

The Gallipolian

The Journal of the Gallipoli Association

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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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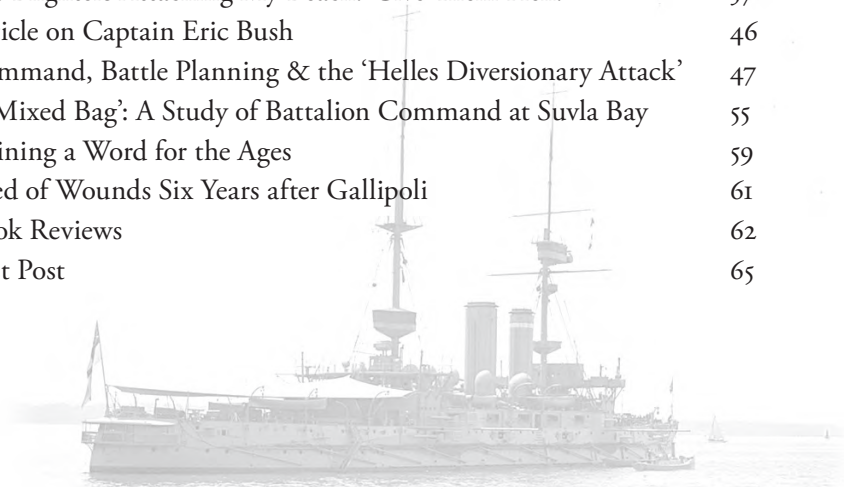
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HMS Implacable - see page 37

Cover illustration is from the Italian publication 'La Tribuna Illustrata' of 9 - 16 May 1915.
It depicts the landing of French colonial forces (Senegalese troops)
at Kum Kale on the Asiatic shore opposite Cape Helles, 25 April 1915.

Caption reads:

Per colpire al cuore l'Impero Ottomano, le forze franco-inglesi sbarcano sotto il fuoco nemico, nella penisola di Gallipoli e vi si stabiliscono dopo vivace e lunga lotta

(To strike at the heart of the Ottoman Empire, the French-British forces land under enemy fire on the Gallipoli Peninsula and settle there after a long and lively struggle)

ANZAC / GALLIPOLI DAY 2020

The ceremonies (organised by the New Zealand High Commission) in London are:

- (1) Dawn service, Australian memorial, Hyde Park Corner
- (2) Wreath-laying ceremony and parade, The Cenotaph
- (3) Service of Commemoration and Thanksgiving, Westminster Abbey

The Association's wreath-laying ceremony will be at St. Paul's Cathedral at 9.30 am. As was the case last year, security arrangements are expected to be tight and details of those wishing to participate will be required. Given that the deadlines imposed on the Association continue to shorten, it is proposed to continue the practice adopted in recent years and to ask members to express an interest in attending one or more commemorations / events by completing the form enclosed in this issue. This will not guarantee a place nor will it be binding on individuals or on the Association, but it will allow us to contact those who indicate a wish to attend as soon as final arrangements are known – the deadline being 31st January 2020.

THE 2019 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

‘To Remember, To Honour and To Study’

The Annual General Meeting of the Gallipoli Association was held at the Cavalry and Guards Club, 127 Piccadilly, London, on 15 October 2019 at 11.00 am.

The meeting minutes will be circulated with the Spring 2020 *Gallipolian*. Members, however will wish to know that the financial statements and the Trustees' report for the year ended 31 December 2018 and the Chairman's report from 1 January 2019 to 30 June 2019 (which were previously circulated to the membership by email and post) were presented to the meeting as required by the constitution. The Treasurer and Chairman provided quick summaries and no subsequent questions were raised.

The Brune Park Community School students and their teacher were in attendance and they were introduced to the meeting before they gave a short presentation on their recent very successful trip to Gallipoli.

The meeting was followed by a delicious lunch enjoyed by 29 members joined by Admiral The Rt Hon The Lord West of Spithead GCB DSC PC. Lord West was humorous and entertaining in his address and the whole event was thoroughly enjoyable. The Association was delighted to present Lord West with a Gallipoli Association wall plaque and tie. (The text of his address is printed overleaf).

The Association is hugely grateful to the Cavalry and Guards Club for hosting this event and to Lord West for joining us, thus ensuring a memorable day was had by all.

Notices this page from Sarah Kellam – Honorary Secretary

ADDRESS AT THE ASSOCIATION AUTUMN LUNCH

By Admiral The Rt Hon The Lord West of Spithead GCB DSC PC

The Cavalry & Guard Club, Tuesday 15 October 2019

The Gallipoli campaign has always had a fascination for me. And I certainly pondered on it en-route to Istanbul in HMS *Bristol* as we steamed up the Hellespont passing Çanakkale debouching into the Sea of Marmora. Why did it fascinate me?

There were so many what-ifs, so many events that could so easily have resulted in a different outcome. The entanglement of the strategic, political, operational and the tactical. The ending of political and military ‘giants’ careers.

The basic premise, that the military deadlock on the Western Front somehow needed to be broken, was sound. Due to failure in Gallipoli, it took three and a half years and the loss of some 6 million men dead and injured in battles such as Arras, the Somme, Verdun, Chemin des Dames and Passchendaele before it was broken. By 1918 the allies, particularly the UK, had finally learnt all-arms warfare using tanks, aircraft, artillery and infantry in combined operations and the deadlock could be broken. This plus the catastrophic impact of the British blockade on Germany led to the accelerating retreat of the German army and collapse of their nation.

So how in 1915 could the stalemate be broken? In Britain it seemed that the immensely powerful Royal Navy could perhaps be used in some way - but how? Options of landing troops on the Baltic coast of Germany were considered but not really strategically a realistic plan. The sprawling ramshackle Turkish Empire seemed to offer an option. Knocking Turkey out of the war would remove the risk to the UK's oil supply in the Persian Gulf and the threat to the Suez Canal. It would also open up an easy route to Russia.

The idea of an attack opening up the Dardanelles and threatening Constantinople with the possibility of knocking Turkey out of the war had merit. But I don't need to tell this audience that the problem was the execution of a campaign plan. The planning, acceptance by Army high command and hence supply of troops etc., was piecemeal and reluctant. The concept of a purely naval attack was deeply flawed. To force through the straits leaving a Narrows still dominated by the enemy behind them was a recipe for a disaster.

A combined attack using the allied battle-fleet, enabling the landing of a significant land force to occupy the peninsula and suppress Turkish actions from the Asiatic shore, would enable the fleet to operate freely in the Sea of Marmora up to the Bosphorus, stopping all water traffic into Constantinople and threatening the city. Whether this would have caused a collapse of the Turkish Empire is open to debate.

Many mistakes were made, and lessons were learnt and although some were forgotten and had to be re-learnt, I don't believe the invasion of North Africa - Operation Torch - the invasion of Sicily, the later D-Day landings or the Falklands War would

have been possible without those lessons having been learnt.

Of particular interest to me were the exploits of the Royal Naval Division. This force had initially been formed of Royal Marines and bluejackets who had no ships to man, at Churchill's behest, to try to defend Antwerp from the German advance in 1914. They failed and many were taken into internment in Holland. But the division was not disbanded and indeed grew in strength. It fought bravely in Gallipoli and then returned to France for the remainder of the war. It was the most highly decorated UK division. Disbanded in 1919, an Edwin Lutyens memorial was unveiled on Horse Guards Parade on 25 April 1925 — ten years to the day after the Gallipoli landings, in which the division suffered heavy casualties. The base contains the division's battle honours and an excerpt from the poem 'The Dead' by Rupert Brooke, who died of disease while serving in the division in 1915.

In the normal British way, Gallipoli has become a glorious failure and its impact on the national consciousness was immense. It brought down both Churchill and Fisher. Churchill only removed the stigma by his remarkable period as PM during WW2. But it seems that our youngsters have less and less knowledge of our nation's history so it is wonderful that your association is putting effort into educating people about the Gallipoli campaign. The work with schools, bursaries, etc., is admirable.

It would be remiss of me not to mention our navy. Our armed forces, particularly the navy, have been dangerously weakened. All eyes are on Brexit, and our nation and the government seem unwilling to make hard decisions to ensure our security against the growing threats to our security and, in the worst case, our nation's very existence. Our nation's security and prosperity requires unimpeded maritime access and transit. We require good order at sea. Our maritime geography, indeed insularity, mandates primary economic and strategic significance for the country's ability to use the seas. This is not discretionary. It is not an issue open for policy choice. The simple fact is that the Royal Navy has too few ships to do what the nation expects of it, as shown recently in the Gulf. The combined effect of lack of funding and lack of people, particularly engineers, is having a profound impact on our nation's maritime capability. Today our great maritime nation has effectively only 11 escorts fully capable of operations of the 19 in our order of battle; a national disgrace. The one thing that is a constant is the quality of our people in the three armed services. They remain the best in the world and we have a splendid cadet corps.

Having robust defence forces makes a war involving our nation less likely. In particular a strong navy helps prevent war. If a small conflagration in a distant part of the world developed into a war that threatened our national survival, the best welfare provision, National Health Service, education and foreign aid programmes in the world would be as nothing. Preventing war, and defending our nation and people if it happens, are more important than any other government spending priorities. If ministers get defence wrong, the nation will never forgive them. The costs in blood and treasure are enormous. We know that the planned saving of £16m by deciding to get rid of HMS *Endurance* precipitated the Falklands War at

a final cost of 300 lives and £6.5 billion.

The government have a choice of whether we spend what is required to ensure the safety of our nation, dependencies and people, or not. At present, I believe they are getting the choice wrong.

GALLIPOLI ASSOCIATION ANNUAL CONFERENCE - 2019

Peter Biles

The Royal Air Force Club, Piccadilly, was again the venue for the Gallipoli Association's annual conference, held on Saturday 28 September. A total of 80 guests, including a Turkish delegation headed by Ambassador Ümit Yalçın, were treated to a brilliant programme of talks that did much to enrich our knowledge of the campaign at the Dardanelles. It is 50 years since the formation of the Gallipoli Association, and in his introduction, the chairman, Brigadier James Stopford, reminded us that Gallipoli still has a military relevance. 'The focus now is on study ...the lessons learned in 1915 are as important as they ever were.' [See photos pages 34 and 35].

Ambassador Ümit Yalçın and İsmail Kaşdemir, chairman of the Gallipoli Historic Site Directorate, also said a few words at the opening of the conference about the importance of 1915-16. The ambassador praised the move by the Gallipoli Association to take students on tour to the peninsula. İsmail Kaşdemir added that while Gallipoli was a well-preserved war site, with the features of an open air museum, the battles fought there were still not well-enough known.

The first keynote speaker was Turkish diver and filmmaker, Savaş Karakaş, whose topic, 'Echoes from the Deep: The Wrecks of the Dardanelles Campaign,' shared his unparalleled experience of filming the ships and submarines which were tragically lost in 1915. Many of the names such as *Bouvet*, *Irresistible* and *Ocean* are familiar to naval historians and enthusiasts but Savaş has catalogued the story of around 30 vessels in the Dardanelles, a unique record. 'Each shipwreck is a time machine,' he said. In the video recordings, there were frequent reminders of how risky, costly and demanding, but nonetheless ultimately rewarding, the diving operations can be.

Turkish historian, Aslıhan Kervan of the Gallipoli Historic Site Directorate team, then outlined the current work on the peninsula, including the establishment of the new Ariburnu Walking Route. Aslıhan has been working for the directorate since 2015, and is currently doing a Master's degree at university in Çanakkale.

After lunch in the Churchill Bar, military historian Wayne Birch from Loughborough showed us the depth of local history archives with his account of the Nottinghamshire Yeomanry's attack on Scimitar Hill, part of the August offensive. Not least of the reservists' troubles was appalling sickness. 'Gallipoli was not an action the men from Notts would remember with any pleasure,' Wayne concluded.

Enter Gallipoli expert Peter Hart, oral historian of the Imperial War Museum sound

archive since 1981. His spirited presentation, ‘Baby Steps at Gallipoli’ described how the British Army was caught unprepared for modern warfare in 1915. In particular, the 29th Division was ‘thrown together’ and not ready for war. Added to which were the allies’ inadequate naval resources and their serious under-appreciation of Turkish strength. ‘The over-riding problem was that the military situation was impossible in the face of Turkish opposition,’ Peter said. ‘It was no surprise that British forces were utterly and completely defeated. Whatever we tried, we couldn’t overcome.’

Next speaker was Brian Cleary who is currently writing a book on the extraordinary lives of Dick and Lilian Doughty-Wylie. Lt Col Doughty-Wylie VC, a career soldier who served in Sudan, the Boer War, Somaliland, the Balkans and Abyssinia, was killed on 26 April 1915, the second day of the Landings. Brian was set to reveal his new research on ‘The Mystery Woman of Gallipoli.’ Who was it who reportedly visited Dick’s grave on the peninsula towards the end of 1915, thus becoming the only woman on the allied side to visit Gallipoli during the campaign? There were only two contenders. Either it was Dick’s widow, Lily, or the woman with whom he had been having a passionate affair, the renowned archaeologist and explorer, Gertrude Bell. Brian’s exhaustive research into this tale of intrigue is not yet complete, with archive material in France still to be examined, but his conclusion is that Lily Doughty-Wylie was in the Dardanelles at the right time (late 1915), and was at the French hospital on Tenedos. It seems there could have been a window of opportunity for her to have sailed to Gallipoli. There is no contemporary evidence that Gertrude Bell was ever there and according to Brian, ‘she may never have left Cairo at all.’

The final talk came from Colonel Andy Taylor, presenting ‘126 Days at Suvla Bay - A Territorial Battalion’s Story.’ It was a sobering account of the role played by the Herefordshire Regiment in their baptism of fire at Suvla, marred by total confusion both during the landing and advance. Of the 1,039 Herefordshire men at Gallipoli, fewer than 80 were fit in December 1915, and 882 were evacuated through wounds or sickness. Andy said he hoped he had been able to convey the spirit of the Herefordshire Regiment and what they went through. This he certainly did.

Gallipoli Association historian, Stephen Chambers, drew proceedings to a close, saying this 8th annual conference had been ‘fabulous’ and that it was an honour to have had the Turkish delegation in attendance.

Our thanks to all who helped to make this such an absorbing day of WWI history.

REMEMBRANCE SUNDAY – 10 NOVEMBER - LONDON

Simon Kleinig

A crisp autumn morning yielded to brilliant blue skies and dazzling sunshine to warm marchers in the traditional Remembrance Sunday Parade in Whitehall.

Members of the Royal Family joined thousands of marchers and onlookers in

paying tribute to the war dead from all conflicts. HRH Prince Charles laid a wreath on behalf of Her Majesty The Queen, who watched the parade from a balcony overlooking the cenotaph; the commemorative focal point of the parade.

Simon Kleinig of London Legacy joined the parade as a member of the Gallipoli Association and marched proudly with colleagues Hester Huttenbach and John Duckworth. Wreaths were laid at the cenotaph for the Gallipoli Association and London Legacy, before the parade right-wheeled into Parliament Square and the parade ground at Horse Guards where HRH Prince Andrew took the salute.

VOLKSTRAUERTAG, THE GERMAN NATIONAL DAY OF REMEMBRANCE CEREMONY

Istanbul, 17 November 2019

Tom Iredale

The German Military Cemetery in Tarabya, Istanbul, overlooking the Bosphorus, is the perennial setting for this commemoration ceremony, hosted by the German consul-general, Michael Reiffenstuel. Among the 80 guests were the Lord Mayor of Saryer, the British consul-general, and the General Officer Commanding I Turkish Army Corps, as well as - all in their different uniforms - officers and men and their families from NATO forces stationed in Turkey.

The commemoration address was given by Consul-General Reiffenstuel, dedicated to the fallen of all sides as well as to all victims of oppression. The main wreaths were marched on by soldiers of the Turkish and German armies, and the national anthems of both nations were played. This was then followed by more wreaths being laid with Tom Iredale laying the final wreath on behalf of the Gallipoli Association. The ceremony concluded with the Last Post being played by a trumpeter from the Turkish Army. See photographs page 36.

The guests were then able to take a walk around the terraces of the cemetery, the gravestones of which had been specially cleaned the week previously by Association member Klaus Wolf and his men. The afternoon concluded with a reception in the grounds of the summer residence of the German ambassador.

FIELD OF REMEMBRANCE 2019

Sarah Kellam

The Field of Remembrance was again very well supported this year with a full and impressive plot of members' personal tributes very ably planted by Clive Summerson and his niece, Una (brother and daughter to the late Foster Summerson).

Our president, Captain Christopher T F Fagan MBE DL represented the Gallipoli Association again and twelve members were in attendance (see photos pages 29, 30).

LEST WE FORGET GALLIPOLI'S NAVAL WAR

The Tragedy of the *Southland*

Jim Claven

The waters around the northern Aegean Island of Lemnos and the wider Aegean can be dangerous to the unwary sailor. But they have also witnessed the dangers of war. They had been the scene of the great Hellenic Naval victories over the Ottoman fleet in 1912. And they were particularly so again in 1915-16 as hundreds of Allied ships sailed them in support of the Gallipoli campaign. This is the story of the attack on the troopship *Southland* which took place in September 1915 as she headed for Lemnos' Mudros Bay, bringing vital reinforcements for the fronts on the Gallipoli peninsula, and the tragic losses that resulted.

