

The Gallipolian

*The Journal of the
Gallipoli Association*

No. 140 - SPRING 2016



'W Beach'

by Michael Lee

Winning entry in the Gallipoli Association's 2015 'Images of Gallipoli' competition

THE GALLIPOLIAN

The Journal of the Gallipoli Association
founded by Major E. H. W. Banner in 1969
on the Campaign of 1915

The Gallipoli Association

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CHAIRMAN TO RETIRE

Captain Christopher Fagan, MBE, DL, has advised the Trustees of the Association that he wishes to stand down as Chairman at the end of April. He will, however, continue with the fund-raising appeal to enable the Association to carry on with its objectives through to 2018 and beyond, and contribute to the affairs of the Association as required. The Trustees are delighted that Christopher has decided to continue to support the Association in this way.

The Trustees have appointed Brigadier James R. H. Stopford as Chairman with effect from 1st May 2016. James has been a member of the Association since 1987. He served on the committee of the former Gallipoli Association from 1989 until February 2014, and then continued as a Trustee of the new Charitable Incorporated Association from that date to the present time.

I am sure members would wish to join the Trustees in thanking Christopher Fagan for the enormous contribution he has made to the Association as a member since 1978 and as Chairman for the past 31 years, during which time the membership has increased from some 300 to over 1,000. Among Christopher's many achievements were the establishment of the Gallipoli Memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1985 and the Gallipoli Memorial Bursary scheme which flowed from the fund-raising for the Gallipoli Memorial. More recently he was largely responsible for ensuring a National Commemoration in London to mark the Centenary of the Campaign, and a UK and Association presence for the commemorations on the Peninsula. This year he arranged the wreath-laying service at Sandringham, attended by Her Majesty the Queen and our Patron, His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh, together with TRHs The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, to mark the Centenary of the final withdrawal from the Peninsula.

A personal message from the Chairman will appear in the next issue of The Gallipolian.

Foster Summerson
Secretary, The Gallipoli Association

MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY

Keith Edmonds has stood down as Membership Secretary. Keith made an invaluable contribution in this role ensuring that membership records were kept up to date, as well as providing a first-rate service to members and others. He also provided support in other areas of the Association's work, ensuring the timely despatch of papers to members relating to the new constitution. He also performed a crucial role during the centenary year, including organising the Association's Centenary Conference. Our thanks go to Keith for all his hard work on behalf of the Association.

The Trustees are pleased to announce that they have appointed Mr Peter Luff as the new Membership Secretary. Peter's Grandfather, Frederick William Cutts, served in the Royal Horse Artillery, attached to the 29th Division, throughout the Gallipoli Campaign and later served on the Western Front where he was commissioned and awarded the MC. Peter first visited Gallipoli in 2008 and joined the Association's tour to the peninsula, run in conjunction with Battle Honours, in September 2015.

Peter was born in Surrey but brought up in Cornwall. He has been a Fellow of the Royal

Institution of Chartered Surveyors since 1983, spending 21 years working in London both in private practice and as a development director in a public property company. He is married to an Australian, Liz, and they have three daughters. The family moved to Cornwall in 1991 where Peter worked in private practice in Plymouth. He now lives in Tavistock and continues to work three days a week.

Peter looks forward to carrying forward the work of the Association and its objectives and to developing close links with the membership. His contact details are given inside the front cover of the journal.

MAJOR GENERAL'S REVIEW

The Association hopes to receive a small allocation of tickets for the Major General's Review on Horse Guards Parade on Saturday 28 May; if so, members will have the opportunity to apply for tickets. See enclosed booking form for details.

TRUSTEE APPOINTMENT

The Trustees have appointed Ian Philliskirk as a Trustee. Ian is a General Counsel by profession (he qualified as a barrister but is presently not practicing). He joined the Association in 2009 and provided invaluable pro-bono legal advice when the new Association were considering changing its status to that of a Charitable Incorporated Organisation, in that application and in the drafting of our new constitution. As part of his duties as a Trustee Ian will act as the Association's Legal Officer. He has made many trips to Gallipoli having lived in Istanbul for many years, and has a home just across the Dardanelles at Assos.

IMAGES OF GALLIPOLI

Stephen Chambers

As part of its centenary commemorations, The Gallipoli Association organised a photographic competition to capture the spirit and history of Gallipoli. The closing date for entries was 31st December 2015.

The theme, 'Images of Gallipoli', was open to individual interpretation although the entries needed to respect the events that took place on the peninsula in 1915 and have the battlefields at their heart. Entrants were not restricted to only Association members; we therefore received a mix of entries from people from all over the world with a personal interest in the area and its history.

We received 85 photographs, ranging from cemeteries and memorials, to living history groups, to modern life and battlefield panoramas. They included the fauna and flora of the region and the remaining scars on the landscape.

With so many excellent entries the final decision was never going to be easy. However, our judge, professional photographer Michael St Maur Shiel, managed to select a winner and two fabulous runners-up. The winning entry is taking pride of place on the front cover of this edition of The Gallipolian, and the runners-up are shown on page 27.

Congratulations go to:

1st Prize of £250: Michael Lee from Ireland with the winning photo, captioned 'W Beach.'
 2nd Prize of £100: Erdem Keseli from Turkey with photo captioned 'Ari Burnu Cemetery.'
 3rd Prize of £50: Edward Nicholl from England with photo captioned 'Redoubt Cemetery.'
 The Trustees send their wholehearted thanks and congratulations to the winners and to everyone who entered the competition. It is hoped that we can display as many entries as possible at the next Annual Conference and on the website.



The winning entry - 'W Beach,' by Michael Lee, of Ireland, also featured on the front cover.

WREATH LAYING CEREMONY AT THE SANDRINGHAM WAR MEMORIAL

Foster Summerson

Some 80 members of the Gallipoli Association attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Sandringham War Memorial on Sunday 10 January when Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh laid wreaths to mark the centenary of the final withdrawal of allied forces from the Gallipoli Peninsula. It was a cold but beautiful day in bright sunshine; a welcome change after the dismal weather of the previous week.

The memorial records that it was 'erected by HM King George V and HM Queen Mary to honour the memory of the officers and men of the Sandringham Company of the 5th Bn. The Norfolk Regiment and those on the estate who fell in the Great War'. It was unveiled by them, in the presence of HM Queen Alexandra, in 1920. 63 men are commemorated by name; it also commemorates those who fell in the Second World War. The four-stepped base carries the royal coat of arms.

The ceremony took place at 12.00 noon after Her Majesty and other members of the royal family and their guests attended morning service in the historic and beautiful church of

St Mary Magdalene on the Sandringham Estate. Trustees and one or two members with a Norfolk connection were honoured to be invited to join the congregation for the service which was conducted by the Revd. Jonathan Riviere with the sermon preached by the Revd. Canon Dr Robert Innes, Bishop of Gibraltar in Europe.

After the service our Chairman and his wife, Dame Mary Fagan, escorted Her Majesty, His Royal Highness and the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge to the grounds of the memorial where the Trustees and Lt. Colonel Gordon Birdwood, Chairman of the Gallipoli 100 sub-committee, and Brigadier Max Marriner, County Colonel of The Royal Anglian Regiment, were presented to Her Majesty and His Royal Highness. Her Majesty and His Royal Highness then took up their positions in front of the war memorial where the Revd. Jonathan Riviere gave a short introduction and said a prayer in memory of the fallen of the campaign. Major General Sir William Cubitt, Norfolk County President of the Royal British Legion, gave the Exhortation and Last Post was sounded followed by a short Silence and Reveille. Her Majesty and His Royal Highness then laid their wreaths; our Chairman laid a wreath on behalf of the Gallipoli Association in memory of all who fought or gave their lives in the campaign. Other wreaths were placed by Major General Sir William Cubitt, Brigadier Marriner and by Ms Valerie Brundle, Chair of the Dersingham and Sandringham Royal British Legion, and by Jemma Gerrard of the Sandringham Girl Guides.

After the ceremony Her Majesty and His Royal Highness, our Patron, together with The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, spoke to a number of Association members present including Lieutenant-Commander Arthur Coxon, whose father served in the 5th Norfolks, and Mr Robbie Hunter, the great-grandson of Captain Frank Beck, the Agent at Sandringham who was killed during the attack on Scimitar Hill, and who is commemorated on the memorial and by a plaque in the church of St Mary Magdalene. Mr Hunter was able to show Her Majesty and His Royal Highness the watch presented to Captain Beck before he left Sandringham for war service. Also presented were Graham Beck, nephew of Captain Beck; Mr Alan King, whose father served in the 1st Norfolks; Major General Sir William Cubitt, whose grandfather (killed in action) and three great-uncles had all served in the 5th Norfolks at Gallipoli; and Richard de Robeck, great-nephew of Admiral of the Fleet Sir John de Robeck, who commanded the naval operations at Gallipoli.

The commemoration attracted much media attention perhaps in part due to the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge. After the service arrangements had been made for Association members and their guests to have lunch in the Visitor Centre which was much enjoyed and which provided an opportunity for members to meet each other and share their experiences of a day they will remember for many years to come. Photographs taken during the day appear on pages 28 and 29.

‘FIELD OF REMEMBRANCE’– WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Each year, the Gallipoli Association has a plot in the ‘Field of Remembrance’ in the grounds of Westminster Abbey, which is open in the period around Remembrance Day. Anyone can place a remembrance cross or emblem in the plot and, following the offer made in the Autumn 2015 edition of *The Gallipolian*, the Association received requests for 80 crosses or emblems to be laid – almost double that in previous years.

The plots are set out by staff and volunteers from the Royal British Legion – a substantial undertaking given that there are well over 200 plots. The task of laying the crosses in the Association plot fell to Association member, Clive Summerson, who placed the crosses and other emblems when the Field opened on the morning of 4 November.

The Opening Service took place on 6 November and was attended by our Patron, HRH The Duke of Edinburgh and HRH The Prince Harry. After a short service, the Last Post was sounded from the parapet of St Margaret's Church and the Silence kept. Afterwards, our Patron and the Prince Harry toured the plots and spoke to veterans, service personnel and members of the organisations present. Both stopped at the Association plot and spoke to James Stopford who represented the Association at the ceremony. The Dean of Westminster also had a long conversation with James about the success of the 25th April commemorative events - he thought the Association had done extremely well this year and thanked it for its support.

A limited supply of tickets for the opening ceremony were made available to the organisations who had plots in the 'Field' and the eight members of the Association who were present at the ceremony stood behind the Gallipoli Association plot during the service and inspection. Photographs appear on pages 29 and 30.

2016 GALLIPOLI / ANZAC DAY CEREMONIES IN LONDON

DAWN SERVICE

A Dawn Service will be held at 5.00am (please arrive in good time) at the Wellington Arch, Hyde Park Corner followed by wreath-laying at the Australian and New Zealand Memorials. The service is expected to end at 5.45am. Tickets are not required. However you will need to show photographic identification and undergo security checks on entry.

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

A short service and wreath laying ceremony will take place at the Gallipoli Memorial in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral at 9.15 am for 9.30am on Monday 25 April. Wreaths will be laid by a representative of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, by senior representatives of the Royal Navy, the Army and by the High Commissioners of Australia and New Zealand, and other high-ranking officials from France and Turkey. Tickets are not required for this event.

Members and friends are encouraged to attend this service which is arranged by the Association. It concludes in time to travel to The Cenotaph.

THE CENOTAPH

Two minutes silence will be observed at 11.00am during a service at the Cenotaph in Whitehall. A wreath will be laid on behalf of the Association. Security measures will be in place in and around Westminster and only members and guests with tickets will be allowed access to the west side of Whitehall. Access is by Clive Steps, which front onto Horse Guards Road. These lead into King Charles Street and thence into Whitehall. We will assemble close to the exit from King Charles Street at 10.25am. Those who expressed interest in viewing or taking part in the march to The Cenotaph, and completed the form enclosed with the Winter issue of The Gallipolian are being contacted individually. Tickets to participate in the parade have now been allocated but it may be possible to watch the commemoration from the east side of Whitehall.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

As in previous years, we have been invited to join the 'Anzacs' at Westminster Abbey for a Service of Commemoration, which will commence at 12.00 noon. Members should be seated by 11.40am. Those who expressed interest in attending the service and completed the form enclosed with the Winter issue of The Gallipolian are being contacted individually. All tickets for this event have now been allocated.

Medals should be worn at St Paul's, The Cenotaph, and at Westminster Abbey

GALLIPOLI DAY RECEPTION

Due to the difficulty in finding a suitable venue for lunch in the Westminster area at a reasonable cost, it has been decided to hold a reception similar to that in 2015. This will be held at Wellington Barracks at 1.15 for 1.30pm. A booking form is enclosed. [Please Note: Those who expressed interest in attending Anzac/Gallipoli Day events and completed the form enclosed with the Winter issue of The Gallipolian are being contacted individually].

OTHER GALLIPOLI / ANZAC DAY CEREMONIES

Details of other Anzac/Gallipoli Day ceremonies and events can be found on the Association Website. Those without Internet access can obtain details from the Secretary; please enclose a stamped (A5 size) and self-addressed envelope.

We ask that members unable to join with the Association in London make every effort to attend their nearest ceremony. The Editor is always pleased to receive reports and photographs of these ceremonies.

UNVEILING OF THE MEMORIAL TO TROOPER FREDERICK POTTS VC, THE BERKSHIRE YEOMANRY

Sunday 4th October 2015 was a perfect late summer morning, and a most fitting setting for the unveiling of memorials to Trooper Frederick William Owen Potts VC, and to The Berkshire Yeomanry.

Tpr Potts was awarded the Victoria Cross for his actions at Suvla Bay over the period 21 – 23 August 1915 when he stayed behind with a seriously wounded fellow Yeoman despite also being wounded. Over a 48-hour period, and constantly under fire, Tpr Potts dragged Tpr Arthur Andrews back to friendly lines using a shovel as a sled; not surprisingly he became known as 'The Hero with the Shovel.'

The Trooper Potts VC Memorial Trust was set up by Mr Richard Bennett to commemorate the actions not only of Tpr Potts, but also of the 426 men of The Berkshire Yeomanry who gave their lives in the wars of the 20th Century. Two stunning and lasting memorials now stand proud on the south side of Forbury Gardens and in front of Reading Crown Courts.

The service was well attended by the people of Reading. Mr J Puxley, Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of The Royal County of Berkshire, and Mr Chris Tarrant OBE, unveiled the memorial to Tpr Potts. Mr Tarrant, whose father had been awarded a Military Cross with The Berkshire Yeomanry in the Second World War, was a Patron and leading fund-raiser for the Trust. Two students from the Abbey School, which has had a long association with

veterans, unveiled the memorial which lists the names of the 426 men of The Berkshire Yeomanry. Readings at the service were also given by Miss Victoria Jeffrey, the great-great-granddaughter of Tpr Potts, and by Miss Maya Andrews, the great-great-niece of Tpr Andrews. Minister-Counsellor Mr Fatih Ulusoy, Deputy Head of Mission of The Turkish Embassy, recited Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's famous words about our fallen at Gallipoli.

Mr James Watson-Smith and Brigadier and Mrs James Stopford represented the Gallipoli Association, which had generously contributed to the Trust, at the ceremony. If you find yourself in Reading then seeing this memorial is a must. Photographs on pages 30 and 31.

The *London Gazette* published the following award by King George V:

War Office, 1 October, 1915.

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to award the Victoria Cross to (No. 1300), Private Frederick William Owen Potts, 1/1st Berkshire Yeomanry, Territorial Force.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to a wounded comrade in the Gallipoli Peninsula. Although himself severely wounded in the thigh in the attack on "Hill 70" on 21st August, 1915, he remained out over 48 hours under the Turkish trenches with a private of his Regiment who was severely wounded and unable to move, although he could himself have returned to safety.

Finally he fixed a shovel to the equipment of his wounded comrade, and, using this as a sledge, he dragged him back over 600 yards to our lines, though fired at by the Turks on the way. He reached our trenches at about 9.30 pm on the 23rd August.

The original citation, completed in Gallipoli, was witnessed by Capt R H Scott, Sgt W Brown and L-Cpl E Crawlee, all of the 6th Battalion Inniskilling Fusiliers, 31st Brigade.

AUTUMN LUNCH 2015

We were greatly honoured by the presence of our Patron, H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, at the Association's Autumn Lunch at The Cavalry and Guards Club in the centenary year of the Gallipoli Campaign. His Royal Highness joined 80 members for pre-lunch drinks in the Major General's Room and spoke to nearly everyone present before we went upstairs for the lunch itself. His Royal Highness proposed the health of Her Majesty and there were also toasts to His Royal Highness our Patron, and to remember all those who took part in the campaign. After lunch Professor Sir Hew Strachan gave a most informative talk which focussed on the political and strategic background to the campaign and the role played by Major General Sir Charles E Callwell who was Director of Operations and Intelligence at the War Office in 1914, and who played a leading part in the planning of the Dardanelles operations, about which he had personal reservations.

We are most grateful to His Royal Highness for making time in his busy schedule of commitments to attend this important event in the Association's calendar. Thanks are also due to Mr David Cowdery, Secretary of The Cavalry and Guards Club and to his staff for the arrangements they made on our behalf, and for making everyone so welcome. It was a most enjoyable occasion. A selection of photographs appears on pages 31 - 33.

The Association has acquired the rights to reproduce (in electronic form only) photographs taken by the official photographer at the Autumn Lunch; they can be seen on the Association website from where they can be downloaded. We would ask, however, that those downloading

photographs might consider making a donation to The Gallipoli Memorial Fund. [Please Note: Material downloaded is intended for private use only. If members wish to obtain prints (i.e. photographs in hard copy) they should contact the photographer direct:

Scott Collier, 49 Hertford Street, Mayfair London W1J 7SR

Tel: 07881 812 668 or email: scott@scottcollier.co.uk for advice on cost and payment arrangements. Website: www.scottcollier.co.uk)

REMEMBRANCE DAY 2015 – CENOTAPH CEREMONY

For the fifth year running, members of the Gallipoli Association took part in the Remembrance Day Parade and March Past at the Cenotaph in Whitehall.

