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The Broken Years

A study of the diaries and letters of Australian
soldiers in the Great War, 1914-18

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A platoon of the 29th Battalion before the August 8 battle, 1918.

The Fighting in France: The flame-racked years

For Christ's sake write a book on the life of an infantryman, and by so doing you will quickly prevent these shocking tragedies.

Corporal A.G. Thomas, 6th Battalion, under fire at
Pozières, 25 July 1916.

(A map of the Western Front is inside the back cover of this volume)

This chapter describes military events in France which involved the Australians, but for want of space it is not a comprehensive description, and it is especially curtailed after 1916, the fighting of that year being used to give a rough indication of warfare at any time on the Western Front. A fuller military account, and also much evidence for statements in these chapters, is in Bean, op. cit., Vols III-VI. See also Gammage, W.L.: 'Genesis of the Anzac Ethos' (Unpublished B.A. honours thesis, A.N.U., 1965).

It seemed to me best to combine the description of military events with an outline of Australian reactions to their physical environment and to particular battles, even though this overlaps the general discussion of attitudes towards duty and the Empire taken up in chapter 8, and even though chapter 8 therefore uses some material which might have been included here. I have attempted to suggest both how particular events or circumstances gradually worked changes in basic attitudes (in this chapter), and how the years in France as a whole affected those attitudes (in chapter 8). I have also subtracted from the content of chapter 8 by considering, on the early pages of this chapter, observations by Australians about their service generally until the middle of 1916, because, although chapter 8 is concerned with the impact of the fighting in France upon Australian attitudes, the greatest changes in these occurred not when the Australians reached France, but after they had fought the mid 1916 battles at Fromelles and on the Somme.

The Australians landed at Marseilles,¹ belied their reputation by almost faultless behaviour in the port, and in a few days entrained for billets in northern France. The journey was their most pleasant since leaving Australia. The green countryside and the cheers and kisses of the populace seemed paradise after Egypt, and second only to one other land and people on earth. But it was not the Western Front, and almost every Australian was eager to man that legendary line.

By now many old soldiers were ready to re-enter the fray. Dreams of glory still persuaded some,² boredom or a sense of duty prompted many, and almost all, knowing that further fighting was inevitable, compromised with fate and persuaded themselves that their experiences on Gallipoli would not be repeated. Sergeant de Vine observed, "We are all anxious to see the front line on this sector, which we are told is quite different to the trenches of Gallipoli"³, and another Anzac exclaimed, "In twelve days should God spare me, I shall celebrate my 22nd birthday! How? Where? As a Soldier I could ask for nothing better

1

The first troops, 25 Bn. and 7 Bde. H.Q., arrived from Egypt on 19 March 1916, the last, elements of 5 Div., soon after 8 July 1916. Thereafter most Australians went from Australia to England, via Durban, Suez, or occasionally Panama, and then to France.

2

73. Armitage, (78,1), (D), 11/7/16; 634. Mulholland, (110,2), (L), 7/5/16. One veteran reluctant to fight was 707. Lt. W.F. Shirtley, 13 Bn., Salesman, of Orange, N.S.W. K.I.A. 11/4/17, aged 24. (L), 14/3/16.

3

308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 10/4/16.

that to be Merrily in Action, and doing well."¹ The veterans also hoped to help destroy a monstrous enemy. A young Queenslander told his family:

...I'll do my best to return to you but if I do get a smack you'll have nothing to be ashamed of and nobody will be able to say that you gave birth to a son who was afraid to die and would rather promenarde the street than fight for the Honour of their Parents and sisters, for as sure as night follows day Belgium's fate would have been Englands & Aust. had the Germans their own way.²

"I have not yet had the close quarter opportunity", Lieutenant Armitage stated, "but if God permits - when I do - I will show I have not forgotten...Belgium, Servia, and Gallipoli."³ "I expect we are going to tackle them & drive 'em well back", predicted Private Tom Hill, "If so you can bet your son will be well in it. I hate them that much...I am quite prepared to meet my maker...I am glad to be fighting & upholding the good old British race."⁴ Since the war began Australians had detested the Hun, and the grim days on Gallipoli had committed the

¹ 874. Cull, (162,3), (L), 19/7/16
see also:

785. Worrall, (111,1), (L), 11/4/16.

² 546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 1/6/16.

³ 73. Armitage, (78,1), (D), 5/4/16 see also (D), 23/7/16.

⁴ 813. Hill, (111,1), (L), 30/5/16 see also (L), 14/1/16
quoted p.217

see also:

481. Capt. O.A. Jones, 21 Bn., Police constable, of Melbourne, Vic. D.O.W. 3/5/17, aged 25. (L), 22/4/16

634. Mulholland, (110,2), (L), 8/4/16; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.117-8.

veterans deeply to their duty, so that now a fierce hatred and a firm purpose animated them.

But the belief that war was a shining adventure continued to lure some novices. "...I am very eager to get up "there"...I am very keen to reach some finality after so many months training...", a lieutenant wrote from southern France, "Rest assured that I will take all care of myself, life is too sweet to be rashly thrown away. But I am very glad that the move has come. Experience is the great thing."¹ A relatively unenthusiastic recruit was impatient to pass through the "strenuous and stirring times" ahead so that he could return home,² and just before he entered the line another soldier announced,

The long-looked-forward-to day has arrived, and it has brought with it no apprehensions. The prospect of a term in the "first line" fills me with all sorts of anticipations. What will the actual trenches be like? What is the feeling of one "under fire" for the first time? Are we to occupy a "hot" part of the line, or a place of comparative quiet?³

A man who had reached Gallipoli in mid December commented in France that he could get leave to England, but would defer it "until I had a smack at the Germans. then after a flutter shall apply...if still in the land of the living."⁴ Arthur Brunton declared,

¹ 709. Short, (226,1), (L), 16/6/16.

² 993. Moors, (223,3), (L), 26/4/16.

³ 543. Sgt. J.J. Makin, 21 Bn., Clerk, of Middle Park, Vic. b.1895. (D), 11/6/16.

⁴ 444. Henderson, (160,5), (L), 11/6/16.

...I don't seem to worry over it, but just look at it as a matter of course. I will be frightfully wild if I get knocked out right at the start without having had a chance to damage the Germans ...one thing only...depresses me...the terrible blow it would be to my little sweetheart if I never returned. Otherwise I am glad that I am here to do my little bit towards avenging the wrongs of Belgium and France¹

Probably most recruits at this time thought they were approaching a difficult and demanding duty. Just before his first 'tour' in the front line a young Englishman told his parents that he had never regretted joining the A.I.F., that he had done the only thing possible, and that he knew their trust and hope in him would never be misplaced.² A Victorian officer enlisted to defend the Empire, and considered Kipling's poetry "very applicable to those of our boys who fall, giving up their lives in God's cause for God's principles... Such a death must wipe out all stains",³ and for the first time in the war untried men

¹

978. Brunton, (81,1), (D), 8/7/16
see also:
17. L/Cpl. R.E. Adkins, 7 Bn., Farmer, of Korumburra, Vic. K.I.A. 4/3/17, aged 29. (L), 23/4/16
273. Capt. F.R. Corney, M.C., 25 Bn., Soldier, of Kyneton, Vic. b.1894. (L), 26/3/16
640. Pte. E.C. Munro, M.M., 5 Fld.Amb., Farmer, of Geebung, Qld. (b. England) Rep.T.A. 23/9/18, aged 22. (D), 7/8/16
767. Lt. L.L. Wadsley, 52 Bn., Orchardist, of Cygnet, Tas. K.I.A. 3/9/16, aged 26. (L), 21/6/16
254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 30/6/16; 886. Fry, (223,3), (L), 12/6/16.

²

167. Lt. W.G. Blaskett, 48 Bn., Civil servant, of Bowden, S.A. (b. England) K.I.A. 11/4/17, aged 21. (L), 30/5/16
see also (L), 18/4/16.

³

460. Howard, (31,2), (L), 2/7/16 see also (L), 16/11/14.

confessed themselves prepared to enter the line simply because they could not avoid it. A private commented, "All the boys will be glad to get into action I think, being close to it now and knowing that it must come..."¹ The old dreams had vanished, and the shadow of a terrible war had fallen over every ideal - Empire, civilization, honour, adventure - which had once swayed the hearts of men.

Still many new soldiers wanted to fight. One reported,

...we are going to take our place alongside of the rest of the Australians who have been fighting here for a few months. I hope I get through all right and get back to Australia again.

I am in the best of health and spirits and not at all nervous about the ordeal we have to face and hope that we all keep up the grand reputation the Australians have for bravery...²

Another claimed,

...our losses heavy.³ There is not a man though who does not...[say] he is out to do his bit and if it's his stiff luck to get cracked then those dear to him have the satisfaction of knowing he gave himself in the cause of humanity and freedom generally⁴,

¹

475. Cpl. H.K. Jackson, 8 Bn., Orchardist, of Hawthorn, Vic. K.I.A. 27/7/16, aged 24. (L), 9/4/16
see also:

976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 17/6/16.

²

67. Lt. F.W. Appleton, 14 Bn., Clerk, of St.Kilda, Vic. K.I.A. 8/8/18, aged 35. (L), 27/6/16.

³

This refers to British or Allied losses since 1 July 1916. See p.282.

⁴

122. Bartlett, (77,3), (D), 20/7/16.

and when the new men first heard the guns, some saw the prospect of exciting adventure rising before them. On the day he joined his battalion in billets behind the line an officer recorded,

...we were under shrapnel all day. The bursts did no harm to our men, although at times the dust rose within a hundred yards. The effect is at first a little startling, but...on the whole I rather enjoyed my first experience of a battlefield and regret very much that I was not in the big Pozieres stunt...¹

A succession of entries in a stretcher bearer's diary reflected similar ardour. On 31 July he noted, "We are now under 20 miles from the firing line"; on the next day, "We [are]...too late for this last big push. Eager to go up and see what the game is like. Well it will not be long now"; and a fortnight later, "Just about a mile from the trenches now...It has taken me from October 20th, 1915 to August 15th, 1916, to get to the firing line."²

The first months on the Western Front were not severe. The Australians were introduced into the line at Fleurbaix, near Armentières, where it was

1

741. Capt. G. Stobie, M.C., 6 Bn., Accountant, of Kew, Vic. b.1892. (D), 27/7/16.

2

491. Pte. A.M. Kilgour, 1 Fld.Amb., Mint official, of Sydney, N.S.W. age unknown. (D), 31/7 and 1 and 15/8/16 see also:

322. Pte. J.W. Dowell, 45 En., School teacher, of Bathurst, N.S.W. Rep.T.A. 7/5/17, aged 25. (D), 11/6 - 4/7/16

537. Lt.J.T. Maguire, M.C., 8 Bn., Public servant, of Bowenvale, Vic. K.I.A. 4/10/17, aged 21. (L), 7/5/16.

...not dug, as it is impossible to dig more than 1 foot without striking water, sand bag breast works are erected about 5 to 6 ft high & 3 to 4 ft thick which gives very solid cover & protection from rifle shots, but would not last very long under artillery fire...Everything is remarkably quiet on this sector, which is at present being held by an English regiment, very seldom is a shot fired...A considerable amount of movement is taking place all day long to which the Germans apparently take no exception, the idea being "Don't fire at me and I will not fire at you" these sentiments were expressed to me by a British Tommy.¹

Their gentle reception relieved many veterans. They contrasted it favourably with the dark days on Gallipoli,² and agreed with the new soldiers that war was pleasant in France, because there were no great battles, but short stays in the line, comparative immunity, and comfort in the back areas. "I had the best of times in the trenches and I wish I was back again...", a soldier declared, "I did 3 hours

1

308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 27/4/16. The English attitude referred to, and the psychology of 'quiet' sectors generally, is discussed by Ashworth, A.E.: 'The sociology of trench warfare 1914-18', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.XIX, No.4, Dec. 1968, on pp.411-4, 418. Ashworth claims that about half the British Army's sectors adopted a 'Live and Let Live' principle: certainly many did, but Australians resented this attitude and almost invariably transformed the 'quiet' sectors they occupied into abnormally active sectors. In addition to Sgt. de Vine's comment, see 760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 6/3/18 quoted p.366 ; Bean, Anzac to Amiens, p.215; Official History..., III, pp.119-20.

2

188. Briggs, (134,1), (L), 12/7/16; 326. Duke, (83,1), (L), 31/7/16; 634. Mulholland, (110,2), (L), 22/4/16; 703. Semple, (142,2), (L), 9/6/16; 949. Richards, (182,2), (L), -/4/16; Bean, op. cit., III, p.119.

work laying wire at night, and had the rest of the 24 hours to myself, and...it suited me down to the ground ...We also had splendid tucker."¹ "this is not war, it is magnificent",² a lieutenant exclaimed, and a private wrote, "I am having good time over here...every thing being in our favour and every thing very quiet. I can tell [you] that if that was all we were to be affaraid of it would suit me untill after the war..."³ A fourth man decided, "coming across [to] the trenches is not to bad after all. I reckon it is a bally fine place now and again you have to duck from a 75 german shell but you get used to that".⁴ The Australians encountered minor

1

105. Sgt. C.C.H. Baldwin, M.M., 3 Bn., Accountant, of Rose Bay, N.S.W. K.I.A. 2/3/17, aged 23. (L), 21/5/16.

2

280. Lt. A.C. Cox, 14 M.G.Coy., Clerk, of Mudgee, N.S.W. K.I.A. 20/7/16, aged 23. (L), 14/7/16.

3

981. Anon. pte., 46 Bn., (L), -/7/16.

4

579. Lt. J.H. McKenzie, 20 Bn., Labourer, of Taralga, N.S.W. b.1894. (L), 12/4/16

see also:

99. Lt. J.W. Axtens, 8 M.G.Coy., Draper, of Mosman, N.S.W. b.1894. (L), 11/7/16

341. Sgt. L.F.S. Elliott, 56 Bn., Compositor, of Newtown, N.S.W. (b. England) (L), 17/7/16

354. Lt. R.S. Evatt, M.C., 20 Bn., Chemist, of Milson's Point, N.S.W. K.I.A. 20/9/17, aged 21. (L), 23/6/16

10. Adams, (153,5), (L), 13/6/16; 21. Aitken, (101,2), (L), 7/5/16; 383. Freiboth, (79,2), (D), 7/7/16; 600. McWhinney, (109,3), (L), -/5/16; 631. Mouldsdale, (80,1), (L), 18/4/16; 654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 8/7/16; 993. Moors, (223,3), (L), 11/6/16

Some soldiers in the line were even bored by inactivity. See 346. Elvin, (77,3), (D), 1/5/16; 481. Jones, (269,4), (L), 22/4/16; 976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 16/7/16.

inconveniences,¹ but equally often an exciting incident aroused their interest:

I broke a German periscope this morning from our snipers loop hole. The Hun waved the broken end up in the air. They always do that when we hit them and we do vice versa. I placed a tobacco tin up on the parapet for him to fire at and I got into the sniping post and scan their loopholes with the field glasses. After a while I saw one opened very cautiously and a rifle stuck out and before he fired I put a shot on the iron plate which is used to make the loopholes, he withdrew his rifle and closed up his loophole so of course I claimed a victory.²

Wounded in head & left eye @ 3.30 p.m. by German sniper. Just put my rifle through the Loophole & was drawing a bead on him when - Bang - his bullet smashed on to the iron plate of my loophole. Hardly knew what had happened at first but the blood soon put me wise.³

In an atmosphere of relative tranquillity, the soldiers manned their breastworks, watched aeroplane 'dogfights', patrolled No Man's Land, sat out the German artillery's daily 'strafe', waited for the victory most thought

1

See 748. Cpl. A.G. Thomas, 6 Bn., Tailor manager, of Toorak, Vic. (b. England) K.I.A. 8/6/18, aged 40. (L), 9/6/16

865. Cave, (224,3), (L), 25?/4/16.

2

185. Brew, (218,3), (D), 29/4/16.

3

843. Bendrey, (142,3), (D), 25/4/16

see also:

21. Aitken, (101,2), (L), 31/5/16; 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 20/4/16; 993. Moors, (223,3), (L), 24/6/16.

imminent,¹ and willingly undertook the formal raids to which their leaders shortly introduced them.

