

The Gallipolian

The Journal of the Gallipoli Association

No. 162 - Autumn 2023



THE GALLIPOLIAN

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

The Gallipoli Association

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Members occasionally change their email address without notifying the membership secretary. As a result notices and information do not reach the intended member. If you do change your email address please confirm the details to the membership secretary (contact details opposite), who will change the information on our database.

This edition's cover

Red cross waggon, No 1 Australian General Hospital, Cairo, Egypt, 1915.

Photographer: T P Bennett

State Library of Victoria H83.103/238.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS WHO PAY SUBSCRIPTION BY PAYPAL

At last year's AGM it was announced that from 1 January 2023 subscriptions by Paypal were to increase to the following levels —

UK Membership £26.50. Overseas Membership £41.50.

Both have the option of Digital Membership at £21.50.

We are continuing to receive payments at last year's rates (£21.50 and £31.50 respectively). We ask therefore that you alter your Paypal payment to ensure your subscription matches those who are paying by cash or direct debit. We have no capacity to make this change for you.

We thank those members who have already attended to this matter and also ask that you contact the membership secretary should you wish to convert to digital membership.

COLLINGWOOD BATTALION MEMORIAL SERVICE.

Friday, 2nd June 2023.

The annual wreath laying on behalf of the Friends of the Memorial, organised by Stuart Adam, took place at Collingwood Corner, Blandford Camp, Dorset, on Friday, 2nd June 2023 in glorious summer weather. [See photograph p30].

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the following:

- The lord lieutenant of Dorset
- Friends of Collingwood
- Blandford garrison
- Officers and ratings of HMS *Collingwood*
- The Gallipoli Association
- The mayor of Blandford
- Dorset Council
- In memory of Frederick Willoughby RMLI and Lieut Commander W M Annard

A small contingent of ratings was present from HMS *Collingwood* and a bugler from the Royal Signals.

Following the service the garrison commander, Blandford Camp, invited those present for tea in the Officers Mess.

Members would I'm sure be welcome to attend this event held on the closest Friday to the 4th June each year and I would be pleased to pass details of those interested on to Stuart Adam. [See photograph page 30].

— James Watson Smith

COLONEL CECIL HOWARD PALMER

Radley 1888-1891

Cecil Palmer was born at East Worldham, Hampshire, where his father was the vicar, in 1873. He came to Radley as a member of H Social, and later G, in 1888. As a schoolboy he became a prefect and played for the Radley Cricket XIs of 1890 and 1891 and he was also in the Football XI. His love of sport continued and he played nine first-class matches around the turn of the 20th century: eight for Hampshire and one for Worcestershire. Unusually, he played for two counties in the same season. His Worcestershire appearance came against Oxford University in 1904, in which year he later played three County Championship matches for Hampshire. In the game against Oxford he made his highest first-class score, 75 not out. He also won the singles in the Divisional lawn tennis tournament at Aldershot, and when in Burma beat the American tennis champion.



After leaving Radley in 1891 he served in the militia for a while, then took up his commission in the Worcestershire Regiment in 1894. He served in the mounted infantry detachment of the Worcesters in the South African War (1899-1900), was mentioned in despatches four times and received the Queen's Medal with four clasps.

By 1912 he had risen to the rank of major. At the beginning of 1914 he was in command of the depot at Worcester, beginning to look towards retirement. Instead, in 1914, he was given the temporary rank of lieutenant colonel and placed in command of the newly created 9th Battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment.

The entry of Turkey into the war led to the decision to force the Dardanelles. If more ground was to be taken it was clear that many reinforcements would be required. Amongst the three divisions sent out from England in June and July 1915 was the 9th Service Battalion of The Royal Warwickshire Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel C H Palmer.

The 9th (Service) Battalion had been formed in Warwick from volunteers as part of the New Army (Kitchener) Divisions, in August 1914.

Attached to the 39th Brigade, 13th Western Division, the 9th Battalion did some

training at Tidworth, Salisbury Plain, and went to Basingstoke in January 1915. At the end of February, the Division concentrated at Blackdown, Hampshire. On 7 June it received orders to sail to the Mediterranean. Travelling by train via Frimley Station to Avonmouth, they boarded HMT *Royal Edward* on 17 June. The ship steamed via Malta and Alexandria, arriving at Mudros on the Greek island of Lemnos on 9 July. All units assembled in preparation for landing at Gallipoli. On 13 July, the 9th Battalion landed on V Beach. For a fortnight the 9th Battalion served, off and on, in the trenches. Casualties in these early days included two officers and nine other ranks killed and 28 wounded.

On 25 July, near Hill Q, Commanding Officer Lt Col Palmer was killed by a sniper. The Regiment's history states:

Colonel Palmer had raised, formed and trained the 9th Battalion, which owed much of its fighting spirit and efficiency to his unselfish enthusiasm and ability.

Lt Col Palmer was buried where he fell. He was 42.

Anthony Robinson, Radley's development director, introduced the Palmer family to Murat and Cathryn Atac, former Radley parents who helped to arrange that Colonel Palmer's granddaughter, four grandsons and their wives travelled to Turkey to commemorate the centenary of his death.

From the *Alton Herald*, 13 November 2015:

Colonel's family pay homage in Gallipoli

July 25 1915, was a sad day for Alton as on that day one its finest sons, Lieutenant Colonel Cecil H Palmer, was shot and killed by a sniper in Gully Ravine in the battle for Gallipoli.

One hundred years later, his granddaughter, four grandsons and their wives travelled to commemorate his death. They went with their Turkish friend Murat Atac, in a spirit of friendship and reconciliation. Two of Murat's great uncles died at Gallipoli, while a third died of his wounds in his home town. Murat arranged the trip, ably assisted by excellent Turkish guide Baris.

After learning about the complex history of the region, the Palmer family spent three days exploring the battlefields, which are now a national park. Full of unexploded ordnance, they found that copious evidence of the fighting is still visible on the ground in the form of bullets, shrapnel and bone fragments, as well as the corroded skeletons of landing craft on the beaches.

Colonel Palmer is commemorated at the largest Allied memorial, the Helles Memorial, where his family placed a poppy and laid a wreath.

Editor's note: Originally published in 2016. Many thanks to Anthony Palmer for providing the article on his grandfather, and to the editor of *The Old Radleian* for permission to republish.

See inside back cover for a photo showing Cecil Palmer in the Radley College 1891 Cricket XI, also reproduced with kind permission of the editor of *The Old Radleian*.

SPORTS PIER – A LEMNOS SURVIVAL

Nick Baker and Steve Moore

The British *Official History* of the Gallipoli campaign, compiled by Brigadier-General Aspinall-Oglander, explains how the island of Lemnos was acquired for Allied use in the First World War. It was, he states, ‘borrowed from Greece’, something which created no ‘international complications’ as Turkey (from whom the Greeks had taken the island in 1912) ‘had not acknowledged Greek sovereignty.’¹ Diplomatic complexities aside, the realpolitik was that British naval units landed advanced construction parties on the island in early 1915 with neither Greece nor Turkey, as enemy or neutral power, in a position to stop them.

At first Lemnos, or rather the natural harbour of Mudros, was not highly regarded by the Gallipoli commanders who saw it as a temporary maritime concentration point rather than a land base. Significant water supplies were lacking, there was no wharfage to speak of, and the prevailing winds often made the sea too rough for small boats - creating immense difficulties with ship-to-ship communication.² Alexandria in Egypt, although further away by sea, was a far better centre of operations, already possessing a port and military infrastructure. However, as with much concerning the eastern Mediterranean, events overtook original planning and as the Gallipoli campaign dragged on and Salonika operations consolidated, Mudros gradually transformed into a significant Allied base for British and French forces.

Over time, extending well after the Gallipoli evacuations, Mudros was gradually improved so that by the end of the war the infrastructure lacking at its beginning had largely been built – just in time for much of it to be dismantled or abandoned. Amongst the most obvious of the structures were a number of piers. Vital for landing both supplies and personnel, these were built by various military engineer units from across the allied forces. In an indication of just how primitive was Mudros’s original capability, Cornelius Cleverley, an engineer with the Deal Battalion of the Royal Naval Division, described how in March 1915 advance parties had first to wade ashore before construction work could commence.³ Those piers closest to Mudros town on the east of the anchorage were subsequently named after three of the nationalities present on the island at the height of the Gallipoli conflict – ‘Australian’, ‘French’ and ‘Egyptian’, together with ‘Town Pier.’ Those on the west, in what became an ‘industrial area’ centred on a desalination plant, were ‘North’, ‘South’, ‘Supply’, ‘Railway’ and ‘Oil Jetty.’⁴

However, there was a further isolated pier on the east side of the anchorage, the name of which offers an insight into an important aspect of Lemnos’ life for at least

¹ Aspinall-Oglander p67

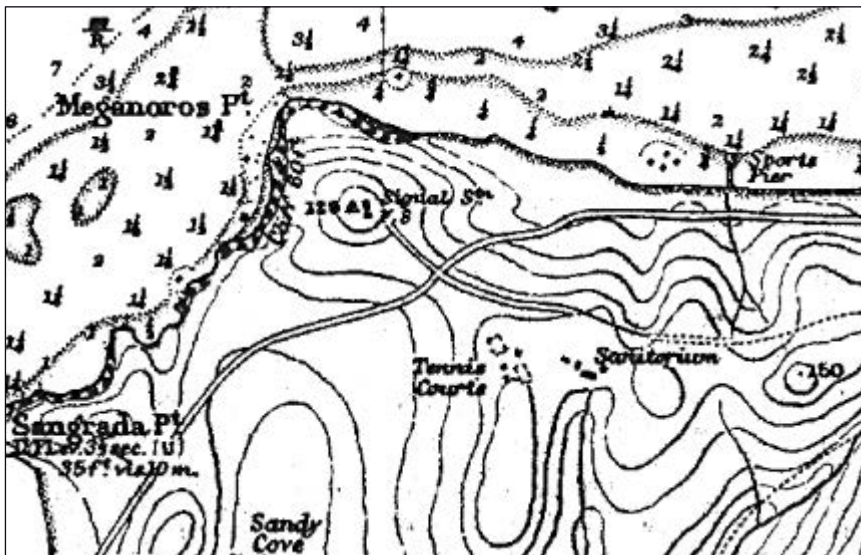
² Ibid p351

³ County Express (Worcestershire), Letter from Cornelius Cleverley, 15 May 1915, p5

⁴ Admiralty Chart 1661 Port Mudros (London, Admiralty Hydrographic Office, 1920)

some of its temporary armed forces inhabitants. This was 'Sports Pier.' It was depicted on an Admiralty chart following a 1916 survey by Commander Edgell RN of the Survey Ship *Endeavour*.⁵ This added details to previous charts produced in 1835 and 1904 with some further boat surveying in 1915.⁶ The main survey was probably conducted shortly after the Gallipoli combat forces had left. Edgell, later Vice-Admiral Sir John Augustine Edgell RN, was a meticulous worker who received the thanks of Admiral John de Robeck and an OBE for his efforts in the eastern Mediterranean, which included the production of charts using an on-board printing press.^{7,8}

Edgell went on to hold several important positions in the Admiralty, particularly during the Second World War, and was noted for the emphasis he placed on mapping land data. Thus, the mapped Sports Pier and its surrounding structures may be regarded as a high-quality representation of the area. This does, in fact, include an identifiable sports facility, with tennis courts shown adjacent to a sanatorium on the heights above the pier. Some ruined concrete buildings which may have belonged to the hospital survive and a path leads from the shoreline to this area. Also of interest, although possibly not a 'sport' as such, was a rifle range situated in a valley to the south of the infirmary. The presence of First World War British .303 bullet cases intermixed with remnants of American supplied Second World War ammunition (presumably used post-war by the Greek Army) implies long-standing military use.



HMS *Endeavour* survey of 1916 showing Sports Pier and surrounding structures.

⁵ Admiralty Chart 1661 Port Mudros

⁶ Chasseaud and Doyle p208

⁷ The National Archives, (TNA) ADM-196-126-18

⁸ Morris p21

It is also possible the sports referred to might have included water-based activities, with Naval personnel engaged in boat racing, water polo and swimming events.⁹ These may well have taken place with the pier as a focal point and the adjacent elevated shoreline would have provided a useful viewing area; to say nothing of avoiding the appallingly polluted water of the crowded big ship anchorage, something mentioned by eye-witnesses who inadvisably took a 'dip' in that area!¹⁰ The pier is also conveniently non-adjacent to the distractions, no matter how sparse, of the town of Mudros itself, forcing 'Jack Ashore' to concentrate on organised games rather than any entertainments he could recklessly manufacture for himself. It is entirely reasonable to suppose that Sports Pier gave easy sea-borne access to all these facilities during the occupation.

Whatever the origin of the name, a recent shoreline investigation proved that traces of Sports Pier still exist and once these were identified it became clear that an amount of structure remains both above and below water. The onshore pier remnants are located on a narrow sandy beach adjacent to the road running south-west from Mudros town. This road was in existence in 1916 but has been modernised so that a concrete storm water channel from high ground to the south runs under it, discharging adjacent to the beach. Over time this has deposited an amount of debris onto the bank between the road and beach, but on the shoreline itself the outline of the pier is, upon close observation, obvious. The most recognisable part is a structure of undressed but evidently carefully-chosen stones and small boulders concreted into a low platform with a long straight edge fronting the sea. The corners of this construction are particularly apparent, forming distinct right angles. Embedded in the concrete are pieces of iron plate and broken brick, indicative of locally and informally sourced reinforcing. On top of the platform is a now fractured concrete skim which disappears into the bank. A further piece of low wall can be seen extending under the bank to the west of the main structure.

An amount of material culture can be found in the area including quite a few fragments of bottle glass and the occasional ceramic shard, along with short sections of wire cable. Whether these are associated with the pier it is difficult to say as they may be debris washed in from the sea or down from the high ground (a plastic fork, bottles and the ubiquitous flip-flop demonstrated the issue), and it is not unknown for locals to use the foreshore for fly-tipping. Nevertheless, a walk away from the pier in both directions sees a diminution of glass fragments, making it possible, indeed likely, this is a concentration of discarded waste associated with the structure. Once this outline has been determined it is obvious, particularly in windy conditions, to see from the altered angle of breaking waves that the remains extend a number of yards out to sea. Indeed, Google Earth reveals the pier as a 'ghost' on the seabed. An underwater survey would certainly be worthwhile.

