medical orderly caring for the wounded as they were brought back. It was very hard work, “one’s heart had to be very stout”, he reported. “I formed a dressing station in the tween decks and also went and dressed one part of the deck just as they lay. I wanted to bubble and cry and take them in my arms and soothe them for their nerves were all
wracked...Instead I joked with them and made them laugh and gave them cigarettes to smoke while I pulled the hard bandages from their wounds.

**Fighting Mac**

William McKenzie, a Salvation Army officer and now a chaplain, watched the landing from his ship at sea and reported that "the whole thing looked as if the cauldron of hell was being stirred by a giant poker". McKenzie was a big man in body and in heart. Not a theologian, rather he exemplified practical Christianity in the very best Salvationist way. Born in Scotland in 1869 and brought up on "porridge, the shorter catechism and plenty of lickings" he migrated to Australia with his family in 1884. Physically imposing, with a big voice to match, he won his reputation at Gallipoli where he was universally known as "Fighting Mac". "There is always a price for victory", he wrote, "and the field chaplain is one of the auditors".

Andrew Gillison was the first Presbyterian chaplain appointed to accompany the AIF and his qualifications, too, ensured that he would win a place in the troops' affections. Also born in Scotland, Gillison had served as a private in the Queen's Edinburgh Rifle Volunteer Corps and soon after his arrival in Australia became chaplain to the Victorian Scottish Regiment. Like Dexter, he worked as a medical orderly on 25 and 26 April and learned to admire the bravery and the calm acceptance of the wounded Australians: "You might have stood blindfolded in the hospital or troop deck...and but for a heavy sigh, and an occasional suppressed groan and the words "water please" you would not have known that you were in a place where maybe 100 wounded and some dying men lay bleeding and largely unattended as yet". Gillison landed on the third morning and immediately found that things were "pretty hot". A few days later he was in the trenches when the Turks launched an attack on that portion of the Australian line. "A shout came to me to jump into a dugout, which I did speedily". The Australians used their machine-gun to withering effect "such a storm of lead I had of course never seen and could not have imagined" and later Gillison had the sad task of burying the dead. He noted that denominational differences were of little interest at Gallipoli and the urgent thing was to see that each man, dead or alive, was attended to. Of

Words of encouragement and hope. (AWM C2681)
the Catholic service he wrote that it may not be “all that we would desire, but it is simple and we can all join in it”. How unusual was this appealing unity of purpose when, of course, in Australia denominational differences were so emphasised and sectarianism, under the impact of war, was to reach new and bewildering proportions.

A New Way of Thinking

Soon enough something like routine settled over the peninsula; so agile are human beings in accepting and accommodating the extraordinary. The chaplains spent their time yarning with the men, encouraging them and praying with them. When it was possible and safe they would hold a church parade and there are many pictures in Dexter’s photograph album of small groups of men gathered together to listen to the padre’s words of encouragement and hope. So close were they to scenes associated with the spread of the Christian church to Europe that several of the chaplains gave lectures and talks on this and other biblical themes. There was little sense of evangelizing, more of providing something interesting and different to men who were imperceptibly forming a new way of thinking.

Death was the catalyst, ever present and indiscriminate. Most burial services were held at night, when it was safer and chaplains never knew how many services they would be called upon to lead. Of course they knew many of the dead personally and for most this made the task very much harder.

James Green, a Methodist chaplain, wrote: “I have buried many a young man of brilliant promise and great attainments...and have mourned over many a friend and comrade”. They noted the location of the grave and they wrote to the mourning families at home, often saying how a man died and thus helping the grieving.

Andrew Gillison and a stretcher-bearer who was a Methodist minister, R.H. Pittendrigh, heard a wounded man calling out but they were warned that they could not reach him for the Turks had the spot well covered with rifles and machine-guns. Gillison believed that an attempt must be made to help the man and chaplain and stretcher-bearer crawled out to try to tend to him and perhaps to bring him to safety. Another Presbyterian chaplain, E.N.

Merrington took up the story:

They got close to the man, when the Turks fired, and both were hit. They rose up and ran for our trench and reached it. Gillison collapsed, but was conscious for an hour or two. He was shot between the shoulders, where the bullet struck him as he crawled forward. The bullet came out of his chest near the heart...His words were of his loved ones in Melbourne, and of the hope that never failed his courageous spirit. He died about 2 o’clock”.

Gillison was the only chaplain killed at Gallipoli but all knew that they risked death constantly. Just before the body was to be lowered into the grave one of the chaplains taking the service noticed Gillison’s wedding ring which he reverentially removed for the widow in Melbourne. In December, 1914 as the ship had pulled away from Station Pier, carrying its cargo of men to the yet unknown war, Gillison had written of his terrible sadness at leaving his wife and family. “God keep them all”, he had written, “and grant us a speedy reunion”.