The Association was allocated 18 places and marched as part of the ‘Civilian Column’ whose contingents formed up on Whitehall outside the old War Office building prior to the parade. Our contingent co-ordinators were David Mason and Stephen Chambers, who formed the left and right markers respectively; the left marker handing the Association wreath to the British Legion ‘wreath taker’ on passing the cenotaph. This year we were joined by Ana Simoes Baiao from the Islington Museum and Martin Shuttleworth, a teacher at the Tufnell Park Primary School, Islington, together with pupils Charlie Colgan, Ruby Collison, Amy Ekeh and Natalie Kuper. The museum and school were invited as they are part of the Gallipoli Centenary Education Project and they also had a wreath laid. The main aim of the project is to increase young people’s understanding of the Gallipoli Campaign and those involved have been working with schools all over the UK to this end. The children were extremely well behaved and attentive during the long wait in Whitehall before the service began and really enjoyed the event, especially the ‘Eyes Right’ command at Horse Guards when they were in touching distance of HRH The Prince William.

The public attendance was noticeably greater than in previous years, with a number of spectators recognising the ‘Gallipoli’ name. As was the case last year, the television coverage continued after the service contingents had passed the Cenotaph and the Gallipoli Association and David Mason received a mention. Afterwards, we were invited by one of our contingent, Donna-Marie Kirk-Sargeant, Consular Advisor at the New Zealand High Commission, to visit the rooftop suite at New Zealand House where we were treated to breath-taking views over London. Following this, those able to do so met for lunch at The Admiralty PH in Trafalgar Square. Photographs can be found on pages 34 and 35.

CENTENARY TOURS AND 2016 TOURS

Stephen Chambers

Following previous years’ successful tours with Battle Honours Ltd, we decided to offer identical tours for members during the 2015 centenary year (May and September) with two exceptions; having a special ‘August Offensive’ tour to mark the anniversary of the Suvla landing and Sari Bair attack, and an additional tour in October to meet demand. In the end we had the pleasure of taking 80 people to the battlefield, 42 of whom were Gallipoli Association members. It was good to see many more joining the Association afterwards, so a warm welcome to them. As with all our tours we attract a wide range of visitors from all over the world, and 2015 was no exception, with visitors not only from across the UK

and Ireland, but also Australia, New Zealand, the US, Turkey and Switzerland.

As always our travellers are in the good hands of fellow enthusiasts and authorities on the campaign, led by Clive Harris and me, and supported by Gallipoli Association and Guild of Battlefield Guide members Mike Peters, Rory Stephens and Peter Sweeney (from Australia). Our Turkish tour managers, Barış Yeşildağ and Adem Biçer, provided the necessary local support and offered valuable Turkish perspective on the campaign.

The tours offer a number of walks that cover the highlights of the campaign at a relaxed pace to suit the needs of the group and with scope to visit several places which are not offered on other tour itineraries. We feel our product offers the most comprehensive tour available to the Peninsula, and, as part of a like-minded intimate group, we reach seldom-visited spots via mule tracks, dried-up gullies and quiet beaches that few others ever venture to.

Originally a walking tour, our flexibility and good guide-to-client ratio enables us to now open our tours to non-walkers while retaining the same high standard. Each day one of the guides will remain with the vehicle to escort you around the battlefields at an unhurried pace before meeting the walkers at the end of the day. Should you wish to join any of the walks then this is entirely possible. Alternatively should you wish to take a break from walking there is now the option for you to join the vehicle-based program.

Many will hopefully be pleased to read that we have planned two tours for 2016; 8 - 13 May and 18 - 23 September. If you would like to join us this year on the shores of the Gallipoli Peninsula, and be part of a like-minded enthusiastic group studying the entire campaign from the initial landings, to the Krithia battles, through the August offensive (Suvla and Sari Bair) and up to the final withdrawal of troops, then please let us know. Gallipoli as a battlefield is quite simply unique, a 'must see' for those with a passion in the subject and, as always, a favourite destination for the guiding team.

It is a 6-day, 5-night tour, based in a charming boutique hotel in Çannakale, that will highlight all the incredible history the peninsula has to offer, plus a few surprises. The cost is £1350 (or £1150 for a non-flight option, popular with those wanting to stay longer or visiting Istanbul or Troy). This is based on half-board (breakfast and a battlefield pack lunch). In the words of member Greg Pullen,

the tour represented exceptional value and is a 'must do' for any member wishing to learn more through interacting with others, hearing from the experts and actually treading lightly on the land previously walked on by our young forebears. Thoroughly recommend!

Please email tours@gallipoli-association.org (Stephen Chambers) or visit the Gallipoli Association website for more information.

COMMEMORATING THE CENTENARY OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND REGIMENT LANDINGS, SUVLA BAY, 19/20 SEPTEMBER, 2015

Christopher J. A. Morry

Members of the Gallipoli Association and regular readers of The Gallipolian will know from previous articles submitted to their journal by Newfoundlanders, including Dr. David Parsons and Dr. Philip E. L. Smith, that the Newfoundland Regiment was called upon to

reinforce the bridgehead established in August of 1915 at Suvla Bay. The Newfoundlanders came there by tragic default. Originally that final landing in the Gallipoli campaign was to have involved the Royal Scots, but en route from Scotland to embark, their train was involved in a terrible accident that became known as the Quintinshill Rail Disaster, in which over 200 troops lost their lives. That loss was the trigger that compelled Field Marshal Lord Kitchener to announce to the assembled Newfoundlanders at Aldershot on 12 August 1915, that he was sending them, not to France as expected, but rather to the Dardanelles.

The Dominion of Newfoundland was not then a part of Canada. Newfoundland (now the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador) joined with the rest of Canada in Confederation at the stroke of midnight on 31 March 1949. So it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of Canadians have no knowledge of the fact that these Canadians (albeit latter-day members of that nation) were the only fighting unit from North America to serve at Gallipoli. This fact is somewhat better known amongst the population of Newfoundland and Labrador, primarily due to efforts of groups like the Royal Newfoundland Regiment Advisory Council to keep alive the memory of those brave men who fought, and many of whom died, in WWI. During this centenary of the events of WWI, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador has also raised public awareness of significant events in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment's history through its public education programme known as Honour 100. And of course today's Royal Newfoundland Regiment, a Militia unit in the Royal Canadian Infantry Corps, needs no reminder of their valiant history. They celebrate these events independently at every opportunity and especially on Newfoundland and Labrador's Memorial Day, 1 July. This was the date of the tragic Battle of Beaumont Hamel, which for Newfoundlanders serves as the baptism of fire that formed an important part of their nation building as Gallipoli did for the Australians and New Zealanders.

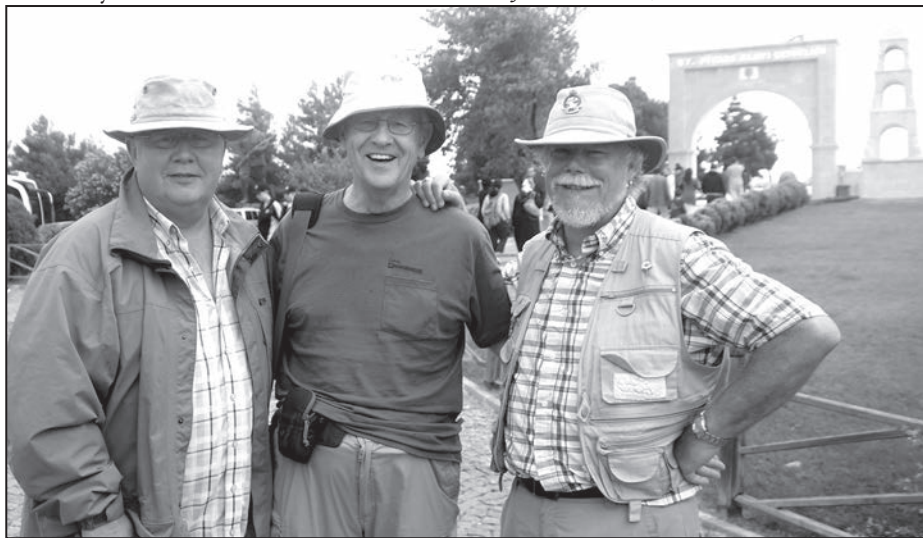
So it was then that in September 2015 a group of some 60 Newfoundlanders and friends of the Regiment from Britain travelled to Turkey to commemorate the landing at Kangaroo Beach, Suvla Bay, on the night of 19/20 September 1915. The trip was planned by the Royal Newfoundland Regiment Advisory Council, a group comprised almost exclusively of civilians who support the present day regiment and the honouring of its illustrious history. Quite apart from this planning process, with the full support of the Canadian Department of National Defence and the Government of Canada, the Regiment had been planning to travel to Gallipoli for this same purpose, and of course the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, through its Honour 100 programme, also intended to be there on this historic occasion.

It was only natural that these three bodies should come together as one. I was fortunate enough to have been permitted to participate as a member of the group organised by the Royal Newfoundland Regiment Advisory Council, though I am not a member of that august body of Newfoundland leaders from all fields of endeavour. I was invited because I had recently published the memoirs of my grandfather, Howard Leopold Morry (Private Howard Leopold Morry, Regt. No. 726), who was one of those who landed at Kangaroo Beach that fateful night.² Others amongst the participants also had relatives who fought in Gallipoli.

Coincidentally, several of the men whose sons and grandsons or grandnephews attended carried regimental numbers that were close in sequence to one another. They signed their attestation papers between December 15 and 18, 1914. Consequently they all became a part of 'C' Company and were close friends. In his memoirs, Howard Morry referred to

one of these, Chas Parsons, as “the bravest and luckiest man” he had ever known. Chas was later awarded the Military Medal for bravery at Monchy. The Newfoundlanders, like the other ‘colonials,’ especially the Anzacs, were a somewhat unruly crowd. In one story my grandfather tells, he was assigned to guard a rations dump near Kangaroo Beach and accidentally stumbled upon several bags of whisky intended for the officers. It didn’t take him long to make good use of his discovery and when his sergeant heard him singing at the top of his voice, he sent Tom Harvey, father of another participant, and another soldier, to find out if he had lost his head. As my grandfather put it, they were “sent to relieve me, but it ‘twas I relieved them when I produced the jar.” Later, he tells us that the night before the Battle of Beaumont Hamel, Joe Penney, grand uncle of the head of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment Advisory Council, Ron Penney, who was engaged to Howard’s sister Trix, came to give him a letter and a ring for her. He was certain that he would die in battle the following morning; a fatally accurate premonition.

The group also included many others who have had a close association with the Regiment over the years. These included the Honourable John Crosbie, a former Minister in the



Ken Gatehouse, grandson of Chas Parsons; Neil Harvey, son of Tom Harvey; and Christopher Morry, grandson of Howard Morry, at Turkish 57th Regiment monument, The Nek.

Photograph by Michelle Boriell, courtesy of Christopher Morry.

federal cabinet and the former Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador. It was in this latter capacity that he acted as the Honorary Colonel of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment on behalf of the Colonel-in-Chief, Her Royal Highness The Princess Anne The Princess Royal. Sir Idris Pearce, Kevin Regan and Ralph and Rosie French formed the British delegation and all had associations in one way or another with Newfoundland and the Regiment. Ralph French, a former member of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, was of course also keenly interested in visiting the grave site of Lieut. Col. Charles Doughty-Wiley at Seddülbahir.

For the civilians who attended under the auspices of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment Advisory Council, the trip lasted 10 days, which was sufficient time to visit all the sites of importance to the Newfoundland Regiment. This included not only the Suvla Bay area, but

also Cape Helles, where the Newfoundlanders had been chosen to assist in the evacuation as a result of their successful role in a similar capacity two weeks earlier at Suvla Bay. Not a life was lost in either strategic withdrawal. As the opportunity presented itself, the significant sites and monuments of other nations taking part in the Peninsula Campaign were also visited. Unfortunately, the schedule only permitted the honour guard of 25 soldiers and officers of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment to attend on September 19th and 20th, the actual days on which the landings took place.

Following a well-attended memorial service at Cape Helles at which representatives of the



Dale Hutchings and Christopher Morry lay a wreath at Hill 10 cemetery in honour of Davey Carew, of the Newfoundland Regiment, who is buried here and who was a friend of Mr Morry's grandfather.
Photograph by Michelle Boriel, courtesy of Christopher Morry.

Turkish government, Australia and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission took part, the Royal Newfoundland Regiment honour guard and the civilian group travelled together to the cemeteries where Newfoundland soldiers who died in battle or due to the prevalent diseases that plagued this theatre of war are buried. At each cemetery a small remembrance ceremony, including the laying of wreaths, took place. At Hill 10 Cemetery, I was honoured to be permitted to lay a wreath along with Dale Hutchings on behalf of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment Advisory Council and, in my case more specifically, in honour of Davey Carew, a young friend of my grandfather whose grave is found in this cemetery.

As mentioned above, the landings took place under cover of darkness on the night of 19 - 20 September 1915 and so it was that a small group of those attending, myself included, resolved to be on Kangaroo Beach at sunrise to see the area in much the same way as our relatives had 100 years ago. It was an overpoweringly emotional experience. Later, the remainder of the group and the members of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment joined us on the beach for a small service of remembrance led by regimental Chaplain Major Clarence (Shawn) Samson and presided over by Lieut. Col. Paul Furlong and Lieut. Col. Clarence Bond. Somewhat ironically, and yet at the same time appropriately, a small group

of Turkish men had camped out on the beach overnight in order to fish for the plentiful local fin-fish, squid and octopus, oblivious to the significance of the date or place to those of us from Newfoundland.

One additional highlight of the combined tour of the civilian and military visitors was the opportunity afforded to them by Frank Gogos (co-author with Morgan MacDonald of *Known unto God – In Honour of Newfoundland's Missing During the Great War* and author of *The Royal Newfoundland Regiment in the Great War*) to visit the site of Caribou Hill. This name does not appear on any of the official battle maps of the era. But it is nonetheless the site of one of only a few successful engagements during the Gallipoli Campaign. The allied soldiers at Suvla Bay had been pinned down every night, with the loss of many lives, as a result of a Turkish sniper nest on a knoll overlooking their positions. Thanks to the imagination and gallantry of Lieut. James Donnelly and a small group of volunteers from the Newfoundland Regiment, these snipers were outfoxed and the position taken after their routine withdrawal from the site before dawn. This little platoon held what became known to the regiment as Caribou Hill against fierce attack by the Turks when they discovered their prized sniping post was now in the hands of the enemy. Not only was this significant in the saving of many lives that would have otherwise been taken by these snipers, but it also permitted the allies to consolidate their forward line in a position that was much stronger and more enforceable.

For several years now it has been the plan of the governments of Canada and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador to erect a monument at Suvla Bay in the form of a massive and majestic bronze caribou, like those that exist at all the important battle fields in Europe. Sadly this has not yet come to pass, but we live in hope that one day this plan will be carried to completion.

1. The honour of having the prefix 'Royal' attached to the name of the Regiment has been bestowed more than once during its long history. The first instance was occasioned by their valorous service primarily as dispersed marine units in the War of 1812. However, some years later the Regiment was stood down and remained so until the commencement of WWI. Then they were known simply as the First Newfoundland Regiment until after a number of particularly valiant encounters, notably at Gueudecourt and Monchy-le-Preux when on 28 September 1917, King George V once again bestowed upon them the right to proclaim themselves as the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. The current title including the 'Royal' honour dates from March 1, 1961 when the Regiment became a part of the Royal Canadian Infantry Corps. For this reason the actions of the Newfoundlanders at Gallipoli refer to the Newfoundland Regiment without the honorific 'Royal' attached. This fine technical detail has been missed in the mention of the regiment as 'Royal' on the Cape Helles Monument, the only mention they receive anywhere on the Gallipoli battlefields (see photos, pages 35-36). Another error on that entry is that it is listed with the 'Unallotted troops' when in fact they were attached to the 29th Division from the moment that they arrived in Suvla Bay until late in the war.

2. When the Great Red Dawn is Shining – Howard L. Morry's *Memoirs of Life in the Newfoundland Regiment*. Nov. 2014. Breakwater Books, St. John's.



THE 'LAST TO LEAVE' - AN ANALYSIS OF THE FINAL HOURS OF THE EVACUATION OF ANZAC - PART ONE

Ian C M Littler and Guy M Littler

Introduction

The evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula occurred at two different times and from three places; Anzac, Suvla and Helles. The last Australians to leave the Peninsula on 20 December 1915 comprised a group of sailors, as part of the 1st Royal Australian Naval Bridging Train. They left from Suvla Bay, about 8 km north of Anzac Cove, at around 04:30, somewhat after the Australian and New Zealand area of operation (Anzac) had been evacuated. However, it is the last to leave Anzac, rather than Suvla or Helles, that this work deals with.