This cursory investigation into the ruins of Sports Pier on Lemnos is hardly

⁹ Imperial War Museum (oral history), Adsheed Gilbert RN, Tape 660, Reel 16

¹⁰ Imperial War Museum (oral history), Napier, Joseph William Lennox, Tape 7499, Reel 2

groundbreaking. However, its fragmentary survival forms an interesting adjunct to the fairly scanty remnants of the Allied occupation of the island during and after the First World War (scantier still once the 'red herrings' of German Second World War occupation are disregarded). These demonstrate the important part Lemnos played in supporting the Mediterranean force, before, during and after the peninsular campaign. British involvement in particular extended well beyond the evacuation of Gallipoli itself, with Lemnos not only providing a 'stone frigate' from which to administer operations in the eastern Mediterranean, but a useful anchorage from which to blockade the Dardanelles. The Armistice of Mudros was, of course, signed between the British and Ottomans aboard the battleship HMS *Agamemnon* in 1918.

As British forces ran down their operations on the island in the early 1920s and dismantled, salvaged, destroyed or sold off the base infrastructure, the importance of Sports Pier would have been diminished. Unlike the piers in Mudros itself, some of which were of use to the local economy (to say nothing of the Axis occupiers in World War Two), an out of the way jetty which essentially led nowhere would have provided no incentive for upkeep, and eventually fallen into disrepair.



The corners of the onshore construction are particularly distinct.

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Acknowledgement

The authors wish to thank Dina, Apostolos and Fenia of Hotel Ethaleia for their help in locating a number of locations and structures mentioned in this article.

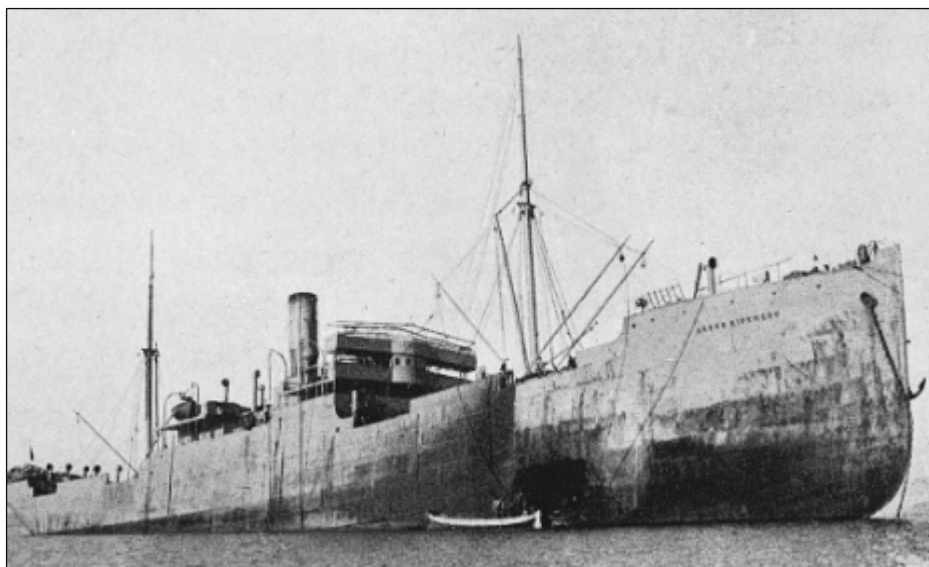
AENNE RICKMER'S LIFEBOUY

Bernard de Broglio

A lifebuoy from the British seaplane carrier *Aenne Rickmers* (later HMS *Anne*) has popped up on the Gallipoli Peninsula. You can see it in the small museum that opened in 2021 at the Cape Helles lighthouse (*Mehmetçik Feneri*).

Aenne Rickmers was a German merchant ship built in 1911 at Bremerhaven. The 4,083-tonne steamer was seized by the Royal Navy off Port Said in October 1914, and selected for conversion to a seaplane carrier. Her cargo-handling cranes were equally adept at lowering aircraft to the sea and picking them up again.

SS *Aenne Rickmers* entered British service under her original name. By March 1915, the prefix HMFA (HM Fleet Auxiliary) was being used. On 5 August 1915, *Aenne* was commissioned as HMS *Anne*.



Aenne Rickmers ashore, Mudros, 1915. (Photo from Weldon, *Hard-Lying*)

As a seaplane carrier, she was made available to the French naval squadron, *Escadrille de Port-Saïd*, but operating under the orders of GOC Egypt, Sir John Maxwell. The pilots and mechanics were French but the observers British, whilst the ship's crew comprised a mix of Royal Navy marines and bluejackets, Greek sailors and a Maltese engineer. The OC, Captain Lewen Barrington Weldon, was Irish. 'Taken all together,' wrote Weldon, 'a regular Harry Tate shipload, reminiscent of the London Hippodrome at its best!'

Aenne operated as a seaplane carrier in the eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea from



Sailors and airmen aboard *Aenne*, January 1915. A heterogenous bunch, comprising French, British, Egyptian, Syrian and Greek. (Courtesy ARDHAN)

January 1915 to January 1917, principally off the coasts of Egypt, Palestine and Syria. But she also played a supporting role in the attack on the Dardanelles.

On 3 March 1915, *Aenne* was ordered to the Gulf of Smyrna where a naval squadron was bombarding the outer forts of the Levantine city. Its aim was to deny use of the port to enemy submarines, whose presence endangered the Allied fleet at the Dardanelles. Having reached the Gulf, one of *Aenne's* Nieuport seaplanes made a successful air reconnaissance over Smyrna (İzmir) on 9 March.

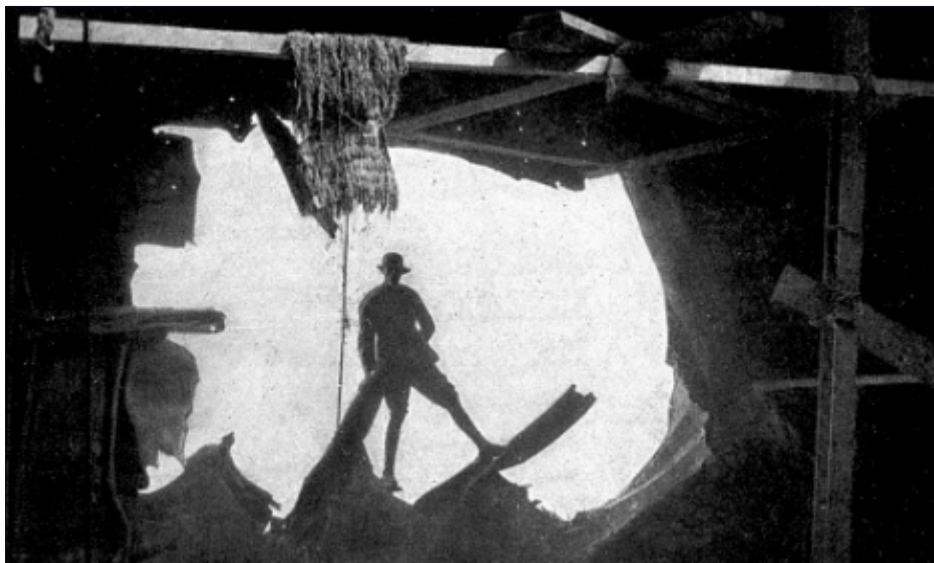


French pilots and air mechanics aboard *Aenne*, February 1915. (Courtesy ARDHAN)



Nieuport XH seaplane in profile, with derrick. HMS *Anne*, February 1916. (Courtesy ARDHAN)

A couple of nights before, a small Ottoman torpedo boat named *Demihisar* had slipped out of the Dardanelles, evading Allied warships, to make her way south. *Demihisar* entered the Gulf of Smyrna on the night of 9/10 March. She fired two torpedoes at Allied warships but missed, and withdrew. The following night, *Demihisar* crept into the Gulf again, and fired her last torpedo. This time she hit *Aenne*.



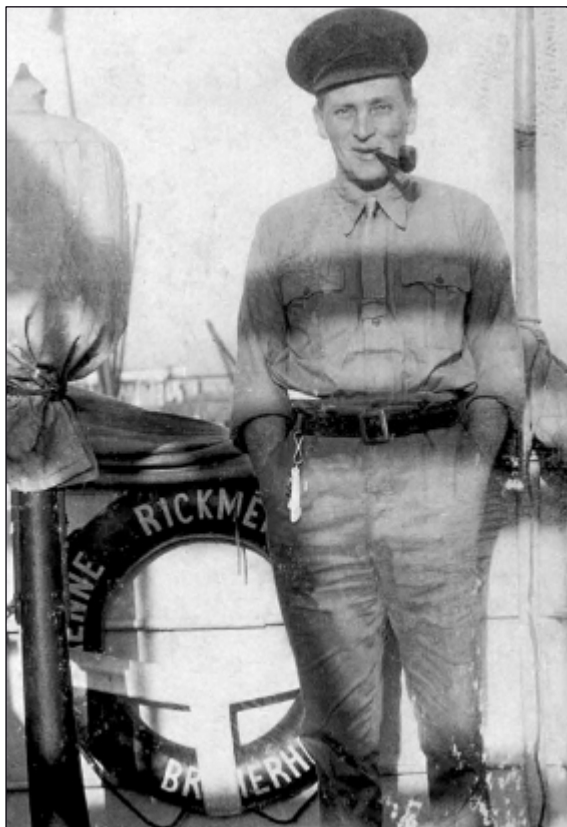
No. 1 hold, showing damage caused by *Demihisar's* torpedo. The silhouette is Sir Robert Paul, a British observer with the French seaplane squadron. (Photo from Weldon, *Hard-Lying*)

Weldon writes that ‘the ship was awash with water and very much down by the head — and going down further.’ Before the wounded could be taken off, Weldon says the civilian crew jumped ship in a panic. *Aenne* was thought to be sinking but, after an hour or two, the ship stabilised. *Aenne* had been hit on the starboard side in No. 1 hold, but the bulkhead between it and No. 2 was intact. The ship’s cargo, not yet off-loaded, provided ‘a splendid buttress.’ Meanwhile, bits of torpedo were lying about the decks, making for valued souvenirs.

Aenne limped to Lemnos for repairs, reaching Mudros harbour on 12 March 1915.

Perhaps the lifebuoy in the museum at Gallipoli dates from *Aenne*’s time in the Gulf of Smyrna. But she had many adventures against the Ottomans during the First World War, and was later operated by Greek and Romanian shipping companies, as *Ithaki* and *Moldova* respectively. She was only scrapped in 1958. The display offers no provenance, except to say that the lifebuoy was loaned from Turkey’s oldest and principal military museum, *İstanbul Harbiye Askeri Müzesi*.

The lifebuoy is a wonderful relic and worth a look when you’re at Gallipoli.



Captain Lewen Barrington Weldon, Royal Dublin Fusiliers,
on the bridge of HMS *Anne* sometime in 1916.
(Photograph Eliot Millar King)

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Eliot Millar King, photograph album, Puke Ariki archive, ARC2002-128, <https://collection.pukeariki.com/objects/35221/king-eliot-millar>

See photographs page 29.

JOHN W RIDEOUT 1899 – 1971

I have always been fascinated by my grandfather's exploits in WWI and how he met my grandmother, but only found out the full details after his youngest son sat down with him determined to have the full story written down, just a few years before he passed away. This is his story and also tells me how I acquired my names.

Malcolm John Harris

March 1915, Rushden

Although I am only 15 years old, I am fed up with being asked why I am not doing my bit! I have decided to walk to Northampton to sign up for the territorial regiment and hoped that I could hide my true age as I am quite tall. On entering the Drill Hall there was a long line of men steadily making their way towards a sergeant seated behind a desk and eventually I stood in front of him. When asked how old I was I told him I was 17 and was relieved when he said "Right, sign here and we will pick you up next week for training". On the way back home, I was wondering how best to tell my parents what I had done. I knew Dad would probably understand but what the reaction from Mum would be was anyone's guess. As it turned out she was cross but resigned to the fact I had already signed up. Dad thought that we would all be doing our bit soon.

The following week an old truck did the rounds of the local villages picking up all who had enlisted and taking us to the barracks in Clare Street where we were kitted up. The next move was to the railway station for onward transit to Thetford in Norfolk. As we all clambered on to the train there was an air of excitement, off to war to do our bit and give The Hun a hiding we thought. The journey seemed to take for ever, going through Bedford then Cambridge with lots of shouting and whistle blowing when we arrived there. After lining up on the platform the order was given to march to camp just outside of Thetford. I have now struck up a friendship with another young chap by the name of Harry Simons (The significance of which will be explained later). All of us are now to be billeted in the town among ordinary families and some of the houses are very nice but others, so I am told, are very grim. I struck lucky to be with a nice family, the washing arrangements were very primitive, but the food was good.

The next few weeks were taken up drilling, drilling and more drilling, field craft and best of all down to the firing range at Ixworth, practicing with Lee Enfields and machine guns, all very exciting! Just as we were getting settled in, the order came that the Regiment was on the move to Norwich, perhaps our last stop before we are shipped over to France, but this was not to be. After a few more days we proceeded to St. Albans and by now it seems as if we know most of eastern England. On arrival at St. Albans, we are billeted with families in rows of terraced houses and again some of these were pretty grim. No one had any idea where or when we are going to sent

off to so we have plenty of free time at the moment. One day all of our webbing equipment was withdrawn and replaced with leather, and shortly afterwards we were issued with Khaki drill and pith helmets which caused quite a stir amongst us. Where were we going? Obviously somewhere hot and we were soon to find out. When we were marched off to the railway station, the whole of St. Albans seemed to turn out to cheer us on our way, with children waving flags. We travelled through the night on what seemed an endless journey until we finally pulled into Exeter where food and drink had been laid on for us. Then we were on the move again having been informed that our journeys end was to be Devonport where an old cattle boat called the *Royal George* was waiting for us.



1st / 4th Battalion, TF The Northamptonshire Regiment, passing through St Albans.

The *Royal George* sailed on the morning of the **30th July** with about 800 soldiers on board. Shortly after departure we passed by a Canadian troop ship, the men on board gave us three cheers to send us on our way. The first of two escorting destroyers returned to port during the morning but the second one stayed until 8 pm, after that we were all on our own. As we sailed on through the Bay of Biscay the weather started to get really rough, men were now getting very sea sick, the conditions on board this rat infested and smelly boat were grim to say the least, with virtually hardly any washing facilities, toilets or privacy whatsoever. With 800 men on board plus the ship's crew the description cattle boat was well named. A system of guards and submarine watches were organised throughout the day and night, although the only thing that was spotted were whales and flying fish until we reached Malta on the night of the **5th of August**. We were all overjoyed to reach the harbour where we were greeted by all manner of small craft filled with diving boys yelling for money

to be thrown into the water and Dicers, propelled by a single oar over the stern, came out with fruit, cigarettes and chocolate. The ship was tugged into its place in Sliema harbour and anchored; a customs officer came on board, followed by a medical officer who arranged for the removal of two men who had reported sick during the voyage. The other ranks were allowed to go ashore in groups of 250, so we had to wait our turn in allowing all of us to enjoy our first bath and wash some of our clothes. How sweet the air was after the stench of the *Royal George*. From the top of the hill there was a marvellous view of the harbour now filled with British and French warships.

