

# The Gallipolian

*The Journal of the Gallipoli Association*

No. 150 - Autumn 2019



# 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  
<http://www.gallipoli-association.org>

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Front cover.

Turkish trenches, Chunuk Bair, 1995, overlooking The Farm cemetery (immediately below, left), Cheshire Ridge (marked by the large scoured cliff-face just beyond The Farm), Hill 60 (right middle-distance, indicated by the white stone of the cemetery against dark trees), the Salt Lake, Suvla Bay and Kiretech Tepe Ridge in the distance.

## Upcoming Events

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### GALLIPOLI ASSOCIATION AUTUMN LUNCH

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**Tuesday 15th October 2019**

The Gallipoli Association Autumn Lunch will take place at the Cavalry and Guards Club, 127 Piccadilly, London at 12.30 p.m. Tuesday 15 October 2019 following the AGM.

The Trustees are pleased to announce that the guest speaker for the lunch will be Admiral the Lord West of Spithead, GCB, DSC, PC. He had a distinguished Royal Navy career, culminating as First Sea Lord and chief of naval staff from 2002 to 2006. Amongst many appointments he served as captain of HMS *Ardent* in the Falklands War and was the last to leave the ship when she was sunk in Falkland Sound.

Since retiring from the Royal Navy, he has taken up many appointments including as first chancellor of Solent University and board member of the Imperial War Museum. He was appointed as Under Secretary of State with responsibility for security in the administration of Gordon Brown from 2007 to 2010, and was made a life peer sitting on the Labour benches in the House of Lords. In 2014 he presented the 15-part BBC Radio 4 series "Britain at Sea."

The Cavalry and Guards Club can accommodate 50 for lunch and places will be allocated on a 'first come, first served' basis. The cost will be £50 per head which will include a pre-luncheon drink, a two-course lunch, wine and coffee. The Trustees hope that this will be strongly supported.

**If you would like to book and don't have an insert with the journal, please contact:** James Watson-Smith Esq, Chelsea Lodge, Coopers Hill Lane, Englefield Green, Surrey TW20 0JX or email: jcwsmith3@gmail.com.

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### GALLIPOLI ASSOCIATION - FIELD OF REMEMBRANCE, WESTMINSTER ABBEY 2019

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Members are invited to place a Remembrance Cross, Star of David, Crescent Moon or Sikh Khanda in the Gallipoli Association plot at the Field of Remembrance, which will be in place by the afternoon of Thursday 7th November. The Association can arrange to lay remembrance tributes in the plot for members.

Tickets for the opening service on date and time to be fixed.

**If you do not have an insert in this journal and would like to participate, please contact:** Sarah Kellam, 5 Mews House, Roffey Park, Forest Road, Colgate, West Sussex RH12 4TD (email: secretary@gallipoli-association.org)

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## GALLIPOLI ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

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**Saturday 28th September 2019**

*Echoes from the Deep: The Wrecks of the Dardanelles Campaign* – Savaş Karakaş

*Baby Steps at Gallipoli, 1915* – Peter Hart

*The Mystery Woman of Gallipoli - Findings of New Research* – Brian Cleary

*British Pre-First World War Intelligence on the Dardanelles* – Yusuf Ali Ozkan

*Manu Forti - The Hereford Regiment at Suvla* – Andy Taylor

*The Nottinghamshire Yeomanry in the August offensive* – Wayne Birch

As the venue proved immensely popular, we will be again be holding this year's conference at the prestigious RAF Club, 128 Piccadilly, Mayfair, London W1J 7PY ([www.rafclub.org.uk](http://www.rafclub.org.uk))

**If you would like to book this event and do not have an insert with the journal, please contact:** Peter Luff, 19 Old Exeter Road, Tavistock, Devon PL19 0JE : [membershipsecretary@gallipoli-association.org](mailto:membershipsecretary@gallipoli-association.org)

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## CENOTAPH PARADE

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**Sunday 10th November 2019**

The Gallipoli Association has once again been offered the chance of representation at the March Past the Cenotaph on Sunday 10th November 2019. This is an honour for the Association and open to those who meet the criteria. You will note that the criteria for eligibility to march has been changed by the Royal British Legion this year.

If you wish to take part, please apply no later than Friday 16th August 2019. Places are strictly limited and will be allocated on a 'first come, first served' basis. Applicants will be advised by the Association if their name has gone forward to the Royal British Legion, so please provide an email address or telephone number. Tickets will be despatched by the RBL in mid-October.

**If you are interested in applying and you don't have an insert with this journal, please contact:** Sarah Kellam, 5 Mews House, Roffey Park, Forest Road, Colgate, West Sussex RH12 4TD (email: [secretary@gallipoli-association.org](mailto:secretary@gallipoli-association.org))

**ELIGIBILITY:** Military and civilian personnel from the UK and Commonwealth who served the Crown on military operations (please give details)

Wives, husbands or civil partners of those who died as a result of their service in HM Armed Forces or during a time of war (please give details)

*Please note that one or the other of these requirements has to be fulfilled.*

Guest – one guest per member – please provide the same details as above – if a carer, criteria has yet to be confirmed.

## THE WORD "ANZAC"

Bruce Topperwien

Recently, some ex-service organisation leaders have suggested that 'Anzac' should always be spelt in upper case characters and to do otherwise is to ignore the origin of the term and so dishonour the soldiers who fought to uphold the name.

While the thrust of such a proposition, at first consideration, is understandable, it overlooks the fact that Anzac is no longer merely an acronym for the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, it has passed into history and the English language as a word in its own right, with its own meaning and connotations. It became a word almost immediately that 'ANZAC' was coined as an acronym and was used as a word by the Anzacs themselves. It became more than an acronym by the way in which it

|                                |           |          |               |
|--------------------------------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| of Decoration<br>to the C.S.M. | Gallipoli | 1/10/15  |               |
| of Wounding                    | Anzac     | 4/11/15  | B252          |
| Samuel                         | Indragos. | "        | C240.         |
| Deceased                       | Lemnos.   | 22/11/15 | C26.          |
| Wounded                        | Anzac     | 8/8/15   | (Rij)<br>A319 |

Detail from the B103 form for 2nd Lieutenant Henry ALLEN,  
3rd Battalion, AIF, indicating that he died at 'Anzac.'

was used, the manner in which it was defended, and the reputation given to it, by the troops that adopted it as a descriptive and evocative word that they were proud to be associated with. Even those Australians and New Zealanders in their country's military forces who were not formally part of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps were proud to be known as 'Anzacs'.

Since the earliest times, 'Anzac' has been used as a word. The first official use of Anzac as a word rather than as an acronym was when it became, at the request of General Birdwood, the name used by the British Forces for that piece of land occupied by the Australian, New Zealand, British, and Indian Army forces on the west coast of the

Gallipoli Peninsula in 1915.<sup>1</sup> Turkey officially renamed this place Anzac Cove in 1990.

*The Anzac Book*, which was published in 1916, was written in 1915 by the Anzacs themselves while still at Gallipoli as a Christmas souvenir.<sup>2</sup> In their own writings and illustrations the word is frequently spelt as ‘Anzac’ and not ‘ANZAC’. What better evidence could there be as to the appropriate usage of ‘Anzac’? While the soldiers clearly recognised the proper acronym usage, and used it in that way in the relevant circumstances, they also recognised the fact that by their deeds and through their courage, they had brought into the English language a new word that would live forever as a memorial to their accomplishments and sacrifice.

This was recognised not only by the Australian Parliament, but also by the British Parliament shortly after the war. In 1920, the Australian Parliament enacted the *War Precautions Act Repeal Act 1920*, which provided that the Governor-General may make regulations ‘prescribing matters providing for and in relation to ... prohibiting or regulating the use of the word “Anzac” or any word resembling the word “Anzac”’.<sup>3</sup>

The Protection of Word “Anzac” Regulations, made under that Act, provide a scheme of protection and regulation of the use of the word so that it cannot be appropriated for commercial or other purposes without the Minister’s consent.<sup>4</sup> The Act (in conjunction with the *Crimes Act 1914*) provides for fines of up to \$6,000 for an individual or \$30,000 for a corporation for each offence as well as imprisonment for up to 12 months.

The regulations provide as follows:

1. These Regulations may be cited as the Protection of Word “Anzac” Regulations.

1A. In these Regulations, unless the contrary intentions appear —

“Entertainment” includes any exhibition, performance, lecture, amusement, game, sport or social gathering held or conducted for the purpose of raising money.

2.(1) No person shall, without the authority of the Minister, proof whereof shall lie upon the person accused, assume or use the word “Anzac” or any word resembling the word “Anzac” in connexion with any trade, business, calling or profession or in connexion with any entertainment or any lottery or art union or as the name or part of the name of any private residence, boat, vehicle or charitable or other institution, or any building in connexion therewith.

(1A) Sub-regulation (1) does not apply to the assumption or use of the words “Anzac Day” in connection with an entertainment held on 25 April in any year or on consecutive days that include that day where those words are not used to describe or designate single events within an entertainment consisting of 2 or more events.

(2) Without limiting the meaning of sub-regulation (1) a word shall be deemed to be assumed or used by a person in connexion with any trade, business, calling or profession if—

<sup>1</sup> C E W Bean, *Anzac to Amiens*, Australian War Memorial, 1946, pp.120-121

<sup>2</sup> Bean, p.176

<sup>3</sup> Section 22, War Precautions Act Repeal Act 1920

<sup>4</sup> The word is also protected by provisions of the Corporations Law and Customs Regulations, which also require the Minister’s consent before it can be used in the name of a company or in imported goods. [See also the Editor’s Note at the end of the article].

- (a) it is applied (whether as a trade mark or otherwise) to any goods manufactured, produced, sold or offered for sale by that person; or
  - (b) it is used as the name or part of the name of any firm or company registered in Australia.
- (3) The Registrar of Trade Marks shall—
- (a) refuse to register as a trade mark any word the assumption or use of which in connexion with any trade, business, calling or profession is prohibited under sub-regulation (1) of this regulation; and
  - (b) unless otherwise directed by the Minister, cancel any existing registration of any such word as a trade mark, and refuse to take any step or further step in connexion with any application for the use of any such word as a trade mark.
- (4) The Registrar of Designs shall—
- (a) refuse to register as a design any word or mark the assumption or use of which in connexion with any trade, business, calling or profession is prohibited under sub-regulation (1) of this regulation; and
  - (b) unless otherwise directed by the Minister, cancel any existing registration of any such word or mark as a design, and refuse to take any step or further step in connexion with any application for the use of any such word or mark as a design.
- (5) The Registrar-General of other proper officer of a State charged with the registration of firms and companies may—
- (a) permit any firm or company which has been registered under a State Act, and in the name of which there is included any word the use of which in connexion with any trade, business, calling or profession is prohibited under sub-regulation (1) of this regulation, to amend the name of the firm or company by the omission of that word, and, if the firm or company so desires, the substitution of any other word or words; or
  - (b) cancel the registration of any firm or company which refuses or fails to apply within a reasonable period for the amendment of its name.
- 3.(1) A person shall not, without the approval of the Minister, use in naming a street, road or park, the word “Anzac” or any word resembling the word “Anzac” as the name or part of the name of the street, road or park.
- (2) The last preceding sub-regulation does not apply to or in relation to—
- (a) the naming of a street, road or park in which, or in the immediate vicinity of which, there is situated a public memorial relating to the war which commenced on the fourth day of August, 1914, or the war which commenced on the third day of September 1939; or
  - (b) the naming or re-naming of a street, road or park the name of which at the commencement of this regulation contained the word “Anzac” or any word resembling the word “Anzac”.

Over the years there have been many approaches to the relevant Minister seeking approval for the use of the word ‘Anzac’. Most have been refused, especially if they have related to commercial enterprises. One particularly imaginative (but unsuccessful) applicant sought permission to call his product, ‘Anzac potato harvester—a great Australian Digger.’ Another well-known international manufacturer of collectables

had manufactured a collector's knife named 'The legendary Anzac knuckle knife,' purporting to be a replica of a commando knife used by Anzacs in World War 2. A check with Australian War Memorial curators revealed that a knife of somewhat similar shape (but of considerably smaller dimensions and without the intricate pattern-work of the 'replica') was used for a very brief time by a small number of New Zealanders, but it had never been used by Australian Forces. Not surprisingly, the application was refused by the minister.

The Minister usually gives permission for the use of 'Anzac' in the name of special memorial rooms in RSL clubs or as in the name of commemorative activities or displays. Recently, there was some concern with the Minister's approval of the Anzac Day Rugby Union Test between Australia and New Zealand. The request to use the word 'Anzac' was put forward with the support of the NSW Returned & Services League. Careful consideration was given to the request and the Minister's approval was given on the proviso that due respect would be shown to the Anzac tradition by conducting an Anzac Day ceremony at the test match. The Minister considered that such an event would help promote the Anzac tradition in the wider community, in particular among those who may have had little knowledge or experience of Anzac Day. The support of the NSW RSL for the request was also an important factor in the decision. The Minister was also constrained to some extent by sub-regulation 2(1A).

In recent years, following a submission from an ex-service organisation and consultation with leaders of veterans' organisations, the Minister, upon application, approved the use of the word 'Anzac' in association with 'Anzac biscuits'. The rationale being that it is such a well known and traditional type of biscuit, mentioned in numerous cookbooks and sold at school fetes, etc., that it would be unrealistic to attempt to eliminate it from Australian society, and to do so would, perhaps, take away something traditional and recognisably Australian.<sup>5</sup> The Minister has always made it a condition of his approval that the product is never to be advertised by reference to, or play upon, the traditions or values associated with 'Anzac' or things of a military nature.

In 1995, the Australian Parliament passed the *Anzac Day Act 1995*. This Act, which received bipartisan support, provides as follows:

**Short title**

1. This Act may be cited as the *Anzac Day Act 1995*.

**Commencement**

2. This Act commences on the day on which it receives the Royal Assent.<sup>6</sup>

**Observance of Anzac Day as the national day of commemoration**

3. The national day of commemoration to recognise and commemorate the contribution of all those who have served Australia (including those who died) in time of war and in war-like conflicts is to be known as Anzac Day and observed on 25 April each year.

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<sup>5</sup> The original recipe appears to have been Canadian in origin, and first appeared in Australian recipe books in the late 19th century as "cocky's joy". There is certainly no evidence for the legend that it was a biscuit made or eaten at Gallipoli by the Anzacs.

<sup>6</sup> Assented to on 29 March 1995.

This Act does not “protect” or require observance of Anzac Day, but is a declaratory statement by Parliament that 25 April each year is to be recognised as the national day of commemoration. Various pieces of State legislation provide for restriction of certain activities on Anzac Day. It is interesting to note that, in legislation, Anzac Day has been written with the word ‘Anzac’ rather than the acronym.

As mentioned above, not only has the Australian Parliament passed protective legislation, but the British Parliament has also passed legislation protecting the word ‘Anzac’ or any word resembling ‘Anzac’, such that it cannot be used in the United Kingdom without approval from either the Australian or New Zealand governments.

To attempt to replace entirely the word ‘Anzac’ with the acronym ANZAC would be tantamount to telling the world, more than 80 years after its first usage as a word, that we have been writing it wrongly all these years, that the Anzacs themselves did not know what they were doing, and that it is not a word after all but merely an acronym of a particular military unit that has long ceased to exist. The Official War Historian, C E W Bean, used the word ‘Anzac’ consistently in preference to the acronym when talking of the soldiers themselves rather than the Corps of which they were a part. This usage has been adopted consistently by virtually all other historians. To change the word from Anzac to the acronym ANZAC would be a move that would tend to lessen the importance and reputation of those who were responsible for changing it from being merely an acronym of a military unit into a word that brings with it all the connotations that the Australian and British Parliaments have enacted legislation to protect.

### Editor's Notes:

This article was previously published in *Sabretache*, the journal of the Military Historical Society of Australia, in 1997. Bruce Topperwien was, at that time a director in the Legal Services Group of the Department of Veterans' Affairs, which administers the Protection of the word ‘Anzac’ Regulations.