In 1917 the official Australian war correspondent, Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean, named Captain Charles Augustus Littler as the last Australian to leave Anzac.⁽²⁾ In 1924 Bean changed his mind in preference for the rear-guard commander, Lieutenant-Colonel John Paton,^{(3) i} and in 1934 yet again revised his determination to be an unnamed British seaman who untied the ropes of the boat.⁽⁴⁾

The last time the question of the last to leave the Anzac shore was subject to academic scrutiny was in the early 1980s. Matthew Higgins of the Australian War Memorial was tasked with creating an entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography for the late Captain Charles Littler (1868-1916). Whilst researching the biography, he came across evidence from a living eyewitness, Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley Holm Watson,ⁱⁱ which led him to the firm belief that the last Australian to leave the Anzac shore was indeed Captain Littler. Higgins wrote, "According to reliable sources, at around 4 am on 20 December, 1915, he was the last allied man to step aboard ship and leave Anzac."⁽⁵⁾ In his biography entry⁽⁶⁾ Higgins wrote that, "Littler was probably the last to leave." He later explained that he used 'probably' because he was only 99% sure since, "no one at this distance could be totally sure."⁽⁷⁾



Captain C A M Littler, circa 1912

In Higgins's article in the Canberra Times he mentioned the various revisions by Bean and others as to the identity of the last to leave.⁽⁵⁾ In 1929 the Returned Services League in their magazine *Reveille* had entered into the controversy, coming out firmly in favour of Lieutenant-Colonel Paton as being the last man off the Anzac shore.⁽⁸⁾ They based their determination on the statement by General John Lamrock, noting his qualification as 'Chairman of the Moorefield Racing Club,' that General Paton was the last Australian to step aboard the last boat. Lamrock commanded one of the last redoubts on Plugge's Plateau and supervised the withdrawal from that plateau. However, Lamrock provided no

first-hand witness of the last to embark. Lamrock's statement was based on the assurances of Brigadier-General Evan Alexander Wisdom,ⁱⁱⁱ who was Paton's staff officer at the time. It was not disclosed in the Reveille article that Lamrock was an 'old friend' of Lieutenant-Colonel Paton.⁽⁹⁾

In a follow-up article in Reveille⁽¹⁰⁾ the diary of Captain Charles Augustus Littler was introduced for the first time. The article stated that Littler, as Beach Commandant, was quite unequivocal about being the last to leave. However, a conclusion that Paton must have been the last off the beach was reached after comparing the times between Paton's and Littler's accounts. Yet Littler's diary, made available to Reveille, clearly stated, "having been preceded by N.T.O.,^{iv} Colonel Paton and all others." In relying on specific times, no mention was made of the fact that Littler incorrectly noted the time of the Russell's Top mine explosion as occurring at 03:00 rather than the accepted time of 03:30. The article ended with a slight against Littler noting Bean's reference that Littler was considered by some to be too outspoken. This was not a meticulous investigation, yet a reference to the RSL magazine article circulates on the internet to the present day.⁽¹¹⁾

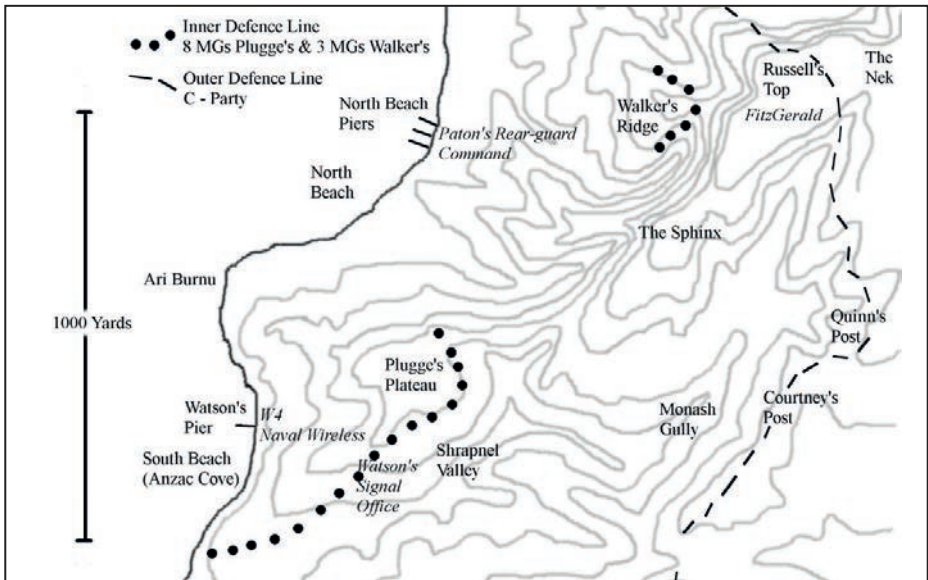
In books and modern media, as well as on government and private websites, Bean's first edition of the Official History, in which Paton is named as the last man or soul to leave, is often referenced.⁽¹²⁾⁽¹³⁾⁽¹⁴⁾⁽¹⁵⁾ Bean's later editions, containing the version in which "a seaman who cast off the lines to the boat" replaces Paton, are rarely referred to, but an exception is a recent book.⁽¹⁶⁾ In yet other versions reference is made to the last digger or Australian, in order to avoid the complication introduced by the British seaman.⁽¹¹⁾ Some articles prefer to name Lieutenant-Colonel Paton as part of a group,⁽¹⁷⁾⁽¹⁸⁾ and yet others choose to broaden the scope of the question to include the entire Gallipoli Peninsula.⁽¹⁾ Very recently a novel, based on the testimony of two eye-witnesses, names Littler as the last to leave.⁽¹⁹⁾

This paper explores some of Bean's misunderstandings and flaws in his logic, and demonstrates that, though his investigation was superficial, much weight is placed on his conclusions. It then examines the available evidence, including evidence which has never been considered before, to generate the most comprehensive analysis yet undertaken. Firstly, the evacuation plan is considered to understand how the evacuation was meant to be executed. This helps understand the location of troops in relation to North Beach (the beach at Anzac from which the final stage of the evacuation took place) and when they were meant to reach the beach in accordance with withdrawal orders. The effect of last-minute changes to those orders is also considered. Next, the methodology Bean used to determine the last to leave is examined. This is followed by an exploration of the course of the final hours of the evacuation by cross-referencing a number of eye-witness accounts. This shows that the evacuation did not run entirely according to plan nor was it accurately recorded in the rear-guard commander's official report, nor in his staff officer's Narrative of Operations, which form the basis of the Official History. Finally, the evidence is weighed, revealing conclusively the last Australian to leave the Anzac shore.

The evacuation plan

A select group from the 2nd Division formed the final rear-party to cover the withdrawal. Apart from the 2nd Division, the men of the 1st Brigade and 2nd Light Horse Brigade defended the far right flank and those of the NZ and A Division, including the 4th Brigade and 1st and 3rd Light Horse Brigades, were covering the left flank. See overview map.⁽²⁰⁾ They were arranged in a similar way to 2nd Division but their final parties were embarked earlier and so will not be considered here.⁽²¹⁾

The plan for the evacuation of Anzac was meticulous. From the 2nd Division plans, at the start of the last 24 hours (19 to 20 December) there were to be 3000 defending troops from the 2nd Division remaining (10,000 of all units),⁽²²⁾ with the front line defences divided up into A, B and C withdrawal parties. The A and B parties consisted of approximately 1000 and 1500 men respectively. The final C party (but not the final rear-party), which consisted of around 400 defending forces, was further divided into C1, C2 and C3 parties, containing 128, 128 and 154 men respectively. These were divided amongst seven battalions being the 17th to 22nd Battalions and the 24th Battalion, each with responsibility for a particular section of the outer defensive line.⁽²³⁾



Map showing positions on Dec 20 1915 - adapted from Evacuation Map in AWM RCDIG1009893

A final rear-party consisting of 50 from the 18th Battalion plus eight machine-gun crews under Captain Ernest George Radford, totalling 35 men, was stationed on Plugge's Plateau to cover the right flank of North Beach.⁽²⁴⁾ In addition, a force of 40 from the 20th Battalion was stationed at Walker's Ridge, with three machine guns of the 28th Battalion (attached to the 20th), covering the left flank of North Beach for the C3 withdrawal.⁽²⁵⁾ According to orders, the final rear-party stationed at Walker's Ridge was to be on the beach within 15 minutes of leaving their post.⁽²⁶⁾ Not included in the numbers were engineers, divisional and brigade signallers, the divisional staff, and police, totalling approximately 65 men. The total number of all men to be evacuated, including the C parties and rear-party, was 600.⁽²⁴⁾ As the emphasis was on defending forces, also not included in the numbers was the First Australian Casualty Clearing Station (1st ACCS) which was maintained for possible casualties. It may have been left to the Turks under a white flag to be evacuated by Red Cross ships after the evacuation.⁽²⁷⁾⁽²⁸⁾

For transport from the shore to the awaiting steamer transports, ten motor lighters ('beetle barges'), with capacity for 400 men, and two hospital motor lighters were available for

embarkation from piers at Anzac. In addition there were five trawlers, six steamboats to tow two cutters each, two steamboats for the NTO and two for the superintending captain afloat.⁽²⁹⁾ It took 20 to 30 minutes to load a lighter so the battalion components from each post of each of the three C parties were staggered in arrival times over approximately 25 minutes to avoid too many men accumulating on the beach.⁽³⁰⁾ The times to leave the trenches were calculated back from the arrival times at the beach, taking into account the varying distances and terrain the men had to traverse.

The evacuation of each C party from the outer line was directed by the rear-guard commander Lieutenant-Colonel John Paton from his position on North Beach, via his staff officer, Major Evan Wisdom. A triplicate and laddered wire phone system connected Paton and Wisdom to each of the redoubts, switched via the 2nd Division signal office located in a disused tunnel in Shrapnel Valley just above South Beach (the designation for Anzac Cove during the evacuation). The details of the communication lines, as well as descriptions of events during the last hours, are described in the diaries of Captain Watson and Sergeant Both of 2nd Division signals. The diary transcripts, with explanatory commentary, are contained within a document called Sapper Signalman, compiled by Watson.⁽³¹⁾ In two other documents Watson also recounts, with emphasis on different details, what he saw in the final hours at Anzac.^{(32) (33)}

To assist the rear-party to withstand an attack by the Turks, mines, booby traps and barbed-wire barricades were laid across paths. The final men at each post were to draw the barricades across the path as they left and then follow (with padded boots) markings on the paths leading to the beach.⁽³⁴⁾

The 21-strong divisional signal team under Captain Watson was held back to provide phone communications until the last possible moment. On South Beach, near Watson's Pier, there was also a naval wireless station whose operators were to send the final signal to the Headquarters on a ship standing off shore.⁽³¹⁾ On North Beach, being the beach allocated for the final stages of the evacuation, were Paton and Wisdom, as well as Littler, who was with two British officers; Major P R Bruce (PMLO*) and Major E T Chamberlayne (MLO^{vi}),⁽³⁵⁾ who were tasked with ensuring that the embarkation proceeded in an orderly and efficient manner.

The C₁ party was to arrive at North Beach between 02:35 and 03:00 in the morning; the C₂ party between 03:00 and 03:15 and the C₃ party between 03:30 and 03:50. The allowed traversing times from post to beach varied from 20 minutes (Russell's Top) to 35 minutes (Pope's Hill). After the departure of the last C party, only the inner line of 125 officers and men on Walker's Ridge and Plugge's Plateau as well as the 65 or so associated critical evacuation personnel would remain to withdraw when ordered.

As it turned out, the plan was accelerated by an order issued at 00:25 on 20 December which moved the C₂ party forward by 10 minutes and the C₃ party forward by 20 minutes. This meant that the last contingents of the C₃ party (17th Battalion from Quinn's Post and 19th Battalion from Pope's Hill) would now arrive on the beach at 03:30 for immediate embarkation.⁽³⁰⁾ The last of the C₃ party should, therefore, be away by 03:35. Finally, under the new accelerated programme, and assuming no stragglers, the remaining rear-party would embark in the next lighter. Allowing 10 to 15 minutes for boarding the smaller rear-party, (approx. half the lighter's capacity), the lighter carrying the remaining men would leave the pier between 03:45 and 03:50 on 20 December 1915.

Bean's determination of the last to leave and method

The reader may ask the question as to how is it possible, when Bean had access to official documents, diaries and living witnesses, that he was not able to conclusively solve what he described in a letter to the rear-guard commander, Paton, as “the vexed question”⁽³⁷⁾ of who was the last to leave. It should have been relatively easy to probe inconsistencies, determine which people were in which lighters, and cross-reference names and times. At the root of this issue are Bean's non-confrontational style and the fact that he had a tremendous amount of work to do so he could not spend much time focussing on minute detail.

Ten days after the evacuation, on 30 December 1915, Bean interviewed Captain Stanley Holm Watson at Mudros, Lemnos Island, and made notes about the discussion in his diary. Watson told Bean that they had tried to raise various posts but the line from their signal office was dead. Watson and his signal officer Sergeant Kelynack then trotted (slowly jogged) from the signal office (in Shrapnel Valley at South Beach), around Ari Burnu and on to North Beach, where they found Littler at the pier. Bean wrote in his diary, “They were actually last to leave and Littler was last into the boats.” Later in June 1924, as the first edition of his *Story of Anzac* was to go to print,⁽³⁾ Bean wrote on the opposite side of the page to that 1915 entry in his diary that Watson ran from North Beach to Anzac Cove (southward) to deliver a message (to the wireless operators) by word of mouth.⁽³⁸⁾ This is completely contra-sense to Bean's diary entry about his discussion with Watson. According to Watson, as recorded in Bean's diary, Watson ran north from his signal office, around Ari Burnu to North Beach, after finding the phone lines dead.

On 14 June 1924, Bean wrote to Paton wanting to know two things;⁽³⁷⁾ firstly, the specifics of how the mine was fired at the Nek (Russell's Top) and, secondly, the ‘vexed question’ of who was the last to leave the Anzac shore. Bean put Antill,^{vii} Glasfurd^{viii} and Nicholson^{ix} in what he called the last lighter and Paton, Staveley^x and Littler into the NTO's (Staveley's) steamboat. Bean indicated that general opinion was that Staveley was the last to embark, but only suggested that Littler was in the same boat.⁽³⁷⁾

Paton replied on 21 June 1924⁽³⁹⁾ and wrote that Wisdom, Littler, Staveley and Paton got onto Staveley's steamboat and Wisdom remarked to him, “You Sir [Paton] are the last man to leave and I [Wisdom] am the second last.” Paton did not mention when Staveley or Littler boarded this boat but rather reported what Wisdom said to him. Further on in the letter he described his debriefing with General Godley^{xi} and others at Headquarters on HMS *Heliotrope* in the early morning. Paton reported that all had embarked safely. Godley questioned this assertion incredulously and wished to know whether Paton meant all literally, to which Paton replied, “I mean absolutely, I was the last man to leave.”

The first edition of Volume II of *The Story of Anzac* went to print in 1924,⁽³⁾ with Paton's version of events, following closely Paton's report⁽⁴⁰⁾ and the evacuation narrative by his staff officer.⁽⁴¹⁾ Bean appears to have misinterpreted Watson's account. Regrettably, Bean did not consult with the surviving family of Captain Charles Littler, to see if they could provide additional information. It is also unfortunate that Bean did not clarify his diary entry with Watson or correspond with Wisdom directly at the time.

In Paton's report,⁽⁴⁰⁾ the execution of the evacuation overseen by the rear-guard commander Paton is portrayed as having gone completely according to plan owing, he says, to the careful preparation and plans by Brig-General Sir Andrew Hamilton Russell. To be noted is that Paton did not mention any trouble with signals; he placed Littler in the same boat

as himself and said that his boat left at 04:10. In the Official History, Bean accepted this version but remarked on the failure of a phone line between North Beach and the naval wireless station. Bean wrote that Paton sent Watson south along the beach to the wireless station to arrange for the message to be sent. However, Watson was clear in his description that it was the phone line between the North Beach pier and Watson's signal office above South Beach which went dead. Watson waited for a command from Wisdom to withdraw, but when that order failed to arrive he acted on his own initiative.⁽³³⁾

Yet five years later doubts still lingered about the details. On 18 September 1929 Bean wrote to the son of Captain C A Littler, Burnett Guy Littler of Newcastle, NSW, about the tribute made in Vol III to Charles Littler, who was killed while leading his company in an assault at Mouquet Farm.⁽⁴²⁾ B G Littler replied on 14 October 1929 taking the opportunity to ask Bean the reason why Bean had changed his mind about Charles Littler being the last to leave. B G Littler mentioned in his letter that he was in possession of his father's diary and that it was very detailed as to the order of events. However, B G Littler added to the confusion when he paraphrased the contents of C A Littler's diary.⁽⁴⁴⁾ He wrote,

Particular reference is made to the last boat, and he writes that at a certain time he entered the last boat, having been preceded by, and then he sets out to name the Officers, and details, finishing up with the N.T.O. [Staveley] and Colonel Paton.

B G Littler, by the qualification of particular reference to the last boat, mistakenly implied that the NTO, Lieutenant-Colonel Paton, boarded the same boat as C A Littler.

In contrast, the diary of C A Littler mentioned only, "went aboard last picket boat having been preceded by N.T.O. Colonel Paton and all others."⁽⁴⁴⁾ There was no suggestion that the NTO and Paton were on the same boat as Littler. They simply preceded him at some point during the evacuation.

Bean replied on the 22 October 1929 that he made his determination in Volume II solely on the definitive statement of Paton.⁽⁴⁵⁾ He wrote,

had I known of the existence of Littler's diary I would have asked your leave to refer to it and would have probed the matter to the bottom, but the definitive statement by Paton seemed to clinch it.

He then asked for the diary extract and declared,

If I am convinced that your father is right, there will of course be a correction published in a future volume.

Bean's handwritten postscript on the typed letter [opposite page] reads,

Could you please settle the matter with General Paton, who lives at Newcastle (c/o R Hall & Sons Ltd)? It is possible that your father's diary might refresh his memory, if it is shaky. On the other hand, if your father was wrong, General Paton might be able to explain the misunderstanding.

On 28 January 1930, prompted by a letter from Bean, Wisdom wrote to Bean to explain that he had never said that Paton was the last man to leave the Australian area of operation; merely the last Anzac. Indeed, "Staveley embarked after Paton, and the actual last man to leave was one of the seamen who were casting off the bow and stern lines of the launch."⁽⁴⁶⁾ It is odd that Wisdom did not mention Littler, given that Paton maintained in his official report that Littler was on the same boat.