On the **8th of August** we set sail again this time heading for Alexandria, the weather was baking hot, even more so when we had to go on deck for drill and gunnery practice. We also had lessons in basic Turkish, first aid and gas precautions with emphasis on correctly fitting our gas masks. As we entered Alexandria harbour we were amazed at the number of ships that were already berthed, apparently these had been captured and were prize ships. The whole battalion disembarked and paraded around the town behind the regimental band, we all felt very proud. The next day however we were all to go ashore again, but this time it was no picnic as all baggage, vehicles, guns and supplies for the battle front had to be offloaded to be ferried by smaller boats into the harbour, I am beginning to feel that this is what war is all about, no more sightseeing now. During the afternoon the *Royal Edward* a sister ship to our own steamed into the harbour, quite a fighting force was now assembling.

On the morning of the 12th August all the fighting men boarded their ships and set sail for Mudros Bay on the island of Lemnos, this despite the sighting of submarines was really exciting as we were sailing between some beautiful islands in the Aegean Sea. Came the morning of **Friday the 13th August** we entered Mudros Bay, here we had the terrible news that the *Royal Edward* had been torpedoed and sunk with the loss of 800 lives, someone up there is looking after me. The next day a briefing was to be held ashore for all officers including 2nd Lt Hancock who is in charge of my platoon, all the men had to wait onboard ship, the word soon spread that all of us were to land at Suvla Bay the next morning, we had to draw our iron rations which consisted of corned beef, biscuit, tea, sugar and oxo cubes, a two days supply. By the time this was issued and we had checked all our own equipment it was late evening, at 4 o'clock in the morning we were all roused and breakfast was served. At 8 o'clock all of us were hustled onto the deck loaded with all our equipment and haversacks to await the landing craft, which were to take us on the 3-hour crossing to Suvla Bay.

15th August All the time we were disembarking the allied ships in the harbour carried on shelling the Turkish positions in land, which was supposed to make our attack easier. Then we were ordered to march about half a mile inland where we were allowed to take off our equipment and relax for a while, very welcome in view of the baking hot weather, spent most of the time in the shade and swatting the millions of flies. We were already hearing the counter fire coming from the Turkish lines and stories of heavy casualties from the Bedfordshire Regiment. The order was

given for us to clear a site behind our lines and set up a bivouac for the night, though we were too excited to think of sleep, but at 4.30 pm the order came to fall into our respective companies (Harry Simons was also in the same company as me) and the whole battalion moved towards Kiretch Tepe to support the Bedfordshire Regt. At this point I was told that being so young I would not be going to the forward position and would remain at the rear of the company with others of a similar age to act as stretcher bearers (very disappointed). We moved forward under small arms and shrapnel fire over country covered with rocks and thorn scrub, which was very hard going and offered virtually no cover. The first casualty was a captain in 'B' Company who was wounded by a stray bullet, our company ('A') managed to find some shelter in amongst the rocks and scrub without any further casualties. After a night out in the open the battalion moved forward at first light to a position called Kidney Hill, and although under continuous fire could not define any enemy positions. My company was in the lead when a Lance Corporal of number 2 platoon was seriously wounded in the back. My platoon commander, Lt. Malcolm Hancock, immediately went to his aid and called for stretcher bearers, "Off you go Rideout", so myself and others went forward amidst whining bullets carrying a stretcher.

No sooner had we reached them when I felt a searing pain, and down I went, Lt Hancock organised the other men to load the wounded man on to the stretcher and take him back to our lines, he then hoisted me onto his back and despite being



Lieutenant Malcolm Hancock MC

in full view of the Turkish lines made it back to our rear position. For this deed Lt. Hancock was later awarded the Military Cross. From hereon the details of how I arrived at the hastily erected tents for the wounded are rather sketchy, whilst receiving treatment for my wounds I heard that my friend Harry Simons had also been wounded. Amid a lot of activity around the tents some of us were told that we are being transferred to a hospital ship moored in the bay, and then back home to England, my war had lasted just a few short weeks.

I do not remember any of the return trip home, being bedridden all the way until we reached Devonport again. As we came into the harbour there was frantic activity by the doctors and nurses to help us from the ship to the dockside where all sorts of vehicles had been commandeered to ferry us to the

railway station. Once the train could take no more casualties it rattled out the station on its way, we were told, to Stoke Mandeville where those that needed further surgery and those who were really poorly could be looked after. My family could now visit me, although transport between Rushden and the hospital must have been terribly difficult. Somehow Harry managed to get himself transferred to the next bed to mine, which was really nice as his family also came to visit, one was his sister called Doris, although a little older than me, we seemed to get on really well. The news my mother told me was that dad had now also joined the Northants Regt, and was waiting to hear the date of movement. I was told that my stay in hospital would be several weeks and then further months of convalescence nearer home. This I did not mind too much as my friendship with Doris was flourishing. When I was fit enough the most important thing was finding a job to help with family finances, as Dad was now with RAMC in France.

Notes:

John and Doris married in 1918 and had eight children.

Lt Col Malcolm E Hancock MC is a past president of the Gallipoli Association.

Thomas Rideout, my great grandfather, spent the rest of WW1 in France and Flanders and survived to rejoin his family.

The full story of Malcolm Hancock's long career is held by the IWM in an audio interview by Peter Hart.

Malcolm's grandson has fuller details on an internet blog. Search for "Saving Private Rideout"



Disclaimer

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

POSED PHOTOS: FAKE NEWS OR FAIR PLAY?

Bernard de Broglio

The London offices of the Australian War Records Section (AWRS) must've been a hive of activity in 1919. More than 25,000 items had to be stored, documented and shipped home. Alongside big and bulky war trophies – a tank, several aeroplanes and lots of heavy guns – were smaller weapons, equipment, medals, flags, and other relics souvenired from the battlefield. Just as important were the documentary records. Stacked high in tall bundles were the Australian unit war diaries. But, there was still more to collect.

Among the records sought by the section that year were some 200 'official photographs of the Dardanelles Expedition'. These had been taken by Ernest Brooks, engaged by the British Admiralty as the official photographer at Gallipoli. A list of negative numbers and titles is found in the archives of the Australian War Memorial, along with the correspondence that arranged the copying of the pictures. Across the top of the typewritten catalogue, Charles Bean has added a cautionary comment in his distinctive hand:

Photos 109, 177 and 461 are posed photographs, not photos of actual events.
Photo 399 is probably posed, but might be true.

Bean was Australia's official war correspondent and the driving force behind the War Records Section, and later the Australian War Memorial. He would also oversee the production of the official history of Australia in the Great War. Bean wrote six volumes, edited another five, collated the photographic volume, and kept an eye on the three-volume medical history.

Bean was a stickler for the truth, or rather a certain type of truth. In the preface to the first volume of the official history ('The Story of Anzac'), Bean declared that the 'only memorial worthy' of the men of the Australian Imperial Force was 'the bare and uncoloured story of their part in the war.' His duty, as he saw it, was simple:

... to record the plain and absolute truth so far as it was within his limited power to compass it.

When it came to photographs, Bean was suspicious of any picture that was staged or retouched. In the preface to the 'Photographic Record of the War,' the twelfth and final volume of the Australian official history, Bean wrote:

... the obtaining of photographs for historical record, and the taking of them for propaganda or for the press, were to some extent conflicting activities.

The reader of this volume was assured an 'authentic pictorial narrative.'

The photographs of the Australian Imperial Force are, as far as possible, scrupulously genuine.

Unsurprisingly, Bean was wary of Brooks' photographs. On the AWRS list, Bean

wrote 'sham' and 'complete fake' against two of Brooks' images. And later, when he compiled the Australian photographic record of the war, he chose only four of Brooks' pictures (AWRS negative nos. 50, 74, 83 and 113) among the 115 used to illustrate the Gallipoli Campaign. Of these, none portray soldiers. Three are broad landscapes (Mudros Harbour, Anzac Cove from the sea, and the view north from The Nek), the other being HMS *Albion* aground off Gaba Tepe on 23 May 1915.

Even allowing for the huge number of soldiers' photos available to Bean for inclusion, and Brooks' focus on Helles and Suvla, it is clear that Brooks' view of the campaign did not satisfy Bean's uncompromising desire for 'authenticity'.

On the other hand, there is no question that Brooks' photographs have stood the test of time. His storytelling and craft are first class, and his images have struck a chord with people for more than a hundred years.

You could argue that Brooks, a professional photographer, was responding creatively to a particularly severe constraint. He could hardly stand on a trench parapet to record an attack. Battle was confusing, cloaked in smoke and dust, the ground shaken by shell bursts, and extremely dangerous above ground level. Nor could the photographer be everywhere at once. To achieve verisimilitude, Brooks was forced to stage some of his pictures.

A classic example is the 'charge by the Royal Naval Division.'



'A charge by the Royal Naval Division. An officer is seen leading his men.'

(AWRS list no. 109, AWM G00309, IWM Q 109201)

Alongside the title in the AWRS list, Bean has left a caustic comment.

This charge was a sham affair photographed at Imbros.

Indeed, the location is easily verified today if you visit Kephalos on the island of Imbros (today called Gökçeada). The fields in which the mock trenches were dug in 1915 have reverted to farmland, and blackberry-laden hedges are only occasional impediments to a similar view of the distant hills.

Brooks made good use of his time on Imbros island. The ‘Turkish sniper’ is another classic of the genre. Bean added another withering comment to the AWRS list.

This photo is a complete fake. It was taken at Imbros. The Australians are from the Field Bakery, and the Turk is a prisoner in the camp there.



‘Turkish sniper photographed immediately after capture and while ... being brought in under guard.

The Turk was ingeniously screened by a Jack-in-the-green arrangement of foliage, attached to his clothing.’

(AWRS list no. 177, AWM G00377, IWM Q 13392)

Meanwhile, at Anzac, Brooks photographed ‘Australian troops charging near a Turkish trench.’

Again, Bean adds a note to the AWRS list in caution.

This photo is of a charge organised by the British official photographer.

Probably taken on the same day is another well-known photo by Brooks, showing an Anzac with a ‘wounded’ comrade slung over his shoulders.



‘Scene just before the evacuation at Anzac. Australian troops charging near a Turkish trench. When they got there the Turks had flown.’ (AWRS list no. 461, AWM G00635, IWM Q 13659)



‘The irrepressible Australians at Anzac. An Australian bringing in a wounded comrade to hospital. The men were cracking jokes as they made their way down from the front.’
(AWRS list no. 399, AWM G00599, IWM Q 13622)

Bean was suspicious.

I think this is a posed photograph.

The location is Russell's Top, the same setting as the 'Australian charge' – notice the pile of boxes and tins that appear in both. The only 'authentic' part of the caption (to use Bean's standard) is probably 'the men cracking jokes', highly likely given the performance they were putting on. (One wonders what Turkish observers made of this activity!)

Combination pictures

But it wasn't just Brooks. Bean famously butted heads with another professional photographer, the brilliant Australian lensman Frank Hurley, whose images of Palestine and the Western Front are now iconic representations of Australia in the Great War.

Hurley's technique was to combine multiple shots in one. A particularly dynamic example is 'An episode after the Battle of Zonnebeke' that shows attacking infantry moving forward into an enemy barrage, with aeroplanes overhead and one brought down in flames. Each component of Hurley's composite was more or less 'authentic' (by Bean's criteria) but as a group, Bean would have none of it.

This frustrated the brave Hurley, who regularly risked his life to capture the Anzacs in battle. In his personal diary, on 26 September 1917, Hurley wrote:

Had a great argument with Bean about combination pictures. Am thoroughly convinced that it is impossible to secure effects, without resorting to combination pictures.

Bean was intractable.

I can see his point, he has been nearly killed a dozen times and has failed to get the pictures he wants – but we will not have it at any price.

The public, and the Anzacs themselves, thought differently for Hurley's exhibitions were a great success after the war. The value of his photographs has only increased over time.

The spirit of the thing

Where Hurley worked with light, British war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett employed words. Bean worked alongside Bartlett at Gallipoli, and formed a great respect for the Englishman's craft. Bean is far more forgiving of Bartlett than of Brooks, as evidenced by his diary entries for 26 September and 2 October, 1915 (emphasis added).

Ashmead Bartlett makes it a little difficult for one by his exaggerations, and yet he's a lover of the truth. He gives **the spirit of the thing**: but if he were asked: 'Did a shout really go up from a thousand throats that the hill was ours?' he'd have to say 'No, it didn't.' Or if they said 'Did the New Zealanders really club their rifles and kill three men at once?' or 'Did the first battle of Anzac

really end with the flash of bayonets all along the line, a charge, and the rolling back of the Turkish attack', he'd have to say 'Well – no, as a matter of fact that didn't occur'.

He thinks very straight and his written dispatches are full of life and colour, hit hard, and give a brilliant idea which is **remarkably true**. He exaggerates a bit to make his points but the general result is a pretty accurate description of what has happened, and always vivid. He's perhaps not quite so accurate in detail as the English papers think him, but he is most honest in giving the real outline and trend of events.

A poignant study

Bean was not the only man at Gallipoli concerned with 'truth' in photography. Consider one of Ernest Brooks' most celebrated pictures.



'A British soldier visits his comrade's grave on the cliffs near Cape Helles.' (IWM Q 13378)

This well-known image was used in the 1930s to illustrate the story of the Gallipoli Campaign in a magazine-style part-work called *Twenty Years After: The Battlefields of 1914–18, Then and Now*. The editor-in-chief, Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton, KBE, CB, DSO, was a retired British Army general and professor of military history at the University of Oxford.

Declared the magazine:

Few war-time efforts of camera-craft have produced a more poignant study than this striking silhouette ...

And few would argue with that assessment today.

But when *Twenty Years After* printed the photograph, a Gallipoli veteran wrote to the magazine in protest, whereupon the editor printed this correction:

Through the help of a reader we have been able definitely to establish that the picture is not genuine. It was taken on Gallipoli, but the soldier is posed and the “cross” was, in fact, an erection designed to hold a washing-line. The picture has now been removed from the collection in the Imperial War Museum.