Raids were vicious and bloody affairs. Later² they became the least popular infantry tactic : within a few months of this time men were writing, "...they are not worth the cost...None of the survivors want to go in any more. Mac's nerves are very jumpy now, and many of the others are the same",³ and, "...my word it was hot. My mate was killed alongside me...the bulletts were like hailstones. No more raids for me if I can help it."⁴ But during the first half of 1916 the Australians were fresh, and eager to match themselves against the Hun.

1

Only one man writing during this period (173. Boulton, (76,4), (L), 14/7/16) thought the war would be protracted. On an early victory see, 18. Adlard, (138,2), (D), 4/7/16; 106. Bambrick, (77,1), (L), 7/7/16; 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 9/6/16; 840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), 1/7/16; 993. Moors, (223,3), (L), 14/3 and 16/5/16.

2

Although raids were generally conducted with increasing efficiency as the war progressed, their tactics remained fairly static until early 1918, and the account following suffices for raids made to that time.

3

978. Brunton, (81,1), (D), 23/8/16.

4

938. Spr. L.J. McKay, 15 Fld.Coy.,Eng., Fibro plasterer, of Fitzroy, Vic. b.1897. (D), 17/9/16 yet McKay added later that day, "But taking it all round it wasn't bad & I got two days off for it. I am back so why worry." Men commonly recovered from bad experiences thus, otherwise they could hardly have continued.

The enemy raided first, on the night of 5 May 1916, against a sector held by the 20th Battalion. They laid down

...a shocking bombardment, hell let loose,...it seemed as though every gun the enemy possessed was ranged against us & then when our artillery got going behind us, it was God darn awful, &... the Germans set up a cheering & shouting, the like, I have never heard before & simultaneously charged us in mass formation...they reached our left flank & got in amongst our fellows. It was fearful yet awe-inspiring, for the first few minutes I felt sick, then as steady as a rock, I was right in the line of fire & the shells came straight for my bay...some fellows nerves gave way & they became gibbering idiots Sergeants & all sorts, god it was little wonder for...fighting here is just simply massacre.¹

The raiders inflicted 131 casualties, and apparently suffered none.² Worse, they captured two Stokes mortars, then so secret that Haig³ had ordered that they never be left in the front line. Their loss embarrassed the A.I.F. along the entire British battle-front, and made the Australians eager for revenge. A month after the calamity a 27th Battalion N.C.O. related,

1

748. Thomas, (276,1), (1), 9/5/16. Thomas' 6 Bn. was in the line beside the 20 Bn during the raid, and he is describing only the artillery bombardment which accompanied it.

2

In fact 4 Germans were killed and 15 wounded. 10 Australians were captured. An account of the raid is in Bean, op. cit., III, pp.199-208.

3

Field Marshal Earl Douglas Haig, C. in C. British Expeditionary Force in France 1915-19. b.1861.

I was going to England on my leave on June the second. But I volunteered to go on a raiding party & I have been pickèd & I wouldn't miss that for anything. We are going to go into the German Trenches & surprise them or else bomb them out. It will be a fairly risky job but I think we can carry it out alright...The Germans made a raid on our Trenches down at the 20th Batt. & killed or wounded a hundred men. so I may assure we won't take no prisoners.¹

The first Australian raid, on the night of 5 June, succeeded, and soon the Australians, never lacking volunteers, were raiding almost nightly, agitating every quiet sector they held, and winning an ascendancy over the enemy which they retained for most of the war.

Usually, when a raid was decided upon, a raiding team would be selected, withdrawn from the line, and trained against a model of its objective:

Each man in the raiding party had a certain job to do²...and he had to be a specialist in [it]... We were trained...for three weeks just like a football team.

We don't take a single thing with us to show who we are if Fritz gets our bodies. We wear Tommy uniforms...Only about 4 men out of the 66 carry rifles and bayonets...The rest carry weapons according to their job.³

1

221. Caldwell, (109,3), (L), -/6/16. Possibly Caldwell refers to the raid made near Messines by 25 and 27 Bns. on the night of 28 June.

2

For examples, demolition, collecting booty, taking prisoners, killing, building defensive barricades, and looking for mine galleries.

3

303. Sgt. H.M. Davies, 57 Bn., Farmer, of Heidelberg, Vic. D.O.W. 22/7/16, aged 24. (L), -/7?/16
Bean, op. cit., III, p.245, also compares training for raids with that for football.

When all was ready, an artillery barrage saturated the objective, and the raiders struck:

...when we did our dash all went like clockwork except one thing, and that mistake proved very costly to us...the artillery had been firing just too far, and nearly all their shells had landed in Fritz's front trench instead of in his wire (which was uncut). I don't know how we did it, but we got through into the German trench and did our job in full. A piece of shrapnel got me through the left thigh...one of our chaps...managed to get me out to a drain about the centre of No Man's Land. It was impossible to get back to our own trenches until Fritz's bombardment lifted...[and] The beggars...started spraying with machine guns and shrapnel...We had to lie there for an hour and three quarters before their guns lifted off our trenches...my leg was quite stiff by this time... and as they were still playing the search lights and machine guns all over us, our only way out was along the drain...I hung on to [a fellow's] braces and tried to keep my face up out of the mud as he dragged me through...[At] the end of the drain a big sergeant of ours was waiting...he picked me up and carried me right across to our trenches with the bullets snapping all around...he brought in four more...¹

It is not surprising that raids became unpopular, for few succeeded faultlessly. When they did succeed, men enjoyed them. A 1918 reinforcement reported,

1

303. Davies, (279,3), (L), -/7?/16
 Bean, op. cit., III, pp.328-9, states that no raid was launched by 5 Div. (of which 57 Bn. was part) before 22 July (the date Sgt. Davies died), and neither the 15 Bde. War Diary nor the 57 Bn. War Diary mention a raid at that time. The reference to a 3 week training period for the raiders (p.279, n.2) in any case eliminates 5 Div., which did not enter the line until 10 July. Probably the records wrongly ascribe this account to Davies, in which case my assigning the letter to July might also be inaccurate.

we advanced out into No Mans Land In the Dark as stealthy as Red Indians & Took up Positions, In Shell Holes Quite close to the Hun Trenches¹ ...[Then] our Artillery opened into the Germans and Belted Hell & Blazes Into them - we sneaked up under the Barrage & It was lovely shells Bursting & Lights shooting all over the sky...all of a Sudden It lifted back a couple of Hundred yards & away we charged yelling like devils right Into His Trenches Fritzey Bolted & we after Him I was directly after my officer & a couple Dodged Into a Dugout. we Fed Them on Bombs etc & on To the next. Gee you should Have been In the Fun our Boys Got Busy Bayonets, Bombs & Rifle Fire. We First Bombed It & Finished off a couple & took a couple Prisoners. Then we Into it & got all the Mail & So on. I got a Bonzer Coat...also a Fritz Rifle...Its Good Fun & I Hope To Have a Bit more of the Raiding Stunt It will do me...I...really enjoyed it.²

Australians became notably proficient raiders.³

1

'Silent' raids, relying on stealth, later often replaced those employing a preparatory artillery barrage.

2

975. Sgr. G.H. Molesworth, 35 Bn., Fruiterer, of Hurlstone Park, N.S.W. b.1885. (L), 6/3/18

see also:

885. Pte. A.H. Freebody, 31 Bn., Labourer, of Drummoyne, N.S.W. b.1888. (D), 12/10/16.

3

For accounts of raids,

224. Lt. V.C. Callen, M.M., 34 Bn., Business manager, of Stockton, N.S.W. K.I.A. 20/8/18, aged 29. (L), 29/1/17
 358. Capt. F.E. Fairweather, M.C., 38 Bn., Accountant, of Heidelberg, Vic. K.I.A. 29/9/18, aged 27. (L), 28/2/17
 490. Lt. A.J. Kerr, 24 Bn., Bank clerk, of Camberwell, Vic. K.I.A. 27/7/16, aged 21. (L), 1/7/16
 663. Capt. C.H. Peters, M.C. & Bar, 38 Bn., Managing bookseller, of Melbourne, Vic. b.1889. (L), 29/2/17
 793. L/Cpl. W.H. Zimmer, 57 Bn., Clerk of Petty Sessions, of Geelong, Vic. K.I.A. 17/6/18, aged 21. (L), 16/3/18
 326. Duke, (83,1), (L), 21/8/17; 511. Linklater, (72,2), (L), 1/3/17; 813. Hill, (111,1), (L), 2 and 4/7/16; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.243-83.

The days of dalliance ended swiftly, for on 1 July 1916 Haig began his offensive on the Somme. 60,000 British soldiers were killed or wounded that day, and over 750,000 before the generals halted in September;¹ in return, less than three miles of ground were won. The Somme was the "supreme ordeal" of the British Army during the war.²

Australians were not employed in the offensive during its first weeks, and press reports led them to exaggerate its ease and success, so that some, particularly the inexperienced, looked forward confidently to their first big battle in France. A West Australian ordered to remain while his battalion went into the line felt it "very much against the grain. Going in again to night by hook or crook. Its too awful to contemplate being left out of the stunt."³ A young lieutenant wrote,

At last the day is near when Australia's boys will once again be given an opportunity to show the World what we are made of...to-morrow we hope to be on the road to Berlin...we are ready, fit, and well, and with God's help will punish the Bosh for his cruelty to the weaker races...to-day, you should have seen the look of determination on the faces of all. I am sure that the Hun will be sorry⁴ for the day when Australia sent her sons to France.

"This is my last letter before going into a stunt," an Englishman from Victoria, Arthur Thomas, told his wife and children,

1

Germany lost about half a million men. Widely divergent statistics reduce to approximations figures for casualties sustained during great offensives.

2

Terraine, J.: Douglas Haig, p.214.

3

306. Dawkins, (232,2), (D), 14/8/16.

4

544. Malpas, (169,3), (L), -/7/16.

I feel quite cool and collected, of course being cool will not avail much...[but] I am quite well & fit so will put up a merry fight for Old England so three cheers for the Anzacs & the early ending of this sinful game. God bless you all my loved ones pray hard for me.¹

The Australians knew that a great battle lay ahead, guessed its intensity from the trains of wounded and the casualty lists, and prepared to do a necessary but uncomfortable duty. "...we are in for a stouching up for a certainty," Archie Barwick predicted, "for we are going to try and do what English troops have so far failed to do...I don't expect many of us will come out alive... whether we take or fail in the charge however the boys are all very confident over it."² Lieutenant Armitage recorded, "I'll go into action with the calm assurance that I have done my duty to my men and my Country. If I happen to fall, - rest content with the knowledge that I have played the game, and done my job thoroughly",³ and Major Geoff McCrae, commanding the 60th Battalion, told his family, "To-day I lead my battalion in an assault on the German lines and I pray God I may come through alright and bring honour to our name. If not I will at least have laid down my life for you and my country which is the greatest privilege one can ask for."⁴ He was killed before he

¹ 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 22/7/16 see also (D), 21/7/16 see also:

346. Elvin, (77,3), (D), 22/7/16; 'Tiveychoc', op. cit., p.159 (16/7/16); Williams, The Gallant Company, p.55.

² 840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), III, pp.248-9 (17/7/16).

³ 73. Armitage, (78,1), (D), 30/7/16.

⁴ 566. McCrae, (127,1), (L), 19/7/16.

reached the German lines, shot through the neck in No Man's Land at Fromelles. Lieutenant Eric Chinner, bombing officer of the 32nd Battalion, resigned his fate to the care of his God. "I am not afraid", he told his parents, "Of course, I'm a bit shakey, but not very scared...I'm writing this to you because you will [then] know something of what is doing should anything happen... I feel sure God will watch over me and pull me through. Cheerio anyway."¹ He died in the enemy's trenches, trying to smother a bomb he had dropped when wounded. Lieutenant James d'Alpuget, a former Rugby League international, wrote two days before he was killed,

we...are preparing for something big...the biggest move any Australians have done in France...long before this letter reaches you you will know the result, which I feel certain will be to the credit of Australia, if I happen to be one of the unlucky ones you will know I have done my best and lead a straight life right up to the finish.²

The light had faded since 1914.

Although the First, Second, and Fourth Divisions³ were ordered south to the Somme early in July, Australia's first major enterprise on the Western Front, a 'feint'

¹ 258. Chinner, (32,2), (L), 15/7/16.

² 295. Lt. J.M. d'Alpuget, 54 Bn., Accountant, of Edgecliff, N.S.W. K.I.A. 17/7/16, aged 30. (L), 15/7/16
see also:

747. Capt. R.M.W. Thirkell, O.B.E., 12 Bn., Soldier, of New Town, Tas. b.1890. (D), 21 (= 27?)/7/16
66. Antill, (30,2), (L), 18/7/16; 672. Raws, (193,1), (L), 20/7/16; 978. Brunton, (81,1), (D), 16/7/16; Bean, op. cit., III, p.118.

³ That is, I Anzac Corps.

designed to divert German reserves from the Somme, was entrusted to the Fifth Division, which had remained in the north before the small town of Fromelles. As twilight faded upon its tenth day in France, 19 July 1916, this division¹ moved forward to destroy the Hun.

The German artillery caught them before they reached their own front line.² Shell after shell burst among the packed columns, cluttering the trench floors with dead and wounded. There, a stretcher bearer related, they

lay in heaps behind the parapet...[or] crouched close under cover...Chaos and weird noises like thousands of iron foundries, deafening and dreadful, coupled with the roar of high explosives ...ripped the earth out of the parapet,...we crept along seeking first of all the serious cases of wounded. Backwards & forwards we travelled between the firing line and the R.A.P. with knuckles torn and bleeding due to the narrow passage ways. "Cold sweat", not perspiration, dripped from our faces and our breath came out only in gasps...By the time we had completed 2 trips [each of three miles]...we were ...completely exhausted.³

A machine gunner, Sergeant Martin, recalled the bombardment:

1

With the English 61 Div.

2

On 17 July an intensifying Australian artillery barrage had warned the Germans that an attack was imminent, and the British bombardment and their own observation on the afternoon of 19 July enabled them to predict the time of the attack accurately. Artillery often played the decisive role in fighting on the Western Front.