Church service on the quarter deck of H.M.S. London, one of the ships carrying the Australians, when leaving Lemnos for Gallipoli, 24 April 1915. H.M.S. Majestic astern. (AWM A2466)
Wounded being taken aboard the hospital ship Gascon. (AWM A2740)
Bodies in no-man's land awaiting burial.

**A Bit of Australia**

Naturally the chaplains were older than almost all the men they served and it is hardly surprising that many of them could not keep going. The life was hard and demanding and the emotional strain heavy. McKenzie, Fahey, Dexter and one or two others kept on going although even they would take a short break at Lemnos as circumstances permitted. They were reluctant to leave their men for too long because of the very close bonds that had been formed.

The sense of betrayal of the dead that many men understandably felt when they heard the news of the evacuation from the peninsula weighed particularly heavily on the chaplains, although, of course, they understood the sense of evacuation. Many wondered whether the Turks would respect the graves of the Australians, unnecessarily as it transpired. Dexter sought permission from General Birdwood to remain behind on the peninsula to tend and care for the graves but this was refused. Before he left, however, and he was one of the last to go, he wandered among the hundreds of graves that dotted the hillsides and the gullies planting wattle seeds that he had obtained from somewhere. “I intend that a bit of Australia shall be here”.

From that time on Australians have tended to regard Gallipoli as “a bit of Australia” and certainly as a sacred place. Unfortunately, we cannot know what the chaplains said to their men to make war and suffering and death bearable and possibly we could not understand it if we knew. That was something reserved for the fellowship of Anzac. But we do know that the chaplains served their men well and that they served Australia well; that they were men in their own way heroes.

**Notes:**
The sources for all the quotations contained in this article and a much longer treatment of the Australian chaplain and the AIF may be found in Michael McKernan, *Padre: Australian Chaplains in Gallipoli and France*. Sydney, 1986.

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*Michael McKernan has worked at the Australian War Memorial since 1981 where he is a deputy director. He has written several books on war and Australia and other aspects of Australian social history. At present he is Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University and is writing a history of the Australian War Memorial for publication on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the building in 1991.*
Colonel Izzettin Calislar, Staff Officer to Mustafa Kemal Bey.
Extracts from the Diary of a Turkish Officer

By Ahmet Arda, First Secretary, Turkish Embassy, Canberra.

Introduction

The following entries have been taken from the diary of Izzettin Calislar, my maternal grandfather, who, throughout his life took notes of the days events, probably to use later as references. I translated the notes of the dates which I thought might be interesting to Australians. I have omitted the entries relating to his family affairs and to his letter exchanges with family and friends.

One of his notebooks is the pocket calendar of Lieutenant B.P. Nettleton, B Squadron, 1 Light Horse Regiment, Australian Imperial Forces. Lieutenant Nettleton came from Turramurra, New South Wales.

Izzettin Calislar was born in 1882 in Yannina, Greece. He joined the military service of the Ottoman Empire. He served during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913). In the first World War (1915 Gallipoli, 1916-1918 Eastern Anatolia, Syria and Iraq) he served as the staff officer of Mustafa Kemal. In 1920 he joined the forces of Mustafa Kemal in Anatolia. During the War of Independence he took active command posts in many battles.

In 1939 he retired from the army with the rank of General. He also served as a member of the Turkish Parliament from 1939 until 1950.

He died in 1951 in Istanbul and is buried in the State Cemetery in Ankara.
14 March 1915
I received a telegram at 11.00 pm from Mustafa Kemal Bey, the
division Commander of Maidos, asking me to come quickly to Maidos
to join him.

22 March 1915
Weather is cloudy, northerly winds. Army corps were informed about
my admittance to the new job. I pray to God for success.

25 April 1915
Nice weather. Today enemy started landing at Seddulbahir
(V Beach), Ariburnu (Anzac Cove), and Kumkale. Our group received
the task of driving away the enemy at Ariburnu (Anzac Cove). Before
noon the Commander left with the cavalry squadron, 57th regiment
and mountain artillery. I stayed at the HQ till noon to collect and
prepare the remaining. I went to the battlefields in the afternoon. We
were successful in today's offensive. The enemy had 4-5 divisions. They
were driven away and destroyed. We also suffered heavy losses. At
night we inspected the forward lines.

26 April 1915
Nice weather, battle continues. No offensive today. We are preparing
tomorrow's attack. We moved the HQ to the western slopes of
Kocadere. I was busy collecting the 77th regiment that was ruined
yesterday. 33rd regiment came as reinforcements. We placed them at
the left of the front and placed 64th regiment to the right. At night we
placed the HQ in Kocadere. Today was very critical for us. All the
regiment Commanders were asking for reinforcements. The calm of
temper of Mustafa Kemal has overcome everything.