Indeed, if you search the IWM online catalogue for this image (IWM Q 13378), you will see the following note:

An Imperial War Museum photograph removed from the public reference albums on the grounds that it was fake.

It is now for the reader to decide. The picture gives ‘the spirit of the thing’. The effect is ‘remarkably true’. Does it matter if the cross is a washing line?

One thing is certain. The record of the Dardanelles expedition would be immeasurably poorer without Ernest Brooks’ photographs.

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THE CHARTER SCHOOL NORTH DULWICH VISIT THE BATTLEFIELDS

A highlight for the Year 10 students from The Charter School North Dulwich (TCSD) was a trip to see the Gallipoli battlefield.

Last summer, students interested in taking part in the project were asked to write letters of application to Education Officer, Ian Binnie, explaining why they would like to go on the trip. The result of the selection process was some 15 students were chosen to represent the school on the trip, which took place from 9th to 13th July, 2023.

Head of History, Dan Townsend and teacher, Yonca Saygin, who accompanied the students, commented that the opportunity was one not to miss, which enabled a much deeper study of the Great War through the Gallipoli campaign.

Leaving on Sunday morning, the TCSD contingent and I flew from London Heathrow Airport to Istanbul, then drove down to the vibrant city of Çanakkale, on the western-most extension of continental Asia. From here, as our members will know, Gallipoli is just a stone's throw across the Dardanelles. Crossing the straits each morning, with the sun shining and the waters glistening, is a commute that is hard to beat.



After an introduction to the Gallipoli Association, the objectives of the tour, and an overview to the background of the Gallipoli campaign, we began the first day exploring the forts along the Dardanelles. Here the group learnt about the naval part of the operation. We then travelled to Helles, first stop the battlefield panorama one gets from the viewing platform on top of Achi Baba (photo above). We visited Krithia, Sedd el Bahr, V Beach, Gully Ravine, Fir Tree Wood and Twelve Tree Copse

CWGC cemetery. The Fir Tree Copse stop was to locate the spot where one of the student's ancestors was wounded, a New Zealander who was part of the attack here in May 1915. We were successful in finding the spot, which turned out to be quite an emotional experience for those there.

The group visit to the Helles Memorial [photos below] also proved moving as among its 21,000 names the students found several local men from the Herne Hill and Dulwich area who had died in the conflict. A poppy wreath from the school was laid at the memorial where we held a minute's silence, reading the verse from Laurence Binyon's famous poem 'For the Fallen'. The words, "They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old; Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them," were never more poignant as the sun set for that day.



On the Tuesday we began the day with an Anzac boat trip, studying the Australian and New Zealand landings from the sea. To cool off we all swam in the crystal-clear Aegean waters above the wreck of the *Milo*. The *Milo* was grounded by its own crew in October 1915 to create a breakwater on North beach, adjacent to Anzac Cove. This, we all agreed, beats a Tuesday morning in the classroom.

Back ashore we visited the Atatürk Memorial at Ari Burnu where Turkish guide Adem Bicer talked about the life of this famed Turkish officer and later 20th century statesman. At Beach CWGC Cemetery we visited the grave of a Herne Hill soldier who had lived within minutes of the present-day school and talked about the word

‘Hero’ with stories of monocled beach-masters, Antarctic explorers and a certain man with his donkey. After a traditional Turkish lunch our study then took us on to the Anzac ridges. Whilst in originally preserved trenches at Johnston’s Jolly we spoke of trench warfare and tunnelling before proceeding to the Turkish 57th Regiment Memorial on the Chessboard.

We finished the day at the site of the Australian Light Horse attack at The Nek. With spectacular views of Suvla, we explored the trenches and found fragments of bullets, shells, tins and, sadly, bones. Why should we remember the fallen, why do we fight, and what lessons were learnt from the failures at Gallipoli were just some of the questions posed to the students that day.

Dan Townsend remarked at the end of the day: “this was the best day I’ve had in 13 years of teaching.” Dan, a frequent visitor to the Western Front, was blown away by both the beauty and preservation of the Gallipoli battlefield. He also remarked that he was proud of his students, who were “a credit to the school.”

During our last full day on the battlefield we examined the high hopes and subsequent failures of the August offensive, the attempted breakout at Anzac and Suvla. From the top of the Sari Bair ridge we trekked down to The Farm where stories of Kiwis, Gurkhas and the British New Army were told.

We visited the grave of Private Alan Boddington, another Herne Hill soldier, who is buried at The Farm and also asked if one life is worth more than another? Buried here is also early 20th century physicist Henry Moseley. American science fiction writer Isaac Asimov commented that Moseley’s death “might well have been the most costly single death of the War to mankind generally.” A thought-provoking statement that opened more student discussion and debate.

The path down Rhododendron Ridge is steep, and this mountainous terrain is not one for the faint hearted, but all enjoyed this enormously rewarding walk despite the heat that day.

After a packed lunch stop at a private museum, we spent the afternoon looking at the ill-fated Suvla landings, the Trooper Potts VC action and I revealed the true story behind the ‘vanished battalion,’ the myth relating to the Sandringham men from the royal estate in Norfolk.

We then compared and contrasted the different leadership qualities of General Sir Frederick Stopford and Colonel Mustafa Kemal and how their styles affected the outcome.

We ended the day on ‘A’ Beach within Suvla Bay itself to study the evacuation, its use of deception, and discussed what, if anything, was achieved by the Allies at Gallipoli.

Dan Townsend went on to praise the wealth of knowledge and expertise the guides shared to help the students understand the campaign in a way that is impossible in the classroom. He remarked: “All the best historians are story tellers, and our guides brought every student along for that story.”

Run by the Gallipoli Association and tour provider Battle Honours, the programme is funded by the Association's Bursary Scheme. The scheme is open to schools that serve areas of socio-economic deprivation, and is designed to help teachers and students, particularly schools teaching Key Stage 3 and/or 4 (aged 14-15), to develop a deeper understanding of the Great War, in particular the Gallipoli campaign.

On their return to school, the students will work together on a presentation and a report that will be shared with Association members.

Eligible schools should email education@gallipoli-association.org for more information.

If any member would like to donate to the bursary scheme, we would be extremely grateful.

Reflecting on the visit, I believe that these trips are massively worthwhile, as the lessons learned from the failure of Gallipoli are still relevant today. There is so much to learn from the past, and we should never forget the sacrifice of all sides that were made in those darker days.

Stephen Chambers

Historian, Webmaster & Trustee



Students from The Charter School North Dulwich sitting in the shade, Ari Burnu Cemetery, Anzac.



Cape Helles lighthouse museum contains flags from *Ocean*, *Irresistible*, *Goliath*, *Triumph* and *Majestic*, all sunk during the campaign. A remarkably complete set, suggesting that they weren't acquired from the stricken vessels directly. (Photo B de Broglio, 2022). See pp 9-12.





Wreaths, Collingwood Corner, Dorset.
Photo James Watson Smith. See p3.



A straight edge of boulders set in concrete mark
the landward edge of Sports Pier, Lemnos.



Broken sections of a concrete skim indicate the landward platform of the pier. Waves can be seen breaking over the submerged remains. This photo and above right by Nick Baker. See pp 5-8.



Students from The Charter School North Dulwich (TCSD) near Pink Farm, Helles.
Gallipoli Association Bursary Scheme Tour 2023



TCSD group at Fort Mecidiye. Photographs this page by Stephen Chambers.
See pp 25-28.



TCSD group talking logistics, ballistics and water in Gully Ravine.
Photographs this page by Stephen Chambers. See pp 25-28.



On our way down Rhododendron Ridge.



The wreck of the *Milo*. See also page 64.



Helles Battlefield Study Project. Photos Mike Crane. See pages 37-45.
Above: drone image showing the entrances dug-outs HSS/015/DO/05 (A to D) from the west.



Drone image showing the team exiting dug-out HSS/015/DO/05A



Helles Battlefield Study Project. See pages 37-45.

Inside the three interconnected dug-outs HSS/015/DO/05B,C&D – Steve conducts LiDAR survey.



Water Tank HSS/016A on Hill 114 taken from the north east.



Helles Battlefield Study Project. See pages 37-45.
Water Tank HSS/016B on Hill 114 taken from the south west.



The well-preserved section of the coast road retaining wall at the western end of Tekke Burnu.



Helles Battlefield Study Project. Details of cast concrete plaques on the side of each water tank.
See pages 37-45.



HELLES BATTLEFIELD STUDY PROJECT - PART 2

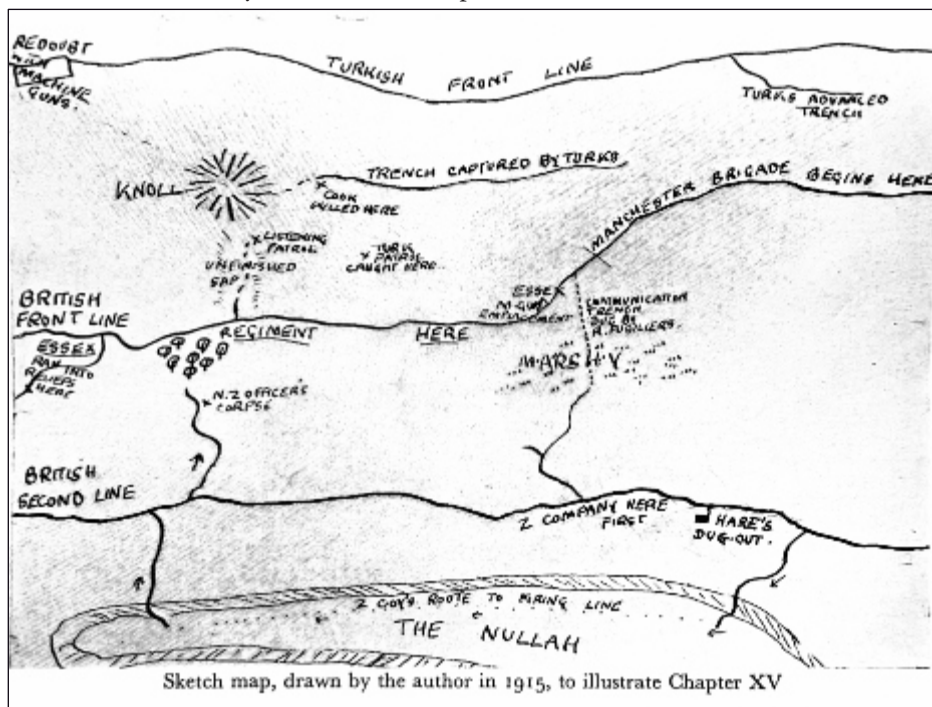
Mike Crane

This is the concluding part of my article covering the October 2022 HBSP field trip. Part 1 of my article, which covered Day 1 to Day 5, concluded with an outline of the artillery positions HSS/o09 and HSS/o10 at the southern end of Observation Hill ridge. On Day 6, the final day of the field trip, the team moved away from Observation Hill to some potentially vulnerable sites on Fir Tree Spur and on Hill 114 (near W Beach). The team also carried out a short recce of the Clapham Junction area in preparation for the 2023 field trip.



Map 'Helles Opposing Trenches, January, 1916,' from the *Official History*, overlaid onto Google Earth imagery

The first sites visited were HSS/011 'Behrend's Knoll' & HSS/011A 'Behrend's Sap.' Both relate to a small action 2nd Lieutenant Arthur Behrend, 1/4th East Lancs Regt., describes in his excellent memoir *Make Me a Soldier*. The 'Knoll' and the 'Sap' are situated around 560 yards and 610 yards SSW of Twelve Tree Copse Cemetery, respectively. The 'Knoll' is in fact the end of a fold of land and only presents as a knoll when viewed from the south west (Behrend's viewpoint). A few days before the action took place, A Coy, and two platoons from C Coy, 1/4th East Lancs Regt., including Behrend's platoon (13 Platoon) had been attached to the 1st Essex Regt. Behrend and his men were sent to Z Coy, then under the command of Captain R S M Hare, where they reinforced No 13 platoon.

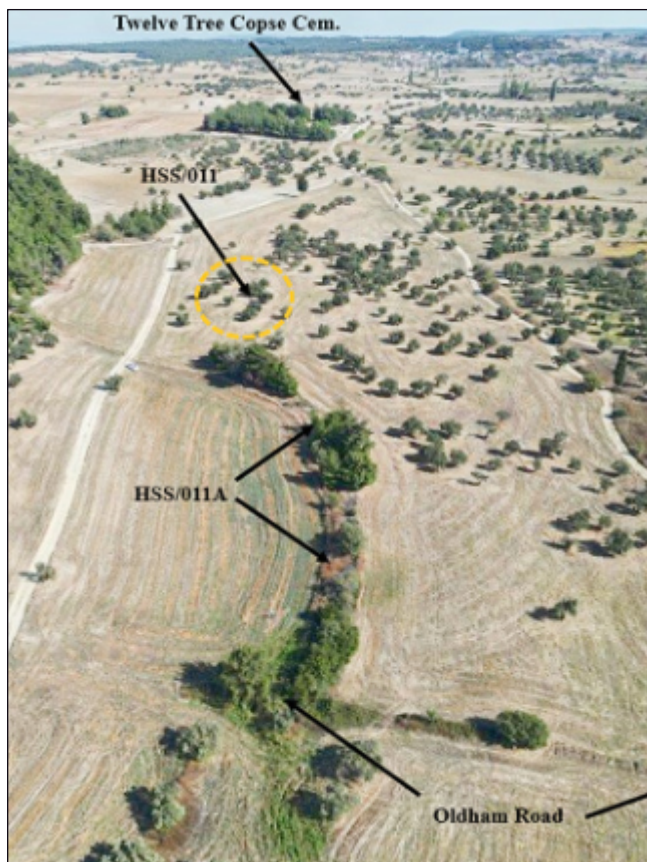


Behrend's sketch map taken from *Make Me a Soldier* (facing page 128)

The shallow, unfinished sap, which ran out of the then firing line, 'Oldham Road,' was used by Behrend, and his platoon to launch an attack on the 'Knoll' on 30 May 1915.¹ The attack was carried out in broad daylight and without artillery support, and proved a costly failure. Behrend led his platoon up the unfinished sap which terminated in a series of unconnected shallow holes. He was the first to break cover, bounding from hole to hole. Seconds later, an enemy machine-gun in a redoubt about 200 metres away on the left,² opened fire killing or wounding all but one of

¹ The knoll, sap and the action are all described in Behrend's book, *Make Me A Soldier* (pages 126 – 135).

the men who followed Behrend.³ He took cover in one of the holes as the enemy peppered the ground around him with bullets. A quarter of an hour later he heard men digging towards him and Captain Hare shouted to Behrend to stay put until they reached him. Behrend, however, 'grew tired of the delay, and jumped out and ran for it.' He reached the safety of the firing line and was mentioned in despatches for his conduct during the attack, and for his actions on the previous night.