The attacks on Allied shipping were due to the operation of an increasing number of enemy submarines and torpedo boats in the Aegean. The number of German submarines operating in the Aegean rose from three at the beginning of the Gallipoli campaign to fourteen operating across the Mediterranean and Constantinople later in the campaign. As a result five warships were attacked off Gallipoli in May, with two sunk, followed by another warship sunk in July. Even before the landings in April, troopships were in danger. On the 15th April the troopship *Manitou* carrying soldiers of the British 29th Division was attacked on the 15th April resulting in the loss of fifty-one men. On the 13th August the troopship *Royal Edward* was sunk on its journey from Alexandria in Egypt to Gallipoli, with the loss of two-thirds of the 1,400 Allied reinforcements aboard. News of this sinking reached the Australian nurses on Lemnos who were tending the sick and wounded from the front, with one nurse, Staff Nurse Lucy Daw, writing of the loss on 15th August.

These were the waters that the troopship *Southland* sailed into as she left Alexandria on 30 August 1915 headed for the protected harbour of Mudros Bay. She was familiar with these waters, having been part of the initial armada that had assembled there prior to the landings in April, bringing troops from Alexandria and transporting the 1st Battalion of the British Army's Kings Own Scottish Borderers to Gallipoli. Now as August turned into September she was returning to Lemnos carrying reinforcements for the hard-pressed troops on the peninsula. The German submarine attack on the *Southland* was the first suffered by an Australian troopship in the war.

The troopship *Southland* was commanded by Captain J B Kelk and had departed Alexandria at 4.30pm on the 30th August as part of a four troopship convoy. Aboard was the 6th Australian Infantry Brigade's 21st Battalion, one company of the 23rd Battalion and the Brigade Headquarters staff, including the commander, Colonel Richard Linton. Also aboard were the 2nd Australian Division commander Major General J G Legge and his staff, some Army Service and Medical Corps units, the New Zealand Field Artillery Headquarters as well as details of British yeomanry and artillery. Also present were 55 soldiers of the 2nd Australian Division Signals

Company. Most of the Australians were Victorians, and came largely from the Western and Northern districts of Victoria. Troops aboard the ship are estimated to have totalled 1,500 men. While aboard the troopship, the troops were under the command of Colonel Hutchinson. The *Southland* was also carrying several thousand tons of military stores and a large amount of bullion. The rest of the 6th Australian Infantry Brigade departed at the same time in the three other accompanying troopships, all headed for Lemnos' Mudros Bay.

The Australians aboard the *Southland* included relatives. Born in Dalton, Lockerbie, Scotland, Colonel Richard Linton was a hardware merchant residing in the Melbourne bay-side suburb of Brighton when he enlisted. Now he was sailing in the *Southland* with his son, Richard Vivers Linton who was a second lieutenant in the 21st Battalion. The 21st Battalion's Private Henry William Bowen was sailing with his brother, Sergeant Walter Edward Bingham Bowen of the 24th Battalion. Scottish-born Privates James and Thomas Sloan, both of the 21st Battalion, were also aboard. The McDonough brothers – Patrick and Christopher - had both been born in Dublin, but having emigrated to Australia they then resided in Melbourne. Patrick served in the 23rd Battalion, Christopher in the 21st.

Private James Martin, one of the youngest diggers to enlist in the Australian Imperial Force during the First World War was with the 21st Battalion aboard the *Southland*. James Martin is Australia's youngest known Anzac, who enlisted at the age of only 14. He gave his age as 18 at enlistment, providing a letter from his parents permitting their under-age son to join up. Born in NSW, James and his family had moved to Melbourne and when he enlisted were living in the eastern suburb of Hawthorn.

As the *Southland* crossed the eastern Mediterranean, sailing in a zig-zag pattern to avoid submarines, the 6th Brigade's unit diary recorded "*weather very fine and sea smooth.*" The Argus newspaper later reported that "*the sky was clear, with freshening winds*" as the *Southland* steamed towards Lemnos on the morning of the 2nd September. Charles Bean, the Australian official war correspondent and later the official historian of Australia's involvement in the First World War wrote:

It was a cloudless, sunny morning, with a fresh breeze and a choppy sea. The *Southland* was bowling along not far from journey's end. The only land in sight was the distant sun-bathed shores of one of the Greek Islands.

While two of the convoy - the *Scotia* and the *Haverford* - reached Mudros Bay without incident, the third troopship in the convoy - the *Nile* - had to undertake evasive action to escape the attentions of an enemy submarine. According to one of the *Nile*'s passengers, 25-year-old Morwell-born Lance Sergeant Stanley Savige of the 24th Battalion, the captain had sighted the submarine and successfully evaded it by circling a small Island three times before proceeding safely into Mudros Bay, arriving at 6am. The *Southland* would not be so lucky.

At about 9.45am the *Southland* and its troops were 10 miles or 16 kilometres south west of the Island of Agios Efstratios and still some 36 kilometres from

their destination. The troops were just about to parade and readying themselves to disembark at Lemnos. Those on deck could see Agios Efstratios to the south east of Lemnos. Two minutes later a torpedo struck the *Southland*. Private Fred Hocking from Heidelberg in Victoria later described the unfolding scene:

I was hoping against hope that [the torpedo] wouldn't explode or that it would miss us. However it came at us all too accurately and got us just in front of the bridge, between the engine room and the forward watertight compartments. The place where it struck was about 30 feet from where I stood. A frightful explosion followed, the funnels seeming to jump about 2 feet in their sockets.

A second torpedo missed its target, passing astern of the *Southland*. The ship then *listed noticeably to starboard, also by the head*. Private Fred Hocking thought she was listing over so quickly that he expected her to go over all at once. Another digger who was aboard the stricken ship, Cpl Robinson of the 21st Battalion, from the Melbourne suburb of Footscray, wrote later that the torpedo had torn a hole in the ship's side about 27 feet by 9 feet. Some 32 Allied soldiers would be killed as a result of the attack, some in the initial explosion, others drowning.

One of those killed in the initial explosion was Private Albert Heywood of the 21st Battalion. He had been sitting on the deck at the point where the torpedo hit the ship. As one account graphically states Albert *was almost blown beyond recognition ... and [his] remains [were] buried at sea that afternoon*. Private Frederick Pell of the Australian Army Service Corps had been feeling ill and was given permission to rest in his bunk in the hold. Sadly this would be where the torpedo struck the ship. A Court of Inquiry concluded that Frederick was either killed by the explosion or was swept out through the hole created by the torpedo, his body never being found. Private Oliver Holmes of the 21st Battalion was reported to have jumped overboard only to be swept into the ship's hold as the water rushed in through the hole made by the explosion, where he died.

Others who were injured by the explosion survived, like the 21st Bn's 24-year-old Lieutenant George Furner Langley from the Melbourne suburb of Port Melbourne, who lived to write home of his ordeal. He had been thrown into the hold as it filled with water, the portion of deck on which he had been standing having been blown up by the blast. Gasping for air amid the wreckage, George was fortunately dragged, injured, from the hold by another digger. He wrote of the air in the hold as being sulphurous from the explosion and feared he would drown. While he lost much of his equipment in the ensuing tragedy, George kept a personal memento of the attack, his watch, which was stopped at the exact time of the explosion.

Many reports account for the men on board being overwhelmingly calm and in good spirits. While they waited on deck to be evacuated the soldiers began singing, accompanied by a soldier playing a piano he had dragged onto the deck, and soon the sounds of the unofficial Australia soldiers' anthem – *Australia Will Be There* – could be heard across the water. This memorable singing would find its way into

Australian popular culture with the popular writer C J Dennis including a poem entitled "*The Singing Soldiers*" in his 1916 publication, *The Moods of Ginger Mick*.

Despite this good humour many men were killed or injured during the process of lowering the lifeboats, with many capsizing or striking those in the water. A photograph from the time shows two lifeboats being lowered from the listing ship. A similar scene, with men depicted attempting to lower boats over the side, can be seen in the famous painting of the incident, curiously entitled the *Sinking of the Southland* by Australian painter Frederick Leist, and now held in the collection of the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

Accounts tell of the first two lifeboats overturning as they were being lowered over the side due to the ship's stokers and stewards panicking. Other diggers were injured as they were thrown into the water by the blast, others drowned trapped in the hold, their bodies only retrieved much later. Private Fred Hocking wrote of witnessing the sight of one man dragged from under an upturned boat still clutching his pipe between his teeth. Other diggers jumped into the sea in an effort to escape what they assumed was a sinking ship.

Private Hocking reported seeing *a lot of chaps struggling in the water*. 17-year-old Ballarat-born Private Alfred Bayley of the 21st Battalion was thrown into the sea as his lifeboat was upturned and all its passengers were tipped into the water. At first trapped under the upturned boat, he wrote in his diary that his life flashed in front of him. Making his way to the surface, he saw *hundreds of others clinging on to anything*. Another soldier who had the same experience of being trapped in the water underneath an upturned lifeboat, possibly the same boat, was New Zealand Private Neil M Gallagher from Auckland.

One account describes how some diggers drowned. Private H Atkinson of the 21st Battalion wrote to the military authorities that he was with Welshman Private David Harris as they were being lowered from the ship in one of the lifeboats. Private Harris was an Australian soldier from Neath, South Wales. He was known as Di to his friends and performed in the battalion's band. As they were being lowered from the *Southland* into the sea, the boat slipped its ropes and the diggers were tipped into the sea. Harris swam about and eventually made it to a flat-bottomed raft, only for this to overturn. Despite attempts to rescue him by another digger, Harris was seen to be trapped underneath and drowned.

A similar fate awaited the Sloan brothers. The witness statements recorded for the board of enquiry vary in details, but they all agree that both brothers ended up in the sea and drowned together. An account by Private W F Dyer stated that, like Di Harris, who had been a friend of James in the 21st Battalion band, both were reputed to be 'great characters' in the memory of their comrades. Both brothers drowned after being similarly trapped under an upturned boat.

At Tel-el-Kebir on 19th January 1916 the 23rd Battalion held a court of inquiry to gather evidence as to how four of their soldiers had died in the tragedy. Privates

Albert Best, Lester Dockery, Patrick McDonough and Walter Morgan – all from Victoria - had all drowned. One witness recorded that as he sat on a collapsible raft he saw Privates Best and Dockery in a boat 30 yards from his own which was overcrowded and in difficulties. He recounted seeing Private Best bailing water with his hat and then the boat capsized. Another witness recorded hearing Private Morgan – a 19-year-old farm hand from Castlemaine, Victoria, who had been given permission to enlist by his stepmother - shouting for help as he gripped a rope that was suspended from the side of the ship. After crying out, “help me boys,” he lost his grip and fell into the sea.

Heidelberg’s Private Fred Hocking was in a boat overloaded with fifty men when it capsized in the rising swell barely 20 minutes after leaving the *Southland*. After they had scrambled on top of the upturned boat, the men were subjected to waves crashing over them. Sadly two men were caught under the boat and were drowned. Reflecting on the much-vaunted digger humour, Fred tells of his group singing ‘Sailing Down the Chesapeake Bay’ as they waited to be rescued and another boat’s soldiers singing ‘This is the Life.’ Rescue ships arrived on the scene but it would take until 1.30pm for Hocking and his men to be taken aboard the Hospital Ship *Neuralia*. It would not be until 3.30pm that all the survivors had been picked up.

It was during the evacuation from the ship that the small boat carrying Colonel Linton and some Headquarters staff capsized, by one account due to being “swamped by a rush of stokers” barely 30 seconds after it touched the water.

Essendon’s Cpl Frank Drew, 21st Bn, was attached to the 6th Brigade headquarters and in the same lifeboat as the colonel. He was invalided home to Australia due to his injuries but he was full of praise for Colonel Linton. He wrote to his local paper of how the colonel had ‘absolutely refused to enter the boat until every member of his staff had been placed in it.’ In Frank’s view Colonel Linton was ‘one of the bravest officers that ever left Australia’ and ‘was a father to [the Brigade]. Every man had a good word to say of him, and was loved by every lad in the Brigade.’

The 6th Brigade War Diary records that by the time the 54-year-old Colonel was brought out of the water he was “in a very exhausted condition.” As Corporal Drew said, “after being two hours in the water he placed the safety of the men under him before his own life.” Bean, recounting the story told by an officer who witnessed the event, wrote that Colonel Linton was “a strong swimmer” and urged his men to “save the others first” while he himself remained in the water. The same source said that he was one of the last to be taken from the water, “alive but much exhausted.” Bean writes in his official history that after being brought out of the water, Linton opened his eyes and said, “Good boys! Good luck, boys!”

The colonel and the four others in his lifeboat were brought aboard the French torpedo destroyer *Massue*. At this stage, the colonel was alive but inanimate. Despite the best efforts of the ship’s doctor and an assistant trying to revive him for over an hour, Colonel Linton was eventually pronounced dead.

Colonel Linton's service file records his death as being due to 'shock and exposure in water.' Corporal Drew states that he died in the arms of one of his diggers, Private George Tetlow of B Company, 21st Battalion, a baker from Geraldton, Western Australia. Colonel Linton's son Richard survived the attack, Lieutenant Langley reporting that though he took the death of his father 'very well', he was worried for his mother and sister. Fortunately Colonel Linton's son would survive the war and return to Australia in 1919.

The body of Colonel Linton and 172 survivors aboard the *Massue* were then transferred to the troopship *Transylvania*, as were other survivors collected from the lifeboats and rafts by various other vessels into the evening and into the next morning. Other Allied ships that rescued survivors were the *Haverford*, HMS *Ben-my-Chree*, HMS *Hussar*, the destroyer HMS *Raccoon* and the Hospital Ship *Neuralia*. By 12 noon the last boat had left the *Southland*, with all those remaining working to get the ship moving. Some of those aboard the rescue ships began to arrive at Mudros Bay about 5pm.

The *Southland* itself however did not sink. Despite being abandoned by most of her crew, she was sailed into Mudros Bay by the skilled work of the ship's captain, assisted by Australian soldiers and stokers from HMS *Raccoon* who volunteered to staff the boilers, none of whom had anything to eat for twelve hours. The eighteen Australian officers and men were listed individually for mention in the special order of the day issued by the General Staff Headquarters. She was guided though the anti-submarine boom at the entrance to Mudros Bay, through the lines of ships, where she was beached - 'to the upper reaches to a soft sandy beach, where she was quietly put ashore and allowed to settle down.'



Some of the officers rescued from the *Southland* aboard the *Transylvania*.

L-R Col. Millard, General J G Legge (replaced General Bridges, KIA), Sir Alex MacCormick, unidentified.
State Library of New South Wales.

No doubt witnessed by the troops arriving at Lemnos from Gallipoli, the damaged *Southland* was noted by the Australian medical staff camped on the Turks Head Peninsula. Lieutenant-Colonel Dick recorded that the *Southland* had arrived into Mudros Bay's outer harbour and could be seen from the 3rd Australian General Hospital camp. On 3rd September Matron Grace Wilson of the same hospital saw the *Southland* in Mudros Bay and wrote in her diary:

We felt very relieved as the report [about *Southland*] had been so bad last night – wish I could get on board but it is so difficult to get boats and harder still to get any information. I should like to know what troops were on board.”

The same hospital's Dr Herschel Harris photographed a group of surviving officers from the *Southland* aboard the *Transylvania* in Mudros Bay. On 6 September Matron Wilson met Colonel Sutton, one of the survivors of the *Southland*, as he came ashore. He informed her that General Legge and Colonel Goddard had also survived the attack. One of the other survivors was Private James Martin who died two months later; the youngest Australian known to have died in the war.

When Staff Nurse Hope Weatherhead from Victoria arrived in Mudros Bay on 7 September as part of the contingent of 25 Australian nurses to serve with the 2nd Australian Stationary Hospital, her landing barge sailed passed the *Southland*. She noted that it was “... still afloat but almost ripped in two ...” On 7 October Staff Nurse Lucy Daw and three other nurses from the 3rd Australian General Hospital would meet two of the surviving officers of the *Southland* at a 3rd Battalion dinner at the Sarpi rest camp. On 11 October she wrote that some nurses from the 3rd Australian General Hospital had even been able to go aboard the stricken ship.

Armed sentries were posted to protect the bullion on the ship. One of those sentries was Launceston-born Private Arthur George Waugh of the 21st Battalion, who had been one of the Australians who volunteered to stay on the *Southland* to help get it into port. The *Southland* was repaired at Mudros, concrete patches secured over the damage to her hull, sufficient for her to sail under her own steam to Malta's naval dockyard where she was fully repaired and restored to service as a troopship.

Twenty-eight Australian and four New Zealand soldiers were killed in the tragedy. The bodies of the dead who had been found were brought ashore and buried in East Mudros Cemetery. The first to be buried was Colonel Linton, brought ashore on 3 September and buried at 7.30am. A full military memorial service was conducted at the grave by Captain-Chaplain McCrae Stewart on the morning of 5 September, with a firing party and 100 officers and men of the 6th Brigade attending. Nine others would be buried in the same cemetery on 6 or 7 September. The British army chaplain Ernest Raymond is recorded as having officiated at the burials of Privates Donald Chisholm, Horace Harton, Arthur Healy, Oliver Holmes, William Johnson, Frederick Sargent and Corporal Charles Gunn. No chaplain is recorded as having officiated at the burials of Privates Maurice Kalman or Henry Withers. The remaining Australian - Private Patrick McDonough – was not buried until six

weeks later, after his body had washed ashore. One of the New Zealand soldiers killed in the tragedy, 24-year-old Driver Athol Richardson Morrison, was also buried at East Mudros. A further fifteen Australian soldiers killed due to the *Southland* attack are listed on the HT *Southland* panel of the memorial to the missing at Cape Helles. Two more Australian soldiers' deaths due to the *Southland* attack are listed on the Lone Pine Memorial. These soldiers would also be commemorated on the memorials in their home towns in Australia and New Zealand.