27 April 1915 (General Attack Day - Anniversary of the Accession of
the Sultan)
Nice weather. We have attacked the enemy from every direction. We
settled opposite their trenches. I earlier went to the right side together
with the 64th regiment and prepared the opening and engaging in the
battle of the 64th regiment. I stayed at the artillery line of the right side
and contacted the division Commander by phone. Enemy couldn't
respond to our attacks and withdrew from right and centre, but we
couldn't trace them, they received reinforcements and settled. After the
night fall I came to the division Commander's place at the centre artillery
position. Our artillery fires and attacks continued in the night but we
couldn't achieve the final result. While I was talking with the artillery
Commander Fethi, a dip portion of a naval shell passed just over my
shoulder and fell in front of me. Didn't touch us.

28 April 1915
Nice weather. The enemy is busy with fortifying their strong trenches.
125th regiment joined us. 3 deserters from the 77th regiment were
executed in front of them. 2nd battalion of 125th regiment is placed on
the left. Today enemy tried to exert some pressure on our left but
couldn't succeed. Fight continued into the night.
29 April 1915

Cloudy weather. Enemy, after receiving reinforcements, started showing some activity. Our soldiers kept their position. In the afternoon our right was threatened. I took a battalion of the 125th regiment and headed that way. On our way enemy naval bombardment hit us. Battalion dispersed. I collected them in a creek. Headed them to right. Then when I felt the situation was calm again, took them to left side and I came back to the division Commander. Today the division Commander received the silver war decoration. He recommended me and 57th, 27th and 64th regiment Commanders and his aide-de-camp for the Silver War Medal.

30 April 1915

Today 13th, 14th and 15th regiments of the 5th division came. We prepared for the attack. All regiment Commanders were called to HQ and oral orders given. We have a force of 3 divisions, enemy has one. But our two divisions cannot be counted as one, they are very tired and damaged.

The enemy has a very strong position. Settled there, later when their forces suffer from losses may easily bring more reinforcements and counter attack or may settle in the Seddulbahir (Cape Helles) region and conquer the entrance to the straits and control it.

German Colonel Kannegiesser came with the 5th regiment.
1 May 1915 (General Offensive Day)

Nice weather. General offensive carried out. We couldn’t achieve a definite result. Our soldiers on the left lines couldn’t take off from their trenches. 5th regiment attacked from the centre and have suffered heavy losses. Attack continued throughout the night. At night from the centre, soldiers came close to the enemy lines. It was a very fierce attack, the officers and soldiers fought like lions, reached the enemy trenches and lost their lives there.

2 May 1915

Nice weather. No important change in the situation. Night attack of the enemy to our right has been stopped. Enemy suffered heavy casualties. Enemy navy heavily bombarded our position. Enemy losses tonight reaches 800.

3 May 1915

Nice weather. No important change in the situation. Enemy and our soldiers stay 3-500 metres apart from each other. Morale and desire of the soldiers are high. For the moment, it was decided to advance through the trenches.

7 May 1915

Nice weather, a little cold breeze. Enemy artillery bombarded our right. Our artillery silenced them. We have gathered a group of volunteers to attack the right side of the enemy. 137 soldiers, under the Command of Lieutenant Saffet. With God’s mercy we hope they will succeed.

The night offensive carried out. Officers wounded, soldiers either dead or wounded. We couldn’t succeed. A little offensive on the right was successful. Trenches were taken, together with guns and ammunition.

10 May 1915

Nice weather. Today enemy tried to be active on the centre and left but been refused easily. On the other side of our lines there are 1st and 16th Australian battalions and New Zealand brigade and their navy. 15-20,000 soldiers.

18 May 1915

Nice weather. Together with the Commander Mustafa Kemal we inspected the front lines. Commander gave verbal instructions on a probable attack for tomorrow, and delivered morale boosting speeches to the soldiers. In the afternoon I went to the army corps HQ. Informed them about our preparations and the group’s position. Other staff officers were also there. 2nd, 5th and 16th divisions were of the opinion to postpone the attack for a day. I said postponing the attack will not make any difference. Army corps staff officer, with hesitation, said to go on with the attack without delay. I returned back to the HQ. Explained the situation to the Commander. We inspected the fronts of the 57th regiment.
19 May 1915 (General Offensive)

At 3.30 am the attack started. 64th and 57th regiments conducted the attack and invaded the enemy trenches. Other regiments also attacked through their lines. Attack in general did not achieve a final result. Our soldiers were very brave. They lost their lives on the enemy trenches. This bravery will be written with golden characters in our history. Enemy later stopped our offensive, and arranged a counter attack on our left, but stopped. In the afternoon, enemy attacked our centre and left, but refused. A piece of shrapnel with oval surface, hit my hand, gave no harm.