HSS/011 and HSS/011A and the Oldham Road firing-line from the SW

² The machine-gun crew may have been Turkish or quite likely part of German Naval Shore Detachment (drawn from the crews of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*)

³ At least six of Behrend's party were killed. Two 1st Essex men were killed outright; Pte. 15890 Michael Hart (date of death incorrectly commemorated by CWGC as 30.06.1915) and Pte. 7562 Andrew David Miller. Two others died of wounds shortly afterwards; Pte. 9179 Arthur George Noble and one unnamed other rank (probably one of the three other 1st Essex men known to have died on the day; Pte. 9557 Frederick Ernest Allerton, Pte. 3/1937 William Stanley Souter and Pte. 9912 William George Stubbings). Two 4th East Lancs' men were also killed; Pte. 1652 Fred Charnley and Pte. 1405 Robert Henry Hollinghurst.

The 'Knoll' is now covered in olive trees and shows little sign of its history. However about 50 metres of Behrend's sap survives, preserved in a line of trees and bushes that form a field boundary. A deep modern drainage ditch runs a metre or two parallel to its western edge.



HSS/011A taken from its southernmost extreme looking NE

Time restrictions prevented us from carrying out a measured survey (this being scheduled for a later field trip) however, photographs were taken, both on the ground and by drone, and the sap's position was recorded using handheld GPS devices.

The team moved on to the next two sites, HSS/012 – Church Farm and HSS/012A – Church Farm Well. These sites are situated about 650 metres and 720 metres WSW of Twelve Tree Copse Cemetery, respectively. Second Corporal Alec Riley, 127th Bde, Signal Section, visited both on the night of 13 May and describes his rather amusing 'excursion' on page 35 of *Gallipoli Diary 1915* (Little Gully Publishing, 2021)

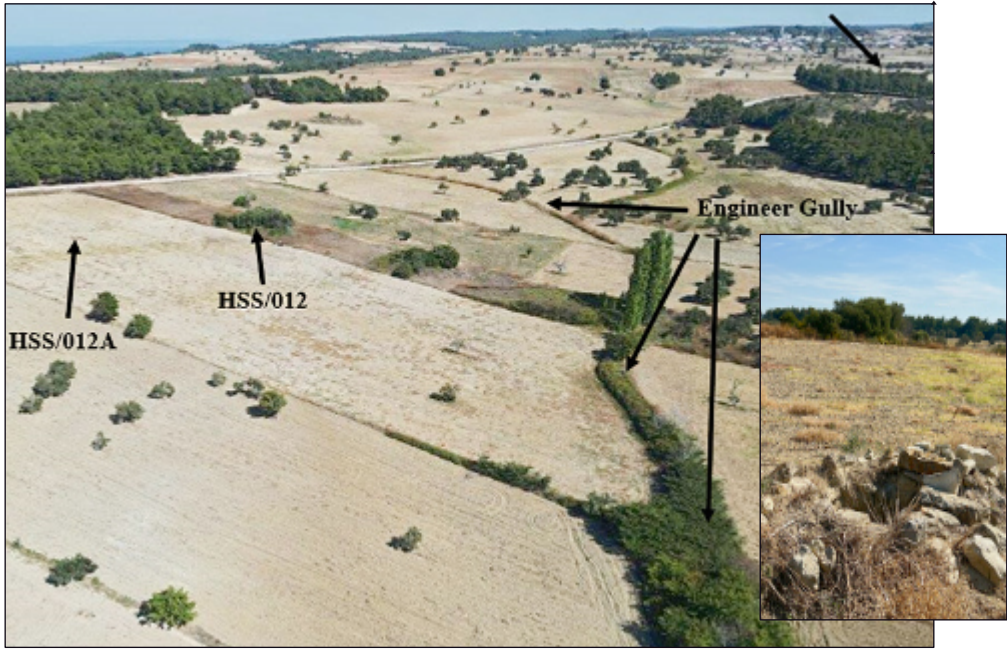
Church Farm was already in ruins when Riley visited and an almost impenetrable thicket now covers the site, but around the thicket's perimeter

large quantities of building rubble, of some antiquity, can still be found. The well, however, has survived, and is sited about 70 metres west of the farm in what is now a field (Riley describes the well as being situated in 'a kind of a yard'). The well's structure is largely intact and is clearly still in use.

Engineer Gully runs in an arc to the east and south of Church Farm. Riley describes using the cover of 'the nullah' when he and two of his comrades left the firing-line (that ran across the bottom of Fir Tree Wood) to visit the farm.

Photographs were taken of the well and the building rubble on the thicket's perimeter, and photographs and videos taken by drone. Both thicket and well were geopositioned using handheld GPS devices.

From Church Farm we moved to HSS/013 – Grey Tree Farm, which is situated about 1500 metres SW of Twelve Tree Copse Cemetery and around 330 metres NNW of Clapham Junction. It stands in an isolated spot, around 700 metres down a track which runs from the 'West Krithia' road.



HSS/012 – Church Farm and HSS/012A – Church Farm Well (inset) - taken from the south. Note in the inset the thicket covering the site of HSS/012 – Church Farm in the background.

Two-foot-high ruined stone walls mark the rectangular footprint of either the old farmhouse or a store building attached to the farm. Photographs were taken of the ruins which were geopositioned using handheld GPS devices.



HSS/013 – Grey Tree Farm taken from the east.

From Grey Tree Farm we set out for the Clapham Junction area (HSS/014) walking along the track that runs past Grey Tree Farm in a southeasterly direction. After 300 metres the track reaches the wooded area that lines the banks of the western nullah (Engineer Gully) and then turns sharply in a south westerly direction. We left the track at this point and entered the wooded area. Inside the wood we discovered the remains of several deep communication trenches (CTs) leading towards the nullah. We followed these CTs through the heavily overgrown woods, and after crossing the nullah we walked to the point where the western nullah meets Krithia Nullah, the location that was Clapham Junction.

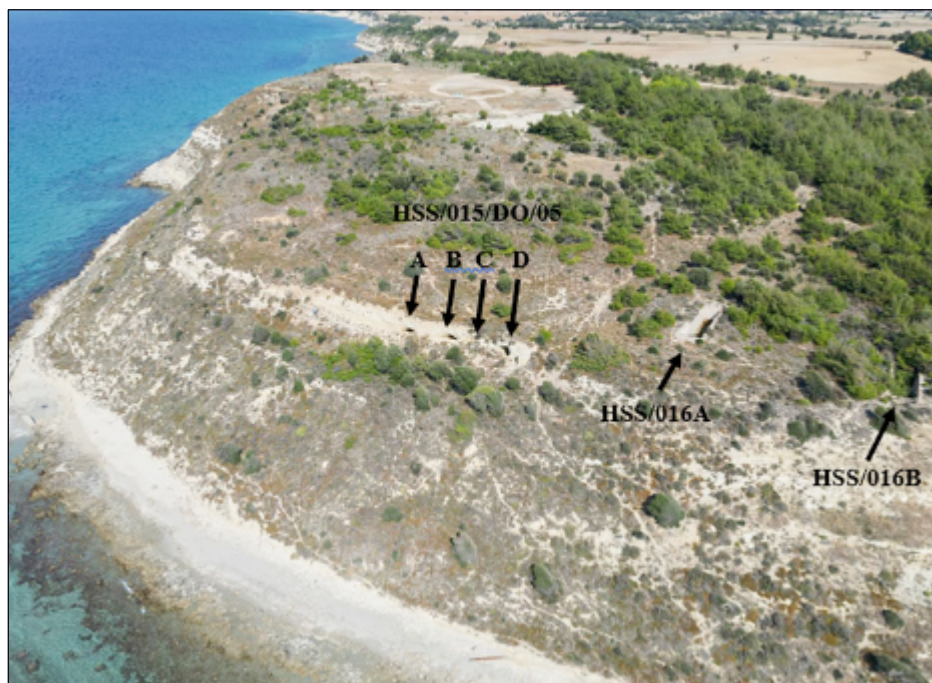
From the junction we set off in a north easterly direction along the western bank of Krithia Nullah, with the eastern bank opposite towering many metres above us. This local topography, which during the campaign would have obscured the Clapham Junction area from enemy observers on Achi Baba, is the key to Clapham Junction's importance as a centre for communications and logistics. Following the nullah for about 420 metres we came to a small finger of woodland jutting out at 90 degrees from the nullah. Here we found the well-preserved remains of a 110-metre-long forward branch of the Eski Line defences. After retracing our steps back to Clapham Junction, we walked into the wooded area lying to the west. As we moved through the wood, which is more open than the one we entered by, we noticed the remains of numerous trenches and dug-outs. After about 100 metres we reached a track which led us back to Grey Tree Farm and our car.



The east bank of Krithia Nullah taken close to HSS/014 - Clapham Junction.

Clapham Junction played a vital part in the campaign and the team plan to return to study the area between the nullahs in detail. A separate study of the wooded area to the west of Clapham Junction will follow.

From Grey Tree Farm we drove to Hill 114 (above Tekke Burnu and ‘W’ Beach/Lancashire Landing) to visit our next site HSS/015/DO/05 (A to D) commonly known as the ‘W’ Beach dug-outs. These are a row of four large dug-outs, three of which are interconnected. They sit high up on the cliffs above Tekke Burnu under a band of rock strata about 4 or 5 metres below the top of the cliff and are best accessed from above. During the campaign this cliff was peppered with similar dug-outs which would have been used primarily for storing supplies. Timed charges were placed in these dug-outs in preparation for the evacuation. The majority were detonated in the early hours of 9 January 1916 as the ships carrying last troops to be evacuated sailed away.⁴ The charges in these four dug-outs clearly failed to explode and are believed to be the only ones of their type to survive.



HSS/015/DO/05 (A to D) – W Beach dug-outs and HSS/016 (A&B) – water tanks.

We reached the dug-outs after descending the cliff at a point about 100 metres to the west, directly above the well-preserved section of the ‘coast road’ retaining wall that sits on the western corner of Tekke Burnu. Here the slope shelves more gently which allows safer access. We followed the line of the uppermost section of cliff for about 80 metres before the first dug-out (HSS/015/DO/05A) came into sight. This is the smallest of the four and is self-contained. The remaining dug-outs are interconnected and all three are of an impressive size. Time restrictions prevented us from carrying a measured survey, however, the dug-out interiors were photographed

⁴ Save for a small naval landing party under Lieutenant Ronald Langton-Jones RN which was still at W Beach when the charges went off.

and surveyed using LiDAR and the drone was deployed to take videos and still photography.

Ten metres beyond the eastern dug-out, a path leads to the top of the cliffs and from there we walked the short distance to our next target - the large concrete water tanks - HSS/016A & B. The tanks are situated 40 metres apart on top of the cliffs at the southern end of Hill 114, with HSS/016A being only 40 metres from the dug-outs.

They were constructed by the Royal Monmouthshire Royal Engineers (RMRE) in August 1915, a fact commemorated on cast concrete plaques on the sides of each tank. Time restrictions prevented us from carrying a measured survey, however the tanks were photographed on the ground and by drone. Both tanks were geopositioned using handheld GPS devices. (For more information on the RMRE and the water tanks, see *The Gallipolian* articles in editions 97 and 130).



This was the final ‘British’ site we visited on what had been a long, tiring, but rewarding day. However, on the journey back to our hotel in Eceabat, we summoned the energy to pay a visit to two original Ottoman graves that still survive on the peninsula. The best preserved of the two is that of a medical officer, Major Mehmet Ismail, doctor of 1st Battalion, 126th Regiment. He died on 29 September 1915 en-route to his medical evacuation by sea.

He is buried on the top of a wooded hill, situated to the north of the road from Alçıtepe to Kilitbahir. Around a kilometre past the Sahindere Şehitliği Memorial, a dirt track on the left of the road (just before a right-hand bend) leads to the wood which is situated on the right-hand side of the track about 500 yards from the road. A deep Ottoman communication trench runs along the right of the track for much of its length. This originally ran all the way to the Turkish positions at the head of Zığındere (Gully Ravine) and provided a main route for the evacuation of casualties.

Both graves are marked with headstones and bordered with smaller stones. The face of Major Ismail's marble headstone has an Arabic inscription commemorating him. Other unrelated inscriptions appear on its reverse showing the stone to have been repurposed. The grave is also covered with what appears to be a prayer mat. Before we left, we photographed the graves and geopositioned them using handheld GPS devices.

Our visit to Major Ismail's grave was a fitting conclusion to our 2022 Field Trip, the first of five such trips programmed to take place over a five-year period.

Plans are already in place for the October 2023 Field Trip, which has several equally fascinating sites in its itinerary.

For more information regarding the Helles Battlefield Study Project read the article following this and / or go to the Members' page on the Association website, both of which include details on the ways members can contribute to the project.



Major Mehmet Ismail.



The grave of Major Mehmet Ismail with the other grave in the background.

See photographs pages 33 - 36.

HELLES BATTLEFIELD STUDY PROJECT

What are we doing?

The GA's innovative scheme aims to record what remains of the Campaign's battlefield archeology before it is lost forever. The project will initially focus on Helles and will be conducted using non-intrusive methods. These will take the form of site surveys using modern technology such as digital photography, 4K video and LiDAR.

Why?

The battlefield at Helles is rich in the archeology and artifacts of the campaign.

Traces of trench systems, collapsed tunnels, store dumps, bivouac areas, dug-outs and craters abound. But as each year passes, the archaeological record fades; vegetation grows denser, trenches collapse or are filled in, and the plough takes its toll. Of most concern are civil projects threatening to obliterate entire sites of historical importance. It is vital therefore, for the Association's objectives to be fully realised, that comprehensive records be made of these historic sites before they are lost.

How you can you get involved?

The team wants to involve members, wherever possible, in the project. We hope to tap into the diverse expertise and specialist knowledge held within the membership and we appeal for help in the following areas:

- Providing additional historical data on sites already surveyed.
- Proposing future target sites for the team to investigate.

We are also looking to recruit individuals with specific skills:

- A draftsman (or archaeological artist) who could draw up (to scale) the team's site surveys – and to create 3D sketches of certain details.
- A video editor who can add graphics etc., to the study videos taken during the survey.