3

836. Pte. W.J.A. Allsop, 8 Fld.Amb., Clerk, of Mosman, N.S.W. b.1893. (D), 20/7/16.

we had to get up as close to the parapet as possible anybody who did not do this was simply courting death for shells were falling all round...there were dead and wounded everywhere...I had to sit on top of a dead man as there was no picking and choosing... I saw a shell lob about twelve yards away and it... lifted [two men] clean up in the air for about 6 feet and they simply dropped back dead...one or two of the chaps got shell shock and others got really frightened it was piteous to see them...One great big chap got away as soon as he reached the firing line and could not be found...I saw him in the morning in a dug out he was white with fear and shaking like a leaf. One of our Lieuts. got shell shock and he literally cried like a child, some that I saw carried down out of the firing line were struggling and calling out for their mother, while others were blabbering sentences one could not make out...[a] badly wounded [chap]...had his body partly in a small hole that had a good deal of wood work about it, this somehow got alight and all I could see was the lower parts of his legs and a piece of his face, all the rest was burned...¹

1

550. Lt. L.J. Martin, 1 M.G.Bn., Warehouseman, of Dulwich Hill, N.S.W. b.1889. (L), 31/7/16
Information attached to this letter gives Lt. Martin's unit as 1 M.G.Coy., a unit to which the Lt. Martin cited here was never attached. But 1 M.G.Coy was not at Fromelles, while the Lt. Martin cited here was wounded as a member of 8 M.G.Coy. during that battle, and transferred in January 1917 to a unit colloquially known as the 1 Div. M.G.Coy. (21 M.G.Coy.). From this and other evidence I believe the letter writer to be correctly identified here.

The men had not yet passed beyond the front trench, and as the awful toll mounted they began to realize the terrible ordeal before them. "...the shells are flying round like ants its awful", one wrote, "...God knows how many of us will come out of it alive."¹

Shortly before 6 p.m. the leading Australians advanced into No Man's Land. Sergeant Martin continued,

We lost some men going over to the enemy's lines and you could hear the moans of the wounded and dying wherever you went. I got over the parapet ...[and] made for a big hole and rested there while we got our breath...after that we made a dash but had to drop into any sort of hole we could find for machine guns were turned on to us and the bullets were just skimming over our heads ...We got on to Fritz's front line trenches eventually...[and then] to the portion of trench which was behind their front line...and stayed there till 5.30 a.m. when we were forced to retire ...The Germans got somehow or other into their own front lines while we were between their first and second lines and there was grave danger of our being cut off, so we had to make a bolt for it and a good few were hit coming back...but the bullets happened to miss me somehow or other...²

Martin outlined Fromelles well. Two of the six Australian battalions attacking and almost all the Englishmen were halted in No Man's Land, and an eager and confident enemy picked out and shot down almost every attacking officer. The survivors were without support, but they charged into the German line, and some advanced beyond. During the night they resisted several counter-

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907. Cpl. H.H. Harris, 55 Br., Lift controller, of Redfern, N.S.W. b.1873. (D), 19/7/16.

2

550. Martin, (287,1), (L), 21/7/16.

attacks, but at last, depleted in strength and numbers, they gave way, and as dawn broke those not captured sprinted desperately through a merciless fire back to their own lines.

Australians had never experienced a more calamitous or tragic night. 5,533 men had fallen, and some battalions had almost disappeared, and for long were useless as fighting instruments. The wounded crowded the trenches, moving to tears a general who saw them,¹ or lay in No Man's Land, and were sniped by their jubilant foe. Soldiers attempted to arrange a truce to help them; the staff of both sides quashed the attempt.² Some crawled to safety: Private A.F. Bell scribbled in his diary, "Wounded in arm and leg. Going to try and crawl back to trenches tonight."³ He reached them, but died of his wounds four days later.

Many wounded could not crawl, and lay with their pain for several days. Brave men risked the enemy fusillade to rescue them: one who made such a journey was Arthur Brunton, and before he set forth he prepared to die. "This may be the last entry in this book", he told his wife,

for tonight after dark I go out between the lines to bring in the wounded. They have laid in No Man's Land all day. Fritz will probably fire upon us, though we will be unarmed. We drew lots who should go so that it was fair to everyone...

1

Bean, op. cit., III, p.437.

2

See *ibid.*, III, pp.438-40.

3

135. Pte. A.F. Bell, 59 Bn. Fireman, of Lakes Entrance, Vic. D.O.W. 24/7/16, aged 25 (D), 19(=20)/7/16.

And now I must bid my little wife farewell, perhaps for the last time, though I hope not. I will do my best...¹

Another was Sergeant Elliott, from New South Wales:

...we heard a wounded chap crying out, he was in "No Man's Land"...I said "Who's coming over" another chap said "I'm on" so over the parapet we crawled and out to the wounded man, we got to him without anything happening, but as soon as we lifted him to bring him in "ping" a bullet went through the top of my hat,² barely touching the scalp, so we had to lie low for awhile. when we started off again three shots were fired, so I thought it best to leave him until night. A Machine Gun had got him in the legs (4 wounds). He said he would be O.K. if he could get some water, and he wanted a smoke bad, so I gave him cigarettes and matches and promised him water and food, and then we run and crawled back to safety. The water and food went out as soon as we got back. I was a bit narked at not getting him in, but it would have been suicidal to attempt any further.³

A third was Simon Fraser, a Victorian farmer:

...we must have brought in over 250 [wounded] men by our company alone. It was no light work getting in with a heavy weight on your back especially if he had a broken leg or arm...You had to lie down & get him on your back then rise & duck for your life with the chance of getting a bullet in you before you were safe: one foggy morning...we could hear someone over towards the German entanglements calling for a

1

978. Brunton, (81,1), (D). 19(=20)/7/16.

2

During the battle Australians in the later attacking waves had worn slouch hats rather than steel helmets, the only important occasion in France when this was so. Bean, op. cit., III, p.355n.

3

341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 3/8/16.

stretcher bearer; it was an appeal no man could stand against; so some of us rushed out & had a hunt; we found a fine haul of wounded & brought them in, but it was not where I heard this fellow calling so I had another shot for it & came across a splendid specimen of humanity trying to wriggle into a trench with a big wound in his thigh...another man about 30 yds out sang out "Don't forget me cobber." I went in & got four volunteers with stretchers & we got both men in safely.¹

Many wounded were not rescued. Some died at last; others, like the blind man who stumbled in circles about No Man's Land for several days before being struck down,² ended their miseries under the bullets of their enemies. These men were within minutes of salvation, but were doomed. Their cries were awful, one who watched them wrote, "& every move they make the German puts the Machine guns on them some are calling for him to do it to end their misery & this only 50 yards from us & there are hundreds there..."³

Thus terminated Fromelles. Few who survived ever forgot it. Many were for a time "absolutely unnerved", and "unfitted for further resistance",⁴ and the least affected, whose nerves lasted out the strife and the slaughter, lamented, "We thought we knew something of the

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382. 2/Lt. S. Fraser, 58 Bn., Farmer, of Byaduk, Vic. K.I.A. 11/5/17, aged 40. (L), 31/7/16.

2

Bean, op. cit., III, p.441 n.

3

976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 21/7/16.

4

Bean, op. cit., III, p.438.

horrors of war, but we were mere recruits, and have had our full education in one day",¹ and,

Thank God I am still alive and not murdered...My Steel Helmet saved me five times & how many escapes I had could not be counted...it was like a butchers shop...We look a sorry crowd covered with mud from head to foot arms, legs, eyes, noses, fingers bound up. Yes by hell we caught it & those who think this war is nearly over are in for some surprises.²

There was a further consequence. Australians blamed the disaster upon the British staff and, with less justice, upon the English soldiers beside them.³ One believed that the generals had cancelled the truce arranged to rescue the wounded because Australians were "common fellows" and not "British aristocracy", and he wrote bitterly about the Sixty First Division's performance.⁴ A few at Fromelles would have supported his first opinion, and most his second - and some never afterwards relaxed their judgment.⁵

1

574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), 19/7/16.

2

907. Harris, (288,1), (D), 20/7/16.

3

See Bean, op. cit., III, pp.446-7. The tragic occurrence described in ibid., III, pp.391-6, intensified Australian bitterness.

4

654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 21 and 20/7/16.

5

332. Lt. A.P. Earle, 6 M.G.Coy., Farmer, of Marshall, Vic. D.O.W. 24/7/17, aged 26. (L), 10/12/16. Lt. Earle was not at Fromelles.

Bean, op. cit., III, p.447; Statements by: Mr J.N. Barber (formerly Pte., 51 Bn., Farmer, of East Pingelly, W.A. Rep.T.A. -/4/17, aged 28), June 1968; Mr A.C. Ebdon (formerly Spr., 15 Fld.Coy., Eng., Railway apprentice, of Bendigo, Vic. b.1896), 10 July 1967.

(footnote continued p.293)

On the Somme, the First Division had its objective. It was Pozières village, a German artillery position protecting their strongpoint at Thiepval. The place had already withstood several assaults, but it had to fall if the British advance was to continue, and on 23 July 1916 the First Division made ready to assail it. The men filed through the debris of a recent battlefield to reach their start lines; and as they lay waiting on the tapes¹ an N.C.O. remembered,

The tension affected the men in different ways. I couldn't stop urinating, and we were all anxious for the barrage to begin. When it did begin, it seemed as if the earth opened up with a crash. The ground shook and trembled, and the concussion made our ears ring. It was impossible to hear ourselves speak to a man lying alongside. It is strange how men creep together for protection. Soon, instead of four paces interval between the men, we came down to lying alongside each other, and no motioning could make them move apart.²

But when the order came, the men charged forward eagerly: "In the meantime," the N.C.O. continued, "the next waves had gone through us, and, being over-anxious, quite a

(footnote 5 continued from p.292)

For accounts of Fromelles,

472. Maj. B.D. Jack, 54 Bn., Student, of Malvern, Vic.

K.I.A. 9/4/18, aged 25. (L), -/7/16, pp.44-5.

99. Axtens, (275,4), (L), 23/7/16; 254. Chapman, (161,2),

(D), -/7/16; 550. Martin, (287,1), (L), 31/7/16; 574.

McInnis, (193,1), (D), 19/7/16; 706. Sheppard, (91,2),

(D), 20/7/16; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.328-447.

1

Before an attack, lines of white canvas tape were commonly laid across the ground on which the assaulting troops were to line out.

2

250. Champion, (41,2), (D), 23/7/16.

number of our wave went with them to be in the fun"¹, and during the advance Private Barwick wrote,

A & B Coy. were supposed to stay in this trench but no fear on they went like a pack of hungry dog's now they had tasted blood...the shellfire was now hellish & the noise deafening, but just to show you how cool the boys were, why, some of them were walking up with rifle's at the slope & singing "I want to go home"...²

The Australians easily penetrated the enemy's defences, and took most of the village in a few hours. They were exultant, for they had passed a critical test, and proved their superiority over the German infantry. Happily they prospected Pozières for souvenirs, or lay down to rest.

Then the storm burst. A furious bombardment fell upon the captured positions, pounding the earth, and tearing the fragile air with noise. For seven weeks the merciless shells³ rained almost continuously, the men powerless beneath them. They dug trenches; the guns obliterated them. They crouched in holes; the guns found them and blew them to oblivion, or buried them, and dug them out, and buried them again. The broken village and the green fields changed slowly to a desert of brown earth, and still the guns roared. Men constantly had to pass a wall of shells to travel between the front and the rear carrying wounded, messages, food and water, or ammunition:

1

250. Champion, (41,2), (D), 23/7/16.

2

840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), III, p.279 (23/7/16)
See also Bean op. cit., III, pp.518-9.

3

The most common were 15 or 18cm. gun or howitzer shells, known as coalboxes, but shells frequently used ranged from 77mm. to 117cm. The effect of these shells is described in *ibid.*, pp.552-5. The Germans also fired gas.

Pozières village



The main street before the war ...



... and on 28 August 1916.

We...were given the job of delivering [bombs]... each of us carried our own equipment, 220 rounds of ammunition, 3 day's rations, rifle, and in each hand a box of bombs weighing about 30 - lbs. I suppose the full load was about a hundredweight, and with this we had to travel about half a mile through a narrow sap, with a veritable hail of shells falling round us the whole length of it... Some of the fellows dropped out, others dropped part or the whole of their load, but most of us saw the distance out, realising that the delivery of the bombs was...life or death to the men in the line.¹

The German gunners sniped at almost any movement; the shells chased men as they ran, and churned every yard of ground, and hung a perpetual fume fog over the battlefield. Australian soldiers have never endured a more terrible barrage.

Through it all the Australians maintained their attacks, pushing the German infantry before them. Sometimes they failed, although not often, and always they paid heavily for success. The Second Division relieved the First on 26 July, and gave way to the Fourth Division on 5 August. The incoming battalions were quietened by the ruin they saw: by the dead, "dozens and dozens...all distorted and frozen looks of horror on their faces..."², and by the storm of shells, which "became too awful for words, burying men alive and blowing up trenches, and making the whole place a shambles like a huge ploughed field..."³ Yet, though every yard won multiplied the number

1

703. Semple, (142,2), (L), 13/8/16.

2,3

291. Cunningham, (111,1), (D), 22/7/16

see also:

66. Antill, (30,2), (L), 22/8/16; 993. Moors, (223,3), (L), 30/7/16; Rule, op. cit., p.61.

By 25 July the dust thrown up by shellfire at Pozières was visible for 10 miles. Bean, op. cit., III, p.581.

of guns that could fire upon them, they slogged doggedly forward, driving a wedge deeper and deeper into the enemy's line.

The strain was almost too great, and every man battled quivering nerves. Writing from an English hospital an officer told his parents,

After your loving words I could not have turned coward, though God knows what we went through, was Hell itself. We just had to grit our teeth and go ahead and do our job. I am not going to tell a lie and say I wasn't a-fraid because I was and who wouldn't be with Death grinning at you from all round and hellish 5.9 shells shrieking through the air and shrapnel dealing death all round. I don't know how I stood it so long without breaking...¹

A lance corporal wrote,

I can tell you I should never have got out alive. Most of the stretcher bearers were killed and wounded and the wounded could not get out...there were some wounded [Germans] down in the dug-outs that could not move, so we left them there to die ...I think I will be away from the Batt about 2 months, then I hope the war will be over. I had a terrible shaking up, though I never lost my nerve for a moment. Some of the men went mad. The Australians...took a village...the English had 3 goes [at]...and they stop in a trench while 15 inch shells are landing and very few of them show any fear...I hope the war is over very soon for if I ever get a spot like I was in I do not think it is possible to get out alive. It was perfect Hell. Two minutes before I was hit 50 men [were] left out of my company of 220 strong. When I was hit, 18 others were hit at the same time.²

1

260. Maj. W.G.M. Claridge, 22 Bn., Woolclasser, of Glen Iris, Vic. b.1886. (L), 10/8/16.

2

265. L/Cpl. J. Cohen, 24 Bn., Diamond setter, of Princes Hill, Vic. K.I.A. 4/3/17, aged 23. (L), 29/7/16.

In the trenches Sergeant Elvin noted, "Heavy firing all morning - simply murder. Men falling everywhere... Expecting death every second. 23 men smothered in one trench. Dead and dying everywhere. Some simply blown to pieces. Shells falling like hail during a storm. Five left in trench",¹ and Sergeant Anderson prayed, "If only the barrage will lift and we could get relieved, already our relief is late, the suspense is awful. At last the 21st Battalion has...appear[ed]...The barrage has lifted, and half dazed, we climb from the trenches and make a wild rush to get away while we have the chance."² His thoughts rambling, Corporal Thomas scribbled as the shells burst ceaselessly about him,

If we can get these blighters back another mile or so then the Cavalry can hop into the bloody inferno and chase 'em right back eight miles or so. I shouldn't bother to take impressions for I want to forget it if possible. I am loaded like a pack horse carrying twelve bombs, 250 rounds am^{tn}, haversack, coat, two gas helmets, rifle. I am Corporal of the bombers and I will do some damage to these bloody huns I have seen things here that will make the bloody military aristocrats' name stink for ever. The soldiers I pity as they have been ruled into this farce...God, it is cruel. What humans will stand is astounding...Tonight will be another long vigil gazing into death, this is truly the Valley of the Shadow. God help us³,

and,

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346. Elvin, (77,3), (D), 25/7/16.

