

The Gallipollian

The Journal of the Gallipoli Association

No. 142 - WINTER 2016



Flight Sub-Lieutenant James Sydney Bolas
Photograph courtesy of Royal Aero Club Trust

ROYAL NAVAL AIR SERVICE.

Previously reported missing, now reported
killed :—

FLIGHT SUB. LIEUT. J. S. BOLAS.

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

Registered Charity No. 1155609

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ANZAC / GALLIPOLI DAY 2017

Anzac/Gallipoli Day will take place on Tuesday 25 April. Although details won't be available for some time, it is expected that they will follow the usual pattern whereby the Cenotaph Ceremony and Service at Westminster Abbey will be organised by the High Commissions.

As was the case last year, security arrangements are expected to be tight and details of those wishing to participate will be required. Given that the deadlines imposed on the Association continue to shorten it is proposed to continue the practice adopted last year and to ask members to express an interest in attending one or more commemorations/events by completing the form enclosed with this issue of *The Gallipolian*. This will not guarantee a place nor will it be binding on individuals, or on the association, but it will allow us to contact those who indicate a wish to attend as soon as the arrangements are known.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING & AUTUMN LUNCH

The Association's Annual General Meeting was held at 11.30am on 11 October 2016 at the Cavalry & Guards Club, 127 Piccadilly, London W1J 7PX. The minutes of the meeting are enclosed with this issue of *The Gallipolian*.

The Autumn Lunch was held following the AGM. Our guest speaker was Admiral Sir Philip Jones KCB, The First Sea Lord, whose talk was entitled *Forcing the Straits – A Personal Perspective*. The text of the speech is reproduced below although we have been asked to mention that it may have differed a little in the delivery. Sir Philip was kind enough to take questions afterwards which covered a wide range of related topics.

ADMIRAL SIR PHILIP JONES KCB, THE FIRST SEA LORD

Speech to the Gallipoli Association

It's a pleasure to join you today and to have an opportunity to reflect on the naval contribution to the Gallipoli Campaign.

Images of trenches and barbed wire, and of poppies in Flanders fields, are an indelible part of our collective national memory. But as you know better than most, the First World War reached far beyond the Western Front, particularly at sea, where it stretched from the twin battles of the Coronel and the Falklands in the south to the Battle of Jutland in the north.

Of all the many chapters of the 1914-1918 war, few were more global in character, or in carnage, than the Gallipoli Campaign. Thousands of French, Senegalese, Irish, Australians, New Zealanders, Indians, Gurkhas and Newfoundlanders were lost at sea or fell on the shore and the cliffs, alongside tens of thousands of British and Ottoman dead.

A century has now passed, in which time empires have come and gone, and yet the memory of this particular campaign still echoes through the Royal Navy, and across Defence, today.

For me the lessons of Gallipoli have personal resonance, as a former commander of the Royal Navy's Amphibious Task Group ten years ago, but also having been a junior officer serving in the flagship of that Task Group at the time of the landings in San Carlos Water during the Falklands Conflict thirty-four years ago.

In March last year I also had the privilege of visiting Çanakkale in Turkey, together with the destroyer HMS *Duncan*, for the events to mark the centenary of the Anglo-French naval action to try to open the Dardanelles, which preceded the Gallipoli landings.

This particular aspect of the campaign is less well known, and is one that I would like to explore a little further with you now.

Dardanelles Campaign

The fighting on the Western Front in late 1914 and early 1915 had produced huge losses for little material gain, and there was certainly an anxious desire to explore ways of breaking the stalemate.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, had long harboured an interest in forcing open the Dardanelles as a means to attack Constantinople and remove the threat posed by Turkey. At first glance, his plan presented a seductive opportunity.

Knocking Turkey out of the war would damage Germany's reputation, open a reliable route to Russia and help secure Britain's continued access to the Suez Canal.

But, militarily, this strategy was audacious to say the very least. The Dardanelles is a 60-mile strait separating Asia and Europe. The opening is guarded by the rocky peaks of the Gallipoli peninsula and at its narrowest point the channel is only just over a mile wide. The water flows in both directions, which produces difficult and opposing currents on and below the surface. Even today, it is an extremely testing stretch of water to navigate.

Visiting in HMS *Duncan* last year, I was struck once again by just how exposed any military force attempting to penetrate the straits must have been. My own early schooling on the bridge of RN warships was at a time when the Royal Navy was focused on Cold War operations in the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean. I certainly wouldn't like to manoeuvre a cumbersome WWI era battleship through the narrow confines of that strait in hostile circumstances, let alone try to manoeuvre a whole battle squadron. But it seems Churchill had been impressed by how quickly German artillery had subdued forts in Belgium in 1914, and believed that the Ottoman Forts would fall just as easily to British naval artillery.

The British believed that once inside the channel, the large calibre long range guns of the new super dreadnoughts like HMS *Queen Elizabeth* would overcome the enemy defences at a distance, while the older but more numerous pre-dreadnought battleships could finish the job at close quarters.

When the attack began in February 1915, the outer forts guarding the entrance to the channel did indeed fall, but the passage through the straits posed a far more formidable challenge than expected. The Ottomans had also learned rapidly and with German assistance had strengthened the defences around the narrows with the addition of 78 heavy guns, almost 200 lighter guns, and with mobile artillery.

Meanwhile hundreds of enemy mines had been spread across the channel. Initially, these were laid across the strait, but after watching the standard operating procedures of the British and French ships, the Ottomans laid further mines parallel with the shore, in precisely the area where they knew the allied ships would withdraw to recover.

The principal day of action, March 18, saw three allied battleships sunk, and a further three crippled.

The whole endeavour had been a disaster, even before a single soldier had stepped ashore.

Lessons

Whether Churchill, Fisher or the Admiralty were to blame is a matter for historians. But what is clear is that the Allies had massively underestimated their enemy. The Ottoman fleet may not have been able to match the Royal Navy when it came to engagement between capital ships, but they didn't need to.

Mines were cheap, simple and in plentiful supply, and had the potential to cause huge damage in the confined waters of an international strait. They still do, as the US Navy learnt to their cost in the Gulf in 1991. Today we refer to them as 'disruptive technologies.'

The mobile shore batteries, meanwhile, were on paper vastly inferior to the fire power of a battleship – and yet used in combination with mine laying they were deadly. The Ottoman forces were much faster to grasp these technologies and were able to apply them to the theatre in question – a theatre they knew well - with devastating success.

At the same time there was a chronic lack of skilled coordination between the British Army and the Royal Navy. To paraphrase Napoleon, one was an elephant, the other was a whale; despite best intentions neither really understood how to fight in the other's environment.

Perhaps these deficiencies could have been mitigated with better planning at the outset. But the campaign to open the straits had been driven by Churchill with enthusiasm and pace; without the necessary thorough analysis of both the benefits and the risks.

Indeed, there is an interesting comparison to the approach taken by Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, who would command the Grand Fleet at the Battle of Jutland the following year.

Jellicoe was acutely aware that torpedoes, submarines and mines represented unknown quantities in his estimations, and they weighed heavily on his thinking. And although he would later be criticised for his caution he was, to quote Churchill, "the only man on either side who could lose the war in an afternoon."

Wars are rarely won at sea - rather victory at sea creates the essential conditions for success ashore; and as we move forward in this maritime century, it's worth remembering that the price of failure remains a high one.

The Royal Navy Today

Today, the Royal Navy is entering a period of investment and renewal, as we introduce the two largest aircraft carriers in our history and begin construction of a new generation of ballistic missile submarines to carry the nuclear deterrent into the 2050s.

Much of the fleet is being modernised around these two strategic capabilities, but when it comes to raw numbers of ships and people, we know we can't compete with some of the world's fastest growing navies. At the same time, technologies which deny navies freedom of navigation at sea, like mines, submarines and ballistic missiles, are proliferating around the world, along with knowledge of how to use them. So now it is we who are also pursuing the disruptive technologies.

As I speak, over 40 robotic systems are being put through their paces off the West Coast of Scotland as part of Exercise Unmanned Warrior, including the world's first self-landing drone and a remotely operated speedboat capable of travelling at 60 miles per hour.

Autonomous systems like these offer reach and persistence and they reduce risk by taking people out of harm's way.

Within the next two years we will also test an energy weapon at sea. It doesn't require ammunition, only electricity, so the cost-per-shot is massively reduced and compares favourably to a guided missile which can cost thousands of pounds. This is one way we can compensate for lack of mass.

These are just two examples; there are many others. The Royal Navy's ambition is to lead industry in the development and exploitation of these kinds of innovative technologies, because they will keep us ahead of more conventional threats and ensure we remain a partner of choice for our strongest allies.

We must also continue to work hand in glove with our sister services and partner nations.

Just as commanders at Gallipoli faced unfamiliar threats from artillery and aircraft up high and submarines down below, today, we must work in a complex multi-dimensional battle space. We feel this particularly acutely in the Royal Navy, operating as we do at sea, in the air, on land, in space, across the electromagnetic spectrum and in cyberspace.

The Queen Elizabeth-class carriers will project power and influence across all these domains, often in partnership with our sister services and international partners. This could be hard power in the form of the Joint Strike Fighter or soft power in the shape of disaster relief or humanitarian aid. This versatility is their great strength.

So we are developing the glue that can hold together the physical components of this approach, such as the bandwidth and connectivity necessary to talk to one another.

But we also must also develop the insight, the understanding and the experience of working together now so that it becomes instinctive; because the events of 1915 prove that the price of learning these things 'on the job' can be costly in both lives and strategy. Of course, aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines are strategic capabilities, indicative of an ocean going Navy and a global maritime power.

Yet as global populations become even more concentrated in the world's coastal cities and regions, we must also be ready to operate close to the shore, and move seamlessly between the land and sea. It is in this area where the legacy of Gallipoli burns most brightly.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the concept of amphibious operations fell out of fashion after 1915. Yet with the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from Dunkirk in 1940, it became clear to allied commanders that it would one day be necessary to return to the continent by means of an opposed amphibious landing.

For these reasons, the success of the landings on Sicily, at Salerno and in Normandy owed much to the lessons of Gallipoli.

Bitter as those lessons were, they enabled a new generation to develop skills in joint and combined operations. Churchill, in particular, was determined that this time around, nothing should be left to chance.

So those lessons included clearer communication and more accurate charts, together with the importance of intelligence and reconnaissance and the requirement for meteorological and hydrographical data. These remain fundamental considerations of any amphibious operation, be it a small landing party operating from a single ship or a full scale assault from a large task

group, as we saw in the spring of 1982.

Today the pairing of Royal Marines and Army commandos with the Royal Navy's amphibious shipping and commando helicopters provides mastery of the land-to-sea, and sea-to-land – and much of this is rooted in the lessons of those ill-fated landings on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Modern vessels like the assault ships HMS *Bulwark* and HMS *Albion* can trace their origins back to the *River Clyde*, the collier which was hastily adapted into a landing ship for 2000 men and then deliberately run aground at Cape Helles. And of course, Gallipoli also saw the debut of submarines to enable an assault, as well as the seaplane carrier HMS *Ark Royal*, which provided air support to the landings.

These contributions foreshadowed the roles of our nuclear submarines and of HMS *Hermes* and HMS *Invincible* in the Falklands War. They are also indicative of the role our new Astute-class submarines and Queen Elizabeth-class carriers may play in enabling amphibious operations in the future.

Conclusions

In drawing to a close, it is of course very easy to talk about lessons when you have the benefit of hindsight. Amidst the somewhat dispassionate analysis, we must never forget that the men and boys of the Royal Navy, and of all the allied forces, showed immense fortitude and bravery and they paid a terrible price, as did the enemy.

It's worth reflecting on the words of General Hamilton, commander of the British Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, to Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, in May 1915.

The Royal Navy has been father and mother to the Army. Not one of us but realises how much he owed to Vice Admiral de Roebeck; to the warships, French and British; to the destroyers, minesweepers, picket boats and their dauntless crews; who took no thought of themselves but risked everything to give their soldier comrades fair run at the enemy.

Today many of the names of many of the great battleships present in the Dardanelles are carried by our modern day capital ships, such as the submarines HMS *Vengeance* and *Agamemnon* - the latter still in build - and the new aircraft carriers, HMS *Queen Elizabeth* and HMS *Prince of Wales*. We are very proud of the heritage they represent.

But the best way the Royal Navy can keep alive the memory of all those who fought and died in the Gallipoli Campaign is by approaching our duties today with the same sense of responsibility and commitment; and crucially by learning the hard won lessons of their experience, so that we may prosper by them.

THE CAPTAIN'S PEN

James Stopford

How do you find a present to reflect our thanks to Captain Christopher Fagan for 30 magnificent years as Chairman of the Gallipoli Association? We asked Dame Mary, who said, "he doesn't need anything and it will only spoil him." On further pleading, her suggestion was a fountain pen as he loves writing and an old favourite had just broken.

The quest was now on, something special and appropriate. Whilst out walking the dog I had the idea of having a pen made out of wood with a connection to the campaign. Approaches

were made to the Small Arms School Corps for a piece of wood from a weapon of the era – no luck. The Historical Dockyards was asked whether any wood was taken off HMS *M33* when she was refurbished in 2015 – she was an all iron ship!

So I approached a friend who is a serving officer in the Turkish Navy to ask if he could help with something suitable from the campaign. The reasons and connections to the campaign and Suvla Bay were explained; namely that Christopher's father, Major C F F Fagan had served with the 85th Field Company, Royal Engineers during the Gallipoli campaign. Military relics remain heavily regulated in Turkey but the officer (whose name is being deliberately withheld) was running the Plans Department in the Turkish Naval High Command and he offered to procure a piece of wood from the peninsula. An order was issued to the Turkish Coast Guard to dispatch a cutter to Suvla. I received the following from the Turkish Officer:

Here is the story. My friend in the coast guard had explained the purpose of the wood to the tour guide who kindly cut off the wood from the national park (which is tricky). The guide then, as I gather, elaborated on the mission by insisting on authentication of the wood, additionally by the choice of the pine tree. He tells that the wood must had a story, so he decided that this wood should come from a tree standing by the British cemetery (Walker's Ridge), looking down on Suvla Bay where recipient's father had once landed.

Captain, Turkish Navy 14 July 2016

The scene was set; the wood (a very large log) was cut and ready for dispatch.

The world woke on the morning of the 15 July to news of a military coup in Turkey and our Officer had other thoughts on his mind - although he had no involvement in the coup, he was in Naval High Command and suspicion was rife. He asked for understanding and assured me the wood would be sent as soon as possible. True to his word a Naval officer on a liaison visit to London delivered the log five days ahead of the Autumn lunch and it was presented to Christopher in front of Dame Mary, the First Sea Lord and members of the Association.

The log is now en route to a pen maker and a photograph of the final article will be published in *The Gallipolian* when it is complete.

THANK YOU

An insert with the journal issue No.136 (Winter 2014) invited members to purchase commemorative bottles of 15 year-old Springbank™ Single Malt Whisky “in support of our Centenary initiatives.”

I am pleased to say that this support raised £4,325 which has been passed over to the Association's education and bursaries fund.

My thanks to the Trustees and to the Committee for their guidance and practical assistance with this effort, and not least, to those members who so generously participated.

- Michael D. Robson

Who Dies If England Live

Epitaph on the headstone of Trooper John Kenneth Lush, 2nd Light Horse Regiment AIF.
Killed in action 7 August 1915, aged 23. Shrapnel Valley Cemetery, Anzac.

'FIELD OF REMEMBRANCE' – WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Foster Summerson

Every year the Gallipoli Association has a Memorial Plot at the 'Field of Remembrance' in the grounds of Westminster Abbey, which is open in the period around Remembrance Day. Anyone



In memory of Private Percy Edwards, KIA 7 Nov 1915, aged 17.
Photograph by Clive Summerson

can place a remembrance cross or symbol in the plot and 30 members availed themselves of the invitation made in the Autumn 2016 issue of The Gallipolian for the Association to arrange for crosses to be placed on their behalf. Among them was Mr Bonar G Cooley of the Yukon, Canada, who asked for a cross to be laid in memory of Pte. Percy Edwards 2nd. Bn. Royal Fusiliers, who was killed in action on 7 November 1915, aged 17. A cross was also laid on behalf of the Trustees in memory of Major Edgar H W Banner TD (1898 – 1984) – Founder to the Gallipoli Association.

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 (the Hon. Secretary's brother), who placed 55 crosses and other emblems in the plot on the morning of 8 November.

The Opening Service on 10 November was attended by HRH The Duke of Edinburgh and HRH The Prince Harry. After a brief service, the Last Post was sounded from the parapet of St Margaret's Church and the Silence kept. Afterwards, their Royal Highnesses toured the plots and spoke to veterans, service personnel and members of the organisations present. A limited supply of tickets for the opening ceremony was made available to the organisations that had plots in the 'Field' and 12 members of the Association were present at the ceremony and stood behind the Gallipoli Association plot during the service and inspection. The Duke of Edinburgh, our Patron, inspected the Association plot and spoke to Captain Christopher Fagan, our President, who 'fronted' the plot. It was a cold day and Prince Harry when passing the plot asked our members and others nearby if they were cold after standing there so long! Photographs relating to the Field of Remembrance can be found on pages 29 - 30.

REMEMBRANCE DAY – CENOTAPH CEREMONY

Foster Summerson

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

The Gallipoli Association contingent comprised 14 members and their guests, most of whom

had family links with the Gallipoli Campaign. This year, we were joined by two Australians – Rick Cranna and Geoff Grimish – who were visiting the UK and attended as guests of member Simon Kleinig; all of whom had served with Australian Army during the Vietnam War. The contingent marched as part of the ‘Civilian Column’ and formed-up outside the Old War Office Building in Whitehall, prior to the Parade. Our contingent co-ordinators were David Mason and Donna-Marie Kirk-Sargent who formed the left and right markers respectively. See photograph on page 31.

The weather was bright and sunny for the ceremony and parade which was as well given that participants have to stand in Whitehall for nearly two hours prior to ‘march-off.’ Sadly, this year the television coverage moved to Horse Guards before the Association contingent passed the Cenotaph where David Mason handed the Association’s wreath to the Royal British Legion ‘wreath-taker.’ After dispersal from Horse Guards Parade, the contingent was invited by Donna-Marie, a Consular Advisor at the New Zealand High Commission, to visit the rooftop suite at New Zealand House where the contingent had a marvellous view over London. This was followed by an enjoyable lunch in ‘The Admiralty’ in Trafalgar Square.

2017 COMMEMORATION AT THE 29TH DIVISION MEMORIAL

The annual commemoration at the 29th Division Memorial, Stretton-on-Dunsmore, Warwickshire will take place at 11.45am for 12.00 noon on Sunday 12 March 2017, when a wreath will be laid on behalf of the Gallipoli Association. Wreaths will also be laid by representatives of other organisations and by individuals.