One of the project's objectives is to find and record the location of the individual burial sites (temporary battlefield burials) of members' relatives. As such the team would like to invite members who have any information on the burial places of their relatives (or that of any other serviceman they may know of) to contact them.

If you have any of the information outlined above or wish to volunteer, then please contact us using the email address below.

HBSP@gallipoli-association.org

We look forward to hearing from you.

For more information on the Helles Battlefield Study Project please visit the project's dedicated page in the members area of the Gallipoli Association's website.

NEW GALLIPOLI CAMPAIGN RESEARCH CENTRE

Thomas Iredale

The Gallipoli Association, represented by Michael Robson, Dr Jochen Schrader and Thomas Iredale, was invited in early May 2023 to visit the new Research Centre – in full, Çanakkale Savaşları Araştırma Merkezi, which focusses on the Gallipoli Campaign 1915. Situated on the Dardanelles water-front promenade at Çanakkale, diagonally opposite the Trojan Horse and next to the Akol Hotel, the Centre is housed in the renovated villa, built in 1910 by Godfrey Whittall, son-in-law of the then HM Consul Frank Calvert, it is easy to reach on foot.

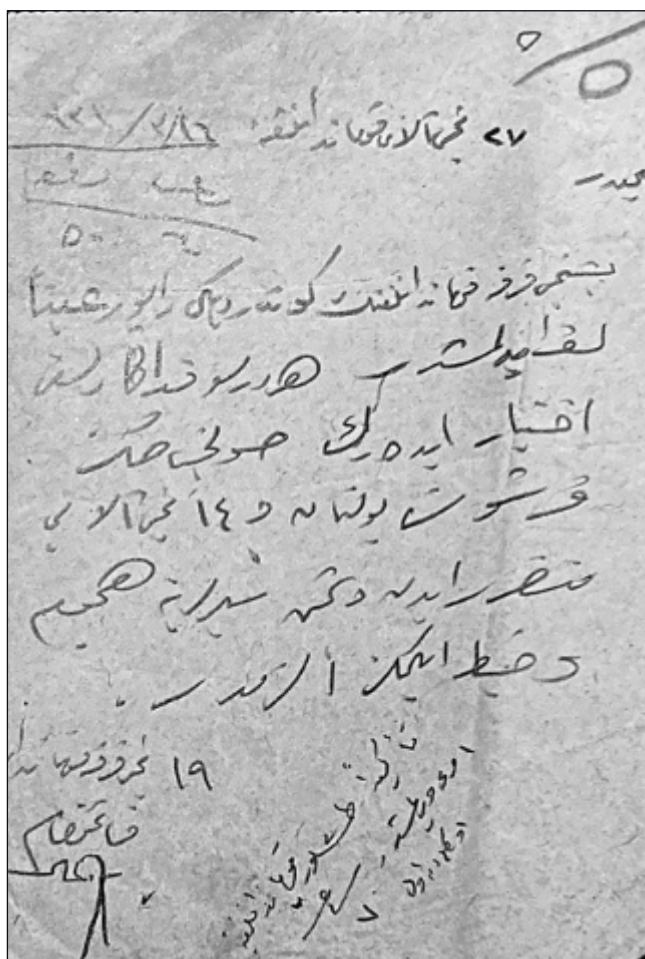
We were welcomed by the Centre's historian, Ms Sıdıka Yamaç, who told us that it was established by the Gallipoli Historic Site Directorate for use by students, historians and those with a legitimate interest in the military aspects of the Campaign. She went on to say that all facilities are state of the art as far as modern technology goes, free of charge and the Centre is open seven days a week, except public holidays. Describing the collection, she said that at the moment, some 7,000 books, magazines and maps are in the collection, both digital and physical. Although most publications are in Turkish, there is an extensive collection of English titles. For example, books by well-known British authors like Peter Hart and Stephen Chambers are available in both the original language and in Turkish. There is also a beautiful leather-bound collection of every edition of the Gallipoli Association's magazine *The Gallipollian*, dating back to 1969! As well as a unique collection of original artefacts, including documents signed by Mustafa Kemal.



Ms Sıdıka Yamaç demonstrating state of the art technology

Ms Yamaç elaborated and demonstrated how access to the collection is via the Centre's visitor-accessible computer terminals and that their search language can be switched to English. After entering a keyword or search term, the results are listed and by clicking on the chosen book, the display will tell you whether or not it has been digitised. Only books published before 1952 have been digitised. If it has not been digitised, note the book reference number and search on the bookshelves.

Foreign visitors to the Centre should seek assistance from the helpful staff, as the online process for system registration of non-Turkish nationals is still being developed. A small museum is also situated in the building.



The original order signed by Lieutenant Colonel Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) Bey, commander of the 19th Division, requesting 27th Regiment to support the 14th Regiment. Dated 29 May 1915

THE ROYAL NAVAL HOSPITAL SHIP *SOUDAN*

and the Gallipoli Campaign

John Dixon and Ritchie Wood

The evacuation and distribution of wounded from the Gallipoli Campaign received much attention during and after the campaign, especially referring to the inadequacies of hospital ships in the first days of the campaign. These discussions and accounts often refer to the HS *Gascon* and the HS *Sicilia*, which are often taken as the only hospital ships involved in the evacuation of wounded during the time of the landings. There is seldom any recognition of the fact that a further hospital ship, the RNHS *Soudan*, was on station and receiving wounded on the 25th April. There is also little attention given to the fact that the *Soudan* had been operating in the region for two months prior to the landings on the peninsula.¹

The RNHS *Soudan* had been built in Greenock in 1901 by Caird and Company. It served as a passenger ship, with trooping capabilities, for its owners, the Peninsula and Orient Steam Navigation Company, until it was requisitioned by the Admiralty for conversion to a hospital ship on the 3rd August 1914. The ship, at 6,696 tons and measuring 450 feet long with a beam of a little over 54 feet and a top speed of 14 knots, was similar to many of the ships that operated as hospital ships in the Mediterranean theatre in the first half of 1915. When converted to a hospital ship it had accommodation for just 202 cases with facility for another 100 cases in an emergency. It was staffed by a Fleet Surgeon, George Trevor Collingwood, for much of the campaign, and by a further seven surgeons of varying rank of the Royal Navy or Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve and, at least at the time the campaign started, one civilian dental surgeon. Nursing staff was small with only four nursing sisters of the Queen Alexandra's Royal Navy Nursing Service on duty throughout the campaign.

According to the account of Fleet Surgeon Collingwood written in 1916, *Soudan* reached Tenedos on the 25th February to support the naval assault on the outer forts of the Dardanelles, which had commenced just days before. On this day *Soudan* began its work as a hospital ship when it received seven wounded sailors from HMS *Agamemnon* which had come under fire from the shore. One of these men died as a result of tetanus arising from the wound. Collingwood suggested that this was the result of the wound coming in contact with the filling of the sandbags used to protect the guns on the ship. It was the only case of tetanus to be recorded by Collingwood in the next five months. The navy battle, very different to the later land battles, continued slowly making minimal progress. On 26th February further wounded arrived on board from HMS *Vengeance*. All the injuries were to stokers who had been scalded when a boiler pipe ruptured. Two stokers, Frederick Thomas Johnson and Arthur Claude Parker, died as a result of extensive, whole-body scalding.

Whilst the fire power of the Royal Navy vessels was considerable there was little that

¹ It should also be remembered that the Royal Naval HS Delta arrived at the scene a few days after the first landings.

the ships could do against mobile howitzer batteries on shore that supported the forts lining the Dardanelles. HMS *Albion* was struck by a shell from a howitzer in one of its 6-inch casemates on 1st March which resulted in five casualties being transferred to *Soudan*. The wounds though extensive were not fatal and all the men were eventually discharged from *Soudan* to duty or to further care at the Royal Naval Hospital at Bighi in Malta.

At this stage of the campaign there was a growing feeling amongst naval officers that the Navy could not subdue the defences of the Dardanelles without an effective land force which could be used both to observe the shelling and to demolish and disable any targets that presented. To this end the Plymouth Battalion of the RND was landed, two companies landing at Kum Kale on the Asian side and two companies landing at Sedd-el-Bahr on the European side of the Dardanelles. Both forces landed more or less unopposed but then failed to make any progress.² As might be expected this unsuccessful action resulted in casualties, 22 of whom were taken aboard *Soudan* for treatment. There were a number of abdominal cases where "... there were entrance and exit wounds..." In one case the "abdomen was opened and found to be filled with blood, but his condition was too grave for anything further to be done. In the other case operation was not a possibility."³ Both these men, believed to be Privates Bertie Whitwam and Frank Rounds, died the following day, 4th March, and both are commemorated on the Helles Memorial.

Throughout the first two weeks of March *Soudan* continued to take on board casualties from the various ships of the attacking fleet and Collingwood noted that a number of those received from HMS *Amethyst* on 14th March had already received treatment on board the French hospital ship *Canada*. The most casualties received on a single day at this time was on 18th March. On this day there was a concerted effort to make progress against the inner defences of the Dardanelles and it was not surprising, perhaps, that there were naval casualties. At 6:45 pm *Soudan* received two wounded officers and 13 wounded men from HMS *Inflexible*. The *Inflexible* had been engaged against Fort Hamidieh II, and had been struck by a 6-inch howitzer from one of the fort's supporting batteries which had started a fire on the forebridge and caused considerable casualties.⁴ The two officers admitted to the *Soudan* were Commander Rudolf Henry Cole Verner and Lieutenant Arthur Wilfred Blaker, and "both were suffering from profound shock and were almost pulseless."⁵ Commander Verner had lost his right hand; his arm was also badly damaged. He was suffering from a depressed skull fracture and "many wounds of left arm and leg, caused by fragments of a shell." Collingwood operated on him immediately to amputate the right arm below the elbow but considered that additional intervention was inappropriate because of the general collapsed state of the officer. Commander

² Jerrold, D. *The Royal Naval Division* (The Naval and Military Press, facsimile edition), p 64-65.

³ Collingwood, Fleet Surgeon G T, Notes on the work of the RN Hospital Ship *Soudan* at the Dardanelles. *Journal of the Royal Naval Medical Service*, Vol I, 1916, p 316.

⁴ Corbett, Sir Julian S. *Official History Naval Operations, Vol II*, pp 144-48.

⁵ Collingwood, JRNMS, Vol I, p 317.

Verner died at 9:38 pm, a little after three hours after the was admitted. Lieutenant Blaker had been wounded by a large shell fragment, about 65mm square. This had shattered the femur as it passed from the groin into the leg causing further damage. Collingwood considered that "Operation was out of the question" and the officer died early the following morning. A further 29 men died as a result of *Inflexible's* engagement on 18th March, though it appears that the two officers were the only ones to die aboard *HS Soudan*.

The same day casualties were also received from *HMS Majestic* and *HMS Albion* also engaged in the bombardment of targets on shore. One of the wounded from the *Albion* arrived in a very collapsed state:

In this case amputation above the right elbow had been performed for a shattered forearm, and two days later when he had rallied, the left forearm had to be amputated. There was also a comminuted fracture of the jaw, with a wound penetrating the cheek, through which food escaped. This man, however, did not die, and was landed at the Royal Naval Hospital, Malta on March 25."⁶

It is difficult, perhaps, to imagine such wounds and probably more difficult to imagine the problems faced by this unknown sailor, both physical and mental, if he lived into the post-war peace.

The last battle casualties to reach *Soudan* from this purely naval phase of the operation against the peninsula arrived on 19th March when one officer and 15 men were received from *HMS Irresistible* and a further 12 men, with minor injuries, from *HMS Ocean*. The officer had a severe shell wound to the right shoulder and although he was operated upon he died later in the Naval Hospital in Malta. One man died, also as a result of a severe shell wound, shortly after admission to the hospital ship. Over the course of the three weeks that *Soudan* had been supporting the naval action a total of eight officers, one warrant officer and 128 men were admitted as a direct result of the action. Further, 83 cases of disease and injury were also admitted. On the 22nd March *Soudan* left the area for Malta where it landed 113 cases, of which 73 were wounded, for further treatment at the Royal Naval Hospital. The *Soudan* was the first British hospital ship to take part in the campaign against the peninsula. When the land campaign started *Soudan* was once again on hand to receive casualties. In the first part of the campaign the hospital ship handled only naval personnel as might be expected. The intention was that these principles would be continued as the land campaign developed; but it was a principle that soon collapsed as the landings took place.

On 25th April, *Soudan* was on station "off the entrance to the Dardanelles." It immediately began taking casualties on board from the fighting at Cape Helles. According to Collingwood the majority of the 382, mostly military, casualties were suffering from bullet wounds. In a short time the ship was considered to be becoming overcrowded and the Vice-Admiral Commanding ordered the ship to stand off and take care of the casualties:

⁶ Collingwood, JRNMS, Vol I 1916 p 318.

Though I am not in favour of crowding so many wounded together between decks, in an emergency it can be done for a short time, and the air between decks was quite fresh and good during this period.⁷

The following day the staff of *Soudan* was kept busy caring for those already on board but on 27th April all but one military casualty, a man with severe facial wounds, were transferred to the *Aragon*, then serving as a hospital carrier and bound for Alexandria.

During May it appears that *Soudan* made two voyages to Malta carrying wounded. There is little detail of these voyages recorded except that on the earlier voyage 273 military casualties disembarked in Malta and on the later voyage 210 cases were disembarked. It can be assumed that these cases were sent to military hospitals such as Cottonera or the Old Military Hospital which had some of its old capacity reopened to accommodate casualties from the fighting.

The record of the ship from early June is much more detailed and Fleet Surgeon Collingwood has given some considerable information on the work done.⁸ Between 7th June and 3rd September, when Collingwood left the ship, it made six voyages carrying wounded to base hospitals at Alexandria and Malta. On the first of these *Soudan* began receiving casualties from the fighting at Cape Helles with a total of 209 casualties admitted on 7th June, presumably those from the Third Battle of Krithia. Collingwood is at pains to separate military from naval casualties, in this case 41 of the wounded were from the RND, but, no doubt, all received the same care. The following day *Soudan* arrived at Mudros where orders were received to the effect that patients were to be discharged to “a kind of hospital carrier”, the *Devanha*. The *Devanha* had been commissioned in August 1914 by the military but it is obvious from Collingwood’s comments that the ship had not been converted to a hospital ship at that stage. In the event, Collingwood would only allow 45 cases to be transferred since he believed that the others were too seriously wounded to be moved. As he pointed out:

It must be remembered that many of the so called “minor” cases were really badly wounded, but were, for convenience, often so designated if they were able to walk about and help themselves to a certain extent, therefore they all required to be carefully examined before being sent away...⁹

It was to be the 17th June before further casualties arrived when *Soudan* took 157 wounded from the hospital carrier *Clan MacGillivray* whereupon the ship departed for Malta, stopping briefly to disembark a number of the wounded of the RND and RN to the RN Hospital there before picking up further patients and leaving for England with 372 cases. The ship reached Plymouth on 29th June discharging patients to Chatham Hospital and local military hospitals.