News of the attack on the *Southland* circulated quickly among the troops on the peninsula. The 5th Light Horse Regiment's 27-year-old Trooper Ion Idriess, a miner from Grafton in New South Wales, recorded details of the attack in his diary on 3 September. 24-year-old boilermaker from Flemington, Lance Corporal William Dalton Lycett, was with the 4th Field Ambulance at Anzac Cove when he wrote of the attack on the same day, noting the death of Colonel Linton.

And it wouldn't be long before the news reached Australia. The story of the attack, emphasising the discipline of the troops, the list of dead and the reports of the survivors, attracted much media attention. Stories were printed across Australia, in the metropolitan dailies, regional and suburban papers, with some featuring letters from the survivors as well as the official reports issued by military authorities. And years later, back in Australia, some of the survivors of that day off the coast of Lemnos would come together and remember the day the *Southland* was torpedoed.

The tragedy of the *Southland* would be followed by others. Over 300 Indian Army soldiers died in the torpedoing and sinking of the troopship *Ramazan* on 19 September. On 15 November, as the campaign drew to an end, the troopship *Orange Prince* was sunk off Crete with three men lost, the survivors taken aboard the *Argyllshire* which was carrying 7th Battalion reinforcements to Lemnos. But it was probably the loss of 167 personnel – including ten New Zealand nurses – with the sinking of the transport *Marquette* on the morning of 23 October that would have struck the Australian nurses on Lemnos, news reaching them the next day.

It was a proud moment for us in the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee to take part in the Royal Australian Navy's commemorative service aboard HMAS *Success* anchored in Mudros Bay as part of the centenary of Anzac commemorations held on Lemnos in April 2015. I thought how touching for those diggers who had been lost at sea to have Australia's navy return to these waters a hundred years later to remember the service of all those who served in the Gallipoli campaign.

The story of the tragedy of the *Southland* is a reminder of the deadly naval struggle fought in the waters of the northern Aegean during the Gallipoli campaign. The battles on the peninsula are well known, as is the support offered to the troops by the medical and supply base on Lemnos. But less appreciated are the dangers faced by Allied troops sailing to and from Gallipoli, running the gauntlet of enemy submarines and torpedo boats. This struggle and the resulting dead should not be forgotten. Next time you are sailing on your ferry across the beautiful

Aegean, nearing arrival at your island destination, think of those who died from the *Southland*, and of their grieving families at home in Australia and New Zealand.

Sources and Further Reading

This article draws on secondary and primary sources, including British and Australian official histories of Gallipoli, Australian unit war diaries, service records and contemporary newspaper reports, including those citing the accounts of many of those soldiers directly involved in the *Southland* tragedy published in newspapers and preserved in the National Library of Australia's collections. The author acknowledges the work of 'Frev', whose post 'Those that lost their lives – on 2nd September 1915,' *Great War forum website*, 5 Jan 2014, as an excellent source on those who perished. A list of sources can be obtained by emailing jimclaven@yahoo.com.au

Jim Claven is a historian (holding Bachelor and Masters degrees from Monash University), freelance writer and secretary of the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee, who has been researching the role of Lemnos in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915-16 for many years. He is the author of the book *Lemnos & Gallipoli Revealed: A Pictorial History of the Anzacs in the Aegean 1915-16* – which was recently published in Australia. Those interested in purchasing a copy should contact leetarlamis@gmail.com.

Endnotes

- 1 Sources for these attacks and losses from: C F Aspinall-Oglander, *History of the Great War Military Operations – Gallipoli, Volume 1*: (IWM & Battery Press, 1992), Note 3 p140; *ibid*, p39; C E W Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18: The Story of Anzac Volume 1* UQ/AWM 1981 pp216-217. E Bush, *Gallipoli*, St Martin's Press 1975 pp78-79, 167-168, 190-197; A G Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol 1. AWM 1938 p215; D Van Der Vat, *The Dardanelles Disaster: Winston Churchill's Greatest Failure*, Duckworth 2010 pp148-149; *The 1915 War Diary of Lucy Daw*, Entry 15 Aug 1915. Comp. G J C Daw, assisted by D C Hancock, unpub, d. 2 Dec 1914, cited with permission; Transcript, 1914-15 diary of E P Hill, entry 25 May 1914, manuscript provided by Barrie Hill; E Keble Chatterton, *Dardanelles Dilemma: The Story of the Naval Operations*, Rich & Cowan 1935 pp269-270; J H Patterson, *With the Zionists at Gallipoli*, Hutchinson 1916 pp49-51; *Times History of the War*, Vol 6, 1916 pp113-115.
- 2 Entries 31 Aug - 2 Sep 1915, 6 Inf Bde War Diary, Aug-Sep 1915, AWM4 23/6/1. AWM.
- 3 R C C Dunn, 'Story of the Southland – Torpedoed Transport Reaches Harbour – Thrilling Adventure of A.I.F. Troops,' *Argus* (Melb) 7 Sep 1935.
- 4 Bean, 'Courage and Coolness – Orders Obeyed Promptly' *Argus* 22 Nov 1915.
- 5 Entry 2 Sep 1915, 24 Inf Bn War Diary, AWM 4 23/4/2; S Savage, *Stalky's Forlorn Hope*, Alexander McCubbin c 1920, Lieut-Gen S G Savage service file, NAA, Embarkation Roll (AWM).
- 6 Recollection of Pte Fred Hocking, 'Letter from the Front', *Heidelberg News and Greensborough and Diamond Creek Chronicle*, 11 Dec 1915. Bean writes that the torpedo struck 'on the waterline below the bridge.' [Bean, *Story of Anzac: Vol 2*, p807].
- 7 Special Order of the day issued by Allied GHQ, cited by C E W Bean, 'Australian Heroes – The Southland Affair – A Sublime Story', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 22 Nov 1915.
- 8 Recollections of Cpl A Robinson, 21 Bn, 'A Corporal's Letter', *Age* (Melb), 23 Nov 1915 p6. Bean writes that the hole was forty feet by twelve feet. [*OH Vol 2*, p807].
- 9 Account in letter from Lt Cullen 21 Bn, service file 1769 Pte Albert Paul Heywood (NAA).
- 10 AIF, 'Proceedings of a Court of inquiry ...' copy in 6387 Pte F E Pell's service file (NAA).
- 11 'Another Account', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 Nov 1915 p7; 'Three Hours on Raft – A Corporal's Experience' *Age* 23 Nov 1915 p6.
- 12 Letter entitled 'Dug Out' (Sep 1915, Anzac Cove), A Gregory (ed.), Langley's Letters, Langley, Courtis, Thompson Library Trust, April 2015, pp8-9, 15.
- 13 G F & E M Langley, *Sand Sweat & Camels: The Australian Companies of the Imperial Camel Corps*, Lowden 1976, pp11-12; 'Story of the Southland - Fearless in the face of death – Letter from those in the ship', *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 26 Nov 1915 p6.

- 14 C J Dennis 'The Singing Soldiers' in *Moods of Ginger Mick*, Angus & Robertson 1980 p64.
- 15 *The troopship Southland ... two lifeboats are leaving the side of the sinking vessel*, unknown photographer, at sea, 2 Sep 1915, AWM collection ID A00737.
- 16 Entry 2 Sep 1915, 6 Inf Bde War Diary, Aug-Sep 1915, AWM4 23/6/1. Various firsthand accounts report that only two lifeboats were tipped over this way; e.g. see 'On the Southland', *Ballarat Courier*, 6 Mar 1916 p4; 'Private Harold Close of Myers Street Bendigo', in 'Interesting Accounts: ... Heroism on the Southland – Bendigonians' Experiences', *The Bendigonian* 25 Nov 1915, p21.
- 17 Recollection, unnamed, 'Three Hours on Raft – A Corporal's Experience' *Age*, 23 Nov 1915 p6.
- 18 Hocking *op. cit.*
- 19 Recollection, unnamed *op. cit.*
- 20 Hocking *op. cit.*
- 21 WW1 Stories - Alfred Bayley (selection from Alfred Bayley's diary), accessed on line
- 22 Account in letter by 791 Pte H Atkinson, dated 24 Dec 1915, 166 Pte David Harris, service file.
- 23 While details vary, all eyewitness accounts state that James and Thomas drowned together. See accounts by Pte 1783 W F Dyer, 791 Pte H Atkinson and 1655 Pte Booth in service files of Ptes James Bowman Sloan and Thomas Bowman Sloan (NAA).
- 24 Australian Military Forces, 'Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry assembled at Tel-el-Kebir on 19th January 1916 ...', in service file 414 Pte Patrick Joseph McDonough, (NAA).
- 25 Hocking *op. cit.*
- 26 Sources cited for Col Linton's death - Entry 2 Sep 1915, 6 Inf Bde War Diary, *op. cit.*; service files Col R Linton and Cap R V Linton (NAA), Embarkation Roll (AWM); 'Account of Brigadier Colonel Linton's Death', service file Col R Linton (NAA); C E W Bean, *OH Vol 2 op. cit.* p809; C E W Bean, 'Courage and Coolness ...' *op. cit.*; Cpl F Drew, 'Death of a Brave Officer', *The Essendon Gazette and Keilor, Bulla and Broadmeadows Reporter* 4 Nov 1915; Letter 'Dug Out' *op. cit.*, p15.
- 27 Entry 2 Sep 1915, 6 Bde War Diary, *op. cit.* & 'Account of Brigadier Colonel Linton's Death', *op. cit.*
- 28 Captain Richard Vivian Linton, service file (NAA), embarkation roll (AWM).
- 29 Entry for 2 Sep 1915, 6 Inf Bde War Diary, *op. cit.*; R C C Dunn *op. cit.*
- 30 Dunn states that 400 troops remained on the ship, where Bean only refers to the remaining crew, AIF volunteer stokers and some officers. C E W Bean, 'Courage and Coolness – Orders Obeyed Promptly', *op. cit.*; R C C Dunn, *op. cit.*
- 31 Apart from an unnamed corporal from Benalla, 44 survivors from 23 Bn's B Coy. landed at Mudros after 5pm. - Unnamed recollection, 'Experiences on the Southland ...' *Benalla Standard*, 7 Jul 1916, p3, NLA; Entry for 2 Sep 1915, 23 Aust Inf Bn War Diary for Sep 1915, AWM4 23/40/2.
- 32 R C C Dunn *op. cit.*
- 33 Entry for 2 Sep 1915, Lieut-Col J A Dick, manuscript MSS 407, AWM224 255/3/93.
- 34 Entry 3 Sep 1915, *World War 1 Diary of Grace Wilson*, unpublished, transcribed Jan 1989, annotations by Madoline Weedon, typescript, cited with permission.
- 35 'Mudros Harbour, 1915. Group of officers on 'Transylvania'. Photos Dr H Harris, State Library NSW.
- 36 'Overseas War Records of Sister Hope Weatherhead' in Muriel Clappett (ed.), *My Dear Mother*, Australian Print Group, [n.d.], p146.
- 37 Entries for 7 & 11 Oct 1915, *The 1915 War Diary of Lucy Daw*, compiled by G J D Daw, assisted by D C Hancock, unpublished, dated 2 Dec 1914, cited with permission.
- 38 'Pte. A. G. Waugh', *Geelong Advertiser*, 4 Dec 1915, NLA.
- 39 The *Southland* was sunk by another German torpedo in June 1917. R C C Dunn, *op. cit.*
- 41 Entry 5 Sep 1915, 6 Inf Bde, War Diary Aug-Sep 1915, *op. cit.*; Cpl F Drew, *op. cit.*
- 42 Burial information is drawn from the service files of the soldiers cited, NAA.
- 43 Noted by 607 Private W F Dyer dated 21 Feb 1916, 414 Pte P J McDonough service file (NAA).
- 44 These are listed on the HT Southland Memorial, panel 332, Helles memorial to the missing, Helles - 538 Dvr B R Cartwright, Privates 339 Pte H W Bowen, 354 W Copeland, 159 P Gorman, 166 David (Di) Harris, 254 T M O'Byrne, 1738 J B Sloan, 741 T B Sloan, 1769 A P Heywood, 1660 A Best, 1704 L F Dockery, 923 W J Morgan, 6387 F E Pell, 55 L T Adams and 61 Cpl A E Wilson.
- 45 Panels 65 and 66 listing those missing presumed dead on the Lone Pine Memorial, Anzac, contain

- the names of Ptes 938 Lawrence Edward Mahon and 444 William Stewart, whose service files record their having died as a result of the attack on the *Southland*.
- 46 Entry for 3 Sep 1915, Ion Idriess, *The Desert Column*, Angus and Robertson, 1951, p38.
- 47 Entry for 3 Sep 1915, The 'Great War' Diaries of 2063 L/Cpl William Dalton Lycett, 4th Field Ambulance, AID 15 Aust Light Railway Operating Co., 1914-1919, accessed on line.
- 48 These sources form a major primary source for this article: Entries for 30 Aug to 5 Sep 1915, 6 Inf Bde War Diary, *op. cit.*; Special Order of the day issued by the Allied General Headquarters, reproduced in C E W Bean *op. cit.* media reports include those by R C C Dunn and C E W Bean in *The Argus*, the *Age* and the *Advertiser* and first-hand accounts by Cpls R W Ahearn, J D Burns, R Young, A Robinson, N M Gallagher (NZEF) and F Drew, Ptes F Hocking, F Gower and A Bayley, Lieut F L Apperley, Mjr Harris, Col Hutchinson and two unnamed diggers. Pte Fred Hocking's account is one of the most extensive concerning the Southland attack.
- 49 A photo in the AWM collection for the *Sun*, unknown photographer, depicts a reunion of some of the survivors at an unknown location on 2 Sep 1972, the 57th anniversary of the attack. 'The reunion of survivors from the sinking of HMT Southland ...', AWM, ID number P07375.004.
- 50 R Rohner Diary entry 15 Nov 1915, in MacFarlane, *The Fair Dinkums*, Pan Macmillan, 2016, p97; E B Proud *History of Australian Military Postal Services 1914-1950*, Proud-Bailey, 1991, p47, 53; P Stanley, *Die in battle: Do not despair – The Indians at Gallipoli*, 1915, Helion, 2015, pp254-257.
- 51 Anna Rogers, *While You're Away: New Zealand Nurses at War 1899-1948*, Auckland Up, 2003, pp94-133; Rex Hall 36-37; Entry for 24 Oct 1915, Daw.

THE NAME 'ANZAC'

The publication of Bruce Topperwien's "The Word Anzac" in the last edition of *The Gallipolian* elicited numerous responses. A follow-up article by Ron Palenski - 'Coining a Word for the Ages' - appears in this edition (pages 59-61). It is interesting to speculate on what the word might have been in some alternative 'what if' version of history. The following is an intriguing possibility:

'The code word "Anzac" narrowly missed being "Anziac." When Lieut.-General Birdwood was seeking a word to include all the units under his command on the Peninsula, it was agreed that the initial letters of Australian and New Zealand Army Corps be assembled to make the word. A suggestion came from one of the divisional commanders that the Indian division be included, and that the word be made by the initial letters of Australian, New Zealand, Indian Army Corps. The suggestion was quashed, however, and the name "Anzac" will never be altered.'

('The Name Anzac', *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Queensland) 4 May 1927 p8).

Anzac Bulletin

LONDON, AUGUST 15, 1917.

Issued to Members of the Australian
Military and Naval Forces in Great
Britain, France, and elsewhere.



‘WALKING GALLIPOLI’ TOUR – 3-8 MAY 2020

‘Hidden Gallipoli’ Tour – 8-13 May 2020

The Gallipoli Association, with Battle Honours, are pleased to be offering the popular ‘Walking Gallipoli’ Tour in the company of fellow enthusiasts and authorities, and also our new ‘Hidden Gallipoli’ Tour. One week or two, the choice is yours.

Walking Gallipoli, led by our historian and author, Stephen Chambers alongside guide, author and member Clive Harris, will offer a series of walks covering the highlights of the campaign, conducted at a relaxed pace and with scope to visit spots not offered on other tour itineraries. We feel this tour offers the most comprehensive tour available to Gallipoli, as part of a like-minded intimate group to reach seldom visited spots via mule tracks, dried up gullies and quiet beaches. The distances are not excessive. An average day covers about 6 miles over undulating ground but at a pace to suit the needs of the group. Any concerns, please feel free to give us a call.

We will stay in a charming Çanakkale boutique hotel with well-equipped rooms: A/C, TV, en-suite bathrooms and bar facilities. Bed and Breakfast basis, with packed or cafe lunches included. Evening meals are not included.

‘Walking Gallipoli’ Tour Itinerary

3 May 2020: Flights from London to Istanbul; transfer to Gallipoli.

4 May: Helles – Main 29th Division landing beaches, Hunter-Weston Hill, Helles memorial, Sedd-el-Bahr, Doughty-Wylie VC grave, Gully Ravine and Pink Farm.

5 May: Anzac – After a boat trip around Anzac Cove we visit Beach cemetery, Shrapnel Valley and explore the high ground of Plugge’s Plateau, Sphinx, Silt Spur, Lone Pine, Johnston’s Jolly, 4th Battalion Parade Ground, Courtney’s, Steele’s, Quinn’s Post and The Nek.

6 May: North Anzac - A beautiful walk in the remote northern Anzac area exploring Embarkation Pier cemetery, Taylor’s Gap, Aghyll Dere, Damakjelik Spur, Australia Valley and Hill 60. In the afternoon we walk from the heights of Chunuk Bair and Sari Bair, along Rhododendron Ridge to Ocean Beach below.