20 May 1915

Warm weather. We inspected the right front. In the afternoon, enemy opened a red cross flag on Merkez Tepe (German Officers Ridge). 14th regiment replied with a red crescent and they buried their dead. After this, the enemy opened heavy artillery and gunfire and continued all through the night. Tonight the enemy received reinforcements of 4-5 ships.

21 May 1915

Nice weather. Kemal Bey from the Army Corps went to the British HQ at Ariburnu (Anzac) to negotiate an armistice for the burial of dead. The position of Italy got worse. Their position against the Austrians seems obvious. They would be able to assist the French with 40,000 men and allocate 150,000 against us.
22 May 1915

Rain. In the afternoon I went to the Army Corps HQ at Kemalyeri. Other staff officers were present. We discussed the issue of defence. I said that we can keep our position with 4 regiments, they said with 2 divisions. We learned the armistice conditions. I will attend as the first staff officer and arbitrator. The burial has been postponed.

23 May 1915

Today we have received the order for the armistice to bury the dead. I was appointed as the head of the Ottoman delegation. We are two officers Nazim from the 16th regiment, two doctors Dr Huseyin and Dr. Ziya from the 16th regiment and 2 translators Lieutenant Ziya - Naval officer Tahir. No sleep tonight.

24 May 1915

I left the HQ at 3 am, reached Kabatepe at 5 am. Other members of the delegation joined me there. At 7.30 am I went to the conversation section and met with the British Delegation. The Chief of the British delegation Staff Officer Lt. Colonel (Iski)?, Staff Major (Medhem)? and Dr. Herber (?) (He told me that he is working for the benefit of Ottomans).

We started working. I have seen thousands of martyrs on the battlefield. The example of Turkish courage and bravery. We found two wounded Turkish soldiers. The British delegation was calm and serious and showed that they were correct in their efforts. My work lasted till 4.00 pm. We walked all the time because of the steep and rough nature of the land. Of course very tired. At 4.30pm I reached the HQ of the 5th group, rested a little, had coffee and came back to the HQ. Esat Pasa congratulated me for my conduct of work.
25 May 1915
Rain. I was busy at the HQ. I prepared two reports. One about the conduct of burial armistice, the other about the enemy and our position. Today we have witnessed the sinking of an enemy frigate in front of Kabatepe.

27 May 1915
We have learned that the Commander General of the Australian Army Corps is lightly wounded.

28 May 1915
Warm weather. No change in the situation. I have stomach pains. In the afternoon we toured the 64th regiment lines, examined for tomorrow’s offensive. The enemy trenches are very strong and the width of the field is narrow. Success is doubtful. At edge of the 15th regiment, they prepared to attack by exploding a mine tunnel. We couldn’t sleep.

29 May 1915
The battle today started at 3.30 am with artillery and gained intensity with the explosions of the mine tunnels. 64th and 27th regiments executed their attacks. But final result wasn’t achieved. Battle continued until 8 am. Then everywhere was silent. Later on, the enemy distributed pamphlets from the planes. With these pamphlets they were inviting our armies and soldiers to their side and announce the British as the friends of Ottoman and Islam. Stomach pains. I can’t eat a thing.

30 May 1915
Warm weather. The Commander gone to Conkbairi to conduct the Sazlidere (Seaweed Wally) campaign. I remained at the HQ. Before noon, from the trenches of the 72nd regiment, I investigated the Sazlidere situation. In the afternoon at 1.15 pm, enemy, first with heavy artillery, then with heavy gunfire, tried the trenches of the 27th regiment. The offensive was stopped. Battle continued until 3.30 pm. I acted as the division Commander’s deputy. We again came under heavy shrapnel rain. At midnight there will be an attack on the enemy at the north of Sazlidere. I pray to God to make us successful. I suffer from stomach pains.

31 May, 1915
The situation in the battlefields is not improving. The British in their strong trenches, we are in ours. We can only kick the British with self sacrificing attacks. The field is narrow, there is no place to manoeuvre. Our attacks don’t bring the final success. The attacks result in heavy losses. This improved the self security of the British, but they do not have the courage. It would have been very nice if they had attacked, we stopped them giving heavy casualties and enter their trenches with a counter attack. The combat spirit of our soldiers is, thank God, very high, but waiting makes us sick.

2 June, 1915
Warm weather. I have inspected the trenches of the 25th and 64th regiments. A bullet wounded the soldier who was accompanying me in the trenches of the 25th regiment. An enemy saw us while touring the
trenches of 64th regiment and opened fire on us. Some of the soldiers in the 64th regiment were sleeping. What carelessness. I shouted angrily to their commanders. Mustafa Kemal promoted to Colonel. Hope one day our promotion will also be realised.

4 June, 1915

Warm weather. We were busy at the HQ till noon. In the afternoon we moved the HQ to Duztepe (Battleship Hill). Army corps HQ informed of a heavy attack in Kirte region (Helles). We also waited for an attack in our lines. Our expectations were correct. At 11.00 am, the enemy took our positions under artillery, automatic rifle and rifle fire. Later attacked the lines of 27th, 64th and 57th regiments. This attack had been successfully driven away because of the timely information.