2

55. Anderson, (111,2), (D), 30/7/16

see also:

671. Raws, (43,2), (L), c.1/8/16 quoted Bean, op. cit., III pp.658-9.

3

748. Thomas, (276,1), (D), 27/7/16.

God the whole chaos it too terrific for my pencil, it has been the most ominous time in our lives, God we have been playing tig with death for seven days & nights...it has been too terrible, too fiendish...God I have seen the most gruesome sights the most awful tragic scenes it has been my cruel lot witness, however, take it from me none of mine will ever tackle this job again...if men refuse to fight all the world over war will cease.¹

Some men shot themselves,² others went mad. Archie Barwick reported that within five minutes seventy five shells, each 9.2" or larger, landed on an area less than four acres:

All day long the ground rocked & swayed backwards & forwards from the concussion...[like] a well built haystack...swaying...about...men were driven stark staring mad & more than one of them rushed out of the trench over towards the Germans. any amount of them could be seen crying & sobbing like children their nerves completely gone...we were nearly all in a state of silliness & half dazed but still the Australians refused to give ground. men were being buried by the dozen, but were frantically dug out again some dead & some alive...³

A 20th Battalion officer stated that one of his sergeants, ...who was leading the way commenced to roll about in an uncontrollable manner, and at length broke

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748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 3/8/16 see also (L), 1 and 11/8/16

see also:

207. Burrows, (98,3), (L), 10/8/16 compare with p.98, at n.3 and (L), 4/5/16; 491. Kilgour, (273,2), (D), 16 and 17/8/16; 741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 15/8/16.

2

Bean, op. cit., III, p.598.

3

840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), IV, pp.11-3 (24/7/16).

into a frantic rush, cursing and swearing at the huns. He was apparently suffering from overstrain ...His memory had gone, and we had difficulty in getting him along. He recognised me, and said "Is that you, Captain Fox. I will follow you to death. No one ever yet found D — a coward."...[he] would persist in sitting down and talking to a man who had apparently died on a stretcher...[he] again started a charge all on his own, charging down the road at full speed,...[and] came across some Tommy machine gunners whom he started to lash into; fortunately he was unarmed. When the others came up he set about them as well...¹

Those whose nerves survived their torment suffered unforgettable horrors: "Our trenches very shallow in parts and full of our and enemy dead on which are swarms of black flies and maggots - trenches reeking and crawling";² and sickening sights, "brains hanging out, heads bashed in, arms and legs apart from bodies..."³, were seared into their minds forever. They came to fear the battle area as a 'Valley of Death' or 'the Jaws of Hell', and quit it thankfully,⁴ and received the order to return almost as a death sentence, for they considered fighting at Pozières not war, but murder.⁵

1

381. Fox, (80,1), (D), 14/8/16

see also:

505. Leane, (107,1), (L), -/8/16 quoted Bean, op. cit., III, p.710n; 671. Raws, (43,2), (L), c.1/8/16 quoted Bean, op. cit., III, p.660.

2

293. Capt. N.M. Cuthbert, M.C., 2 Bn., Student, of Lindfield, N.S.W. b.1896. (D), 17/8/16.

3

265. Cohen, (296,2), (L), 31/7/16 see also (L), 29/7/16.

4

Bean, op. cit., III, pp.599, 724, 862.

5

For example, 491. Kilgour, (273,2), (D), 17/8/16.

Yet a sense of duty and their own manhood impelled most to fight on.¹ Corporal Thomas wrote, "...orders came through to stand to and here we are all ready, eh steady, for some big stunt. Our morale is excellent and the boys know the sacrifice, and also the reward."² A South Australian sergeant told his parents, "When you see this I'll be dead; don't worry...Try to think I did the only possible thing, as I tell you I would do it again if I had the chance. Send someone else in my place,"³ and a young West Australian, five months married, wrote farewell to his wife,

Well Darling one at 12 oclock tonight...we go over the parapet & then our fate is sealed - if I am lucky we'll be relieved I suppose within a week... The place is like Hell darling but the sooner we get it over the better...remember it is better to die for you & Country than to be a cheat of the empire. I'll try love for your sake to do well & come through...God be with you Love for all Time... Remember me to Baby when she is Born - if a boy dont make him a tin soldier but should war break out, let him enlist & do his bit if not he'll be no son of mine.⁴

1

See p.267.

2

748. Thomas, (276,1), (D), 6/8/16.

3

Sgt. D.G.J. Badger, 10 Bn., Bank clerk, of Peterborough, S.A. K.I.A. 21/8/16, aged 20. (L), -/8/16 quoted Bean, op. cit., III, p.797n.

4

587. Capt. A. McLeod, 16 Bn., Bank clerk, of Katanning, W.A. D.O.I. 5/12/16, aged 25. (L), 9/8/16

see also:

250. Champion, (41,2), (D), -/8/16; 262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 10/8/16; 306. Dawkins, (232,2), (D), 2/9/16; 709. Short, (226,1), (L), 19/8/16; 834. Addy, (98,3), (D), 24 and 26/7 and 19/8/16; Bean, op. cit., III, p.870.

24/8/16.

Dearest Beat and Bill,

Just a line you must be prepared for the worst to happen any day. It is no use trying to hide things. I am in terrible agony. Had I been brought in at once I had a hope. But now gas gangrene has set in and it is so bad that the doctor could not save it by taking it off as it had gone too far and the only hope is that the salts they have put on may drain the gangrene out otherwise there is no hope. The pain is much worse today so the doctor gave me some morphia, which has eased me a little but still is awful. Tomorrow I shall know the worst as the dressing was to be left on for 3 days and tomorrow is the third day it smells rotten. I was hit running out to see the other officer who was with me but badly wounded. I ran too far as I was in a hurry and he had passed the word down to return, it kept coming down and there was nothing to do but go up and see what he meant, I got two machine gun bullets in the thigh another glanced off by my water bottle and another by the periscope I had in my pocket, you will see that they send my things home. It was during the operations around Mouquet Farm, about 20 days I was in the thick of the attack on Pozieres as I had just about done my duty. Even if I get over it I will never go back to the war as they have taken pounds of flesh out of my buttock, my word they look after us well here. I am in the officers ward and can get anything I want to eat or drink but I just drink all day changing the drinks as I take a fancy. The Stretcher Bearers could not get the wounded out any way than over the top and across the open. They had to carry me four miles with a man waving a red cross flag in front and the Germans did not open fire on us. Well dearest I have had a rest, the pain is getting worse and worse, I am very sorry dear, but still you will be well provided for I am easy on that score. So cheer up dear I could write on a lot but I am nearly unconscious. Give my love to Dear Bill and yourself, do take care of yourself and him.

Your loving husband

Bert.

Letter from Lieutenant H.W. Crowle to his wife and son.

written a few hours before he died.

The unparalleled intensity of Pozières forced Australians to find additional consolations, and they took comfort from the inevitability of battle, their superiority over the enemy's infantry, and their success, for few troops achieved as much as they. Before he entered the fight a timber getter commented,

The Australians have been in the thick of it at last and...have actually excelled themselves. What a reputation we will have if we keep on going. But I am sure I have no desire to keep at this game much longer. I'd sooner be slicing hunks off a tough old Gray Box, than poking holes in a Prussian, any day. But I suppose that will have to wait till the other job is finished.¹

Another soldier thought his experiences too awful to describe, but found refuge from them in prayer and the expectation of being decorated.² A third reported that the battle was a "roaring boiling hell of shot & shell & mangled men", but thought that the excitement of hand to hand fighting and the "walloping" given Fritz compensated for this.³ A fearful ordeal had tortured these men, and they had to explain it, to justify its blood and pain and suffering. As the war became less and less bearable it

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76. Sgt. A.W. Armstrong, 24 Bn., Timber worker, of Swan Reach, Vic. D.O.W. 29/7/16, aged 26. (L), 24/7/16.

2

179A. Capt. W.G. Boys, 25 Bn., Master draper, of Maryborough, Qld. D.O.W. 5/8/16, aged 26. (L), 2/8/16.

3

537. Maguire, (273,2), (L), 1/8/16

see also:

305. Capt. H.S. Davis, 46 Bn., Woolclasser, of Drysdale, Vic. K.I.A. 11/4/17, aged 28. (L), 19/8/16.

seemed more and more necessary,¹ and duty, honour, and manhood committed men more and more to fight it. Pozières concluded for many Australians what Gallipoli had begun, and channelled every motive for which men had enlisted into a single objective: at any cost, to win the war, and save the civilized world from eternal darkness. Therefore they struggled on: the First Division returned to the line on 15 August, on 22 August the Second Division replaced it, on 30 August the Fourth relieved the Second. On 5 September, after an advance of not quite two miles to the edge of Mouquet Farm, the Australians gave way to the Canadians, and for them the bloodbath of the Somme was ended.

22,826 Australian soldiers fell to win a few yards of ground; and only a minority, by great fortune, survived. It was a monstrous sacrifice, which tumbled the romances and grand illusions of the past into the dust, whence they rarely rose again. After Pozières many soldiers looked back to their boyhood, and saw an unfamiliar world. "The actual realities of what modern war is like cannot be described by pen", a soldier explained, "One has to live

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For example,
 16. Lt. Col. J.K. Adey, O.B.E., A.A.M.C., Doctor, of Melbourne, Vic. (b. England) b.1887. (Notes), 1/8/16
 63. Pte. G.G.G. Angus, 1 Pioneer Bn., Blacksmith, of Majorca, Vic. K.I.A. 21/8/16, aged 22. (L), 31/7/16
 10. Adams, (153,5), (L), 31/7 and 21/8/16; 176. Bourke, (127,1), (L), 5/8/16; 262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 10/8/16;
 459. Horniman, (108,2), (L), 30/9/16; 504. Leane, (182,3), (L), 9/8/16; 813. Hill, (111,1), (L), 4 and 13/8/16; 874. Cull, (162,3), (L), 8/8/16; 993. Moors, (223,3), (L), -/7 or 8/16.

it through all its phases to understand anything about it."¹ "Ten months ago I was eager to get to the firing line", another asserted, "My eagerness has been well fulfilled and well I know it."² The Australian never forgot Pozières, not the English staff which had sent them there, nor the mates killed, nor the New Army divisions which failed so often on their flanks, nor a thousand scenes of horror and heroism, nor, perhaps most terrible of all, the ceaseless, merciless, murdering guns.³

After the battle a narrower concept of duty generally prevailed. The A.I.F.'s severest penalty for indiscipline, repatriation to Australia in disgrace, became no longer effective,⁴ and wounded men, though usually prepared to return when the time came, gladly accepted the fortune which had struck them down. A serious wound - a 'blighty' - became an honourable escape from battle, a chance to rest, an offer of life, and a blessing many ardently desired.

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31. Cpl. J.R. Allan, D.C.M., 19 Bn., Dairy farmer, of Comboyne, N.S.W. D.O.V. 3/10/18, aged 41. (L), -/8/16 see also (L), 5,6, and 8/8/16.

2

491. Kilgour, (273,2), (D), 20/8/16 see also n.1, p.298 and compare with p.273, n.2 see also:

570. Capt. W.T. McDonald, 4 Bn., Electrical employee, of Sydney, N.S.W. K.I.A. 16/8/16, aged 37. (L), 12/8/16
7. Adams, (89,2), (D), 28/7/16; 305. Davis, (301,3), (L), 19/8/16; 346. Elvin, (77,3), (D), 21/8/16; 354. Evatt, (275,4), (L), 19/8/16.

3

For this sentence,
481. Jones, (269,4), (L), 9/8/16; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.vi, 871.

4

Ibid., III, p.862.

"It was a bad night alright", Private Cleary wrote after the bloody fighting on 4 August, "I was dead beat and wishing to goodness something would hit me so that I could go down with a clear conscience",¹ and an ambulanceman related,

Many a man smiles when he is told that he will never be able to fight again or that he won't be right again for some months. Its Blighty for a spell anyhow, and probably back to Australia again, he may casually remark. The fellows shake hands with and congratulate their mates and brothers when they find that they have a wound that...will most likely keep them away for a few months.²

With these adjustments, the Australians passed through the agony and despair of Pozières.³ It had been their sternest test, and it broke much in them, but not their resolve, and gradually time and their sense of

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262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 5/8/16.

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675. Richards, (135,2), (D), 30/7/16

see also:

294. Dakin, (198,3), (D), 26/7/16; 993. Moors, (223,3), (L), 18 and 30/8/16.

3

For accounts of Pozières - Mouquet Farm,
 497. Lt. E.W.D. Laing, M.C., 12 Bn., Farmer, of Maddington, W.A. K.I.A. 8/5/18, aged 26. (L), 30/7/16
 565. Lt. K.H. McConnel, 1 Bn., Student, of Woollahra, N.S.W. b.1895. (D), 23/7/16
 17. Adkins, (271,1), (L), 1/8/16; 21. Aitken, (101,2), (L), 28/7/16; 55. Anderson, (111,2), (D), 4/8/16; 73. Armitage, (78,1), (D), 17/8/16; 178. Bowman, (221,5), (D), 23-26/7/16; 265. Cohen, (296,2), (L), 31/7/16; 278. Cotton, (76,4), (L), 30/7/16; 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 19-24/7 and 17-19/8/16; 537. Maguire, (273,2), (L), 1/8/16; 703. Semple, (142,2), (L), 13/8/16; 791. Young, (157,2), (L), 4/8/16; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.448-877.

purpose restored their elan. "Tramped back from the slaughter ground to scenes of peace and grandeur", Corporal Thomas noted, "What a relief. The men soon forget everything and they soon started into song",¹ and Australians would not consider a negotiated peace with the enemy² partly because "Fritz makes us wish we had stayed in Australia when he aroused but we get quite cheeky again when we get out of range."³

But men reinforcing the Australian battalions after Fromelles and Pozières came into a cheerless world. Some had been warned by the lists which lengthened endlessly in the daily press; all found the ranks of their units greatly depleted, and read a fearful tale in the faces about them. They arrived in the wake of great battles, and on the eve of a dreaded winter. They were noticeably less keen to fight than their predecessors. A machine gun private admitted,

I am not altogether in love with the business but it has to be done and we are trying to be as cheerful as we can be and at times it is pretty hard work. It is not altogether a nice sensation to have bullets and shells dropping all around you but I am⁴ gradually getting used to it and try not to mind.