Bean accepted Wisdom's testimony and in the second edition (1934) replaced the line in

Commonwealth of Australia.

HISTORIAN,

VICTORIA BARRACKS,

PADDINGTON, N.S.W.

22 October 1929.

5029.

B.G. Littler, Esq., M.C.,
Box 70A,
Newcastle, N.S.W.

Dear Mr. Littler,

I have to thank you for your letter. I think anyone reading Volume III would gather that I suspected that your father's promotion was impeded by his outspokenness, and that my sympathies were entirely on his side. You will realise that I could not probe this matter to the bottom, and that a definite statement on the subject at this stage in such a history would be quite impossible.

The particulars given (in Volume II) as to the men to enter the last boat which left Anzac were finally based on a definite statement from General Paton, a copy of which I attach hereto. Your father's diary, however, would be exceedingly strong evidence on the point. If I had known of its existence when I was writing Volume II, I would have asked your leave to refer to it, and would have probed the matter to the bottom, but Paton's definite statement seemed to clinch it. I would be most grateful if you would either let me see the diary or send me the extract relating to the days of the Evacuation. If I am convinced that your father is right, there will of course be a correction published in a future volume.

I am writing to your mother, as you suggest.

Yours sincerely,

C. Bean.

Could you settle the matter with Gen. Paton, who lives at Newcastle? (cf R Hall's Sons, Ltd). It is just possible that your father's diary might reflect his memory, if it were shaky. On the other hand, if your father was wrong, Gen. Paton might be able to explain the mis-understanding.

the first edition, “being Colonel Paton himself” with, “being the seaman who cast off the line holding the boat.”⁽⁴⁾

In May 1955 Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley Holm Watson travelled to Sydney to meet with his old friend Captain Charles Bean as he wished to donate his memorabilia to the Australian War Memorial. After a discussion with Watson about the final moments of the evacuation Bean wrote to Watson,⁽³³⁾

Clearly Littler embarked in the same barge as you [Watson]. As to Staveley, Wisdom and Paton, I had quite a correspondence with them about the last man to leave. I had always understood that old Littler was; and as he was killed at Moquet [sic] Farm and I couldn't consult him, I must have put him in Staveley's boat by mistake.

It appears from the letters which have been found,⁽³⁹⁾⁽⁴⁶⁾ that Bean did not have lengthy correspondence with Staveley, Wisdom or Paton. According to Watson, Littler was in a boat with Watson, Sergeant Both (also of the 2nd Division signallers) and others while Staveley, Wisdom and Paton had already left in a different boat. Bean conceded in 1955 that he had made a mistake in placing Littler in the same boat as Staveley, Paton and Wisdom, and that he had always thought Littler to be the last off Anzac.

In Part 2, it will be shown that not only was Littler not in Paton's boat but that Paton, Wisdom and Staveley had steamed away some 15 to 25 minutes earlier than asserted in brigade reports. Using official signals as well as multiple eye-witness accounts, synchronised with the mine explosions on Russell's Top, it is shown that Paton's account, largely relied upon by Bean, does not factually represent the final hours of the evacuation. Instead Watson's account is upheld and it is Captain Littler, not Lieutenant-Colonel Paton, who remained on the beach until the very last.

Acknowledgements

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We are grateful for the very professional assistance of Australian War Memorial staff.

The authors are the descendants of Charles Augustus Murray Littler (1868-1916), being the sons of Burnett Guy Littler (1896-1967), the youngest son of Charles.

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Endnotes

- i. Lieutenant-Colonel John Paton (1867-1943); rank at evacuation.
- ii. Captain Stanley Holm Watson (1887-1985); rank at evacuation.
- iii. Major Evan Alexander Wisdom (1869-1945); rank at evacuation.
- iv. Naval Transport Officer (NTO)
- v. Principal Military Landing Officer (PMLO)
- vi. Military Landing Officer (MLO)
- vii. Lieutenant-Colonel John Macquarie Antill (1866-1937); rank at evacuation.
- viii. Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan John Glasfurd (1873-1916); rank at evacuation.
- ix. Major Edmund James Houghton Nicholson (1870-1955); rank at evacuation.
- x. Captain Cecil Minet Staveley, Royal Navy (1874-1934); rank at evacuation.
- xi. Lieutenant-General Alexander John Godley (1867-1957); rank at evacuation.

Editor's notes:

This article, minus photos, was also published in the December 2015 issue of *Sabretache*, the journal of the Military Historical Society of Australia.

QUARTERMASTER'S STORES

The following items are available from the 'Stores.' All postage costs are shown separately from the cost of the item and the relevant amount indicated should be added when making the order.

Silk Ties – silk, non-crease ties in the Gallipoli Association colours - green bands for the land of Gallipoli and blue-grey for the waters of the Dardanelles, with narrow stripes of navy-blue and scarlet for the services - are available at £16.90 plus postage [Cost including postage - UK £17.83. Europe £20.10. N/S America £20.70 Australia/NZ £20.90.]

Standard Ties - in Association colours are available price £7.70 plus postage [Cost including postage - UK £8.63. Europe £10.90. N/S America £11.50 Australia/NZ £11.70]

Blazer Badges – hand embroidered wire and silk blazer badges are available at £7.70 plus postage [Cost including postage - UK £8.63 Europe £10.90. N/S America £11.50. Australia/NZ £11.70.]

Lapel Badges in the Association colours are available, price £6.20 plus postage. [Cost including postage - UK £7.13. Europe £9.40. N/S America £10.00 Australia/NZ £10.20.]

Binders, which hold 6 copies of The Gallipolian are available, finished in attractive simulated leather, coloured maroon, with the title blocked in gold on the spine. Price per Binder is £6.45 plus postage [Cost including postage - UK £8.10. Europe £11.60. N&S America £13.90 Australia/NZ £14.35]

'Gallipoli Trench Map CDs' - includes over 400 maps and 10 Watercolours, the latter by Sapper Moore-Jones, the New Zealand Official War Artist. Price £16.70 plus postage [Cost including postage - UK £17.94. Europe £20.40. N&S America £21.45 Australia/NZ £21.75]

Orders with payment, cheques and postal orders made out to 'The Gallipoli Association', to James Watson Smith, Chelsea Lodge, Coopers Hill Lane, Englefield Green, Surrey TW20 0JX.

THE BRAVEST TURK

725 Pte Frederick Arthur Cashman, 2nd Battalion AIF

The incident I am going to write about happened in a position to the left of Quinn's Post, three days after the landing. I was away from my battalion and was with the N.Z. Otago Rifles, and we were defending the portion of a trench. The Turks were very keen on breaking through at this point, and had been at us all the time, day and night.

On Wednesday, 28th April, 1915, they eased off their attack. Just at this time the machine gun in our trench was out of action temporarily, and a Turkish officer with about ten men charged out of their trench. The attack failed, six of the men being killed.

After a while the officer came on with a party of six men towards our machine gun pit. It was observed that the machine gun was his object. This charge also failed.

I was thinking to myself the officer had had enough, but he was not to be stopped. Half an hour elapsed, and on he came again with a party of four men. All four men were killed about thirty yards from the trench; but the officer, with revolver in one hand and sword in the other, threw himself at the machine gun pit.

He reached the pit, but was wounded several times, and then fired a shot and made a swipe with his sword. Luckily neither the sword nor the bullet found its mark, but the officer was killed. His stars, revolver and sword were taken by the men in the pit. Very likely they are in Australia this day.

This is the bravest act I saw while at the front, although it was performed by a Turk.

Editor's notes:

From 'Anzac Memorial,' published by the Returned Sailors & Soldiers League of Australia, NSW branch, Sydney, 1919.

Private Fred Cashman was a 19-year old grazier from Sydney when he enlisted on 25 August 1914. He had been a lieutenant in the Senior Cadets, in charge of the compulsory trainees at Five Dock, a suburb of Sydney. He was a member of the Coronation Contingent of cadets that went to England in 1911 to witness the coronation of King George V.

The 2nd Battalion and the Otago Battalion, among others, were involved in the heavy fighting on Walker's Ridge / Russell's Top - 'to the left of Quinn's Post' - during the time described here. Pte Cashman was evacuated from the peninsula on 3 July 1915, and was discharged as medically unfit in September 1916. He died in 1976 and is buried in Woronora cemetery in the south of Sydney.

What I Aspired To Be, And Was Not, Comforts Me

- Epitaph on the headstone of Matron Jessie Brown Jaggard,
Canadian Army Medical Corps. Died 25 Sep 1915, aged 44.
Portianos cemetery, Lemnos.

LAST POST

It is with regret that the Association learnt of the death of the following members:

Mr Michael J Hughes (Membership No. 1476).

Mr Hughes joined the Association in June, 1994. His father served in the Drake Battalion of the Royal Naval Division.

Mr C J Mathers (Membership No. 2193).

Mr Mathers' grandfather, 2722 Private Charles Mathers, 2/4 Queens Royal West Surrey Regiment, was killed in action at Scimitar Hill on 28 August 1915, and is now buried in Green Hill cemetery, Suvla.

Major-General (Retd.) Patrick Francis Nowlan, Defence Forces of Ireland (Membership No. 1113).

Died 6 November 2015.

In essence, through his active involvement in The Military Heritage of Ireland Trust (Ltd), Major-General Nowlan promoted the memory of the courage, valour and sacrifices of Irish men and women serving in the profession of arms, irrespective of the theatre of operations, national flag, or regimental colour. (With thanks to Military Heritage of Ireland Trust).

Brigadier Peter Stewart-Richardson, OBE, MBE, Croix de Guerre (Membership No. 2693).

Died 30 November 2015.

Uncle served in the Anglo-Boer War and at Gallipoli with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. Father-in-law served at Gallipoli and divined water whilst there.

Dr Brian Thorley

Served as a radar operator with the Royal Navy towards the end of the Second World War. Brian enjoyed many hours researching the events at Gallipoli during his retirement years. His father, Herbert Thorley, lied about his age to join the Royal Marines and served at Gallipoli. His time there was short, as he suffered shrapnel wounds to the head and a broken ankle.

Lieutenant-General Sir Christopher Wallace, KBE, DL (Membership No. 2606).

Born 3 January 1943, died 7 December 2015. Joined the Association 21 March 2006. General Wallace had a distinguished army career which began with regimental service in the Royal Green Jackets. He was always very supportive of the Association and was a military historian of some note.

'One at Anzac'

He focussed, in his one vibrating hour,
The forces all about him into power.

- 'H M G,' AIF.

Images of Gallipoli Photographic Competition



Second prize in the Association's *Images of Gallipoli* photographic competition.
Erdem Keseli from Turkey: 'Ari Burnu Cemetery.' See pages 3-4.



Third prize in the Association's *Images of Gallipoli* photographic competition.
Edward Nicholl from England: 'Redoubt Cemetery.' See pages 3-4.



Wreath-laying ceremony at the Sandringham War Memorial.

The Chairman escorts HM The Queen and HRH The Duke of Edinburgh and other members of the royal party to the Sandringham War Memorial for the wreath laying ceremony. See pages 4-5.



Trustee Brigadier James Stopford is presented to HM The Queen.



HM The Queen and HRH The Duke of Edinburgh lay their wreaths at the Sandringham War Memorial.



Cmdr. Arthur Coxon is presented to HM The Queen. Arthur's father served in the Gallipoli Campaign and was a POW in Turkey.

All photographs on this page courtesy of Gary Evans, www.myeventphoto.co.uk.



The wreath-laying ceremony at the Sandringham War Memorial. See pages 4-5.
Photograph by Stephen Chambers.



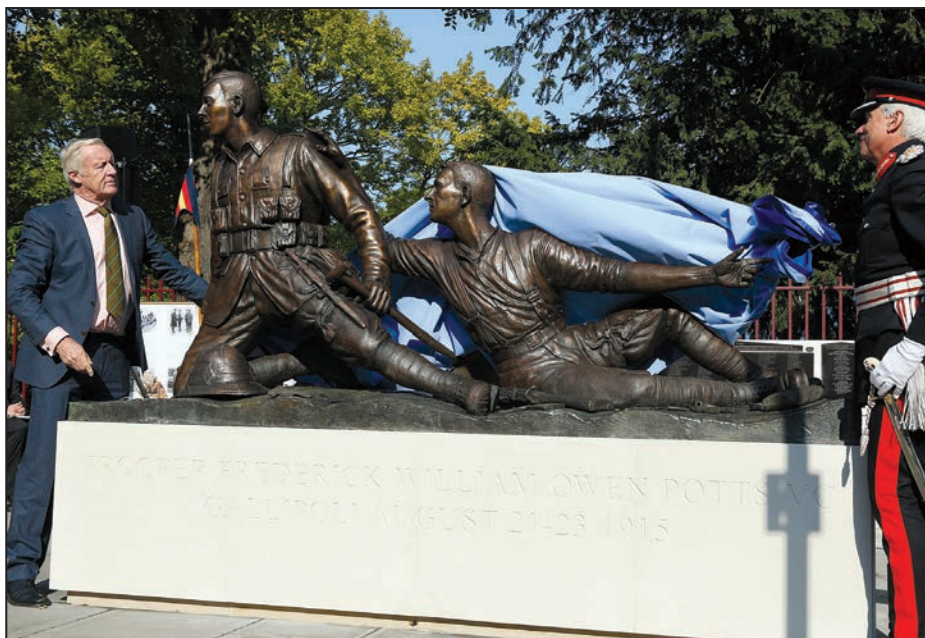
The Gallipoli Association plot at the Field of Remembrance, Westminster. See pages 5-6.
Photograph by Clive Summerson.



Field of Remembrance, Westminster. Brigadier James Stopford with Brigadier Evan Williams, NZ Army. See pages 5-6. Photograph by Frances Speakman.



Memorial to Trooper Potts VC. See pages 7-8. Photograph by Stuart Turkington, www.stphotos.co.uk.



Mr Chris Tarrant OBE (left) and Mr James Puxley, Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of The Royal County of Berkshire (right) unveil the memorial to Trooper Potts VC. See pages 7-8. Photograph courtesy of Stuart Turkington, www.stphotos.co.uk.



Unveiling of the memorial to Trooper Potts VC. See pages 7 - 8.
Victoria Jeffrey (left), reads the VC citation. Maya Andrews (right), reads Binyon's Ode.
Photographs by Stuart Turkington, www.stphotos.co.uk.



The Autumn Lunch - HRH The Duke of Edinburgh arrives and is greeted by the Chairman. See pages 8-9.
Photograph by Scott Collier.



The Autumn Lunch - HRH The Duke of Edinburgh in conversation with (L- R) Mike Speakman, John Blackett-Barber, Patricia Blackett-Barber, Frances Speakman. See pages 8-9.
Photograph by Scott Collier.



The Autumn Lunch - HRH The Duke of Edinburgh in conversation with General Lord Ramsbotham. David McDonough on right. See pages 8-9. Photograph by Scott Collier.



The Autumn Lunch - Gallipoli Association members and guests in the The Cavalry and Guards Club.
See pages 8-9. Photograph by Scott Collier.



The Autumn Lunch - HRH The Duke of Edinburgh in conversation with our guest speaker,
Professor Sir Hew Strachan. See pages 8-9. Photograph by Scott Collier.



Cenotaph ceremony 2015 - Gallipoli Association Contingent in Whitehall prior to the 'March-off.'
See page 9. Photograph by Stephen Chambers.



Cenotaph ceremony 2015 - Gallipoli Association Contingent on Horse Guards Parade after dispersal.
"The children really enjoyed the event, especially the 'Eyes Right' command, when they were within touching distance of Prince William." See page 9. Photograph by Stephen Chambers.



Cenotaph ceremony 2015 - Ana Simoes Baiao, Martin Shuttleworth, and pupils Natalie Kuper, Ruby Collison, Amy Ekeh and Charlie Colgan from Tufnell Park Primary School, Islington, in Whitehall with the Gallipoli Association Contingent. See page 9. Photograph by Stephen Chambers.



Christopher Morry with the only mention of the Newfoundland Regiment on Gallipoli. See pages 10-14. Photograph by Michelle Boriel, courtesy of Christopher Morry.



Ken Gatehouse, Ean Parsons, Frank Gogos, Neil Sherren, Melanie Martin, Neil Burgess, Michael Pretty, Christopher Morry & Gala Maria Sherren unfurl the Newfoundland Regiment Flag, Kangaroo Beach, 20 Sept 2015. See pages 10-14. Photograph by Michelle Boriel, courtesy of Frank Gogos.



Members of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, Hill 10 cemetery, Suvla, 20 Sept 2015. See pages 10-14. Photograph by Stephen Moore.



Looking south from Bolton's Hill along Harris Ridge, Anzac. Positions of Chatham's Post (C) and Wilson's Lookout (W) 120 yards beyond, indicated. The hoses for the sluicing apparatus proposed by Sgt D Fraser would have been run up from the beach to these and other positions on the ridges.
See pages 44-47. Photograph by B Dolan.



Dr Piotr Nykiel (second from the left) with the director of the Museum of Polish Arms in Kołobrzeg, Mr. Aleksander Ostasz, after the opening of the exhibition. See page 59. Photograph courtesy Dr Nykiel.



Landing craft from *Askold* transport Senegalese riflemen to the shore at Kum Kale while *Askold* bombards Turkish positions. See pages 39-44. Artist: Andrei Tron.



Tally from *Askold* owned by a relative of the author who served aboard the cruiser.



The shelling of the Turkish coast by the *Askold*. See pages 39-44. Artist: Timur Yarulin.