Mr Topperwien informed me in May 2019 that the name of the legislation has changed. The former *War Precautions Act Repeal Act 1920* is now the *Protection of Word ‘Anzac’ Act 1920*. The change of name was made by the *Veterans' Affairs Legislation Amendment (Miscellaneous Measures) Act 2014*.

During and after the war many parents in Australia and New Zealand named their children ‘Anzac’, sometimes as a first name, but more commonly as a middle name. It would be ludicrous to suggest that this name should always be written fully-capitalised, yet it is essentially no different in concept to ‘Anzac’ being a proper noun in every other context when not referring specifically to the military formation known as the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.

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### NOTICE

The membership secretary, Mr Peter Luff, has advised that there are three volumes of past issues of *The Gallipolian* available ‘for sale’ although he does not as yet have a price.

This notice is to establish whether there is any interest within the membership in possibly acquiring these. If interested please contact Peter (details inside front cover).

In addition to the three volumes mentioned, Peter advises that a member may have a collection going back to issue 93 (Autumn 2000) for disposal.

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## THE CAMERA GOES TO WAR

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Stephen Chambers

Military conflicts have attracted photographers from the earliest years. The Crimean War (1853-1856) gave the world the first official war photographers: the Englishman, Roger Fenton and the lesser-known Rumanian Karol de Szathmari. Both pioneers of this art showed the world the first photographic images of war where they tried to capture the battles in this new medium.<sup>7</sup> In the 1860's American Mathew Brady, and associates like Alexander Gardner, brought to the public the realities of war through their vivid battlefield photographs of the American Civil War, in particular the graphic images of casualties after the Battle of Antietam (1862). At the end of that century the company Underwood & Underwood produced stereoscopic cards and lantern slides that showed photographs of the Anglo-Boer (1899-1902), Russo-Japanese (1904-05) and Balkans Wars (1912-13). These publicly available images depicted the many aspects of war with the exception of one: battle. Photographs of the period showed barrack and camp life, training, drill, marching, war preparations, the front line prior to a battle, and the aftermath. Actual 'battle' photographs were impossible at this time due to the limitations of wet plate cameras that required a cumbersome tripod and the subject to be still whilst the camera's shutter was open. It is therefore charming to read a letter written in 1854 by a British officer's fiancée whilst he was on active service in the Crimea: "I send you, dear Alfred, a complete photographic apparatus which will amuse you doubtless in your moments of leisure, and if you could send me home, dear, a good view of the battle, I should feel extremely obliged. PS. If you could take the view, dear, just in the moment of victory, I should like it all the better."<sup>8</sup> I fear his betrothed may have been disappointed.

By the time of the Boer War changes in technology, in particular the half tone printing process,<sup>9</sup> enabled publishers to reproduce high quality photographs in newspaper and books for the first time. Prior to this, weekly-illustrated magazines like the *Illustrated London News* only printed artists' drawings that depicted weekly events, and it was not until 1890 that photographs were included for the first time. By the time of the First World War there was a wide range of publications like *The Sketch*, *The Sphere*, *The Tatler* and *The Graphic* reporting on the conflict, but it was *The War Illustrated*, that was first published in August 1914, which gave one of the first pictorial narratives of the conflict. This flourishing pictorial market gave rise to commercial photographic agencies being established for the main purpose of image distribution. Soon it would not only be professional images entering this market; the amateurs were also going to make their mark.

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<sup>7</sup> Earlier photographs that were taken during conflicts have been noted for the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49) and the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852-53). Dr. John McCosh, a Scottish military surgeon, photographed both, although the images were mostly scenic views, buildings, natives and British individuals as opposed to a pure military theme.

<sup>8</sup> Pat Hodgson, *Early War Photographs*, (Reading: Osprey 1974), p.11.

<sup>9</sup> The technique where an image is created from a series of dots that reproduce the full tonal range of a photograph. It was developed from the 1880's.

### Through Soldiers' Eyes

The popularity of amateur photography was made possible by George Eastman, an American inventor and businessman, who introduced roll film cameras to the mass market. When he launched the light hand-held camera, the Kodak 'Brownie', in 1900, its unique combination of simplicity, portability and value for money made it an instant success. The term 'Kodak' soon became synonymous with snapshot photography and a new pastime had been born. The Kodak could be preloaded with roll film, and although this was nothing new (roll film appeared commercially in 1888),<sup>10</sup> it was far beyond the means of the average person and thus confined to the wealthy and entrepreneurial travellers. By the turn of the century prices had fallen drastically for box cameras; by 1914 even the relatively complicated folding cameras were considerably cheaper. It was the Vest Pocket Kodak, or 'VPK' that revolutionised popular photography. Once a previous luxury for the professional or wealthy, cameras were now available to the masses, transforming photography into a new hobbyist pastime.



It was the First World War that really took amateur - or rather 'snapshot' - photography from being a popular activity into a fashion. The term 'snapshot' became quickly associated with the VPK as an easy point and shoot camera, commonly advertised as the 'Soldier's Kodak'. The camera also had a familiar resonance with the weapons of war with its use of terminology, insomuch as it could be 'loaded', 'aimed' and 'shot'. It could be said that the camera had become a weapon of war in its own right, especially when its value was recognised as an armament in the nation's propaganda arsenal.

<sup>10</sup> Brian Coe and Paul Gates, *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888-1939* (London: Ash & Grant, 1977), p.34.

By 1918 almost two million VPKs had been sold, and during 1914-15 alone sales increased fivefold.<sup>11</sup> The VPK was popular not only because it was light, durable and had an integrated autographic feature,<sup>12</sup> but it could easily be carried in a jacket or coat pocket. The faster shutter speed was more forgiving when capturing movement, and improved exposure time and better lens made it a perfect little camera in many ways. Although exact numbers are unknown, a significant number of men took VPKs to war.



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For men leaving for active service overseas the VPK was a perfect parting gift. In spite of military law banning cameras, its manufacturers had no qualms about targeting soldiers in their marketing. Adverts would be headed: "Take a Soldier's Kodak with you and bring back your own priceless picture record of the Great War," whilst another sold the design of the VPK as being "as small as a notebook or diary and will tell a more interesting and convincing story of your share in the Great War." Another local press advert stated, "There's room for a little Vest Pocket Kodak in every soldier's and sailor's kit." Another stated, "It is monotony, not bullets that our soldier boys dread" and "Tens of thousands of brave lads in the camps and trenches are keeping their own Kodak story of the war – a story that will always be intense to them because it is

<sup>11</sup> Coe and Gates, *The Snapshot Photograph*, pp.30-34.

<sup>12</sup> Introduced in 1915 and allowed notes to be written onto the paper backing of the film.

history from their view point. And when peace comes it will make more vivid, more real their story of their war as they tell it again and again to mother, sister and wife and little ones.” Advertising boosted the VPK’s popularity which made it the must-have device to take to war.

Without the VPK many of the most remarkable early war photographs would not exist; the images of the 1914 Christmas Truce showing British and Germans fraternizing in no-man’s-land on the Western Front or the equally remarkable photograph of the dead, dying and pinned down Irish and Hants soldiers trapped on the barges and beaches during the Gallipoli *River Clyde* landing.<sup>13</sup> These images capture both the humanity and futility of war, and without the camera and photographer these poignant images would have all gone unrecorded. First World War ‘battle’ photographs are very rare, and even though some show men going over the top, like those of the 1/6<sup>th</sup> Manchesters charging at Krithia,<sup>14</sup> these are more the exception than the rule. Most images captured by the lens show the everyday details of life in training, at the base, up the line and out on rest. The trivia of day-to-day army life, which, for the soldier would soon become monotony, is for the outsider a fascinating insight into the military life. Privately taken ‘soldiers’ photographs are rarely of action and often lack the clarity, drama and composure of later official photographs, but they do offer a raw dimension that adds a valuable and unfettered “image not influenced by the demands of a paid profession or the requirements of propaganda.”<sup>15</sup> Pictorially these amateur snapshots allow us a glimpse of the war through soldiers’ eyes.

### Censorship And Prizes

At the beginning of the First World War the British and Dominion press were never short of war photographs to support their articles. They had access to vast numbers of images that included regulars going overseas, reservists returning to the colours, territorials in camp and volunteers answering Kitchener’s call. Photographs showed the mobilisation of the British Army and Navy; soldiers drilling, marching, firing and sailing off to war. The images of Tommy Atkins or Jack Tar were commonly published in the rotogravure<sup>16</sup> newspaper sections to illustrate the news stories that followed the war. But missing from these early images were photographs that recorded the dramatic battle scenes for one main reason; official photographers were not permitted to accompany the British Expeditionary Force across the channel, and the very few that did were restricted in their movement and banned from the front. This gap was filled inadvertently by amateur ‘soldier’ photographers, despite there being a sanction on cameras on the Western Front.

With so many Great War photographs from the 1914-1915 period one has to wonder

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Chambers Photograph Collection.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen Chambers Photograph Collection.

<sup>15</sup> Richard van Emden, *Tommy’s War – The Western Front in Soldiers’ Words and Photographs* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p.27.

<sup>16</sup> Rotogravure is a type of intaglio printing process, which involves engraving the image onto an image carrier, for example a cylinder that can then be used in a rotary printing press.

how effective censorship and military law was. As early as 11 August 1914, the Secretary of State for War, Field Marshall Lord Kitchener, declared “an official ban on press photography on the Western Front as a means to maintain a high degree of confidentiality in the area.”<sup>17</sup> This was by no means surprising, as Kitchener was an avid opponent of journalists in general, and of photographers in particular, referring to them as “drunken squabs.”<sup>18</sup> This makes an interesting contrast to the view of the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Winston Churchill, who permitted both journalist and photographer to Gallipoli. Churchill, who had established the Official Press Bureau in August 1914,<sup>19</sup> was clearly more lax when it came to taking photographs at Gallipoli and reporting on the campaign. As a former war correspondent, he saw the value in documenting the campaign in images, be that from official, press or private cameras.

The War Propaganda Bureau, set up in August 1914, was responsible, amongst other things, for the control of literature and photographs. This was helped by the bureau using the *Defence of the Realm Act (1914)* to control the flood of material being produced, under the fear that an enemy could glean valuable information from such sources. It was not long before the camera itself was banned on the battlefield. That said, the sanction was unenforceable and in most cases ignored, as the large volume of photographs from the early part of the war proves witness today. There are numerous instances of commanding officers authorising individual soldiers to use their cameras to create a semi-official record of their battalion.

Marching off to war many soldiers, mainly officers, had packed a camera in their kit. This war, in most circumstances, would be the first that they would experience, and for many it was also their first time abroad. In a similar way to a civilian taking a camera on holiday, the camera became a necessity for the tourist in uniform to record their experience.

On the Western Front the ban was always going to be difficult to enforce, and public demand for images went some way to undermining the sanction on photography. Weekly magazines like *The Illustrated War News* were dedicated to following the conflict and eagerly sought images to satisfy the public’s lust for information. Even though a few professional photographers had been given permission to enter the Western Front, they were restricted to the training and base areas away from the front lines. This initially forced publishers to turn to pre-war stock photographs or to use graphic artists for images. Newspapers, frustrated by the lack of new images, began

17 Jane Carmichael, *First World War Photographers*, (London: Routledge, 1989), p.26.

18 Herbert Baldwin, *A War Photographer in Thrace* (London: Unwin, 1913), pp. 8–9.

19 Winston Churchill: Mr. Churchill and the Press, HC Deb, 07 August 1914, vol 65, cc2153-6. Established on 7 August 1914 with the aim that “From that bureau a steady stream of trustworthy information supplied both by the War Office and the Admiralty can be given to the Press, which, without endangering military or naval interests, will serve to keep the country properly and truthfully informed from day to day of what can be told, and what is fair and reasonable; and thus, by providing as much truth as possible, exclude the growth of irresponsible rumours.”

to run advertisements to encourage soldiers to send in their photographs by offering 'large sums of money', some as large as £1,000!<sup>20</sup> The authorities quickly became more concerned as this in effect was tempting officers and men to disobey orders. On 25 February 1915 the *Daily Mirror* ran a headline: "War snapshots that will win £1,000", stating that this was "the largest ever offered for a news picture in the history of illustrated journalism for the most interesting snapshot of a war happening". Winning snapshots were published throughout the spring of 1915, and the promotion, incentivised by offers of free film development and the promise of entrant anonymity, continued until the end of July. The *Daily Sketch*, soon followed by the *Daily Mail*, was not slow to increase the stakes and offered a prize fund of £10,000 for battle pictures.<sup>21</sup> Camera manufacturers like Kodak even helped to promote these competitions, some even going as far as offering tips on how to get the best image, including avoiding the 'Generals'.

The authorities soon announced General Routine Order (GRO) 189 which ordered "all cameras are to be sent home, each camera being examined by the censor before the parcel is passed by him, to ensure that there is no film in it". Because photographs continued to be sent to the press, the BEF's Commander-in-Chief, General Sir John French, issued GRO 464 that stated; "It has been brought to notice that drawings, photographs, and letters are being sent to the Press. This practice is forbidden. The taking of photographs is not permitted."<sup>22</sup> On 16 March 1915 the War Office had to issue another instruction that clearly banned the camera and the penalty for being in possession of one: "The taking of photographs is not permitted and the sending of films through the post is prohibited, Any officers or soldiers (or other persons subject to military law) found in possession of a camera will be placed in arrest, and the case reported to the General Headquarters as to disposal."<sup>23</sup>

This order had the clear objective to call upon general officers to issue instruction to all men serving under their command. It is therefore remarkable that so many images after this date were still taken; clearly censorship was still being flouted on the Western Front despite the latest orders and the risk of punishment.

The government soon realised that permitting an 'official' photographer in France and Flanders had its benefits. The images could be content and quantity controlled, which satisfied the main concern of the authorities, "but still provide images of the front line to the public and the press who demanded them."<sup>24</sup> It was not until 1916 that the first official photographer was appointed for the Western Front. Jane Carmichael noted that the War Office's "pragmatic solution ... was to invite a limited number of professionals to be part of a special elite, official reporters, and then to exclude all others as far as

20 The first £1,000 winner was paid for the image of survivors clinging to an upturned lifeboat after the U-boat sinking of the RMS *Falaba* on 28 March 1915.

21 *The Daily Mail* on 26 February 1915 and the *Daily Sketch* on 27 February 1915.

22 GRO dated 22 December 1914.

23 The National Archives (TNA): HO/139/19.

24 Emma Levery, *Photographic Censorship In The First World War : A Comparison Between The Realistic Travels Stereograph Set And British Personal Photograph Albums From The Collection Of The Art Gallery Of Ontario*, (Ryerson University, 2011). Theses and dissertations (Paper 1571).



The dead, dying and trapped men on V Beach, Gallipoli, taken from the bow of the *River Clyde* during the morning of 25 April 1915 (Stephen Chambers collection).

As with France in 1915 it was not unusual to find cameras in the possession of the men at Gallipoli, but rarely do you find them littering the battlefield. The night of the Gallipoli landings on 25 April 1915 was cold and wet which led soldiers to rifle through the discarded packs looking for food and warm clothing and throwing anything out of no value; at that time cameras were one such item that had no value. On the slopes above Anzac Cove Private Russell Weir, NZ&A Divisional HQ, remembered “the first day ashore we collected souvenirs, you know bayonets and bullets that the Turks had. But we soon dropped those. All over the hillside were beautiful cameras, cameras galore, just thrown off because you had to travel light. You would travel with practically nothing, just a rifle, bayonet, ammunition and a trenching tool.”<sup>26</sup>

At Gallipoli things were different from the very start. There was one official photographer appointed by the Admiralty, Ernest Brooks, who was in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve at the time. There were also several war correspondents that had permission to accompany the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force: these included Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Malcolm Ross, Charles Bean, Phillip Schuler and later Keith

<sup>25</sup> Carmichael, *First World War Photographers*, p.16.