7 May: Suvla - Starting at Nibrunesi Point we follow the exploits of Kitchener’s New Army troops exploring Lala Baba and the Salt Lake. We then visit both Chocolate and Green Hills, Scimitar Hill, and walk from Hill 10 following in the footsteps of the 5th Norfolks.

8 May 2020: Return to London via Istanbul

‘Hidden Gallipoli’ Tour Itinerary

Those wishing to extend their Gallipoli visit, or who have previously visited and wish to improve their knowledge of the campaign, may join us on this stand-alone tour.

8 May 2020: Flights from London to Istanbul; transfer to Gallipoli.

9 May: Kum Kale - Studying the French landings and looking at the VC action of Lt-Commander Eric Robinson VC, visiting the Turkish Orkanieh gun battery near Achilles' Tomb before ending the day visiting Çanakkale's naval museum and CWGC Consular Cemetery.

10 May: French sector - Exploring Morto Bay; the 2/South Wales Borderers landing, the French cemetery and rediscovering the old French battlefield cemeteries and memorials near Zimmerman's Farm. We then walk up the line to find the formidable Bouchet, Haricot and Quadrilateral redoubts. In the afternoon we visit the Krithia sector, looking at the exploits of the 29th, 42nd (East Lancs), 52nd (Lowland) and RND from July 1915 to the evacuation.

11 May: Anzac sector - Shrapnel Valley to Russell's Top walk - This newly opened pathway, courtesy of the Gallipoli Site Directorate, enables us to walk from the Anzac rear areas up to firing lines. In the afternoon we explore the ground around Hill 60, West Ham Gully, Carisbrooke Castle, Upton Park & the Broadway.

12 May 2020: Suvla Sector. From Scimitar Hill to W Hills we study the August offensive by following the assaults by both the 29th & Mounted Divisions, as well as a close-up view of the Turkish positions on the W Hills. We then explore Kiretch Tepe Ridge visiting General Stopford's HQ, Karakol Dag, Jephson's Post, The Pimple, Kidney Hill and the Gendarme Memorial. We end our tour with a very special visit to the excellent Suvla Winery.

13 May 2020: Return to London via Istanbul.

For costs and further details see website or email historian@gallipoli-association.org

WARTIME 'SURGERY'

'Piece of Brain Broken Off.'

Auckland, July 4.- Details of a surgical case recently mentioned in a Sydney inquest were supplied by Major Roger Dansey, of Rotorua, who served at Gallipoli. A specialist, testifying at the inquest, stated that Sergeant Bowie, of the Australian Light Horse, was shot through the head. Portion of his brain was left protruding and, as it all could not be pushed back into position, a portion was thrown away.

Major Dansey says that he performed this rough surgery when commanding a Maori unit. He was with Sergeant Bowie, who had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant. A Turkish sniper sent two shots in quick succession at the two officers but missed them. A third shot, however, hit Bowie and the bullet went through his head.

'As he lay on the firestep with portion of his brain protruding,' Major Dansey said. 'I attempted to push it back and bandaged the wound. Not all the brain could be pushed back, so I broke off a piece and bandaged the head, and handed Bowie to the stretcher bearers.' (*Western Mail* (Perth, WA) 12 July 1934 page 9).

THE KODAK CAMERA OF PERCY VIRGOE

John Howell

The Autumn *Gallipollian* (no. 150) included Stephen Chambers' interesting article on the Kodak folding Vest Pocket Camera. The useful little VPK was unofficially carried by countless thousands of the empire's soldiers. Carrying a camera was soon banned for most Allied soldiers, but it seems the bans came later or were widely ignored by Anzac troops. One estimate has it that maybe half of all Australian soldiers who landed at Gallipoli had the VPK that fitted so conveniently into their tunic pockets. This seems a huge number, but a search of the Australian War Memorial photo collection brings up vast numbers of Gallipoli images and most of them were taken by ordinary diggers.

Frank Hurley's memorable and official images from WWI fronts are as carefully crafted as his famous Antarctic images taken with Ernest Shackleton, but he felt constant competition from the ordinary men around him. He apparently said: "The Kodak appears to be a part of the equipment of the Light Horse."

One of those men he referred to was certainly Percy Ernest Virgoe of the 4th Light Horse Regiment.

Who knows whether Percy had the 1915 model that allowed details to be pencilled directly to the backing of the film. Perhaps not, as he regularly used the camera body itself as his record!

Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August, and 30-year-old Percy followed as fast as her dominions. His first attestation paper is dated 22 August, so he was keen to serve!

The early scratchings visible on his VPK include 'Steele's Post, Walker's Ridge, Courtney's Post, Lone Pine' and 'Gaba Tepe.' Then there is also '1815 Lemnos and Imbros' [surely 1915]. He was in the paymaster's office and fell ill. Lemnos may refer to a hospital stay for rheumatism that saw him transferred to Egypt then Bristol, where he was also treated for dysentery. Percy was unmarried, but not unloved. While in Bristol, his parents wrote for details of his illness, as did a Miss Sissie Law from Melbourne.



These four men are on top of the great pyramid, Giza. The three in front have their Kodak cameras. Behind is Gunner Maurice Thompson. He passed his to someone else to snap the group photo.

By September 1916 he had been returned to Melbourne (and Sissie?) and received a medical discharge.

It was mentioned earlier that 22 August was his first enlistment date, because his record has a second enlistment on November 15, 1916 and soon after he scratched 'Artillery Camp 27-1-17.'

The next scratchings on his camera are 'Mauritius Is. 5-6-17,' 'Sierra Leone 5-7-17' and 'Devonport Eng. 20-7-17.' They must be from his second voyage from Australia.

He perhaps saw more sights than action, as the camera body also mentions 'Belgium 1917,' 'France-Paris,' 'Le Havre,' 'Versailles,' 'Rouen -1918' and 'Southampton 31-4-18.'

Soon after he fell ill again, and his record shows him with influenza and in Harefield Military Hospital by July 1918. Unlike many, he survived influenza and the end of his service came when he was discharged in Melbourne as Sergeant Virgoe, in April 1919.



HERO OF GALLIPOLI

Private. F. Boden, of Footscray [Melbourne - ed], who was shot in the head on May 19, and returned later to the firing line, was killed on August 7. He was a native of Williamstown, and born in Yarra-street. As a lad he joined the Loyal William Young Juvenile Lodge, M.U.I.O.O.F., and was 24 years of age.

Chaplain (Rev.) Gillison, who was killed later, sent the following sympathetic letter to his parents: 'You will already have been made aware of the sorrowful news of the death of your son, and I write to express, on behalf of officers and men, our sincerest sympathy with you and your family in your bereavement. On Friday night, August 6, the battalion moved out and took a position on a ridge, without any serious loss. During the operation a number of prisoners fell into our hands, amongst whom was a Turkish officer, seriously wounded. In the early part of the day he was removed on a stretcher to the beach, and one of the party appointed to carry him down was your son. On the way a bullet, whether a stray or fired by a sniper, we do not know, struck him and caused his death almost immediately.



When I discovered what had happened I had his body brought to the place where we were burying one or two who had fallen, so that he might be laid beside his old comrades, and there he was reverently laid, with a wooden cross to mark his grave.

Few things have troubled me more, during my experiences, than his death. I could not but think of the divine Master, who died for His enemies, and to save the life of a wounded enemy your son gave his life.

What a precious memory it will be to you, in all the years to come, to think of such a splendid and Christ-like sacrifice. His private property will, no doubt, reach you in due course.

I believe that I am more proud to be attached to a battalion to which belonged the man who died for his enemies than the one of our number that won the Victoria Cross.'

Editor's note:

This article appeared in the *Williamstown Chronicle* (Victoria), of 13 November 1915. By the time it was published Chaplain-Captain Andrew Gillison (14th Battalion) was also dead, having been fatally wounded at Hill 60 on 22 August, and dying in the 16th Casualty Clearing Station the same day.

EDUCATION COORDINATOR'S REPORT

The last few months have been very busy but, as always very enjoyable.

Teaching at Bristnall Hall Academy

Part of the Warwick project, involving the Warwickshire Yeomanry Museum (and the Fusiliers Museum). I produced teaching material based on original documents and photographs from the curator (a Gallipoli enthusiast). Students engaged in historical detective work and made conclusions about the evidence. The students' attitude was excellent. Six volunteers were later involved in a Skype meeting with the curator, which involved a virtual tour of the museum. The six have also produced an audio clip which will be sent to Corryong College in Australia. The teacher said that he would use it when he is doing further work on the Australian Light Horse. Their students produced a booklet about local men who served in the Light Horse.

Inauguration of the memorial at the Royal Hampshire Regiment Museum

This successful project is coming to an end. The memorial, which is now an indoor one, was inaugurated on 20 July. The ceremony received local press coverage. At my behest they have also produced a small booklet which is available at the museum.

Commemorative event for Billy Unsworth 8 September

Association members and representatives were invited to this event, held in a Turkish restaurant in Eccles, Manchester, by member Graham Williams. Graham plans to produce a small booklet, *Billy Unsworth*, on a local man who was killed at Gallipoli. The event was meant to be the launch of the book but came close to being cancelled as only the GA responded. It went ahead with family members and friends. I attended (with three of my family) and gave a talk on Lancashire and Gallipoli, which was well received. The GA will be working with Graham on a project to involve the local community in producing a booklet.

Warwick Gallipoli commemoration 16 September

The day, which was badged as part of Heritage Week, involved the two museums mentioned above opening specially. They both produced roller banners and booklets on Gallipoli, funded by the GA. Both put on special displays on the campaign. I organised a wreath-laying commemoration at the main church and gave two talks, one on each regiment. The mayor of Warwick attended the wreath-laying. Given that the event took place on a working day, it was a great success with almost 100 adults attending the three events. I spent a morning contacting the local media but, disappointingly, none attended. The museums will continue to display the roller banner and the booklets.

Launch of film and talk on 29th Division, 17 September

The première of the film was attended by 60 people and all comments received were positive. I gave a talk on the 29th Division in WWI which was equally well received. There is an underspend on this project, partly because the Stretton Local History

Society bore the costs of the première. This will be used to work with local schools and uniformed groups on installation of the new information board and planting of trees. Lucy Hawker, co-ordinating these two projects, spoke at the film première. I have set up a meeting to coordinate the small scale 2020 commemoration.

Birmingham Trench day and Living History event, 21 & 22 September

This project has been challenging at times but thanks to the hard work of two of the group (and me!) it has been a great success. The trench day was attended by about 60 people, including the Mayor of Solihull, and took part in tours of the trench and a range of activities. Some of these were specifically tailored for young people – my Gallipoli word search was particularly popular. The high point for me was the appearance of a gentleman who had come specifically to show me photos and documents of his father who had fought with the 9th Warwicks in the campaign. The team also had a Great War marquee at a local living history event and had produced booklets on the two Warwick regiments in Gallipoli. The following day was also a great success. We had a WWI tent at a local living history fair. Despite the variable weather the event attracted large numbers with well over 100 visiting the tent. Once again we were visited by a descendant of someone who served in the campaign and also by a distant relative of Slim. The team had worked for weeks on producing an excellent display. The re-enactor, wearing a British Gallipoli uniform, was very popular. Copies of a specially-produced booklet were also given out. Feedback from visitors was positive and I made useful contacts over the two days.

Visitors were asked to make comments in a book. Here are two:

A lot of research and dedication has been put into the exhibition. It goes a small way to remembering our heroes and respecting what they have done for us. School children would love to hear these as it is in their curriculum. Well done and thank you.

Very impressive and informative exhibition. The guys really knew their stuff. I didn't realise the Warwicks were there and how many Brits. I assumed it was an Aussie battle.

Moseley History group

The booklet was duly finished and launched after the commemorative service for the seven local men who were killed or served. Both events were well attended. I gave a talk and there were displays of unique artefacts and documents relating to local regiments in the campaign. There has been a lot of interest expressed in both the service and the booklet.

Continuation of Rochdale Fusilier Project.

Further funds have been allocated to this project. I am liaising with John Rodgers regarding a community project based on honouring the two youngest Rochdale Fusiliers to be killed in Gallipoli. It is likely to be in the form of a memorial bench.

Museum champions talks at the annual conference, 28 September

Wayne Birch and Andy Taylor made presentations at the conference. Wayne has had published a leaflet on the Nottinghamshire Yeomanry and Gallipoli, available at his museum. Andy has been doing a lot of outreach to community groups from the Hereford Light Infantry Museum.

Brune Park School.

Members know that the tour was a great success. The students attended the AGM and made a presentation about their experiences. This in conjunction with a visit to the Imperial War Museum. The students have also started planning, with younger pupils, a war memorial in the grounds of the school. This is the final part of the project. To quote the teacher in charge, Tom Andrew,

In 25 years of teaching it was the most enlightening and deeply joyful experience I have ever had ... The impact on the students - all of them - has been profound ... an unbelievable life affirming experience.

Bursaries.

There was only one bursary given in 2019. These will be advertised shortly.

Northern Study Day.

This is fixed for Saturday 14 March 2020 at Eccles town hall. We have three speakers lined up so far. Watch this space!

Proposed new projects for 2020.

The following projects have been approved by Trustees. Members requiring more information should contact me (contact details inside front cover).

A small allocation for post graduate bursaries.

A community-based theatre project in Leeds.

A schools project with the Soldiers of Gloucester Museum.

Community involvement in producing a booklet on Billy Unsworth.

An allocation for one Museum Champion .

A schools project with the York Army Museum.

An education project based around the new Stretton information boards on the 29th Division march past.

Further support for another trench day at Kingshurst Academy, including support for their History Club.

Please see the Association's *Education Appeal* following.

THE GALLIPOLI ASSOCIATION EDUCATION APPEAL

“In 25 years of teaching it was the most enlightening and deeply joyful experience I have ever had ...The impact on the students - all of them - has been profound ... an unbelievable life affirming experience.” *Teacher i/c Brune Park School tour, 2019.*

The Gallipoli Association (GA) is committed to remembering and honouring those who served in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 through education. A key part of our work is the delivery of educational tours to the Gallipoli peninsula in Turkey. The value of such tours is significant and wide reaching - from generating an interest in history and an enthusiasm to study, developing an awareness of our heritage and the conflicts that have shaped it, to providing personal development and life enhancing opportunities which make pupils better prepared for life after school.

The GA is seeking donations and sponsorship to deliver these unique educational opportunities.

Each 5-day tour includes preparatory work to identify and select the students who will attend. This is conducted in partnership with a school chosen from the state sector and in a deprived catchment area. Selected pupils will conduct study in advance of the trip and will be required to present their research during the trip and afterwards to various audiences.

The total cost of the tour is c.£1,100 per student which includes all accommodation, food, flights, transport and fully qualified and certified guides and mentors. Each student is required to make an individual contribution of 25% with the school matching this figure. The Association covers the rest, and as a small charity is seeking support to provide this unique opportunity to those who would benefit most from it.

In 2019 the GA sponsored 15 Year 9 pupils from Brune Park School to take part in this unique learning experience. Their teacher is quoted above. The students said:

It's hard to describe as it's something I've never actually felt or experienced before. It was a feeling of appreciation and it was a once in a lifetime opportunity to know and feel and see what they experienced and how they sacrificed everything.

The trenches we visited was a really overwhelming experience and was the first time I have probably really felt history coming to life

This trip really pushed me beyond my limits because I really had to be with people and gained more confidence as a result of it.

For 2020 the partner school is the **North Dulwich Academy**, London.

If you are interested in learning more about this trip, the difference it makes and supporting us then please contact me. I look forward to hearing from you and. All donations will be most gratefully received and acknowledged.

Ian Binnie, Gallipoli Association Education co-ordinator.

warwickfus@btinternet.com or 0797 6485 828

NATIVE OF MONS; BELGIAN WHO FELL AT GALLIPOLI

Corporal Fernand Dubois, who has just fallen while fighting with the Australian troops at Gallipoli, was a native of Mons, Belgium, and took his degrees of B.A. and bachelor of engineering at Louvain University, Belgium, at the age of 17 years.

Subsequently he was on the Belgian training ship *La Aviner*, and became quartermaster. Four years ago he was shipwrecked, and later came out to Australia. He stayed in the Inverell district for some time, and then went to Queensland as assistant surveyor to Mr. Morell, authorised surveyor, of Queensland, and had only a few months to serve before passing his examination as licensed surveyor when war broke out.

He felt, however, that he must go to the front, as he had so much to avenge, his country having been devastated by the Huns, and the schools in which he had received his education having been destroyed.

He enlisted in Queensland, and within a few weeks, was made a sergeant.



For a time he was French teacher to the officers, and, after having put in a period of training at Heliopolis, was stationed at Alexandria base. This sort of life, however, did not appeal to him.

"I have so much to avenge," he wrote to his wife, at Gum Flat, Inverell, "that I feel called upon to go right to the front and do my bit. I have made no friends in Alexandria, as I am down-right ashamed of my position. I was trained to fight."

Later, he stated that he took ship to Gallipoli without warning, was caught just when he was landing, and was brought back to Egypt and reduced to corporal. Eventually, however, his wish was acceded to and he was sent into the firing line.

"It is better to die an honorable and glorious death than live a shameful life," he wrote to his wife. "I hope to have the luck to be in a big engagement, and you can be sure I shall do my best to endeavour to be worthy both of the name of Belgian and of my position as a British subject!" Besides his widow, he leaves a mother and three sisters in Brussels. (*Daily Telegraph* (Sydney, NSW) 22 Sep 1915 p11).

1318 Sergeant Fernand George Jules Marie Dubois, 15th Battalion AIF.

Killed in action 8 August 1915, aged 26. No known grave. Widow, Eva Caroline Drevar Dubois (née Schutz).