The memorial is in the centre of a large roundabout on the A45, at the junction with the B4455, about 5 miles east of Coventry (grid reference SP 415733). Please contact James Watson Smith (address inside the front cover) if further information is required.

Please Note: As mentioned above, the memorial is situated in the centre of a roundabout on the A45. This is a busy road and it will be necessary to cross it to get to the memorial. Anyone that wishes to attend the commemoration will be responsible for his or her own safety and will be solely responsible for any claims or matters that may arise out of any injury, loss or damage suffered by the party or any one in their charge, in connection with their visit, and the Gallipoli Association will not be held responsible for any matter, injury, loss or damage that may arise.

GALLIPOLI ASSOCIATION BURSARY TOUR

26 to 30 June 2016

John White

Readers will be aware that the Association has organised bursary tours to Gallipoli for a number of years; these were continued by the Gallipoli Centenary Education Project (GCEP) which ran from May 2014 to April 2016, being funded jointly by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), benefactors and the Gallipoli Association. There were three battlefield trips to the Gallipoli Peninsula organised by GCEP which have been reported in *The Gallipolitan* and on the Association website. With the conclusion of GCEP’s work in April, the Association organised a further bursary tour in June. The report following from Colonel John White describes the tour and its impact on those who took part.

If ever one wanted an example of the continuing relevance and importance of the Gallipoli Association, look no further than the recent Bursary Tour for 11 young people led by our able Historian, Stephen Chambers. The students came from Peter Symonds College, Winchester, and from Wallington County Grammar and Sutton Grammar, both in South London: seven girls and four boys in their Lower Sixth Year. The Association provided a bursary so each student only paid £270. The tour administration was efficiently provided by Battle Honours.

Convenient flights were arranged from Heathrow and we stayed in the Grand Anzac Hotel in Çanakkale. We spent 3 full days on the battlefield. Day 1 was the Naval Campaign followed by the landings on Cape Helles and the battles for Krithia; Day 2 was the Anzac landings and battles to secure the Second Ridge; and Day 3 was the Sulva Bay landings and the withdrawal.

Stephen is very good at explaining clearly the strategic and tactical issues and then reinforcing the impact with personal stories and anecdotes, including visiting a few particular headstones and individual memorials. There's nothing better than being on the ground and seeing the difficulties of the terrain and understanding the communication problems. The purpose of the tour was to open the students' minds and challenge stereotype, negative impressions. Discussions were held on social conditions in Britain and her Empire, how the British Army was organised, how the troops were equipped and led, the reasons for, and the longer term impact of, the campaign, including the political repercussions.

The tour benefited from being accompanied by a serving infantry officer, Major Tony Hellier, Royal Gurkha Rifles, who is currently at Headquarters Infantry, has done several operational tours in Afghanistan, and is jungle-warfare-trained. He looked at lessons identified and how the British Army would have operated today, specifically concentrating on fighting at infantry company level. The other accompanying adults were: Max Stafford, a political lecturer from Winchester University and me (John White), formerly The King's Regiment (now Duke of Lancaster's) and currently Commandant Surrey ACF Battalion, The Princess of Wales's Royal Regiment.

Importantly, we went to the Kabatepe Interpretation Centre and Museum which gives a modern Turkish view, suggesting that this was effectively a successful 'holy war' against the infidels from the West and was fought for the benefit of muslims generally. This is why the teaching of the campaign to students in Britain is relevant so they have a fuller perspective – and we laid to rest the myth that it was just Anzacs who suffered, examining the role of Indian troops, the French African soldiers and the various Labour Corps.

This was an active tour with some good hiking, particularly up to Plugge's Plateau to view the Anzac area of operations and down Rhododendron Ridge to take in the Suvla Plain. The reward was a swim off Ocean Beach.

We examined carefully some of the names of the missing on the Helles Memorial and held an act of remembrance at Green Hill Cemetery, Suvla, where we laid a wreath on behalf of The Queen's (Royal West Surrey Regiment) whose 2/4th Battalion landed at Suvla and took heavy casualties attacking the nearby Chocolate Hill. Rupert Brooke's 'The Soldier' was a poignant recitation. [See photographs pages 31 and 32].

The success of the bursary tour is summed up by this unprompted thank you from one of the students:

I just wanted to thank you again for the amazing trip. It was genuinely the most interesting educational trip I have been on so far, and I learnt so much about both the battle at Gallipoli as

well as the army in general. The five days spent abroad gave me a unique glimpse into what life in Gallipoli must have been like for both the British and Turkish troops, and opened my eyes to the possibility of having a career in the army - something which I had never before considered. I cannot thank you all enough for the information you have given me; it has not only enriched my knowledge of history but also inspired me to learn more about the past so that I can better understand why our lives and military is how it is today. I am incredibly grateful for having been given the chance to come on this trip, and touching moments such as the memorial and reading the words of Ataturk are times that I will remember my whole life.

GALLIPOLI TOUR STUDENTS PRESENT THEIR RESEARCH AND TALK ABOUT 'A FANTASTIC EXPERIENCE'

Peter Butterworth

Sixth form students who took part in The Gallipoli Association-sponsored study tour of Gallipoli in July gave a presentation to around a hundred of their fellow students on Tuesday 8 November at Peter Symonds Sixth Form College in Winchester.

Jordan, Jake, Tim, Danielle, Jo and Holly were part of a group of eleven, led by the Association's Historian Stephen Chambers, who followed up their five day tour with research of their own. They spoke with passion, enthusiasm and knowledge for about 40 minutes about the Campaign, its origins and aftermath, including the consequences for nations over a century later.

Their talks included the historical background to the First World War in the Mediterranean and Middle East, the initial strategic thinking behind the naval assault on the Dardanelles and the amphibious landings on the Gallipoli Peninsula in April 1915. There was a graphic and detailed description of life and death in the trenches using first hand eye witness accounts and photographs, the ebb and flow of the battles and the evacuation in January 1916. The students also looked at the military, political and national lessons to be learnt and how the Campaign is remembered today in Europe, Australia and Turkey.

It was clear from their research and presentation that the tour to the peninsula had been a profound experience for them all on an intellectual and emotional level. For some, the tour had influenced their career and university plans as well as their perception of the world as it was and is today. Many of the graves they visited were of troops of a similar age to them. They thanked the Trustees of The Gallipoli Association for the generosity of the bursaries which made this tour possible. [See photograph page 32].

GALLIPOLI & HIDDEN GALLIPOLI BATTLEFIELD TOUR 2017

Tour Dates: 7/12 May 2017

We will be running a May 2017 tour, led by Clive Harris & Stephen Chambers, to the Gallipoli Peninsula. Spring is a beautiful time to explore this dramatic and evocative battlefield, so book soon. Our ever popular study of the campaign (walking and/or non walking) will include the main historic areas of Helles, Anzac, Krithia, Gully Ravine, North Anzac, Suvla and the Dardanelles. For those of you who have been to Gallipoli before and would like to return with us, we will be exploring some 'hidden' parts of the old battlefield seldom visited and

recounting new stories of heroism and endurance. All are welcome.

Price Per Person: £1,350.00 (£120.00 Single Supplement)

Deposit £300.00 (Flight Cost, ATOL approved)

Non Flight Price: (Meet the group in Istanbul) £1,150.00

Hotel Accommodation: (Half Board Basis in Çanakkale)

Email Stephen Chambers at tours@gallipoli-association.org or contact via the Association's address (Mailbox 630, Wey House, 15 Church Street, Weybridge KT13 8NA) to reserve a place and for itinerary details.

GALLIPOLI 'EVACUATION' CONFERENCE

Peter Butterworth and Foster Summerson

Professor Dominic Twedde, Director General of the National Museum of the Royal Navy (NMRN), welcomed members of the Gallipoli Association and other participants to the 'evacuation conference' in the Portsmouth Historic Dockyard on 22 October 2016. He thought it was a fitting venue given that it was the home of HMS *M33*, the only surviving warship that had seen action at Gallipoli, and also because of the significant role played by the Royal Navy in the Gallipoli Campaign, and in the success of the evacuation.

Stephen Chambers, the Association's Historian & Webmaster, who organised the conference with the assistance of James Watson Smith, thanked the Director General for his welcome and for his assistance in bringing the conference to the Dockyard which was a superb location for this event. He welcomed those attending the conference and expressed his thanks, on behalf of the Trustees of the Gallipoli Association, to the speakers for giving up their time and for sharing their expert knowledge with those attending. Stephen then outlined the final months of the campaign and the background to the successful evacuation from Peninsula.

The first speaker was **Dr Andrew Lambert** whose talk *Turning Defeat into Victory: The Official History of The Evacuation* focussed on the role played by Sir Julian Corbett (1854 – 1922), the naval historian who had begun lecturing at the Royal Naval College in 1902 and became the Admiralty's principal, albeit unofficial, strategic adviser. He was also responsible for three of the five volumes of the *Official History of the War* dealing with Naval Operations.

In terms of British strategy and pre-war planning, Corbett was a strong believer in the concept of limited war since Britain, unlike France, Germany and Russia, did not have large standing armies. He endorsed Admiral Fisher's strategic priorities which were to reduce the German Naval threat, and to keep the Germans away from the Flanders coast. In this respect, he was critical of the Army's failure to co-ordinate planning and strategy with the Royal Navy prior to the outbreak of War.

Like Admiral Fisher, Corbett argued against a purely naval attack on the Dardanelles. He was critical of Winston Churchill who took little interest in detailed planning and ignored the need for a combined military and naval operation. Ships had also been sent to the Dardanelles without adequate supplies of ammunition, much of what was available being of inferior quality. These criticisms were not Corbett's alone; they were cited in the *Report of the Dardanelles Commission* and were unsurprisingly reflected in Corbett's drafting of the *Naval Operations* volumes of the *Official History*.

Corbett supported the plans for the first phase of the Suvla landings which were a combined operation. He was a friend of Sir Ian Hamilton and also knew Commodore Keyes. Both Keyes and Vice-Admiral Wemyss, were, like Corbett, critical of General Monro's recommendation to evacuate the peninsula. In Corbett's view, the French decision to embark on the Salonika campaign and the British Government's willingness to send troops there significantly affected the Gallipoli campaign; he saw the decision to evacuate as the result of political failings resulting from a lack of understanding of the strategic imperatives, and the unwillingness to send reinforcements to Gallipoli. As to the evacuation itself, Dr Lambert pointed out that it succeeded because it was a carefully planned joint operation. He also drew attention to the effectiveness and deterrent effect of naval fire-power on the Ottoman forces throughout the campaign, and he thought this was probably the reason - or at least a significant factor - why they chose to ignore the evacuations. Sir Julian Corbett continued to provide advice to the Admiralty throughout the war and played a leading role in defining British Naval Strategy; sadly he died before his work on all the naval volumes of the *Official History* was complete.

After a break for coffee, the next speaker, **Dr Phylomena Badsey**, presented a paper entitled *Evacuation: Nursing and Care-Giving at Gallipoli*. At Gallipoli, hospital ships were floating Casualty Clearing Stations as well as working hospitals, not merely transport for the sick and injured (unlike their counterparts in The Channel which mainly transported troops in a 'stable condition' to England for medical treatment). In the Gallipoli campaign, troops often arrived in 'trench condition' and were a source of infection to all. Very long chains of evacuation and time delays between injury and professional nursing care usually meant that the 'golden hour' had passed. The injured were often left untreated for very long periods, exposed to the weather and enemy fire before eventually being evacuated from a beach by boat and an agonising transfer by derrick to hospital ships.

Disease and sickness caused most casualties (climate, diet, lack of clean water, unhygienic uniforms and trench conditions as well as snakes, rats and flies). Troops suffered from extremes of cold and heat, dysentery and 'trench fever.' Treatment at the front was very limited so when casualties finally arrived in a hospital ship they were in a very weak condition. Those taken to a fully prepared hospital ship were very fortunate compared with many others who were sent to troop carriers (or 'black ships' as they were known). The latter had very small medical teams, lacked proper hygiene and medical equipment and therefore mortality rates were very high.



Dr Badsey speaking with Stephen Chambers.
Photograph by Thomas Iredale.

The hospital ships were requisitioned civilian passenger liners, fully equipped with trained medical staff to carry out their role but they did not anticipate the sheer numbers of casualties that they had to treat. When full beyond capacity they would transfer the injured to land-

based hospitals in Lemnos, Mudros, Alexandria, Gibraltar and Malta.

Dr Badsey argued that the courageous and very significant contribution of the nurses and medical staff at Gallipoli needs to be fully recognised in accounts of the Campaign: Queen Alexandra's Royal Naval Nursing Service for example included civilian volunteers and reservists who had very high levels of medical responsibility and skill and worked impossibly long hours with poor facilities in hazardous and distressing conditions.

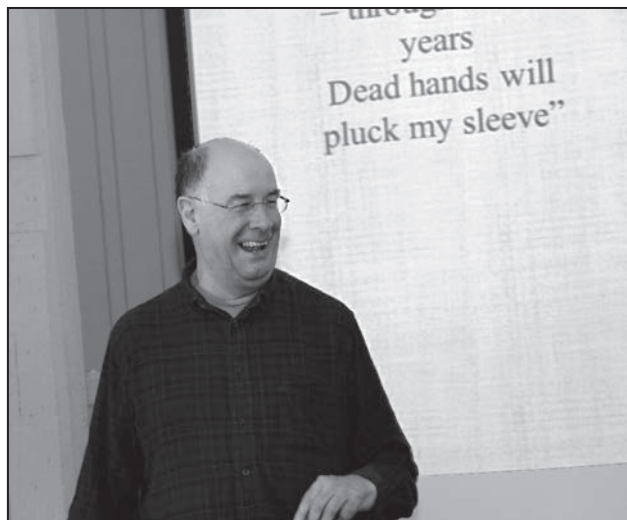
After an excellent buffet lunch it fell to our old friend, **Peter Hart**, the Imperial War Museum's Oral Historian and prolific author, to take the next session – often referred to by speakers as the 'graveyard shift'! Peter's chosen subject was *Stealing Away: the RND and the Evacuation of Helles*. Peter is not known for his love of poetry and it came as a surprise to many of us who know him that he began his talk with an extract from a poem by Lieut. Ivan Heald:

As we stole down to Sedd-el-Bahr

Our dead mates heard us go

which must have been in the mind of many during all the evacuations.

Peter explained that the Royal Naval Division was in bad condition in mid-December 1915 when it took over positions vacated by the French in the Kereves Dere sector on the right of the Helles front. The RND evacuation order was issued on 30 December and transmitted to each brigade the following day. Broadly the same evacuation plan used at Anzac and



Peter Hart speaking on the RND's evacuation of Helles.
Photograph by Thomas Iredale.

Suvla was relied on; this involved a gradual thinning of the battalions, removal of stores and ammunition together with quiet periods and heavy retaliation in the event of enemy bombardments, or where patrols were spotted. Much of the RND was evacuated from 'V' Beach without difficulty on the nights of 6/7 and 7/8 January leaving almost 17,000 infantry, artillery and medical units to be evacuated on the final night of 8/9th. However, the final night was not to be straightforward; it was a long way to the beach and many of the communication trenches had been blocked in the final days to hinder any advance by the Turks after the final withdrawal. This caused problems

and delays for some units who were faced with unexpected detours before they reached the beach. The wind had also increased making the sea rough but the evacuation was successfully completed although much valuable equipment and stores – enough to feed 30,000 men - had been left behind.

In reply to questions about the lack of a Turkish response, Peter thought that the measures

taken, notably strong retaliation in the event of a threatened Turkish attack (such as that which occurred elsewhere at Gully Spur on 7 January), were undoubtedly factors in the caution exercised by the enemy but there was some evidence to suggest that the Turks did know that evacuation from Helles was going on but chose to let the British go.

After another coffee break, we welcomed **Dr Jochen Schrader** from Germany whose talk *The Other Side: the story of Wolfgang Schrader* was a brilliantly-researched account of his grandfather Wolfgang's experience at Gallipoli. This was based on his personal diary running to over a hundred pages and gave a fascinating and unique insight into the campaign from the perspective of a German sailor. Dr Schrader entertainingly described Wolfgang's cosmopolitan upbringing in Istanbul, his civilian life as a horticultural engineer and university lecturer and his decision, aged 20, to join the German Imperial Navy as a translator in December 1914.

From his position as translator on board the collier SS *Irmingard*, supplying the SMS *Goeben*, Wolfgang closely observed the naval strategy and tactics in the early stages of the conflict. In July 1915, he transferred ashore with the Marine Landing Division to the Gulf of Saros and then set up shore-ship communications links at Kilia Tepe, listening in to British communications traffic.

Wolfgang's experience on the peninsula included many key events including the landings at Suvla Bay and the evacuation of January 1916, recorded in photographs. From 1916 onwards, his role involved the arrival of German submarines by rail, their construction and launch to patrol the Sea of Marmara, The Black Sea and eastern Mediterranean. He also played a role as translator for the many VIPs who visited Turkey including The Kaiser and Emperor of Austria and (1917-18) was personal translator for Kapitänleutnant Kurt Böcking, the Commander of the Naval High School in Turkey.

At the end of the war, German and Austrian subjects were expelled from Turkey and Wolfgang's journey through war-torn Ukraine, along the frontier of the newly formed USSR via Poland and finally into Germany was as miraculous as it was perilous.

The final session was a short talk by **Dave Hartley**, Duty Manager at the NMRN, entitled *The Lucky Ship: Monitor M33*. This outlined the history of Monitors and the *M33* in particular; how the ship came to be acquired by the Hampshire County Council, brought to Portsmouth and eventually taken over by the NMRN and opened to the public in August last year – the centenary of the Suvla landings. He also dealt with work that had been necessary to restore the ship and told us about some of those who served on the *M33*; one being Henry Mulligan, a Signaller, who served on the *M33* for 2½ years during which time he kept a diary that had been donated to the museum.

We learnt more about the *M33* during our private tour of the ship which followed Dave's presentation.

Brigadier James Stopford CBE, the Association Chairman, brought the conference to a close. He thanked everyone who attended and extended his particular thanks to the speakers who had made the day so special. He also thanked Stephen Chambers and James Watson Smith for organising the conference which had been a tremendous success. He echoed the thanks which Stephen had expressed at the start of the conference to Dominic Tweddle and the staff at the NMRN for making us so welcome at the Historic Dockyard.