<sup>26</sup> 15/93A Private Russell John James Weir, NZ&A Divisional HQ. Quoted in Christopher Pugsley and Charles Ferrall, ‘Remembering Gallipoli: Interviews with New Zealand Gallipoli Veterans’ (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016), p.73.

Murdoch, all of whom had access to cameras. Where, on the Western Front, the few commercial photographers were obliged to submit their images to the War Office for inspection, at Gallipoli they had to send the negatives to the Chief Naval Censor, Rear-Admiral Sir Douglas Brownrigg.<sup>27</sup> Brownrigg imposed fewer restrictions with regards to who and what could be photographed, which may explain why so many images of the campaign were released to the press.

Brownrigg wrote:

It was over the Dardanelles business that an official photographer was first employed, Ernest Brooks, a most gallant and delightful little man, who had previously been round the world with the King, and had done many other jobs. This started a fresh line of work, every one of his pictures passing through my hands before being marketed or issued to the Press. Brooks remained out till the Gallipoli force was withdrawn, when he wired me asking for instructions. I put forward a suggestion that the Commanders-in-Chief in the Mediterranean and of the Grand Fleet should be consulted as to his retention, but nothing came of it and he was lost to us and was, of course, snapped up by the Army.<sup>28</sup>

As disjointed and disorganised as the campaign was, there were also “few considerations made concerning what the official viewpoint of Gallipoli would be in photographs”<sup>29</sup> thus giving the public an incoherent narrative. Taking the popular 600 image stereograph sets that were produced by Realistic Travels, they represent the Gallipoli campaign in a much-unconnected way. They jump from HMS *Cornwallis* at the Dardanelles firing a salvo at the Turkish fortifications, to stores at Sedd-el-Bahr or reserves awaiting orders to move into new positions.

Brownrigg, when referring to Ernest Brooks, stated:

Every plate sent home by Brooks, we turned over to the Central News photographic section, run by Mr George Knight M.B.E who throughout the War handled every single photograph that we had. He in turn issued them to a rota of photographic publishing agencies, and these supplied the Press, via the Press Bureau, and the net proceeds were remitted to the Admiralty. Everybody was thus kept sweet, and I think the business gave satisfaction.<sup>30</sup>

Brooks, as well as Ashmead-Bartlett, Bean and others, whilst on the Gallipoli Peninsula were never without danger as nowhere was safe. Brooks and Bean had been wounded, albeit lightly, at Gallipoli and had worked in some difficult conditions. Sometimes these conditions, namely during the offensives, meant that the peninsula was off bounds and the journalists were confined to the islands of Imbros or Lemnos where they were separated from the action, although at least they were safe from Turkish shelling and sniper fire. During these periods it was not unusual for Brooks to deliberately stage ‘battle’ images purporting to be on Gallipoli; a method that Girdwood abused on the Western Front, and many of those that went before.<sup>31</sup> When access was lacking to the forward areas both photographers had to compensate in order to get the photographs

27 Carmichael, *First World War Photographers*, p.36.

28 Sir Douglas Brownrigg, Rear-Admiral: *Indiscretions of the Naval Censor*, (London: Cassell, 1920), p.14.

29 Levery, *Photographic Censorship In The First World War*, (Paper 1571).

30 Brownrigg, *Indiscretions of the Naval Censor*, p.15.

they knew the public wanted. Australian war correspondent Charles Bean was fiercely critical:

Brooks, whose one idea is to take pictures which editors will print, doesn't care two pence whether they are real or faked; as generally he can't get real ones he is always out to fake them ... We from Gallipoli have two particular crimes against Brooks. He faked a picture of a Turkish sniper dressed up in branches like a tree - he got a Turkish prisoner on Imbros with two Australians from the field bakery standing on either side of him with bayonets fixed; the picture has been printed everywhere and is taken as a proof of the wild stories about 'men as trees moving'. It half convinced me when first I saw it. And he faked a second picture of a 'charge of the Royal Naval Division at the Dardanelles', which is the most famous picture taken there.<sup>32</sup>

In March 1916 Brook was transferred from the Admiralty to the War Office, given the honorary rank of second lieutenant and appointed the official photographer for the Western Front. He covered the Battle of the Somme, and along with Lieutenant Geoffrey Malins, the official cinematographer, was famed for recording the Beaumont Hamel attack on the first of July 1916. By the end of the war he had produced several thousand images, more than a tenth of all British official photographs taken during the Great War. But his images were not without controversy. Bean in his diary entry for 2 June 1916 commented that he

... knew Brook from the Peninsula, a plucky little chap & a good photographer ....but you will have to keep a tight hand on him to see that he doesn't fake, he is a terror for trying to make up pretty pictures behind the lines

Bean went on to write, "He is also undoubtedly very brave in trying to get real pictures wherever he sees them". Bean observed that Brooks had a keen eye for the image that he knew editors would print, and how he got that shot was never a problem, real or fake. On the whole the faking and staging of photographs was not unusual and are observed where the practical difficulties of getting to the front posed a problem.

Even though several hundred official Gallipoli photographs were published, the majority produced during this campaign were taken by servicemen and occasionally nurses. Where censorship of the written word was the focus, most photographs appear to have escaped the censor's eye, or passed due to a more lax view of war photography.

The freedom to take subjects such as land or seascape, shipping, beaches, ridges, ravines, camp scenes, prisoners, gun positions and trenches appears unrestricted for the soldier as well as the war correspondents and the few commercial photographers that were there.

<sup>31</sup> In 1855 Roger Fenton had scattered cannonballs on the fields of Balaclava to make a more dramatic image in the aftermath of the charge of the Light Brigade. In 1900 R. W. Paul staged all of his Boer War films because he realised that filming on location would inevitably lack action. 'The Battle of Colenso' for example was filmed at Muswell Hill in North London.

<sup>32</sup> C Bean, Diary, 2 June 1916, p.64 (Australian War Memorial, online: [1] (retrieved 23 September 2016).



Above: The faked photo of a 'Turkish sniper' dressed up in branches like a tree, 'guarded' by the field bakery section! (Wikimedia Commons).

Below: The faked charge of the Royal Naval Division, ostensibly at Helles.



This is fortunate as there is a great volume of private Gallipoli photographs, which gives us a rich legacy of images for this eight-month campaign. The volume of photographs that survive in collections today equals, if not exceeds, those of the Western Front for the same period. In Gallipoli there were no strict rules and the soldiers' cameras remained the main source of war images, creating an unparalleled photographic record. Without these early war images - amateur snapshots and professional photographs - the study of Gallipoli would have been less rich, and the world poorer in its understanding of this tragic campaign.

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## GALLIPOLI REMEMBERED, ROCHDALE

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**Michael Williams**

On the morning of 25 April 1915, the 1st Battalion, the Lancashire Fusiliers stormed ashore at the heavily defended 'W Beach' (later to become known as 'Lancashire Landing') between Cape Helles and Tekke Burnu on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The gallantry displayed by the regiment that day led to the famous 'Six VCs Before Breakfast' but came at a terrible price, with up to 700 Fusiliers being killed or wounded.

At 11 am 104 years later, Stephen Cooney, chairman of the Rochdale and District Fusiliers Association, opened the inaugural 'Gallipoli Remembered' parade with Laurence Binyon's immortal words, 'They shall grow not old ... '.

The now-to-be annual parade forms part of the association's 'Rochdale Gallipoli Project', an initiative conceived and now managed by John Rodgers, vice president & vice chairman of the Rochdale & District Fusiliers Association (and member of the Gallipoli Association). John was ably assisted in planning the parade by members of the local Fusiliers Association and by Caen Matthews, Rochdale council's temporary key worker – armed forces. The GA's education budget provided financial support.

Commendably, the project aims to 'enhance and maintain a strong commitment to the understanding of and the commitment to remember the Gallipoli campaign of 1915, its context and legacy', so as to 'ensure that the Gallipoli campaign is never forgotten and not just incorporated into generic remembrance.' One hundred and eighty-one volunteers from the small local area, two aged only 17, fell at Gallipoli.

In addition to past members of the Lancashire Fusiliers, Royal Fusiliers, other regiments and corps of the British Army, the Royal Air Force – and a solitary representative (the writer) of the Australian force, participants included students of Hopwood College and children and young people from local schools. The many wreaths in honour of those who served in the campaign - laid to the haunting tune of *Flowers of the Forest*, played by Pipe Major Stuart Hay - included those by Councillor Mohammed Zaman, mayor of Rochdale; Mr Ian Sandiford, deputy lieutenant of Greater Manchester and, jointly, by Michael Williams and Richard Whittle, on behalf of the Gallipoli Association. (See photograph page 32).

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## THE ROAD TO CAPE VOROSKOPOS ON LEMNOS

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Jim Claven

It was with great interest that I read the article by Michael Robson entitled “A Sudden Storm” in *The Gallipolian* (No 148, Winter 2018), along with the reference to the letter by Corporal George Ernest Richards of the Australian 9th Battalion provided by our editor. As someone who has carried out extensive field research on the island of Lemnos, I thought the following comment and photographs would be of interest to Association members.

Michael refers to the British Royal Navy’s Torpedo Boat – *TB.064* – having become wrecked on the night of 21st March 1915, near the headland of Voroskopos on the eastern coast of Lemnos, in an attempt to find a safe anchorage from strong winds.

Cape Voroskopos lies just to the north of the archaeological site of Poliochni (well worth a visit), with a large bay lying immediately to its east. The photo (page 31) was taken from the edge of Poliochni and shows the bay and the emerging headland of Cape Voroskopos on the left. I assume that *TB.064* was wrecked in either this bay or in the bay to the north of the cape. As Michael’s article states, Australian soldiers of the 9th Battalion were despatched to assist the crew of the torpedo boat, marching from their bivouac on the outskirts of Mudros Town, nearly 9 kilometres to the west, and arriving at midnight.

As Michael points out Sergeant Polley was part of this group of soldiers sent to aid the British sailors. I have found another contemporary account confirming the Australian soldiers’ piquet sent to aid the sailors. Twenty-year-old Private John Donaldson was living in Queensland when he enlisted in the 9th Battalion at Townsville on 18th August 1914. Born in Falkirk, Scotland, John was working as an engine driver when he enlisted. On 30th May 1915, John wrote a letter to his mother in Scotland which includes the following description:

... a torpedo boat ‘004’ ran on the rocks, and we had to assist the crew ashore. All were saved, they lost their belongings, but we rigged them out with all the spare clothes we had.

The torpedo boat number ‘004’ rather than ‘064’ is most probably an error in the transcription for publication. This is further evidence in support of Michael’s article. Private Donaldson’s letter also confirms the 9th Battalion’s involvement in the building of the Australian Pier on Lemnos (see my article in *The Gallipolian*, 146, Spring 2018).

Michael goes on to cite evidence that other Australian soldiers visited the site of the wreck over coming days, retrieving trophies from the boat. One group of soldiers who were taken to view the wreck were led by Corporal George Richards of the 9th Battalion. George went on to describe the scenery on the journey from Mudros to the Cape as “delightful” and of viewing the nearby Island of Tenedos from a hill. On their journey George and the other Australian soldiers would have passed the

villages of Roussopouli and Kaminia. A visitor to the island in March or April could confirm George's view, the island's hills being covered in vegetation and colourful flowers, illustrated in my photograph of Roussopouli, taken from the road leading to Cape Voroskopos (see photograph page 31).

An unknown Australian soldier visited the village of Roussopouli during his time on Lemnos during the Gallipoli campaign, taking some photographs of his visit to this village as well as of nearby Romanos. His photograph of Roussopouli (below) captures the village school with its students and teachers, posing outside the front of the school building. This photograph and his others are now part of the State Library of Victoria's collection in Melbourne. The archival photograph by the unknown Australian soldier gives a hint to the interaction between the local villagers and their new visitors from across the world. Corporal Richards and the men who walked to the wrecked torpedo boat may well have visited this village on their way.

Association members would find a field trip to Lemnos most interesting, with its two Allied military cemeteries and many sites connected to the Gallipoli campaign, including Cape Voroskopos with its story of the wreck of *TB064*.



School in village of Roussopouli, Lemnos, 1915.  
Unknown photographer, MS 10340, State Library of Victoria.

### Sources:

Corporal George Richards, "Very Few will come out of this. But we will hang on till the last. With our boys on the eve of battle. Fine spirit of the Queenslanders", *Brisbane Courier* (Qld), Friday 2 July 1915, p7, NLA.

Letter dated 30th May 1915, Pte John Donaldson (9th Battalion) to his mother, in Tony Matthews' *Crosses: Australian Soldiers in the Great War 1914-18*, Boolarong Publications, 1987, pp 15-16.

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## ‘A MIXED BAG’<sup>1</sup> A STUDY OF BATTALION COMMAND AT SUVLA BAY

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### 11th (Northern) Division

#### 32nd Brigade

9/W. Yorkshire - J O’B Minogue  
 8/Duke of Wellington’s - H J Johnston  
 6/Yorkshire - E H Chapman  
 6/York & Lancs - H M Eustace

#### 33rd Brigade

6/Lincoln - M P Phelps  
 6/Border - G F Broadrick  
 7/South Stafford - A H S Daukes  
 9/Sherwood Foresters - L A Bosanquet

#### 34th Brigade

8/Northumberland Fusiliers - C E Fishbourne  
 9/Lancashire Fusiliers - H M Welstead  
 11/Manchester - B A Wright  
 5/Dorset- C C Hannay

Pioneers- 6/East Yorkshire - H G A Moore

Formed in late August 1914, the 11th (Northern) Division was one of three K1 divisions sent to Gallipoli in the summer of 1915.<sup>2</sup> The performance of the two British divisions which landed at Suvla in August 1915 has been subject to some considerable scrutiny and criticism. As too have the men who led them, Mahon and Hammersley, and their brigade commanders. Shortly after landing, Sir Ian Hamilton complained of the 11th Division displaying a ‘*want of energy and push*’.<sup>3</sup> In a post war report the whole Suvla force was accused of ‘*an absence of initiative*’.<sup>4</sup> More recently, the Australian author Les Caryl has criticised the regular officers of the divisions as being too old and promoted above their level.<sup>5</sup> Much of the blame for this lethargy lies at the hands of the divisional and brigade commanders. But what of the men who commanded the individual battalions? Were they old, over-promoted and lethargic? This article examines the performance of the thirteen men who led the infantry battalions of the 11th Division into Suvla Bay in August 1915.

As one of the earliest New Army divisions to be formed, the 11th was fortunate in having first pick of the available officers to command its battalions. All were substantive majors or above at the outbreak of war, and all were either serving, or former, officers of the regular army. Ten commanded battalions of their own regiment, with just three from ‘foreign’ regiments - Eustace, Phelps and Welstead. Eight were serving regulars, four were from the reserve of officers, and only one - Johnston of the Duke of Wellington’s

Regiment - was completely retired. Just over half were serving as the regimental depot majors. To give just one example, Broadrick was the major in charge of the Border Regiment depot at Carlisle. Actively serving with his regiment were four other majors senior to him, and three his junior.<sup>6</sup> In his mid-40s, Broadrick was about the average age of a regimental major; a rank at which one could retire on half pay at 48.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast Phelps was a regular major serving with the 1/Sherwood Foresters who happened to be in England on leave from India when war broke out. He was swiftly posted to the command of the newly formed 6/Lincoln.<sup>8</sup> These officers were excellent choices for battalion command. Experienced soldiers for the most part, they were, on average, younger than the substantive lieutenant-colonels of their regiments by 3-4 years.<sup>9</sup> However, most were slightly older than the optimum age for battalion command by the standards of later in the war, which was estimated to be under 36.<sup>10</sup> Most appear to have experienced active service, with three being companions of the DSO. Eustace was a 50-year-old major, nine years retired from the Middlesex Regiment and a veteran of the Boer War, who had been both mentioned in despatches and created a member of the DSO for services at Spion Kop.<sup>11</sup> Johnston too had served in South Africa and had also been rewarded with the DSO.