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748. Thomas, (276,1), (D), 21/8/16.

2
167. Blaskett, (271,2), (L), 15/8/16.

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385. Lt. A.E. Gaby, V.C., 28 Bn., Farmer, of Scottsdale, Tas. K.I.A. 11/8/18, aged 26. (L), 2/9/16
see also:

741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 23/8/16; n.4, p.277.

4
90. Lt. E.A.C. Atkinson, 9 M.G.Coy., Bank clerk, of Deniliquin, N.S.W. D.O.W. 13/10/17, aged 21. (L), 8/12/16
see also (L), 21/1/17
see also:

The new arrivals found their countrymen manning inactive sectors, and this dispersed their fears. "I used to wonder whether I'd be scared at my first experience in the trenches, but it was too interesting and exciting", a recruit wrote, "Everything was novel. and hence enjoyable and the hardest thing was not to be able to get on top and see what was going on properly."¹ Another commented, "...I like it immensely...it's not nearly so bad as I should have expected..."² "...its a rough life pater", a third stated, "but...it will be a great experience."³

After the Somme fighting I Anzac Corps moved to a quiet front along the Ypres-Comines canal, where Private David Harford, a West Australian miner, recorded a

terrific bombardment by enemy batteries. as...[it] increases...we retire into our dugouts not that they afford much protection as they are shallow and the roof is thin but they are some protection from flying splinters. we lie flat on the floor of our dugouts, most of which are only built for one man, and listen to the awful bombardment, which is rapidly merging into a continuous roar. the ground trembles beneath me, and the air is charged with the acrid reek of high explosive fumes in all this over-

(footnote 4 continued from p.305)

302. Davies, (53,4), (D), p.20 (-/11/16); 687. Rusden, (81,2), (D), 3/8/16

I am here also describing men in 3 Div., which entered the line in December 1916 but which was not associated with the other Australian divisions at that time.

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14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 10/10/16.

2

27. Alexander, (43,1), (L), 3/12/16.

3

412. Gration, (80,2), (L), 16/12/16

see also:

224. Callen, (281,3), (L), 1/12/16.

charged horror there comes, as by a merciful dispensation of nature a certain insensibility to all fears, quite simple thoughts pass through ones mind, so it is to end here: Here in this dark mildewed hole in the earth. I am to go out I look round me at my damp rat-hole the sides and roof of which are lined with sand bags...the lower bags are green with mildew and the upper ones up near the sun and air are sprouting grass. halfway up in the corner a cluster of poison mushrooms or toadstools peer down at me. the center one a little taller than the rest seems to nod at me as it sways and trembles to the concussions...one simply notes these things, fear of death having left one: and one prays that at least IT may prove one well placed shell. a crash of thunder and a lightning flash, to thrust us through the dark gates into eternity. only let it not be crippling and yet life...one wonders whether that last light explosive was a gas-shell how one's comrades are faring, whether ANY of us will be alive when the bombardment ceases suddenly there is a concussion that seems to shake the breath out of my body. a big shell has burst very near. Already a man feels in his inmost self half-way to the other world, hopeless but without fear. Hark! is the bombardment really getting less violent or is it only fancy? it is not fancy? it is reality overhead is a new note. the scream of shells, our shells, passing over us on their way to the enemys batteries. one is astonished still to be living, and then one hopes one may be alive not only to-night but also to morrow, a month hence, yes, even till the troops go home. and then we creep out and take stock of the damage and set to work to assist the wounded, and remove the dead. everywhere can be heard the cry "Stretcher bearers at the double" After which we set to work to repair our wrecked trench. a heart breaking task. Far into the night we labour... at last...we post sentries and lie down to get an hour or two's sleep. in four hours time...there is ...a bit of night sniping going on and I take part in it.¹

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432. Pte. D.B. Harford, 51 Bn., Miner, of Ravensthorpe, W.A. D.O.W. 31/3/17, aged 31. (D), 14/10/16

see also:

840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), VIII, pp.11-2 (5/1/17).

In mid October 1 Anzac Corps returned to the Flers-Gueudecourt sector in the Somme area; there the Fifth Division¹ joined it, and the Australians braced themselves to meet a new menace, which most knew would be severe, and some feared would defeat them. They were about to undergo a northern winter.

The 1916-17 winter was the harshest in France for 40 years. Rain began in October, and shellfire churned the soft ground to a waste of mud and water. In the back areas, movement quickly became difficult: an artilleryman reported,

...about the MUD here...on foot one has to go very cautiously. Last time we were here one of our officers rode into a Shell hole. His horse disappeared in the mud & he was only rescued with great difficulty. He had to be pulled out with ropes & in doing so they strained his internal organs. He is now in Blighty & it will be 3 months before he is fit to rejoin his unit. It is a common sight to see men pulling₂one another out of the mud - it clings like glue²,

and Private Cleary wrote,

Arrived at Bernafay wood after a long march in pouring rain. What made things worse was the fact that we...had to march through the muddy fields...because the Road was required for Vehicular Traffic...We were halted on the Hill facing Bernafay in pouring rain with no shelter, no Tucker and told to do the best we could and I put in easily the worst night I ever did or expect to put in. I absolutely threw my marble in and if it wasn't for the thought that I was

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From 11 Anzac Corps.

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395. Gatliff, (222,3), (L), 31/12/16.

on active service I think I would have wasted a cartridge on myself.¹

In the line it was worse. Men already exhausted crouched in waterlogged shell holes, or stood and slept upright in the trenches thigh-deep in soupy mud, hoping that the trench walls would not collapse and bury them:

...a salvoe of shells landed near. I glanced up to try and locate the bursts by the flying mud, when I noticed that the whole side of the shell-slit was falling in...It struck me in the act of rising and completely buried me. The weight on my tin hat pressed me down irresistably and forced my chin into my chest. After struggling a little I found that it only settled the earth closer round me. The brim of my hat kept the earth out of my nose but the weight gradually forced it further down on my head, the head band gradually travelling down my nose and taking the skin with it...Then the realization came of what was gradually but surely ending things. The soft earth at first yielded slightly to my struggles, but was slowly settling down and compressing under the weight above, so that the movement of my ribs was becoming more and more constricted. It was as though an iron band were tightening round my chest and preventing any movement. Then I heard the Sergeant Major speaking, and calling me, as though he were a long way off...I heard him say, "Good God, I believe the man's buried! Come here two men with shovels. - Now gently - don't maim him." At last the terrible weight was relieved, and they lifted me out and laid me on the floor of the trench.²

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262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 31/10/16

see also:

18. Adlard, (138,2), (D), 9 and 13/11/16; 233. Campbell, (73,1), (L), 8/11/16.

2

574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), -/11/16.

There were other hazards. Behind the line, near Montauban, a machine gunner recalled, "The Trenches are very bad, and the mud in them is three or four feet deep; men have to be pulled out of it by ropes. The men have to sit in this mess all day and night, and it is awful, everywhere dead lying about",¹ and during the winter over 20,000 Australians were evacuated with exhaustion, frostbite, or trench feet:²

I am on my way to hospital, suffering from trench feet due to being in water up to my knees for 72 hours without a break. There was not a place anywhere in the trench where we could stand clear of water...as soon as I took my boots off my feet swelled rapidly so that I could not put my boots on again & I had to make my way to the ambulance station, barefooted. The distance was something like two miles and I had some difficulty in negotiating it.³

Yet, if the cold would permit them, the soldiers found it easiest to remain immobile in their trenches, patiently enduring the hopeless desolation around them, clutching their comfortless rifles, and praying that their relief or the rum parties would be able to reach them and mitigate their misery.⁴

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294. Dakin, (198,3), (D), 6/11/16.

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20,897 between 29 October 1916 and 18 February 1917. Butler, op. cit., II, p.198. See also Bean, op. cit., III, p.920 and 920n.

3

703. Semple, (142,2), (L), 11/11/16.

4

For this paragraph, see also, 336. Pte. A.E. Eckford, 24 Bn., Law clerk, of Sandy Bay, Tas. K.I.A. 3/5/17, aged 18. (L), 28/11/16
709. Short, (226,1), (L), 19/11/16; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.918-22.

The men at the front suffered less than those who moved between the line and the back areas, for ration parties, rum details, stretcher bearers, messengers and relieving troops had sometimes to struggle four miles through a treacherous morass to reach their destination. Enemy artillery prohibited movement by day. At night men could plough along communication trenches, if any existed - this was safer from shells, but a weary business, so slow that men could not usually reach the line and return before daylight. Most Australians travelled across the open, chancing enemy shellfire, and blundering often into deep slush or water-filled shell holes, sometimes losing boots, puttees and trousers, and, if they were not lost or stuck fast in the mire, arriving at last cold, wet, filthy, and utterly exhausted. One man took eight hours to walk four miles carrying rations;

Give it best for a moment, and your will power is broken, and despair will lead you to hysteria, and then, death from exposure. Mud from the top of our heads to the bottom of our boots, drenched to the very skin, your thoughts must be alone for the men perishing in the front line...No songs are sung & no poetry written about fatigue parties...¹

If they were lost they stumbled into the German trenches, or lurched about until dawn caught them in the open and forced them to crouch motionless, till dusk should permit them to resume their weary task. If they were trapped by the mud, often they remained stuck throughout the day, helpless under the German guns; and if they survived that ordeal, they had to endure the torture of rescue.²

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887. Fry, (80,1), (D), -/12/16.

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Rescuers at least twice broke the backs of mud trapped men. Bean. op. cit., III, p.918; Mitchell, G.D.: Backs to the Wall, p.35 (7/1/17).

All this lay in front of men relieved from the line. It was a terrible prospect, often beyond them. Corporal Thomas wrote,

God, I cannot express the horrors of last night, we were relieved and and coming back shelled cruelly and five men knocked. The wounded had a fearful time, God help us in a scrap here, we are four miles from a dressing station. The officer lost us so at 2.30 I asked him to let us bivouac which he did, so we just fell down and slept, rain and all, and shells falling all about us, but we were too exhausted to bother, we didn't mind if we were killed, it was terrible.¹

Sergeant Brunton described a nightmare march of more than ten hours, then concluded,

...we reached the open valley and flung ourselves upon a sloping bank, oblivious of the driving rain and biting wind. This was the lowest depth to which my physical powers had ever sunk. I felt that by a slight effort of the will I could die and end it all. Our officers were in a bad way, too, and vainly strove to rally us, telling us to keep moving lest we die of exposure. Finding us incapable of marching ...some of them pushed on for the camp five miles away and ordered our cooks to have food and hot tea ready...After lying there for twenty minutes I felt so cold that I determined to push on, and with two others I started along the valley for Fish Alley hill. After going a hundred yards one of the two collapsed and we left him on some wet sandbags and went on. After a quarter of a mile I came down on my knees three times, and recognizing the impossibility of going further without rest, the other fellow and I took shelter behind a shattered log, and...we fell asleep instantly.

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748. Thomas, (276,1), (D), 3/11/16.

The slowest in Brunton's party took two days to travel that last five miles, and he claimed that afterwards 268 of his battalion, exhausted beyond sufferance, reported sick.¹ The troops sometimes reached camp to find it

just a wide muddy ditch about six feet deep. There were no proper "possies"...Finding an entrenching-tool I hollowed out a shelf in the side of the trench, laid my waterproof sheet on it, and lying down on it I drew my overcoat over me, and praying it would not rain again, I was soon sound asleep.

When I woke it was terribly cold...my feet protruded from the overcoat, and the caked mud on my big legging-boots was covered with a thin coating of white frost.²

Because of the mud, pure water could rarely be brought up, so that men were sickened by drinking fluid contaminated by dead bodies; and often ration parties were delayed or lost their loads to shellfire. "Very short of tucker yesterday. Short again today. No Breakfast. The Ration Cart has been gone 36 hours and not returned yet. Very cold and miserable", a soldier at Bernafay Wood commented. On the following day he noted, "No Biscuit or Bread for Dinner but that is common now", and on the day after that, "Breakfast 2 inches of Bacon and a couple of

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978. Brunton, (81,1), (D), 22?/11/16.

2

574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), -/11/16

For this and the preceding paragraph, see also,
 13. Capt. W.G. Adams, D.S.O., M.C., 45 Bn., Railway shed foreman, of Singleton, N.S.W. b.1897. (D), 13/1/17
 990. Gnr. R.F. Hall, 4 F.A.B., Student, of North Williamstown, Vic. b.1894. (D), 31/10 and 1/11/16
 17. Adkins, (271,1), (L), 26/12/16; 885. Freebody, (281,2), (D), 9 and 11/11/16; Chatto, op. cit., p.44; Bean, op. cit., III, p.918.

Spoonsful of Sugar. No Bread No Biscuits nothing else. Dinner Small Spud $\frac{1}{2}$ Tin of Bully."¹ The most agonizing torments awaited the wounded. The stretcher bearers worked valiantly, but wounded men had sometimes to wait 12 hours before they were moved,² and many died before the cruel mud released them. An Australian general died during such a journey,³ after 10 hours travelling; and a 2nd Battalion bearer recorded that on Christmas Day 1916 he was called up to the line to ease the pain of a corporal sniped through the abdomen:

I was to take morphia and Hyperdermic up to where he lay and give him an injection as they could not keep him on the stretcher, poor beggar, in his agony... Many times [the guide and I] were waist deep in mud and water and at the best it was almost up to the knees...Found the bearers, 6 of them struggling along with the stretcher making very slow progress. Injected the morphia...Assisted with stretcher for some distance and then left to obtain more bearers from Head quarters. Got lost...but reached H.Q. eventually but was unable to get any assistance. Patient...unfortunately died and is buried near Bernafay. No doubt the terrible privations were responsible to a large extent with his death. He was wounded in the morning and did not reach Field Ambulance late in the afternoon. This is but one instance of many similar cases...The bearers are almost super-human but the odds were too great.⁴

Despite every discomfort and menace, the soldiers were allowed little rest, and during November Australians several

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262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 1,2, and 3/11/16.

2

Bean, op. cit., III, p.918.

3

Ibid., III, p.955.

4

615. Cpl. R. Morgan, 2 Bn., Railway signalman, of Meadowbank, N.S.W. b.1894. (D), 25/12/16.

times attacked German trenches in the Flers-Gueudecourt area. Archie Barwick took part in an attack by the 1st and 3rd Battalions on Bayonet and Lard Trenches on 5 November:

as soon as we [hopped over]...the flares were sent up in batches which lit everything up like day, & showed us men falling everywhere & the boys struggling through the mud bogged nearly to the knees...I was forcing my way through as fast as I could & calling for my men to keep up & "box on"...[In the German wire, I] got badly cut all over & ended up by getting hung up in the stuff for all the world like a sack of wool chucked onto a heap of barb wire, but I felt nothing at the time for my blood was running hot & we only thought of getting in their trench, the fighting by this time was very fierce, shells, bombs, mortars, & worse than all liquid fire bombs were falling amongst us like hail...I had one of the most thrilling minutes of my life for I was rushing...down a shallow trench...when... a Hun rushed out at me & made a desperate lunge at my body. I must have parried quick as lightning & ...his bayonet slid down my rifle & stuck in the fleshy part of my leg...a sharp stinging pain went through my body...but I kept my block & before he could draw his₁ rifle back for another attempt I shot him dead.