THE RUSSIAN CRUISER ASKOLD IN THE DARDANELLES

Vadim Mikhailov

The Russian cruiser H.I.R.M.S. *Askold* was the only military unit from Russia to participate in the Dardanelles operations, which had been requested by the Russian high command, against Turkey in 1915. In late 1914 Russia expressed the wish that the Allies put pressure on Turkey ‘in its most vulnerable and sensitive areas.’¹ The manner in which the allies responded to this call for help, however, did not please Russia. The British ambassador in Paris, Lord Betty, put the Allies’ view most candidly: “I considered it expedient,” he said, “that Britain and France occupied Constantinople before Russia, so that the Muscovite was not able to completely independently decide the future of this city and the Straits.”² This goal influenced the Allied choice of operational areas such as Alexandretta in Syria and Thessaloniki, and of the Gallipoli peninsula, which in the case of a successful outcome would open a direct route - for the British and French - to Constantinople.³ The English Minister of Foreign Affairs, E. Gray, wrote: “The British operation against the Dardanelles nearly compromised our relations with Russia.”⁴

The Russian public was highly excited about the Allies’ planned campaign. On the floor of the Duma it was said that the speedy implementation of the long-standing plan to take and hold the shores of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles’ would indicate full recognition by the allies of the rights of Russia in respect of the Straits and Constantinople. Even before receiving a response from Britain and France, it was stated that there was a need to despatch ‘historic’ task forces to help England.⁶

On the Allies’ proposal to send an expeditionary corps to support the planned operation they were told of the possibility of dispatching from the Russian Far East a Cossack regiment and infantry brigade, up to 6,000-strong, which left the leaders of the Entente disappointed.⁷ However, even this insubstantial offer was not implemented.⁸ By the beginning of the operation (February 1915) Russia had sent into the Mediterranean Sea the cruiser *Askold*, which operated independently at first, and did not join the Allied squadron until 10 March.⁹

The primary agreement with the British military was made in London in early November 1914 by the naval attaché Volkov. Upon being granted, on 8 November, “the highest agreement,” the Minister of Marine telegraphed to the captain of the cruiser, Captain 1st Rank Sergey Aleksandrovich Ivanov, instructions regarding his ship. *Askold* at that time was engaged in escorting British and French military ships carrying strategic cargo and troops from the colonies. ‘New routing led to Aden and then through the Red Sea, the Suez Canal and Port Said.’¹⁰ From November - December 1914 *Askold* cruised along the coasts of Syria and Palestine and on 1 December, captured the German steamer *Haifa*, which was taken to Port Said. There were also several Turkish ships sunk.¹¹

At the beginning of 1915 *Askold* continued raiding along the Syrian coast, bombarding strategic points (bridges, railways, troop concentrations), and covering the landings of raiding forces. *Askold* also raided along the Greek and Bulgarian Black Sea coasts where she inspected commercial ships.¹² On 10 January Captain Ivanov was instructed to deliver the Russian minister of finance to France. The cruiser arrived in Thessaloniki, where she took on board the minister - Privy Councillor P. L. Bark, and on 17 January arrived in Toulon.¹³ *Askold* was then put into French docks for repairs, which were completed on 1 February. Captain Ivanov then received a secret order for the ‘transition to the submission

of the French Admiral Fournet, commander of the 3rd Squadron of the Union of the Mediterranean.¹⁴ *Askold* was now under Allied naval command.



Askold under attack by Turkish aircraft, Dardanelles. Photo of postcard courtesy Vadim Mikhailov.

At this time, preparations for the Dardanelles operation were nearing completion, including the composition of the squadrons assigned to overcome the Dardanelles forts. On 13 February Churchill presented to the military council the final plan for the Dardanelles operation.¹⁵ Naval forces were break through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, reliant as much on the confidence of England in the invincibility of its fleet as in the absence from the straits of the strongest Turkish ship - the former German *Goeben*, since transferred to the Turkish navy and renamed TCG *Yavuz Sultan Selim*.¹⁶

On 19 February the operation began to capture the straits. The allied fleet consisted of a large force, with the British and French guns being both quantitatively and qualitatively superior to the Turkish coastal artillery fortifications. The commander of the Allied fleet, Admiral Sackville Carden, had 16 capital ships, including the newest battleship *Queen Elizabeth* armed with 15-inch (38cm) guns, 16 destroyers and seven submarines. Next day the weather turned bad, and the Allied fleet was able to keep on station only four days. "On 25 February the enemy repeated [his] attack, and after a 7-hour whirlwind shelling forced the outer forts into silence."¹⁷

In late February, the Anglo-French command again offered to allow Russia to send troops to Constantinople. Russian HQ responded that these would be sent to the Bosphorus as soon as the allied fleet had achieved a breakthrough in the Dardanelles.¹⁸ However, *Askold* remained the only Russian unit sent even to help achieve the breakthrough.

On 24 February 1915, *Askold* arrived in the port of Mudros, where the Anglo-French squadron was based, and took on board Captain 2nd rank Mikhail Smirnov, who was to coordinate the actions of the Allies in the Dardanelles with those of the Russian Black

Sea Fleet.

In March 1915, Allied naval forces launched a new attempt to break through to the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and *Askold* again took part in the fighting. During the test firing on the Gallipoli forts on 13 March it became clear that the cruiser, due to high temperatures, had worn powder in its shells. New shells had to be brought from Vladivostok, and this task was assigned to the British steamer SS *Riverdale*. On 25 March this cargo was loaded into the *Askold's* hold.¹⁹

Meanwhile, however, on 18 March the Allied fleet had suffered a complete defeat in the Dardanelles. The French cruiser *Bouvet* exploded and sank, *Gaulois* and *Suffren* were holed by artillery fire and put out of action, and the British battleships *Ocean* and *Irresistible* were also sunk.²⁰ Most of the other vessels involved in the attack sustained damaged in varying degrees of severity. Admiral Carden became ill and was replaced during the operation by Vice-Admiral de Robeck. In view of the heavy losses of the navy the assault was broken off. Turkish losses were minor; 40 killed and 74 wounded.²¹ However, the forts had used almost all their shells, and in the short term at least, further effective resistance would have been impossible.

Had de Robeck resumed the attack the following day, it is almost certain that he would have forced the straits, and the Turks themselves would have blown up their forts.²² However, the Allied command was preparing a new large-scale amphibious operation. The size of the expeditionary force was estimated at 78 - 81 thousand men with 178 guns.²³ *Askold* was eventually appointed to assist with the landings.

The landing operation was scheduled for 25 April. In total, the operation involved more than 200 vessels of various purpose.²⁴ The British troops landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The French component of the expedition, led by Rear Admiral E. Guepratte,²⁵ which included *Askold*, was tasked with implementing an auxiliary diversionary landing on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles, near Cape Kumkale and Fort Orhaniye. "On the coast we had to land 3,000 riflemen of the French 6th colonial regiment."²⁶ the French cruisers *Jauréguiberry* and *Jeanne d'Arc*, the Royal Navy's *Prince George*, and *Askold* provided support for the landing and for the shelling of Turkish troops in the area.

Askold's specific task was the shelling of the fort at Orhaniye and its surroundings, and of the village of Yenişehir. Transports were to land troops at Kumkale. At 7 am on 24 April *Askold*, as part of the French squadron, took part in a training landing, which was carried out near the Allied base in Mudros Harbour. These exercises showed that the Russian sailors were in good combat readiness.²⁷ At 10 pm the squadron steamed for the disembarkation area, and at 4 am on 25 April the ships stood in their places 2.5 miles from the coast. *Askold's* steamboat set off to take on board soldiers from the transports. At 4:50 am *Askold* began shelling Fort Orhaniye. Slowly moving along the coast, *Askold* virtually destroyed the fort and continued to fire on objects that could serve as shelter for Turkish troops such as houses and mills, etc. The warships also had enemy trenches in sight, and fired on these. The warships, including *Askold*, covered the landing with their fire.²⁸

Askold's steamboat landed tows containing Senegalese infantry units. 170 soldiers were boarded in the first instance. During the landing one boat was sunk, but the surviving boats, towed by *Askold's* steamboat, were the first to reach shore.

Three successful trips from ship to shore were made by *Askold's* boat. However, about 50

Senegalese drowned when struggling to reach the shore where the water was too deep. During the landing *Askold* was attacked by a Turkish aeroplane, but the bomb that was dropped missed, causing no damage to the cruiser. On completion of the landing operation *Askold* continued shelling Turkish positions near the village of Yenişehir. One particularly successful shot silenced an enemy machine gun located in one of the mills, which had been hindering the advance of troops following their landing. At 6:10 pm firing ceased. *Askold* had expended 748 152mm and 1503 75mm shells. In the words of the Allies, the cruiser *Askold*, “maintained his reputation, with surprising precision of his fire.”²⁹ The losses amounted to eight crew injured, two of whom died, and one missing in the sinking of the landing barge.³⁰

All day the diversionary troops stormed the Turkish positions at Kumkale, which caused a



Die Türken treiben die bei Kum Kale gelandeten französischen Truppen – zum größten Teil Senegaleser – am 26. April 1915 ins Meer zurück.

The Senegalese Rifles landing at Kum Kale - from a German war news magazine.

long-awaited panic in the Turkish command. Allied intelligence reported the movement of large masses of Turkish troops in the direction of Kumkale. During the night of 26 April *Askold* floodlit the area between Orhaniye and Yenişehir, shelling Turkish positions, and this bombardment continued the next day. The French command, inspired by the success of the landing, proposed reinforcement and exploitation of the diversionary landing, but this was rejected by the British command. At 3 pm on 26 April *Askold*'s fire forced about 500 Turkish soldiers to surrender, who under a white flag went to the French trenches,³¹ but the French troops ashore remained on schedule to be withdrawn on the night of 27 April. At 7:15 pm all bombardment of the shore ceased, and transports were close to shore by 9:30. Embarkation of troops began an hour later, and by 5:45 am, all the boats except one, which had been sunk by Turkish artillery, returned to the waiting ships, which then left for Mudros. One sailor from *Askold* was killed and three were wounded during the evacuation from Kumkale.³²

Following the evacuation Rear Admiral Guepratte boarded *Askold* and thanked the crew

for their actions, describing the cruiser as the best in the squadron. The admiral also attended the funeral services for the fallen sailors. On the report of the successful actions of the Russian cruiser being received in St. Petersburg, the Marine Minister reported this to Nicholas II. The Tsar wrote on the report: "Declare to the commander, officers and crew of the cruiser *Askold* my warm gratitude for military service." Captain Ivanov was awarded the highest orders of three countries. Russia awarded him the Order of St. George 4th class, Britain, the Victoria Cross, and France the Order of the Legion of Honor.³³

On the same day *Askold* re-entered the strait in order to suppress the remaining Turkish batteries on the Asian coast in order to ease the withdrawal of troops. This and the next day the Russian cruiser manoeuvred in the strait under fire from Turkish guns, retaliating with fire on their positions and with suppressing fire. In the evening, on a signal from the flagship, "I thank you for your excellent service," the cruiser came out of the strait. The next day *Askold* was back in action, suppressing the guns in the fort at Sedd-el-Bahr, directly opposing the landing at V Beach. On 30 April the cruiser returned to Mudros base to replenish coal and machine materials, and stood there until 4 May. She was then assigned to the landing of French troops near Sedd-el-Bahr. At 7:30 pm on 4 May *Askold* handed the landing troops over to the destroyer *Kutlu*, which then implemented the landing. *Askold* cruised along the Asian shore, suppressing enemy artillery.

On 7 May, when the French pre-dreadnought battleship and flagship *Jauréguiberry* returned to Mudros in order to coal, Rear Admiral Guepratte boarded *Askold*, which had already received a semaphore message from Guepratte: "Thank you for the service rendered to our troops." *Askold* acted as flagship until 10 May, when *Jauréguiberry* returned. On 11 May came news that *Askold* was to be fitted with new 75mm guns, and with the consent of the flagship the cruiser once again returned to Mudros Harbour.³⁴

While *Askold* was at Mudros the Allied command decided that it was preferable to continue using the ship as a cruiser, rather than expose it to the danger of using it as a monitor or battleship against coastal batteries. There was also by this time the increased underwater danger posed by German submarines operating in the area.³⁵ The U-boats posed a threat to capital ships, forcing them to remain close to base. On 18 May *Askold* received orders to prepare reserves for extended cruising. *Askold's* role in the strait was taken over by the battleship *Henry IV*, which, on its first day received eight hits, none of which, however, was very serious.

The next day, in honour of the birthday of the emperor Nicholas II, a solemn service was held aboard *Askold*. Rear Admiral Wemyss, who was present, congratulated the crew on behalf of the Squadron Commander de Robeck. On 20 May *Askold* carried out its last task in the Dardanelles when it delivered French General Geneval and his headquarters to Gallipoli. For this the Allies "willingly used the cruiser, which had a reputation as a lucky ship."³⁶ On the same day Captain Ivanov received from Admiral Guepratte instructions for his ship's upcoming cruising campaign. At noon on 20 May the cruiser went to sea and headed for the Bulgarian coast.

So *Askold's* part in the Dardanelles expedition ended. During its participation in the operations the cruiser expended 1,271 152mm and 2,275 75mm projectiles. According to the military expert General Kolenkovsky, it was the "impossibility of sufficiently rapid replenishment of ammunition that was the main reason preventing *Askold's* participation in the next steps of the fleet in the Dardanelles."³⁷

Russian command and political leadership were suspicious regarding the activities of its allies in the Black Sea straits area and around Constantinople, so they did not seriously support the allies militarily. It is believed that the failure of the British and French in the Dardanelles did not very much upset Russia. While the participation of Russian military forces in the Dardanelles operation was minimal, it must be recognised that the Russian sailors from the *Askold* honourably carried the flag of their country, demonstrating combat skills and devotion to military duty.

Editor's notes:

Vadim Viktorovich Mikhailov is a Doctor of Historical Sciences and Professor of History and Philosophy in the humanities faculty of the University of Aerospace Instrumentation in St. Petersburg, Russia. He is author of several monographs on the history of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, one of which, 'Grave of Russian dreams and of British soldiers,' is dedicated to Gallipoli. One of Dr. Mikhailov's ancestors on his mother's side served on the Russian cruiser *Askold* as a 'low grade officer' and took part in the operations in the Dardanelles. The family carefully preserves the tally from his cap (photo on page 38). A good friend of the contributor, Andrei Tronis, is a marine artist, and was for some time chief artist at the Central Navy museum of Russia, while another, Timur Yarulin, is an ex-naval officer. Both, as well as Vladimir Yarkin, have kindly consented to the publication of their remarkable works depicting the *Askold* during the Dardanelles operations.

The *Askold* was nicknamed 'The packet of Woodbines' by British soldiers and sailors. Woodbine was (and still is, I'm assured) a brand of unfiltered cigarettes. 'A cruiser with five funnels was a curiosity,' and reminded the soldiers and sailors, many of whom saw it in Mudros Harbour, of cigarettes sticking up from the penny Woodbine pack.

Though the article came to me already translated into English, I have edited it further and, while hoping that any errors are not mine, suspect that they may be!

References for the article are entirely in Russian and, due to space limitations, have been omitted. They are available on request to anybody who would like a copy.

HYDRAULIC SLUICING AS AN OFFENSIVE WEAPON

Bryn Dolan

The city of Rockhampton, Queensland, sits on the Fitzroy River, just north of the Tropic of Capricorn. Quay Street, which runs along the river bank, is one of its oldest and finest thoroughfares, and at the entrance to an office block there may be seen an unpretentious brass plate bearing nothing but the name:

DONALD L. FRASER

Anyone who actually notices the plaque is probably - and understandably - unaware of a Gallipoli connection.

Donald Lovat Fraser served on Gallipoli as a sergeant in the 5th Light Horse Regiment of the Australian Imperial Force. The 5th landed at Anzac on the morning of 20th May, 1915, was attached to the Australian Division on the 23rd, and from then until the evacuation it would hold, except for a brief time while it garrisoned Lone Pine, the southern flank of the Anzac sector. It established and held Chatham's Post and Wilson's Lookout; the southernmost posts of Anzac, which were both located on Harris Ridge. All three places were named after officers of the 5th Light Horse Regiment.

‘Don’ Fraser was 39 years old at enlistment in 1914 and gave his trade as ‘assayer and metallurgist,’ but in fact his experience in mining extended far beyond that simple description. Born in London on 8 August 1875, he was three years old when his family arrived in Queensland, and a year older when they settled in Rockhampton. Gold was discovered at nearby Mount Morgan, and in the 1880s Rockhampton became the principal port for its shipment out of the colony. It seems reasonable to assume that Donald Fraser developed an interest in gold and in mining at around this time.

He left Rockhampton on 21 March 1898, at the age of 22, intent on joining the Klondike gold-rush that was then in full swing in the Yukon Territory. From Sydney he journeyed in the *Warrimoo* to Vancouver, and then by steamer to Skagway, in Alaska. From Skagway he travelled to the now-abandoned town of Dyea and, with two companions, trekked across the Chilkoot Trail into Canada, ending up in the then-capital of the Yukon, Dawson City. From there he headed out to find and stake a claim. We know that he at least witnessed the use of hydraulic sluicing - a technique for dislodging tons of earth quickly - during this time, as one of his companions mentions it in a letter home.

Fraser arrived back in Rockhampton on 13 November 1899, and returned again to Canada around April of the following year. Unfortunately the gold had all but run out by then, and he never made the fortune he was seeking. Seemingly undeterred, he continued his life-long association with mining and in 1910 became a member of the Australasian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy. His time in the Yukon had given him valuable experience that would serve him well in business after his return from the Great War, and would also lead to one of the most unusual schemes for offensive action against enemy trenches ever proposed during the war.