SUBSCRIPTIONS 2017

The annual membership fees for 2017 remain unchanged; namely

Individual Membership (UK) paid by cheque, Direct Debit or Standing Order - £20.00

As above paid using PayPal - £21.50

Individual Membership (Overseas) paid by cheque, Direct Debit or Standing Order - £30.00

As above paid using PayPal - £31.50

For other membership categories see page 2 of the Winter 2014 issue (No. 136)

Payment may be paid by any of the following methods:

Cheque: Members who pay their subscriptions by cheque should use the enclosed form when their membership renewal is due. Please note that the majority of cheque renewals are due on 5 January, but not all.

Standing Order: If you have a Standing Order in place, please check and ensure that the correct amount, as above, is being paid. The Association is unable to amend Standing Orders – this is the sole responsibility of the individual member.

Direct Debit: If you wish to pay your subscription by Direct Debit, forms are available for download via the Association's web site, or can be provided on request. These transactions are quite safe and are covered by the Direct Debit Guarantee, but can only be used with a UK bank account.

PayPal: If you pay manually via PayPal, please ensure that you pay the relevant amount when your renewal is due.

Please Note: Any subscription outstanding 3 months after it became due will be treated as lapsed. You will not receive further copies of *The Gallipolian* or any of the other membership benefits.

If you have any queries, please do drop me an email or give me a call. My address and telephone number are shown inside the front cover.

Peter Luff
Membership Secretary

JOHN EDWARD LOVELUCK

John Dixon

John Edward Loveluck was born in Aberavon, Glamorgan, South Wales, in 1872. Many of his uncles and great uncles were sea captains and ship owners. He was apprenticed to his father James in 1887 for four years sailing in his sailing ships *Isipingo* and *Ribbleton* to Argentina, the USA, South Africa, Australia and India. He obtained his master's certificate in 1897, having qualified entirely on sailing ships.

He then worked on cargo steam ships, mainly back and forth to the USA, but also to Russia, Canada, South America, South Africa, India, Iran, China, Japan and Australia. In 1905 he was awarded a silver medal for bravery for rescuing the crew of a Norwegian ship in a storm. He married my grandmother in 1904. She had several miscarriages and a daughter who survived

only a few hours in 1912, while JEL was in Australia. Only my mother survived.

On returning from Australia in March 1915 as first officer on *Manica*, the ship was immediately seized by the Admiralty and sent to Birkenhead to be converted into the first of many balloon ships. Within three weeks all the crew were incorporated into the Royal Navy. The officers were given commissions and sent off in great secrecy to Gallipoli under Commander Mackworth, whose family had been experimenting with balloons for many years. The use of the balloon enabled spotting of Turkish positions and ships in the Narrows so that the massive guns of the battleship *Queen Elizabeth* could quickly blow them to bits. The horrendous slaughter must have affected all involved. Mackworth shot himself when war was declared again in September 1939. The *Times* just said he died 'suddenly'. On Anzac Day and Armistice Day we remember the dead, but we should also remember all those who survived for 50 or more years with such horrendous memories that few would talk about them.

The old British battleship *Triumph* was blown up by a torpedo that had passed under *Manica*. A week later my mother was born. By October 1915 two other balloon ships had arrived so HMS *Manica* was sent back to the UK for major modifications. Of the two artists who became balloon operators, Herbert Hillier, who has hundreds of sketches at the Imperial War Museum, returned home about August 1915. The other, William Wiehe Collins, also made maps and a model of the peninsula and stayed map-making in Egypt before returning home just in time for his exhibition of paintings in October. He sold most. His record of sales and catalogues survive and I have copied his diary. A grandson saved much from a skip! Some sketches are in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. Letters home, and to his brothers, etc., survive and copies exist at Leeds University as well as with me. I have photos of some paintings, now held in the Leeds Art Gallery, and scans of a couple of originals.

In February 1916 the *Manica*, with the same officers, was sent back to the Mediterranean, but as Gallipoli had been evacuated, the ship was then sent to East Africa. *Manica* was now equipped with sea planes as well as with the balloon. When Commander Bridgeman and Flight Commander Moon failed to return in their sea plane in January 1917, Loveluck volunteered (according to my mother) to rescue them from the Refugi Delta. He was, however, forbidden to attempt to do so. A full account of Moon's survival as a POW and Bridgeman's drowning was published by Conrad Cato in *The Navy Everywhere* in 1919 (available for free on the internet). Cato also gives accounts of *Manica's* activities at Gallipoli and East Africa, gleaned the information from (unnamed) officers involved. By July 1917 the ship was no longer required. At Port Said the balloon crew were discharged and all the equipment removed [ADM 53/48180]. *Manica* was sold in Bombay, renamed *Huntball* and all the officers' commissions were terminated on 19 August, but all were still on the ship 'awaiting orders' in the last entry, made on 31 August [ADM 53/48181]. It seems they had to find their own way home! All but JEL went back to the merchant navy or RNAS, having got home about 8 February 1918. However the newly appointed captain of HMS *Waterwitch*, Lieutenant Bisson, died on 20 Jan 1918 when the *Louvain* was torpedoed on her way to Mudros. JEL must have been in the area, as he was promoted to Lieutenant and appointed captain from 28 January.

The *Manica* was renamed *Phorus* and all her identification, including her official number, transferred to the notorious *Baralong*. *Phorus* became an oil tanker between Borneo and Australia, a voyage coinciding with standing by as Amy Johnson passed overhead on the final and most dangerous leg of her historic flight to Darwin in 1930. *Phorus* was scrapped in 1931.

The only other story passed on by my mother was that when the Turkish sultan died (in July

1918), his body was transported to his burial place by HMS *Waterwitch* (because the body was not allowed to pass under any bridge), whilst we were still at war. This was part of the political process to persuade the Turks to give up the war. JEL was awarded some high honour by Turkey, but the award was 'stolen later' and I've never been able to find any official record of this event. A recent thesis (Servet Yanatma 2007 - I have the text but not the photos) about the funerals of the sultans makes no mention of this. Not only that, it would seem quite impossible for *Waterwitch* (based at Salonika or Mudros) to be involved - unless the sultan died in South-west Turkey and the records were doctored to appease Moslem requirements.

By May 1919 the war was over, *Waterwitch* was moored at Constantinople, and JEL was finally on his way home. He must have had a few days' leave, but was then sent to Scotland to be master of HMS *Dahlia* and sent to Reval in Estonia. The ship stayed in Estonia for two months as the sea froze over, returning to England in January 1920 with a load of White Russian refugees. His commission was then cancelled. He returned to merchant service for about three years, but after a final voyage to Japan, decided his health and eyesight no longer allowed him to do his job properly, so retired. At some time JEL was injured when a gun backfired - maybe he was the un-named officer who shot away the anchor cable when *Manica* was being attacked in the Narrows. He also had malaria - presumably off East Africa - so the terrible cold of the Baltic in December was no help.



HMS *Waterwitch* loading soldiers at Mudros on 24 Nov 1915
Photograph courtesy John Dixon. See also the photograph on page 35.

In 1927 the family moved from London to a bungalow near Tunbridge Wells in Sussex. He wanted to spend his final years by the sea so he and my grandmother moved to Bexhill in 1945. He died in January 1947. All I can remember of him was being given in 1944 a large wooden money box full of coins from his (and earlier) voyages all over the world. He never had a camera, and no letters or diaries (if there were any) have survived. I have photos of the ships and crew, most of which I found in 1988 in a box with hundreds of unused postcards.

I have some used postcards 1904-21 to and from JEL and his wife, but the vast majority had vanished by 1988 when my parents 'downsized'. Even in 1961 when I drove my little old car to Constantinople my grandmother, who I saw almost every day, told me nothing about JEL's time at Gallipoli or at Constantinople. So it was not until the 1980's that I found out that *Waterwitch* had survived as *Halas* [see photograph p35].

HMS *Waterwitch* (originally built for Turkey in 1914-15) was transferred to Turkey in 1923 and was a popular Bosphorus ferry (*Bosphorus 71* and *Halas 71*) until retired in 1986. She was saved from the breakers and converted into a luxury motor yacht. Her new owners knew nothing of her early history or they would probably have bought *Kalender*. *Halas* was hired out for 25 years, passing Gallipoli at least twice every year. With a change of owners she has had a refit and still (in 2016) as *Halas 71* passes Gallipoli. *M33* may be the only surviving UK WARship from Gallipoli, but HMS *Waterwitch*, which merely ferried soldiers (about 1000 at a time) at Gallipoli and Salonika is a real survivor still 'sailing' the Bosphorus and Aegean.

HMS *Dahlia* also had an interesting post-war history. She was converted into a laboratory for studying Foot-and-Mouth disease and spent about two years moored in the middle of the North Sea. She was then cleaned up, refitted, re-commissioned and sent to the Red Sea, where she was used, according to various newspaper reports online (inter alia) for visits by Middle East royalty.

HELLES TO THE 'BRIDGE TOO FAR'

Tonie and Valmai Holt

Introduction

When we read the last 'Evacuation Issue' of *The Gallipolitan* and heard about the conference to be held about the operation (sadly we were unable to go), we wrote to the editor with details of a connection between the Gallipoli and Market Garden/Arnhem campaigns that we felt might interest members. Bryn replied by suggesting that we write an article about our earlier visits. This is it.

We start with the original e-mail and then add a few odd reminiscences. The pictures are from the days before digital cameras when one had to carry abroad rolls of film in case replacements were not available – they were not! Only when one got back home could it be discovered whether any photos were usable. Only about one in eight were and the ones we are now able to find have faded. Please excuse them.

The e-mail

Dear Bryn

Further to the excellent 'Evacuation Issue' of *The Gallipolitan*, it may interest members to know what the Turkish Staff-Course Battlefield Tour answer to the 'Subject' (Did the Turks Know?) question was.

When we were visiting the Peninsula in the 1980s and 1990s, both to conduct battlefield tours and also to gather material for our Gallipoli Guide Book, we were greatly helped in London by Colonel Dundas, the Turkish Military Attaché and in Turkey by Colonel Tahsin Daggez, the Chief of Staff of 2nd Turkish Corps. Despite this tacit 'Official' approval we had to be escorted by two armed soldiers (much of the Peninsula was out of bounds – proof attached by an 'archive' photo of Valmai and escorts!) [See photograph on page 36].

On one later visit Colonel Dundas generously loaned us a Landrover with driver, and as a guide, Lieutenant Mehmet Gunes, the Turkish military historian who organised and conducted the Turkish Army staff battlefield tours. Over the days that we criss-crossed the battlefield with Mehmet we established a very easy relationship that allowed us to get beyond the 'I am Turkish – I am British' barrier and inevitably the subject of the 'Evacuation' came up. We asked him - 'Did your Army know that we were leaving?'

Mehmet smiled. 'Of course. We had seen the preparations', he said.

'Why didn't you shoot?'

'Because all we had been doing was defending our homeland from an invader. If the invader was leaving why should we endanger any more of our soldiers' lives?'

The conduct of the evacuation, deliberately left alone by the Turks or not, became a classic of British Staff training for many years and was of particular value in Arnhem in 1944. There, (strictly speaking at Oosterbeek, a suburb) a small British force, having been surrounded in an area called 'The Perimeter' for several days, had to be evacuated across the River Rhine. General Urquhart, who Commanded the airborne forces, wrote about it after the war and we quote him in our Arnhem Guide Book:

At the back of my mind was Gallipoli. As a young officer I had studied this classic withdrawal very thoroughly for a promotion examination. It all came back to me now: the extreme pains that were taken to thin out the forward positions ... to keep up an appearance of opposition until the very last ... The elaborate care with which parties were organised for their move to the beaches ... I called Charles Mackenzie (the General's chief staff officer) over to help me with the evacuation plan. 'You know how they did it at Gallipoli, Charles? Well we've got to do something like that.

They did. Opposed this time, but successful. Oddly, during earlier fighting, 6pr guns named 'Gallipoli', 'Hellespont' and 'Scimitar Hill' came into action against the Germans.

As fairly long-time members may we add our thanks to those of our new chairman for the years of dedication to the Association by Christopher Fagan.

Sincerely

Reminiscences

Colliding with the car carrying the Chief of Police of Istanbul, and in the middle of Taksim Square to boot, is not the recommended way to begin a tour to the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Actually his car collided with us not the other way around - with the first of our four coaches, but one does not argue these finer points in Turkey. Mind you, two of the other coaches did not do so well either. One of them had a puncture on the way down and no spare wheels, while another broke down completely as it attempted to leave the Dardanelles ferry at Çannakale. It was at the front of the loaded massed vehicles (where else under the circumstances?) and its front wheels landed on the shore and the other half of the vehicle refused to follow. The excitement was infectious. Travellers and passengers joined in a shouting press gang attempting to push the bus onto shore while drivers of all the vehicles blocked behind it on the ferry helped by honking their horns. Meanwhile hawkers flogging fake Lacoste sweaters had a field day with the captive audience and much 'char' was consumed. The sun beat down.

Eventually things got to the shoulder-shrugging stage and we and our passengers picked up our bags and walked to our hotel. We (T and V) sighed thankfully when we walked into our room to see that the right hand curtain over the big window still hung only half way across just as it had done in the previous years when we had come to 'Gallipoli'. Things hadn't changed then had they? Oh yes they had.

Our first visit to Gallipoli (by this we mean the battlefields) was in the 1980s. We cannot remember exactly what year. Just the two of us went as we planned to run a tour there the following year and we always checked things out before offering a tour to a new destination. We were well aware that Greek-Turkish relationships were still sensitive and so our first move was to contact the Turkish Embassy in London and to talk to the Military Attaché there. Could we go to the Gallipoli Battlefields? 'Yes, of course but' Was there a map of the area? Not as far as he knew – at least nothing that he could let us have.

We tried Stanfords of London. Nothing that had Gallipoli larger than a postage stamp. There were books of course but they had spidery hand-drawn images that frankly could be anywhere. The nearest thing to what we needed was the one in the CWGC cemetery registers. So that had to do. Never mind. We thought we could get one once we arrived. No we could not. It was said that the Turks were hesitant about having publicly available anything that might assist the Greeks in a future military adventure.

Luckily an American friend obtained (never asked how) a CIA cast-off which despite being covered in hieroglyphs worthy of the Valley of the Kings, showed us the shape of the Peninsula and where the towns and villages were. Hard to believe that it was so difficult? Maybe – but true. Of course the map did not show good road detail. It was mostly concerned with the waters around the Peninsula and as far as memorials etc were concerned, what memorials?

These days it is simple to get there, to follow the signs, to find accommodation, to dip into many guide-books. The Grecian danger has apparently receded.

On that first visit and for several thereafter there was no true battlefield tourism other than group day visits from within Turkey planned as part of a program of developing a national identity. The only signage was that of the Commission within its area. This was established in 1923 by the Treaty of Lausanne and was generally known as Anzac. There was no active centre at Gaba Tepe and apart from the open area around the Musrat no museum other than a small private one at Krithia. No one spoke English there. A real challenge. Could we find a guide? We asked the local Superintendent of the CWGC, John Price. He offered to help and his Turkish No 2 showed us around with explanations in execrable English that added colour to recently erected Turkish monolithic monuments. We needed more. Well there was a chap in Çannakale that took tours to Troy. Maybe he could help. He could. It seemed, according to him, that he was the only person on the Peninsula that 'knew' the battlefield. He had excellent English, was charming and knew where some things were but little else. Not why they were where they were, or who put them there.

After some days we felt able to take off around the Peninsula by ourselves and looked to hire a car. There was only one in Çannakale. One place and one car. The man with the car had just started the 'business' with his wife. He operated from a small office in a narrow street near the ferry terminal. The car belonged to his brother and was a clapped-out something from long ago with four wheels that hardly remembered what tyres were. We took it. Over the next three or four years, as we continued to visit to complete our guide book, we rented the same car with the same tyres. It went everywhere and never broke down. The business remained in the same small room. (We have just checked via Google and it looks as if the car rental business has thrived because they are still there – in Aksoy Sk.) But before we were let loose we acquired armed guards.

On that first visit many of the beach areas were out of bounds to visitors and here and there the local police operated road blocks to check travellers' identities. The military guarded some

beaches and it was thought that we should be kept an eye on – just in case. We had two very nice soldiers to look after us who spoke not a word of English and seemed to have no idea who we were or why we should be guarded. Although on that first visit we got to most places, we were unable to go to Lancashire Landing. We have never found out why that was. We were also not allowed to photograph a statue of Ataturk. Don't ask.

Those early days were for us so exciting. Wandering around the battlefields without seeing anybody else once officialdom had decided that we were safe. Talking to locals where we could and trying not to run over tortoises on the roads or get taken apart by packs of wild dogs. We set about drawing our own map of where things were and what roads might lead to them. Very difficult, particularly towards Suvla because outside the Commission's area very little was paved. The muddy tracks to places like Lala Baba and Nibrunesi Point shifted as the rains came and were pretty well impossible to use without a four wheel drive vehicle. However, the CWGC Landrover, which we had been invited by then-Chairman, Sir Arthur Hockady, to use to travel to outlying cemeteries, got stuck in the sandy mud at Hill 60 and Sir Arthur, the driver and ourselves had to dig it out. Later when Lieut Mehmet Gunes took us around he had a sturdy military Landrover-type vehicle which made things much easier. Mehmet was a most approachable soldier and he and his NCO, sergeant Dost, visited Azmak cemetery with us and there paid their respects to Private W Carter, who was killed on 28 August during operations around Suvla. Carter had served in the Sandringham Company of the 1/5 Norfolks, the 'Regiment that Disappeared'. We tell that full story in our book.

Perhaps the most special thing of all was spending a night by ourselves in the Commission's little hut (bungalow) on the beach and watching the sun go down over Imbros. There was no electricity and little furniture, but there was a gas fridge which one lit by standing half outside in the doorway and throwing lighted matches at it until it whooshed into life. Ali the gardener caught us a fish just off the beach, cooked it on an open fire and brought it to us for supper. After that it was so quiet that you could barely hear the lap of the waves just yards away. No words can wrap around that experience and the memories that we gained of things that we had never experienced – but they had.