The attack had been made by weary men, in impossible conditions. It was repulsed, as were most others made during that futile month, for mud, cold and exhaustion easily outmatched gallantry, dreams of glory, and duty.²

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840. Barwick, (174,2). (D), VI, pp.131-3 (5/11/16).

2

For accounts of the 1916 winter fighting, which caused more than 5,000 Australian casualties, 27. Alexander, (43,1), (L), 26/11/16; 250. Champion, (41,2), (D), pp. 117-20 (1/11/16); 294. Dakin, (198,3), (D), 9/11/16; 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 31/12/16; 546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 13/1/17; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.894-958.

Early in 1917 the winter delivered one more blow. Snowfalls had begun in the previous November; by mid January they had frozen the ground, ending the worst hardships caused by the mud and improving conditions overall, but bringing new troubles. Cases of frostbite increased, and artillery shells, no longer cushioned by soft ground, struck with deadly effect at targets brought into clear relief by a white background. In the billets heated bottles of ink froze before men could write with them, and boots had to be warmed before they were put on. Boiling tea froze within 20 paces, hands exposed were numbed after five seconds, bread could not be cut with a knife, and water had to be chopped with an axe and carried in blocks to the line. In the trenches Australians and Germans sometimes stamped about on their parapets, ignoring each other, in an effort to warm their aching limbs.¹

Only a 'blighty' offered honourable escape from these privations, and despite the fearful ordeals wounded soldiers had often to undergo, men prayed to be wounded. A corporal wrote that his brother was luckily in hospital, added the hope that he would stay there throughout the winter, and explained, "...it is no joke being in the trenches this weather with the rain, snow, and cold weather ...God knows how I am able to stand it...if I get sent to Hospital don't worry about me; it is a rest - the only thing a soldier looks for."² "All I want now is to get...

1

For this paragraph, 836. Allsop, (286,3), (D), 22/1/17; 938. McKay, (277,4), (D), 28/10/16; Mitchell, op. cit., p.49 (-/1/17).

2

341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 1/1/17.

a sickness which will keep me away for the winter",¹ a sergeant told his family, and another reported, "When I saw...[an] explosion...I ducked down, but Dingle wouldn't. I mentioned it to him and his reply was - "There is nothing else to get a fellow out of it but one of those shells. It doesn't matter.""²

For Australians, this was the hardest period of the war. Several shot themselves, more malingered, and one or two deserted to the enemy, an offence usually unheard of in the A.I.F.³ Only a fortunate minority were wounded. Most were obliged to soldier on, and their prospects seemed hopeless. Fromelles and Pozières were followed, not by peace, but by Flers and the tortures of a cruel environment. The world seemed a perpetual round of pain, misery, and death, and men seemed condemned to endure ceaseless travail, till their souls were deadened, and they resigned their course on earth to the whims of a malicious fate.

Most of all, perhaps, a mental dilemma weighed upon them. Australians had fought the Somme battles with success and distinction, and they knew that in future

¹ 631. Mouldsdale, (89,1), (L), 17/11/16.

² 675. Richards, (135,2), (D), 26/10/16
see also:

37. Pte. C.A. Allen, 58 Bn., Grazier, of Hamilton, Vic. K.I.A. 25/9/17, aged 29. (L), 22/10/16
99. Axtens, (275,4), (L), 4/10/16; 233. Campbell, (73,1), (L), 8/11/16; 262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 30/11/16; 393. Gates, (106,1), (L), 1/1/17; 976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 11/12/16.

³ 13. Adams, (313,2), (D), 19/1/17; Bean, op. cit., III, pp.894, 940-1.

their reputation would commit them wherever fighting was heaviest, and so more probably to death and more certainly to suffering. They never doubted that they would fight on: they could not deny their manhood, nor by failing in their duty permit the ruin of their world. But they realized they were assigning themselves to apparently endless agony, and were sacrificing their hopes and probably their lives to defend others. They were chained to an odious necessity. They had come to Armageddon.

1917¹

After the new year the Australians slowly recovered their spirits. Huts in their back areas and duckboards laid in numbers across the mud eased their burdens, they received hot food in the line and hot drinks during journeys to and from it, warmer clothes from Australia, and thigh length gumboots from the stores.² They were not engaged in heavy fighting until February, when battalions of the Fourth Division attacked Stormy Trench and adjacent areas. Above all, they were exhilarated by the discovery, on 26 February, that the Germans had abandoned their trenches.³

1

See p.267.

2

Bean, op. cit., III, pp.954-6, lists other amenities introduced about this time.

3

The Germans began this on 24 February, and within six weeks had evacuated their 90 mile salient between Arras and the Aisne River. They hoped to shorten their line and disrupt Allied plans for 1917; they succeeded brilliantly.

Willingly the Australians broke from their winter lines in pursuit, advancing rapidly, taking Bapaume on 17 March, pressing the foe, and revelling in the open fighting they encountered now for the first time. A pioneer officer related, "...since the push started everyone has been in wonderful spirits and...are all as pleased as punch. The Hun seems to have had all the go knocked out of him",¹ and another, "This is certainly the most interesting part of the war. We are now on captured territory amongst clean, waving fields instead of that fearful pitted country."² At last the Allies seemed to be winning, and peace beckoned.

Enemy resistance strengthened after 20 March, and early in April the German rearguard several times forced the Australians to fight hard before they gave ground. A New South Wales private, wounded during his first attack, told a friend,

...on April the 8th we done what is known...as a hop over... we run into plenty of machien guns which fire 46 bullets in two & $\frac{1}{2}$ seconds but it being dark Fritz could not see too well but a swarm of bees around ones₃ head dont sing half as much as those bullets did³,

¹ 683. Roth, (94,1), (L), 9/4/17.

² 241. Carter, (123,3), (L), 8/4/17
see also:

23. L/Cpl. H.G. Akhurst, 20 Bn., Accountant, of Annandale, N.S.W. K.I.A. 25/3/17, aged 24. (L), 23/3/17

207. Burrows, (98,3), (L), 22/3/17; 341. Elliot, (275,4), (L), 31/3/17; 344. Ellsworth, (31,3), (L), 2 and 12/4/17; 481. Jones, (269,4), (L), 27/3/17.

³ 770. Pte. J.A. Ware, 3 Bn., Blacksmith, of Yass, N.S.W. b.1896. (L), 8/7/17.

and a 3rd Battalion sergeant described an incident during the fighting for Hermies village on 9 April:

There were two machine guns directly in front of us that were making havoc of our second and third waves...[a] lance corporal rushed one gun and... [a sergeant and a subaltern] made a charge for the other. To rush a machine gun from fifty yards is certain death...The Sergeant was hit in the knees at twenty yards and fell. He struggled to his knees and attempted to go forward, but the gun got a direct line on him and he fell with his head riddled with bullets. The officer kept going until he was within ten yards when he dropped a bomb right into the machine gun emplacement and continued his rush. The bomb killed two of the gunners and wounded a third but the fourth man continued working his gun. and the officer fell right across the machine gun riddled with bullets, and as he fell, he wounded the remaining gunner with his revolver.

The lance-corporal on the left was...charging a gun...served and defended by eight men. From thirty yards he dropped a bomb amongst them and at twenty yards - just as the bomb burst - he was wounded in the left arm. Undaunted he continued his rush and leapt into the trench and bayoneted in quick succession the remaining three Germans...He was L. Cpl. Kenney¹ ...and he was...awarded the V.C.²

The fighting in early April checked Australian exuberance, but in any case the buoyancy of even a year

1

Cpl. T.J.B. Kenny, V.C., 2 Bn., Chemist's assistant, of Bondi, N.S.W. Rep.T.A. 24/8/18, aged 21.

2

553. Sgt. A.E. Matthews, 3 Bn., Gunsmith, of Croydon, N.S.W. (b. England) b.1892. (D), -/4/17
For accounts of 1917 fighting to 11 April,
712. Lt. E.W. Simon, M.M. & Bar, 15 Bn., School teacher, of Toowong, Qld. b.1895. (L), 13/2/17
250. Champion, (41,2), (D), pp.117-20, 137-9 (-/3?/17);
Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.25-43, 60-251.

earlier was now alien to them. They hoped for an early victory and were past their worst depression, but they were disenchanted with war, and would never forget the awful year behind them. A lieutenant typified their attitude: "I read...of some recently wounded Australians who...said how keen they were to be back in the trenches. They couldn't have been through Pozieres and finished with a winter in the trenches."¹

This grimness dampened the zeal of many new reinforcements. One, Private Wilfred Gallwey, claimed as he approached the line, "I...am having a great time. We will soon have Fritz knocked out and I hope I will be here for the end of it."² It was an echo from the past, and two days later he observed,

It is very funny when I think of your ideas of war now I have had the experience. Its horrors could not be described on paper neither could the innumerable hardships of an infantry soldier. I suppose you wonder how I stand it all...if anyone had told me before I enlisted what I had to go through I would have thought I never could have gone through it...I only hope I have the luck to return home and if I don't well my name will be on the Scroll of Fame and you will be able to hold up your head proudly with other Mothers who have lost their noble sons.³

1

709. Short, (226,1), (L), 11/3/17 compare with (L), 16/6/16 quoted p.270, and p.300, n.4

see also:

607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 26/2/17; 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 21/1/17.

2

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 1/3/17 see also (D), 4/3/17.

3

Ibid., (L), 3/3/17.

Recruits at this time were usually less adventurous than earlier enlistments had been, and at the front they found little to cheer them. In February a late 1916 reinforcement told his brother,

All my pals...I came over with are gone, but 7 out of 150 remain, its simply scientific murder, not war at all. As for seeing Germans its all lies you never get close enough to do that, unless in a charge. I keep smiling, but I tell you it takes some doing...the premonition I had when leaving Sydney, that I would never see home again still hangs about me - one would be unnatural to go through uninjured, if I get out of it with a leg and arm off I'll be perfectly satisfied, so you will understand what it is like...so don't get married till after the war.¹

In January a Queensland officer at the Etaples base informed his wife,

Tomorrow morning I leave here to join my Battalion &...be in the thick of it...I wouldn't care a rap for my own sake. I'm not afraid of death because ...I have always led a good and clean life. Its you I'm thinking about & if it should not be my good fortune to return then I'm sure you will be consoled...by knowing that my life has been a happy² one & that I have at least attempted to do my duty.

He was killed a week after he went into the line. Another new arrival stated,

This is an awful war alright. Now I know what it is really. You people at home are spared a dreadful thing and I'd fight again...to keep it out of our

1

648. Pte. E.O. Neaves, Cashier, of Glebe Point, N.S.W. K.I.A. 6/11/17, aged 25. (L), 15/2/17.

2

145. Lt. R.M. Berry, 25 Bn., Costings clerk, of Sherwood, Qld. K.I.A. 7/2/17, aged 29. (L), 24/1/17 see also (L), 7/2/17.

country...I hope the war will soon stop now for it is sapping out the best of men and all that is beautiful in civilized life.¹

No comforting light guided these men; the carefree spirit of the cavaliers who had charged the Gallipoli hills was gone.

By 9 April the Germans had successfully withdrawn behind the Hindenburg Line, a network of trenches protected by barbed wire up to 100 yards thick, and interspersed with numerous machine gun posts and strongpoints. Almost immediately the Australians were ordered to break this formidable barrier, east of the village of Bullecourt.² They were denied artillery assistance, upon which they had come to rely, and to breach the wire they were given tanks, which they mistrusted. Their attempt was to be made on 11 April.³

As the tanks rumbled towards the start line before dawn on that day, their noise alerted the enemy, and a fierce fire fell upon the Australians lined out to attack. They were men of the Fourth and Twelfth Brigades, among the best in the A.I.F.⁴ They accepted the

1

111. Barlow, (77,2), (L), 2/3/17
see also:
302. Davies, (53,4), (D), p.57 (11/2/17) and (L), 31/3/17.

2

At the same time, the English 62 Div. would attack the village itself.

3

Originally 10 April, but the failure of the tanks to come forward on that day led to a 24 hour postponement.

4

Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.281, 293-4, 307.

bombardment, they saw almost every tank break down, and they watched the bullets spark from the uncut German wire until it "seemed to swarm with fireflies" under the fusillade.¹ Yet when the time came their dark forms walked across the snow covered ground in perfect formation, manoeuvred carefully through a maze of obstructions while the German bullets scythed them away, and charged into the Hindenburg trenches.

They had done what had been thought impossible, and what no Allied soldier had done - broken into the Line without an artillery barrage.² They overran two trench lines and began to consolidate their gains, but they had been decimated by the German machine guns, the survivors were scattered and desperately short of bombs, and a brave enemy persistently counter-attacked them. Private Gallwey related of his first great battle, "...I can only describe it as Hell. Every minute I expected to be blown out... All round me men were falling...I kept cool ...The awful horrors...[were] enough to drive a man mad."³ Lance Corporal Mitchell, not long returned from his sickness in England, depicted the fighting at close quarters:

I cannot tell the light and the shade, the things we laughed over, the tragedies, the lifetimes lived in an hour...a big German in a steel helmet popped up...I fired as he threw his bomb. In my haste I missed. Quickly I worked the bolt. But

1

Bean, op. cit., IV, p.295.

2

Ibid., IV, p.342.

3

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 14/4/17.

...there were no more cartridges in the magazine. So I shook my fist in sheer rage, and the Fritz grinned amiably back at me...for ten minutes I waited.

Up came his head. My bullet crashed into it and his last bomb was unthrown...The muzzle of a rifle peered over cautiously followed by a head in a pork pie cap. It was he or I for it. We aimed together. I fired first...and the German pitched back...Word came back "Throw everything away. Hop over the top and run for it." But I was not going to abandon my Lewis gun...I walked to the barbed wire...I heard the bullets as they hailed all around. I saw the dead, wounded and dying as they lay huddled everywhere...I was in the midst of our own fierce barrage, and also a German barrage. Machine guns were playing the devil with us. I unhitched myself casually from the wire...I did not even desire to run.¹

When the Australian bomb supply was almost exhausted the British barrage, finally arriving, burst among them, shattering their ranks and confidence. A German attack drove out the Fourth Brigade; at this the Twelfth Brigade, ordered to flee, turned, and walked slowly and deliberately across the shell-swept ground back to the Australian lines. George Mitchell was among them, and his brigadier saw him strolling away from the slaughter, his Lewis gun slung carelessly over his shoulder, his example inspiring all about him. He won an immediate D.C.M.,² and, a little later, a commission.

His heroism personified First Bullecourt, but their valour had won the Australians no material gain, and had

1

607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 11/4/17.