5 June, 1915

At 5 am we learned that the enemy took over the 31st and 32nd trenches of the 57th regiment. We hurried to the 57th regiment HQ. The regiment was ordered to try till they perish to recapture the trenches. 27th, 57th, regiments with suitable precautions, attacked the enemy who invaded our trenches and destroyed them with bombs. The trenches recaptured and enemy suffered. God made us victorious. A delegation is visiting our HQ.

6 August, 1915

Warm weather. I am suffering from a light flu. In the afternoon the enemy opened heavy artillery fire to Kanlisirt (Lone Pine) and Merkez Tepe (German Officers Ridge) and opened relatively light fire to the lines of the 19th division. For two hours they attacked Kanlisirt and unfortunately succeeded in capturing Kanlisirt. This caused deep sorrow. This action is the starting point of the enemy's offensive. Once we tried to counter attack Merkez Tepe. 57th regiment was unsuccessful in their try and then abandoned. Tonight the enemy tried with mine tunnels to invade our trenches Nos. 47 and 48, but our soldiers defended the trenches and enemy withdrew. Tonight enemy attacked Agilderesi (Anzac) at the same time heavily bombarded our division lines. Our lines are of course a little bit damaged. I immediately took the directives to the 18th regiment commander. Unfortunately, the enemy succeeded in capturing the trenches in Agilderesi.

7 August, 1915

Weather is not that warm. Situation is very critical. Enemy started discharging soldiers at Kemiklidere (?) and at 4.30 am attacked the lines of 18th and 27th regiments, fortunately destroyed. Later the remaining enemy at the lines were also destroyed. After this success in the divisions' lines, the situation at Conkbayiri (Chunuk Bair) turned out to be more serious. The enemy is trying to flow to Conkbayiri from Sahin Sirt and Agildere. Two squadrons from the 72nd regiment placed on Sahin Sirt and a battalion from 14th regiments sent to Conkbayiri. With these measures, we stopped the enemy's forward movements.

8 August, 1915

No sleep tonight. Early in the morning the Conkbayiri battle has started. The situation is critical at the Conk Tepe (Chunuk Hill) on the
right. I went to Duz Tepe (Battleship Hill) and stayed there till sunset. I studied the enemy position in the area from the top of the trenches. I have reported to the Commander with urgent importance. I have sent the 1st battalion of the 11th regiment to reinforce the 25th regiment. Later, 10th regiment arrived. I send the two battalions from them to that direction. I have told the importance to Conkbayiri to the Deputy Commander of the 25th regiment, Major Mehmet Ali and 10th regiment commander Lt. Col. Kemal. I told everyone not to give Conkbayiri to the enemy. After sunset, I came to the HQ. I explained the situation to the Commander, especially the absence of command and order, which was creating difficulties. This situation was explained to Esat Pasa officially and unofficially. He proposed the command of that region to Mustafa Kemal Bey. He put forward some conditions and wanted the command of the divisions which will be placed there. First they didn’t accept, but with the consent of the army commander, they accepted. They formed the Anafatalar Group command. Sefik Bey came to the command of the 19th division. Mustafa Kemal Bey went to Camlitkekke and took his new post.

9 August, 1915

Nice weather. The attack started at sunrise at Conbayiri and resulted with the withdrawal of the enemy. The critical situation has been restored. The result of Mustafa Kemal Bey’s activity and influence. We all felt relief. The enemy’s artillery attack on Conkbayiri from their navy and land forces, were enormous by any standards. Probably 15,000 artillery shells. Our soldiers battled courageously under these conditions. Conkbayiri was a fierce fight. Five divisions attacked Mestan Tepe. They were 12, 7, 4, 5 and the 9th divisions. After sunset, silence prevailed. Mustafa Kemal stopped the enemy attacks.
14 August, 1915

Warm weather. I didn't go out. I was busy with the records of those who worked hard during the previous battles. Tonight my appointment to the Staff Officer's post of the Anafartalar Group Command (Mustafa Kemal) was announced.

16 August, 1915

Warm weather. I woke up early. The Commander was also up. It was understood that the enemy is exerting pressure on Kirectepe (Suvla). By car we immediately went to Kursun (?). Army Commander Liman Pasa and 5th division Commander Wilmer were there. The news from the front was not clear. They were asking for reinforcements. The necessary forces were sent from there. We then went up to Kucukmisirlık (?) and inspected the situation from close. Kirectepe again was the centre of the battle. The available forces were sent there. We crossed the area at Buyukhisarlık (?) which was under naval artillery attack, by running. We returned back at 2 pm. Liman Pasa was still there. Later by car, we went to Camli Tekke. All the officers, except the Staff Officer, were at the battlefields. Mustafa Kemal Bey dictated a group order to Wilmer announcing his arrival to the battlefield.