On its despatch to Gallipoli, the 11th Division was considered to be well led and well trained; indeed, Kitchener felt it was the best of the three New Army divisions sent to form IX Corps.<sup>12</sup>

### **Into combat**

Gallipoli was a dangerous place for a battalion commander. Seven battalion commanders from the 11th Division would be killed in action during that hot August on the peninsula and a further two died in 1916. Most of the remainder were wounded or had their health ruined by the appalling conditions.

First to be killed was Chapman of the 6/Yorkshire, leading one of the first attacks made by the New Army in the Great War. Two companies advanced directly from C Beach on the Turkish position at Lala Baba. Despite heavy casualties the hill was taken and the Turks scattered. Chapman, however, had run into a party of Turks en route who killed him and wounded the rest of his headquarters.<sup>13</sup> Also killed in action on the 7 August was Welstead of the 9/Lancashire Fusiliers. His battalion pinned down near the beach by Turkish snipers, Welstead was twice wounded, the first time slightly, the second fatally, whilst organising his reserves.<sup>14</sup> A third battalion commander to fall on 7 August was Daukes of the 7/South Staffords, killed. A further casualty that fateful day was Fishbourne of the 8/Northumberland Fusiliers, wounded shortly after landing whilst attacking Chocolate Hill.<sup>15</sup> The Northumberland Fusiliers were doubly handicapped as the battalion adjutant, Captain Garnier, had been wounded by Turkish rifle fire en route to the beach in a lighter.<sup>16</sup> Finally, Wright of the 11/Manchester was hit late on the 7th and evacuated home three days later. He would not return to his battalion until the October.<sup>17</sup>

Moore, commanding the Pioneer 6/Yorkshire was to lose his life in unusual circumstances leading the attack on Tekke Tepe in the early hours of 9 August. With only a single company available, the assault came under heavy Turkish fire almost straight away and the advance stalled. Retreating back to the foothills, the remnants of the party were overwhelmed by a strong force of Turks and forced to surrender.<sup>18</sup> Moore, exhausted, sat down but was immediately bayoneted through the back and killed.<sup>19</sup> Johnston of the Duke of Wellington's was also killed alongside his second-in-command, following the 6/Yorkshire up Tekke Tepe.<sup>20</sup>

The general attack on the 21 August by the 11th and 29th Divisions resulted in the death of G F Broadrick, killed whilst leading the remnants of the 6/Border on Green Hill.<sup>21</sup> In the same attack L A Bosanquet, 9/Sherwood Foresters, was also killed.<sup>22</sup> Henry Eustace was badly wounded in late September and evacuated to England. Active service, and the conditions at Gallipoli, proved too much for Minogue of the 9/West Yorkshire. Taken ill on the 16th August he was evacuated to England, and subsequently died in 1916 from the effects of the campaign.<sup>23</sup> Phelps succumbed to dysentery in early September and was also invalided back to the UK, although he appears to have survived the war.<sup>24</sup> Fishbourne recovered from his wounds, but was killed on the Somme in October 1916.

Only one of the original thirteen appears to have survived Gallipoli unscathed - Hannay of the 5/Dorset. Benefiting from two close shaves on the 7th August when officers beside him were both shot dead, he would be elevated to temporary command of 34th Brigade for six weeks following the sacking of Sitwell in August.<sup>25</sup> The loss of five battalion commanders on the 7 August, Chapman, Welstead and Daukes killed; Wright and Fishbourne wounded, can be compared with a similar baptism of fire for the New Army - 1 July 1916. Of the 14 divisions that attacked on that fateful day only four lost more battalion commanders - the 4th, 8th, 21st and 34th Divisions.<sup>26</sup>

### Performance in battle

The thirteen battalion commanders of the 11th Division were confronted with a very difficult task on 7 August - an amphibious night assault on a defended shoreline with completely inexperienced units. It is hardly surprising that confusion reigned at times. Units became intermingled and there were even instances of mistaken identity, at one stage the 9/West Yorkshire found themselves being noisily charged by the 6/York & Lancaster, while two battalions of the 32nd Brigade had to be prevented from blundering into the 34th Brigade firing line.<sup>27</sup>

Yet there is clear evidence of courage and leadership from several battalion commanders. When the lighters carrying the 11/Manchester and 9/Lancashire Fusiliers went aground short of A Beach, Wright and Welstead took charge and, despite being under fire, led their men to the beach, Welstead being one of the first ashore.<sup>28</sup> Chapman and Welstead were both killed within hours of the landing leading their units from the front. Bosanquet was wounded on the afternoon 9 August but bravely remained at his post until the evening. His battalion had

courageously prevented the Turks from breaking through the British line at the junction of Anzac Corps and 11th Division.<sup>29</sup> The 11/Manchester, under Wright, did extremely well, pushing on the Kiretch Tepe Ridge for two miles, but lost 15 officers and 250 men in doing so.<sup>30</sup> Aspinall-Oglander gave serious praise - '*Well led by its officers ... this single battalion had done splendid work.*'<sup>31</sup> Both Phelps and Broadrick led their battalions effectively in the capture of Chocolate Hill on the 7th.<sup>32</sup> On the whole, when given the opportunity, battalions were handled well within the tactical restrictions of the Gallipoli peninsula.

Others found front line service something of a strain. Eustace was one of several battalion commanders aged over 50 and although described by a colleague as '*a gallant old chap*' he was criticised for '*dithering like a man who found the situation quite too much for him*'.<sup>33</sup> Minogue had something of a mixed performance, although he showed considerable initiative in gathering scattered units to attack several guns firing on the beaches, he was criticised for hesitancy by the official historian.<sup>34</sup> His physical fitness was clearly inadequate for the rigours of active service. A fellow officer described him as '*played out in every way*' and a moderate sprint of a few hundred yards caused him distress.<sup>35</sup> Despite this, he was temporarily elevated to command of 34th Brigade vice Sitwell, in charge of all the forward troops, on 8 August.<sup>36</sup> After the wounding of Fishbourne shortly after landing, the 8/Northumberland Fusiliers apparently did '*nothing of importance*' until 19 August.<sup>37</sup> Yet by then 24 of the battalion's original 26 officers had been killed or wounded, and just 300 other ranks remained.<sup>38</sup> Given the paucity of reinforcements it is hardly surprising that the 11th Division was unable to function as effectively after 19th August.

Those who survived the war would expend some considerable effort defending the performance of their units against criticism. Hannay would write in 1930 - '*I have read 3 or 4 accounts of Suvla Bay and consider them all most unfair to the New Army Divisions - I am firmly convinced that if we had only been given a proper lead we should have come through.*'<sup>39</sup> Lindberg of the 8/Northumberland Fusiliers felt that Ian Hamilton was 'entirely wrong' to blame the failure on the inertia of junior officers.<sup>40</sup>

The available evidence would suggest that the men who commanded the battalions of the 11th Division as they landed at Suvla were brave, competent leaders, acting in the highest traditions of the British Army. That more than half of them would be killed in action within a fortnight is testament to this. The reasons for the failure of the Suvla Bay operation are myriad, but little blame should be attached to the gallant officers who commanded the infantry battalions of the 11th Division.

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- 39 TNA CAB45/242 Letter C C Hannay to Aspinall-Oglander 5 March 1930
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Readers are reminded that the observations and opinions expressed in articles and letters published in *The Gallipolian* are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editor, or those of the Association.

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## MEMORIAL CEREMONIES, LEMNOS

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### Honouring the Gallipoli Campaign participants, Lemnos, 20th April 2019

#### Dimitris Boulotis

Once again, as every year, Lemnos' local authorities organized emotional ceremonies for those who used the island's soil as a base for the Gallipoli Campaign in 1915.

The ceremonies were held on the 20th April at both West and East Moudros Commonwealth cemeteries as well as at two other places of importance. They ran simultaneously – all events running in conjunction with each other.

At 10:30 a religious memorial service was held at West Moudros Commonwealth Cemetery in the village of Portianou. This is very close to Turks Head peninsula where the field hospitals and some of the military camps were located during the campaign. Local political and military authorities along with representatives from the Commonwealth Embassies attended the ceremonies. Wreath-laying followed (see photograph page 32); the military band played the national anthems of the countries represented and the morning came to a close with a visit to the local folklore museum.

At 13:00 the attendees visited the 'Australian Pier' which was the very first construction made by the expeditionary corps for the disembarkation of troops and supplies essential for the campaign. Flowers were placed at the remembrance plaque. Another plaque is mounted at the main harbour of Moudros, with a short description of the events of the Gallipoli Campaign. Flowers were placed here as well. An exhibit relating to the actions of the Hellenic Air Force during World War I was then presented at the local museum of marine history.

At 16:00 the ceremonies reached their climax in East Moudros Commonwealth Cemetery with a memorial service and wreath-laying by representatives of the Greek government, local and regional authorities, the military commander of Lemnos, representatives of the countries involved and many Lemnian organizations plus organizations from Australia and the U.K. – the Gallipoli Association included. The wreaths were laid by the central monument of the cemetery which was flanked by young members of the local cultural association dressed in traditional costumes. A Hellenic Army platoon presented arms.

The national anthems were once again performed by the band and the ceremony ended with a minute's silence when a bugler played the Dead March / Last Post.

The final event was held at Moudros Cultural Club, where short speeches from the local authorities and embassy representatives were given and the historian Mr. Palavouzis presented 'The Role of Airborne Operations during the Gallipoli Campaign.'

The ceremonies closed with a small reception during which various memorabilia was presented to those present.

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## ANZAC DAY, JERUSALEM

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**Michael D. Robson**

The annual Anzac Day commemoration service at Mt. Scopus was delayed until the 29th April this year, no doubt to avoid clashing with Passover and the Orthodox Easter. The construction close by of a new light-rail system also provided problems for parking and access to the cemetery and may also have contributed to a turn-out which was slightly down on previous years.

Nevertheless, the embassy staff produced a beautiful service, supported by members of the Australian contingent to the multinational force and observers. The Rev. Angleena Keiser of the Church of Scotland and Rabbi Dr Raymond Apple, the former Senior Rabbi of the Australian Defence Force, led the prayers and readings.

Wreaths were laid, including one from the Gallipoli Association. Followed by a bugler from the RAAF who sounded the Last Post and the Rouse, with the observance of a one-minute silence between. See photograph page 33.

The commemoration of Anzac Day on the 29th April may have been a little late for some tastes, but personally, I found it very satisfying to think of my grandfather and his comrades in the Royal Naval Division who landed on that very day 104 years ago for the Defence of Anzac.

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## ANZAC DAY, MOGADISHU

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**Mike Tickner**

Civilian and military members of the United Nations missions in Somalia, colleagues and partner organisations gathered on the shores of the Indian Ocean to hold a dawn Anzac Day commemoration on 25 April 2019.

Australian and New Zealand members of the United Nations led the act for the international community. The Kemal Ataturk letter was read by a lieutenant colonel from the Turkish mission in Somalia and a bugler from the Ugandan Peoples' Defence Force played the Last Post. (Photograph on facing page courtesy Mike Tickner.)

Gun Fire was served afterwards.

### **Editor's note:**

Lieutenant Colonel Mike Tickner (UK) is an Association member and the Officer Commanding UN Support Team, based in the United Nations Support Office, Mogadishu, Somalia.



Anzac Day commemoration, Mogadishu, Somalia 25 April 2019. See facing page (page 28).



The Gallipoli Association's hon. secretary, Sarah Kellam, laid a wreath on behalf of the Association during the Anzac Day ceremony at St Mary's parish church, Harefield, 25 April 2019.





Bay opposite Poliochni, eastern coast of Lemnos, with the emerging headland of Cape Voroskopos on the left. It was here in March 1915 that Australian soldiers came to help the sailors of the stricken Torpedo Boat *TB064*. Photo Jim Claven 2018. See pages 20 - 21.

Below: View of Roussopouli village from the road to Poliochni and Cape Voroskopos – a road most likely to have been travelled by Corporal George Richards, 9th Battalion AIF, in March 1915. Photo Jim Claven 2018.





The former deputy Mayor, Mr Dimitris Boulotis, who has represented the Gallipoli Association on numerous occasions on Lemnos, again laid a wreath on behalf of the Association this year at West Mudros Commonwealth Cemetery in the village of Portianou. See page 27.



Councillor Mohammed Zaman, Mayor of Rochdale, lays a wreath following the inaugural 'Gallipoli Remembered' parade, Rochdale. Photograph courtesy Michael Williams. See page 19.



Anzac Day commemoration service at Mount Scopus, Jerusalem.  
Photograph courtesy M D Robson. See page 28.



Association member Antony Siese delivered a presentation on Gallipoli to the Pembroke Rotary Club in Bermuda, 2 May 2019.



Association Hon. Secretary Sarah Kellam (right) with Ian (Association education coordinator) and Gill Binnie at a Buckingham Palace garden party in the rain and cold, May 2019. Photograph courtesy Sarah Kellam.



Association member Peter Trounson laying a wreath on behalf of the Gallipoli Association at the morning Anzac Day service at Castlemaine, Victoria, Australia, 25 April 2019. Photograph courtesy Peter Trounson.



Edward J Erickson, Dr Gültekin Yıldız, Association member Colonel Klaus Wolf, Professor Mesut Uyar, speakers at the Gallipoli conference, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, 15 March 2019. See page 61.  
Photographs this page courtesy Tom Iredale.



L to R Selçuk Kolay (who first located the *Breslau* in 1993), Colonel Klaus Wolf, Lieutenant Melih Akdağ, Dive Officer of TCG *Alemdar*, and film producer, Savaş Karakaş. See page 63.

# Lieutenant-Commander Arthur John Douglas Coxon RN

22 March 1927 - 11 July 1919.



Lieut. Cmdr. Coxon is presented to  
HM The Queen, Sandringham, 10 Jan 2016.

Photograph courtesy Gary Evans,  
[www.myevenphoto.co.uk](http://www.myevenphoto.co.uk)

Lieut. Cmdr. Coxon proudly wearing  
his service medals and Gallipoli  
Association tie.

Photograph courtesy Dinas Powys  
Community Council.



See 'Last Post' and article  
following, page 65.

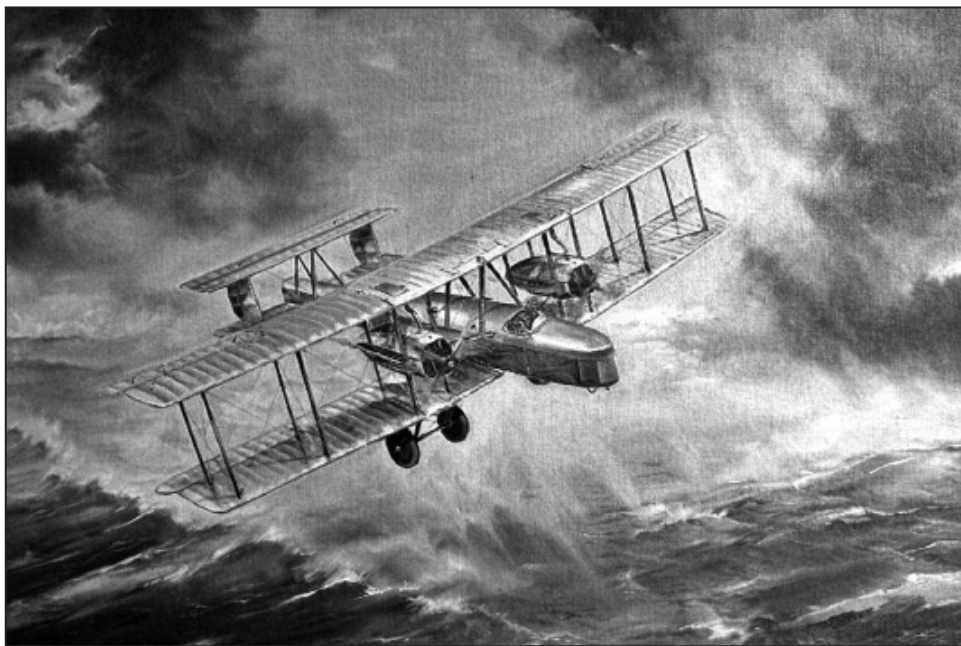
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## FIRST ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

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David Saunders

On the afternoon of 14 June 1919 a Vickers Vimy bomber, a twin-engined biplane, took off from Lester's Field near St John's, Newfoundland and headed east across the Atlantic. Piloted by John William Alcock, the navigator Arthur Whitten Brown, it carried 865 gallons of fuel, a bottle of whisky, a bag containing 197 letters - the first Atlantic Air Mail - and last but not least for good luck two toy black cats, Twinkle Toes and Lucky Jim. The flight continued overnight, at one stage through a snowstorm, and always with the danger of ice blocking the engines' air intakes. At 0840 on the 15th they landed in what had seemed from the air to be a lush green field but proved to be Derrygimlagh Bog, some four miles south of Clifden, in Galway, Ireland. At least it was a soft landing. The Vimy's wheels sank deep and the plane nosed over. The plane was damaged but the two pioneers emerged unscathed. They had achieved the first non-stop crossing by air of the North Atlantic, the journey from take off to landing taking 16 hours 27 minutes at an average wind-assisted speed of 118mph. Alcock said, "yesterday I was in America and now I am the first person in Europe to say that."