There then followed two trips carrying casualties to Alexandria, among which was

⁷ Collingwood, JRNMS, Vol I, 1916, p 319.

⁸ Collingwood, JRNMS, Vol II, 1916, p 200 – 208.

⁹ Collingwood, JRNMS, 1916, Vol II, p 200.

an increasingly large number of medical cases, mostly “dysenteric diarrhoea.” Of these voyages Collingwood was to comment:

On the last two trips it will be seen that *Soudan* was used more as a hospital carrier for medical cases than as a hospital ship, the reason being that the stationary hospitals at Mudros had to be evacuated in anticipation of the arrival of a large number of wounded following upon the new landing which was to take place almost immediately.¹⁰

On these trips to Alexandria a total of 1,013 cases had been transferred to the hospitals in the city. Collingwood is rather critical of the arrangement whereby a hospital ship was used in this manner pointing out that the seriously wounded were not able to get the expert surgical care that was available when the ship was overcrowded with medical cases. Although he accepted that the best arrangements possible had been made he also noted that it placed additional strain on the medical and nursing staff. There can be no doubt that with only four nursing staff on board this particular part of the medical care was overstretched when the ship had over 500 patients on board:

Even the presence of 200 or so cases of diarrhoea, a large number of whom were weak and exhausted, can readily be surmised to cause much inconvenience on board ship, where the lavatory accommodation is of necessity somewhat limited and awkwardly placed.¹¹

The start of the landings at Suvla Bay saw *Soudan* on station at daybreak on the 7th August and receiving casualties from the fighting by 6:45 am. By 5:30 pm on the same day there had been 550 admissions. At this time *Soudan* was acting as a floating casualty clearing station. Wounds and dressing were checked and, where necessary the latter were changed. The minor injuries were transferred as quickly as possible to waiting trawlers to be carried to Imbros or Mudros and the stationary hospital there. All the wounded were given a hot drink and food, in this case Bovril and bread, before being transferred. During these periods of intense activity the ship's smoking room was used as a first aid dressing station.

Whilst the ship was used more as a hospital carrier on occasion, at least in the eyes of Collingwood, it was often required to transfer patients from such ships to make room for more casualties. The ship-to-ship transfer of patients was not always easy and depended on the state of the sea. After filling up at Suvla Bay *Soudan* was directed to Imbros to transfer some patients to a hospital carrier and to receive others in the opposite direction. This was difficult since some patients were brought from shore “in large boats,” and the problems of embarking cot cases during a large swell by the cot tray hoist was both difficult and risky. Once the cases had been brought aboard *Soudan* was ordered to quieter waters where 514 men, including 213 cot cases, were transferred to the hospital carrier *Tunisian*. This rather complicated procedure was, perhaps, the best that could be arranged to keep the hospital ship operational and ready for the seriously wounded, but it can have done little for the comfort of

¹⁰ Collingwood, JRNMS, 1916, Vol II, p 202.

¹¹ Collingwood, JRNMS, 1916, Vol II, p 203.

the men who may have had to endure two or three transfers before being taken to a base hospital.

On the 9th August *Soudan* was back at Suvla Bay by 5:15 am where it was replacing another hospital ship that was already filled with casualties. It was not long before the wounded began arriving. By midnight the ship had handled 1,372 casualties. Of this number 621 had received basic treatment for relatively minor wounds before being transferred to six large trawlers for Imbros and a hospital carrier. This was considered necessary because "...the presence of submarines, only hospital ships painted white and with their distinctive markings could anchor anywhere near the beaches with any degree of safety."¹² With this statement Fleet Surgeon Collingwood is making a clear distinction between hospital ships and hospital carriers that is often misunderstood. Essentially the latter were the so called "Black Ships" used for transporting wounded, and some were better equipped to carry wounded than others that had been rapidly converted from troopships to transports for wounded.

Soudan was at Suvla Bay barely 24 hours before it left for Imbros "... a burial service being conducted on the way across when 19 bodies were consigned to the deep." At Imbros *Soudan* went alongside the hospital carrier *Andania* to transfer more wounded. The *Andania* was filled to capacity very rapidly and Collingwood recorded that he believed that at that stage it was carrying 1,800 patients. There was considerable shuffling of patients from one ship to another as basic triage was conducted, cases moving by trawlers from *Soudan* across to *Andania* until *Soudan* was left with 300 seriously wounded cases. Collingwood insisted that these men should not be moved. His position was approved but it was requested he take aboard an additional 150 walking cases, mostly enteritis cases. These were "...accommodated on the upper and poop [decks], temporary lavatory accommodation having been arranged for".¹³

The following day, 12th August, *Soudan* left for Alexandria with 467 cases on board and it was on this voyage that the ship was to serve in a slightly different capacity. At the start of this voyage the work on the ship was to a large extent routine with a number of operations being carried out and the dressings of the wounded being looked to and changed as necessary. With the large number of cases on board there was little time for anyone to take a break. At 10:00 am, on 13th August, a radio message was received to the effect that the troopship *Royal Edward* had been sunk. *Soudan* immediately turned round and sailed back the way it had come to search for survivors from the troopship it had recently passed. By the time *Soudan* reached the location the troopship was gone leaving a mass of floating wreckage and upturned boats to which the survivors were clinging in desperate hope of rescue. By midday the *Soudan* had rescued 441 survivors, including 372 soldiers and a number of the ship's crew. Most were in a reasonably good condition though wet and cold but there were also some minor injuries; all were given blankets and a hot drink as they arrived on board and everything was done to accommodate them on the already

¹² Collingwood, JRNMS, 1916, Vol II, p 204.

¹³ Collingwood, JRNMS, 1916, Vol II, p 204.

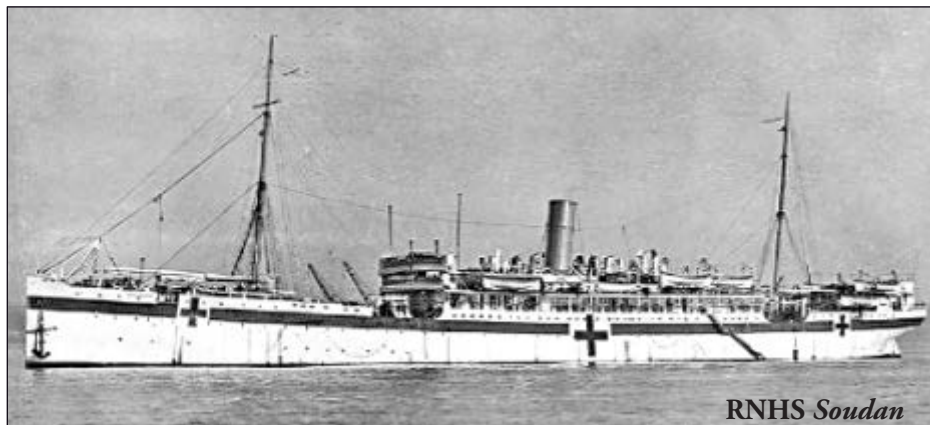
crowded ship. Collingwood gives an account of one incident of the rescue operation:

About fifteen men drifted alongside on a large upturned boat, calling out that two men were underneath and alive; so when the fifteen had been taken inboard, men were sent down to fix a rope around the boat, which was soon hoisted up by the crane, and out came the two from beneath; one was all right and lively, but the other, nearly done for, had to be hoisted up by means of a rope under his arms.¹⁴

The addition of 441 rescued men to *Soudan* meant that it continued its journey to Alexandria with over 900 casualties on board and since the ship was intended for 300 “in an emergency” conditions were crowded to say the least. The journey to Alexandria was completed without further alarm but it must have been with some relief that Collingwood and his medical staff supervised the disembarkation and dispersal of the wounded to hospitals and the survivors to their designated camps. The *Royal Edward*, sunk by *U-14*, had been carrying over 1,500 men at the time of its sinking. The *Soudan*, two French destroyers and a few trawlers rescued 661 souls. The rest were listed as missing believed drowned.

Following the emergency caused by the sinking of the troopship it was back to more usual problems for the staff of the *Soudan* as it resupplied in Alexandria, including a supply of mattresses and pyjamas, before a return journey to Mudros which was reached on the 20th August. As it arrived in Mudros Harbour there was another emergency awaiting it as the hospital carrier *Clan MacGillivray* was on fire and *Soudan* was ordered to assist. The hospital ship went alongside the burning hospital carrier and was able to take off 106 cot cases before the fire, believed to have been in one of the coal bunkers, was brought under control. Collingwood draws attention to the fact that from the time *Soudan* had arrived at Suvla Bay on the 7th August to the assistance to the *Clan MacGillivray* on the 20th August *Soudan* had received 2,300 wounded, rescued 440 survivors and taken 106 sick cases from the hospital carrier. He considered this, with some understatement, to “... be rather an exceptional experience.”

¹⁴ Collingwood, JRNMS, 1916, Vol II, p 205.



RNHS *Soudan*

There was no time to think of such things as the fighting at Suvla Bay, including the attack on Scimitar Hill, was demanding the presence of hospital ships. The ship was taking casualties on board by 8:30 am on 22nd August and continued to do so until 9:30 pm. the ship was again both handling serious cases and clearing the less badly wounded to trawlers for passage to Imbros. This was recorded as follows:

Received from shore		Discharged to trawlers	
8:30 am	160	1:00 pm	140
Noon	92	4:00 pm	90
3:30 pm	260	5:30 pm	100
5:00 pm	71	6:00 pm	95
5:20 pm	68		
8:00 pm	63		
9:30 pm	41		
Total	755	Total	425

The *Soudan* finally left Suvla Bay, after another stay of about 24 hours, carrying 500 cases. These cases were sorted again at Mudros before the ship left for England carrying 472. Although most were wounded as result of the heavy fighting at Suvla Bay there were 70 cases of diarrhoea and, according to Collingwood, eight of these died on the journey home. The ship had a relatively uneventful journey home though with its decks full of sick and wounded it would have been a busy voyage which ended on 3rd September. At the end of the voyage Collingwood was relieved in what seems to have been a rotation of medical officers. Thereafter the record of the work of *Soudan* is less detailed. Staff Surgeon Harry Reah gives some details of the ship's work during the autumn of 1915. After a short stay in England it returned to the Dardanelles where it continued to carry casualties to base hospital, with one trip to Alexandria and subsequently six trips to Malta. On the trip to Alexandria it carried 829 casualties, far above its designed capacity, of which most were likely to have been suffering from a variety of sicknesses that were then sweeping across the peninsula. The crowding of the ship continued throughout the autumn on the voyages to Malta, where on one voyage the ship held over 900 cases. Staff Surgeon Reah was to comment on the service of the ship:

The *Soudan* has been fortunate enough to be present at the Gallipoli operations from the outset, including the bombardment of the outer forts on February 25, the attack on the narrows on March 18, the landing at Cape Helles on April 25, when she approached to within a few hundred yards of W Beach (since known as "Lancashire Landing"), Suvla Bay on August 7 where she performed the record day's work above mentioned, and finally the evacuation of Suvla on December 18 and 19, 1915.¹⁵

¹⁵ Reah, JRNMS, 1916 Vol II, p 210.

Subsequent to the evacuation the ship arrived in England carrying only 264 cases, the lowest number it had carried since it was involved in the solely naval operation of February and March. By the time the last journey of the Campaign had ended the ship had treated 12,389 cases; a little over 4,000 were transferred to hospital carriers but apart from 256 deaths on board, most of the remainder were carried to Egypt, Malta or England. The *Soudan* was the only hospital ship to be involved in all phases of the operations against the peninsula and its record is a credit to all who served on her.

PRIVATE MOORE MORPETH NZEF

Private, No. 12/1039, 6th Hauraki Coy., Auckland Infantry Battalion, (the photograph at right shows him wearing the collar badges of the 3rd (Auckland) Company), was the fifth son of Kate and Henry Douglas Morpeth, town clerk of Waihi, in the Hauraki district, New Zealand. Born in Auckland on 10 May 1894 and educated at Waihi District High School, he was studying law in Auckland (law clerk with Stewart & Johnson, Wyndham Street, Auckland) when war broke out, and was one of three brothers who enlisted in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force on 12 August 1914; all landed at Anzac on 25 April.



Three other brothers joined afterwards, one of whom, 2nd Lieutenant Allan Morpeth, was killed by a shell ricochet near Passchendaele, on 2 October 1917. The four surviving brothers were all wounded.

‘Private Morpeth was one of a small body of New Zealanders and Australians who, after making good their landing, had gained the ridges above Anzac Cove, but the enemy coming at them in force they were obliged to retire. One of the Australians was struck down, and Morpeth made over to his assistance, when he received a mortal wound that paralysed him. His comrades, in the face of advancing Turks, could do nothing for him, and next day when the ground was retaken his dead body was found where he fell, aged 20.’

Despite the account of the finding of his body, it is likely that Private Morpeth was killed on Baby 700, ground that was never retaken during the campaign, and as he has no known grave, his name is commemorated on the Lone Pine NZ Memorial.

(Account based on service records, newspaper articles, the official NZ History, accounts of the Hauraki Company (Auckland Battalion), and *de Ruigny Vol 1* p260).

SELF-INFLICTED WOUNDS AND THE MEDICAL SERVICES

Ritchie Wood and John Dixon

On 1st November 1915 the Deputy-Adjutant-General wrote the following circular to Deputy-Director Medical Services of the Army Corps serving on the peninsula:

The Commander-in-Chief has had under consideration the large increase in cases of Self-maiming by soldiers with the object of escaping from duty at the front.

He directs that in future no soldier

- a. Who has been convicted of self-maiming, or
- b. Is under arrest on a charge of self-maiming,

shall be evacuated sick from the peninsula but shall be medically treated there until fit to return to duty.

If in an extreme case it becomes imperative to remove a soldier from the peninsula he will not in any case be evacuated beyond Mudros.