21 August, 1915

Cool day. The Commander rejected Hayri Bey as his Staff Officer and forwarded the Staff Officer's post to me. Army Staff Officer tried to create obstacles. He said “Let's write to Istanbul and wait for an answer”. The Commander pointing at me said “you go on with it, from now on he is my Staff Officer” and that is what is happening. In the afternoon, the enemy attacked the 12th and 7th division lines. The direction of the attack was against the centre of the 7th division, near Azmak (Suvla) left of the 34th regiment and at the centre of the 7th division. The enemy seemed a little successful. Fortunately, they were stopped with heavy casualty and the trenches that they captured, were re-captured. It was a very fierce fight. Enemy couldn’t completely carry their dead and wounded in two days. Likewise, the enemy prepared their attack with heavy artillery. In the evening the attack was stopped. At night and in the early morning, their new efforts to the 7th division were stopped. The battle was conducted by phone from the HQ.

In the evening, a lady reporter from the Polish newspapers came. Dined with us. Went back by car. European women come even to the war front for a purpose.

22 August 1915

Nice weather, little wind. Early in the morning, Liman Pasa arrived. I had slept very late last night. In the morning I was busy with the transactions. An officer and 20 soldiers were taken prisoners from the enemy. We tried to interrogate the officer, but he was very strong and refused to give answers. We appreciated his attitude.

27 August, 1915

Nice weather. Enemy started activity in the afternoon. Reinforced the existing forces at Kirectepe (Suvla). At 4 pm opened artillery fire on the lines of the 75th division and Kayacikagili Hill (Hill 60). Attacked at 5 pm. Was successful in penetrating some of our trenches. The enemy attack on the lines of the 20th regiment was met with fierce resistance.
Enemy withdrew with heavy casualties, and sent back from most of the trenches which they had penetrated. Unfortunately, kept few trenches of a few battalions. Enemy tonight attacked 64th regiment lines of Yusufcuk Tepe (Scimitar Hill), but they were not successful. 6th division was partially sent to reinforce the 7th division. 64th regiment of the 7th division was sent to the back slopes of Ismail Oglu Hill (W Hill Suvla). Enemy again reinforced its position in our lines. 3rd division is coming from Asia-19th regiment is coming from Maidos. Whole night we conducted the battle by telephone. We slept from 3 am to 5 am.

12 September, 1915

A little cool weather. We opened fire with heavy artillery to the enemy camp near Kemikliler (?). Commander, before noon, went to inspect the 19th division, afternoon went to 9th division. Liman Pasa came to the HQ later and told me that he will give me a German Iron Cross. I thanked him.

23 September, 1915

A little windy and cool weather. Liman Pasa arrived in the morning. According to Liman Pasa enemy withdrew some forces. I do not think so. Comparing the area that they hold, they cannot keep there with less than 6 divisions. Probably they have strong reinforcements.
26 September, 1915

Nice weather. I am suffering a little bit from stomach pain. Early in the morning, we performed an artillery attack against the enemy opposite the 34th regiment. At night, they have taken 4 British POWs. They were from the 13th division. According to them, enemy didn't withdraw any forces. We learned that Enver Pasa came to the front. Inspected Conkbayiri (Chunuk Bair). Didn’t come to our HQ.

27 September, 1915

Nice weather. Some stomach pain and a little dizziness. Commander assuming insult by Enver Pasa’s action yesterday sent his resignation to the army HQ. Edip Bey and Kazim Bey came to our camp. Commander mentioned his resignation. They also find it inappropriate. But he is insisting.

6 October, 1915

Nice weather. Iraq army Command post has been proposed to Mustafa Kemal Bey. With the following conditions, he accepted. Bagdat and Basra governor posts, promotion, title of General Commander, to bring some officers with him and their promotion. Previously he asked for the commanding post of the army which will be formed to help Bulgaria, but they proposed Iraq. Let’s see where we will go.

13 October, 1915

Nice weather, but cool. Stomach pains continue. An enemy aeroplane flying on our line was hit by the machine guns from the 76th regiment. It fell somewhere between our lines and Tuzla Golu (?). Then was totally destroyed by fire. Golc Pasa has been appointed to Iraq.

4 November 1915

Nice weather. Busy at the H.Q. At the 11th Division Major Hamdi and group artillery commander von Berg argued. Hamdi refused to obey von Berg’s orders. Situation is a little critical. We saved Hamdi from going to military court. Mustafa Kemel protected Hamdi. Problem settled.

6 November, 1915

Nice weather. I was busy at HQ. Artillery duel is going on at the front. An enemy plane was hit. Landed at sea. Our artillery opened fire on the rescue boats. One was hit.