2

Distinguished Conduct Medal, a decoration for N.C.O.'s and men which ranks after the V.C.

broken some of the finest battalions in the A.I.F. More than 3,000 Australian soldiers were lost,¹ about 80 per cent of those attacking, and the survivors were very bitter, for again the follies of an English staff had overborne their courage and endeavours.² Yet their spirit remained strong. They had not betrayed their ideals, and they had combined their old dash and aggressiveness with a new competence. The skill of professionals began to mark their operations, and after First Bullecourt they never suffered a major defeat in the war.³

On 3 May the Fifth and Sixth Brigades again attacked the line east of Bullecourt, as part of a general British offensive, and under an artillery barrage. Part of the Fifth Brigade was repulsed, but the remaining Australians, alone along the battle-front, burst into the German trenches. The enemy counter-attacked bravely, and for two weeks the antagonists fought some of the most savage close-quarter fighting of the war. "I was an absolute mad man", a wounded private remembered, "I went with my mates don't know, what I did or said Scotty McMillan got

1

Including 1,142 taken prisoner, until 1942 the largest number of Australians captured in a single action.

2

The Corps orders for First Bullecourt were used later to demonstrate how not to plan an attack. Bean, op. cit., IV, p.350.

3

For accounts of First Bullecourt, 67. Appleton, (272,2), (L), 22/4/17; 388. Gallwey, (53,4), (D), pp.117-25 (11/4/17); 422. Guppy, (76,4), (D), 12/4/17; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 11/4/17; Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.285-354.

it in the ankle, I got a crack in the neck. and had to take Mc to the dressing station", and a day later, "The re-action set in and a cried for hours. My mates arm was Blown into my chest and Pieces of P-- were splashed over more than a dozen."¹ He had been wounded early in the battle: his comrades, some equally overwrought, bombed and stabbed and bashed their enemy without remission, until day and night blurred into a timeless whirl. A constant trickle of wounded came from the disputed area, and the dead piled thickly, and the roaring bombs burst ceaselessly, smothering the crackle of rifle fire and lighting the shattered trenches with their flame. Relieving troops quailed as they approached the holocaust: "I am sure I will be either killed or wounded...", one stated, "I will do my duty as a soldier and fight to the bitter end. While I am capable of fighting I will not be taken prisoner and will not take prisoners. Any German that falls into my hands can expect no mercy for I will kill him like a dog."² Gradually the Australians strengthened their hold, until on 16 May the Germans abandoned the "killing match"³ and left the area in the hands of their enemies.⁴

1
882. Pte. E.J. Flanagan, 57 Bn., Steward, of Bathurst, N.S.W. b.1876. (D), 4 and 5/5/17.

2
388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 9/5/17.

3
Edmonds, J.E. (ed.): Military Operations, France and Belgium, (British Official History), 1917, Vol.I, p.480.

4
For accounts of Second Bullecourt, 675. Richards, (135,2), (D), 6/5/17; Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.431-545.

After the battle, I Anzac Corps withdrew to rest. Its battalions had manned some part of the line since April 1916, had capped that prodigious stay with the British spring offensive's¹ only notable success, and had proved themselves among the most effective shock troops available to the Allied command. For that gain 7,482 Australians had been struck down at Second Bullecourt, and again a resentful remainder saw an English staff almost uselessly expend their fervour and valour.²

By June the Australian infantry lay in Flanders, opposite the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, a low prominence overlooking the trench lines south of Ypres. This the British planned to capture, and they placed the Australian Third Division on the southern flank of their attack line.³ The Third had been raised in Australia, trained in England for six months, and in December 1916 introduced into the line near Armentières, a far less arduous sector than I Anzac's front on the Somme. Its soldiers had not entirely escaped the rigours of war -

One of our men...went suddenly demented. The s.s. [shell shock] had an electrifying effect upon him ...[He] dropped his rifle and...rushed out over

1

That is, the offensive which began on 3 May.

2

Ibid., IV, pp.544-5. Bean, writes, "[First and Second] Bullecourt, more than any other battle, shook the confidence of Australian soldiers in the capacity of the British command; the errors, especially on April 10th and 11th, were obvious to almost everyone." *ibid.*, IV, p.544.

3

It was to attack in the morning, and in the afternoon 4 Div. would pass through it and continue the assault.

the front line trench into No mans land, the Germans blazing away at him: then he turned and ran down between the lines of the two armies: no one seemed able to bring him down. Then he turned again, raced into our system, down overland through the support trenches... where men from the Battalion pursued him, overpowered him, and forcibly rolled him in blankets and tied him up with rope...He was unwounded but evacuated raving mad¹

- but Messines was their first 'hopover', and they were eager to prove themselves.²

Early on the morning of 7 June 19 large mines, carefully placed during the preceding months, were exploded, devastating the German positions along the Ridge. The British barrage then descended and pounded the bewildered foe, and the charging infantry swept them easily aside. The Australians advanced two miles, took their objectives, and withstood the German counter-barrage; and most English divisions succeeded equally. Messines was, thus far, the swiftest and greatest Allied victory of the war.

Victory could not avert tragedy; and 6,800 Australians were killed or wounded during the battle. Among the dead was Private George Davies, a Victorian clergyman who prepared a farewell before he went to die:

I am now ready for the "big push" ready in body, mind and spirit, I was never better in health than I am now, my mind is just as clear, my soul

1

407. Capt. R.A. Goldrick, M.C., 33 Bn., Bank clerk, of Parramatta, N.S.W. b.1890. (L), 13/4/17.

2

Bean, op. cit., IV, p.563.

has been purified, and the whole is in God's hands. If I die, do not fear...I give my life willingly for my country knowing that it is given in a righteous cause. I can do no more, I give my love to you all and to Jesus Christ my Maker.

...[I hate] the curse of military life... with my intensest hatred as an unworthy and dispicable means of settling affairs. If I live I shall stand by Red hot socialists and peace cranks to stop any further wars after this one, but while I am at it I will fight like only one facing death can fight.¹

And victory could not mitigate the barbarity of a great battle's bravery: "[I was]...in a shell hole & a Hun in another abt 12 feet from one another. one of his Bombs burst at my feet. I imitated an Aeroplane but did not get a scratch, got a shock owing to esplosion. Fritz was not so lucky. I got him with a Grenade",² a soldier wrote, and another manning a forward post remarked,

I've been knocked over by a shell covered by another and dug out disputed the point with four Fritziees and hung on to a position for 32 hours with one man only and four dead stinking Huns. We could not get Food sent up the shelling was damnable and eventually the four Napoo Huns were so objectionable that we had to cut them up bit by bit and throw them as far away from us as possible. I was recommended and the recommendation said I did the best work in³ the whole brigade. Not bad for an old loafer.

1

302. Davies, (53,4), (L), 6?/6/17.

2

704. Sgt. C.C. Serjeant, 14 Bn., Law clerk, of Burnley, Vic. K.I.A. 18/9/18, aged 26. (L), 26/7/17. (If this letter is misdated, the incident may have occurred at Polygon Wood, on 26 September.)

3

239. Lt. G.M. Carson, M.M., 33 Bn., Entomologist, of Port Moresby, Papua. K.I.A. 31/8/18, aged 37. (L), 16/6/17
For accounts of Messines,

(footnote continued p.331)

He won a Military Medal.

The word 'Flanders' was already ominous when the Australian infantry returned to the battle-front there,¹ for after Messines the British had battled with mixed success and great loss against mud and the German Army. Shaken by defeat, they had evolved a tactic of caution and despair:² the 'step by step' method, which used massed artillery to batter a limited depth of enemy defences, then sent infantry to occupy it, then called forward the artillery and repeated the process, and so on.

Eleven divisions, pivoted about the Australian First and Second Divisions, took the first step on 20 September, against the Menin Road Ridge. Artillery and infantry cooperated well, and won the battle in a few hours. "Stunt started at 5.40 a.m. and we kept on firing till about 1.15 p.m.", an artilleryman reported, "Our infantry gained all

(footnote 3 continued from p.330)

22. L/Cpl. C.A. Akers, 35 Bn., Orchardist, of Kulnura, Vic. K.I.A. 13/10/17, aged 23. (L), 12/6/17

368. Lt. W.G. Fisher, 42 Bn., Student and law tutor, of Brisbane, Qld. K.I.A. 5/4/18, aged 24. (D), 7 and 12/6/17

415. Capt. R.C. Grieve, V.C., 37 Bn., Warehouseman, of Brighton, Vic. Rep.T.A. 28/6/18, aged 29. (Narrative), pp.5-14 (-/6/17)

586. Pte. W.R. McLennan, 2 M.G. Bn., Ornithological collector, of Broken Hill, N.S.W. b.1882. (D), p.75ff (6/6/17)

224. Callen, (218,3), (L), 15/6/17; 358. Fairweather, (281,3), (L), 11/6/17; 388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17, between pp.242-90; Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.588-682.

1

1,2,4, and 5 Div. artillery had not left the Flanders front since entering it in July.

2

But see Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.725-9.

their objectives...and prisoners have been coming down. S.O.S. about 2.30 p.m. but Fritz got knocked back. Another...about 5 p.m. and again at 6.30 p.m. Fritz knocked back each time."¹ Two similar triumphs followed - at Polygon Wood, on 26 September:

At daybreak our wonderful barrage came down cutting a clean line just ahead of us...The turmoil of even the elements would be minute when compared with the belching of thousands upon thousands of big guns supported by a continuous hail from hundreds of machine guns...the 16th (Westralian) lined up just behind where our shells were churning the ground. It was grand. Almost every man lighted a cigarette quite coolly...The 14th & 15th who were supposed to be 200 yards behind the 16th were anxious & had come close up. "We won't wait for the -- barrage, we'll show it the -- way," I heard from a 14th. "What the hell are you in a hurry for?" replied an older soldier; "we'll get enough before we've finished." "Oh, go and get your face camouflaged," was the reply courteous. Then the swish lifted, the [barrage] ...crept slowly forward never missing a square foot of ground. "Come on 16th" some officers exclaimed. "Here help me over your trench 13" said one after another as they hurried to...their place...then the line of 14th & 15th went over. Soon they too were lost to sight. Then the wounded began to trickle back; first walking cases then stretcher cases. Then a batch of bewildered but pleased prisoners

1

990. Hall, (313,2), (D), 20/9/17
 For accounts of Menin Road,
 92. Pte. W.C. Atkinson, 19 Bn., Journalist, of ?, Qld. (b. England) Rep.T.A. 11/12/17, aged 27. (Narrative), 20/9/17
 479. Pte. L.G. Johnson, 20 Bn., Farmer?, of Bridgewater, Tas. b.1891. (D), 20/9/17
 483. Capt. W.D. Joynt, V.C., 8 Bn., Farmer, of Flinders Island, Vic. b.1889. (D), 19/9/17
 652. Capt. L.M. Newton, M.C., 12 Bn., Accountant, of Launceston, Tas. (b. England) b.1892. (D), 20/9/17
 144. Berg, (167,1), (L), 23/10/17; Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.735-90.

without a guard...The smoke & dust clearing somewhat we saw the...[attack battalions] in position & consolidating¹

- and at Broodseinde, on 4 October.²

These were momentous battles, the most resounding victories the arms of the Empire had won. Every German counter to the 'step by step' method - blockhouses, specialist troops, revised organisation, new tactics - failed, and for the first time Germany's leaders began to doubt their power to avert defeat in the war. Their enemies were elated, but again the sacrifice was great. "Mates I have played³ with last night & joked with are now lying cold", a sapper wrote after Polygon Wood, "My God it was terrible. Just slaughter. The 5th Div. were almost annihilated. We certainly gained our objectives

1

962. Capt. T.A. White, 13 Bn., School teacher, of Dulwich Hill, N.S.W. b.1886. (D), 26/9/17

see also:

885. Freebody, (281,2), (D), 26/9/17

For accounts of Polygon Wood,

315. Lt. J.G. Dodimead, 54 Bn., Engineer, of Burwood, N.S.W. b.1894. (L), 4/10/17

321. Lt. G.J. Douglas, 59 Bn., Cycle mechanic, of Menzies Creek, Vic. b.1894. (D), 25-27/9/17

688. Lt. A.L. Rush, D.C.M., 14 M.G.Coy., Orchardist, of Bundanoon, N.S.W. K.I.A. 25/4/18, aged 30. (L), -/9/17
Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.791-832.

2

For accounts of Broodseinde,

216. Gnr. F.L. Byard, 8 F.A.B., Cellar manager, of Ambleside, S.A. b.1890. (D), 4/10/17

255. Lt. H.V. Chedghey, 1 Bn., Solicitor, of Arncliffe, N.S.W. b.1892. (L), 15/10/17

385. Gaby, V.C., (305,3), (L), 25/11/17; 483. Joynt, V.C., (332,1), (D), 4/10/17; Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.833-79.

3

Probably two-up. See *ibid.*, VI, pp.15-6.

but what a cost",¹ and an infantry private confided, "The reaction is still to come and I'm rather frightened of it - I feel about eighty years old now."² The A.I.F. lost almost 17,000 men in the 'step by step' battles, a casualty rate equalling that at Pozières, and they advanced in return about 4,200 yards.

Worse followed. On the evening of Broodseinde rain fell in Flanders, swamping the flat ground. Traffic and shellfire made this a clutching bog, almost impassable, but Haig continued the offensive, and British fortunes underwent drastic reversal. Their infantry floundered to exhaustion in the mud or reeled back before the German guns, and over 100,000 were made casualties before that unhappy October ended. The generals reduced their ambitions to capturing the ruined village of Passchendaele; it fell on 6 November, and soon afterwards the British offensive was abandoned.

Australian assaults supported some of the October and November battles,³ but generally the A.I.F. was out of the

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938. McKay, (277,4), (D), 26/9/17.

2

368. Fisher, (330,3), (D), 24/10/17

This was the hardest fighting of the war for Australian artillerymen. See,
 266. Bdr. E.O. Collett, 8 F.A.B., Tramways clerk, of East Malvern, Vic. K.I.A. 23/9/17, aged 20. (L), 10/9/17
 353. Gnr. F.S. Evatt, 1 F.A.B., Student, of Milson's Point, N.S.W. D.O.W. 29/9/18, aged 20. (L), 26/9/17 compare with (L), 22/9/17 quoted p.337, and (L), 20/7/17 quoted p.368; Statement by Senator E.W. Mattner, M.C., D.C.M., M.M. (formerly Lt., 6 F.A.B., Teacher, of Adelaide, S.A.), 14 May 1968.

3

For accounts of these,
 310. Sgt. T.W. Dial, M.M., 34 Bn., Miner, of East Maitland, N.S.W. b.1894. (L), 12/10/17
 55. Anderson, (111,2), (D), 9/10/17; 368. Fisher, (330,3), (D), 24/10/17; Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.878-948.

attacking line, and by mid November was manning a quiet sector of the front south of Messines. Since July 38,093 Australian soldiers, almost 60 per cent of the A.I.F. in France, had become casualties, a futile expenditure, which brought not peace but frustration. The old soldiers had almost expected this: since Egypt they had watched their ranks always thinning, till the few surviving seemed marked for an inevitable end. Throughout 1917, they went into battle with dash and determination, but under the shadow of impending doom. "Tomorrow many men must go to their God", Corporal Mitchell wrote before Messines, "... If I die, I die. We all must die. The best we can do is to die with good grace."¹ Many of his veteran comrades shared his outlook, for their task had no attraction now. They did an unpleasant duty, and propped their resolve with familiar consolations: "this...is no picnic, but it will be a great experience for a man if he is lucky enough to pull out safely",² one veteran thought, and another remarked, "...you know how anxious I am to get back at those stinking 'uns (I don't think) but I suppose a man might as well do his bit now he is here."³

Men thus inclined hoped constantly for a 'blighty'. An artillery officer saw a man walking on top of the

¹ 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 6/6/17.