These Orders are to be made known to everyone under your command.¹

This suggest that by this stage of the Campaign there was an issue with self-inflicted wounds appearing at the field ambulances throughout the peninsula. This was briefly addressed by Tim Travers quoting WO 154/116:

Judging by the reports of the Deputy Judge Advocate on Gallipoli, Captain Hodgson, few soldiers must have used self-inflicted wounds. Indeed, Hodgson only listed three cases of self-mutilation up to 3 July 1915. However, as the campaign continued stress increased over time and a new Judge Advocate in October 1915, Captain Percy, reported that self-injury 'is steadily becoming more prevalent.'²

The matter of self-inflicted wounds is something that was considered by the military of most countries to be a very serious offence. Such a wound was defined under Section 18 of the 1881 Army Act as a soldier "Wilfully maiming himself with the intent to render himself unfit for service." The maximum penalty for such a crime was a lengthy prison sentence. During the Great War it seems that a total of 3,894 men were found guilty of this offence and suitably imprisoned. This may not seem a large number bearing in mind the large number who served, but it was something of which field officers were well aware.

Whilst it is clear from the circular of November 1915 that there were sufficient cases to warrant such an order being issued it is rather more difficult to find such cases across the peninsula recorded in the medical services war diaries. For instance, in the 29th Division which served on the peninsula since the start of the campaign, none of the relevant field ambulances or the ADMS of the division make any

¹ See for instance War Diary ADMS, RND, TNA WO95/429.

² Travers, T, *Gallipoli 1915* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p 182.

reference to such wounds. However, Staff Sergeant Henry Corbridge, 87th FA, 29th Division, records in his personal diary on the 8th August:

Two men 1 Border, 1 SWB are wounded prisoners in our hospital, a guard over them with fixed bayonet. Both are suspected of S.I. wounds. A C.I. [Court of Inquiry] is to be held tomorrow.³

According to Corbridge both men were found not guilty the following day and presumably after treatment were returned to duty or evacuated from the peninsula. Nevertheless, it should be noted that until their cases were heard the men were held under guard at the hospital and that during the August Offensive the loss of even one man to stand guard was probably something that no field ambulance wanted.

The record of such cases is patchy throughout the campaign. As early as the 6th May the 11th CCS recorded that it was treating an unspecified number of self-inflicted wounds:

Large number of casualties coming in; among them are obviously self-inflicted wounds of the left hand and also one foot; most of them own they are due to accident. These cases were reported to the Provost who is taking steps to inform the GOS. Meanwhile these men are left here in camp.

However apart from this instance there is no mention of such wounds for the months of May, June and July in the war diaries of the medical units serving at Helles. Similarly, there are no records of such wounds at the Anzac beachhead. This may reflect a reluctance on the part of MO's to identify such wounds, a reluctance of CO's to record such wounds or indeed the complete absence of such wounds. In reality all three elements are probably part of the whole story but it is also probable that during the early months of the campaign whilst morale remained high the likelihood of such wounds remained low.

Nevertheless, things appear to have begun to change during the early days of August following the fighting of the August Offensive. On the 10th August the ADMS 42nd Division recorded that he:

Arranged for the taking of material evidence of 56 cases of suspected inflicted wounds which have occurred recently and chiefly in fight of 7th August. I have had these reported by OCs of FAs and OC No. 11 CCS. They are being detained in the Peninsula.⁴

The "fight" here is that of the Krithia Vineyard which had resulted in 942 casualties being treated by the division's medical services. The heavy fighting seems to have been directly responsible for the increase in self-inflicted wounds during the days that followed. There had been no resolution of these cases four days later for the ADMS records further that:

Men suffering from wounds supposed to have been self-inflicted have been concentrated in 1/3 FA which has necessitated an enlargement of the bivouac and shelters occupied by this Unit. This party includes men coming under the

³ Staff Sergeant H Corbridge Diary for 8th August. Museum Of Military Medicine, PE/1/715/Corb.

⁴ ADMS 42nd Division. War Diary, 10th August, TNA WO95/4313.

above category who have been transferred from No. 11 CCS.⁵

Despite all this reporting of action to be taken there is no further mention by the ADMS of Courts of Inquiry or Field General Courts Martial or similar disciplinary measures. The FAs, despite handling large numbers of casualties during this time, make no mention of the probability of some of the men suffering from self-inflicted wounds. In particular, the 1/3FA makes no mention of having being given, at a very busy time, the unwelcome task of having to “enlarge their complement of the bivouac and shelters to accommodate these cases.”

It is worth noting that up to this time there had been no reported incidents of self-inflicted wounds amongst the Anzac troops in any of the medical services war diaries. It seems unlikely that the Anzacs would have escaped this particular problem entirely and there is certainly evidence of other disciplinary issues within the Anzac troops. The war diaries of field ambulances give instances of wounds to hands and feet but none are ascribed by the medical officers to self-inflicted wounds. This may be a result of reporting methods, inability or inexperience in recognising such wounds or simply that they did not occur.

Following the August fighting the 108th Indian Field Ambulance, at that time stationed at Anzac, noted an increase in the number of “self-mutilation” cases. Prior to this the war diary had made no reference to such cases but the entry makes it clear that they had occurred before to August. Major Battye, CO of the 108th IFA, appears to have taken some interest in the cases of self-inflicted wounds, examining cases with some care and reporting to the battalion commanders on each case. However, many of the cases against men injured in this way were dropped:

After the convoy to the pier this morning had been gone some time, I received a note from the OC 1/5th Gurkhas asking me to retain one Bugler Setra Shapa suspected of self-mutilation. The man was caught and brought back from the lighter just in time. The wound on his right index finger was not characteristic and it would have been very difficult to testify definitely that the bullet must have been discharged from close range. On this evidence therefore, although other evidence against the man was very strong the case was dropped. This and other similar cases, I think, show a failure on the part of regimental officers to grasp the scope and value of medical evidence.⁶

For Battye this appears to be a situation where at least some of the evidence against the man had been lost by treatment of the wound before being cleared to the lighter for removal from the peninsula. However, it is clear that he had noted similar cases in which no action was taken by regimental officers. Some days prior to this incident, on the 7th October, Battye dealt with a case where it was clear that a rifle had been discharged at close range to take of a Havildar’s right index finger.

This crime has been very frequent in the 14th Sikhs and hitherto only one man was court martialled for it and he was acquitted. Private information obtained

⁵ ADMS 42nd Division, War Diary, 14th August, TNA WO95/4313.

⁶ War Diary, 108 IFA, 10th Oct; TNA, WO95/4272, and see also Dixon, J and Wood, R, *The Fight For Life*, (Warwick: Helion, in press 2023).

from Sikhs in the regiment leaves no doubt as to the frequency of the crime since landing in Anzac.⁷

On the 11th November Batty reported a case of two Sikhs who had self-inflicted wounds to their left hands. One had been caused by a revolver which the man should not have had and so was on a charge for that infraction. Batty recommended that the man should be court martialled for the wound but there is no indication that this was acted upon, perhaps, once again the battalion commander decided not to follow through on his report. Batty reported one of the most unusual self-inflicted wounds in the war diary for the 22nd November:

Last night a rifleman of the 1/5th Gurkhas came in to hospital having clearly cut off the thumb of his left hand about the middle of the first phalanx with a kukhri while, so he states, cutting some wood with his kukhri in the dark. I made a sketch of the condition and took notes as this method of producing self-mutilation may be adopted in future as being a variation of the rifle bullet and perhaps more easy to account for. There is little doubt the thumb was removed by one clean cut.⁸

Major Batty seems to have been well aware of self-inflicted wounds but although his reporting of them is rather more extensive than in other units it too remains incomplete. Although it appears that he ceased to report the incidents there is no real indication that the crime actually ceased amongst the Indian troops at Anzac during the autumn of 1915.

Across the peninsula the autumn and early winter was a trying time for all the soldiers involved and it perhaps not surprising that there were attempts made by some men to escape not only the fighting but the sickness and the worsening weather conditions as the summer temperatures fell away to the autumn cold and wet. As early as the 22nd September the ADMS of the 54th Division was giving orders that such cases as appeared within the division were not to be evacuated and were to remain on the peninsula until each case had been examined and followed up by telling all FA's to evacuate everyone except those suspected of self-inflicted wounds. On the 19th October the 40th FA, 13th Division, reported that:

... a Field General Court Martial took place in the Camp this morning (3 cases self-inflicted wounds). The prisoners were later evacuated to CCS notifying the Commanding Officer of the Station that they were under arrest waiting sentence.⁹

Although the records suggest that there was little problem amongst the Anzac troops as late as the 11th December the 5th AFA was reporting that during the night nine self-inflicted wound cases were transferred to it from the 6th AFA. There is no record of these cases at the latter field ambulance and no record of the transfer. This suggests strongly that there was a larger problem with Anzac soldiers than the records of the field ambulances might suggest. Nevertheless, as far as the medical records are

⁷ War Diary, 108th IFA, 7th October, TNA, WO95/4272.

⁸ War Diary, 108th IFA, 22nd November, TNA, WO95/4272.

⁹ War Diary, 40th FA, 19th October, TNA, WO95/4301.

concerned these nine cases are the only cases of self-inflicted wounds recorded by the medical services in the Anzac troops throughout the campaign. That in itself should be reason to question the accuracy of the records.

Landing on the 25th April, all the men concerned were physically and mentally as fit as could be reasonably expected and were ready to commence battle in order to make the expected advances on the battlefield. There was a lack of any meaningful advances against a very well prepared and determined enemy defending their country. There were other negative factors working against the men. The extreme heat, the lack of an adequate supply of water and inevitable rapidly-increasing levels of sickness as disease-carrying flies, feeding off bloated human and animal corpses, and litter at the men's eating places, resulted in the spread of diarrhoea, dysentery and enteric fever. All these factors would have caused a general weakening of morale and an increased likelihood of self-mutilation. Based on the assumption of a lack of reports during the opening months, it is probably fair to say there was not a significant number of these cases during this particular time while morale remained high and the men's physical condition was good.

If the reports occurring in the medical services war diaries are taken in isolation it would seem that self-inflicted wounds did not become a problem until after the August offensive. By that time the conditions on the peninsula and the physical condition of the men fighting had changed to a greater or lesser degree. It is impossible to say that it was more of a problem in one area or amongst one group of soldiers since the records are clearly incomplete. However, it can be said that as the campaign progressed there appears to have been more and more, possibly desperate men, who were prepared to take the chance and fire their rifle into their hands or feet. The evidence from the 108th IFA also suggests that there was a reluctance amongst field officers to do very much about it. This may reflect their desire to avoid the paperwork that went along with charging a man of such behaviour or simply that there was a level of understanding of the motives that drove a soldier to wound himself, possibly after months of service in some of the most arduous conditions.

SEE YOUR ARTICLE IN PRINT!

Articles for the Gallipolian

Articles and smaller items of interest about any aspect of the Gallipoli campaign are always welcome. These should be submitted direct to the editor, preferably by email, at editor@gallipoli-association.org. It is not always possible to feature articles in the issue following submission although where there is an element of topicality the editor will try to accommodate them, or refer them to colleagues responsible for the Association website. For those considering the submission of articles the editor can provide notes for the guidance of contributors on request.

BOOK REVIEW

The Role of Birds in World War One

Author: Nicholas Milton

Hardback: 232 pages

Publisher: Pen & Sword History (2023)

ISBN: 978 1 39907 056 0

When the guns fell silent and the First World War came to an ignoble end on 11 November 1918 a generation of bird watchers lay dead. Among them were scientists, researchers, lords, librarians, artists, authors, professors, poets, lawyers, surgeons and explorers, many young men of great promise. Had they lived, the science of ornithology and the hobby of bird watching would have undoubtedly been much the richer. Thirty-seven names, their lives, their achievements, reported in detail in *The Role of Birds in World War One* – three while serving in Gallipoli.

Leofwin Beresford Mouritz was born in Melbourne in 1887 and came to live in England where he reported extensively on the birds of Surrey, subsequently prospected for minerals in the Belgian Congo and Rhodesia before returning to Australia. He enlisted on 1 September 1914. Serving with the 2nd Australian Light Horse Regiment which reached Gallipoli on 12 May 1915. Two days later Mouritz was killed during the fighting at Quinn's Post. He has no known grave so is remembered on the Lone Pine Memorial.

Richard Bowen Woosnam took part in the Boer War 1899-1902 following which having resigned his commission he devoted his energies to natural history. At first an expedition to Western Persia and Armenia followed by the Ruwenzori Mountains in Uganda. A number of the birds and animals collected here are named after him. Next to the Elburz Mountains of Persia followed by the Kalahari Desert before appointment in 1910 as game warden for British East Africa. Serving with the Worcestershire Regiment he was killed on 4 June 1915, his body never recovered so that he is remembered on the Helles Memorial. See 'Richard Bowen Woosnam The Man Who Died Twice,' *The Gallipolitan* 103 30-37.

The third bird watcher to die in Gallipoli was Gerald Legge at Suvla Bay some two months after Richard Woosnam, who he had accompanied to the Ruwenzori Mountains in 1905 and the Kalahari Desert in 1909. Like his friend he has no known grave so is remembered on the Helles Memorial. An appreciation published in *The Field* reported that 'he was last seen lying mortally wounded on the ground, and cheering on the men of whom he was so proud. That was Gerald Legge.'

— David Saunders

The second part of the article that appeared in the last edition (*The Gallipolitan* 161), 'New Zealand Soldier's Chronicle of Anzac', by Sergeant 'X' has been held over for the next edition. - editor.



The British Director of Works steamer, *Milo*, was sunk off North Beach and filled with sand on 26 October 1915 to act as a breakwater for Walker's and William's Piers. See colour photo page 32.

LAST POST

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

Nicholas John Rutherford Sanceau (died 23 February 2023) a former headmaster and teacher who had great interest and knowledge in history and war literature. The Gallipoli campaign had particular significance to him as his late uncle, Thomas Wood Rutherford (2nd Lieutenant, 6th Bn Yorkshire Regiment) was killed at the Dardanelles on 22 August 1915, aged 31.

Professor Sir James Dunbar-Nasmith CBE, architect and president of the Scottish Civic Trust, died 18 March 2023, aged 96. His father, as Lieutenant-Commander Martin Eric Nasmith, was awarded the Victoria Cross for his work commanding the submarine E11, which penetrated the Straits in May 1915 and sank numerous ships during a two-week patrol.

Radley College Cricket XI 1891



Original photograph by Gillman & Co. Ltd, Oxford.

C. A. Barker.
C. P. Palmer.
O. H. Enderby.

M. R. Zippen.

B. E. Lawrence.

A. X. Ogleman.

C. B. Webb.

B. P. Ogleman.

P. S. Ogleman.

M. P. Ogleman.

to Ogleman.



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, William Lionel Wyllie.
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Caird Collection*

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.