On one of our early trips we met two particularly special people – Pam Cupper, the author of the Australian

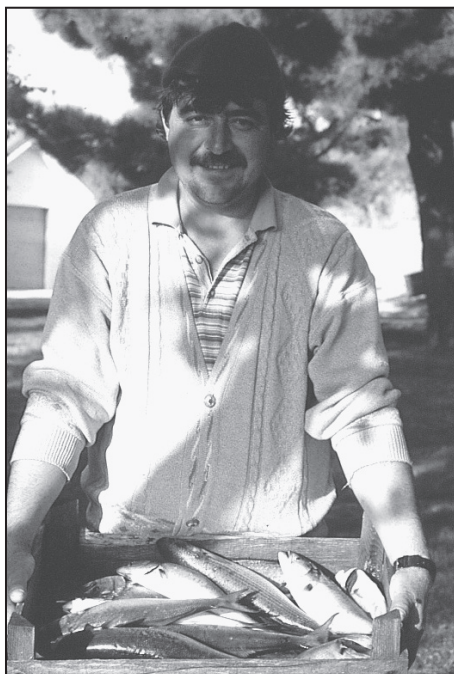


Lieutenant Mehmet Gunes, left, and Sergeant Dost, Turkish Army, at the grave of Private W Carter, 1/5th Norfolk Regiment.
Photograph by T and V Holt.

guide book just then published, and Ross Bastiaan. Pam we have not maintained contact with, but Ross we have corresponded with since those days and earlier this year we met again when he came to Portsmouth to unveil the plaque that he had done for the Navy and for the unveiling of the Monitor *M33*. We had met at Anzac where he had just placed the first of his now famous bronze plaques. How Anzac and that area has changed since then. Then there was no official Dawn Ceremony. No monumental surfacings to upset the lie of the land. The coastal road was gently slipping down to the beach. Every moment in our old hire car driving along what was really only a track seemed perilous – and probably was. We didn't care. Each early visit was an adventure, a journey back in time to an area much as it was all those years ago. However, the Turks had a plan. It was called the 'Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park'.

Some time after our earlier visits, probably in the late 1990s when 'tourism' was now plainly evident through the presence of hotels in both Eceabat and Çannakale, including the smart Akol, we met a group of Turkish officials and two young Norwegian architects. It turned out that Suleyman Demirel, then President of Turkey, had visited the Peninsula in 1994 and was deeply moved by the experience. He had decreed that a Park should be created on the Peninsula to perpetuate Kemal Ataturk's desire for 'Peace at home, peace abroad' and that the whole affair was to be co-ordinated and progressed by Professor Doctor Raci Bademli of the University in Ankara. Raci was one of those we met and we immediately found common cause because we were finalising our guide book and were able to exchange information.

In pursuit of the president's idea an international competition was set up for a design of the Park with a budget of \$60 million, with the winner to receive \$120,000. One hundred and twenty entries were received from prestigious firms around the world. The winners were the owners of B & K Architecture Studio of Oslo, Lasse Brogger and Anne-Stine Reine, and we were able to accompany them on part of their inaugural visit to the Peninsula – including a walk along the Kireçtepe Ridge on a very hot day. The path was hard to find and not easy to follow and only one cairn was substantial in appearance. Sadly Demirel, who had alternated between being President and Prime Minister, retired from political life in 2000 and Professor Bademli died in 2003 and as a result the project lost impetus. However, the whole of the background work in analysing the Peninsula from every aspect of cultural, historical, geographical, geological, archaeological, urban planning, population, tourism ... was recorded in three large sized card-backed volumes, of which only a small number were published by 'The Middle East Technical University'. They contain detailed maps of flora, fauna, memorials, cemeteries ... much of the latter based upon a 1916 map which they came across unexpectedly. Raci generously presented us with all three volumes which we proudly still have today. The full story of the Peace Park is in our Gallipoli Guide Book.



Ali, CWGC gardener, with fish for supper.
Photograph by T and V Holt.

One of the strongest memories of our many visits to Gallipoli was that of the 75th anniversary in 1990. That is an essay on its own – the refusal of the six embedded water sprinklers on the lawn beside the VIP tent (containing Margaret Thatcher) in front of the Turkish Martyrs Memorial, to shut down. They continued to shower the audience, while the four smartly suited Turkish minders rushed from one to another trying to cover them with their hats accompanied by applause from the audience. Then the press stand collapsed (one of the authors was on it) and the one British veteran in our party made it clear that he did not like being embraced by a Turkish veteran. The Aussies flew over, by the Royal Australian Air Force, some 70 veterans (number may not be exact – memory is dodgy) at government expense. Britain did not. Not one.

Oh and then there was the moment that our good Jean-Paul Thierry of the Historial in Peronne suddenly appeared unexpectedly out of the dark rain at around 0300 hours, one of the small French delegation to attend this historic commemoration ... and then Winston Churchill had to cadge a lift with us when he missed the official transport ...

Memories.

LETTERS FROM GALLIPOLI

‘Please send me out a big cake’

Foster Summerson

As part of the occasional series under the above title, we feature two letters from the Association’s archive that were sent to us some years ago by Mrs M E Robinson, the daughter of the writer, Lieutenant Colonel William Purnell Gwynn, who commanded the 39th Field Ambulance, 13th (Western) Division, which landed north of Anzac Cove on the night 3/4 August, the 39th Brigade having been engaged in support of the New Zealand & Australian Division since July; in August the brigade were involved in the actions at Sari Bair which are mentioned in the first letter.

William Gwynn was born at Westbury-on-Severn, Gloucestershire on 6 March 1871, the 13th of 14 children. Educated at Blundell’s School, Tiverton, he entered Guy’s Hospital, London as a medical student qualifying in 1896. The following year he joined the RAMC, being commissioned lieutenant in 1898. He was posted to India (Madras) in 1899 and then spent two years in Ceylon. In 1901 he was promoted to captain and returned to England; two years later he was back in India where he served with the Bangalore Mounted Infantry during the Somali Campaign. After four years in England another posting to India followed – Hyderabad, Quetta and Karachi - with promotion to major in 1909. In April 1912, he saw service in Burma, being recalled to England the following year. Then, in September 1913, to Dublin as Medical Officer, followed by promotion to lieutenant-colonel in March 1915. He was given command of the 39th Field Ambulance in April 1915, embarking for Egypt in June.

39th Field Ambulance Dressing Station Aug: 13th 1915

I seem to have lost count of days since we landed here. We have had such a terrible time during the last 6 days.

We left a ship for ---- on the morning of 4th Aug. arriving after dark. The Regiment with us were landing all night and it was nearly daylight before our men landed. They could not land our equipment which consisted of only what the men could carry, Medical Surgical Panniers, stretchers etc. Knowing we were useless without our equipment I kept 2 officers and myself and

stayed with the equipment. The ship's Captain said he must go back at once and made off. I insisted on his taking me to an island off the coast, we landed there and with great difficulty I got the Naval Transport Officer to give me a steam trawler. We came across here again and tried to land by daylight but we were so shelled that we had to retire out of range. One shell burst over us and the shrapnel fell on the ship. I then tried to land in a tug by myself to get hold of the Embarkation Officer, but about 400 yards from the pier they told us to go back as there were shells all round us and the beach was being abandoned. We stayed out all day, this was the 5th Aug. In the evening I got a naval piquet boat to take me and Minns [one of his officers] ashore and I saw the Landing Officer who promised to get the remainder of my equipment ashore after dark.

I then went and saw Hall in his dug-out and was told that there was to be a big battle that night, the 6th Aug. and we were to march out at 12 o'clock midnight behind the troops and form a dressing station. At 5 o'clock I went to our camp and found our dug-out, and at 5.30 p.m. the ship's bombardment started. We were in a gully and men were falling all round us; we picked up about 60 there. At 8.30 I sent an officer down to meet the equipment and the officer and men with it; and tell them to be ready to march out and I would pick them up and the equipment at 12 o'clock midnight. This we did having an Australian guide to take us out. We then marched out to the rendezvous and were there in good time, but had to wait some time for the Regiment to get past, when we followed on. A terrific bombardment from the Navy and the enemy was going on all the time, the noise deafening and the hills looked to be flaming with bursting shells. A message arrived back to say that we must hurry to be out before daylight or the dressing station would be under shell and rifle fire. We tried to dash on past crowds of mules and through troops. I arrived with about ½ my men and 1 officer and opened a dressing station. The men were dog tired as all equipment had to be carried out on stretchers. We had no transport and my men had to carry everything. We had to send out and fetch in wounded and dress them all day and night and next day and night; 40 officers and over 1,500 men passed through our dressing station in 48 hours. We were practically doing for the whole Division as Nos. 40 and 41 Field Ambulances left all their equipment on their ships and had not landed it. ½ hour after we opened Major Skelton was going out with 8 stretchers and 24 bearers when a shell burst among them and killed 4 and wounded 12 including Major Skelton the D.A.D.M.S.

We have been in this place a week now, but things have been slacker the last few days. We have been shelled three times with shrapnel and several patients have been hit and there are always snipers about. We formed an advanced dressing station but it came under machine gun fire so it had to retire to us. Men are getting killed and wounded every day in this dressing station. Some of the 40th were sent out to help me the other day – and have been evacuating wounded to the base; my men working forward to the front line. My groom has gone back, shot through the thighs, with a fractured thigh bone and my man sent back with dysentery.



Lt. Col. William Purnell Gwynn

I cannot tell you particulars of the battle but the Division fought splendidly, but the casualties have been appalling. The sort of thing we have seen gives no glory to war. All the officers of the Regiment we came out with were killed or wounded, not one left. We brought out only what we could carry; officers brought what was on them. Water is very short, I have not washed this week, and was up three nights without sleep; but we have done good work under very trying conditions ...

Send me out a big cake, we live on bully beef and biscuits and very little water and are out in the hot sun as, of course, we have no tents. I am burnt very black, but keep very fit. Yesterday I got three letters sent out to me from the base dated 22nd to 28th July. It was ripping to hear of you all.

39th Field Ambulance Dressing Station August: 19th 1915

How much there is I should like to tell you of the fighting out here, but I dare not say much. You, I hope, got my last letter about the fighting. I am afraid it was a rather disconnected account, but for about a week we had an absolute nightmare, practically no sleep and very hard work. Lieut. Wilson (do you remember him, he used to ride about Torquay in a red cap) has been invalided with dysentery. We have lost about 30 men of this ambulance, 4 of who were killed outright, two of whom I saw hit myself, also a good many have been hit in the dressing station by shrapnel and bullets which came over here fairly frequently. We have had to take our Red Cross flags down as they have put some guns quite close to us. I was asked yesterday to send in names of Officers, N.C.Os. and men for special mention in the recent operation, this I have done.

Our Division is reduced I believe quite tremendously, though I do not know exact numbers; I hear rumours of it going back to Alexandria to refit, but I do not think it likely and if they do ambulance units will probably be wanted here. I should like a change as our nerves are more or less always on the strain with chiefly shell-fire and you never know when a shrapnel shell may burst on the dressing station. We were shelled again yesterday; some shrapnel coming in our mess dug-out. I must say that the officers and men of the Ambulance have behaved splendidly throughout and proved themselves 'bucks'. We are the most advanced of all the Field Ambulances here and have I think, I may say truly, borne the brunt of the work clearing the wounded from the firing line, under the most trying circumstances, there is no transport, no tents and all the wounded have to be carried by hand down to the shore to be put on the hospital ships. How different to France with their Motor Ambulances and nice houses for billets. We all find the heat, flies and dust very trying, but manage to keep cheerful. One of our men, a divinity student was shot through the lung about ½ hour after arriving here (he was one of the reinforcements and arrived after the big battle) and died in 2 hours. I cannot describe to you how awful some of the shell and bomb wounds were and we had to amputate here in many cases, all in the open, as we had no tents etc. We have 2 graveyards by the side of the dressing station, one where we have buried officers and one for the men. I shall be glad when the war is over, you only have to see the poor wounded coming in by the hundreds to realise the awfulness of it all.

We have had 1 Turkish officer and a good many Turks in here. The sentry woke me up one night saying the Turks were up looking for rifles as we had a good many in the station; I had to put a strong guard on them. Another night many bullets were coming into the camp and several into the wounded officers' shelter; they shrieked out for help. We had to send in for sandbags to protect them and were up all night digging them in.

We are getting much better fed now, I had some rice, eggs and dried vegetables added to our diet of biscuits and bully beef. Water is also more plentiful and we can get a shave and wash. We tried a bath but it is too dangerous by daylight. I had just returned from my bathe when they started shelling the bathers. Three 'Jack Johnsons' burst within about 100yards of us this morning. I have now got a dug-out.

Postscript

Lt. Col. Gwynn was appointed Area Director of Medical Services (Suvla) in September 1915 but was evacuated to Alexandria with enteric fever in October, returning to England for further treatment. After being passed fit he took up the post of President of the Medical Recruiting Board which he held until June 1916 when he embarked for Egypt as officer commanding the 26th Stationary Hospital, Ismailia; a post he held until January 1918 when he became Assistant Director, Medical Services, 10th Division in Palestine with the temporary rank of Colonel.

The end of the war saw him posted back to Egypt as OC 19th General Hospital, Alexandria, and in June 1919 as ADMS, 54th Division. During the war he was Mentioned in Despatches by General Hamilton and twice by General Allenby; he was awarded the CMG in June 1919. He returned to England in October that year where he served as Senior Medical Officer (Recruiting) at the War Office. His final posting was to Malta in 1921 as Deputy Director Medical Services which he held until December 1925, having been promoted to full colonel the preceding year. He retired from the Army in 1926 although he held two 'retired pay' appointments until 1932. He was diagnosed with cancer in 1939 and died at his home in Bexhill on 5 February 1940.

Acknowledgements:

We are grateful to Mrs M E Robinson for allowing the publication of these letters and the photographs of her father, Colonel Gwynn, and for the biographical notes on his service career.



Colonel Gwynn and family; photo taken at the investiture in May 1920 when he received his CMG.

FIRST WORLD WAR MEMORIAL GARDEN OPENED

Derek Hunt

The Royal Borough of Windsor & Maidenhead has opened a WWI Memorial Garden on Bachelors' Acre in Windsor. An information board on the site gives details of VC recipients with connections to the Royal Borough. Although this is mainly about Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Greenwood VC DSO* OBE MC, who was awarded the Victoria Cross for outstanding bravery and leadership in October 1918 on the Western Front, the board names two Gallipoli VC recipients: Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Doughty-Wylie and Lieutenant William Forshaw [see illustration below - Editor].

The Deputy Mayor, Cllr John Lenton, officially opened the garden on 25 November 2016 in the presence of a large number of the Greenwood family.

After Cllr Lenton asked for a two minute silence to remember those whose lives were lost in the war, Michael Greenwood spoke about his great-great uncle and local historian Derek Hunt spoke about the history of the VC.

A paving stone in honour of Lt Col Greenwood will be laid in the garden in October 2018, on the centenary of his VC action, as part of a national scheme to commemorate the birthplace towns of VC recipients. Harry Greenwood was born in 1881 at Victoria Barracks, where there is now a blue plaque to record his birth.

A three-panel information board on the site gives details of Windsor in the First World War on the first panel, Harry Greenwood VC on the second panel and six other VC recipients, including the two awarded at Gallipoli mentioned above, with connections to the Royal Borough, on the third panel.



"The VC who smoked. - On August 7th - 9th, 1915, a position in Gallipoli, known as the Vineyard, was subjected to a violent bomb attack by the Turks. Repeated attempts were made by the enemy to rush the Vineyard, but Lieut. W. T. Forshaw, 1/9th Manchesters, coolly smoking a cigarette, kept them at bay, throwing bombs continuously for forty-one hours."

Illustration from *The War Illustrated*
Album De-Luxe Vol IV *The Summer*
Campaign 1915 p1369.



Field of Remembrance, Westminster Abbey - HRH The Duke of Edinburgh greets Captain C T F Fagan.
Photograph by Frances Speakman. See page 8.



Field of Remembrance, Westminster Abbey - remembering Major E H W Banner, founder of the Association.
Photograph by Clive Summerson. See page 8.



Field of Remembrance, Westminster Abbey. HRH The Prince Harry greets Association members.
Photograph by Frances Speakman. See page 8.



Captain C Fagan MBE DL at the Association's plot.
Photograph by Frances Speakman. See page 8.



Gallipoli Association plot. Laid out and
photographed by Clive Summerson. See page 8.



Gallipoli Association contingent on Horse Guards Parade after the dispersal of the 2016 Remembrance Day Parade. The Royal Naval Division memorial can be seen in the left background. Photograph courtesy Donna-Marie Kirk-Sargeant. See pages 8-9.



Bursary Group Tour, Gallipoli. 11 Lower Sixth Year students from Peter Symonds College, Winchester, and from Wallington County Grammar and Sutton Grammar, both in South London, visited the peninsula in July. Photograph courtesy Stephen Chambers. See page 9 -11.



Steve Chambers guides the Bursary Tour group on the inland edge of Plugge's Plateau, Anzac.
Photograph by John White. See pages 9 -11.



Bursary students' presentation day, Peter Symonds College, Hampshire.

L-R Stephen Carville (Principal), Nick Allen (Assistant Principal), Jake Penny, Cllr Roy Perry, (Hampshire County Council), Stephen Chambers (GA), Jordan Lee, Hollie Richardson, Timothy Chattell, Christopher Fagan (GA), Joanna Loneragan, James Stopford, Danielle Thomas and Peter Butterworth (GA).

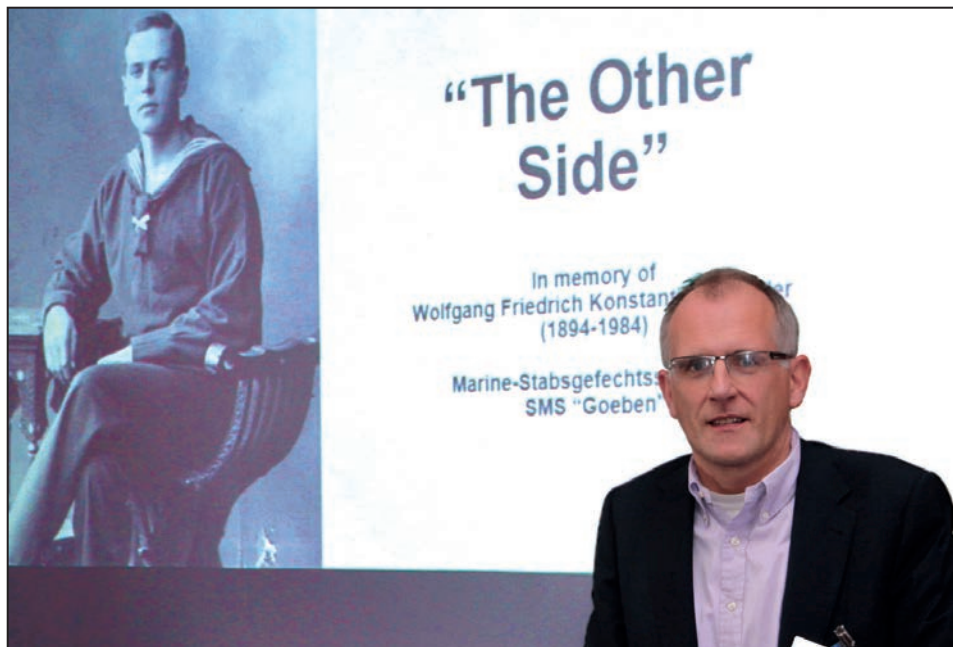
Photograph courtesy Nick Allen. See page 11.