Field of Remembrance, Captain Fagan meeting HRH The Duchess of Sussex
See page 7
Photograph courtesy Austen Birchall



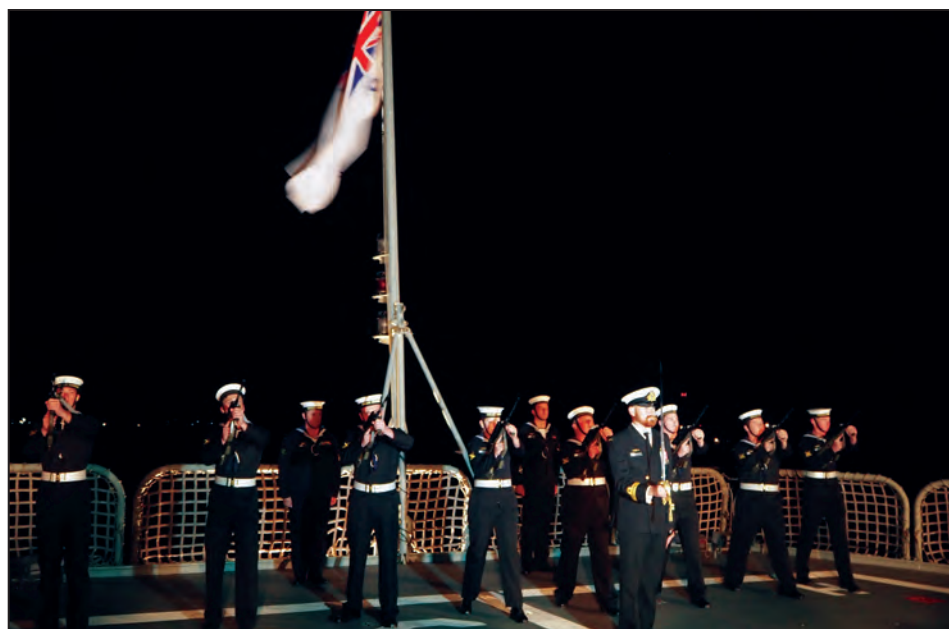
Field of Remembrance. HRH The Duke of Sussex talking to Captain Fagan. See page 7
Also, left to right: Surgeon Admiral Lionel Jarvis and Brigadier Peter Kelly, Defence Attaché, New Zealand
Photo courtesy Frances Speakman



Simon Kleinig of London Legacy, a member of the Gallipoli Association,
with colleagues Hester Huttenbach and John Duckworth. Remembrance Day Parade, 10 November 2019
See pages 6-7. Photo courtesy Simon Kleinig



RAN officers with members and supporters of the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee (Vice President Christina Despoteris second left) and New Zealand documentary filmmaker John Irwin at right) aboard HMAS *Success*, Mudros Bay, Lemnos, 2015. Photo Jim Claven. See pages 8-18



Dawn Service aboard HMAS *Success*, Mudros Bay, Lemnos, 2015. Photo Jim Claven. See pages 8-18



David Saunders, former editor of *The Gallipolian* and long-time member of the Association, has four issues of the boys' comic *The Victor* in his collection. These date from 1966 & 1967. [*The Victor* D C Thomson & Co Ltd]

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THE VICTOR
July 23, 1966

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

On three, he quickly dived and made for the railway line.

Then he heard the sound of a rifle...

NEXT WEEK—a story of the battle flag of the Royal Tank Regiment.

In each edition the cover article relates to Gallipoli 1915. [The Victor D C Thomson & Co Ltd].
The editions' covers will, space permitting, appear in the next *Gallipolitan*



Gallipoli Association Education coordinator, Ian Binnie, with Guides and Scouts
See report, pages 24-26



Gallipoli Association annual conference, Royal Air Force Club, Piccadilly, Saturday 28 September 2019
Brian Cleary's presentation 'The Mystery Woman of Gallipoli'
See pages 5-6



Association member and historian Stephen Chambers (left) with the Turkish delegation
Gallipoli Association annual conference. See pages 5-6



Lord West addressing the Association's Annual General Meeting, Cavalry & Guards Club
Photo courtesy Sarah Kellam
See pages 3-5



Gallipoli Association members Klaus Wolf and Tom Iredale, *Volkstrauertag* (German National Day of Remembrance ceremony), Istanbul, 17 November 2019
Tom had just laid the wreath on behalf of the Gallipoli Association. See page 7



Following the wreath-laying and commemoration ceremonies, participants were able to look around the cemetery overlooking the Bosphorus in Istanbul. Photos this page courtesy of Tom Iredale
See page 7

THE BLIGHTERS ATTACKING MY BEACH?

Give Them Hell!

David Saunders

Situated on the high ground from Sidmouth towards Salcombe Regis on the south coast of Devon is the Norman Lockyer Observatory operated by Exeter University. Joseph Norman Lockyer, born in 1836, became a barrister though astronomy, his hobby, took over his life. Indeed he is famed for first identifying the element helium, naming it after the Greek word 'Helios' meaning 'sun.' On retirement he founded the observatory which bears his name, and a crater on the moon and another on Mars are named after him. His son, Hughes Campbell, fourth of eight children and within the family known as Cam, was born in 1866 and attended Merchant Taylor's School followed by the Royal Academy, Gosport. From there he joined the Royal Navy as a cadet in July 1879 and spent two years on board the training ship *Britannia* on the River Dart. Passing out in July 1881 his final report noted his General Conduct as 'Indifferent' and his Ability as 'Very Good.'

Young Lockyer's first posting was in 1881 to HMS *Achilles* of the Channel Squadron which a year later participated in the Egyptian War. His report on leaving recorded his General Conduct as 'Very Good', his Ability as 'Fair', his Professional Knowledge described as 'Necessarily Very Limited.' In late 1882 he was assigned to HMS *Heroine* for the Pacific station and was deprived the following April of one month's time for 'impertinence to a Naval Instructor the Reverend George H Marwood MA.' One would like to know more!

In July 1884 his captain noted that 'Lockyer is not a good officer being careless and indifferent in the performance of his duties.' Then an improvement so that a year later 'general conduct during the last six months has been very good and he has conducted himself to my satisfaction.' Despite these travails Lockyer was showing an aptitude for the hydrographical work undertaken, the results of which were used to update sea charts. Similar work followed, this time off the east coast of Africa on board HMS *Stork*. Lockyer was classed in May 1889 as a 4th Class Assistant Surveyor, while on paying off in 1891 was a lieutenant, whose 'General Conduct, Ability, Zeal, Judgement, Temper' and 'Professional Knowledge' were all 'Very Good.'

On board HMS *Fearless* in 1892 Lockyer was described as: 'a very good navigator and wholly trustworthy pilot though no great aptitude for executive duties.' He carried out a number of surveys on the Greek coast for which he was granted surveying pay at 8 shillings a day, a welcome addition to his annual wage of £182 10s 0d, and he received the thanks of the Admiralty. Keble Chatterton (1935) reported how when HMS *Fearless* visited Lemnos, then a Turkish possession, Lockyer found that Mudros harbour was inaccurately shown on the chart and so set about rectifying

the situation. Not wanting to upset the local authorities, the surveying was disguised by swimming parties and regattas and a search for a fictional lost anchor, on which pretence the *Fearless* remained for an additional week after the fleet departed.

A subsequent three-year posting in 1895 to HMS *Cordelia* supervising the Newfoundland fishing season provided further opportunities for surveying and awards of surveying pay again at 8 shillings a day, at the conclusion receiving 'their Lordships' appreciation of the zeal and ability displayed and the pains taken in the production of these excellent charts' of the approaches to St John's Newfoundland.'



Hughes Lockyer, 1903

In February 1899 Lockyer joined HMS *Hood* which had been launched in 1891, last of the Royal Sovereign class of battleships, as navigating officer. Her captain was Alvin Coote Corry, whose naval career had commenced in 1862 when, aged not quite thirteen, he had joined the training ship *Britannia* then moored at Portland. His subsequent career across the next thirty-seven years saw him serve on a variety of ships and stations, at times interspersed with periods ashore on half-pay and three years at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich.

HMS *Hood* spent the year in the Mediterranean, Lockyer amidst his duties managing to compile a reference chart to the English Channel for which he received 'the expression of their Lordship's appreciation.' Arriving in Mudros Bay, Lemnos, for the fleet regatta of 21 to 25 September 1899, Lockyer continued his hydrographic survey of the bay which he had commenced between 1891 and 1894. Seven months later HMS *Hood* returned to Great Britain, her captain and navigating officer going their separate ways, never to meet again.

In December 1900 at one of the last society events of the Victorian age Corry married Catherine Florence James. Best man at the wedding was his close friend Captain, later Admiral Sir Archibald Milne, known to his junior officers as the Great Arch Bark. Members of the Gallipoli Association will recognise Milne who, when commander of the Mediterranean Fleet in August 1914, had expected the German battle cruiser *Goeben* and light cruiser *Breslau* to head for the Straits of Gibraltar not east to the Dardanelles. Several other commissions followed for Corry, the last being in September 1905 as a rear admiral when he became admiral superintendent of His Majesty's Dockyard, Chatham. Here in January 1907 he caught a chill, quickly developed pneumonia and died aged 57 on the 25th.

On leaving HMS *Hood* in April 1900 Lockyer spent the next two years, probably frustrating two years, in a succession of ships in the Reserve Fleet; ships with skeleton crews based at Chatham. Years enlightened by marriage on 30 November 1901 to Geraldine Louise Stairs who he first met in Halifax, Nova Scotia, while serving on HMS *Cordelia*. Many years later writing to one of his godsons he says that he gave up playing rugby when he was thirty:

When I heard the crowd shout out 'Fatty's got the ball again.' That was at Halifax N.S. and my future wife was looking on I thought the nick name might choke her off so I retired from the noble game and tried to get thin but never did. However she is still here and going strong!

Then back to sea, to the Mediterranean on HMS *Irresistible* and the opportunity to complete his surveys at Mudros commenced all those years before. Promoted to commander in December 1902, a note on his service record by Admiral Sir William Wharton, Hydrographer of the Navy, reads 'This officer has never lost the opportunity of making surveys wherever he has been – the work is always well done.'

The chart of Mudros Bay, Lemnos, and the coast nearby was published in 1903. Lockyer, writing from HMS *Bulwark* then in the Mediterranean, on 23 May 1903, to his father referring to the Survey Department and the delays in the promotion of navigating officers, stated:

'Even if I had not had a row with friend Corry in the *Hood* I should not have expected to get promoted before 12 years although as you know I had the best N.O. record! & yet a Gunnery man who can teach an ordinary seaman how to stick a sawdust man through with a cutlass (sic) gets his 101½ years.'

The row with Corry, not difficult to understand when one knows a little of the personalities involved, is immortalised on the Admiralty chart to which Lockyer referred and subsequently across the years by the place names of four hills at the southern extremity of the western side of Morto Bay:

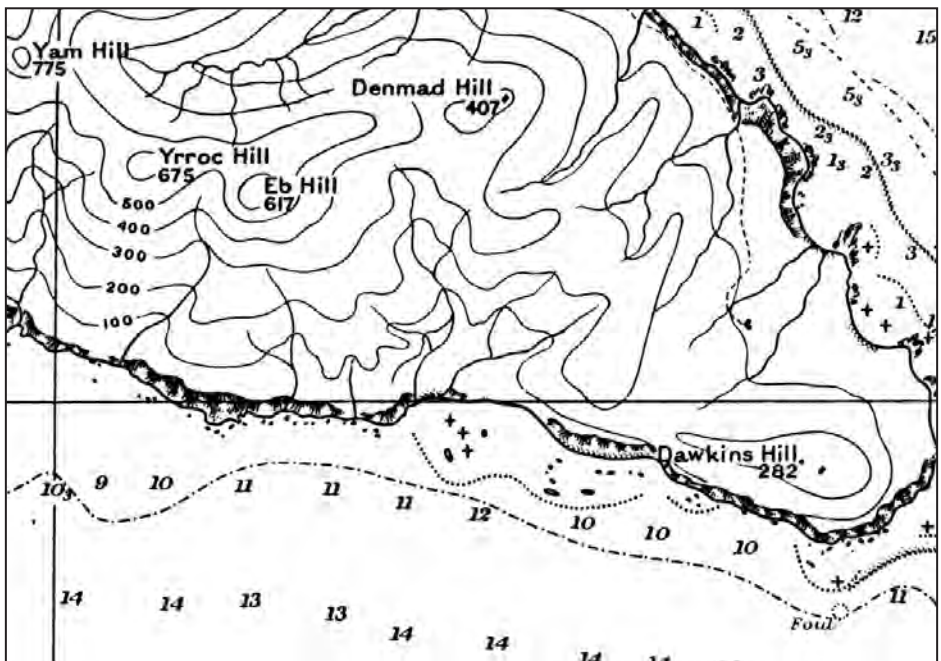
Yam (775 feet) **Yrroc** (675 feet) **Eb** (617 feet) **Denmad Hill** (607 feet)

Such names on the British chart of an island, once Turkish, becoming part of Greece in 1912 during the First Balkan War, would hardly cause a second glance, though reverse the spelling and you have:

May Corry Be Damned

According to Keble Chatterton (1935) writing of the occasion when HMS *Hood* was at Morto Bay in 1899, Corry, on seeing the draft chart:

was moved in all innocence to remark ‘What peculiar names these Turks give their hills, Lockyer!’ The latter concealed a smile. No one ever suspected the joke... This is a perfectly true story, related to me by Captain Lockyer himself.



Captain Eric Bush, one of the distinguished founder members of the Gallipoli Association and a vice president, also reports on the names, stating in 1975 that Corry had made the surveying party work round the clock, Sundays included. Lockyer had explained, tongue in cheek to Corry, that the names were from the Greek.

Keble Chatterton (1935), writing of events in 1915:

Well may he have congratulated himself that more than twenty years previously he had begun defining two good channels instead of one bad entrance ... We were lucky to have had such a roomy harbour as Mudros geographically ready at the outbreak of hostilities, and that by a little diplomacy the Greek owners place no impediments in our way. But not less fortunate was the British Navy in having obtained full knowledge of the anchorage possibilities years before a war cloud came over the Eastern Mediterranean. Rear-Admiral Wemyss could now gaze through his monocle on to a bay that had never seen such an assemblage of such shipping.

In September 1905 Lockyer was given a shore posting at Devonport as assistant to captain of dockyard and Assistant King's Harbour Master of the Hamoaze. The following March he became King's Harbour Master of Plymouth Sound. In June 1906 a cargo of wool on board the White Star liner *Gothic* caught fire off Lands End and the ship was forced to beach at Cattewater, Plymouth. Lockyer received an expression of their Lordships' approval on the 'excellent services rendered' and was allowed to accept a piece of gold plate presented by the ship owners, Messrs Ismay, Imrie & Co.

Promoted captain in 1908 and flag officer Malta in 1910, Lockyer incurred displeasure in August of 1911 by handing a chit of paper to the senior secretary's clerk in the Mediterranean with comments regarding a recently-completed court martial. He was informed that his conduct 'was contrary to the tradition and custom of the Service.' In 1912 Lockyer incurred the Admiralty's severe displeasure for sending a 'grossly improper letter' to Vice Admiral, Channel Fleet; alas the contents were not disclosed. Better news for that same year he received the thanks of the owners of the SS *Mendaus* which had caught fire.

These misdemeanours did not halt Lockyer's progress as in 1913 he was appointed captain of HMS *Implacable*, a Formidable Class battleship launched in 1899. Leaving England on 13 March 1915 *Implacable* arrived at Lemnos on the 23rd. She was quickly employed in observation duties off Cape Helles and on the night of 7 April cruised close inshore off Seddul Bahr. Mr H R Tate, midshipman, recorded in his journal:

Then the fun started. All searchlights suddenly switched on, those on the far side waving in the air so as to dazzle the enemy. Every gun that would blare blazed out to port, the bark of the 12 prs, and the crash of the 6 inch made an unholy din. In the village the shells were bursting, great dull red flashes, with the glimpse of houses falling like a pack of cards. Men and horses were seen running frantically round and their yells could be heard plainly. Suddenly a Turk switched on from the Asiatic side but a salvo from the starboard guns put it out, meanwhile Seddul Bahr was well on fire, so 'cease fire' was sounded and we retired gracefully. (See Lockyer 1936).

On 21 April a critical meeting of naval captains took place on board the cruiser HMS *Euraylus* at which a plan to bombard the beaches and approaches was changed to bombarding the coast ridges during the landings, although the beaches would still be

shelled before the landings. Lockyer, however, stated that he intended to shell the beaches on the way in, to which Roger Keyes, naval Chief of Staff at Gallipoli, replied vehemently that 'You will never be able to pick up the range quick enough.' In the event no definite decision was reached and the initiative was left up to individual captains. (Travers 2001).

Leaving Mudros at 1600 on 24 April HMS *Implacable* arrived off X Beach, Cape Helles, smallest of the three main landings, at dawn, Keyes (1934) reporting as seen from HMS *Queen Elizabeth*:

As we approached Tekku Burnu we learnt from Captain H. E. Lockyer, of the *Implacable*, that the landing at 'X' Beach was also unopposed. He had approached the coast with his anchor veered to one and a half shackles, in case of shallow water being met with and slowly steamed in, with the troops in boats abreast of the ship, to within 450 yards of the beach, before the anchor brought her to. The enemy had not made any preparation for a landing at the spot, and under cover of every gun in the *Implacable* the Royal Fusiliers had dashed in and landed without opposition. By 7 a.m. the whole battalion was on shore without a casualty. The nature of this beach was certainly favourable for covering fire from ships, but the conduct of the landing was admirable."