By June the 5th Light Horse Regiment were patrolling nightly into Poppy Valley, along Harris Ridge and along the beach towards Gaba Tepe. Sergeant Fraser described, in a letter to his father, the loss of Lieutenant John Matthew Hanly during a patrol to the enemy’s ‘Twin Trenches’ along Harris Ridge on 6 June 1915:

One night one of our officers took a party of 12 men out in a scouting trip towards the Turkish trenches. He actually charged, and took a trench, killing a number of Turks, but was himself shot. The patrol found they had to retire, and carried the officer’s body away a couple of hundred yards, but had to abandon it owing to the heavy Turkish rifle fire. They were away about a mile from our trenches, and were encumbered by having another wounded man with them. The following night I went out in charge of a party to endeavour to get the officer’s body. Young Ken Henderson and I had to crawl on our hands and knees and on our stomachs to within one hundred yards of the enemy’s trench looking for the body. The night was dark, but it is wonderful how the bayonet reflects starlight, and we had to go carefully. We could hear the Turks talking, knowing that a false move meant a fusillade of bullets. The officer’s body had been removed by the Turks, and we were unsuccessful, and we got back safely. It is not usual to risk life in bringing in the dead, but as there was some doubt about this officer being dead, it was decided to find out.

It seems that soon after this incident, while the 5th Regiment was developing Chatham’s Post, Sergeant Fraser suggested to Major Lachlan Wilson of his regiment that hydraulic sluicing – the use of a high-pressure water cannon against earth - could be used as an offensive weapon. Several of the Turkish trenches were within easy range of the southern front line, and the sea, the source of endless ‘ammunition’ for any number of water cannon, was just down the hill behind. As the unit’s official history puts it:

Fraser pointed out that if a powerful hydraulic sluicing plant was available, the parapet and head cover on these trenches could be washed away in the course of a few seconds. Salt water could be pumped up from the sea and brought by pipes to our front-line trenches and then thrown on to the enemy lines in the same way that mining by hydraulic sluicing is carried out in some parts of Australia and in British Columbia. It was pointed out that later on saps could be worked towards the other Turkish trenches to within sluicing range, when the nozzles of the hoses could be directed under cover.

When Sergeant Fraser informed Major Wilson that the parapet and head cover on enemy trenches could be washed away in a few seconds he was certainly not exaggerating, as he would know from his years on the Klondike gold fields. The water cannon would have made a fearsome weapon at Gallipoli, especially in areas like the southern flank of Anzac, where both the water and the enemy trenches were very close. The water was pumped through a canvas hose and compressed through a nozzle, producing a jet of water which was used in mining to wash away whole hillsides, and could certainly be used to destroy any enemy trenches within range.



Water sluicing in French Corral, California, in 1870. Photo courtesy Sierra College.

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft stated that an eight-inch nozzle could throw 185,000 cubic feet (5239 cubic litres) of water in an hour, at 150 feet (46 metres) per second. It was also stated that a fifty-pound (23 kg) boulder would ride the crest of a jet with the power of a cannon ball, and that a crowbar swung by a strong man could not penetrate, but would bounce off, a six-inch jet stream. There is documented evidence that men were killed by the force of the water from 200 feet (61 metres) away.

Fresh water pipes at Anzac were covered, usually with wood or tin, to give them protection from enemy shelling. This cover had to be constantly maintained and repaired, and could be a dangerous job. It was in doing precisely such work that Lieutenant W H Dawkins, Australian Engineers, a photo of whose grave was featured in the Winter 2015 issue of *The Gallipolian*, was killed. The same problem would have existed for pipes pumping sea-water up to a water cannon. Unlike a machine-gun or artillery piece, both of which could be well-

hidden, a jet of water emanating from a trench would have made an immediately obvious target. No doubt retaliation would have been swift and likely accurate. Turkish guns at the Olive Grove enfiladed these ridges and would have been brought to bear on the nozzle positions as well as on the area behind, where the hoses leading to them would have lain.

Nevertheless Major Wilson, who had assumed command of the regiment on the death of Lieut-Colonel Harris on 31st July, and who would later command the brigade, agreed that the idea was a good one, and passed the scheme on through the regular channels to the Corps Commander, General Birdwood. Though further investigations were made, and it was arranged to send an officer to England to in order to procure the necessary equipment, nothing came of it as, according to the unit history,

Final arrangements, however, had not been made by the time of the Evacuation, so the scheme was not actually put into force.

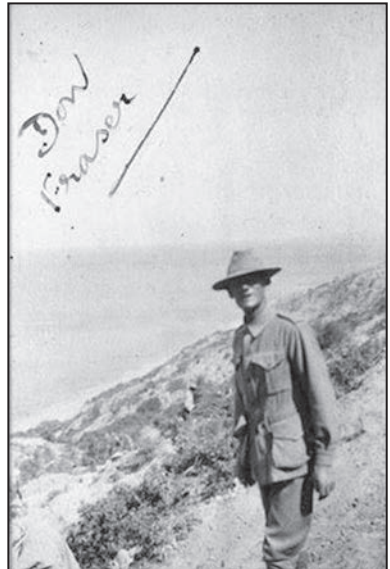
It seems extraordinary that nothing could be organised during the months between the idea being proposed and early December, when the decision to evacuate Anzac and Suvla was made. Perhaps another reason for the idea never becoming a reality is that Sergeant Fraser, who probably uniquely had the expertise to operate the equipment and to instruct others in its use, was evacuated from Gallipoli with enteric fever late in July 1915. He never returned to either Gallipoli or the 5th Light Horse. After spending time in hospitals in Malta and England, he was transferred to the 42nd Infantry Battalion, promoted to lieutenant and finished the war as Intelligence Officer to the 11th Infantry Brigade. While he was on the Western Front, his old regiment was fighting its way through Palestine.

After the war Lieutenant Fraser became a mine owner, living again in Rockhampton, and was a member of the Rockhampton Stock Exchange. He was known as a modest man. In 1931, then aged 55, he married Cora McLeod, 38, in a quiet ceremony in Melbourne, but she died during childbirth the following year.

Don Fraser died just over thirty years later, on 19 October 1962, and was buried next to his wife in the South Rockhampton cemetery.

Editor's notes:

Notes for this article have been omitted to save space; if required, please contact the editor.



Sergeant Don Fraser at Gallipoli, probably above Wright's Gully, with Z ('Brighton') Beach below.

Photo courtesy Museum Victoria.

ROBERT FRYER'S PRISONER OF WAR JOURNAL - PART 2

Foster Summerson



Australian and British prisoners of war outside their billet, Belemedik.
From left they are: CPO Gangham (from Submarine HMAS AE2), Balister,
Sergeant W J Neomanoy, CPO Gibson, Mallin, McDonald and Todd.

In the last issue we featured the first part of the Prisoner of War Journal kept by Pte Robert Fryer of 'G' Company, Portsmouth Battalion, RMLI. The journal concluded with Robert and his fellow prisoners reaching Angora after a three day march where they were told that they would be taken by a train to a new camp where they would be working on building a railway line. The journal continues:

On the 30th we arrived at a place called Belmete.^[i] There the news came true – there was a big railway being built and besides there was a tunnel to be made. I might tell you that we were out of the Turks hands and turned over to a Swiss contractor and Germans. Our wages are 6h. a day and one big loaf of bread that is the start as a labourer as the [more?] work you do the more money you get. 6h is one shilling [but] you have to buy your own food on this. The man in charge is a Swiss and he said, you are English and I will treat you as an Englishman.

Tuesday 1st Feb. – received 17 pts. [Piasters] for a start to buy some things with. They had no room for us men as there were so many men so we had to sleep under canvas.

4th Feb. – received 24 Pts. They also asked for men to go and work in the tunnel who would get 12 Pts. That is 2 shillings in English [money] for a start and as you get used to it you would get more money.

On the Monday we got orders to move on 7 February to another camp. We got 37 Pts. to go on with and we started our journey. There were 50 of us, we didn't have far to march and came to one or two sheds. Here we had to stop as they had no place ready for us so we slept in a blacksmith's shop all night.

On 8th Feb. - we started to work in the tunnel night shift. We went in at six o'clock at night, worked until 11 o'clock, stopped for food, and started again at 1 o'clock in the morning and worked until six o'clock. That was 12 hours we had it, the first night or two we were all sore with not working for a few months.

The next night the foreman asked some of us to try the stone drills, they are worked by compressed air, I tried it for one night. They shake the life out of you, you have no stand for the machines, you've got to keep them in your hands all the time, and all the time the machine is working you are breathing the stone dust, it goes. On your chest and lies like a loup [lump?] of lead on you.

The next night he asked me but I would not go on. I said I would just fill the wagons. Now two months have passed and have not heard from home.

11th Feb. - received 3 letters, two from home and one from Mr Donaldson who said a parcel had been sent, but I had not received it. I might tell you all the prisoners Turkey has are working on the [this?] job - English, French and Russians. There is a trade for every man, miners, blacksmiths, wood cutters and railway men etc. and not under the Turks, and that is one good thing when you have civilised men over you. We worked every night 'til the 13th Feb. We get one Sunday off every fortnight.

14th Feb. - we all refused to go to work as the place where the men slept was not fit for any human being. In the middle of the hut was a big blacksmith's forge and when it starts to rain we have to sit up all day and watch the rain coming in. We also had to sleep on the damp floor, no wooden boards. And when a man works hard in the tunnel he wants a little sleep.

The next day the [?] came and put the place right for us so we went to work on the 16th. I might tell you that 3 or 4 Russians died with fever in the camp. Our working party went every night 'til Sunday and we refused to go as in England we never work on Sundays.

The next day, Monday, we went to work again, and had not been long there when one of our chaps got hit on the head with a piece of stone. This was the first injury that ever occurred in the tunnel with any Englishmen.

20th Feb. - received the sum of 20 shillings from the American Ambass. [Ambassador] And also some clothing which was badly needed.

29th Feb. - working the same night one of our chaps got jammed with the wagons and he was badly crushed on the leg.

On the 2nd March we went down to Belmete [Belemedik] to get our wages from the company and refused to have it. The terms we came under was not under 12 pts a day and [?] on the conditions of work. The money they gave us was 8pts from the Turkish Government. Some men received 1 pts and others two. Well we would not have that so our own Sergeant gave the company the money back again 'til it was put right. The same day I received 1 pound from the Ambass. I think our luck has changed as regards money from the Ambass.

The Engineer said it was all a mistake and it would be put right, so on 4 March we started to work in the tunnel again - day shift. The next Sunday we worked as it was the company contract to work every other Sunday. We worked all that week 'til the next Sunday which was our day off. Also got word from Belmete [Belemedik] that a parcel was there for [me] I went and got it and it was a fine one. I think by the looks of it everything was there. Some of the parcels that have come have half of the things taken out so I was lucky. This

was on 12th March and it was the first parcel I received since being captured, so I have waited a long time.

The Letters

Although the journal ended on 12 March 1916 we know a little more about Robert's time in captivity as four letters sent to the family have survived. They were all sent from the camp at Belemelik [the writer uses the correct spelling from here] and in the letters Robert used this – the correct name for the camp.

The first letter, sent on 8 January 1917, was addressed to his parents and told them that he was '... keeping alright now again and that the fever was getting a little better in the camp now'. He thanked them for the boots they had sent 'which he was glad of...' and also answered questions about four men his parents had asked about. He said only knew two of the men - a Tom Wilson who was 'getting alright again' and a G Knibbs about whom he simply said '... well the poor lad died.'^[2] His parents also appear to have told him of the death of his friend, Willie Jarvis,^[3] who is mentioned earlier in his journal. This clearly distressed Robert as he wrote 'Poor Willie Jarvis, he was with me that night. I don't [didn't know] he has gone. I never forget the last words he said to me and some more Bedlington lads as well.'



Map indicating the location of Prisoner-of-War camps in Turkey.

Robert went on to say that he was glad to hear his young brother, Tom, was alright and asked whether his other brother Jack (who had been wounded) had been badly hurt. He also referred to letters he had received from a Mrs Picton Warlow of the British Red Cross in Copenhagen who used to send him bread parcels but by the time it arrived it was very bad, so she was going to send him other things. There was also a mild complaint; '... can Albert [one of his brothers] not write a long letter, you are the only ones in Cambois who

write to me’.

The next letter, dated 30 April 1917, was to his father in reply to one the latter sent on 22 March, so the post to POW camps seemed to be quite good (the letter appears to have arrived in 5 weeks). In this letter Robert said ‘I’ve not received a parcel for a long time, there are some at Belemedik, [This suggests Robert was working some distance away from the camp] they want to open all the tins and we refuse. Fish, tinned meat will all go bad in less than a day and if you get any meat you have to use it up the same day.’ He asked his father to ‘... give his respects to Tom [his brother] and tell him from me that he is sticking it well, and Jack also.’ He also said ‘I don’t think it can last much longer from as what we can see the way of things.’ In a postscript written later he reported the arrival of two parcels, one from London and one from home.

Robert’s final letter of 1917 was written to his parents on 23 November wished them a merry Xmas and mentioned that ‘... he hadn’t been well these last three days with fever but was getting alright again.’ He added that he had received 10 letters from his parents all at once and one each from his brothers Jack and Tom. He asked again for his parents to send ‘boots and pants as it was not possible to buy them in camp.’ With regard to camp life he says, ‘every day it goes on it gets worse ... only a certain amount of rations each day.’ He also wrote, ‘... the fever in this camp is not as bad as it was last year. It was terrible to see the chaps going, [to hospital?] never to come back again. The officer in charge of us wrote to England for some medical comfort, that was a god send.’

The final letter in the collection was sent from Belemedik Camp to his parents on 8 September 1918. It appears that his sister in law had told them – presumably from an earlier letter sent to her - that Robert had been sent away with ‘fever,’ but he says:

‘... they would not let me go as I got a little better and am now alright, but if it is possible send me some quinine tablets as they are very handy I hear. The weather here is very hot now. The letters don’t come too well now. We got a rather big job on hand now, putting down the broad gauge line. I have plenty of work to do. How are you getting on for food at home, they are always cutting us down, some have nothing left. It’s a good job the parcels come along. I would have been badly off when I had the fever only for the food parcels as they don’t give you much in hospital here – only a bed and that has planks under it.’

He concluded the letter on a hopeful note:

‘We get some news and hear some of the Yankees are making a move. There are some prisoners being exchanged but I don’t think it will be us. I think it is only cripples but never mind it will finish some time. I have done three years and I can do the next now I have got Jack’s photo and Tom’s alright’.

Postscript

Robert Fryer was freed at the end of the war and discharged on 20 March 1919. He returned to mining and in 1926 married a girl called Polly but sadly she died soon after. In 1937 he married a widow with two small boys and was a wonderful and much loved step-father. During the Second World War, Robert also became something of a father-figure to the ‘Bevan Boys’ at his pit. In the early 1950s he and his wife went into the pub trade which he much enjoyed, devoting his spare time to his favourite pastime of gardening.



Robert Fryer and his wife in later life.

As is often the case, he never spoke of his experience of captivity to his step-children, and remarkably, given the privations he suffered, he lived until he was in his eighties, dying in 1979.

Notes

1. A mis-spelling of Belemelik - a small village in the Taurus Mountains, on the Konya - Adana railroad. Various Internet sources indicate that the camp was established in 1916 and comprised barracks and administrative buildings next to the railroad tracks, and a stone hospital. Prisoners had access to a cinema for entertainment. It served as the main camp for Allied prisoners working in the North Taurus Sector of the Taurus - Amanus Railway line, the primary line of Turkish communications in support of the Mesopotamian Front. Belemelik also supported labour detachments working in other locations; notably Kouch Joular (a camp located on top of a hill where prisoners were used to construct four tunnels through the mountains); Tasch Dumas - a camp that had particular problems with malaria, gastritis, and dysentery epidemics; and Hadjkiri. The correct spelling is used in the remainder of the article.

2. 17112 Pte. G H Knibbs, 2nd Bn. The Hampshire Regiment died on 8 November 1916 and was originally buried in Belemelik Cemetery. In the 1920s the bodies of the prisoners who died there were exhumed and the graves moved to the Baghdad (North Gate) Cemetery. The grave of Pte. Knibbs is recorded as Plot XX1 Row M Grave 7.

3. William (Willie) Jarvis, a friend of Robert's from his home town of Cambois. William is recorded as being killed in action on 23 September 1915. He has no known grave and is commemorated on the Helles Memorial

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Association member Norman Welch for alerting me to the existence of Robert Fryer's journal and for putting me in touch with Isabel Fairless. I am also grateful to Turkish member and friend, Guven Pinar, for his help in identifying the spelling of some of the names in Robert Fryer's journal.

COMMANDING OFFICERS KILLED BY 'FRIENDLY FIRE'

Bryn Dolan

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Nelson Bendyshe, commanding officer of the 12th (Deal) Battalion of the Royal Naval Division, was shot and killed by one of his own men on the 400 Plateau, Anzac, on 1 May 1915.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Frederick Braund, commanding officer of the 2nd Infantry Battalion, Australian Imperial Force, was shot and killed by one of his own men on Braund's Hill, Anzac, on 4 May 1915.



Lieut Col R N Bendyshe
KIA 1 May 1915 aged 49.
Lone Pine cemetery



Lieut Col G F Braund
KIA 4 May 1915 aged 49.
Beach cemetery

Though the two incidents occurred close together both in time and place, there does not at first appear to be any link. There is, however, evidence that over time the circumstances surrounding one of the deaths became, at least for one family, transposed onto the other.

The 'great strain' placed on the troops at this stage of the fighting, and the resultant 'spy mania' were given as contributing factors to the deaths of Bendyshe and Braund by Charles Bean in the Australian *Official History*.

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Nelson Bendyshe was born 18 Jan 1866 at Woodstock, Ontario, Canada, the son of Nelson Bendyshe and Charlotte (nee Matcham) of Easton House, Bigbury, Devon. He was a great-nephew of Vice Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson, and was educated at The King's School, Canterbury, and at the Royal Military College Sandhurst. He was the squire of Barrington, Cambridgeshire, and was for a short time before his death the owner of Barrington Hall.

He was appointed commanding officer of the 12th (Deal) Battalion of the Royal Naval Division on 10th April 1915 at Mudros. After training on Lemnos and Skyros, the battalion landed at Anzac on the 29th of April and at dusk relieved the Australian 6th Battalion in the trenches on the 400 Plateau.