Gallipoli Conference 2016 : HMS Monitor *M33*, the only surviving warship from Gallipoli.
Photograph by Thomas Iredale. See pages 12-15.



Gallipoli Conference 2016. Dave Hartley explaining the gun traverse, HMS Monitor *M33*.
Photograph by Thomas Iredale. See pages 12-15.



Gallipoli Association conference 2016. Dr Jochen Schrader prior to his presentation.
 Photograph by Thomas Iredale. See pages 12 - 15.



Gallipoli Association conference 2016. Dave Hartley conducting a tour of M33 for conference attendees.
 Photograph by Thomas Iredale. See pages 12 - 15.



Halas 71, formerly HMS Waterwitch. Used during the Gallipoli campaign to ferry troops and still operational 101 years later.

Photograph by John Dixon. See pages 16 - 19.



The Hon Ted Baillieu, Chair of the Victorian Anzac Centenary Council, with Oakleigh Grammar School students at the Lemnos memorial, Melbourne, 13 August 2016.

Photograph by Jim Claven. See pages 38 - 39.



Valmai Holt and escorts, Chunuk Bair, 1980s.
Photo courtesy Tonie and Valmai Holt. See pages 19 - 24.



The headstone of Lieutenant Frederic Hova Wolley Dod, the last allied officer to die at Gallipoli. Wolley Dod died of enteric fever while serving with the force occupying the Dardanelles after the war. Born at Eton (his father was a master there), he emigrated to Alberta, Canada, in 1893. Buried in the Çanakkale Consular cemetery. See page 57.

THE NAVY'S OLDEST SALT

Michael D. Robson

Many a retired naval officer came forward in 1914 to answer their country's call in its hour of need, but none in the Royal Navy who went to sea in the Great War was older than William Balfour Forbes.

All of his previous service had been in the reign of Queen Victoria; from entering the navy in 1859, through actions in Malay waters which gained him the Perak Medal and Clasp, to his retirement with the rank of Commander, in 1888.

Life in the Victorian navy was hard and dangerous. HMS *Rapid* was wooden-hulled and although she had a steam engine and single screw, she also carried a full set of sails and rigging. On the night of 17th September 1870, while sailing from Tarragona to Gibraltar, a boy seaman fell from the main yard arm, hitting his head and losing consciousness before entering the water. Seeing this, Sub-Lieutenant Forbes immediately dived in to assist the drowning boy. By the time that a boat was lowered and had reached them both, he had become exhausted however, and a further minute's delay would have been the end for both Forbes and the boy. For this gallant act, Forbes received the Albert Medal and was within the month promoted lieutenant. While the 19th century navy may have been a school of hard knocks, in Forbes it produced a fine seaman and an officer well able to lead by example.

In January 1915 Commander Forbes was the captain of the Special Service Ship No.6, the dummy battleship *Orion* stationed at Loch Ewe, and in March, Commander Forbes sailed for the Dardanelles as captain of SSS No.14, the dummy *Tiger*. This was the converted liner *Merion*, transformed with wooden replica guns, two extra funnels and laden with stone and concrete ballast so that she would lie lower in the water. The dummy warship programme was intended to fool German naval intelligence into thinking that the Grand Fleet had been reduced by vital units being sent to foreign stations, and thus tempting their High Seas Fleet to sortie into the North Sea.

Oberleutnant zur See Ernst von Voigt* however found the ruse too convincing and his UB 8 torpedoed and sank the dummy *Tiger* on 30th May 1915, off Strati island, south of Lemnos. Four men from the SSS No.14 died** but the rest were rescued the next day together with Commander Forbes. Vice Admiral de Robeck was able to report "the behavior of the crew due to his fine leadership & example speaks in the highest terms of his conduct." At the Admiralty, Their Lordships expressed their 'high appreciation' of the actions of Commander Forbes.

He also made a great impression on his fellow naval officers at the Dardanelles. Commodore Keyes wrote to his wife that, "Forbes ... is nearly 70 – they had a horrid time and had 4 killed by the explosion. He is a gallant old fellow and has had an awful 3 or 4 months. He writes on Irish hunting in *The Field* – under the name Maintop..." While Captain F. H. Mitchell DSO, RN described him as "some months older than Lord Charles (Beresford). Such a sporting old chap & wants to get another ship at once."

Indeed, Forbes was aged over 69 years, and may have lost a ship, but he was not finished with the navy or the war. On his return to England he was posted to the depot ship HMS *Ceto*, based at Ramsgate, to be assistant to Captain E. Grace RN working with the Armed Drifters. By August 1915 however, *anno domini* was at last catching up with the eager commander and Forbes requested his second retirement on health grounds. This was granted, together with

his well deserved promotion to Captain RN.

* By coincidence, von Voigt was born in 1888, the same year that saw the first retirement of Commander Forbes.

**Casualties killed: John Baird, Fireman MMR, Sidney H. Mathews, Temporary Engineer RNR, Stanley T. Richer, Temporary Engineer RNR, and Joseph Sherwood, Fireman MMR.

Sources: National Archives (UK) ADM 196/36 & ADM 196/38; The Keyes Papers, Vol. I, 1914-1918, ed. Dr. Paul G. Halpern, 1972; Encyclopedia of Ships and Shipping, ed. Herbert B. Mason, 1908 (on-line); the letters of Captain F. H. Mitchell DSO RN, the British Library, MS 52537 (on-line); naval-history.net (on-line) & uboat.net (on-line).

Notes

The papers of Captain W. B. Forbes AM, RN. are held by the IWM, ref. Documents 10977. Some of his articles on fox hunting were collected and published in 1910 as *Hounds, Gentlemen, Please!* Captain William Balfour Forbes AM, RN. died at Fairford, Gloucestershire in 1928.

LEMNOS MEMORIAL, MELBOURNE

Jim Claven

Melbourne's Hellenic community commemorates the role of Lemnos in the Gallipoli campaign at the Lemnos Gallipoli Memorial in Albert Park

On the 13th August, a brisk but sunny day, the role of Lemnos in the Gallipoli Campaign was commemorated with a formal service conducted at the Lemnos Gallipoli Memorial in Melbourne's Albert Park. See photograph on page 35.

This is the first event held at the Memorial since its unveiling last year, on the centenary of the arrival of Australia's nurses on Lemnos on 8th August 1915. This was the first of what will be an annual commemoration.

The Lemnos Gallipoli Memorial was erected in August 2015 by the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee. It honours the role of Lemnos in Australia's Anzac story, the soldiers and nurses who served there during the Gallipoli campaign, the Lemnian and other Hellenic communities who supported them, and those who remain in Lemnos' war cemeteries.

The ceremony was conducted by Ms Christina Despoteris, Vice President of the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee. Over 100 hundred people attended. Many members of Melbourne's Greek community joined with others from the nursing fraternity, Returned Services League and school students and descendants of Anzacs who served on Lemnos in 1915.

Along with representatives of the Lemnian Community of Victoria and Australia, representatives of Melbourne's Cretan, Pontian, Peloponnesian and Thessaloniki communities – as well as the Hellenic RSL Sub-Branch - participated in the wonderful ceremony – laying wreaths of remembrance at the base of the Lemnos Gallipoli Memorial.

In this, they were joined by representatives of the City of Port Philip, the Victorian Government and Opposition, the Victorian Anzac Centenary Council, the Royal Australian Navy, Returned Nurses RSL Sub-Branch, the Melbourne Nurses Memorial Centre, Oakleigh Grammar and Albert Park Secondary College.

The Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee was particularly honoured with the

presence of Colonel Jan McCarthy of the Returned Nurses RSL Sub-Branch, Lieutenant Commander Cassandra Mohapp of the Royal Australian Navy, and Ms Judith Gunnarsson and Ms Deb Stewart, representing the family of Nurse Evelyn Hutt.

Ms Despoteris read to the gathering letters of support from both Dimitrios Marinakos, Mayor of Lemnos and Evangelos Giarmadourous, Sub-Prefect of Lemnos, North Aegean Region.

The keynote address was delivered by the Hon. Ted Baillieu, Chair of the Victorian Anzac Commemorative Council and former Premier of Victoria. Mr Baillieu's address asked the assembly to reflect on how the war affected local people and communities. He stressed that the stories of remembrance and their connection to the former homes of diggers, nurses and their families created tangible links to Anzac's Hellenic past.

Cr Bernadine Voss, Mayor of Port Phillip, reiterated the Council's support for the memorial and its relevance to the local area as well as to Victoria and Australia. She noted that its location in Albert Park, close to the waters of Port Phillip Bay, is a poignant reminder that many of the Anzacs who departed for Lemnos and Gallipoli did so from nearby Princes Pier.

The Hon. Gavin Jennings MP, representing the Victorian Government, reflected on how the young cadets present at the event were likely the same age as the young Victorians who departed from Port Melbourne to the Great War. Mr Murray Thompson, MP, addressed the assembly representing the Victorian Opposition and spoke of his own family connection to Lemnos.

Mr Lee Tarlamis, President of the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee, welcomed all and expressed the Committee's gratitude for their presence. He recounted his personal journey of discovery of the Lemnos link to Anzac and working with sculptor Peter Corlett to design and create the Memorial. He informed the assembly that the committee has submitted a proposal to Council to re-name the reserve on which the Memorial sits as Lemnos Square.

Mr Tarlamis commended Mr Jim Claven, the Committee's Secretary and historian, on his production of the event booklet. He also took the opportunity to announce the Committee's decision to commission Mr Claven to write and produce a major new publication telling the story of the Hellenic link to Anzac through the reproduction for the first time of many of the archival photographs from the time. The publication is aimed to be released later next year.

The formal proceedings included a religious service by Father Chris Dimolianis from Saint Efstathios Greek Orthodox Church South Melbourne followed by a prayer reading by Ms Ava Thornley, School Captain, Albert Park Secondary College.

The service included the mounting of the catafalque party comprising cadets from 30th Army Cadet Unit, the reading of the ode of remembrance by Mr Ange Kenos, president of the Essendon RSL, and the singing of the Australian and Hellenic national anthems by students from Oakleigh Grammar, led by teacher Anastasia Spanos.

On behalf of the Committee, Mr Tarlamis thanked all who attended and particularly those who had made a special contribution to the event – the Hon. Ted Baillieu, Father Chris Dimolianos, Piper Steve Campbell-Wright, Faye Threlfall and the Light Horse troop re-enactment group, the 30th Army Cadets, Mr Ange Kenos of the Essendon RSL, and Michael and Eleni Ciprian, who represented the Lemnian community in traditional dress.

If you would like a copy of the Commemorative Service booklet, please contact Jim Claven – jimclaven@yahoo.com.au

THE MYTH OF THE GALLIPOLI CURRENT AT ANZAC COVE

John Howell

For a century Australians and New Zealanders have been almost forced to accept that a mysterious current swept the ANZAC landing force one or more miles north from Gaba Tepe. Every book, article and speech has perpetuated the story that they struggled ashore at a spot where the terrain was hopeless. This bad start at the wrong place meant that courage and persistence would never be enough.

In fact the landing was where it was intended. Sir Ian Hamilton had only specified the section of coast that was to be Z Beach, but it was up to Major-General Bridges and the Anzac Command aboard *Minnewaska* to finalise their own details.

Intelligence gathered in the weeks just before the landing provided almost daily information and map updates that clearly showed the easy terrain around Gaba Tepe to be well defended. Attentive army officers were aboard HMS *Queen* on April 14 when it cruised past what had been designated as Z Beach. Charles Bean wrote in his diary that one of the observers was Colonel MacLagan (actually Colonel Sinclair-MacLagan) who was to lead the 3rd Australian Brigade ashore. Sinclair-MacLagan looked at the barbed wire entanglements of Gaba Tepe and said: "If that place is strongly held with guns it will be almost impregnable for my fellows."

In the days before and after the cruise of HMS *Queen*, Charles Samson and his fliers had taken observers including Major Charles Villiers-Stuart on reconnaissance flights over Z Beach around Gaba Tepe. He saw that Sinclair-MacLagan's fears were realistic. Artillery seen behind Gaba Tepe would have been deadly for those coming ashore, and a barrage of shrapnel would have meant a slaughter of men approaching in open boats.

The sum of all the intelligence led to a decision that was clearly spelt out in Major-General Bridges' *OPERATION ORDER No. 1* of April 18. This order is in the AWM archives, but has apparently been filed in obscurity until recent years.

This barely legible image (of the scan of a carbon copy) says in the first lines of *Point 1* that: **Information of the disposition of Turkish forces in the GALLIPOLI PENINSULA is being issued separately to brigade commanders.** This is because information was still coming in every day, especially from aerial observers and photographs. Maps were getting better and better. *Point 1* finishes with: **The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps will land north of KABA TEPE – the landing will probably be opposed.**

Point 2 adds more definition to the location and says: **The Division will land between KABA TEPE and FISHERMAN'S HUT. Its first objective will be the occupation of the ridge extending from Sq 212(i) to point 971 in Sq 238(m).**

So the choice of the landing site is clearly stated in the order issued from *Minnewaska*. Ari Burnu and Anzac Cove are between Gaba Tepe and Fisherman's Hut, and this is where they went. They were never to land at Gaba Tepe and charge across the relatively flat terrain to capture Maidos (now Eceabat). They were to land where they landed, and undertake the difficult task of capturing the high ground that was the real key to holding the peninsula. Why then, have we been swept along by a non-existent coastal current for 100 years? Who is it that made this into fact?

General Sir Ian Hamilton has been blamed for many things, but not this. He wrote in his

Gallipoli Diary of 1920 that:

Birdwood, on the other hand, is of one mind with me and is going to get his first boat-loads ashore before it is light enough to aim. *He has no currents to trouble him, it is true*, but he is not landing on any surveyed beach and the opposition he will meet is even more unknown than in the case of Helles and Sedd-el-Bahr.”

The emphasis of the phrase about the current is mine, but note that he follows it by precluding a landing at Gaba Tepe: *he is not landing on any surveyed beach ...*

Hamilton told us some more of what he knew six years later. In 1926 a book by T. J. Pemberton entitled ‘Gallipoli Today’ came out. It was about the Imperial War Graves Commission cemeteries of Gallipoli, but the introduction was written by Sir Ian Hamilton. It would seem that 90 years ago the mythical current was a fortunate and lucky thing, and only over the decades turned around to be the opposite. In his introduction, Hamilton wrote that:

Mr. Pemberton follows the generally accepted view that it was a lucky chance and a fortunate current which landed the Anzacs a mile further to the north than had been intended by my plan.

Hamilton revealed that he was not a believer in the current, and conceded only that: *I have several times admitted the plausibility of the arguments which lie at the back of this opinion*. So he had been queried as to the truth of it, but reveals that he never really believed that the current existed, and ended with his final expectation that: *No doubt exists in my mind that the official history will give it a death blow*.

The first volume of the Australian Official War History was *The Story of Anzac*. It was written by Charles Bean and had been published in 1921. This was five years before Hamilton’s comments, and many years before the British official history that Sir Ian Hamilton was expecting would end all tales of a current. Bean makes no mention of any current. He explains that in the dark, the southern-most boats found themselves further south than most of the other boats and so the officer in charge *swung his steam-boat to the left*. Charles Bean seemed unsure of why they did this, and why other boats followed suit. He then wrote:

The naval men appeared to see far better in the dark than did the troops, for, as the land grew closer, one after another picked up this movement, swung several yards northward, and then straightened again.

A Private Keith Wadsworth was in one of those small boats and confirmed all this in his diary. As soon as the silhouette of the shore was clear, they deliberately headed to Anzac Cove and North Beach:

... as we came closer to the cliffs we all swung around to the left of where we had been heading for and went along the shore for some distance.

The British equivalent of Bean’s first official Australian war history was ‘*Military Operations, Gallipoli*. It was compiled by C F Aspinall-Oglander and published in 1929. In a long paragraph he explains that a Lt. Waterlow mistook Ari Burnu for Gaba Tepe and turned his string of boats further north to North Beach. A Commander Dix realised this, and crossed under the stern of Waterlow’s boats to land at Anzac Cove. All the others following

... steadied on a roughly parallel course, and all twelve tows made for the shore at a point approximately one mile to the north of the intended place.

Aspinall-Oglander says that they got to this point by mischance. Bridges’ clear orders of April 18 were forgotten. The mystery current was then inserted and written down as truth. Eyewitness accounts like Wadsworth’s were ignored, as Aspinall-Oglander continued:

In the black darkness it was so difficult for the tows to see each other that they insensibly bunched together ... and there now occurred one of those mischances, the fear of which had inclined the navy to favour a daylight landing. The northerly current that sets along the Gallipoli coast was stronger than the sailors had realized; the tows were imperceptibly carried a full mile north of the selected landing place.

The 'official' version was completely the opposite of what Ian Hamilton had been expecting it to say! He knew that there was no current, and had been relying on Aspinall-Oglander's history to end such talk.

4-34
35

War Plan

Appendix No. 1 of 19/4/15

Copy No. 2.

Secret

OPERATION ORDER No. 1.
by
MAJOR-GENERAL W.T. BRIDGES, C.M.G.
Commanding 1st Australian Division.

Transport A.11 "MINNEWASKA",
18th April, 1915.

Reference map : GALLIPOLI PENINSULA 1/40,000.

1. - Information of the disposition of the Turkish forces in the GALLIPOLI PENINSULA is being issued separately to Brigade commanders.

The general object of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force is to assist the Fleet in forcing the passage of the DARDANELLES by the occupation of important positions in the GALLIPOLI PENINSULA. The 29th Division will operate from CAPE HELLES and the Naval Division near BULAIR.

The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps will land north of KARA TEPE - the landing will probably be opposed.

2. - The Division will land between KARA TEPE and FISHERMAN'S HUT. Its first objective will be the occupation of the ridge extending from Sq. 212(i) to point 971 in Sq. 238(m).

Covering Force.

Commander : Colonel E.G. SINCLAIR-MACLAGAN, D.S.O.

3rd Infantry Brigade fighting troops less all animals and vehicles.

1st Field Company less mounted branch and all horses and vehicles.

Bearer subdivisions of 3rd Field Ambulance less all horses and vehicles.

3. - The covering force, as shown in the margin, will occupy the ridge between square 212 (i) and 238 (v). Special instructions have been issued to Colonel MACLAGAN.

The frontispiece of this Official History says that it is *Based On Official Documents By Direction Of The Historical Section Committee Of Imperial Defence*. This was final and official, and it was controversial after this date to dispute what was now written as recorded fact. It would have surprised Sir Ian Hamilton, and it contradicted Charles Bean and lowly private Keith Wadsworth, who after all was the only one of them actually there!