On 20 June in the Savoy Hotel, London, Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for War and Air, presented Alcock and Brown with the Daily Mail's prize of £10,000. The paper's owner, Lord Northcliffe, keen to promote aviation, had first offered the prize in 1913 to whoever could make the first trans-Atlantic flight; additionally £2,000

had been added by the proprietors of 'State Express' cigarettes. The following day the two aviators were received at Windsor Castle by King George V and created Knight Commanders of the British Empire. Their plane was subsequently recovered from the bog and brought back to England, and can be seen to this day in the Science Museum, South Kensington, London.

John Alcock was born on 6 November 1892 at Old Trafford, Manchester, his father a domestic coachman and later horse-dealer. Young Alcock, interested by machines from a young age was apprenticed at the Empire motor works and took the opportunity of accompanying an aero engine to Brooklands in Surrey. Here he became mechanic to the French pilot Maurice Ducrocq and in November 1912 took his Royal Aero Club's aviator's certificate.

In November 1914 Alcock joined the Royal Naval Air Service, spending the next two years training pilots while increasingly chaffing at the lack of opportunity to participate in front-line action. Eventually his wish was granted and in December 1916 he was posted to No 2 Wing at Mudros, Lemnos, and flew in action against targets in Macedonia and Turkey. These actions varied from fighter patrols to reconnaissance flights, from harassing sorties to anti-U-boat patrols, flying as both a bomber and a fighter pilot and being credited with eight 'kills'.

In June 1917 the second Handley-Page bomber to be built was flown from Great Britain to Mudros, a journey which took fifty-five flying hours spread over ten days. The first target was Constantinople, and in particular the warships *Goeben* and *Breslau*, much to the surprise of the Turks. During the mission the Turkish destroyer *Yardigar-I-Milet* was sunk. The pilot, Flight Lieutenant Kenneth Savory, was quickly despatched to Great Britain to receive the bar to his DSO for his exploit.

Alcock now took his place as pilot on a series of almost nightly raids, including reaching for the first time the key railway communications centre between Germany and Turkey at Adrianople (now Edirne). Their flight was cheered by the thought of fresh melons and fried eggs for breakfast on their return, only to find that in their absence an enemy raid had destroyed the kitchen.

When not flying Alcock, who was described as an extrovert and social with a boisterous sense of humour, devoted much time to building the Alcock Scout biplane using the forward fuselage and lower wings of a Sopwith Triplane, the upper wings of a Sopwith Pup and the tailplane and elevators of a Sopwith Camel. The result was a curious one-off experimental fighter which he was never to fly; action on 30 September 1917 being the last in which he participated.

That day a German reconnaissance aircraft escorted by two fighters appeared over Mudros. Alcock, who was enjoying an early morning bath and wearing only his pyjamas, quickly took off in his Sopwith Camel and engaged in a short dog fight, shooting down two of the enemy before returning to his bath before eating a hearty breakfast. The exploit that morning resulted in the award of the Distinguished Service Cross 'For his great skill, judgement and dash displayed by him off Mudros -----.'

That same evening Alcock, now at the controls of the Handley-Page, set off for his target - the railway station and marshalling yards at Haidr Pasha on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. Heavy anti-aircraft fire from Turkish batteries succeeded in shattering the port propeller. The plane limped westwards, steadily losing height before landing in the sea a short distance off Suvla Bay. The Handley Page stayed afloat for about two hours but alas the crews' Very lights failed to attract the attention of patrolling British destroyers.

Alcock and his crew, Flight-Sub-Lieutenant H R Aird and Warrant Officer S J Wise, finally reached the shore and hid in the hope that after dark they could find a boat to steal, but worn out and with no water eventually gave themselves up to some Turkish soldiers. They were ordered to strip then marched five miles to a camp followed by several days in a creaking ox cart, Alcock feeling particularly miserable as his sandfly fever had returned.

Matters improved when they reached Chanak where a German Air Force unit was based and where, although still captives of the Turks, they were hospitably entertained. One German pilot, seeing the rags in which they were dressed, volunteered to fly over Mudros and drop a message which read:

'The three British naval officers are prisoners, uninjured, but should you have any clothes, tobacco, soap and any gear of theirs, if you fly over Chanak aerodrome at 10 a.m. on 4.10.17 we promise not to molest you. Signal two Very lights.'

Considerable suspicion was aroused at Mudros when a package was dropped which did not explode and eventually the message was recovered. At the appointed time a Sopwith Camel piloted by Lieutenant Smyth-Piggot flew over Chanak, signals were exchanged and the precious cargo of necessities was dropped.

Shortly afterwards the three prisoners were transported, in rough weather on a decrepit trawler full of Turkish soldiers and peasants with livestock, to Constantinople where they were housed in the verminous Seraskerat Prison next to the mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent. Without bedding, with toilet facilities almost non-existent and with scanty food they passed much of the time killing the bugs which infested their cell. Eventually they were provided with straw-filled mattresses, sadly not bug-free, and allowed exercise time in a small courtyard.

Suddenly one day they were taken to the Ministry of War where they met and were interrogated by Liman von Sanders, at the end of which he thanked them for being so helpful with 'a lovely pack of lies.' Their time in Constantinople coincided with a visit by the Kaiser, who on hearing of their capture is reported to have said, "I salute all British airmen."

Shortly afterwards a journey eastwards some three hundred miles to Kodos in Western Anatolia. Here their fellow officer prisoners, most having been captured in Mesopotamia, were billeted in houses rather than a camp. The prisoners could walk three miles from the town if they gave their parole that they would not try to escape.

Alcock threw himself with customary enthusiasm into improvements for his fellow captives, a bandstand, an open air bathroom decently veiled from Turkish eyes and a stage for dramatic productions. He was long remembered for the magnificent meringues he produced for a celebration dinner when the news reached Kedos of the merger between the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service as the Royal Air Force. In September 1918 a great fire destroyed some 2,000 of the 2,300 homes in the town. The prisoners, Alcock taking the lead, received much credit for fighting the fire and saving property.

A planned exchange of prisoners in September 1918, Alcock being among those chosen, involved a long march westwards through the mountains to Smyrna (present day Izmir) where they would be picked up by a British ship. In the confusion as the war came to an end no ship arrived and it took six weeks, travelling by way of Rhodes and Egypt, before Alcock reached London on 16 December 1918.

After the epic trans-Atlantic flight in June 1919 Alcock returned to Vickers, testing and delivering new aircraft. His task on 18 December was to deliver a Vickers Viking amphibian aeroplane to Paris for an aeronautical exhibition. Flying solo, he encountered a thick bank of fog and crashed about 25 miles from Rouen, dying from his injuries without regaining consciousness. Alcock's body was returned to Great Britain and a service was conducted in Manchester Cathedral followed by burial in the city's southern cemetery.

The Vickers Vimy of the first trans-Atlantic flight is on view in the Science Museum, London. A granite statue of Alcock and Brown by William Macmillan, RA, was erected in 1954 on the north side of Heathrow Airport. Few people ever saw it so it was rightly moved to a more prominent position between terminals 2 and 3, near to the central tower. This summer the statue has been loaned for eight weeks to Clifden, Galway, to commemorate the epic flight. Ireland has issued a commemorative stamp, Great Britain having marked the 50th anniversary with a 5d stamp in 1969. Crayford, Surrey, where the Vickers Vimy was assembled before being shipped across the Atlantic, has well remembered the centenary including a six-month exhibition in Hall Place, Bexley.

A centenary exhibition throughout the summer at the Swansea Museum has been produced by Dr Lynsey Shaw of the RAF's Air Historical Branch. Arthur Brown had very strong links to Swansea where he worked for Vickers Limited in Wind Street, and was the first Officer Commanding the Swansea Air Cadet Squadron. Brown's son attended the then Gowerton Grammar School for Boys, before becoming an RAF pilot, but was tragically killed flying his Mosquito aircraft on D Day in June 1944.

### Acknowledgements

I am indebted to M D Richardson, who in 1992 when a research officer at the Fleet Air Arm Museum first drew my attention to *The Flight of Alcock and Brown* by Graham Wallace. Also to the late Norman Pollitt, then the membership secretary of the Gallipoli Association, for providing information about the statue of Alcock and Brown at Heathrow Airport.

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## COLLINGWOOD ACT OF REMEMBRANCE

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**Friday, 7 June 2019, Collingwood Corner, Blandford, Dorset.**

Ten wreaths were laid on Friday by The Lord Lieutenant of Dorset Angus Campbell, Australia, Trustees, Friends of Collingwood Memorial, Blandford Forum, HMS *Collingwood*, Blandford Camp, RBL Blandford, Dorset RBL, Gallipoli Association (laid by James Watson Smith), Royal Naval Association, RNVR Association, Col Luard, Lt Cdr Annand, Frederick Willoughby, A B Askew and Sub Lt Mcleod.

Due to the forecast of heavy rain the wreaths were laid and the ceremony held in a hall at the camp. (As it happened the rain had cleared in time for the ceremony).

Various members enjoyed lunch in the officers' mess beforehand and tea and coffee was provided after the service. Guard of Honour found by HMS *Collingwood* and a quartet from the Royal Marines provided the music.

A successful day. Members of the Gallipoli Association are always welcome to attend.

## ALEC RILEY: RETURN TO CAPE HELLES

Bernard de Broglio

In April 1932, a former sapper named Alec Riley wrote to Sir Ian Hamilton, disappointed that his Gallipoli book – for which the general had written a foreword – had failed to find a publisher. Riley said he'd start on a 'bigger and better' effort, using his own photographs and descriptions. 'It may be possible to have the manuscript published by a paper,' he wrote, and there he had some success. In 1938, an extract from his narrative appeared in the weekly magazine *Twenty years after: the battlefields of 1914-18, then and now*. That article is reproduced below.



On the cliffs above W Beach, early morning, 7 May 1915.  
In the foreground, 6th Manchesters and brigade headquarters. Photo: Alec Riley.

Alec Riley was born in Salford in 1887. He joined the 2nd Volunteer Battalion Manchester Regiment in 1908 when a 21-year-old warehouse clerk. That year he was a member of the honour guard in St Ann's Square when Sir Ian Hamilton unveiled the regiment's South African war memorial.

Riley recalled the encounter when, as an aspiring journalist, he first wrote to the general in 1923. 'You were exactly opposite to me when a press photographer snapped the inspection. I have a copy of the photo.'

Riley must've had a keen interest in pictures and photography, for he included with his letter five of his own photos – 'almost the only decent ones out of nearly 100' – that he took on the peninsula during the Gallipoli campaign. 'I suspect,' replied the general, 'that you were defying my regulations when you snapped them!'



7th Manchester's battalion headquarters, early May 1915.  
'This was a day or two after the first rain. I lived in the next hole to the right.' Photo: Alec Riley.

Lance Corporal 10 Alec Riley disembarked with the 127th (Manchester) Brigade, 42nd (East Lancashire) Division, at Helles on 6 May 1915. The brigade was attached to the Composite Division and held as force reserve during the Second Battle of Krithia (6–8 May). On the night of 11/12 May, it relieved the New Zealand Infantry Brigade and



In the firing line. Photo: Alec Riley, 1915.

took over the firing line between Gully Ravine and Krithia Nullah. For the remainder of that month it held the line at various points between Gully Ravine and Achi Baba Nullah, making several night advances. On 4 June, the brigade fought in the Third Battle of Krithia, making the furthest advance of the day until forced to retire. In the August battle, it fought primarily over the ground to the left and right of Krithia Nullah. From 19 August until its evacuation on 28 December, the brigade held various positions across the line maintained by the 42nd Division, from the Aegean shore to the Southern Barricade, 300 yards east of Gully Ravine.



Achi Baba from a communications trench. Photo: Alec Riley, 1915.

As a brigade signaller, Riley was in contact with every battalion in the brigade, but he looked upon the 6th Manchesters as his real home. 'We belonged to that 'free-lance' type of Territorials, and I'm afraid it was a type quite incomprehensible to many. However, we enjoyed it as much as possible.'

Riley returned to England in October 1915, having been evacuated sick. 'Four months of Gallipoli gave me 4 diseases and 12 months in Netley.'

After the war, Riley made at least two solo trips to Gallipoli, traversing once-familiar trenches and thoroughfares at Helles, capturing with his camera the overgrown battlefield and its newly-ordered cemeteries. 12 photographs accompanied his piece in *Twenty years after*, and another 14 are to be found in an envelope labelled 'May 1930' in the Hamilton collection at King's College London. Some of the latter are reproduced here. In addition, two of Riley's post-war photographs – 'The Northern Flank at Anzac' and 'The Narrows from Chunuk Bair' – can be found in volume 2 of Aspinall-Oglander's *Military operations, Gallipoli*.

Those unable to visit the peninsula will welcome the chance to follow Riley in their mind's eye, for it is not so different 100 years later. Those fortunate enough to travel to Gallipoli will know Riley's frustration: 'Even after 10 days at Helles, I have left far too much undone.'

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## THE SILENT NULLAHS OF GALLIPOLI

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### Alec Riley

A fellow-passenger, on a steamer going through the Dardanelles, pointed to the Peninsula and said to me, "That place—it is not good" ; and many people will agree with him, for, in 1915, the men on Gallipoli had but one wish—that they could get away from it and never see it again.



Alec Riley at Krithia Nullah, near the redoubt. Photo: Alec Riley, 1930.

### Comparing Past and Present

As time has passed, the hatred of those days has changed to curiosity to see the country under pleasanter conditions, and to compare the present with the past.

For these and other reasons I have revisited Helles twice, independently, living near Sedd-el-Bahr for several days, tramping the country systematically and alone, and photographing what I thought to be of interest and importance. From the narrative of my rambles, three sections have been chosen for *Twenty Years After*, dealing chiefly with the two great highways of Helles, Great Gully and Krithia Nullah, and with the Helles Memorial and cemeteries. For purposes of contrast, some recollections of 1915, based on my notes for that year, have been included.

Certain parts of Helles can be reached easily enough, many of them by car ; but the trackless country to be found in other areas is a different matter. It often means slow progress over or through natural obstacles, and it always means exhausting labour ; for, although map-distances appear short, the same distances on the ground may include the full Helles variety of country.



Pink Farm, Achi Baba on the horizon. Photo: Alec Riley, 1930.

As the reader comes with me, in imagination, over some of the ground he once knew so well, we shall find relics of a lost civilisation, we shall see and hear much that was familiar in 1915, and we shall recall the past ; but, I must remind him that we shall be alone, day after day, in a land where thousands of men once lived, where thousands died, and where on headstones in the cemeteries and on the tablets of the Helles Memorial we shall find many names we know.