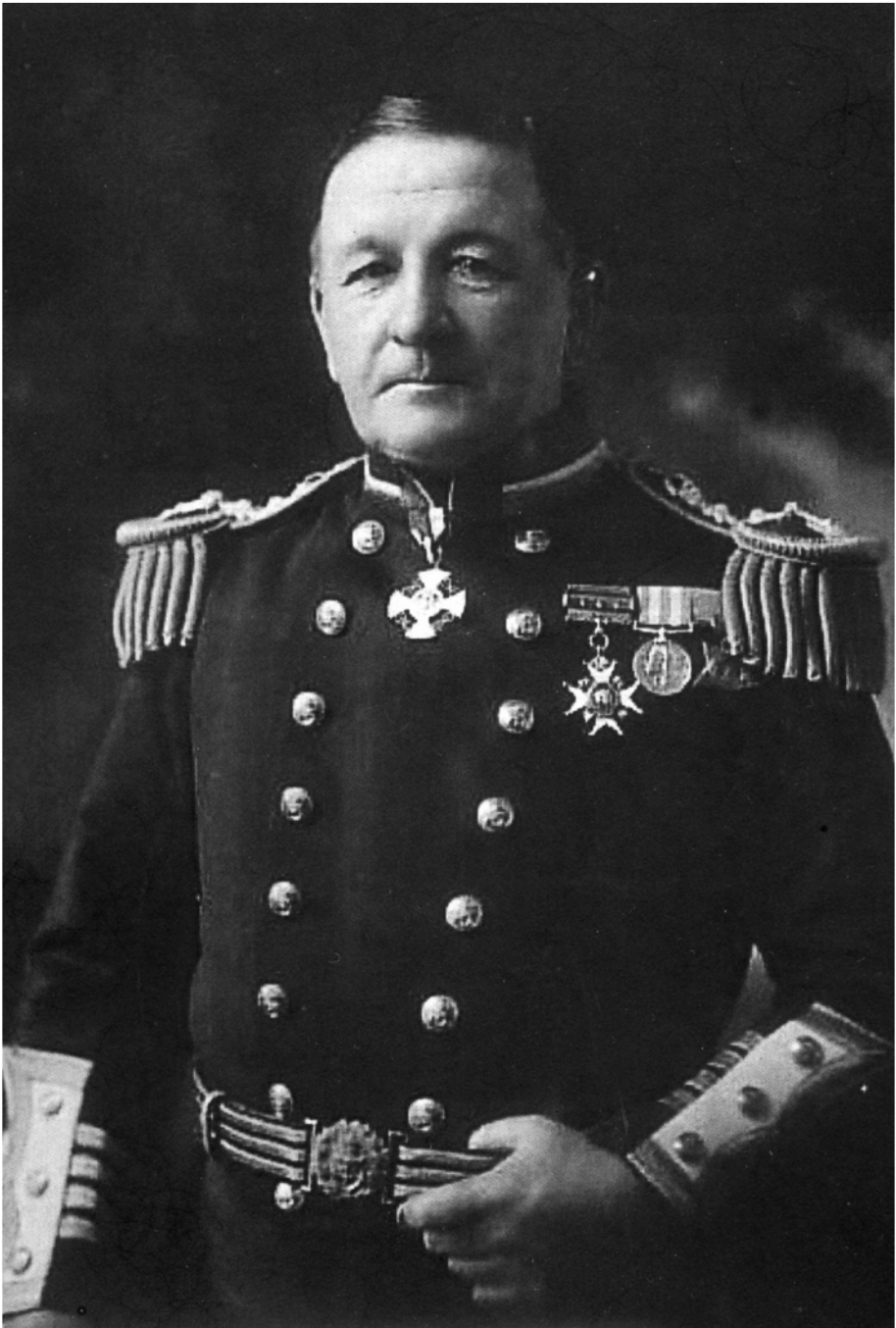
The Official History (Aspinall-Oglander 1929) notes:

The Turks were not prepared for a landing at this point. No wire had been put up and there was only a picquet of twelve men to guard this part of the coast. ... On the whole, therefore, the X Beach operation had started well. Thanks to the moral effect of 12-inch guns fired at point-blank range, the leading troops had landed without mishap; the first objective had been gained; and the beach was already available for the disembarkation of the main body.

The *Cambridge Weekly News* of 4 June 1915, reproduced in Lockyer (1936), carried a lengthy report by Stoker Petty Officer Charles R Cook of HMS *Implacable* concerning the landing in which he stated:

We ran close into our beach, and poured salvo after salvo. 12 in. shrapnel searched the cliffs, while 6 in. did ditto to the beach, and you can understand what an 850 lb. shell will do at 1,000 yards range. Under cover of our fire, our boats made for the beach, and I am happy to say did not lose a single man in landing ... Up to date the dear old ship has come through splendid. Am sorry to say our Fleet Surgeon has been killed. We bitterly mourn his loss, and the Navy loses one of its brightest officers and one of the finest gentlemen that ever stood in a pair of boots.

The officer referred to by Cook being Fleet Surgeon Adrian Andrew Forrester, the only casualty on board *Implacable* that day, who was killed as he was about to leave for W Beach to attend to the wounded. Midshipman Tate reported, 'We were in a group on the quarter deck when he was shot and he just collapsed quite quietly.'



Hughes C Lockyer, 1917

Also in Lockyer (1936) was this note under the heading ‘Implacable ‘Deserters’:

After the landing beaches had more or less settled down it was found that we had four men missing from the beach parties – this was passed along. A few days afterwards a boat came alongside and deposited the four men dressed in mixed uniform of Royal Fusiliers and Lancashire Fusiliers. On being brought before me they all had broad grins. On being asked why they had remained on the beach, the reply was ‘We couldn’t help it, Sir – we had to,’ but said one, ‘We had a hell of a time.’ They had been in the front line for a week!!! So all I could do was to congratulate them on being alive.

Steel & Hart (1994), on the bombardment at X Beach:

‘... was entirely due to the character and initiative of her captain, Captain Hughes Lockyer RN. From the start he expected to take up station much closer to the shore than 1,000 yards and in conjunction with his gunnery officer, Lieutenant Commander John Scott RN, developed a means of maintaining the *Implacable’s* fire at the beach as she accompanied her tows as close to the shore as possible. Once this point was reached she then continued firing at the bluffs around the cliff top until the actual moment the boats landed. The effect of this on the morale of the men in the boats as they approached X Beach was immense.

Commander Stanley Norfolk RN, a seventeen-year-old midshipman in 1915, writing to Lockyer, his old captain, after the publication of the latter’s *The Tragedy of ‘The Battle of the Beaches* in 1936, stated:

I have never forgotten the impression which that never to be forgotten run in to the beach made on me, and even more on the soldiers in my boat. They were simply enthralled with the sight of the cliff face being literally blown away by the ship’s guns & the spectacle of the ship steaming in firing was magnificent. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the morale of the troops in the boats went up 2 or 3 hundred per cent on that account. I remember it was a beastly cold morning and when the troops embarked from the ship they looked (and evidently felt) anything but heroes. The change in their attitude towards what lay ahead during that short run in alongside the ship was quite phenomenal. It was a complete revelation to me, & I have often felt that if the other landings had been similarly conducted there would be a different tale to tell.

Another midshipman present that day, later a member of the Gallipoli Association (No 412), was Arthur Wellesley Clarke who joined *Implacable* in August 1914, one of those young naval officers well described in Kipling’s poem *The Scholars*. During the first landing Clarke was in charge of a picket boat, his work that day being recognised by a Mention in Despatches. Subsequently he was on HMS *Royal Oak* which engaged the *Derfflinger* at the Battle of Jutland and in 1920, having returned to the same ship, took part in operations in the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora.

During the Second World War, commanding HMS *Sheffield*, he saw operational service from the White Sea to the Mediterranean and was awarded the DSO for action against superior German forces in the Barents Sea on 31 December 1942.

Travers (2001) quoting F Hyde Harrison of the 1st Battalion Border Regiment who landed in the second wave at X Beach, tells how about midnight as the Turks counter-attacked Lockyer, when roused exclaimed as he dashed for the bridge 'What! The blighters attacking my beach? Give them hell.' Small wonder that X Beach is also, and rightly so, known as Implacable Beach. Among the paintings of the Gallipoli campaign produced by Montagu Dawson, one published in *The Sphere* on 25 September 1915 shows HMS *Implacable* approaching X Beach with her forward guns firing while towing the ship's boats and launches. This was purchased by the officers of *Implacable* and presented to their captain. In 1972 it was presented by Miss Lena Lockyer to the National Maritime Museum which also holds a wealth of Captain Lockyer's papers.

Lockyer writing to Ormonde, his youngest brother, on 22 October 1915:

I expect you will have seen in the papers our little efforts at Gallipoli. We did very well – getting all our troops ashore without any casualties. I opened the ball by letting the 12 12-inch common and 60 6-inch shrap and lydite, so I think the blokes who were anywhere near my beach thought better of it and legged it. ... I am certain that if other beaches had been treated my way we would have saved half our casualties, but that is always the way. ... We went down to Malta at the end of May for a short refit. Since then five of our class have joined up with the Italian fleet in the Adriatic. Consequently we have been swinging round a bally buoy for five bally months waiting for the Austrians to come out, which I don't suppose they ever intend doing. It is infernally dull work & a damned rotten place too; Taranto. (Pearson 2013).

Appointed a Commander of the Bath (Military) on 1 January 1916, Lockyer was invested at Buckingham Palace on 15 April and subsequently granted permission to accept and wear insignia as a Commander of the Crown of Italy. He remained in command of HMS *Implacable* until April 1917, falling foul of their Lordships once more, his service record noting his work as president of a court of enquiry into a collision between the destroyers HMS *Scorpion* and HMS *Wolverine* on 30 November 1916 as 'having been unsatisfactory.'

Worse was to follow. Having been appointed commodore, second class, for 'special service' on 30 April, 1917, Lockyer was convicted in a court martial on 13 July, 1917 of being drunk aboard HMS *Mavis* while serving as commodore of a convoy she was escorting. He was severely reprimanded, dismissed the ship and informed that he would not be employed again. Lockyer retired at his own request on 21 March, 1918.

On the 21st anniversary of the landings Hughes Lockyer published his account, *The Tragedy of 'The Battle of the Beaches' Together with the proceedings of HMS 'Implacable' including the Landings on X and W Beaches* (proceeds of the sale in aid

of war charities). He died in June 1941 and is buried alongside his wife, his father and other family members in the churchyard of St Peter and St Mary, Salcombe Regis, just ten minutes away from the Norman Lockyer Observatory.

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ARTICLE ON CAPTAIN ERIC BUSH

The May 2019 edition of *Military History*, published bi-monthly in the United States, has in its ‘Valor’ series a biographical article with the title *A Sailor From Boyhood*, this the story of one of the earliest veterans to join the Gallipoli Association – Captain Eric Bush DSC and DSO with two bars. His book *Gallipoli*, published in 1975, deserves to be on every member’s bookshelves.

- David Saunders

Disclaimer

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

COMMAND, BATTLE PLANNING AND AUGUST'S 'HELLES DIVERSIONARY ATTACK'

An understanding of how decisions were made and what was learned

James Benn

Introduction

The story of Gallipoli's August offensives at Anzac and Suvla will likely be well known by readers of this journal. The near success of these battles, the tragedy, the advance, the retreat and the contribution that the failure of the August offensive made to the ending of the campaign are well known. Descriptions of the August offensive draw together the convoluted actions which began on the 6/7 August, including the oft-referenced diversionary attacks at Lone Pine and The Nek - both of which have passed into Antipodean and Gallipolian legend. The landings at Suvla and assault on the Sari Bair Ridge continue the story and are complex and nuanced. However, there is more to the fighting over the first week of August 1915, and not all of this fighting took place in the northernmost theatres of Anzac and Suvla.

This article explores a significant action which took place simultaneously at Cape Helles, in which two British attacks were made on the 6 and 7 August 1915 respectively. These attacks, collectively known as 'The Battle of the Krithia Vineyard', are often overlooked and referred to as a 'diversion'. Indeed the later fighting at Cape Helles is often forgotten. In many cases, the Helles front is practically ignored in histories of the campaign once the three battles of Krithia and late June's Battle of Gully Ravine have been described. However, moments of intense fighting continued at Cape Helles through the remainder of the summer, particularly in mid-July and also as part of the August offensive's diversion. Living in the shadow of the events to the north, the planning, fighting and lessons learned from these Helles attacks are worthy of further analysis.

Using the archive material of all units involved, this article explores the command of units involved at Helles in August 1915, the planning of 29th Division's role in the 6 August Helles attack and where 'power' lay in decision during the battle. The article then goes on to give an overview of the attacks themselves and provides some context to the contribution these actions made to the August offensive at Suvla and Anzac. The general trends which emerge within these themes during the Helles August 'diversion' are twofold:

1. Contrary to both Field Service Regulations and the notion of delegation of command decision-making to the 'man on the spot', the planning for the Helles diversion was almost exclusively the work of VIII Corps. Whereas on other fronts in 1915, where corps command acted as something of a post-box between army and divisional command, in August 1915 almost all details in planning the attacks of VIII Corps emanated from their commander and his staff. 29th and 42nd Divisions operated as the conduit through which VIII

Corps orders were passed on to brigade and battalion commanders.

2. The attacks at Helles in August were not solely diversions, but were also construed as part of the wider offensive. As with many assaults on the Western Front, the Helles attack had a twofold role. In one respect it *was* a diversionary attack, but it was also an offensive in itself. Its aim was to break through the Turkish lines should the opportunity arise; at least that was how it was planned. Equally, and crucially, commanders at Cape Helles did not see the attacks of August as the 'last throw of the dice'. The attacks of 6 and 7 August were seen by those that fought them as a continuation of the longer-term battle which had raged since April.

Commanders and Command in the Preparation for the Attack

Command at Helles in the days leading up to the August attack was in a period of flux. VIII Corps' commander, Lieutenant General Aylmer Hunter-Weston, had left the peninsula in mid-July, never to return. He was replaced by Frederick Stopford for a time and then Major-General William Douglas. Douglas had been promoted from command of 42nd Division. Stopford, during his short stint as VIII Corps commander, admitted he knew nothing of the Helles sector. Douglas himself would latterly be replaced by Lieutenant-General Francis Davies, although this change would only be made after the attacks of the 6/7 August. These changes to the VIII Corps command - coupled with handover and time needed to learn the battlefield - meant that a disproportionate degree of responsibility and authority was afforded to Brigadier-General Harold Edward Street, General Staff [BGGS] of VIII Corps. Street was a man who had experience of Helles and its ground, and was also senior staff officer on the Helles front. He would be integral in overseeing the forthcoming battle. Street had been of great importance to Hunter-Weston, but is recorded as having one great failing, namely that, 'he could not bring himself to admit the increasing difficulties that confronted troops at the southern end of the peninsula.' Battle planning and logistics fell, in large part, under Street's remit and the Helles attack would rely significantly upon him.¹

The overarching plan for the August Helles attack was straightforward, with follow up actions dependent upon the successes of the initial attacks. The plan was for the British to make two attacks over two days. On 6 August the 29th Division would attack to the north of the Krithia Nullah, whilst the following day the 42nd Division would attack to the nullah's south.² The general objective of the attacks was a section of Turkish line, known by the British as 'The Vineyard', which 'bulged invitingly' into the British front. The *Official History* of the campaign termed the actions 'small' and focused on 'flatten[ing] out the Turkish salient astride the two forks of the Kirte Dere.' That said, as is outlined below, Brigadier-General Street harboured more ambitious objectives for his attack, including speaking 'grandiloquently of the

1 C F Aspinall-Oglander, *Military Operations: Gallipoli* Vol 2, Battery Press, 1992 p169

2 James, *Gallipoli*, p261

capture of Krithia and Achi Baba'.³ Set against what is now commonly understood as a 'diversion' attack, the more detailed planning for these attacks shows that Street and other commanders within VIII Corps believed a wider and deeper breakthrough could also be made.