So how did Charles Bean react to this new and powerful version that was so different to his own official version? When his 'Gallipoli Mission' was published in 1948 he obviously (and maybe reluctantly?) found that he could no longer swim against this powerful tide. He now wrote a new version of the landing that revealed that:

I had gradually realised that, although there was much confusion in the Landing and the fight that followed – indeed, owing to the boats being carried by current in the dark to a wrong and terribly rugged landing place, the covering force was shuffled like a pack of cards.

Charles Bean's version written for the Australian official history had been carefully composed from his own reports and from many interviews with those that were there at dawn on April 25, but after two decades of repeated stories of the northerly current he had little choice but to accept it as fact. It had been made into fact.

T. E. Lawrence was once queried about an unlikely personal anecdote by one of his many biographers. His telling reply was that: *History is not made up of truth*. That it has taken a century to query and dispel the myth of the current at Anzac Cove is a perfect example of this.

Author's Note

I went to Anzac Cove in 2005 and 2008. On both occasions I spent hours in the clear and calm warm waters around Ari Burnu. I snorkelled with locals and my wife, and took many underwater photographs of the *Milo* and other interesting debris. None of us was swept away by a current.

References

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2. *Gallipoli Air War* by Hugh Dolan, 2013
3. Australian War Memorial archives.
4. *Gallipoli Diary* by Sir Ian Hamilton, 1920
5. *Gallipoli Today* by T. J. Pemberton, 1926
6. Diaries of Keith Wadsworth. Herald Sun newspaper April 20, 2005
7. *Military Operations, Gallipoli* by C. F. Aspinall-Oglander, 1929
8. *Gallipoli Mission* by C E W Bean, 1948

He Has Outsoared The Shadow of Our Night

Epitaph on the headstone of Flight Lieutenant Victor Nicholson, Royal Naval Air Service.
Killed in action 10 July 1916, aged 30. Lancashire Landing Cemetery.
See pages 57-8.

RUNNING FOR PEACE

*Lemnos Commemorates The Gallipoli Campaign with the
'Run For Peace' Commemorative Medal*

Foster Summerson

While on holiday in Lemnos in September, member Alan Dowell met Dimitris Boulotis who represented the Association at the ceremonies held on the island in April this year and who provided a report and photographs which were published in the Autumn issue of *The Gallipolian* (pages 10 and 31).

Before his visit Alan looked at the Lemnos-Gallipoli Commemorative Committee website which included photographs of the commemorative events on the island, one of which showed Dimitris laying the Association wreath. Alan noticed that Dimitris did not have an Association tie, so when he met him he presented him with one together with a blazer badge and pin badge. Dimitris was delighted to receive these gifts and gave Alan a *Run for Peace* medal which had been presented to Dimitris (as a representative of the Association) by the Local Governor with a request that it should be passed on to the Association. The medal was awarded to those taking part in the commemorative run held on 20 April between East and West Moudros cemeteries; a distance of 18,500 metres (about 11½ miles) held as part of the Lemnos commemorations.



The Run for Peace Lemnos commemorative medallion

TRKCELL GALLIPOLI MARATHON

In the Autumn 2016 edition of *The Gallipolian*, Bill Sellars gave details of the Trkcell Gallipoli marathon, to be run on 2 October. Bill has kindly furnished the results:

The marathon was run, and went smoothly. A total of some 6000 people took part in one of the three events on the day: the marathon itself, the half marathon or the 10 kilometre fun run.

The winner of the men's marathon was Kefyalew Deja Buruse of Ethiopia. Şirin Mine Kılıç, of Turkey, won the women's race.

Beloved Bernard Now Happy In The Care Of Your Creator

Epitaph on the headstone of Midshipman Bernard Davy, HMS *Ark Royal*, attached RNAS.
Killed in action 10 July 1916, aged 21.
See pages 57-8.

WHOSE VOICE?

The Imperial War Museum Online Sound Archive oral history collection and the Great War

David Hiscocks

Abstract

While archives, digital or physical, are the traditional location of the sources of evidence used by historians, few view archives themselves as historical evidence. Fundamentally however, how an archive came into existence determines what evidence is stored for future use, and what is not. The ongoing decisions made by curators determine who has their voice preserved for history (and in what fashion), and whose voice is overlooked. Such compromises are inevitable. Thus for historians, understanding how the construction of an archive limits and channels their research is critical. Groups within society may be under-represented or falsely represented to some degree by the contents of archives, and this must be acknowledged by users of archives to better understand how the contents of the archive represent the past that they are studying. The Imperial War Museum (IWM) Online Sound Archive, the largest web-based digital archive of First World War oral history recordings in the world, has not yet been so analysed. It is important that the archive and the oral sources it contains be examined in order to begin to understand which groups in society are represented, and which are not.

Introduction

Archives are the primary source of society's knowledge of historical events, the records they hold portraying an image of past society. As the largest repository of records from the First World War the IWM collection plays a pre-eminent role in shaping society's understanding of the conflict. According to the IWM's 2013-16 Corporate Plan, the museum aims to be, 'a global authority on conflicts and its impact, from the First World War to the present day, focussing on Britain, its former Empire and Commonwealth'.¹

The Online Sound Archive (accessed through the IWM website), which holds over 800 digitised audio records relating to the First World War, is of especial cultural and social importance in regards to the IWM's objectives as a museum due to the growing number of users of the IWM's online collection. In 2012 the IWM received 1.9 million visitors across all of its physical branches, yet over 4 million visited the IWM virtually through its website.² By 2016 the number of virtual visitors has been predicated to increase to 6.4 million (who will also spend longer browsing the website than ever before).³ As a result, the importance of the IWM's online digital archive to society as a whole and to the museum's strategic objectives cannot be overstated, being potentially accessed by over twice as many visitors as the physical collection. Furthermore, this is a trend that is likely only to increase. What image the records held within the IWM's collection depict of past society is therefore critical. There are many recordings by Gallipoli participants, including one by Brigadier Basil Bedsmore Rackham CBE MC who, as anyone with a sharp eye will have noticed from the inside cover of *The Gallipolian*, was a past president of the Association.

The IWM Online Sound Archive contains a variety of sources, including recordings of the noises of battle, speeches, and music. The focus in this article however is on the archive's collection of personal testimonies from veterans of the First World War, also known as oral histories. These are recordings, typically created through an interview between a researcher and a veteran. Unlike any other source these records are unique in that they offer the listener

a chance to hear in a survivor's own words about their wartime experiences. This gives oral accounts immediacy and emotional power, making them valuable educational tools as well as offering an insight into survivors' subjectivities at the time of their interview.⁴ The IWM's collection of oral accounts from First World War veterans thus has immense potential importance in informing listeners of society's past. However, the question of which groups in society are featured in this collection of oral records and which are not is still unanswered.

The Creation of the IWM and the Online Sound Archive

The IWM was established in 1917, holding a series of temporary exhibitions until it found a permanent home at Crystal Palace in 1920.⁵ From its inception it hoped, 'to make the museum so complete that everyone who took part in the war, however obscurely, would find therein an example or illustration of the sacrifice he or she made'.⁶ At the request of the Dominions and India sub-committee in 1917, the name settled on was the "Imperial" War Museum so that, 'India and the Dominions would feel that their part in the War would be permanently commemorated in the centre of the Empire'.⁷ Having been set up to commemorate the First World War, the museum branched out into other conflicts throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, yet its First World War origins remain prominent.

The oral history records accessioned into the IWM's Sound Archive were not collected as part of any wider, coherent strategy. Rather, they were created by individual researchers for their own projects, although some of these researchers were affiliated with the IWM in some respect (thus representing the museum's objectives).⁸ These disparate sources which had been created for a variety of reasons were then collated by curators into the museum's sound collection.⁹ This recording and collection process began in the 1970s, with the number of interviews being created and archived reaching a peak in the 1980s.¹⁰ The majority of the records that were created during this period, although by no means all, related to the First World War. Subsequently, the creation of oral records relating to the First World War sharply declined after 1989 due to the advanced age of the remaining survivors. Excepting those recordings restricted by copyright issues, the IWM has now ensured that the entire collection of First World War oral histories have been digitised (with funding from the Western Front Association) and uploaded to the Online Sound Archive. In total, the museum's Great War online oral history collection comprises of 682 interviews with former service men and women.¹¹

Consequently, it is important to recognise that the first of the key characteristics of the IWM's First World War oral history collection as a whole is that it was largely established in an ad-hoc and opportunistic fashion from a range of sources created for different purposes. As noted by Peter Hart, individual sets of interviews created by one or more interviewers may indeed 'reflect IWM policy and research goals' at the time.¹² Yet given that the collection of Great War interviews was established using interviews collected and donated from 115 interviewers over a forty-year period it is inevitable that the content of the records in the collection represents the culmination of a number of different individual objectives, motives, and aims, not just the IWM's own. How and why the archive's collection of records was established should therefore be considered when validating whether the IWM's oral history collection does indeed, '...make the museum so complete that everyone who took part in the war, however obscurely, would find therein an example or illustration of the sacrifice he or she made'.¹³

Creating History

Quantitative data analysis of the IWM Sound Archive's First World War oral records reveals that the archive's records represent diverse groups of survivors. This collection is not, however,

representative of *all* those who served in the British Empire Armed Forces, despite the original intentions for the museum. This is primarily as a result of the archive largely relying upon the dedicated (largely voluntary) work of a number of independent researchers. This means that its collection of oral histories was not primarily created according to any overriding strategic imperative to be 'representative' of those who served when the collection is viewed as a whole. Rather, the archive is a grouping of disparate 'sets' of records, each set being created by a particular researcher for their own purpose. Thus as can be shown through data analysis, not all groups in society are represented, and if a group is represented, they are not necessarily represented in proportion to their contribution.

Archivists today are in (broad) agreement that archives should aim to be impartial and neutral, not imparting anachronistic values onto the records they hold.¹⁴ However, claims made by archivists that they are impartial are impossible to sustain in real world situations. Values can be imparted through the descriptions given to records (title and summary of the item), how they are indexed (if they are), as well as the order in which the records are organised. More fundamentally and unavoidably however, values are imparted simply as a result of the archivist's decision-making process as to whether they will preserve an item.¹⁵

Traditional archives simply aim to preserve records which were created at the time, meaning that such records are individual snapshots of society at that time (the bias(es) of their creators are inherently part of this snapshot). Oral histories, however, are unique in that they are deliberately created after the event to attempt to create *a record of society in the past*, thus such sources are, by nature, unavoidably anachronistic. By encouraging freelance and private researchers, as well as having in-house interviewers, the IWM not only made the decision as to which sources were archived, but also actively and 'deliberately' participated in the decision-making process as to which sources were created.¹⁶ The agency of the individual researcher is also influential in this respect.

By consciously creating and then collecting oral records of the past, the IWM and the researchers who contributed to its archive have, with the best of intentions, created a new version of past society. By highlighting this issue influence which has acted upon the creation and the content of the IWM's oral histories this is not to suggest that the IWM's oral history collection is consequently devalued. The museum's collection of oral histories offers a priceless perspective on how the everyday man survived the First World War, whose memories and experiences are typically not recorded elsewhere. Nonetheless, the fact that there were various motives behind creating these unique records must be considered as these factors have had a fundamental influence on the content of the sources that were created, which sources were recorded in the first instance, and which sources, by implication, were not created at all.

Archiving Voices of First World War Veterans

How representative the IWM Sound Archive Online is perceived to be by its users is as important as the reality contained within the recordings preserved within the collection. The manner in which the museum's oral sources were accessioned and archived for posterity is a significant influence on such perceptions. In the '70s and '80s when the majority of the First World War oral histories were created and archived within the IWM, the importance of recording contextual information about an oral history interview in addition to the recording itself was not widely understood.¹⁷ Contextual information enhances the user's understanding of how the recording came into being and what influences may have acted on the interviewee. In the context of oral histories, this evidence, can for example include, the contents of the



HM King George V performing the opening ceremony of the Imperial War Museum, Crystal Palace, 9 June 1920. (© IWM (Q 44819)).

interview itself, the methods used to elicit responses, the circumstances of the interview (for instance, where and how the interviewee was contacted and why they agreed to be interviewed), the interviewer's motives, as well as supporting documents accessioned alongside the oral history record.¹⁸ In the IWM archive, contextual information relating to the interviews is contained within the 'Object Description' and 'Content Description' fields, referred to collectively here as the 'interview summary'.¹⁹

Unfortunately, in the case of the IWM, very few of the interviews have any background information collection alongside aside from a simple description (itself varying in detail and in some cases accuracy as well) of the contents of the recording.²⁰ Examining the various summaries it is clear that these were not created using a standard template or criteria which would ensure consistency in relation to what information should be included. Missing evidence undermines later users' ability to understand relationships between separate interviews, as well as how these sources may interrelate with other sources of non-oral evidence also held by the IWM.

Navigating the online collection

The interview summaries are used to direct website users' through key-word searches. Therefore, the quality of the summary material has a direct influence on users' ability to navigate the archive effectively.²¹ Consequently, if details about aspects of the interviewee's lives are not accessioned in the interview summaries (thereby being accessible to keyword searches), then the only way to locate this evidence is to listen to each interview in the collection. For the majority of users, usually non-specialists, this is impractical as on average each interview record contains 7 reels, each of which is circa 30 minutes long. It is estimated that the IWM's Great War oral history collection contains approximately 2387 hours of recording. As a result, the quality of information contained within the interview summaries has a direct influence on

what sources will be found by users when searching under particular key words whilst online. In turn this influences users' perceptions of which groups in society are represented within the archive and which are not, even if in reality the sources within the archive are more extensive in content than revealed within the interview summaries.

Method

In order to examine the view of past society the IWM Sound Archive online presents to the public all of the records contained within the collection pertaining to service personnel who served in the Great War were analysed and basic data collected from each one. The focus of this data collection exercise was on the interview summaries presented alongside each record as it is through these records that users navigate the archive and attempt to find interviews in which they are interested. The complexity of individual responses meant that the data collected had to be broken down into quantifiable results: yes/ no, or numerical.²² This information was then collated into a database for analysis. Furthermore, the interview summaries of the top three interviewers by volume were examined to identify particular trends among the principal contributors to the collection whose personal influence on the archive was consequently measurably greater than other contributors.²³

It should be noted that in many of the interview summaries evidence for one or more of the headings was not presented. In these instances, the result was recorded as "o". Additionally, to ensure a consistent approach to collecting evidence for data analysis no assumptions were made during research. For example, if a summary recorded that an interviewee remembered they enlisted in August 1914, this would not be recorded in the data that they were a volunteer. Only if the summary material explicitly stated that the interviewee 'volunteered' in August 1914 would this be recorded as such.

Presenting the Data

An elderly cohort

The age of interviewees can have a significant influence on what is recorded in an oral history recording, affecting what topics are recalled and how, and which are avoided. Within the IWM Great War Sound Archive, all of the interviewees were interviewed in later-life, the average age of respondents being 96, the youngest being 70 and the oldest being recorded as 108. Whilst there is a forty-year age range between interviewees, it is reasonable to characterise this cohort of veterans as being in the latter stage of their lives.²⁴ The elderly nature of the First World War veterans interviewed is a defining characteristic of the IWM Sound Archive.

When studying oral histories it is nearly universally found that individuals, of whatever age and context, are primarily concerned with justifying *their* personal histories, doing so by creating an image of themselves with their recollections that they wish to project for their audience. Typically, the interviewee paints themselves as having some degree of influence in the events they describe, which is often exaggerated.²⁵ This facet of oral history has been demonstrated, for example, by Pamela Wakewich and Helen Smith through their investigation of Canadian women's memories of their war work and how these contributed towards the post-war establishment of Canadian national myths.²⁶ Advancing age can exacerbate this trend; some individuals can feel excluded from society as a result of their age, so seek to re-interpret past events for their audience in a fashion designed to achieve both personal satisfaction and social acceptance. To an extent this can be seen in the archive's collection of sources for the Gallipoli campaign.

Gallipoli

90 interview recordings held in the Sound Archive relate to servicemen whom, for all or part of their war service, served in the Balkans theatre of war, a broad geographical definition encompassing Salonika as well as Gallipoli. A majority of these individuals recalled specifically that they served in the Gallipoli campaign however. Given the numbers involved this is a higher proportion of the total than would be expected, indicating that there are other influential factors to consider. There is no evidence of significant interviewer bias in who they interviewed, with 16 separate interviewers conducting these 90 interviews.

Arguably, the single most significant factor which explains the distortion in results is the 'Gallipoli myth'. Since the end of the campaign, the campaign has been subjected to intense scrutiny and the subject of extensive mythology (especially in Australia but also elsewhere), becoming a prominent public myth of the Great War.²⁷ Being a collectively shared experience of such public prominence may have made it more likely that veterans who fought through this campaign would be willing to come forward to share their experiences; by making their experiences public they thereby re-affirmed their place in society by demonstrating they were participants in this notable campaign.

Male and Female Veterans

Men comprise the majority of Great War veterans whose interviews were collected by the IWM. Those with women comprise of only 2.5% of the sources. This ratio was to be expected given the male dominance of the Armed Forces and the comparatively small numbers of women who served in the Armed Forces during this conflict. However, while the ratio is proportionately representative, it can be anecdotally noted that the interview summaries are ambiguous in some cases on whether a women served in a branch of the Armed Forces, commonly due to lack of details or context (if it was not clear then the record was excluded from the results). Arguably then, the proportion of interviews with female veterans may be higher than recorded here, meaning that the collection contains greater diversity in experiences of female veterans than borne out by this review of the summaries.

The main contributors

According to Peter Hart the IWM collection is a reflection of the aims of IWM itself, yet this is to discount the influence of individual researchers on the collection. 115 researchers, many unaffiliated with the IWM contributed to the archive, the majority of whom only contributed one recording each.²⁸ However, three individuals created nearly half of the interviews held within the IWM Sound Archive Online, and thus have had a significantly greater than average personal influence upon the archives' contents. Peter Hart, David Lance, and Lyn Smith together contributed 329 interview recordings to the collection between 1972 and 1999, 48.2% of the total. Peter Hart and Lyn Smith predominately conducted their interviews from the 1980s onwards, whilst David Lance conducted all of his in the 1970s, as far as is known. A number of trends are apparent when the oral evidence collected by these three historians is examined.