(13-24 November 1915 was spent in Istanbul with family on leave)

25 November, 1915

Nice weather. I have seen commander and others and returned to my post.

A torrential rain in the evening. Water invaded the plain in front of the lines and the trenches. The soldiers are facing great difficulties. Heavy loss of men, animals and materials in the floods.

27 November, 1915

Weather is very bad. Rain and cold is continuing. Especially 18th, 59th and 36th regiments are having difficulties. Weather is getting
much colder. Some of the soldiers who were severely affected by the rain later froze to death. We couldn’t receive supplies because of the storm. The animals are hungry today.

28 November, 1915
Weather is very cold. Tonight it snowed. I am suffering from heavy toothache.

30 November, 1915
Nice weather. Toothache is very severe. I was compelled to have it extracted. Dr Huseyin extracted my tooth. It hurt a lot but I tried and resisted. No change in the situation. They caught 2 POWs again from Azmak (Suvla). 190 froze to death 30 drowned because of the past storm.

The situation between Liman Pasa and Mustafa Kemal turned out to be the most important issue. The reason in summary is as follows.
1. During Enver and Izzet Pasa’s visits Mustafa Kemal in line with Liman Pasa didn’t propose the deployment of the 2nd Army towards Salonika.
2. In the dispute between Hamdi and von Berg he protected Hamdi and didn’t send him to military court.
3. By asking the army HQ how to use the German officers who were at the HQs of the 3rd division and 16th army corps, emphasising that the German officers are of no use.
4. By sending Hollman from the 11th division made Liman Pasa very angry. Later Liman Pasa officially informed that he will not send any German officers.
5. The group was ordered to conduct reconnaissance attacks to the British positions and the attacks were carried out by the Anafartalar group. But with a second order Liman Pasa criticised the actions of the group and Mustafa Kemal refused Liman Pasa’s criticisms and refuted them.

This situation caused misunderstanding and bitterness between the two commanders and Mustafa Kemal will leave for Istanbul on sick leave.

1 December, 1915
Tonight Commandant, Fuat Bey and I sat down until midnight we talked about marriage. We convinced Mustafa Kemal Bey to get married, and he decided to do so, but on marriage you cannot trust his words.

4 December, 1915
Nice weather. In the afternoon I went out to inspect the arsenal depots and the roads. I also went to see the production lines. Marshal (Liman Pasa) came in front of our HQ today. Pertev went to see him. He complained about the situation of the roads and said Mustafa Kemal should have taken care of the roads instead of building himself a villa. Liman Pasa’s words are showing his indignity.

5 December, 1915
Nice weather. I am busy at the HQ. Liman Pasa today brought Mustafa Kemal’s sick leave papers to our HQ. He showed an attitude of anger inside and ashamed outside. Asked me whether I have received my German Iron Cross or not. He noticed that I was not wearing it.
19 December, 1915

We woke up early this morning. We went to Tursun to inspect the manoeuvres. Marshal also came. It lasted about 1.5 hours. Marshal left at the end. Karnensinger and Fevzi Pasa (who temporarily replaced Mustafa Kemal) criticised. In the afternoon at 2.30 enemy bombarded the right of the south lines and attacked. They suffered some heavy losses and withdrew. In the evening they spotted 5-6 transport ships and 25 military transport vessels at Imroz. 4 of them headed towards Suvla. These movements and the enemy attack in the south gave us the impression of a new attack. I slept at midnight. At 3 in the morning the duty officer woke me up and gave me the following information. Staff officer of the 9th Division reported that at Suvla and Azmak they spotted many frigates and military transport vessels, they also spotted barges and boats going and coming. This gave the impression of a new enemy discharge. Later on silence prevailed. Large fires in the enemy lines. They ordered reconnaissance attack. Then it was understood that the enemy was not discharging, on the contrary, escaping from our front. Same news came also from Ariburnu (Anzac). In our lines, first the reconnaissance team of the 21st Regiment then the reconnaissance teams of the 12th, 11th, and 23rd divisions entered the enemy trenches. Everywhere was empty. Orders to follow the enemy was given. Enemy conducted the withdrawal very secretly, nothing was leaked. Our soldiers went to the seaside but made no contact with the enemy. Same thing at Ariburnu as well. With these British who stayed for months against the defence lines established by Mustafa Kemal Bey became hopeless and desperate and escaped. Victory and God's will occurred.

The army commander has the ambition to press the enemy and to take them prisoners. In fact it would have been better, but we would then suffer heavy losses. But the body of a single Turk is very valuable. As it had happened like this many Turkish lives saved. I hope they will also withdraw from the southern front as well. In the afternoon with Fevzi Pasa we went to see the enemy trenches at Kayaciikagili (Hill 60). They were deep and narrow-self protected.