### **Great Gully and West Helles**

Every man who knew Great Gully in 1915 will remember his tramps up and down the dusty road through this winding ravine. He will remember the dumps of bully and biscuits, water-tins, and ammunition ; the dug-outs on the slopes, the scrub and trees growing on the precipitous sides, the yellow bluffs, the paths, leading to higher shelters and tops, and the places where he could find drinking-water. He will remember the scorching heat, the blinding glare from the gully sides, the white puffs of shrapnel overhead, the sound of pattering balls, and the clouds of brown smoke and dust where high explosives had burst in the Gully.

He will remember processions of stretcher-bearers, and of sweaty, ragged men tormented by flies, going up with heavy loads of rations, or to relieve others in firing-line, birdcage,

or sap, for he saw them often enough as he rested by the roadside. He will remember that steep and narrow path up the west side leading to the Mule Tracks ; how it was blocked by mules loaded with S.A.A. boxes and fanatis [small metal water tanks], and how the Indian drivers cursed or encouraged the struggling, kicking mules ; for he passed them many times. And he will remember his relief when he reached the top and breathed cooler air.

Although Gully Road no longer exists, there are paths through the Ravine, and on these we can make our way slowly, for the shallow-stream must be crossed several times, and there are places where thick and high vegetation blocks the tracks.

Winter rains have washed down loose earth from the steep sides ; but, apart from such small changes, and the newer growths, Great Gully has not altered, and in the deeper sections where there is no breeze, the heat is as hard to bear now as it was in 1915. In this wild place the only sounds we hear are the rustling of scrub or bushes as we break through them, the croaking of bull-frogs by the stream, and the songs of birds.

Those who lived on the Gully sides in 1915 would hardly know their old homes now, for only slight traces of dug-outs and shelters can be seen ; but there are other signs of the occupation, and, on a slope near the Zig Zag, I found buttons from British tunics, webbing, broken rum-jars, and shrapnel and bullets from both sides. In the Turkish gully lines, between Krithia and Fusilier Bluff, two large and live shells lay by the side of the stream ; and close by I came to a clean trench, 10 feet deep and crossable only where the sides had given way.

A short nullah from the north joins the Gully near the final positions, and beyond this point the main gully and its offshoots shallow gradually to the open country near Krithia.

To-day, Geoghagan's Bluff and the Boomerang are deserted ; and are places without meaning to the few local people who pass them.

#### **A Pilgrimage to Fusilier Bluff**

Gully Beach is a convenient place for starting a walk to Fusilier Bluff by way of the Ægean cliffs and ravines. Readers who were here in 1915 will remember that the spur separating the coast from Great Gully ends in a sharp point. To-day it is difficult to descend this slope, once full of dug-outs, and it is necessary to go down by a series of jumps on to uncertain footholds of loose earth and grass. To climb it is not worth the trouble, as the top can be reached by stone steps and a path, a short distance up the Gully.

From this high ground we look down on a narrow ridge where a path leads to the end of the spur, and our view will include the beach, gully-entrance, and Helles Ridge and Monument in the distance beyond the cliffs. To our right we look down on the remains of a jetty, and a derelict K lighter.



'K' lighter off Gully Beach. Its skeleton can still be seen by visitors today. Photo: Alec Riley, 1930.

A wide track on the cliff-top leads to the head of Y Ravine ; and as I went forward, crossing and re-crossing the spur, so that I could overlook sea and gully alternately, I saw that the scrub was full of litter. There were bayonet-scarbards whose brittle leather was no longer held by the bleached and rotted stitches ; rum-jars—broken as usual— bits of webbing, boots whose leather was in shreds, nose-caps, a mess-tin which may have been used as a brazier (for it was riddled with bayonet stabs), shrapnel cases and balls, and hundreds of Turkish bullets. Here and there the blue enamel of water-bottles caught my eye.

Gurkha Bluff, rugged and lonely, dominates this part of the coast. Before reaching it, I followed a broken path down the slope of Gurkha Ravine to Y Beach, a strip of sand at the foot of Y Ravine and Gurkha Bluff. Over large stones I made my way round the foot of the Bluff, past Bruce's Ravine to Shrapnel Point ; and from this corner I could look along the coast to Sari Tepe.

Y Ravine is a gutter where the rains wash down mud and sandy clay, and where a few old tins have settled. As I climbed up it I saw patches of scrubless earth on the sides of the Ravine, and these were the only signs of our old resting-places. On another walk in this area I found a ruined shelter, nearer the cliff-top, where a mess-tin lid and a rotting ground-sheet were both half-buried in the floor.

In 1915 a popular evening's entertainment was to look down on the Ægean, where our monitors cruised, and to watch them firing. When the monitors had finished, we waited for Nature to show a picture of fire and water. Night after night we sat on the cliffs watching that crimson glow and its reflection, until Imbros and Samothrace vanished in blackness.

### Sounds Amid the Solitude

To-day the ground at the head of Y Ravine is full of crumbled trenches, and is crossed slowly and with difficulty. On Gurkha Bluff I found a level patch, and here I had lunch in the ruins of a shelter, thankful to find a few inches of shade under a bit of overhanging scrub. From this lonely place it was cheering to see a passing steamer when I looked down on the Ægean, and still more cheering to hear the distant siren of an unseen ship as it left the Dardanelles.

But, however lonely these cliffs and bluffs may be, they are the most delightful places at Helles. The scenery is wild, and the surroundings are full of litter, but the sky is blue, there is a pleasant breeze, and from below come the sounds of wavelets breaking on the shore.

From the top of Gurkha Bluff we can skim the surface of Helles and see the Dardanelles and the high ground at the end of the Peninsula in the hazy distance. From one side of the Bluff we look down on Y Beach and Ravine, and along the cliffs ; and from the far side gaze over Bruce's, Essex, Border, and Trolley Ravines, and their separating ridges, to Fusilier Bluff and Sari Tepe.

Continuing my walk to Fusilier Bluff, I passed Douglas Street and Essex Street West, and went along the tops of the Western Mule Track. Behind this track are Inniskilling and Forward Inches, Manchester Street, Colne Street and Post ; but, well known as these and the other trenches at Helles were in 1915, to-day they are deserted and crumbling, with nothing to distinguish one from the other.

The Western Mule Track is four feet deep, and too rough for walking along. I found nothing to remind me of those evenings in 1915 when we passed through it on our way home : when sunset was followed by pearl-green twilight, and a full moon was rising ; when summer lightning flashed, and "strays" whined between us and the stars. Some readers may remember how the Western Mule Track was haunted, where a coat-sleeve and the thin bones of a skeleton hand, white in the moonlight, stuck out from the side.

I came to Salford, Rochdale, and Bury Echelons, disturbing a snake on my way. Behind the echelons, Sikh Road led to the Western Birdcage and various saps. Litter was thick round the Echelons. There were bombs, periscopes, tin linings of S.A.A. boxes, mess-tins, Maconochie tins, other tins, rum-jars—broken or whole, but empty—curls of barbed wire, a sniper's shield, pickheads, shovels, a long, thin bayonet bent and twisted, rotten leather pouches and scabbards, shell cases, bullets, shrapnel balls, iron splinters, rifle-barrels, and some water-bottle corks whose deficiency-returns used to be demanded by unimaginative Staff-Captains at inconvenient times.

The western section of the British firing-line passed over Fusilier Bluff, and ended on the shore below. Apart from that, the Bluff is not remarkable in any way, and has no striking features. From it I could see the Anzac Hills and Suvla Point away in the distance beyond Sari Tepe.



'The Turk. 1930. This was taken on the top of the extreme N.W. cliff, and in what I took to be the Western Mule Trench.' Photo: Alec Riley.

Those who passed the high places of Western Helles, in 1915, saw many wooden crosses silhouetted against Ægean sunsets ; but the remains of the men whose resting-places these crosses marked have been taken from the wild bluffs, and to-day lie in gardens of peace and beauty.

### **Krithia Nullah**

We will start this walk from Clapham Junction, and go through one mile of the water-course to our objective—a small corner of the August battlefield near the Fork—comparing, on our way, Krithia Nullah as it is now with the Krithia Nullah of 1915, when it was one of the main roads of Helles, with trenches on either side.

The reader knows that Eski Line crossed the Nullah a quarter-of-a-mile from Clapham Junction, that No. 2 Australian Line and Redoubt Line touched it further on, that between Redoubt and the Fork were Ardwick Green, Great Western Road, and Clunes Vennel on the west, and Wigan Road and Renfield Street on the east, and that the Nullah served them all.

To-day Clapham Junction is deserted, and its features are overgrown with vegetation. But in 1915 ... It is the Market-place of Helles. A large wooden cross, with smaller crosses round it, stands at the point where the nullahs meet. Close by are dumps of ammunition, stores, clothing, and equipment from dead and wounded. Near some horse-shelters in the nullah-side are the water-carts of local units, where men wait in

queues for their turns to fill their own water-bottles, and as many others as they can carry ; for in trenches where no air circulates there are many parched lips caked with dust, waiting impatiently to drink warm water flavoured with chloride of lime.

Ragged bandaged men go along the path, in the yellow dusty heat of a summer's day at Helles. When shrapnel bursts over the nullah, more dust is raised by the scattered balls. In the low nullah-sides there are shallow dugouts, open at the front and top, or with ground-sheets pegged over them. Here live quartermasters, staffs, and others who have business at the Junction ...

### **Choked With Vegetation**

To-day, in our mile of Nullah, there is a small trickle of water in the stream, and by its side there are traces of a path which we can follow ; but, where it is not continuous we must make our way through scrub on the sides or tops. Trees, bushes, and tufts of coarse grass cover the rough banks, and in places the Nullah is choked by thick growth. We are going through wild country, where the rains and torrents of winter and the growth of spring have done much to help Krithia Nullah to return to its natural state.

In all this desolation it is pleasant to find small pools where the stream has widened, and to see in them the reflections of blue sky and green surroundings. I found only one sign of human activity in the Nullah—a patch of cultivation where a few olive-trees were growing. Close by were tins, rotted and half-buried groundsheets, and a piece of wire-netting holding up the crumbling side of a shelter.

In open country, Eski, Redoubt, and other trenches are easily found, but in Krithia Nullah, where the sides are overgrown and crumbling, identification is difficult, even with the help of a map. I noticed several depressions in the bank-tops, near the sites of trenches well known in 1915, but nothing to remind me of our lines when we knew them as clean cuttings. Near Redoubt there is a waterfall and also a deep pool where frogs splash and swim, where tall rushes grow from the muddy slime, where flies swarm round us, and there is a stagnant, unpleasant smell. The surroundings are full of tins, and above the fall a piece of rusty iron lies in the water.

### **The Nullah in 1915**

In 1915 we know this same Nullah from many points of view. It is a highway, where battalions of weary men crawl along the narrow path, going up to the front line. Almost every man is bandaged on hands, fingers, and legs. They carry picks and spades, or boxes of rations, as well as khaki bandoliers, rifles, and equipment. Some carry “flying-pigs” on their backs, to a trench mortar dump near the firing-line ; and others are carrying boxes of S.A.A.

Down the Nullah come stretcher-bearers, peering through sweat as they seek level bits of ground. Their wounded burdens are wrapped in brown blankets. Sometimes the victim rests his head on his hands and smokes a cigarette ; sometimes his face is covered with his helmet, or a cap-comforter is pulled over his eyes, and all we can see is the lower part of a grey face. Sometimes he turns his head to look at those he

is leaving, but not as though he can see them; and sometimes he lies quite still. If the blanket covers him from head to foot he will soon be buried.

There are many graves on the nullah-sides marked by crosses made from twigs and bootlaces or string, and better ones made from strips of packing-case, so that the name can be carved neatly with a penknife, or printed with indelible pencil.

In an hour there will be a new cross further up the Nullah, where some ragged figures stand near a stretcher, and a shallow grave holds the body of a friend. In the scorching sun these men are holding their helmets over their necks while the padre reads a short service.

We are always thirsty ; but we know some springs where water trickles from the nullah-banks. Going up or down, we call at each watering-place, even at those marked by boards with "Unfit for Drinking," where we can smell the dead buried close by. We splash through mud to one of these springs, where the water fills a hollow in the soil. Someone has left an old jam-tin by the side. As we ladle a tinful of water, the rest is muddied ; but we drink it, thick or clear. We clean ourselves in shallow pools of dirty nullah-water, and sometimes we pretend to bath, soaping our bodies and throwing water over one another from a mess-tin, or a canvas bucket found and kept.

Here and there we know deeper pools fed by small waterfalls, and to stand under one of these falls is the height of toilet luxury at Helles ; but there are times when we hear a crack, and looking up see a puff of smoke against the blue sky, while the balls splash the water ; and feeling very naked we make for the side and our lousy clothes, for we may be unlucky if the Turks should send another round. There are places where the nullah is marked by Turk snipers ; and one of their favourites is the side of a waterfall, where a plank takes the path to a higher level.

### **The Chill that Follows Sunset**

The chalky cliff is tinged with a delicate pink in the sunset glow. After sunset the air may be chilly, and we shall need our tunics. Those who have cut off their shirt-sleeves above the elbows, or cut their trousers down to shorts, wonder if coolness by day is worth coldness by night.

It is dusk. Lights twinkle on the nullah-sides, and in the still air blue smoke ascends from tiny fires of pinecones and heather-roots. There is a pleasant smell from these wood fires. Round them sit little groups of men drinking their evening tea, and talking about matters of importance.

We belong to one of these groups, and we set about discussing rations, unfounded rumours of relief, and still more unfounded rumours about going home. As we drink our tea we hear a splash. A large water-turtle has dropped from his cliff to the stream below, disturbing the frogs, which for a time croak louder and more insistently.

It is dark now, and glow-worms show their lights. We hear the clink of picks and shovels, from a working party coming up the Nullah. A few hours ago these men had

gone down to rest—and now they have come back to spend the night digging near the firing-line. Some of them will not come down again, but will stay where they are buried, and new crosses will be needed in the morning.

Now and then we hear the rattle of machine guns and the crackle of rifles. Bullets whine over the Nullah, tearing through scrub or ripping up the ground. The nearer trees are black against the glow of flares in the front lines ...

Thus it was in 1915.

### **A Host of Relics**

Continuing my recent walk through the Nullah, I came to the Fork, where East and West Krithia Nullahs diverge ; and here lay two rifle-barrels, bent and twisted, bombs, a live shell, lead, and litter. Beyond the Fork the country is wild, and there are waterfalls in the sides of the branching nullahs, where cliffs, trees, and scrub make it difficult to explore the surroundings.

For a quarter-of-a-mile the two nullahs are 200 yards apart ; after that the distance between them increases. The last Turkish firing-line is 200 yards north of the Fork, crossing both nullahs.

To the left of West Krithia Nullah are two trenches, known officially as H11a and H11b. H11a follows the course of the Nullah until it meets the shorter H11b at right-angles. In the August battle, the last one of importance at Helles, some of the hardest fighting concerned these two trenches and the Vineyard, 400 yards away on the far side of the nullah-fork.

Near H11b, I found a shallow depression, with barbed wire still hanging on posts, backed by a seven-foot bank. As I sat near H11a, smoking a cigarette in this quiet spot, where the light earth of ancient parapets was the only sign that I was on the battlefields of June and August, I looked back toward our old lines, and recalled the inside of a trench...

August, 1915 : on the parapet-midden are tins, coils of barbed-wire, clips, bits of wood and other rubbish. We hear metallic clinks when bullets hit the tins. The heat is intense, for the sun reaches every corner of Helles, and a man is lucky if he can find six inches of shade cast by a trench-side. Fat green flies buzz round our faces, or defile our food. By day no breeze comes to this place ; by night, damp air brings the smell of corpses. When we look over the parapet we see a brown and ugly landscape ; and we see, also, many of the dead lying in the open.