David Lance and Peter Hart were (and are in Hart's case) both members of staff at the IWM at the time when they conducted their recordings. Significantly however, the summary evidence suggests that in a number of respects they were, at times, following a different set of objectives when conducting their interviews. This is perhaps surprising considering that their status as staff members, meaning that the sources they were creating were in response to the objectives of the IWM.²⁹ In comparison, whilst Lyn Smith is a freelancer, she is also closely associated with the IWM having had a number of books published using evidence from the IWM or via

the IWM itself. While only the trends in the top three most prolific interviewers have been examined, the critical questions asked here can and should be utilised by users of the archive when studying sources from other historians.

One of the most outstanding differences in the content of the interviews recorded by these three historians is in enlistment type. As shown in the table below, whereas Peter Hart and Lyn Smith both interviewed roughly proportionately similar numbers of regulars, volunteers, and conscripts, David Lance interviewed a notably greater proportion of regulars.

	Peter Hart	Lyn Smith	David Lance
Regular	19	21	26
Conscript	9	5	1
Volunteer	14	27	5

While the enlistment type ratios differ, the subsequent content of the interviews (such as likelihood of reporting they were wounded, which theatre of war they served in, etc) can be seen to be fairly consistent across the sources created by these three historians. This indicates that why these veterans were selected by these historians has clearly been influenced by certain objectives, arguably related to the method of their recruitment into the Armed Forces.

A further difference to consider is the date of interview and how this may have influenced how the sources were created. David Lance completed the majority of his interviews in the early to mid-1970s (1973 being the mean average year of recording), while the average date of the interviews conducted by Peter Hart and Lyn Smith was 1987. This is significant primarily due to the advances made in recording technology and oral history practices in the intervening decade. In the early 1970s oral history was a newly emerging historical discipline with few established methods. In comparison, by the late 1980s it had begun to mature with many more guides and precedents for practitioners being available. Consequently, users of these sources need to be aware of the potential differences in interview techniques used. The most striking is that it appears that the interviews conducted by David Lance generally, although not universally, follow the 'episodic' variety, in which interviewees are questioned about one particular event. This might be as broad their war experiences as a whole, or as narrow as their participation in a single battle. Conversely, Peter Hart and Lyn Smith typically followed the 'life history' method of recording oral histories, a practice which came into prominence in the 1980s and was made standard by the work of oral history pioneers such as Paul Thompson.³⁰ Life history interviewing takes the form of asking the interviewee to relate their life experiences as a whole, although usually with an emphasis on the events of special interest to the recorder. As a result, the range of evidence recorded by Peter Hart and Lyn Smith appears to be greater than that collected by David Lance, although the latter's recordings may be more focussed and detailed.

As this examination indicates, who the interviewer was has a significant influence on the recording, affecting who was interviewed, and the purposes for which the interview was conducted. Had more information been accessioned within the interview summaries it would be possible to elicit more information on the interviewers' objectives, giving a greater insight into the context in which the recording was created. In the absence of such evidence it is

ambiguous as to what extent the interviewer influenced who was interviewed and the content of what was discussed on the recording. Nonetheless, even with the limited evidence available it is apparent that the IWM Sound Archive has been profoundly influenced by the work of Peter Hart, Lyn Smith, and David Lance.

Enlistment

Analysing the interview summaries for evidence of recruitment type, the discrepancy in the number of records listing the interviewee as having been a conscript versus being a regular or a volunteer is striking. Many sources indicate that interviewees were asked or offered their opinion of conscripts, but only 22 records explicitly state that the interviewee recalled that they were a conscript.⁴⁶ In comparison, 95 explicitly recalled that they volunteered and 133 that they were a regular (the majority of whom enlisted prior to August 1914). Based purely on historical recruitment figures, it would be expected that the number of conscripts interviewed would roughly equal the total of regulars and volunteers combined.

The data also reveals a clear trend towards interviewing veterans who enlisted either as a regular (pre-war) or in the prime volunteering period (1914-15). In comparison to the evidence collated from the interview summaries recording the method of enlistment, the date of recruitment (which does not necessarily denote the method of enlistment) is typically less equivocal being clearly noted in 509 of the interview summaries. In only 173 interview summaries is the year of enlistment not recorded. Of the 509 in which data was collected, the enlistment dates recorded were as follows: 129 interviewees recalled they were pre-war regulars, 184 that they enlisted in 1914 (the majority between August and December of that year), 91 in 1915, 43 in 1916, 52 in 1917, and 10 in 1918.

Arguably, among the interviews in which the method of enlistment was not recorded in the interview summary, it would be found that were conscripts whom were not identified as such in the interview summaries. Nevertheless, the large number of records concerned which refer to how or when interviewees did join the Forces makes it unlikely that the relatively low number of interviews with conscripts was a statistical accident. Rather, this indicates that it was due to definable factors. Several influences can be identified which may explain the under-representation of conscripts within the IWM Sound Archive, affecting both the information recorded in the interview summaries as well as the contents of the interviews themselves. These include: the goals of interviewers which influenced which veterans they chose to interview, the reluctance of former conscripts to publicly identify themselves as having been conscripted when interviewed, and an inconsistent approach to how it was noted in the interview summary material that an individual was a conscript (for example, using the word 'recruited' as opposed to the word 'conscripted' while compiling the summary).⁴⁷ It is probable that the findings are due to a combination of all three of these factors. The importance of this analysis is to show that when the interview summaries are examined, the experiences of conscripts are dramatically under-represented within the IWM's oral history collection.

Geographical Enlistment Patterns

In total, 345 records of the 682 interview summaries held online by the IWM were sufficiently clear for evidence to be gathered on the geographical origins of interviewees at the time of their recruitment before or during the Great War. During the research process categories had originally been set-up by myself to account for Dominion and Empire countries, yet only one record pertained to an individual enlisting from a non-UK region (India).⁴⁸ Within the UK the interview summaries indicate a relatively even spread regionally, excepting London, Wales

and Scotland. According to research conducted by P. Dewey, London is over-represented with 26.38% of interviewees reporting they were recruited from that area.⁴⁹ It has also been noted that while the recruiting records indicate a recruitment ratio of circa 2:1 in Scotland's favour versus Wales, this is not supported by the evidence of the interview summaries. When the collection of records is examined as a whole, Scotland is under-represented in proportion to the population of this country who served in the Forces during the Great War with only 9 interviewees reporting that they enlisted from there. In comparison, 22 of the interviewees recalled that they were recruited from Wales, for example, despite Wales having a significantly smaller population. Given the small numbers concerned however, this anomaly should not be given too great a weighting.

The most notable group absence is of veterans of British Empire contingents. Most obviously, this could be a result of the numerous practical difficulties involved in conducting and collecting oral testimonies from overseas, particularly cost and language barriers. However, while these groups are not proportionately represented within the IWM Sound Archive, some of the nations concerned have conducted their own research efforts to preserve testimonials from their veterans. In Canada, for instance, interviews were being created and preserved by the Library and Archives service of Canada as well as the University of Victoria during the same period that the IWM was establishing its own collection within the UK.⁵⁰ Similar projects have been undertaken in Australia and New Zealand.⁵¹

In contrast, the personal experiences of veterans recruited (both by choice and by force) from India and African nations have typically not received the same attention from native oral historians. The relative lack of first-hand accounts from combatants from these countries has contributed to these countries' efforts being largely forgotten by the public within Britain and the rest of Europe, as well as within the countries concerned as well.⁵² Few among the general public know of the experiences of the circa 1.8 million men from these countries who served in the British Empire Armed Forces during the conflict, and there are few books on the subject (English language or otherwise).

Alternative sources of evidence of the personal experiences of Indian and African British Empire contingents does exist, yet is scarce and relatively difficult to access unless one is either dedicated or a specialist. The British Library has, for example, an extensive collection of written documents relating to the subject of Indian soldiers in the form of personal letters, through which it is possible to learn something of the day-to-day experiences of those who fought.⁵³ However, these letters do not represent the majority of Indian service personnel, who were illiterate. Furthermore, these letters were written by authors who were aware their writings would be censored by the military authorities. Finally, the nature of these being written documents makes it difficult to make them widely available or accessible to the general public (except to specialists) in contrast to the recordings uploaded for public use on the IWM's website. Thus, while other sources do exist which shed some light on the daily experiences of servicemen from these countries, these lack the immediacy of oral histories and their accessibility to a wider non-specialist audience.

While it is too late to collect first-hand testimonials from veterans of these former Dominion nations, the IWM could now pro-actively record and preserve the memories of those who remember their fathers' and grandfathers' war service as passed down to them in family or local lore. A similar project has been undertaken by Shrabani Basu.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, further research in this area, especially using the high-profile platform of the IWM, would be beneficial in raising public awareness in the UK of these countries' involvement to the Great War as well

as providing additional evidence of potential value for historians.

Conclusion

The key purpose of this article has been to examine the IWM's original mission statement of being representative of 'all those who served' in relation to the Sound Archive Online's First World War oral history collection. In particular, the primary focus has been on the interview summaries. The critical nature of the interview summaries has been highlighted and investigated due to their role in directing users to certain sets of sources. Data sets have been established through investigation of the evidence deposited within the interview summaries, enabling trends to be established within the collection of oral sources preserved by the museum. This analysis has shown that while the IWM holds fascinating accounts from a fantastically diverse range of First World War survivors, a range of groups, some larger than others, are absent. For those interested in the Gallipoli campaign in particular it holds an extensive range of first-hand accounts un-matched in other archives.

Reviewing the data, it is apparent that certain social groups, such as conscripts, psychologically traumatised veterans, as well as Dominion soldiers, are all under-represented in the records, or, in the latter-case, completely unrepresented within the IWM oral history collection. Moreover, this was based on a basic examination of the records; deeper examination may highlight additional anomalies. This is damaging as even today the IWM maintains its adherence to its original mission statement without caveats:

IWM's collections cover all aspects of twentieth and twenty-first century conflict involving Britain, the Commonwealth and other former empire countries. They were intended to record the 'toil and sacrifice' of every individual affected by war.

Our collections stretch from the everyday to the exceptional. They contain some of the most important technical, social, economic, political, personal and cultural artefacts relating to Britain and its role in twentieth-century conflict. The scale, depth, breadth and range of media – art, film photographs, sound, new media, writings and objects – contain the reactions, memories and stories of the whole of society.⁵⁵

This approach obscures real absences in the collection, offering a false impression of the range of contributions to the conflict to users of the archive. The examination undertaken in this article has tentatively suggested reasons why the IWM's oral history collection is not as all-encompassing as claimed. While all of these reasons are understandable in an archive created over a forty-year period, they must nonetheless be identified and highlighted, so as to avoid continuing the myth that the archive (certainly the sound element of it) is representative of all the different groups who served.

A number of contextual factors, affecting both what was discussed in interviews, as well as who was interviewed for inclusion in the Sound Archive, have been tentatively identified including social norms, interviewer priorities, and practical considerations of cost, access, and time. However, it has also been established that the level of contextual information accessioned alongside the IWM's oral sources is typically lacking in critical details. This is possibly due to the collection being established in the infancy of oral history, as well as being created primarily for the casual user as opposed to the historian with the time and skills to explore the sources in-depth. The absence of evidence means that any discussion on what may have influenced the content of the Sound Archive can only be ambiguous in its findings, any conclusions being reached being tentative.

It is suggested that the IWM could provide additional contextual evidence alongside the sources for the casual user to enhance their experience and the range of evidence they are exposed to during their searches. Furthermore, it may be beneficial to have more publicly accessible information on how the archive came into creation, which would highlight to the casual user the fact that the collection may not be all-encompassing of *all* individuals' experiences. These considerations withstanding, for the casual user as well as for historians the IWM's First World War oral history collection provides an outstanding and unique first-hand insight into the experiences of (British) survivors, and as such has no equal.

The research and data analysis conducted for this article reveals that further work is needed to better understand which groups the sources within the IWM Sound Archive Online represent and which are absent, under-represented, or indeed misrepresented. While focussing on the interview summaries is valuable insofar as it demonstrates how users interact with the archive, this gives only a glimpse of the depth and breadth of experiences recounted and preserved within the sources themselves. Potentially such work could include quantitative data sampling of the contents of the recordings themselves, or endeavouring to locate former interviewers. Such research is required to continue to disabuse the damaging idea that the IWM oral history collection is representative of all who served, while simultaneously highlighting the collection's diversity and unique first-hand perspective.

Endnotes

1 'Imperial War Museum: Corporate Plan, 2013-16', <https://www.iwm.org.uk/sites/default/files/public-document/CorporatePlan2013-16.pdf> (Last visited 17.04.16), p.2.

2 Ibid, p.3.

3 Ibid, p.10.

4 Peter Jackson, Graham Smith, Sarah Olive, 'Families remembering food: reusing secondary data', http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.145076!/file/FRF-reuse-paper-WP-.pdf (Last visited 07/10/2013), p. 4.

5 'How the IWM got its start in the middle of a war', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/how-iwm-got-its-start-in-the-middle-of-a-war> (Last visited 24.04.16).

6 'The Greatest War Memorial. Opening by the King. Human Interest at the Crystal Palace'. The Times, 10 June 1920, Issue 42433, page 11 column D.

7 'How the IWM got its start in the middle of a war'.

8 With thanks to Richard Hughes for providing this information on the early days of the IWM Sound Archive. While today this method of establishing an archive would not be considered best practice, according to European archive theory, this is the reality the vast majority of archives have to deal with. See, Robert McIntosh, 'The Great War, Archives and Modern Memory', *Archivaria*, <http://journals.sfu.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12674/13840> (Last visited 17.04.16), p.1.

9 A result of this is that the IWM oral history collection has a variety of different copyrights.

10 Oral history as an historical discipline only became mainstream in the decades following the Second World War. This was largely due to a combination of technological developments in portable recording apparatus as well as growing interest in the history of the 'common man'. The Oral History Society in the UK was only established in 1973, for example. See, Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

11 In addition to these 682 records the collection also holds a number of records of interviews conducted with civilians. These lie outside the scope of this article and have not been included in the discussion or the data analysis. Nonetheless, they are an equally valuable resource.

12 'Communication Lines: Peter Hart', The Western Front Association: *Stand To!* 106, (June 2016), pp. 6-7.

13 'The Greatest War Memorial. Opening by the King. Human Interest at the Crystal Palace'. *The Times*, 10 June 1920, Issue 42433, page 11 column D.

14 Robert McIntosh, 'The Great War, Archives and Modern Memory', pp.1-2.

15 Isabel Carrera Suarez, Laura Vinuela Suarez, 'The use of archives for research in migration and gender studies', http://www.york.ac.uk/res/researchintegration/Integrative_Research_Methods/Carrera%20Suarez%20Archives%20April%202007.pdf (Last visited 17.04.16), p.5.

16 Joan M. Schwartz, Terry Cook, 'Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory', *Archival Science*, 2, (2002), pp. 1-19.; In relation to oral history-based sources in particular, these influences have received no critical attention from archival theory, a surprising omission given the growing popularity of creating and then archiving oral accounts of the past. See, Peter Hart, *Voices from the Front: An Oral History of the First World War* (Profile Books Ltd.; London, 2015), p. ix.

17 The earliest interview was recorded in 1963, the last in 2003.

18 Elinor A. Maze, 'Metadata: Best Practices for Oral History Access and Preservation', <http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/2012/06/metadata/> (Last visited 24.04.16).

19 Even today there is extensive ongoing debate about what information should be provided with an oral history recording record by an archive. See, Niamh Moore, 'The Contexts of Context: Broadening Perspectives in the (Re)use of Qualitative Data', *Methodological Innovations Online*, 1, (2006) <http://www.pbs.plym.ac.uk/mi/pdf/Volume%201%20Issue%202/3.%20Moorepp21-32.pdf> (Last visited 07/10/2013).; and, Elinor A. Maze, 'Metadata: Best Practices for Oral History Access and Preservation', <http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/2012/06/metadata/> (Last visited 24.04.16).

20 The importance being aware of background information in 'getting to know' the interviewee (their living circumstances and their reaction to the interview, for example) is discussed by Peter Hart in *Voices from the Front*, pp. xi-xii.

21 For example, for several months during 2015 the IWM Sound Archive online was undergoing maintenance which temporarily reduced the search functionality of the archive. This made the online resource nearly inaccessible.

22 These headings were chosen using the following criteria: the ability to break the evidence down into quantifiable pieces of information, and a subjective decision on the likelihood of users of the website using these particular search terms to narrow their search down to particular social groups. There are many other search terms that could be used which were not researched. A quantitative data analysis on references made to religion in the interview summaries, for example, could be a fruitful research avenue. Furthermore, if available it would be interesting if the IWM could present the most commonly searched words on its online archive, as this would indicate the interests of users. This knowledge could then be used by the IWM to improve the results retrieved from the collection.

23 These are Peter Hart, Lyn Smith, and David Lance, who together contributed 329 interviews to the collection.

24 However, as discussed by Peter Hart, what this means in reality can vary from individual to individual, see, Hart, *Voices from the Front*, pp. xi-xii.

25 Ibid, p.xii.

26 Pamela Wakewich, Helen Smith, 'The Politics of 'Selective' Memory: Re-Visioning Canadian Women's Wartime Work in the Public Record', *Oral History*, 34: 2, (Autumn, 2006), pp. 56-68.

27 Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford: OUP Australia, 1995).

28 Enquiries of Richard Hughes at the IWM have established that exact figures and data on the interviewers is now unavailable due to the passage of time.

29 'Communication Lines: Peter Hart', The WFA: *Stand To!* 106, (June 2016), pp. 6-7.

30 Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*.

46 Those recruited through the Derby scheme were listed in the data as a volunteer, although this does not account for the discrepancy.

47 Ilana Bet-El has argued that the BBC's famous 1964 TV series *The Great War* adversely influenced former conscripts as the interview recordings featured in the episodes were entirely with former volunteers and regulars. To an extent, she argues, conscripts' experiences were downplayed by such cultural phenomenon in the post-war decades in favour of the more socially acceptable role played by the 'patriotic volunteer' or the heroic regular soldiers wiped out at Mons. It is perhaps not surprising that in the aftermath of programmes such as this that conscripts would be reluctant to be interviewed. Bet-El, Ilana A., *Conscripts: Forgotten Men of the Great War* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003),

pp. 195-196, 206-207.

48 A number of interviewees (>10) returned to the UK from the Dominions, but it was not clear from the interview summary whether they returned to enlist, or whether they returned and then later chose to enlist from somewhere in the UK. These records were not counted due to this lack of clarity.

49 P. E. Dewey, 'Military Recruiting and the British Labour Force during the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, 27:1 (March, 1984), pp. 199-223.

50 'Library and Archives Canada – Oral Histories of the First World War', <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/first-world-war/interviews/index-e.html> (Last visited 06/08/2016).; 'University of Victoria – Canadian Military Oral History Collection', <http://contentdm.library.uvic.ca/cdm/landingpage/collection/collection13> (Last visited 06/08/2016).