In early 1931 an article describing the death of Lieut. Col. Bendyshe appeared in *Reveille*, the journal of the New South Wales branch of the Returned Sailors & Soldiers Imperial League of Australia, entitled ‘“Nerves” : A Gallipoli Panic.’ It was written, presumably, by a member of the 6th Battalion, under the pseudonym ‘Marsova.’ I can do no better than to quote:

The tired Aussies enjoyed a couple of days on the seaward slope of the hills, cooking bully beef and biscuit, swimming and sleeping. But on Saturday evening word came from the Brigadier (McCay) that the Deal Battalion had the ‘jumps,’ and that the 6th would have to take their place again. While the battalion was packing away its mess tin, the C.O. (Col. McNicoll) went up to the line and got the Deal’s C.O. (Col. Bendyshe) to go through the trenches with him.

There was plenty of evidence of ‘nerves.’ The ordinary decencies of trench life had not been attended to. The battalion had had casualties, and the remaining men had crowded together for company, leaving long stretches of undefended trench. Unaimed fire was continuous, causing a serious waste of ammunition.

Bendyshe and McNicoll - the latter accompanied by a ‘runner’ named Ward - squatted on their haunches in front of a group of men while the Australian pointed out the necessity of saving ammunition and firing only at a definite target. The two C.O.’s then moved along to another group, and the advice was being repeated when one of the Deal men began to stare hard at McNicoll, whose tanned skin, unshaven chin, and dirty, torn tunic were rather a contrast to the tidy English officer beside him. Bendyshe spoke to the man, who by now had started to straighten himself up. ‘Don’t stand up, man, your head will be over the parapet.’

He answered, ‘Yes sir,’ then raised his rifle, aimed at McNicoll, fired and missed, but his bullet shot Colonel Bendyshe dead.

Pandemonium broke loose. Men ran from both directions along the trench towards the spot, firing wildly. An English sergeant-major and two other men were shot. McNicoll caught one bayonet in his hand and deflected it so that it passed through his tunic - in at the button and out at the shoulder - only grazing the skin. Another bayonet left a triangular hole in his left sleeve.

A loud-voice sergeant at last took charge, and ordered the men back to the parapet. They knocked McNicoll down on to the bottom of the trench on his back, and the sergeant told one man to ‘Put your bayonet in his chest, and if he speaks a word press your trigger.’ Silence was golden. They searched their ‘spy’ prisoner, taking his notebooks, revolver, etc.; then got him on his feet, tied his hands behind, blindfolded him, and marched him out under armed escort through a communication trench.

The first man this party met was the 6th Battalion’s Adjutant, whose language when he recognised his C.O. maintained the highest traditions of the A.I.F. The Medical Officer (Dr. Black) pumped some morphia into McNicoll’s arm, and took him down to a Field Ambulance on the beach, where he received the best of attention from Royal Naval Division surgeons.

The incident is not mentioned in the British *Official History*, but it does appear in the Australian, on the same page that it refers, in a footnote, to the death of Lieut. Col. Braund. Despite reference in the ‘War Diary of the Royal Marine Brigade’ to a Court of Inquiry into the incident, presided over by Colonel C. McN. Parsons RMLI, I was unable, during a two-day search through documents in the National Archives at Kew, to find any evidence

of it. It does not of course follow automatically that the inquiry documents no longer exist; perhaps I did not look in the right place, or hard enough.

A search of the British Newspaper Archives reveals that Lieut. Col. Bendyshe was only ever reported as having been 'killed in action,' with one newspaper adding:

No particulars have yet been received as to the manner in which Col. Bendyshe was killed, but the family, who are in residence at Barrington Hall, has received a letter of sympathy from the Admiralty.

At least some Australian newspapers, however, repeated the *Reveille* article in 1931, though one of them failed to mention that Bendyshe had been killed. Private James Barker of the 6th Battalion was one of the 'runners' who was present, and provided a first-hand account similar to that of 'Marsova,' but he added that the 'RSM' who was accompanying Bendyshe, and who 'Marsova' had noted was shot, was actually killed in the incident. Though this is not mentioned in any other account I know of - Bean, for example, notes only that three others were wounded - it does appear to be accurate, except for the rank. I believe that this was in fact Colour-Sergeant Herbert Frank Clark, Deal Battalion, who was killed in action 1 May 1915. He has no known grave, so his name is on the Helles memorial.

Association member Len Sellers records, in his 'RND' journal, an extract from the private letters of Sir Archibald Paris, General Officer Commanding Royal Naval Division:

A sad accident the other day. Lieutenant Colonel Bendyshe when visiting the trenches was shot by one of his own men, as if our casualties weren't heavy enough without adding to them. Men get jumpy and fire at anything, especially these very young men.

Lieut. Col. Bendyshe's only son, Captain John Nelson Bendyshe, served in the 8th Worcesters during the war and, as a lieutenant, was wounded a few days after his father was killed. In 1928 he married a New Zealand girl, Margaret Elliott Elworthy, in her home town of Timaru, after which he and she returned to live in Broomford Manor, Devon. They had three children; Janet Elizabeth; Richard Nelson, named after his grandfather; and Jacoba. Captain Bendyshe died in 1962, but in 1975 his widow wrote to Royal Marines Commando Training Centre (CTC) in Exmouth, Devon, asking for information regarding her father-in-law's death. Perhaps her children were asking for details. She stated then that there was a family belief that Lieut. Col. Bendyshe had been slightly deaf, and that he had been shot by his sentry after failing to hear and answer a challenge. A handwritten annotation indicates that a Statement of Service was forwarded to her, however in regard to Lieut. Col. Bendyshe's death, the statement indicates only, '... killed in action 1 May 1915.'

There is an intriguing note scrawled at the bottom of Richard Nelson Bendyshe's Service record; possibly a lead for someone else to follow up:

For circumstances in which this officer met his death see CB 882.

Lieutenant Colonel George Frederick Braund VD was born at Bideford, Devon, on 13 July 1866, to Frederick and Ellen Braund (nee Doidge). He was educated at Bideford Grammar School, and arrived in Australia in about 1878. He was a merchant, commanding officer of the 13th Australian Infantry (militia), and the member for Armidale in the New South Wales Parliament. He lived in Neutral Bay, Sydney, and in Armidale, NSW.

He was appointed commanding officer of the 2nd Battalion, AIF, on its formation on 13 August 1914. The 2nd Battalion landed at Anzac from 7.30 to 9.30 am on 25 April and for

days was involved in the heavy fighting on Walker's Ridge. On 27 April Braund personally led a bayonet charge and was mentioned in despatches. By early May the battalion was resting on Braund's Hill, near what is now the location of 4th Battalion Parade Ground cemetery. On the night of 3-4 May Col. Braund announced that he was going to Brigade Headquarters, and that he would return in twenty minutes. Lieut. Col. Ernest Herrod, 2nd Battalion, a 2nd lieutenant at the time of Braund's death, wrote in 1931:

About 2 a.m. on the morning of May 5 [sic], 1st Brigade Headquarters was shocked and saddened to receive a message that Braund had been killed, having been shot by a sentry of his own battalion after failing to reply to a repeated challenge. The unfortunate sentry was freed of all blame by a court of inquiry. Braund was slightly deaf, and given to deep thinking. He took a short-cut over trenches and through the scrub, unheeding the sentry's challenge.

A sergeant of the 2nd Battalion noted in his diary:

Our old Colonel shot dead last night, hard luck for us, just as we got to like him we lose him. He was worrying too much lately little or no sleep last night or should I say early this morning he goes out past the picket lines, don't know what for, on returning he was challenged by the sentry one of our own Company who on receiving no reply, fired, not knowing whom he had shot. In the morning when he went out instead of finding a dead Turk we found our poor old Colonel, lying face down shot through the head. You have no idea how we felt, most of us wanted to shoot the sentry, or at least do him some bodily harm, but as we did not know who the Sentry was and it was explained to us that the Colonel was walking in his sleep, we had to let it drop; we buried him, most of us feel a bit off, a bit downhearted. We have only 2 Captains and 7 Lieutenants left out of 32, most of our N.C.O. men have been put out of action.

The news of Col. Braund's death, and exactly how it had occurred, was all over the Australian newspapers from early August 1915. The following, from *The Dungog Chronicle*, a regional NSW paper, is a typical example:

Mr F. J. Thomas, M.L.A. for the Gough electorate, relates a conversation with Captain Kane, A.A.M.C., which places the facts in connection with the lamentable end of Lieut. Col. Braund beyond all doubt. Captain Kane, returned to Australia as the doctor in charge of the second batch of wounded, and was serving with Lieut. Col. Braund's regiment. Mr Thomas ascertained from him the full facts concerning the Colonel's death which verify the recent statement in the Armidale 'Chronicle' that he was accidentally shot by an Australian sentry.

It appears that one night the Colonel left the main body of men to inspect an advanced post. He did not acquaint any of his officers with the purpose of his mission. Apparently he found everything all right, and commenced the return journey, taking a short cut through a ravine where a sentry was posted.

The sentry saw a dark figure approaching, and challenged three times. It is surmised that Col. Braund did not hear the challenge, for he did not reply, and the sentry levelled his rifle and fired. The bullet found its billet — it pierced the brain. The body was discovered next day.

Charles Bean's notebooks and diaries, which were not made easily accessible to the public until relatively recently, go into some detail regarding Braund's death:

Col. Braund was shot on the hill which was afterwards christened with his name. A sentry had been posted on the hill almost in the battalion's own camp - not a very good place. The colonel had been told he would probably be wanted to reinforce the Marines and he had gone off in his overcoat to see what the situation was. He walked along the path towards this sentry and the man shot him when he was 5 yards away. He lay there with his hands still in his overcoat pockets and a huge wound in his head. I am told that General Walker ordered that the sentry was never to carry firearms again - he became a pioneer.

Almost none of Bean's diary note, however, made it into the Australian *Official History*. The circumstances of Braund's death are mentioned only in a footnote, on the same page as, and in fact, in reference to, Bendyshe's death:

At 1 a.m. on May 4 the gallant Colonel Braund of the 2nd Bn., returning to the rest camp in the scrub on Braund's Hill, met his death in a similar tragedy [to that of Col. Bendyshe]. He was slightly deaf, and appears to have disregarded the challenge of one of his own sentries. The sentry shot him.

It is not difficult to see how this may have been misconstrued to mean that both incidents involved a sentry shooting a slightly-deaf commanding officer.

Sixty years after the incident, Lieut. Col. Bendyshe's family were evidently still not aware of the true details of his death, and seem to have had only the haziest of idea as to what had really occurred. Newspapers did not carry the details and it seems the story appeared only in Volume I of the Australian *Official History*, first published in 1921, and in an article in *Reveille*, printed in Sydney ten years later. There may indeed have been an inquiry, but it would appear that neither the details of the incident, nor the court's findings, were ever conveyed to the family, much less made public.

The circumstances surrounding Lieut. Col. Braund's death, on the other hand, were well known to the public through newspapers of the day, and appeared in numerous publications in later years. Could it be that the Bendyshe family read or heard of a sentry accidentally killing his supposedly deaf commanding officer at Anzac at the beginning of May 1915, and that as a result, and in the absence of any information to the contrary, George Braund's story became, to them, Richard Bendyshe's story?

GALLIPOLI'S LONG SHADOW

Dorcha Lee

As a youngster in the fifties, I was very much aware of Gallipoli, when I used to visit my Granny Eily at Pembroke Lodge, the Richardson family home in Dundrum. Her brother, my grand-uncle, Michael Richardson, left this house to join up during WWI, in late 1914. Michael enlisted in 'D' Company, 7th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, nicknamed 'The Pals,' and arrived, after several months in training and staging posts, at Gallipoli during the summer.

He missed the first rounds of fighting when the beach-head was secured and settled into trench life, writing letters home during the quiet periods. Most of the letters that survived were addressed to his older sister Molly, my grandmother. In the letters, there were references to the birth of his nephew and godchild, Ferdy (my father), just four months earlier in May 1915. Michael was so proud to be 'an uncle.'

It was while writing one of these letters home, sitting under a tree near his trench, that Michael was killed by artillery fire. He was the only fatality that day in the sector. It was the 4th of September, only a few weeks before the withdrawal from Gallipoli began.

In those days the bodies of dead soldiers were not repatriated, the principle being that 'soldiers lay where they fell.' The British Army kept this policy right up to and including the Falklands War in 1982. In contrast, the Irish Defence Forces have always had the policy

of repatriating their dead from overseas missions. Nowadays, whether at Brize Norton or the mortuary at Dublin Airport, the families take centre stage in the reception of their loved ones. The focal point of their grief will be a grave in Ireland, and they will be present when military honours are rendered.

Back in 1915, without a grave, the family created a very simple memorial to Michael's memory in Pembroke Lodge. Set up just off the kitchen, it contained his personal items brought home from Gallipoli by a comrade, including his Army cap, belt, photographs, and some bits and pieces. Still there in the fifties, I remember there were no candles or flowers, just his kit. It lay there on the little table, as if waiting for him to return and pick them up.

Five years later, in 1920, in the very same kitchen, Michael's younger sister, Eily, prepared meals for IRA men on the run, always in the kitchen, and always late at night. It was during a different war, the War of Independence. The visitors, who included General Michael Collins and his young nephew Volunteer Sean Collins-Powell, would come over the back wall and through the garden.

In 1922, Molly died in a flu epidemic, and Eily took over the raising of young Ferdie, marrying her sister's widower, Fred, twelve years later in 1934, just before Ferdie reported to the Military College at the Curragh as an Army cadet. When Fred died in 1954, Eily returned to live in Pembroke Lodge.

We lived in Athlone then, where my father was stationed with the Army. Once when Eily was visiting, my father invited Sean Collins-Powell, by now a colonel and officer commanding Western Command, home to tea.

'CP,' as he was known in Army circles, and my Granny Eily, had a great time reminiscing about the old days, and being on the run in South Dublin with his Uncle Mick. As a young teenager steeped in all things military (I was later to serve 42 years in the Army myself), I listened, fascinated.

I asked him if he remembered the memorial to Uncle Michael in Pembroke Lodge. Of course, he said, that was why we used Pembroke Lodge. It was a safe place to be. The Richardsons had no connection to the Cause, and would be regarded as loyalists by Dublin Castle, having lost a son for King and Empire.

And so it was, that, having served his King and Empire, Michael's death in Gallipoli, in a small way, inadvertently helped the emerging Irish state.

Michael Richardson, civil servant, rugby player, and soldier, was 20 years old when he died.

Editor's notes:

Colonel Dorcha Lee (Retd), first presented *Gallipoli's Long Shadow* as a radio broadcast on RTE Radio 1's Sunday Miscellany Programme on 31 August 2015. The text of the presentation is published here with Col. Lee's kind permission.

Col. Lee served 42 years in the Irish Defence Forces. A graduate of the Irish Military College and US and French Army service schools, he participated in UN peacekeeping missions in Cyprus, Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Iraq and Somalia. He also served as Irish Military Representative in Brussels. In retirement he has worked as an NGO and UN Volunteer in Africa, as an EU monitor in Georgia and as election observer in many countries. His articles on Defence issues are published in the Irish Times and the Glasgow Herald. *Gallipoli's Long Shadow* is a personal tribute to his grand-uncle, 14784 Pte Michael Paul Richardson, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, who died at Suvla on 4 September 1915, and is buried in Green Hill cemetery.

‘GALLIPOLI 100’ IN POLAND

A Member of the Gallipoli Association since 2006, Associate Professor Dr Piotr Nykiel (Dept. of Turkish Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow), wrote the article *The Poles in the Gallipoli Campaign*, which was published in the Autumn 2004 edition of *The Gallipolitan*. Last year Prof Nykiel prepared and staged an exhibition in Poland entitled *Gallipoli – 100 Years After the Battle*. It consisted of thirty 70 x 100 cm boards and included photographs he had taken during his numerous study visits to the Dardanelles area between 1994 and 2011. These were accompanied by various archive pictures and text in Polish and Turkish, which gave general information on the background of the campaign as well as on its naval, land and aerial stages. See photograph on page 37.

One board was dedicated to Polish soldiers who took part in the Gallipoli campaign and another to the First Polish diving expedition to the Dardanelles, which took place in 2011. The exhibition was displayed in numerous locations throughout Poland during 2015, each official opening being accompanied by a lecture on the Gallipoli Campaign by Dr. Nykiel. The technical organisation of the exhibition was provided by the Yunus Emre Institute – the Turkish Cultural Centre in Warsaw. An exhibition catalogue (80 pages) in Polish, Turkish and English (also prepared by Dr Nykiel) was published by the Yunus Emre Institute and is available through its Warsaw office.

Professor Nykiel met Monika Lackowska-Lacz, author of the article *Vłodzimierz Steyer: A Pole at the Dardanelles* (Winter 2006 edition of *The Gallipolitan*) during his exhibition's opening in Gdansk in December last, and together they visited Rear-Admiral Steyer's grave. Steyer had served in the Russian navy as a sub-lieutenant aboard the *Askold* during the Dardanelles campaign. See the article on the *Askold* in this edition, and colour reproductions of paintings of the ship on page 37.

Prof Nykiel attended a conference on the Gallipoli Campaign that took place in Skopje and Bitola (Macedonia) in December 1915, and there presented his updated research on the Poles who served at Gallipoli.

EVACUATION: HELLES PHASE

Ronald Clammer, D.C.M., M.M., 2/4th London Regt. Royal Fusiliers, attached RND

A few weeks prior to the evacuation I was detailed for a course with the “dumezyl” battery under the command of the late Commander Alan Campbell, R.N.D. The “dumezyl” is what is commonly known as an aerial torpedo — a really terrible type of trench mortar. Our battery, which was the first of its kind ever used by the British Army, had just taken over from the French, and it was used with such good effect against the Turks that I believe it led to the formation of heavy trench mortars in our own army.