### **Friday, August 6th, 1915**

It is Friday, the 6th of the month. Our guns open fire at half-past two. There is a whizz of shells and bullets overhead ; and when the Turks answer, the air about us quivers and the ground shudders with explosions. We hear the muffled pops of our trench-mortars, see the “pigs” wobble upwards, steady themselves, drop on Turkish positions, and burst with long, horizontal crimson flashes. Then, while we shake and rock in sympathy with our surroundings, bits of hot metal, clusters of balls in smoking grease, showers of earth,

and slower dust fall into our trench. White smoke hangs over the torn foreground, and through it our men go forward. Coils of barbed wire appear and disappear in the smoke.

There is a dressing-station at a trench-junction 10 yards from us. When the attacks start, the M.O. and his orderlies wait for such of the wounded as can manage to reach it. A few seats have been cut in the trench-side, and the M.O. has opened his case of instruments.

Wounded men come down, singly at first, and then in one long procession—many of them supporting others more badly wounded than themselves. Most of them have been in mud and water ; some have little clothing on ; that of others is torn to shreds, hanging from shoulders or waist. All are bloody, and there are blood-soaked dressings on heads, arms, hands, and legs.

The M.O. works hard and quickly, but he cannot cope with the numbers. Men sit on the earth seats, staring, but not seeing ; others are deaf and dumb ; others are muttering or shaking in every limb. One crawls past us on one knee and his hands, dragging a useless leg. Another's face is a red mask, and only his eyes show through it. Stretchers are filled time after time, and carried slowly down a winding narrow trench crowded with men. Shells burst close by, and the dressing-station is full of smoke and fumes. The M.O. looks round, but no one has been hit.

The noise is deafening, but there is a louder crash when a "pig" bursts in a nearby Turkish line, throwing up clothing, timbers, and papers, which flutter down in the smoke.

Saturday, August 7th : another bombardment, and an assault by composite parties, on H11a and H11b. Once more heads ache with noise and strain. Once more the sun glares through stifling air. Once more light cases come to the dressing-station, while earth descends through yellow stinking fumes. Once more wounded men lie in front of the trench they have left, scorched by the sun, and not daring to move until night, when some of them may be able to crawl back to our lines.

### **Laughter Rarely Heard**

It is Saturday afternoon. Trenches are crowded with worn-out men, lousy and unwashed for days, who sleep where they can find room to lie ; and we must tread carefully so as not to disturb them. A few men slouch past, thin, round-shouldered, eyes dulled, bandaged on hands or legs, full of septic sores. They cannot be cured on Gallipoli, but dressing-stations are busy with iodine and lint. There is little talking, and, although Helles has had its humour, laughter is rarely heard now.

A young subaltern comes to us asking for food, and while we give him all we have—broken biscuits, jam, and water—he tells us that there is no food in his part of the line.

We know the results of the fighting on our small front, but nothing about events on either side of it, until news comes that our men are holding a captured trench alongside the Vineyard, and a good part of the Vineyard itself, where bombing and fighting have gone on day and night, and where Helles has indeed been hot.

On Sunday morning the firing-line tells a plain story. Between its shattered walls are broken entrenching-tools, bullet-riddled equipment torn and stained, jagged iron, shell-cases, broken ammunition-boxes, clips of S.A.A., stained stretchers ; and from this bloody litter we take such things as we need. Then, on Field Service postcards, we cross out those statements which do not apply ...

In the future, a visitor to Lala Baba Cemetery at Suvla will find these words inscribed on the gate-piers:

**Near this spot the IX Army Corps landed on the night of the 6th–7th August, 1915.**

For that is what has happened while those at Helles have been fighting ...

But in the trenches of central Helles there is no shade from the August sun, and the men who hold them are tormented by flies and lice ; while over them hangs the heavy scent of death ...

### **The Monument at Helles**

My cigarette was finished, and it was time to leave the solitudes of nullah and disappearing ditch, where now the only life is that of wild creatures, and the only changes are those of the seasons.

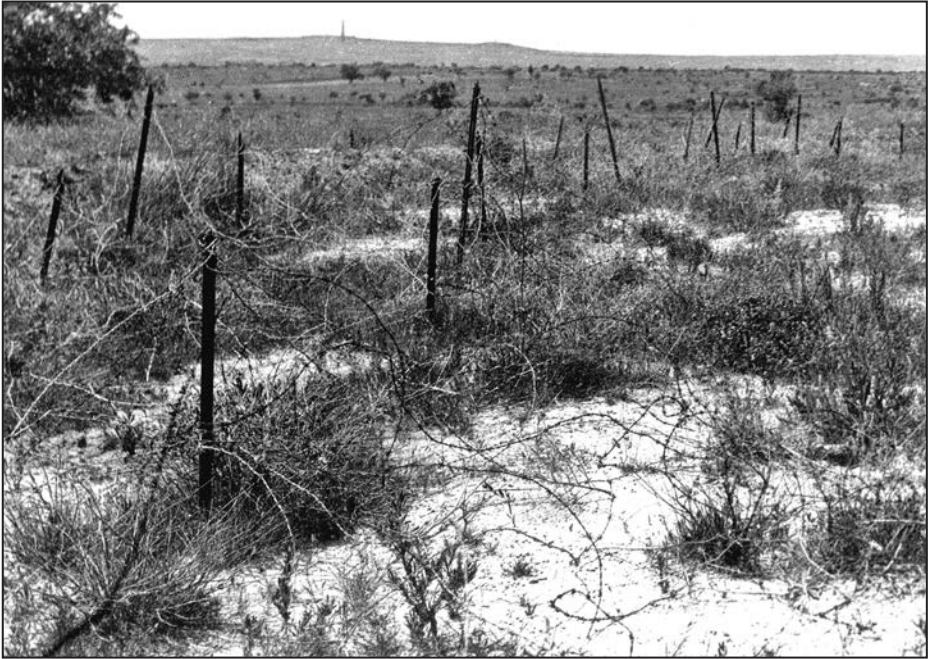
On Gueji Baba, a hill 150 feet above sea-level, and the highest point in this part of Gallipoli, stands the Helles Memorial. This is an appropriate site, for near it the original British landing was made and the last troops were evacuated.

The monument is more than 100 feet high, and consists of an obelisk rising from the centre of a square platform nearly eight feet above ground level. The platform is reached by steps on the south, and is enclosed by a parapet-wall. The sides of obelisk and platform face north, south, east, and west.

Four panels on the lower sides of the obelisk are inscribed: Royal Navy, Anzac, Suvla, and Helles, followed by names of ships, divisions, and brigades concerned in those areas ; and each panel faces the general compass-bearing of the area whose name it bears at the top. The detailed compositions of these larger formations, and the names of smaller units, are inscribed on the parapet-wall facing each side of the obelisk.

Carved on panels set in the outer side of the wall are the names of some 21,000 sailors and soldiers from the Home Counties, India, and Newfoundland, who were lost or buried in Gallipoli waters, or who died on the peninsula at Helles, Anzac, and Suvla, and who lie in unknown graves. Names of 248 Australians who fell at the Second Battle of Krithia are included. The Australian and New Zealand dead are commemorated by their own memorials in other parts of Gallipoli.





'In the Pink Farm area.' The Helles Memorial can be seen on the horizon.  
To its right, Hunter-Weston Hill. Photo: Alec Riley, 1930.

The Helles Monument, therefore, serves two purposes. It is a record of the whole campaign, so far as the forces of the Empire were concerned, and a memorial to many thousands of those over whose bodies headstones cannot be placed. Designed by the firm of architects, Sir John Burnet, Tait, and Horne, it is to Gallipoli what the Menin Gate is to the Ypres Salient ; and on this carefully chosen site it is seen to advantage from both land and sea.

Evening is the best time to inspect it, for then the stone no longer reflects the sun's glare. From the platform, surrounded by names of ships, regiments, and men, we look over the parapet to the blue Dardanelles, the roadsteads where fleet and transports lay, Lancashire Landing Cemetery, the tops of gully, bluff, and ravine, Achi Baba and the nearer country of nullahs and battlefields, and to black Imbros and Samothrace between red sky and red shining sea.

### **Gallipoli Cemeteries To-day**

Strategic and spectacular characteristics made the Gallipoli Campaign stand out from the rest of the Great War, of which it was as much a part as the fighting on any other front ; and to-day, memorial and cemeteries, although different from those of other fronts, are links in the same world-wide chain of Empire graves.

Pilgrimages to Gallipoli have been made, tourists have landed from steamers to spend a few hours on the Peninsula, and occasionally someone has found time and

opportunity to visit it alone ; but, apart from these, there are few who know what the architects and the Imperial War Graves Commission have done on this rugged corner of Europe.

The reader is asked to recall the graves of Helles, isolated or in groups, on battlefields, shores, and gully sides, as they were in the early days of the campaign, when they were marked by crosses made from any bits of wood obtainable ; and how these primitive crosses were replaced by others of regulation pattern, also of wood.

Instead of these scattered groups, there are to-day six British cemeteries, known as V Beach, Lancashire Landing, Pink Farm, Twelve Tree Copse, Redoubt, and Skew Bridge, each having its name inscribed on the gate-piers. There were small cemeteries on or near these places in 1915, and how they were made and increased by concentrations is described in the official records of the Imperial War Graves Commission.

Except from certain beaches, gullies, and low ground, there are few places in the British area from which the obelisk and one or more cemeteries are not visible ; and as their pines and cypresses grow taller, the cemeteries grow more into the landscape. It is difficult to realise the time, skill, and labour spent in planning and construction ; but if we stand on the walls at Pink Farm or Redoubt, and look over the scrubby wastes of trenched battlefields on all sides, remembering that out of such chaos these places have been made, we begin to understand what it has meant to change the wilderness into gardens of cultivated beauty.

Similar in general outline, each cemetery was specially designed and given its own characteristics. The gates of Indian teak were made in England, where also the headstones of Hopton Wood stone were cut and inscribed.

Water has to be carried to these spots ; and through severe weather and parching summer heat they have every possible attention from the gardeners, and constant supervision by the Area Superintendent. English grass is not suitable for the lawns, so local couch-grass, which is green in summer and brown in winter, has been planted.

### **By Krithia Road**

I will now ask the reader to imagine that he is standing on high ground off the rising bend of Krithia Road, looking down on Skew Bridge Cemetery, which stands between Krithia and Khilid Bahr Roads, 50 yards from the dere over which the former was carried by a wooden skew-bridge.

The cemetery is just behind the centre of the Allied line across the peninsula of April 27th, 1915, and it came into being after the Second Battle of Krithia, May 6th–8th. Although used throughout the occupation, it contained only a few bodies until after the Armistice, when others were brought in from certain points and battlefields. Outside the walls are belts of ilex, while cypresses, rosemary, and blue irises grow among the graves. In the afternoon the sun shines full on the memorial against its background of pines.



The Vineyard. Twelve Tree Copse Cemetery in the distance. Photo: Alec Riley, 1930.

To this contrast between white stone and the dark and light greens of trees and lawn, the reader must add a deep blue sky and the colours of wild flowers and butterflies around him. He must hear the sounds of the countryside—the songs of birds, the lowing of cattle, the call of a peasant, the barking of dogs in the distant village, and the nearer rumble of a country cart ; for these make up the setting of Skew Bridge Cemetery in springtime.

In the still evening air we hear the tinkle of cattle-bells, and the footsteps of country people coming down the track in Achi Baba Nullah with their donkeys, cows, and goats. It is dusk in the quiet nullah, and in the west Pink Farm ridge is black against the red glow of sunset.

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*With thanks to Michael Crane.*

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## AN ISLAND IN THE AEGEAN

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Peter Biles

As final preparations for the Gallipoli Landings were made in April 1915, the Greek island of Skyros briefly became part of the Dardanelles narrative. My grandfather's diary records that members of the Royal Naval Division landed at Skyros on Monday April 19 for field training. Assistant Paymaster Harry Biles, 2nd Naval Brigade HQ, was there with a new responsibility that put him in charge of the Brigade's reserve ammunition. Harry's ship lay at anchor in Tris Boukes ('Three Entrances') Bay, a beautiful natural harbour.

The training ashore was followed by orders on April 21 and 22 to put to sea for the Dardanelles, but these were quickly cancelled because of unfavourable weather. The green light to get ready to sail eventually came the next day, but in Tris Boukes Bay, the war poet Rupert Brooke was critically ill as a result of an infection from a mosquito bite. Slipping in and out of a coma, he was transferred to the French hospital ship. Harry Biles' diary says Brooke died at 4.20pm on April 23 from septic pneumonia. He wrote: "Attended funeral of Lieutenant R.C. Brooke of Hood Battalion ... Landed at 8.30 pm. Body buried in the olive grove at Skyros at 11pm. Very impressive scene. Returned on board about midnight."

Today, Skyros is one of Greece's less touristy islands, but it is keen to use its Rupert Brooke connection to draw visitors. Indeed in Skyros Town, there is a statue dedicated to Brooke in what is called 'Eternal Poetry Square'.

The island can be reached with a 25 minute flight from Athens and the route to Brooke's burial site is less than an hour by road from town. However, the southern half of Skyros remains much as it was more than a century ago — remote and rugged, and sparsely populated. Prior to 1994 apparently, it was possible to get to the southern coastal area by boat. But there is a Greek naval base nearby and close to Brooke's grave, a sign on the road warns travellers they are approaching a military zone where photography is prohibited.

Taking a right turn off the curving mountain road, about a mile from the sea, the grave lies to the left, accessible down a rough track. With its white stone blocks, green railings, and an inscription of Brooke's poem 'The Soldier', the ornate tomb is an incongruous sight, set in the ancient olive grove, strewn with rocks. A dry river bed runs down to the Aegean, and it is easy to imagine the funeral party of Brooke's friends struggling to carry his coffin up the gorge in the dark, and then returning to their ships in haste after the burial. For it was, as they all realised, the eve of war. Rupert Brooke's death at Skyros had closed a chapter, but it was one which is still remembered.

Peter Biles stayed at Ammos Hotel in Magazia, Skyros. Tel: +30 22220 91234  
[www.facebook.com/SkyrosAmmosHotel](https://www.facebook.com/SkyrosAmmosHotel)

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## INFORMATION PLEASE

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Robert Llewellyn-Smith writes for information and can be contacted at: **Rllewellynsmith@yahoo.co.uk**

I was very interested to read that the Gurkha Museum acquired the order and medals of Colonel Allanson, 6th Gurkha Rifles, in the Spring 2019 issue of *The Gallipolian*.

My great-uncle, Lieutenant Duncan Ian Bowen Lloyd, 5th Gurkha Rifles (Frontier Force) took over command of the 6th Gurkhas while Allanson recovered from a bayonet wound received in the assault on Sari Bair, but was tragically killed a few days afterwards when showing General Cox round the 6th Gurkha forward picquets on Damakjelik Bair.

Allanson was wounded again, repatriated to England and admitted to the 2nd London General Hospital where he was cared for by Duncan's sister, Frances Lloyd, who happened to be on the nursing staff.

Duncan's brother, Captain Gwion Llewellyn Bowen Lloyd, 5th Dorsets, was killed on the first day of landing at Suvla Bay in the August offensive, a week before Duncan. I am presently writing a full account of events based on family materials that have recently come to light.

I would like to know if there are any surviving relatives, or anyone with information on 5th Gurkha fellow officers who started out from Abbottabad to join the campaign, and / or of those who served later in the actions at Hill 60. Also for officers in the 5th Dorsets who would have served with Captain Gwion Lloyd.