51 Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford: OUP Australia, 1995).; 'New Zealand WW100: Sites and Sources', <http://www100.govt.nz/sites-sources> (Last visited 29/09/2016).; 'WW100 Centenary', <http://www.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/EN/heritage/ww100/Pages/ww100.aspx>.

52 'Mis-remembered History: The First World War in East Africa', <https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/misremembered-history-first-world-war-east-africa> (Last visited 06/08/2016).; 'Forgotten role of Indian Soldiers who served in First World War marked at last', <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/forgotten-role-of-indian-soldiers-who-served-in-first-world-war-marked-at-last-a6725851.html> (Last visited 29/09/2016).; 'Why the Indian Soliders of WWI were forgotten', <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-33317368> (Last visited 29/09/2016).

53 'The Indian Sepoy in the First World War', <http://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/the-indian-sepoy-in-the-first-world-war> (Last visited 06/08/2016).

54 Shrabani Basu, *For King and Another Country: Indian Soldiers on the Western Front 1914-18* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

55 'Collections' <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections> (Last visited 05/09/2016).

THE LAST ALLIED OFFICERS TO DIE AT GALLIPOLI

Bryn Dolan

Flight Sub-Lieutenant James Sydney Bolas, whose photo appears on the front cover of this issue, was born 16 December 1892 in Patricroft, Lancashire, the son of James and Margaret Bolas (nee Lilley). He earned his Royal Aero Club Aviator's Certificate on 15 October 1915 at the Royal Naval Station in Eastbourne, and was killed in action just under three months later, on 12 January 1916, aged 23 years.

Many officers and other ranks died in the months and years following the Gallipoli campaign through the effects of either wounds or illness, but Flight Sub Lt. Bolas was the last allied officer to die *at Gallipoli* through enemy action. His machine, a 2-seater Maurice Farman, was shot down by Leutnant Hans Schüz, flying a Fokker E.III monoplane, off Cape Helles. Schüz was a German pilot attached to the *6nci Harp Bölük* (6th War Company) of the Ottoman Air Force. Though Bolas's body was recovered by Ottoman forces, there is no record of where he was buried and so, as he has no known grave, his name is inscribed on the Helles memorial.

Flight Lieutenant Cecil Horace Brinsmead of the RNAS and Lieutenant Noel Henry Boles, Dorsetshire Regiment, had been shot down the day before, the 'kill' being attributed to both Leutnant Schüz and Hauptman Hans Buddeke, OC of 6th War Company. Brinsmead and Boles are now buried side-by-side in Lancashire Landing cemetery, their bodies having been relocated after the war from the island of Imbros (now Gökçeada). They are the last allied officers killed at Gallipoli through enemy action who have known graves on the peninsula.

Flight Lieutenant Victor Nicholson RNAS and Midshipman Bernard Davy, of HMS *Ark*

Royal (attached RNAS), drowned when their aircraft accidentally crashed off Imbros on 10 July 1916; they too are buried side-by-side in Lancashire Landing cemetery, having also been relocated from Imbros after the war (see epitaphs on pages 43 and 44 respectively).

Three officers, one Australian - Lieutenant J Dalton, 7th Light Horse; one New Zealander - Lieutenant A C Pigou, Canterbury Mounted Rifles; and one English - Lieutenant F H Wolley Dod, King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry (according to some sources attached to the Macedonian Labour Corps), who had emigrated to Canada - see photo page 36, died of pneumonia, influenza and enteric fever, respectively, during the occupation of the Gallipoli region in 1918-19. They are buried in the Chanak (Çanakkale) Consular cemetery.

Flight Sub-Lt Bolas's observer, Midshipman Douglas M. Branson RN, was wounded and taken prisoner. And that's another story.

BOOK REVIEWS

WITH WINSTON CHURCHILL AT THE FRONT - WINSTON IN THE TRENCHES 1916

Author: Major A. Dewar Gibb. Publisher Pen & Sword 2016, Hardback, 221 pages, 26 illustrations. Price £19.99. ISBN: 9781848324299.

This book may be of interest to members even though it is not directly Gallipoli-related. It is the story of Winston Churchill, one of the main protagonists of the campaign who received, and still receives, blame for the Dardanelles catastrophe. In May 1915 Churchill resigned his position as First Lord of the Admiralty and, sidelined from active politics, he directed his energies to active service. One who never shied away from danger, he left Westminster for the Western Front, choosing not to fight on in government, but in the trenches.

Churchill, a territorial reserve major in the Queen's Own Oxfordshire Hussars, was briefly initiated in trench warfare with the Grenadier Guards in November 1915. Churchill remarked that his reception was as frosty as the weather, but the experience of the trenches was invaluable for his next command. Churchill wanted to command a Brigade, and if it wasn't for Sir John French being dismissed as Commander-in-Chief of the BEF he may have got his wish. Promotion to brigadier-general was vetoed, and rightfully so as Churchill had little active service experience and was way down on the pecking order for promotion. Churchill settled for promotion to lieutenant-colonel and command of the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers, and the book concentrates on his three months with this battalion.

Although the public were familiar with the forceful public figure that Churchill was, few had an insight into the caring and compassionate side of this utterly fearless commander. Although his arrival was resented when he joined the 6/RSF, he soon won the respect of his officers and men. It is interesting to note that this battalion not only had a future leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister in Churchill, but also a future leader of the Scottish National Party (Andrew Dewar Gibb) and a future leader of the Liberals (Sir Archibald Sinclair). Both Sinclair and Gibb were adjutants of the battalion and served with Churchill.

Captain Andrew Dewar Gibb formed a close relationship with Churchill that lasted far beyond their few months together in the war. Dewar Gibb subsequently wrote an account of his and

Churchill's time together in the trenches under the pseudonym of Captain X and with the title *With Winston Churchill at the Front*. This book was originally published in 1924 and is the basis for this edition.

This book is an excellent edited version of the original account, adding further material to support and complete the original work, some of which are from Churchill's own letters, while some others are from soldiers themselves. There are some amusing anecdotes and, together with the additional background information, this gives the reader an insider's view, not only to a battalion at the front in early 1916, but also into Churchill's personality whilst a battalion commander. The last chapter is written as a very useful battlefield guide to Churchill's 'front' at Ploegsteert in Belgium should the reader wish to visit. A great book and recommended read for any Churchillian of what must be the most comprehensive narrative of Churchill's time at the front.

- Stephen Chambers

THE MAJOR

The life of a Gallipoli & Western Front Survivor H W H Seager MC

Author/Compiler: Michael Seager. Publisher: Privately Published in 2015. Softback. 466 pages with numerous B/W photographs. Price: A\$35 (plus postage). ISBN 978-0-646-93538-6. Available from the author. E-mail: middlethorpepark@iprimus.co.au

The book is a record of the life of the author's father, Major Harold (Hal) William Hastings Seager MC (1893-1976) who served with the 10th Bn. Australian Infantry at Gallipoli and later with the 50th Bn. on the Western Front.

The first half of the book deals with his early life when he worked in a bank and also served, on a part-time basis, in the Military Forces of the Commonwealth of Australia. Then enlistment in August 1914, voyage to Egypt and five months on Gallipoli from April until September when Captain Seager was evacuated to Mudros suffering from dysentery and severe influenza. This took him first to Malta and then, despite his strong protestations, to England. Following recovery he 'kicked his heels' in England for several months, fretting that he was not allowed to return to the fighting. He eventually got back to Mudros in December but with the evacuation well advanced, he never returned to Gallipoli, being posted once again to Egypt and then to England. He went to the Western Front in January 1917 where he was promoted to major and was awarded the MC; his service there forms the second half of the book.

The story is told using Seager's letters, notebooks and other documents including orders which he transcribed into his notebooks, or otherwise retained. Although few of the orders can be regarded as significant in historical terms they recount the day to day tasks and routines which a company commander needed to ensure were carried out. The letters to family members, relations, friends and a former employer will be of interest to those, like me, who enjoy reading personal accounts of this kind. I would, however, have welcomed a more detailed commentary on the actions in which he was involved on the peninsula; most Gallipoli Association members will, of course, be aware of these but I assume the book is published for a wider audience.

- Foster Summerson

ANZAC DAY DAWN SERVICE LONDON - 2016

Speech by Sir Lockwood Smith, NZ High Commissioner to London

One hundred years ago, today, Londoners in their thousands lined the streets to see the Anzacs, who'd survived Gallipoli, march down the Strand and Whitehall to Westminster Abbey for the first Anzac Day Service.

Newspapers said they were "eager to render tribute to their fellow kinsman whose gallantry and self-sacrifice in the Empire's cause have moved every heart".

But the respite was to be brief. Within days the Anzacs were moved to the Western Front and the horrors of the Somme.

First over the top were the Australians at Fromelles on 19 July. With the same gallantry as at the Nek on Gallipoli, in broad daylight they went, only this time to be blown apart by artillery, as well as cut down by machine gun fire. Forced to retreat, in the worst 24 hours in Australia's history, some battalions lost three quarters of their men.

The New Zealand Division went into action almost two months later. At midnight on 14 September, 6000 were in position in trenches near Delville Wood.

They faced the infamous Switch Line, unbroken by previous assaults. Their objective - the village of Flers. At exactly 6:20 a.m., on 15 September 1916, the barrage began. The Kiwis started their advance.

Lessons had been learned. They now followed a creeping barrage of artillery fire and would, for the first time, have the support of tanks.

Disaster lurked all round. Of the 48 new tanks only 32 even made it to start line. And by the middle of no man's land, the German artillery crashed into them.

Through the carnage they carried on, and as the creeping barrage lifted off the German front lines the surviving New Zealanders fought a hand to hand battle, with bayonet, bullet and grenade, taking the previously impregnable Switch Line and the trenches at Flers.

The cost was huge – the greatest loss of life in New Zealand's military history to that time.

Nurses, from both our countries, volunteered in their thousands to care for the wounded - in makeshift hospitals behind the front lines, and here too.

For New Zealand, at Brockenhurst and Walton-on-Thames, these Anzac angels helped repair the broken bodies, and raise flagging spirits, only to see those they'd lovingly cared for sent back to the Front once more - to the flying shrapnel of the pounding guns and the soul sapping, mind-numbing mud. My wife's own grandfather was one, torn from head to foot by shrapnel, and nursed back to life at Walton-on-Thames.

More than 2000 New Zealanders lie buried on the battlefields of the Somme. 1200 have no known grave, their names inscribed on the New Zealand Memorial to the Missing in the Caterpillar Valley Cemetery, near Longueval.

To the thousands upon thousands from across the Commonwealth whose lives were torn away, so far from home, Canadian poet and soldier, John McRae wrote, "We are the dead. Short days ago we lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow, loved and were loved, and now we lie in Flanders Fields".

To those still living he wrote "to you from failing hands we throw, the torch; be yours to hold it high. If ye break faith with us who die, we shall not sleep, though poppies grow, in

Flanders Fields”.

As we remember all who served, and what they endured that we might live free, their character, their commitment, their sheer courage will inspire us forever. Their torch is ours, to hold it high.

GALLIPOLI : ENEMY LOSSES

(By Sir Ian Hamilton, formerly Commander-in-Chief at the Dardanelles)

In the course of a long military career I have seen the dead on many battlefields, but the greatest number of killed I have seen crowded into quite a small space was at the Dardanelles - the 3000 Turks buried In front of the Anzac lines on May 24, 1915, had mostly fallen within an area no larger than a football ground. Corpses lying in one another's arms! Hells was worse - or 'even better' as we should have said during the war. Though I could not get a close-up of the Turkish dead lying north-east of Fusilier Bluff, they struck another sense like a blow in the face, and I could, through my glasses, see them lying there, where wave after wave had smashed itself against our fire, in one thick, unbroken mass along a half-mile frontage. With real unhappiness I had to refuse to grant another burying armistice; the fact being that this wall of corpses served the British better than barbed wire. For the Turkish rank-and file shied resolutely at the obstacle so terrible, and neither blows, curses, nor prayers could induce them any more to face it.

No one will ever know how many Turks were killed at the Dardanelles.

Conflicting Estimates.

In the spring of this year, General Kemal Bey Ochri came to London; he paid me a visit, bringing a letter of introduction from the British Legation at Sofia. I did not need it. Kemal Bey Ochri is no man of straw. On a question such as that of the casualties at the Dardanelles there is no one whose word would carry greater weight. He was Chief of the General Staff to the northern group of armies. He it was who, on behalf of the whole of the enemy forces at the Dardanelles, had signed, jointly with myself, the Armistice of May 21, 1915, for the burial of the 3000 Turkish dead in front of the Anzac lines. Three days later I had met him as representative of Turkish G.H.Q. on the burial ground.

During our conversation on post-war Turkey, he remarked, quite incidentally, that his country had lost too much blood to recover herself quickly - the 350,000 dead left at Gallipoli would take a lot of replacing. The figure, 350,000, startled me, and I stopped him, suggesting that he meant casualties. He said, no; that he was well aware of those other figures but that they had been deliberately given - incorrectly! I asked him why. He replied, because, even after the war, the Turkish Higher Direction could not afford to let their Balkan and other neighbours know the real extent of their enfeeblement.

The British dead numbered, as is shown In the War Graves Commission's latest papers, 31,737. This figure includes deaths from all causes, In all branches of the service: British, Anzac or Indian, whether on the peninsula itself or at sea en route to or from the peninsula.

Early In 1925 I was Invited by the New Zealand Government to unveil the war memorial which now stands on Chunuk Bair. I accepted, but later on the High Commissioner for New Zealand called on me and told me he had been sent for and informed that, as our relations with Turkey were, at the moment, rather strained, it would be unwise to run risks by letting

the ex-Commander-in-Chief of the British make a second landing at the Dardanelles.

Quite a natural idea, but showing perhaps some lack of knowledge of soldiers. Were old Hindenburg to come on a visit to London there is one lot of people, anyway, who would give him a cheer, and they are the ex-service men. I did go to Gallipoli, where I was received as was Cariolanus by the Volscians.

Then and Now.

The Turks showed no desire to drink my blood, but drank my health instead, and vied with one another in receiving me with every mark of courteous respect.

(Hamilton, General Sir Ian. 'Gallipoli: Enemy Losses'. *Reveille: RSS&AILA, NSW Branch, Sydney, 31 Dec 1928 p23*).

FINAL ROUND : TURKS' TAIL DOWN

(By Lieut.-Col. W. W. Alderman NZEF and AIF, CMG, DSO)

My personal impression of the Anzac evacuation was:

How easy it was for the Turk to prove our strength during the last 24 hours He felt that something was doing! Why did he not try to find out? His tail must have been down.

The only humorous thing I know of was the release at the very last moment of our donkeys from their corral, with the hope they would be gazing at the Turkish lines in the early dawn after our departure.

The whole operation went according to plan, and without one untoward incident. It is hard to say what prompted so many of us to want to stay on, but the fact remains there was some difficulty in selecting the few out of the many offering. I think most of us felt that, if we were properly reinforced with artillery, we could account for Johnny, and so were reluctant to leave the job unfinished.

1st Auckland Bn. was holding some 400 yards (part of Rhododendron Ridge and part of the Apex), and when B party left at 9 a.m. this stretch was defended by my party of six officers and 44 other ranks, among whom were 3 signallers, 4 Medical Corps, and 9 machine-gunners. All were volunteers selected by me personally, and mainly for their physical fitness. We were known as "C" party. I divided 28 of them into groups of four, the men within each group being numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4.

At 1.50 a.m. No. 1 and the machine-gunners, like the Arab, silently stole away. At 1.55 a.m. all signal communication ceased, and the signallers departed. At 2 a.m. No. 2 went, and at 2.5 a.m. the balance left.

The night, like its predecessors, was one of very bright moonlight. We could almost see the Turks strengthening their wire, and occasionally we fired a few shots at them. As we had only about one man per 12 yards of trench, we kept alert to prevent an enemy patrol discovering our weakness. Most of us were surprised at getting off without a casualty.

(Alderman, Lieut.-Colonel W. W. 'Final Round: Turks' Tail Down'. *Reveille: RSS&AILA, NSW Branch, Sydney, 1 Dec 1932 p21*).

BRAVE MARINES AT THE GALLIPOLI LANDING



Illustration from *The War Illustrated Album De-Luxe Vol III The Spring Campaign* page 937;
'Brave Marines at the Gallipoli Landing'

"The co-operation between the Marines and the soldiers at the great landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula on April 25th, 1915, was absolute. The ranks of both were fired by a common enthusiasm for the work in hand."

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.

LAST POST

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

- **Major Richard Wilson MBE (Membership No. 2231)** died on 15 August 2016.
- **Elizabeth Sharp-Paul (Membership No. 1266)** died on 20 August 2016. Two of her uncles, Charles Edward ('Charlie') Dowse and Henry Harvey ('Harry') Dowse, served at Gallipoli with the 7th Royal Dublin Fusiliers. Charles was killed in action on 16 August 1915 during the assault on Kiretech Tepe Ridge and Harry was seriously wounded by a gunshot to the chest in September. He was later commissioned into the Royal Flying Corps and was badly wounded on operations in Italy from which he died on 10 November 1918. An elder brother served with the RAMC on the Western Front and survived the war.
- **Mr Michael (Mike) Bailey (Membership No. 2143)** died on 10 November 2016. Michael had been a valued member of the Association for many years and always asked for a Remembrance Cross to be laid in the Association plot at the Field of Remembrance in memory of Pte. Herbert Hammond, 2/4th Bn. The Queen's (Royal West Surrey Regiment) who was killed in action at Gallipoli on 9 August 1915.
- **John Holdcroft (Membership No. 0937)** died on Remembrance Day, 11 November 2016. He had been a member since the 1980s.

Well Done Ted

Epitaph on the headstone of Trooper Edward Whitaker Lowndes, 3rd Light Horse Regiment AIF.
Died of wounds 28 May 1915, aged 30. Beach Cemetery.

"Teddy Lowndes has just been carried past, he has been shot through the head
and I am afraid is just about done for; dad will remember him;
he has often asked me how dad was getting on."

Disclaimer

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



A photo sent by Mr Gavin McGuire showing wounded troops (including Mr McGuire's grandfather, Leo Francis O'Loughlin, marked with an 'X') and medical staff on board the NZHS *Maheno* (featured on the cover of the Summer 2016 edition of *The Gallipolitan*). No other person is identified. Can anybody help?



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. To keep alive the memory of the campaign and to ensure 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 River Clyde at V Beach, 25 April, 1915 by Charles Dixon

Reproduced by kind permission of The Princess of Wales's Royal Regiment (Queen's and Royal Hampshires)

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.