Battle Planning - 29th Division

A detailed analysis of battle planning, also known as battle procedure, amongst the 29th Division allows us to understand the process by which decisions in planning the attack were made. It also helps to unpick where the power lay in the chain of command and the increasing degree of detail within orders as they were distributed from corps command down to units near the front line. The common understanding of the British Army in the First World War is that the command decision making was disseminated downwards within the chain of command to afford greater responsibility to the 'man on the spot.' This approach is known today as Mission Command or in the German Army as 'Auftragstaktik.' This command culture emerged from Field Service Regulations, which stressed such an approach to battle planning. Received understanding within the learning curve paradigm, and amongst some modern historians of the war, suggests that during the war there was some reversal from the insistence that the 'man on the spot' oversee the battle. This was particularly the case in the early years of the war in which - although varied - a degree of de-skilling took place as the army grew. The result was that greater 'grip' was retained by commanders higher up the chain of command as a means of directing what was taking place beneath them. Edward Erickson has referred to this process at Gallipoli as 'restrictive control,' a view also echoed more widely by Martin Samuels.⁴

The initial references to an attack being made at Helles emerge in operation orders and memorandums at the end of July 1915, just a week before the battle began. William Douglas wrote to GHQ on 31 July 1915 in order to give his views on an upcoming attack at Helles. In this document, he outlined the overall plan which would take place a week later. The plan was simple: 29th Division would attack the Turkish H Trenches on the first day at 4.00pm, followed by 42nd Division attacking the G and F trenches the following morning. Douglas laid out that the general plan would 'give a much more satisfactory form to the whole line on which to base any further operations that may be undertaken.'⁵ General de Lisle, Douglas's immediate subordinate as 29th Division commander, received comments about the plan the following day. In a seven point directive, VIII Corps' comment explained everything from the leaving of packs, to carrying phone cable, to organising of army police. The grip and control was very much at VIII Corps level.⁶ 29th Division wrote back the same day, stating that the division was short of machine gun officers, and requested

3 *Official History*, Vol. 2, pp168-169

4 Erickson, *Gallipoli: Command Under Fire* (2015), p85. Also Samuels, M, *Command or Control?: Command, Training & Tactics in the British & German Armies, 1888-1918*. (2013)

5 TNA - VIII Corps Memo to MEF GHQ - 31 July 1915, p1

6 TNA - VIII Corps General Douglas to Major-General De Lisle - 1 August 1915

that a Captain J S Daniell of the 14/Sikhs be used to assist with the training of men for the battle.⁷ In light of VIII Corps' clear orders, 29th Division 'posted on' their respective orders to 88 Brigade the same day, a turnaround time of about four hours. These orders, similar to those from VIII Corps, contained specific details in instructing brigadiers and their staff. The quantity of Small Arms Ammunition was directed (200 rounds), as well as the need to take compass bearings to support the direction of the attack, alongside pieces of biscuit tin to be carried on soldiers' backs to assist with the spotting of the artillery.⁸ The same was true of the supporting role of 87 Brigade. Again, detail was extensive, including reference to preparing 'poles with helmets pushed over the parapets.' That said, the divisional plan offered some scope for innovation, stating that 87 Brigade undertake some bombing of the J trenches, but 'please report any proposal of this nature you may suggest.'⁹

As the days leading to attack drew closer, the control of VIII Corps became even clearer. In comparison, the role of the MEF GHQ was seen to wane, at least in terms of the Helles attack. A telegram sent by GHQ at 10.59pm on 1 August 1915, five days before the attack, simply stated that the attacks were to be delayed by 48 hours, and a more substantive Force Order 25 the following day gave only details of suspected enemy force numbers and a comment on their morale.¹⁰ VIII Corps turned around this information to 29th Division, once again, the same day. This next document continued the level of 'top down' direction. Douglas and Street requested of 29th Division that they provide a 'draft of your proposed instructions for the attack on H14 - G14 trenches', but only assuming that the initial attack was a success. Interestingly, 29th Division's response the following day was curt. It simply stated that the trenches in front of Fir Tree Spur, Gully Ravine and the Krithia Nullah were complex, and that any possible follow up attack would be made by the other two brigades (86 and 87 Brigades) on the 8/9 August. That was their plan.¹¹

The following day, VIII Corps' Daily Report continued the momentum of battle planning. The report outlined artillery registration on the F, G and H trench sectors to take place that day. Pre-battle skirmishing took place, with a Turkish sentry post being bombed from its position close to the Vineyard. This work was completed the following day, 3 August 1915, in which the 6/Manchesters cleared further Turks from the Vineyard, and completed work on a tunnel in this sector too.¹² The same day, VIII Corps continued to exert its control over battle procedure in requesting detailed aerial support from MEF GHQ. This included spotting for the Navy and Royal Field Artillery, early morning reconnaissance message bag drops, kite-balloon spotting, and a constant aerial presence from 2.30pm on the day of battle.¹³

7 TNA - 29th Division to VIII Corps, machine guns - 1 August 1915

8 TNA - 29th Division Instructions to 88 Brigade - 1 August 1915

9 TNA - 29th Division Instructions to 87 Brigade - 1 August 1915, p.2

10 TNA - MEF GHQ Force Order 25 - 2 August 1915

11 TNA - 29th Division reply to VIII Corps - 3 August 1915

12 TNA - VIII Corps Diary - 3 August 1915

13 TNA - VIII Corps to MEF GHQ 0.94/3 - Aeroplane requirements - 4 August 1915

By next day, 4 August, final preparations were being made for the attack. The 29th Division diary explains that a simplified foolscap trench map was issued that morning, designed to only show the British front line and a detailed overview of enemy lines. These could be taken into battle, 'as it would give no information to the enemy if captured.'¹⁴ The following day, VIII Corps, once again, outlined further instructions. These included the issuing of exact trench lines for the attack, as well as confirmation that no fresh troops would be available to 29th Division on the day after their attack. Once more, the need to retain strength to exploit any breakthrough was stressed, in this case ensuring all units had an officer to men ratio of no greater than 1:50 in order to form a cadre for any follow-up attack. The final statement, in which these preparations were pulled together, was ambiguous; namely that the 29th Division should do its best the following day to 'seize any positions which may improve the line held or assist the attack of further objectives'.

It was only in these final throes of preparations that 29th Division gave more specific instructions to their brigades and battalions; the 29th Division's 'Order 10' being an examples. Building upon VIII Corps' 'Order 17', this order outlined the location of troops involved in the attack, including both the Royal Engineer companies and 86 and 88 Brigades. The bombardment was outlined too. Beginning shortly after 3.00pm, eight machine guns would support the bombardment of Turkish trenches. At 3.50pm, 'the ranges of the heavy artillery [would] be lengthened and machine gun fire diverted from the trenches to be attacked to those further to the front.' In essence, there would be no creeping barrage, but rather a set lift of the artillery before the infantry assault. Records within the same order contain great detail in the planning of the infantry attack. This included the following overview of the moment of the attack: 'At 3.50pm exactly, companies detailed for the assault will spring forward on the order 'Attack' from the company commanders, which will be repeated all along the line by platoon and section commanders.' Further detail included instructions relating to putting Turkish trenches into a state of defence, as well as guidance on the digging of communication trenches. These orders were issued to brigades shortly after 8.30am on 5 August 1915, giving brigadiers and battalion commanders just over thirty hours to digest, understand and disseminate further issues where needed.¹⁵ This time was eroded by other orders and reminders to units. VIII Corps and 29th Division, for example, both reissued tighter orders for machine gun batteries later the same day. The degree of precision in the orders extended as far as giving specific locations for the guns, such as 'two guns to fire on trench H13', and all guns being in position by noon the following day with one in each battery being used to register the target.¹⁶ 29th Division would also issue orders that evening to 87 Brigade to cover its role in supporting the attack. This order included a four-part diversion technique which included building false bridges across their trenches, creating mule dust on roads behind their front, showing bayonets above the trench

14 TNA - 29th Division Diary - 4 August 1915, p.1

15 TNA - 29th Division Order 10 - 8.30am; 5 August 1915

16 TNA - 29th Division Instructions for machine gun batteries - 5 August 1915

parapets on their frontage and providing machine gun cover along the length of the Krithia Nullah and Gully Ravine.¹⁷ Beyond these final preparations, the 29th Division's diary recorded the day before the attack had 'passed quietly, except for a little enemy artillery fire in answer to our continued registration.'¹⁸

That evening, Sir Ian Hamilton issued a Special Order to men across the peninsula, as he had done on the eve of other attacks. This order laid out expectations for the following day's battles at Helles, Anzac and Suvla. It read, 'our next great fight is against Germany and Turkey, the would be oppressors of the rest of the human race.' It stressed to each man that he would be 'playing a decisive part in events which may herald the birth of a new and happier world.'¹⁹ Whether the significance of these words were proportional to the expectations assigned to the Helles 'diversion' is not clear, but the wealth of planning which had gone into the attack to come certainly showed that VIII Corps had hoped for more than a mere pinning down of Turkish forces opposite 29th and 42nd Divisions. Battle planning the days prior to the attack was evidence of this. The following morning, 6 August, Brigadier-General Street issued his own VIII Corps Special Order. In keeping with the preparations of the previous days, the message it contained stressed the wider opportunities of the attack. It stated:

The attack today is the first stage of operations which will, it is hoped, at last carry us onto the position for which all ranks have... fought since the landing three-and-a-half months ago. The attacks of which today's is the first, are the most important yet undertaken and on it depends the future progress of the whole of this campaign. It is now the beginning of a fresh year of war, and it is hoped that the advance of the VIII Corps will be the turning point, and the capture of KRITHIA and ACHI BABA the first steps towards the final victory of ourselves and our allies over all enemies.²⁰

Once again, emphasis was placed - in this case again by solely a corps commander - on the potential implications for success. No reference was made to the diversionary role of the attack but rather that of a breakthrough.

The attacks themselves - what happened?

The actual battle itself can be summarised briefly. By 8.00am on 6 August 1915, 88 Brigade had taken over its positions in the assaulting trenches. By 2.00pm, the divisional field headquarters had established telephone line communication with 88 Brigade in the front line. Final preparations were very much in accordance with VIII Corps' Order Number 17. Artillery preparation commenced at 2.20pm and is recorded as having 'appeared to be effective, [but] certain objectives such as trenches H13, H13A and H13B did not appear to be much knocked about.' Counter-battery fire from Turkish positions was also recorded during this time as having caused

¹⁷ TNA - 29th Division to 87 Brigade - Diversionary actions - 5 August 1915

¹⁸ TNA - 29th Division Diary - 5 August 1915

¹⁹ TNA - Sir Ian Hamilton to MEF - Special Order - 5 August 1915

²⁰ TNA - VIII Corps Special Order - 6 August 1915

phone lines to be cut between battalion and brigade headquarters. Machine gun fire commencing at 3.15pm and was recorded in various diaries as being 'heavy.'

The infantry attack began promptly with 'all the assaulting companies making an admirable advance.' However, as the ground rose towards the initial objectives, the 29th Division's diary records that 'the leading group suffered severely on reaching the crest from shellfire as well as from machine guns and rifles.' The entrenched Turkish positions were deemed stronger than expected and included 'cunningly concealed machine guns', which took a heavy toll on attacking infantry. The 4/Worcesters were reported as having possibly got into trench H13, in doing so, 'giving the impression that this trench had been captured', but subsequent fighting led to the loss of their position and a number of prisoners being taken. The 1/Essex, on the left of the assault, reached their objectives without significant loss, and bombed a Turkish redoubt. However, they were latterly removed from their positions by a vigorous Turkish counter-attack and fell back to their original trenches. The 2/Hampshires did not reach the enemy trenches, and their commanding officer, Captain O H L Day, was killed. Casualties in the three assaulting battalions were heavy, estimated at 350 for the 1/Essex, 350 for the 2/Hampshires and 700 in the 4/Worcesters.²¹

Messages with further orders and counter-orders continued to be shared during the remainder of 6 August, and early into the following morning. However most of these were between brigade, division and corps command. 88 Brigade's commander, Brigadier-General Douglas Edward Cayley, recorded that the situation at the front was confused as 'so few officers amongst the attacking troops were still alive that no messages were coming in.'²² A plan to launch an evening renewal of the attack using the 86 Brigade's 1/Royal Munster Fusiliers was later cancelled after protestations from the Munster's commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Guy Westland Geddes. The following afternoon, at the request of Sir Ian Hamilton, VIII Corps issued GHQ with an overview of the day's fighting. This summary of the 29th Division's attack is one of confusion, in which it is stated that, 'up to the time it got dark, the situation had not been cleared up sufficiently to [undertake] a further bombardment under [the] cover of which to push in more troops.' Casualties were again attributed to concealed machine guns, and the report concludes that, 'the heavy losses suffered by the three battalions engaged testifies to the severity of the fighting.'²³ In essence, the best intentions for the attack had come to nothing, and the opportunities for any breakthrough had not occurred. The attack had failed.

The following day's attack by 42nd Division, which is outside the scope of this article, met a similar fate. Attacking at 9.40am, the left attack by the 127 Brigade made no progress and suffered over 700 casualties. The right attack made by four battalions of the 125 Brigade made some headway, reaching the Vineyard to the west of the Krithia road. This sector was held for a number of days by a range of units, during which Lieutenant William Thomas Forshaw won the Victoria Cross. Irrespective of

21 Gillon, *Story of the 29th Division*, p35

22 *Official History*, Vol 2, p173

23 TNA - VIII Corps Report of 7 August to GHQ - 15:20hrs on 7 August 1915

this minor gain, the following days saw the winding down of offensive activity. A breakthrough had not been made, over 2000 casualties had been sustained for little gain and the support to the northern assault remained questionable. Other than the work in late December and January to support the evacuation, the remaining time at Cape Helles would be quieter in light of the fighting of 6/7 August 1915. In fact, the fight for Helles was now over.

Conclusion

In drawing this analysis to a conclusion, it is possible to state that the degree of detail in the planning of the Cape Helles diversion is reflective of the significant efforts which were taken to ensure a breakthrough on that front. Contrary to its limited place in the historiography of the campaign, VIII Corps were keen to ensure that all plans were sufficiently detailed to give the attack the best chance of success. Battle planning within this process showed that corps commanders retained a significant amount of top-down grip over the actions of subordinate units. In this case, 29th Division acted merely as a halfway house between Brigadier-General Street and the brigade commanders within the 29th Division. There is likely some truth in the oft-quoted view that the lack of experience and skill among certain commanders at Gallipoli meant that control needed to be retained by the most experienced officers.

This is again evident during the battle planning for the Battle of the Krithia Vineyard. That the attack itself was a total failure, and the follow-up actions of the following day by 42nd Division met the same fate, it is useless to speculate whether a different approach to planning this battle might have led to a different result. It is more likely that the strength of the Ottoman forces defending the Helles front was such that even the most determined of actions was due to fail. The suggestion by VIII Corps that the attack might lead to a complete breakthrough can be seen as a failure of intelligence, with this set alongside over-optimistic expectations for the 6/7 August.

Whilst some still see the landings at Suvla Bay as a great missed opportunity, the same cannot be said of the diversion at Helles. Despite the best laid plans and the control of Brigadier-General Street and VIII Corps, the outcome of the attack here was doomed to fail. However, even in knowing this, it is through the prism of history that an analysis of the battle planning shows an interesting angle on how command was being exerted at Gallipoli in August 1915.

The author, James Benn, is an assistant headteacher of a school in London. In 2014 he completed the University of Birmingham's MA degree in 'British First World War Studies', during which his dissertation investigated operational decision making on the Western Front.

‘A MIXED BAG’¹ A STUDY OF BATTALION COMMAND AT SUVLA BAY

Richard Earl

11th (Northern) Division

32nd Brigade

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

33rd Brigade

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

34th Brigade

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

Pioneers- 6/East Yorkshire - H G A Moore

Formed in late August 1914, the 11th (Northern) Division was one of three K1 divisions sent to Gallipoli in the summer of 1915.² The performance of the two British divisions which landed at Suvla in August 1915 has been subject to some considerable scrutiny and criticism. As too have the men who led them, Mahon and Hammersley, and their brigade commanders. Shortly after landing, Sir Ian Hamilton complained of the 11th Division displaying a *'want of energy and push.'*³ In a post war report the whole Suvla force was accused of *'an absence of initiative.'*⁴ More recently, the Australian author Les Carylson has criticised the regular officers of the divisions as being too old and promoted above their level.⁵ Much of the blame for this lethargy lies at the hands of the divisional and brigade commanders. But what of the men who commanded the individual battalions? Were they old, over-promoted and lethargic? This article examines the performance of the thirteen men who led the infantry battalions of the 11th Division into Suvla Bay in August 1915.

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

Eight were serving regulars, four were from the reserve of officers, and only one - Johnston of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment - was completely retired. Just over half were serving as the regimental depot majors. To give just one example, Broadrick was the major in charge of the Border Regiment depot at Carlisle. Actively serving with his regiment were four other majors senior to him, and three his junior.⁶ In his mid-40s, Broadrick was about the average age of a regimental major; a rank at which one could retire on half pay at 48.⁷

In contrast Phelps was a regular major serving with the 1/Sherwood Foresters who happened to be in England on leave from India when war broke out. He was swiftly posted to the command of the newly formed 6/Lincoln.⁸ These officers were excellent choices for battalion command. Experienced soldiers for the most part, they were, on average, younger than the substantive lieutenant-colonels of their regiments by 3-4 years.⁹ However, most were slightly older than the optimum age for battalion command by the standards of later in the war, which was estimated to be under 36.¹⁰ Most appear to have experienced active service, with three being companions of the DSO. Eustace was a 50-year-old major, nine years retired from the Middlesex Regiment and a veteran of the Boer War, who had been both mentioned in despatches and created a member of the DSO for services at Spion Kop.¹¹ Johnston too had served in South Africa and had also been rewarded with the DSO.

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

Into combat

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

First to be killed was Chapman of the 6/Yorkshire, leading one of the first attacks made by the New Army in the Great War. Two companies advanced directly from C Beach on the Turkish position at Lala Baba. Despite heavy casualties the hill was taken and the Turks scattered. Chapman, however, had run into a party of Turks en route who killed him and wounded the rest of his headquarters.¹³ Also killed in action on the 7 August was Welstead of the 9/Lancashire Fusiliers. His battalion pinned down near the beach by Turkish snipers, Welstead was twice wounded, the first time slightly, the second fatally, whilst organising his reserves.¹⁴ A third battalion commander to fall on 7 August was Daukes of the 7/South Staffords, killed. A further casualty that fateful day was Fishbourne of the 8/Northumberland Fusiliers, wounded shortly after landing whilst attacking Chocolate Hill.¹⁵ The Northumberland Fusiliers were doubly handicapped as the battalion adjutant, Captain Garnier, had been wounded by Turkish rifle fire en route to the beach in a lighter.¹⁶ Finally, Wright of the 11/Manchester was hit late on the 7th and evacuated

home three days later. He would not return to his battalion until the October.¹⁷

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

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

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

Performance in battle

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

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

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

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

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

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

Editor's note: this article appeared in the last edition of *The Gallipolian*, but through an omission on my part the author, Mr Richard Earl, was not credited. Rather than merely printing an apology and acknowledgement, I felt it more appropriate to reprint the article, giving credit to its author. A complete list of references appears with the article in the last edition or is available on request from the editor.