In particular:

### 5th Gurkhas - Gully Ravine

Lieutenant-Colonel Boisragon VC, Commanding Officer - wounded 4 June, Third Battle of Krithia / Gully Ravine, 4 June 1915

Lieutenant-Colonel Boddam - wounded 4th June, Third Battle of Krithia, 4 June 1915

Major Nightingale - wounded 4 June, Third Battle for Krithia, 4 June 1915

Major Govan - killed 28 June to 5 July, Gully Ravine

Major Battye - killed 28 June to 5 July, Gully Ravine

Captain Brown - killed 28 June to 5 July, Gully Ravine

Captain Turner - killed 28 June to 5 July, Gully Ravine

Captain Reaney, I.M.S (Medical Officer) - killed 1 July, Gully Ravine

Lieutenant Erskine - wounded

Lieutenant Beddy - wounded 4 June, Third Battle of Krithia, 4 June 1915

Second Lieutenant Cosby - wounded 28 June to 5 July

Second Lieutenant Knowles - wounded

### 5th Gurkhas - Hill 60

Captain Hay-Webb - killed 21 August Hill 60

Captain Molloy

Lieutenant Cummings - killed 21 August Hill 60

### 5th Dorsets

Captain Horton

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## CONFERENCE IN ÇANAKKALE, 15 MARCH 2019

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### Tom Iredale

The congress centre of the Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University was packed with 1,300 students attending the conference, entitled “Perspectives of the Gallipoli Campaign.” After everyone stood for a minute’s silence then sang the Turkish national anthem, the conference was formally opened by the rector of the university, Professor Yücel Acer. Following his opening remarks the speakers were introduced.

The speakers were:

- Dr Gültekin Yıldız from the Turkish National Defence University in Istanbul,
- Professor Mesut Uyar, Dean of the School of Business and Social Sciences, Antalya University,
- Edward J Erickson, author of books on the Ottoman army and currently a visiting professor in Antalya University, and
- Gallipoli Association member, Klaus Wolf, a Bundeswehr colonel, currently serving with the NATO Rapid Deployable Corps in Istanbul and author of the book *Gallipoli 1915 through German Eyes* (to be published early 2020).

Edward’s subject was “Ottoman Military Effectiveness in Gallipoli 1915,” translated by Professor Uyar.

Dr Yıldız spoke in Turkish on the “Gallipoli Campaign and lessons learned from the viewpoint of the United Kingdom.”

Association member Klaus Wolf started his talk entitled “The German Factor in Gallipoli 1915” and made his opening remarks in pretty good Turkish, which earned him a round of applause. Launching into English, he said it would be better to just use English without translating – “or you will all still be here tomorrow.”

Last to speak was Professor Uyar on the topic of “25 April 1915: Examining the Landing and Coastal Defence”, again in Turkish.

A barrage of questions followed. Lively interest in the topics centred on the Gallipoli Campaign was shown by this young audience, who hopefully will carry forward aspects of this campaign from different perspectives. The whole event was a great success, and Buğra Terzi, of the Çanakkale Savaşları Enstitüsü, surmised that the high turnout was probably due to the participation of foreign speakers. (See photograph page 35).

Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, founded in 1992, currently has a student population of 49,000 and several campuses spread widely around Çanakkale. The name of the University, “Onsekiz Mart” means “18 March,” and commemorates the Turkish victory over the Allied fleet on that date in 1915. The university is now one of the key economic factors of the town.

## HIS PREMONITION OF DEATH: A RESPONSE

### Young Welsh Soldier's Fine Message To His Parents

Karen J Dennis

Having read this article in the Spring 2019 edition of *The Gallipolian* I set out to identify which of the three 'T Arnold' Gallipoli casualties was the correct one.

*Soldiers Died in the Great War* appeared to rule out T Arnold of the Lancashire Fusiliers and also Thomas F Arnold of the 1/8th Hampshires by their places of residence at the time of their enlistments.

The short service record of Thomas Richard Arnold, PLY693(S) RMLI was available online and quickly confirmed that he was our man, his place of birth being stated as Briton Ferry. Thomas was born on 15th October 1895, the son of John Thomas, a steelworker, and his wife Rosina. When the 1911 census was taken the family was living at 14 Stelone Road, Briton Ferry. Thomas was the oldest of the five remaining children born to John and Rosina, one child of theirs having died. Thomas was working as a "Tinworker" and the enumerator has added "Tinplate." His siblings were Lydia, Deborah, John and Robert and, thankfully, the two youngest boys would have been too young to have served in the Great War.

|                                 |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| PRIVATE HERBERT BROWN           | AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCE          |
| " GILBERT JAMES                 | "                                  |
| " CHARLES TAYLOR                | AUSTRALIAN LIGHT INFANTRY          |
| " G.M. HOLLOWAY                 | BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT              |
| " T. RAFFERTY                   | CHESHIRE REGIMENT                  |
| " THOS. G. COTTON               | EAST LANCASHIRE REGIMENT           |
| TROOPER WILLIAM DAVID           | GLAMORGAN YEOMANRY                 |
| SERGEANT FRED L. DAVIES         | INNISKILLING FUSILIERS             |
| PRIVATE T. DAVIES               | KINGS ROYAL RIFLES                 |
| SERGEANT ARTHUR WEBB            | "                                  |
| " CHARLES WEBB                  | "                                  |
| PRIVATE W.G. LARCOMBE           | LANCASHIRE FUSILIERS               |
| " CONRAD A. POOLE               | "                                  |
| " HOPKIN HUGHES                 | MACHINE GUN CORPS                  |
| " EDWARD PARKHOUSE              | MANCHESTER REGIMENT                |
| SERGEANT EWART WHEELER          | M.T.A.S. CORPS                     |
| " EMLYN PARR                    | OXFORD & BUCKS. LIGHT INFANTRY     |
| PRIVATE W.H. COLWELL            | RIFLE BRIGADE                      |
| " EDWARD THOMAS                 | "                                  |
| CADET THOMAS J. EDWARDS         | ROYAL AIR FORCE                    |
| PRIVATE ABE EDWARDS             | ROYAL BERKSHIRE REGIMENT           |
| " EDWARD EDWARDS                | "                                  |
| " JAMES EUSTACE                 | "                                  |
| " WILLIAM JONES                 | "                                  |
| " DAVID PHILLIPS                | "                                  |
| 2ND LIEUT. MATT GROVES ROBERTS  | "                                  |
| CORPORAL THOMAS H. DAVIES       | ROYAL ENGINEERS                    |
| PIONEER GEORGE TREVOR DAVIES    | "                                  |
| SAPPER JOHN MC LENNON MITCHELL  | "                                  |
| REGT-SERGT-MAJOR W. C. CANFIELD | ROYAL FIELD ARTILLERY              |
| CORPORAL WILLIAM C. GALE M.M.   | "                                  |
| DRIVER J. T. MARTIN             | "                                  |
| STAFF-SERGT W. ROSEN            | "                                  |
| DRIVER DAVID L. THOMAS          | "                                  |
| PRIVATE CYRIL JENKINS           | ROYAL FUSILIERS                    |
| " J.C. GLENDENNING              | ROYAL GARRISON ARTILLERY           |
| GUNNER DAVID EVANS              | ROYAL MARINE ARTILLERY             |
| PRIVATE THOMAS ARNOLD           | ROYAL MARINE LIGHT INFANTRY        |
| " WILLIAM GEO. PREECE           | "                                  |
| "                               | KINGS OWN YORKSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY |

Thomas enlisted on 26 November 1914 at Bristol. His address was 16 Shelone Road, Briton Ferry, his occupation clerk and he was Methodist. He was 5' 4½" tall, had a fresh complexion, brown eyes and dark brown hair. He was a private in the Plymouth Division, service number PLY693(S). During the Gallipoli Campaign Thomas served in the Plymouth Battalion, Royal Naval Division. He was killed in action on 9 May 1915, aged 19. Having no known grave he is commemorated on the Helles memorial.

On his short service record his character is described as "Very Good." He was awarded the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal and Victory Medal and is commemorated on the Briton Ferry war memorial. The IWGC register records no family information.

Briton Ferry war memorial  
courtesy 'People's Collection Wales' website.

His mother Rosina applied for a pension in respect of Thomas's service. His record shows there was a first award of £13 which was converted to a pension of 8 shillings a week from 5 April 1917 for 123 weeks and then 9 shillings for life. This pension was cancelled on 17 February 1940. I checked the death index and found that Rosina's death was registered in the fourth quarter of 1939. John died in 1960. When the 1939 register was taken John and Rosina were living at 21 Margam Road, Port Talbot, and John was retired.

I have searched online for a photo of Thomas without success. If only I'd read the latest edition of *The Gallipolian* before our recent Essex WFA branch tour to Gallipoli I could have left a poppy cross at the Helles memorial in his memory and taken a photo of his name. However, we don't need a photo to remember this young man and his sorrowing family and all that they gave in the service of their country in the Great War.

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## GALLIPOLI ASSOCIATION MEMBERS' PRESENTATION IN ISTANBUL

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### Tom Iredale

The magnificent Emperor's Ballroom in the former embassy of Imperial Germany (now the German Consulate-General), near Taksim Square in Istanbul, was the venue for the premiere of the film "Diving the Wreck of SMS *Breslau / Midilli*".

Consul-General Stefan Graf opened the evening in mid-March and welcomed the 300 invited guests and members of the press. Prior to the showing of the film, GA member Klaus Wolf explained the background of Turkish/German military cooperation in World War I.

Klaus then handed over to fellow Association member, Savaş Karakaş, the producer of the film and well-known TV presenter in Turkey, who gave an account of the diving expedition before the showing. Along with her sister ship, SMS *Goeben / Yavuz*, the light cruiser SMS *Breslau / Midilli* played a significant role in the political and military events surrounding the Gallipoli campaign. Whilst attacking the British fleet in Lemnos on 20 January 1918, the *Breslau / Midilli* ran into several mines. She sank with the loss of 336 German and 34 Turkish sailors. The wreck lay undiscovered until 25 years ago. The dive expedition was a joint Turkish - German venture in 2018 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the sinking. With the help of the TCG *Alemdar* (A 582), a submarine rescue ship of the Turkish Navy, a commemorative plaque was lowered into place on the deck of the sunken *Breslau / Midilli*.

After the film, there was a reception for the guests in an adjoining ante-room, where they could also talk to all those involved in the making of the film. (See photograph page 35).

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## LEMNOS' AUSTRALIAN PIER – MORE EVIDENCE

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Jim Claven

Further to my article in *The Gallipolian* (No. 146, Spring 2018) and the publication of Corporal George Richards' letter (No. 148, Winter 2018) regarding the Australian Pier, I provide the following extract from a letter written by 20-year-old Private John Donaldson of the 9th Australian Infantry Battalion. Falkirk born John had immigrated to Queensland prior to the war. He enlisted in August 1914 and after further training in Egypt arrived at Lemnos in March.

On 30th May 1915, John wrote to his mother in Scotland which includes the following description:

We all had different opinions as to our destination, and it was not until we were two days at sea that we were told we were bound for the Island of Lemnos, not very far from the Dardanelles. We reached the Island all right, and lay out in the harbour for a few days, then we disembarked and camped on a hill overlooking the bay. It was a beautiful spot, and the village nearby was composed of a Greek population who used to sell us all sorts of things we wanted, and knew the English money as well as we did. We lay there for about five weeks, and during that time we were employed preparing the Island as a base; one of our jobs being the building of a stone jetty for the landing of stores etc ...

This is another of many contemporary accounts of the building of the Australian Pier at East Mudros, detailing the work of Australian engineers and soldiers of the 9th Battalion in its construction.

The letter is quite long with John going on to describe his other activities on Lemnos – continued military training, the presence of British and French camps nearby the Australian camp at East Mudros, fraternisation between soldiers and sailors of the various forces then at Lemnos, his departure for the landings and his experience of the first few weeks fighting at Anzac Cove.

### Source

Letter dated 30 May 1915, Pte John Donaldson (9th Battalion) to his mother, in T Matthews' *Crosses: Australian Soldiers in the Great War 1914-18*, Boolarong Publications, 1987, pp15-16.

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## ARTICLES FOR THE GALLIPOLIAN

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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 shown on the inside front cover. It is not always possible to feature articles in the issue following submission although where topical 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 notes for the guidance of contributors on request.

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## LAST POST

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

Lieut-Commander Arthur John Douglas Coxon, 22 March 1927 - 11 July 2019, member 1829. Arthur's father was a captain in the 5th Norfolks at Gallipoli. (See below).

Captain Patrick Alan Colin Harland OBE, RN, member 1666, 18 April 2019, aged 89. Described as 'a stalwart member of the Association.' Great-nephew of Major Godfrey Barker, adjutant Drake Bn., RND, who was killed on 29 April 1915 at Helles, and is buried in Twelve Tree Copse cemetery.

Mr Gavin Roynon, author, historian, teacher, member 2652, 2 March 2018, aged 81.

Mr Clifford Outhwaite, member 2012, 26 November 2018, aged 77.

Mr David Gerald Davies, member 1780, February 2019.

Mr L Tapner, member 1897.

Mr T Elliott, member 1518.

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## RIP LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER ARTHUR COXON

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### Stephen Chambers

It is with regret and great sadness that we announce the passing of Arthur Coxon, a long-standing and supportive member of the Gallipoli Association, who passed away on 11 July at the age of 92 years.

His father, Arthur Cedric Mears Coxon, was a captain in the 5th Norfolks, and was wounded and taken prisoner on 12 August 1915 during the battalion's tragic attack at Suvla Bay. The myth around what happened to the battalion at Kuchuck Anafarta Ova has been perpetuated in TV drama and books, but the truth behind the so-called 'Sandringham Battalion' is now well known. Arthur's father being captured that day is testimony that they did not all disappear into a cloud.

Arthur lived in the Vale of Glamorgan, Wales. He regularly travelled to Association events such as lunches and commemorative events and was a regular at our conferences. He had a passion for Gallipoli and was a proud descendant of an original Gallipolian. Arthur often shared stories of his father's time as a prisoner of the Turks and visited the battlefield several times. Whilst he will be missed, he will be remembered always.

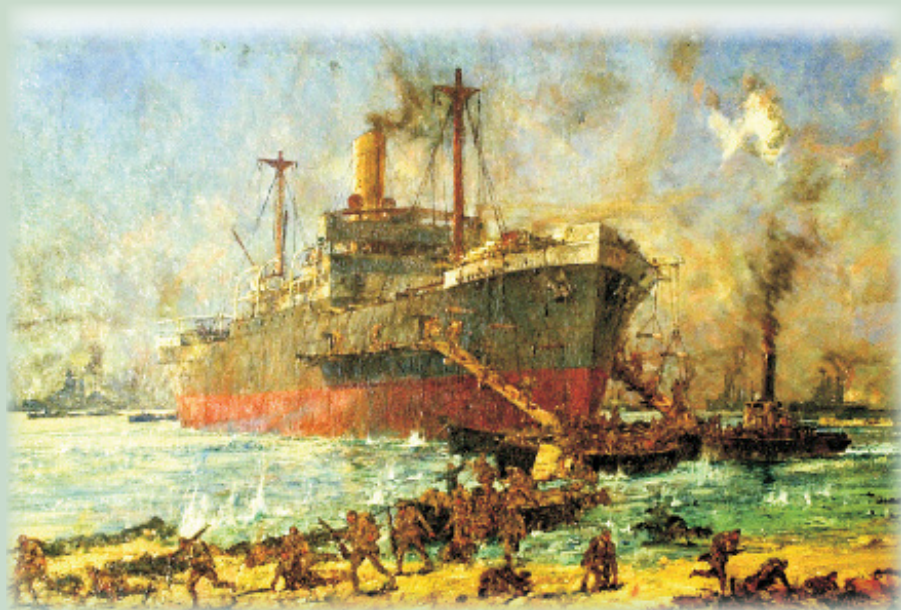
Arthur was also an active member of the Dinas Powys community, dedicating much of his time to the Royal British Legion, Probus and the Church in Wales. His funeral took place on Friday, 26th July at St Peter's Church, Dinas Powys, followed by a cremation service attended by his immediate family. (See photographs page 36).

Rest In Peace



## 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 - 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 evacuations in December 1915 and early January 1916 were masterly operations – one of the great feats of military history.