21 December, 1915

Heavy southerly winds. Rain until noon. Then rain and wind. I was busy at the HQ. The soldiers were busy collecting the enemies leftover materials. On the 16th army corps lines they collected enough foodstuff to keep an army corps for three days. 300kms of wire, 800 tents, 30 portable tents, 3000 pickaxes and millions of sand bags.

I received a letter from Mustafa Kemal, he was resting. I have informed him of the enemy withdrawal.

Ahmet Arda was born in 1953 in Istanbul. He joined the Diplomatic service in 1979. He served in Cyprus and European Community Departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara and in Turkish Embassies in Dhaka and London. In November, 1988 he was appointed to the Turkish Embassy in Canberra as the First Secretary.
"Those heroes that shed their blood and lost their lives... You are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. Therefore rest in peace. There is no difference between the Johnnies and the Mehmets to us where they lie side by side here in this country of ours... You, the mothers, who sent their sons from far away countries, wipe your tears; your sons are now lying in our bosom and are at peace. After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as well."

K. Ataturk

The Kemal Ataturk Memorial, Canberra
When 60 World War I veterans, eight widows of World War I veterans and eight junior Legatees left Sydney for Turkey on 20 April 1990, for the 75th Anniversary commemoration of the Gallipoli landings, it was the culmination of efforts which have lasted for more than a year.

It all began in March 1989 when a group of veterans from the World War I Association of NSW visited Parliament House. Bill Hall, leader of the group and patron of the association, was introduced by the Minister for Veterans’ Affairs, Ben Humphreys, to the Minister for Defence, Kim Beazley.

“How about sending some of the old Diggers back to Gallipoli for the 75th Anniversary?” Bill asked Mr Beazley.

The Minister was receptive and after Bill followed up with a written request, supported by the RSL, Mr Beazley put the proposition to the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, who readily agreed to provide an aircraft and made a public announcement of the proposed Gallipoli 1990 Visit on 24 April 1990.

Mr Humphreys was given the task of coordinating the visit and this led to the setting up of a Steering Committee and of the Gallipoli Task Force within the Department of Veterans’ Affairs. The Task Force had overall responsibility for planning the visit, supported by the Department of Defence which involved some 1300 service personnel from all branches of the Defence forces.

The Steering Committee was headed by Ed Attridge, National Program Director, Corporate Services, Department of Veterans’ Affairs and included representatives of the RSL, the Office of Australian War Graves, World War I Veterans’ Association of NSW, Australian War Memorial, Departments of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Trade and Prime Minister and Cabinet, the Repatriation Commission, the Ministers for Defence and Veterans’ Affairs and members of the Gallipoli Task Force.

The Task Force, headed by Director, John Quinn, began with one person in May last year but gradually grew as the tasks and functions had been set in place. It included a staff of 15 in Canberra, a nurse co-ordinator in Sydney and carers - doctors and nurses - throughout Australia who were responsible for the wellbeing of the veterans from the time they left their home States until their return from Turkey. The carers included doctors and nurses from Repatriation General Hospitals and a RAAF contingent of two doctors and four nurses.

In consultation with the RSL and War Widows’ Guild, the Task Force considered the applications from veterans and others who made the visit and Mr Humphreys announced in December the names of those who had been invited.

Legacy assisted with the nomination of junior Legatees.

Applications were received from 105 Gallipoli veterans, 196 World War I veterans who served in other theatres of war and 69 war widows. Gallipoli veterans who applied were given preference. All those judged fit to make the journey were included and made up the bulk of the Visit Group.

The work of the Task Force also included ongoing medical checks, arrangements for accommodation and ground travel, itinerary and detailed program, medical and hospital facilities in Turkey and in Singapore, where the group stayed in transit, the provision of uniform clothing for the Visit Group, administrative arrangements such as the provision of passports and responsibility for media liaison.

The Task Force, with Defence representatives and the RSL, had also liaised closely with Turkish authorities who provided support for the two Australian ceremonies held at Gallipoli on Anzac Day. The Turkish authorities, who also organised an International Ceremony, were enthusiastic and co-operative. Liaison visits to Turkey were made by Ed Attridge, John Quinn and Nurse Co-ordinator Mrs Diana Trickett from the Task Force.

One of the pulses for all those working to make the Gallipoli 1990 Visit a success has been the opportunity to meet the veterans. Veterans, who despite advanced age still showed the humour, courage and independence of spirit which gave birth to the ANZAC tradition.
Defence Force Journal
Contributions of any length will be considered but, as a guide, 3000 words is the ideal length. Articles should be typed double spaced, on one side of the paper, and submitted in duplicate.

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© Commonwealth of Australia 1990
ISSN 0314-1039
Published for the Department of Defence by the
Australian Government Publishing Service,
Canberra 1990
90/20 504 Cat. No. 90 0613 2
DEFENCE FORCE JOURNAL

GALLIPOLI
75TH ANNIVERSARY
1915-1990