Mines composed of a number of these torpedoes were buried in the trenches, together with enormous quantities of ammonal and other surplus high explosives which could not be evacuated. The mines were laid at frequent intervals and in contact with almost-invisible trip wires. These precautions taken for the purpose of covering the withdrawal of our troops, were not futile, as evidenced by the report of the German General Liman von Sanders that the Turkish troops met with disaster when, finding that our troops were leaving, they incautiously came in contact with our traps, and suffered severe loss.

THE DIARY.

January 8, 1916. We understand that to-night is to be the night. What a relief it is to know that after all the excitement of the rehearsals of the past few nights, the evacuation of the

Peninsula is imminent — every man feels the responsibility of the whole business, and the success hinges partly on our ability to bluff the Turk right up to the last moment. We have been told by Commander Campbell that our destination is “V” Beach, and in a short lecture he advised every man to look after himself after he performed his allotted duties; although if possible, he wished us to keep a certain rendezvous after the last man had passed the barricades and the mines had been connected with the electric batteries. He expected, he said, that we should all leave the Peninsula about 1 a.m., but no man could be taken off after 2.30, as the last destroyer would leave the beaches at that hour. Our party would consist of Commander Campbell, Lieut. Hobbs, Lieut. Green (R.N.D.), and Lieut. Strange (2nd London), C.P.O. Mason and 27 P.O.’s and men.

We left our bivouac at 6.30 p.m. for our respective posts, which were situated close to each group of mines, to wait there in silence until every man had left for the beaches, before closing the barricades and connecting up the mines. The night was very still and it was late before the moon rose. The firing lines and the reserve trenches in our sector were now held by only a few companies of men, a few machine guns, and not a single field gun — these having been removed and destroyed. It was very quiet except for an occasional burst of machine gun fire from the Turkish trenches. About 7.50 footsteps approached, the countersign was given and 50 men of the Hood Battalion filed silently past, their feet carefully padded with sandbags. These were soon followed by the remaining machine gunners and another 50 men of the Drake Battalion. There were now only a few men left in the firing line, and these continued to send up “Verrey” lights and fired an occasional shot to hang the time out. As a matter of fact, we could not make much of a “show” now if the enemy had become suspicious and attacked.

Just a glimpse of the moon, or a premature contact with one of our mines close at hand, and the game was up, but fortune smiled upon us and all went well. That immense shaft of light sweeping the sky at intervals told us that the Turk was as watchful as ever. It was an extremely powerful searchlight at the Turkish Fort of Chanuk, and its glare threw that sinister monster, Achi Baba, into bold relief. At 11.30 the last men left the firing line. Engineers and our bombers came through our sector promptly, but there was some delay in getting the line clear. However, just on the stroke of twelve, Lieut. Hobbs and his party approached our position at the last mine and the password was given that the other mines had been connected up and the barricades closed without mishap.

January 9. 1916: — The miners and bombers passed on to join Commander Campbell and the rest of the party, and, while Mr. Hobbs picked up the trip wire and placed it in position the mine wires were connected with the battery. The last mine was connected up and we walked on to join the rest of the party. A hurried roll call in whispered tones, to find that only two men were missing, and we walked away at a brisk pace for the beach. The three-mile journey to the beach was uneventful, and although we were all glad to get away from this detestable land of death and disease, yet one regretted to think of the vain sacrifices in life which had been made.

We arrived at our destination near the remains of the River Clyde. It was then 2.30, and there were about 300 men lined up along the beach waiting for a destroyer to take them off, but a very heavy sea was running, and the barges and drifters laden with mules were breaking away from their moorings, to destruction. After some time had elapsed, a destroyer, at great risk, managed to get to the leeward of the River Clyde, and we lost no time in getting aboard. We crowded every inch of space, and at 3.30 H.M. destroyer Grasshopper shot

off into Gallipoli Straits, every man clinging to the nearest support to save himself being washed overboard. The seas got worse, and the destroyer rolled in an alarming manner, but the crew was splendid, and in spite of great difficulties, they managed to get hot food and drink for some of the men who were badly injured or exhausted.

We had hardly left the shore when our stores and dumps began to burn, having been previously saturated with petrol, and in a few minutes the coast for miles was one mass of flame. The Turks now realised that there was something doing, and all their batteries, including those on the Asiatic shore, bombarded the beaches and our vacant lines. We clearly saw their shrapnel bursting all over the Peninsula, intermingled with alarm Star shells of red and green lights. Presently we heard the din of numerous explosions, and we knew that our mines had done their work. Dense smoke now covered the whole area, and the scene was hidden from view. Our destroyer was the last boat to leave Gallipoli, and on account of the heavy weather was unable to put into harbour.

At dawn we found ourselves outside the harbour boom at Imbros, and entered the harbour to be transferred to H.M.S. Mars, thence, to journey to Mudros.

Editor's notes:

This article is from *Reveille*, the journal of the New South Wales branch of the Returned Sailors & Soldiers Imperial League of Australia, Sydney, published 1 January 1933.

BOOK REVIEWS

BENEATH A TURKISH SKY: THE ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS AND THE ASSAULT ON GALLIPOLI

Author: Philip Lecane: The History Press, 2015. Contents: 336 pages with numerous photographs and maps. Price: £17.99. ISBN: 978-1845888657

The centenary has seen a plethora of new books and re-prints on the market, many of which are most welcome. Philip Lecane's work is one of those examples of original research that is welcome to anyone's Gallipoli library. Using a line from the well-known Irish nationalist song, 'The Foggy Dew', its powerful line: 'Twas better to die 'neath an Irish sky than at Suvla or Sud-El-Bar' forms the basis of Lecane's title.

Few know that more Irishmen died on the beaches of Gallipoli on 25 April 1915 than Anzacs, and this fact only touches the surface of the Irish contribution in the Gallipoli campaign. Ireland, which was part of the United Kingdom in 1915, is beginning to be studied in greater depth by its kinsfolk, and this book is very welcome to Gallipoli readers, Irish historians and family genealogists alike.

This is the story of one battalion, the 1st Royal Dublin Fusiliers, told through meticulous research presented in a personal way. Lecane has collated an amazing amount of material which tells the soldiers' stories through their letters and photographs, be that an officer of the 'Dubs' or one of the other ranks. These men were called from their idyllic posting in India to be billeted on the civilian population in England. They set off on what was presented as a great adventure to win glory and capture Constantinople. Accompanied by the Royal Munster Fusiliers, packed aboard the SS *River Clyde*, the 'Dubs' landed from

rowing boats on the fiercely defended beach at Sedd-el-Bahr. This book tells the story of the Irishmen who died beneath a Turkish sky in what was Ireland's D-Day.

For anyone interested in the V Beach landings, the SS *River Clyde* story, the subsequent fighting at Helles, and of course the Irish contribution, this book is a must. Highly recommended.

- Stephen Chambers

5TH BATTALION ARGYLL & SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS (VOLUME 1)

Author: Vincent P Gillen: Carlsburn Publishing, 2015. Contents: 330 pages, numerous photographs, illustrations and maps. Price: £15.00. Available through www.lulu.com

What a mammoth work which is obviously the love and passion of author Vincent Gillen. The volumes chart the First World War story of Greenock's Territorial Infantry Battalion, the 5th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. Volume 1 follows the battalion from mobilisation to Gallipoli, whilst volume 2 covers Egypt, Palestine and the Western Front. In total there are 600 pages of detailed information about this battalion, which until now was without a unit history of the war. The only book I am aware of is George Blake's 1929 novel, "The Path of Glory." Blake fought with the 5th Argylls at Gallipoli.

The 52nd (Lowland) Division's time at Gallipoli is rarely mentioned, as with the 5th Argyll's, maybe with the exception of their most famous action at Achi Baba Nullah on 12th July 1915. During the centenary their contribution has been acknowledged in part by local commemorations and battlefield tours, but it is this book that does this battalion proud. One battalion survivor, Private John O'Hagan, wrote, "I tell you it was a memorable 12th July; one that won't be forgot for a long time by me." Those reading this book will now know what happened that fateful day.

The book tells their story through contemporary newspaper reports, soldiers' letters, diaries, official reports, illustrations and photographs. A battalion roll, including individual's service histories, where information is available, is also included, and the photographs of these soldiers and places they served are numerous. The book brings together a wealth of information that is invaluable to any Gallipoli or WWI researcher, be their interest in Gallipoli, 5th Argylls, 52nd (Lowland) Division, genealogy, medals or general history. This comprehensive study of this Scottish battalion is recommended, excellent value for money and one to add to the bowing book shelves.

- Stephen Chambers

SUVLA 15

Author: Wayne Osborne. Salient Books, 2015. Contents: 195 pages. 3 Maps. Price: £8.00 (+£3.50 p&tp), available through www.salientbooks.co.uk. ISBN: 978-0957445956

In August 1915 the 2nd Mounted Division was sent to Suvla Bay, and within a few days of arrival the division, untried in combat, was pitched into a battle for high ground against a well-organised and determined Ottoman defence. Before they reached the front line the Yeomen had to march from the coast, under shell fire, across the Salt Lake. It was a true baptism of fire.

"The Turks had the range to a T and every regiment fairly got it. We had to advance over an

open plain for 2 miles to the hill... The steadiness of the men was magnificent. At times it was simply hell.” - Lieutenant-Colonel Weston Jarvis, 1/3rd (County of London) Yeomanry.

“Then we had it! Not ‘arf. It was an absolute inferno. Shell after shell burst amongst us, and being in close formation, you might be able to partly realise the destruction wrought by each shell.” - Private John Kennedy, 1st Sherwood Rangers.

The fire took its toll and, whilst writing this review, in front of me are the medals of one of these Yeomen who was killed advancing across the Salt Lake. Today he is buried in Green Hill cemetery. As you will read the execution of the Yeomanry attack was terribly flawed, as could be said for much of the Suvla operation and general campaign as a whole. Wayne Osborne tells this story well, through the eyes of these men.

Osborne interweaves material that is new to me, namely the diaries of Colonel Alexander Weston Jarvis, who commanded the 1/3rd (County of London) Yeomanry in the attack. There are more well-known works like Teichman’s ‘The Diary of a Yeomanry MO’ and Wedgwood Benn’s ‘In the Side Shows,’ all of which are knitted together well with period local newspaper articles that make a very readable account of the Yeomanry, from mobilisation to their Suvla action and eventual evacuation.

‘Suvla 15’ is a good read; well written and researched, it will give the reader a taste of this chaotic action and the Gallipoli experience of the unfortunate Yeoman of England. Highly recommended.

- Stephen Chambers

FROM ICE FLOES TO BATTLEFIELDS: SCOTT’S ‘ANTARCTICS’ IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Author: Anne Strathie: The History Press, 2015. Contents: 224 pages, 50 photographs, 14 maps. Price £18.99. ISBN: 978-0750961783

Review 1:

The men from Captain Scott’s Terra Nova expedition returned home to a muted welcome in June 1913; after all their leader and his four companions, their friends, had died on the return march from the South Pole. Most who had taken part, either with the shore party, or as crew of the *Terra Nova*, served during the First World War. Among those who lost their lives were Henry Rennick, aboard HMS *Hogue* on 22 September 1914, Harry Pennell, commanding HMS *Queen Mary* at Jutland on 31 May 1916, and Alfred Cheetham, who had also served under Shackleton on *Endurance*, on SS *Prunelle* in August 1918.

Others, like Victor Campbell - *The Wicked Mate* - and Edward Nelson, both of whom were with the Royal Naval Division at Gallipoli, survived. Indeed after the tragedy of 4 June 1915, Nelson, promoted to Lieutenant-Commander, found himself in temporary command of the Hood Battalion. William Lashly survived the sinking of HMS *Irresistible* on 18 March 1915. In the Antarctic he had fallen down a fifty-foot crevasse on his forty-fourth birthday and, with Tom Crean and Lieutenant Evans, made up the final supporting party during Scott’s march to the South Pole.

Edward Atkinson was another survivor, though only just. Married on 12 August 1915 he was off to Gallipoli the following day, his task to investigate the outbreaks of dysentery

and other fly-borne diseases. Not without a price, he suffered paratyphoid and double pneumonia and was evacuated to Malta in December. Later he was awarded the DSO at the Somme and then badly injured when HMS *Glutton* blew up in Dover Harbour in 1918. It was there that he helped in rescue efforts, for which he was awarded the Albert Medal.

Despite the sub-title Scott's 'Antarctics' in the First World War the book concentrates on those from the Terra Nova and includes little concerning the men from Scott's first expedition on board the *Discovery*. An appendix with brief biographies of all the participants from both expeditions would have greatly enhanced this book, especially covering those from the lower deck, most of whom sadly receive little mention; they certainly merit more.

- David Saunders MBE

Review 2:

In February 1912 Harry Pennell and his *Terra Nova* shipmates brave storms and ice to bring supplies to Antarctica. They hope to celebrate Captain Scott's conquest of the South Pole, but are forced by ice to return north before Scott's party returns. They soon find out that Roald Amundsen had reached the Pole first, and returning to Antarctica in early 1913, they learn that Scott's party reached the Pole but died on the ice shelf.

Back in Britain memorial services, medal ceremonies, weddings and resumed careers are abruptly interrupted by the First World War. Fit and able men, Scott's 'Antarctics' trade one adventure for another. By 1919 they have fought at Antwerp, on the Western Front, at Gallipoli, in the Channel, at Jutland and in Arctic Russia. They serve on horseback, in trenches, on battleships and hospital ships, in armoured cars and flimsy aircraft. As in Antarctica, life is challenging and dangerous. As on the ice, not all survive.

It is those relating to the Dardanelles and Gallipoli that are of immediate interest here. The story of William Lashly who served on HMS *Irresistible*, Edward Nelson of Hood Battalion, Victor Campbell of Drake Battalion, naval doctors Edward Atkinson, who was investigating and trying to control the outbreaks of dysentery on the Peninsula, and Murray Levick, who was a surgeon aboard HMS *Bacchante*, all are interesting characters.

It is nice to read a book where the 'Gallipoli' men all survive the ill-fated campaign, although others covered in the book would not be so lucky. Strathie's story of these remarkably talented adventurers is fascinating, as is the evidence that many of these men remained in touch during the war, although talk of the frozen continent gave way to their latest war adventures.

Strathie's book is well written, excellently illustrated with photographs, maps and supplemented with poetry, letters and personal accounts from the men. An interesting read and recommended to all those to want to know more about Scott's Antarctic survivors and their Great War deeds.

- Stephen Chambers

IRISHMEN IN THE GREAT WAR

Author: Tom Burnell. Publisher Pen & Sword 2015. Hardback 264 pages, 17 illustrations. Price £19.99. ISBN 978 1 47382 345 7.

With the sub-title 'Reports from the Front 1915', the author has brilliantly selected over

one hundred and fifty news stories published in twenty-six Irish newspapers during 1915. Information on the newspaper concerned being provided in an appendix. Mostly vivid and very personal stories from those at the front often told in letters home to family and friends, in not a few cases from men who would be subsequently killed on land or at sea.

Private Jack O'Donnell, serving with the Australian contingent writing home on 29 April from the Clan McGillivray, then in Alexandria, tells of the landings and how his rifle choked with sand. He strikes a cheerful note having already volunteered to quickly return to the Peninsula. Private Gormley of the Munsters also lying wounded in Port Said is equally up-beat, though concludes "I can tell you it is no picnic up there." Especially detailed is the letter from Father John Fahey who took part in the landings having, like Father Finn, disregarded an order that they should not land until the second day. Captain Poole H Hickman of the 7th Royal Dublin Fusiliers provides a vivid account of operations at Suvla between the 6 and 14 August before being killed the following day, while Lieutenant Kelly of the RAMC, attached to the Bedfordshire Regiment, concludes his message as many did by saying the place is full of flies.

The dark side is not forgotten, such as a deserter who promoted himself to captain, represented himself as a Dardanelles hero, awarded himself the Victoria Cross and other medals and ran up hotel bills before being caught with a lady from Torquay and sentenced to twenty-one months hard labour.

- David Saunders MBE

ARTICLES FOR THE GALLIPOLIAN

Articles and items of interest about any aspect of the Gallipoli campaign are always welcome. These should be submitted direct to the Editor, preferably as an e-mail attachment, at the email address inside the front cover. Because there is sometimes a significant amount of material awaiting publication, it is not always possible to feature articles in the issue following submission although where there is an element of topicality the Editor will try to accommodate them, or refer them to colleagues responsible for the Association website.

For those considering the submission of articles the Editor can provide a copy of 'Notes for the Guidance of Contributors' on request.

DISCLAIMER

Readers are reminded that the observations and opinions expressed in articles and letters published in The Gallipolian are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editor, or those of the Association.



OBJECTIVES

*To advance education for the public benefit
by raising public awareness of the Gallipoli Campaign of 1915
and by encouraging and facilitating the study in the legacy
and lessons of that campaign, keeping alive the memory
of the campaign and ensuring that all who fought
or served in it, and those who gave their lives, are not forgotten
by applying such means as the Trustees deem fit.*

The Gallipoli Campaign is characterised by countless deeds of heroism and endurance. It took place in an area smaller than Southampton amid appalling conditions, such as heat, flies, lack of water, equipment and proper sanitation. Later on, rain and a freak spell of sub-zero temperatures had to be endured, to say nothing of the desperate close quarter fighting throughout the campaign. Some 559,000 Allied personnel were committed, of whom 420,000 were British and Empire troops, including 50,000 Australians and 9,000 New Zealanders, and 80,000 French. The cost in human terms was terrible. The Allies had 250,000 casualties, of whom approximately 58,000 were killed with only 11,000 having known graves. Ottoman forces with some Germans, numbered between 300,000 and 400,000 and of these some 87,000 were killed. The evacuation in December and early January 1916 was a masterly operation – one of the great feats of military history.