COINING A WORD FOR THE AGES

Ron Palenski

The word ‘Anzac’ has acquired such a revered and permanent place in the language that its origins should be blindingly obvious. Adoption of the word as an acronym of the long-winded Australian and New Zealand Army Corps must have been staring soldiers in the face.

But it wasn’t. ‘Ausnew’ was one of the alternative names first offered for the newly formed army corps. It took some time to come up with the conveniently briefer version of the corps name and even longer to pin down who was responsible. Most evidence for the coining of one of the signature antipodean words of the 20th century points to a journalist-turned-soldier from Wellington, Keith Little, New Zealand Expeditionary Force, who was a sergeant and then a lieutenant on the corps headquarters staff.

The corps was formed in Cairo late in 1914 and Little, who left New Zealand with the ‘Main Body’ of the NZEF in October, reported to the administrative staff of the corps as a clerk on 28 December. The general officer commanding the new corps, Lieutenant-General William Birdwood, had left his previous job in India on 7 December and had been at his new HQ in Shepherd’s Hotel since 21 December.¹ Birdwood’s first account of the origin of ‘Anzac’ appears in an introduction he wrote for *The Anzac Book*, a collection of soldiers’ stories, poems and sketches, published in early 1916. ‘When I took over the command of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps in Egypt a year ago, I was asked to select a telegraphic code address for my Army Corps and then adopted the word ‘Anzac’. Later on, when we had effected our landing ... I was asked by General Headquarters to suggest a name for the beach where we had made good our first precarious footing, and then asked that this might be recorded as ‘Anzac Cove’ – a name which the bravery of our men has now made historical, while it will remain a geographical landmark for all time.’²

But Birdwood’s superior, General Sir Ian Hamilton, in overall charge at Gallipoli, had a different version. He wrote a foreword for a book published in 1916, *Crusading at Anzac anno domini 1915* (written by a signaller Ellis Silas) and took credit himself for coining the word: ‘As the man who first seeking to save himself the trouble, omitted the five full stops and brazenly coined the word ‘ANZAC’, I am glad to write a line or two in preface to sketches which may help to give currency to that token throughout the realms of glory.’³

Around the same time there were published reports that the word derived from the Arabic ‘anzak,’ meaning ‘only just.’

Birdwood was asked to explain by the Australian Defence Minister, George (later Sir George) Pearce. In a private letter to Pearce written on 7 May 1917, Birdwood told Pearce what he’d said in *The Anzac Book* was the only proper explanation. He then

went on: 'When we were first forming our corps in Egypt, I was asked to suggest a code telegraphic address and then chose 'ANZAC' as being the initial letters of the title of the corps. During the three months we were in Egypt, the word 'ANZAC' was very little used and we were almost invariably referred to as the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. The idea, therefore, of there being any Arabic derivation in the word is quite ridiculous.'⁴

Birdwood also told Pearce that Hamilton did not know the word had been used in Egypt but had later written to him, acknowledging that his version of events as outlined in *The Anzac Book* was correct.

Keith Little's role in the neologism then became public. In late 1917, he wrote to journalist Guy Scholefield, who represented several New Zealand newspapers in London, and was presumably known to Little from newspaper days in Wellington. Scholefield wrote that Little's account seemed to clear up any controversy. (Scholefield was later a historian and New Zealand parliamentary librarian).

Little, in his letter to Scholefield, which was reproduced in newspapers, said the necessity for a telegraphic address for the corps quickly became apparent. Little recorded: 'The word was actually discovered by the superintending clerk (an imperial army officer of the ASC) and he simply hit on the idea of joining the first letters of the words in the title of the corps.'⁵

By attributing the 'discovery' to a British officer from the army service corps (a Lieutenant A T White) Little downplayed his own role. Another of the New Zealand clerks on the corps staff, Harold Millington, wrote to the editor of the *Wellington Evening Post*, in which paper Scholefield's story appeared, saying Little, by then an officer, had omitted to mention that he was the 'original inventor.'⁶

Millington's description went: 'Shortly after General Birdwood came to Egypt, two stamps were improvised for the registration and numbering of letters, one of which bore the letters 'A and N Z A C'. Lt Little was at the time seated at a table at corps headquarters and, wishing to make use of the corps stamp, he asked a clerk to hand it to him.

"Which one?" replied the clerk. "The Anzac one," replied Lt Little.'

Millington wrote that the word 'Anzac' was in general use among the staff in the early months of 1915 and when asked for a suggested code word for the corps shortly before the departure for Gallipoli, one of the clerks suggested 'Anzac.'

'If any credit is due to the inventor of the word, such credit should fall to Lt Little,' Millington wrote.⁷

The official Australian correspondent and historian, Charles Bean, got the story almost right for Volume I of the history of Australia's role in the war. He attributed it to a Sergeant G C Little who asked Millington to 'throw him the Anzac stamp.'⁸

Little himself, who took up farming after the war (or swapped the pen for the

plough, as one newspaper put it), went public again in 1936. The Australian veterans' magazine, *Reveille*, recorded White's death and gave him the credit for coining Anzac. But Little wrote to the magazine and laid out what had happened.

He listed those present in the room at Shepherd's when either Major Cyril Wagstaff or a colonel Leslie entered (Bean said Wagstaff) and said that a suitable word for a code address for the corps headquarters was needed.

'We set about the job in a listless fashion and I distinctly remember the concoctions we produced, such as 'Ausnew' and various such combinations of a long-winded title. It was while pondering on this business that I sorted out the initial letters (A.N.Z.A.C.) and made the suggestion to White that perhaps the word they formed would serve.'

'At that moment, Leslie came into our room and White offered the suggestion to him. He said, 'Anzac! Hmmm. Sounds all right, I'll see the general.' He left to consult General Birdwood and finally the name was adopted.' (Wagstaff and Leslie were both Royal Engineers officers on the corps staff).⁹

Endnotes

1. AIF unit war diaries 1914-18, Formation HQ, AWM4, Australian War Memorial [AWM].
2. The Men of Anzac (Bean, C E W (ed)). *The Anzac Book*, London, Cassell, 1916 pix.
3. 'Origins of the acronym, Anzac,' Australian War Memorial (on line).
4. Extract from private letter from General Sir W R Birdwood to Senator G F Pearce, dated 7 May 1917, AWM 38 (3DLR606/237/1-Oct-1914-18), AWM.
5. *Evening Post*, November 15 1917, 8. (NZ newspapers - <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>)
6. *Ibid.*, November 17 1917, 4.
7. Little's and Millington's NZEF service records, Archives New Zealand (<http://www.archway.archives.govt.nz>).
8. C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac, Official History of Australia in the war of 1914-1918*, vol 1 (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1936), pp124-125, 125fn. See also *Mail* (Adelaide), February 24 1934 p11; *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 26 1934 p9; *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), February 27 1934 p10; *Argus* (Melbourne), March 1 1934 p1. (Aust. newspapers - <http://trove.nla.gov.au>).
9. Little, K M 'Who Coined Anzac? A Rejoinder', *Reveille* RSSAILA, NSW, Sydney. 1 Feb 1936, p3.

DIED OF WOUNDS SIX YEARS AFTER GALLIPOLI

The death took place on Wednesday night, at a private hospital, of Mr. Reginald Ewbank Cargeeg, son of Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Cargeeg, of Claremont.

The deceased was under treatment in relation to a wound received at Gallipoli. He and his brother Vic. joined the 11th Battalion, and were of the landing party at Gallipoli, the latter being killed there.

Mr. Cargeeg was a woolclasser by profession, and for a time, acted as an assistant appraiser and also instructor in wool-classing at the Technical School, Melbourne, and more recently at Fremantle Technical School. (*West Australian* 26 Feb 1921 p6).

BOOK REVIEWS

Cornerstones

The Life of H M Farmar, From Omdurman to the Western Front

Author: Katherine Swinfen Eady

Soft cover: 582 pages.

Publisher: Helion & Company (31 January 2019)

ISBN: 978-1-910777-43-5

What good fortune, the author having chanced upon a bundle of small dusty envelopes neatly wrapped and tied with string, from that small beginning a total of 727 letters by her great grandfather, Hugh Mynors Farmar, always known as Mynors, have been traced. Letters to his wife Violet and some to his children ranging from 9 October 1914 to 9 January 1919 and now the subject of this book.

Commissioned into the Lancashire Fusiliers in May 1898 Mynors was promptly sent to join the 2nd Battalion in Egypt where his elder brother Hugh had died of enteric fever at Souarda on the Nile two years previously. Having taken part in the Battle of Omdurman Mynors was one of those chosen to attend a service in Khartoum to honour General Gordon. Later he and a friend became lost in Omdurman, and were chased by ‘dervishes.’ From the Nile very quickly to Crete to quell a brief insurrection, later South Africa and the Boer War followed by China and other postings including the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst 1907-1911.

The early weeks of the war found Mynors in Aden writing that he hoped to be home for Christmas before probably going to France. His letters record lighter moments such as when playing golf with the colonel he hit him on his foot, the ball making a ricochet on to his stomach which deprived him of his speech while the injury meant he was laid up for some days for which Mynors was thanked by his brother officers.

Alas Mynors did not arrive home for Christmas. It was 10 January before the battalion reached Avonmouth, and they returned there on 15 March to sail for Egypt and subsequently Gallipoli. He landed at W Beach on the 25th where, with senior officers killed or wounded, he was in command from early morning onwards. General Sir Steuart Hare later wrote, “They never gave you enough credit for what you did that day. I am sure if you had not taken the grip of affairs that you did our whole effort would have collapsed.”

At the end of May having fractured a bone in his foot and against his will he was sent to Lemnos and did not return to Gallipoli until the 15 June, his time away from the front providing time for writing longer letters home. A month later he was injured by shrapnel and, suffering with malaria, was invalided home. Later he returned to service on the Western Front, the letters continuing to provide a rich source of detail not just of the campaign but also of an officer’s life, hopes and aspirations for his family when the war would be over.

**Lemnos & Gallipoli Revealed:
A Pictorial History of the Anzacs in the Aegean 1915-16**

Author: Jim Claven Hardback, 326 pages, 300+ photographs, maps and illustrations.

Publisher: Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee; September 2019

ISBN: 978064699661-5 Price: AUD \$80.00

This book, beautifully produced in a lavish larger format design, tells the important story of the Aegean island of Lemnos' role in the Gallipoli campaign. A well-researched and fascinating study, the book includes chapters on Lemnos before the Gallipoli landings, the way it was transformed into a base, the medical aspects, Sarpi Rest Camp, evacuation and final departure after Gallipoli, except for those that remain buried in one of the island's CWGC cemeteries.

Each chapter is richly illustrated with a wonderful collection of rare photographs. By these powerful images are cameo essays, and a narrative that concentrates on the words of mainly Australian soldiers and nurses that have been collected from letters, memoirs and diaries from those who experienced this beautiful Aegean island in the midst of war.

The book vividly reveals the role played by the island; the experiences of patients in the hospitals, an insight into the locals and their villages, and where soldiers 'rested' away from the fighting on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Of all the books I have read this year, *Lemnos & Gallipoli Revealed* is most certainly at the top end of that list.

What looks like a life's passion, this book is a must for all interested in the history of Gallipoli, Lemnos and the part Greece played in this part of the Aegean. By producing this book, Jim Claven and the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee have not only done the island proud but have helped keep the legacy of our forebears alive! Highly recommended.

Ms Sarah Kellam, Honorary Secretary, has added: "This is a most interesting book on a subject that was so vital to the Gallipoli Campaign. It is a must-read for scholars and historians and also for the descendants of all the brave people who were caught up in this terrible offensive – the soldiers, the sailors, the nurses and doctors and the local inhabitants of Lemnos who so generously gave their all to support the war effort and who provided a safe ground for the wounded and dying.

I am proud to be the owner of this wonderful account with its evocative and unique photographs, beautifully bound into a volume of quality which would look good on any bookshelf. More than anything else, Jim's research shows that, even after all this time, new archival material documenting the campaign is coming to light.

Congratulations to Jim and to the Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee. Lest We Forget."

- *Reviews this page and previous by David Saunders*

Two Midshipmen at Gallipoli

Author: Hugh Williams

Publisher: St Edwards Press. Paperback, 119 pages, 41 illustration

Published: July 2019

Price: £12.00 (incl UK P&P) ISBN: 9781909650-08-4

This book combines the letters and memoirs of two of the eight young midshipmen who led the assault on W Beach on 25 April 1915. Weaving between them are the writings of Admiral Wemyss, the man in charge of the naval side of the landings and in whose flagship both young men served.

An interesting little book that the author mentions came about following a talk he had given at a local historical society about his father's service in the First World War. Using his research and notes the next step for Hugh Williams was getting everything published into a book. Gallipoli has been important to this family for many years, inspired not only by his father's service in the campaign, but reinforced by a large Charles Dixon watercolour of HMS *Euryalus* that had hung on his dining room wall. Was one of the figures depicted in this painting actually his father?

The book was an enjoyable read. It begins with an introduction to those who inspired the book; namely his father, Alfred Martyn Williams and his best friend, Hubert Malcolm Wilson, the two midshipmen referred to in the book's title. The book is laid out chronologically, using passages from Alfred's memoir and letters from Hubert, supported by context from Admiral Wemyss' account of the campaign.

The genuine excitement, patriotism and naivety of war is clear in these two 17-years-olds' accounts, with descriptions of danger that must have worried their parents, especially when *Aboukir*, *Cressy* and *Hogue* were sunk in 1914, an event that *Euralsys* was fortunate to avoid. From ship to shore, Wilson describes the build-up to, and the landing of, the Lancashire Fusiliers on 25 April 1915. Whilst the story doesn't end at the landings, the accounts are lighter for the remainder of the campaign, but are nevertheless interesting and give an insight into a young man's war. *Recommended.*

Dear Em: Major Geoffrey McLaughlin's Letters To His Family, 1914-1917

Author: Geoffrey McLaughlin.

Editor: Susan Warmbath

Publisher: Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc, 2015, 390 pages, paperback

ISBN: 9780958683791

Through a wonderful collection of 134 letters sent home to his family from 1914-17, we gain a glimpse into the fascinating life of Geoffrey McLaughlin, a First World War artillery officer. Now carefully compiled into the book 'Dear Em', we share Geoffrey's journey from pre-war solicitor to a major in the Australian Field Artillery.

Geoffrey was a captain in the Australian Field Artillery with five years' service prior to the start of the First World War. His first letter is written when he embarked with the 1st Field Artillery Brigade in Sydney in October 1914 aboard HMAT *Argyllshire* for Egypt. During service at Gallipoli he suffered jaundice and was evacuated to Malta in early November 1915 before re-joining his unit in Egypt following their withdrawal from Gallipoli. Captain McLaughlin was awarded the Military Cross in January 1916 for distinguished service in the field and was also Mentioned in Despatches. He was promoted to major in March 1916. The brigade relocated to the France during March and April 1916. Geoffrey was wounded in action near Flers in November 1916 and evacuated to Rouen and then to England for treatment and recuperation. In early April 1917 he re-joined his unit near Amiens where he took command of the artillery brigade with the temporary rank of lieutenant colonel for 3 months until July 1917. Geoffrey was again wounded in action during a phosgene gas attack on 2 November 1917. His last letter home was dated 31 October 1917, four days before he died of those wounds in No 2 Canadian Casualty Clearing Station. He was buried in the Lijssenthoek Military Cemetery, Belgium, aged just 30 years.

The letters are an excellent record of the progress of the war, clearly describing not only the conditions but the impact it was having on many of his friends and the developing role of artillery during the war. From training and preparation in Egypt and England, to the horrors of Gallipoli and the Western Front, the letters are extremely detailed. Geoffrey was in the thick of many actions undertaking duties as an artillery observer, gun line officer, battery commander, and for periods as acting artillery brigade commander. Because there was little room for deploying all the division's guns at Anzac, Geoffrey's battery went ashore at Helles in support of the British forces. He supported the battles of Third Krithia and was forward observation officer in the Vineyard during the fierce fighting in August 1915. He eventually moved up to Anzac following the Suvla landing, finding many friends had become casualties. Sadly his own promising career, like so many others in the First World War, was cut tragically short, but this book serves as a memorial to him and to all those who served. *Recommended.*

- *Reviews this page and previous by Stephen Chambers*

LAST POST

With regret, the Association learned of the death of the following member:

Jonathan Ali, member 1622, died 30 May 2019, aged 50. Jonathan was a journalist and avid WWI historian. His brother Richard told the Association that Jonathan felt privileged to have been able to use his knowledge in his job at the BBC, including covering the 100th anniversary of the landings at Gallipoli.



OBJECTIVES

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



The River Clyde at V Beach, 25 April 1915 by Charles Dixon

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

The Gallipoli campaign is characterised by countless deeds of heroism and endurance. It took place in an area smaller than Southampton amid appalling conditions - heat, flies, lack of water, equipment and proper sanitation. Later on rain and a freak spell of sub-zero temperatures had to be endured, to say nothing of the desperate close-quarter fighting throughout the campaign. Some 559,000 Allied personnel were committed, of whom 420,000 were British and Empire troops, including 50,000 Australians and 9,000 New Zealanders, and 80,000 French. The cost in human terms was terrible. The Allies had 250,000 casualties, of whom approximately 58,000 were killed, with only 11,000 having known graves. Ottoman forces, with some Germans, numbered between 300,000 and 400,000 and of these some 87,000 were killed. The evacuations in December 1915 and early January 1916 were masterly operations - one of the great feats of military history.