² 98. Avery, (78,3), (L), 5/7/17.

³ 385. Gaby, V.C., (305,3), (L), 1/8/17

see also:

728. Pte. L.C. Smith, M.M., 10 Fld.Amb., Student, of Malvern, Vic. D.O.W. 15/10/17, aged 20. (L), 9/7/17

106. Bambrick, (77,1), (L), 11/8/17.

trenches "out of all cover. I had to see him so...I hopped up on the parapet and joined him, and we strolled along...Later I heard that D--- was looking for a "blighty", was fed to the teeth with things and wanted to get out."¹ An officer told Corporal Thomas, "...you have been given a good job in Blighty for six months, instructing." I nearly fell down the bank I was on and asked him "Did I hear you aright?" and he said "Yes..." I was fair stunned...I did not touch ground the remainder of the journey."² A wounded man recalled,

...what an anxious time I had waiting for a Hospital ship...the Port was closed for some reason or other...Day after day would come and go and still no Hospital ship. I was afraid my wound would get alright before I got aboard, thus miss my trip (As had already happened to several chaps in the Hospital)...At last...we were told to be ready...what a relief³

The few men not disenchanted by war were usually novices to it. They wanted to 'do a hopover'; but even theirs was a limited enthusiasm. One recruit remembered of Polygon Wood, "...when I woke up it was near time [to attack] so we got ready we were all jolly and you cannot imagine how one feels so good going over..."⁴, but more

¹ 654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 5/2/17.

² 748. Thomas, (276,1), (D), 5/4/17.

³ 479. Johnson, (332,1), (D), -/5/17

see also:

144. Berg, (167,1), (L), 23/10/17; 385. Gaby, V.C., (305,3), (L), 3/11/17; 393. Gates, (106,1), (L), 19/8 and 12/11/17.

A few veterans remained enthusiastic soldiers. See, 683. Roth, (94,1), (L), 2/5/17.

⁴ 137. Pte. J.A.R. Bell, 49 Bn., Bush labourer, of Brisbane, Qld. (b. Ireland) D.O.W. 10/4/18, aged 25. (L), 2/10/17.

typically, a gunner noted before the same battle, "Have no idea how long we'll be in but it mightn't be for long. I am as fit as a fiddle and am looking forward to the fray ...but of course I'm well aware...that it will be no joke",¹ and before First Bullecourt Wilfred Gallwey told his parents,

Tonight I am going in to the front line of trenches and you know what that means. I have no fear and will do my duty as a soldier should. I am spiritually prepared for death and should such be my fate remember I shall go straight to Heaven. I made my will in your favour...you will...never regret your noble sacrifice in contributing a soldier to the Empire.²

While not disillusioned so entirely as the old soldiers, these men lacked the adventurous confidence of the first enlistments, and many of the values which had accompanied them to manhood had already somersaulted into the past.

The 1917 victories exhilarated a few men, most of them new soldiers. After Messines a young New South Welshman announced, "Well I have had a bit of excitement since I wrote...I have been over the top had a go at old Fritz at last we gave him a very rough trot too. he never put up much of a fight...as soon as you get near them they start

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353. Evatt, (334,2), (L), 22/9/17.

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388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 8/4/17 see also (L), 2/8/17 see also:

88. Pte. C.D. Asher-Smith, 20 Bn., Student, of Wahroonga, N.S.W. K.I.A. 9/10/17, aged 20. (L), 19/8/17

745. Lt. T.H. Templeton, 14 Bn., Solicitor, of Yea, Vic. K.I.A. 24/9/17, aged 37. (L), 11/7/17

302. Davies, (53,4), (L), 6?/6/17 quoted pp.329-30.

crying for mercy..."¹ A Queensland officer reported after Broodseinde, "It was a great experience for me I enjoyed every minute of it...It was such an absolute walk-over... We got all our objectives quite easily & could have gone on except that limits were laid down...There are no better soldiers in the world than the Australians and very few as good",² and after Polygon Wood a machine gunner commented, "I realized that we were at a serious game as we...lost a few of our pals...[but] it was wonderful to see [our boys]...walking about the field, not taking any notice of the bursting shells, one would think they were on parade..."³

But Passchendaele blighted this optimism, and their triumphs earned the soldiers only a second winter in the trenches. It was less rigorous than the 1916 winter, and more effectively countered, but it taxed Australian wills and strength severely. Rain caused discomfort -

some of our chaps were on outpost for 36 hrs at a stretch during which time it rained incessantly, they never had the slightest covering & were [always] either standing or sitting in water... Yet they don't growl a great deal...[they are] real roughies but every one of them who plays the game is a real diamond...⁴

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673. Pte. F.J. Reynolds, 35 Bn., Grazier, of Moss Vale, N.S.W. K.I.A. 12/10/17, aged 20. (L), 15/6/17.

2

179. Lt. L.A.C. Boyce, M.C., 41 Bn., Clerk, of Toowoomba, Qld. Rep.T.A. 31/7/18, aged 20. (L), 15/10/17 see also (L), 7/10/17.

3

334. Cpl. G.C. Easton, 2 M.G. Bn., Commercial traveller, of Camperdown, N.S.W. D.O.D. 4/11/18, aged 31. (L), 26/9/17 see also:

66. Antill, (30,2), (L), 20/6/17; 255. Chedgely, (333,2), (L), 15/10/17; 728. Smith, (335,3), (L), 11/6/17.

4

367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 20/1/18.



Australians in Zonnebeke valley, 15 October 1917.

- and softened the ground to mud, "the pal who sticks",¹ and the troops' worst enemy during winter. Four days after the rains began Sergeant de Vine noted, "The roads are in a terrible state & very muddy, being under constant shell fire...[and] are often knee deep in liquid mud...",² and in November he recorded that men frequently bogged to the hips in mud.³ A gunner wrote,

Belgian mud is incomprehensible to anyone who has not experienced it...If a shell has burst recently it churns the ground up so that it is bottomless and horses, carts, and even men have been known to disappear in it. On several occasions [we]... have had to dig people out, one man was up to his shoulders for four hours and another his waist for one, that I personally came across.⁴

The trials of winter concluded a dispiriting year, which had impressed an obvious truth upon Australian minds. They knew their side would win, and they believed Australians could aid the victory. But despite their valour during 1917, victory was as distant as ever. Valour was clearly not enough: the scale of the war was too immense for individuals to affect it, and men knew now that the fighting would butcher many before the great cause they upheld was won. Nothing had shaken their faith

¹ 224. Callen, (281,3), (L), 30/11/17.

² 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 8/10/17.

³ Ibid., (D), 4/11/17.

⁴ 117. Gnr. A.G. Barrett, 12 F.A.B., Malster, of Geelong, Vic. b.1895. (L), 9/12/17

see also:

138. Bell, (186,2), (L), 25/12/17; 173. Boulton, (76,4), (L), 24/12/17.

or honour, but their former hopes and aspirations were broken. Each man gave up his future and made ready to die, perhaps uselessly, for what he loved. His course was set, and he plodded wearily through a tired world, fighting till an end should come.

1918¹

At the beginning of 1918 the prospects of the forces of light were very gloomy. Russia had surrendered, the German victories at Caporetto had demoralized the Italians, France had barely recovered from the army mutiny, and Flanders had destroyed British offensive capability. Germany held the initiative, and was transferring her eastern divisions westwards in preparation for a great and decisive offensive. If she could be resisted, the Entente nations, strengthened immeasurably by United States participation, would win the war. If she could not, they would probably lose it.

Few Australians considered defeat. Many early 1918 reinforcements were encouraged by a relatively innocuous introduction to war: one wrote,

...I have become a "Dinkum" Soldier as I have had 5 days & nights in the very front line...we came through alright...I was really surprised how I took my baptism of fire & can honestly say that I was not afraid and had no accidents with my

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See p.267.

breeches...After what I have seen of war I am very glad I enlisted as the boys here are simply wonderful.¹

and, though few old soldiers deluded themselves about war or gave up hoping for a 'blighty',² they were roused by the German ascendancy to fresh enthusiasm, and looked for combat against the enemy. In March 1918 Lieutenant Traill, an original Anzac, recounted,

I found that I was to take 9 men and rush the M.G. post discovered the other night...Artillery support was given, and Lewis guns told off to engage neighbouring enemy guns...Off we started armed to the teeth with revolvers and bombs at 1.30 a.m. On arrival at our deploying point, the artillery started, and of course one blasted gun was firing short, and right over the ground we intended to crawl over. So we waited a while and shivered on the cold wet ground and then started off, found the possey...[3 of us] rushed the post and found the birds had flown, evidently scared by our erratic guns. One shell had lobbed right at the foot of his parapet. After that we crawled round and tried to find patrols or runners till nearly daylight. Nothing doing, a blooming fiasco...We were well in the mood for sport too, and looked round for a likely pill-box, but [no luck]...³

Another officer declared, "In spite of all the discomfort, the hard work and the danger there was not a single complaint from the boys, they were only too eager to have

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367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 1/1/18
see also:

534. Pte. R. Mactier, V.C., 23 Bn., Farmer, of Tatura, Vic. K.I.A. 1/9/18, aged 28. (L), 27/1/18.

2

473. L/Cpl. C.R. Jack, 35 Bn., Postal assistant, of Alphington, Vic. P.O.W. 5/4/18, aged 28. (L), 12/3/18.

3

760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 10/3/18.

a decent go at the Boche."¹ Men realized that their efforts in the coming crisis could aid victory, and they rallied their spirits and showed a willingness to fight not seen since 1914.²

In March 1918 the Australian infantry³ were in the line near Messines, raiding and patrolling. The fighting was not strenuous, although Corporal Thomas, describing the experiences of a working party he led, wrote,

we were well out in the open...suddenly crash & several big musher [high explosive] shells shrieked about our ears, then on they came thick & heavy & what was more disastrous gas two sniffs & I was satisfied...I whipped out my helmet & jambed the rubber into my mouth put the nose clip on & then speedily warned my platoon to put on their equipment...We have a lot of new men & they completely lost their heads, an easy thing to do when new but it is fatal in these big gassing stunts, a number of them put the hoods on & could not see through the glasses, then they tore them off, so I had to risk everything & yell out orders & help the poor excited humanity about me, of course I got a gut full but I didn't give a damm, my usual faith in things, however I got them moving...at a steady walk, it was awful the uncanny feeling of death eating at ones entrails & the gasping of the men trudging behind you, the thunder of the shells, & the fires from the dumps showing ghostly through the gas smoke, a bluish vapour hanging like a pall

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358. Fairweather, (281,3), (L), 4/4/18
see also:

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 18/4/18; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 27/2/18.

2

Bean, C.E.W.: Two Men I Knew, p.163, states that at this time Australian enthusiasm for battle was greater "than ever before in the war". See also Bean, Official History ..., V, pp.115-7, 175-6; VI, p.679.

3

Now the Australian Corps, of 5 divisions, the largest in France.

...[For more than an hour, we] just kept on through a veritable hell let loose; it was my job to get my men treated for gas, many of them starting to tumble about as though they were drunk & half a mile away, in a tunnel, was an A.M. Red Cross station; at last...we reached the hospital & each man very exhausted & fearfully windy was given a drink of amonia which is supposed to have a beneficial effect; however two men died from the gassing, weak hearts you see, poor devils it is terrible & the horror of it; yet we all had to go up again the next night & carry on as usual.¹

On 21 March the Germans began their offensive, on a 44 mile front south of Arras. They struck with paralyzing effect, breaking 40 miles of the British line, and passing rapidly over the country beyond. After five days they had recaptured all the ground they had lost about the Somme during the previous two years, had raced through Pozières, and seemingly were marching to victory.

The Australians, fretting for battle, watched the German progress with dismay. At last orders arrived, and on 26 March the Fourth Brigade sped southwards through a press of refugees and retreating British soldiery² to Hébuterne, to halt the northern flank of the advancing

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748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 20/3/18

see also:

175. Lt. J. Bourke, 8 Bn., School teacher, of Wedderburn, Vic. b.1885. (L), 23/4/18.

2

During these weeks Australians frequently encountered retreating and dispirited British soldiers, but also many offering to fight if someone would lead them. Quite often the panicking troops seen by Australians were not front line soldiers, and almost invariably Australians taking up position found British soldiers still resisting the enemy. See Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.673-4.

enemy. With the New Zealanders at Colincamps nearby, they stopped the Germans, resisted a series of heavy attacks, then counter-attacked and drove their assailants back. By 31 March their area was secure.

The chief danger lay south of Hébuterne, in the Somme area, where a determined German drive aimed at splitting the French and British armies at their junction, by capturing Amiens. Thus divided the Entente house would swiftly fall; Amiens must be held. In late March it lay defenceless before the enemy. Haig asked for 20 divisions to defend it, but none were available, and the British general, his back to the wall, threw his last strong reserves, the Australians, across the approaches to Amiens. The Germans met the northernmost Australians first, then, vainly attempting by strong attacks to break down the thin defence, gradually extended southward, from Dernancourt, to Morlancourt, and at last to Villers-Bretonneux.

Villers-Bretonneux straddled the last open avenue into Amiens, and it stood in the path of the most successful German thrust. After being checked near the village on 30 March, the enemy gathered his strength, and 4 April assailed the Villers-Bretonneux defences. The 35th Battalion, defending the village itself, repulsed the attack, but English divisions holding both flanks gave way, and this forced the 35th to retire. Individual Australians and English cavalry halted the enemy's advance through the broken English line, and soon the 36th Battalion, counter-attacking vigorously, drove their opponent beyond his start line and restored the front.

German attacks continued at Villers-Bretonneux and Dernancourt until the evening of 5 April, but nowhere was the Australian line broken. Amiens was safe.

Balked on the Somme, on 10 April the German leaders attacked near the River Lys, in the north. Again they progressed swiftly, and the Australian First Division, which had only just reached the Somme, turned north to meet them. By 14 April the Australians were entrenched before the town of Hazebrouck, where for four days they repelled strong attacks by several enemy divisions, halting the offensive, and again forcing their antagonists elsewhere to test their fortunes.

The Somme fighting had left the remainder of the Australian Corps scattered along 17 miles of front.¹ It regrouped in mid April, and in so doing gave the defence of Villers-Bretonneux to an English division. The Germans promptly attacked and captured the place on 24 April, and English counter-attacks that day could not dislodge them. But during the night the Australian Thirteenth and Fifteenth Brigades made a brilliant assault, which by the evening of Anzac Day had cleared the village and driven the enemy beyond his start line. The Germans then abandoned their attacks about the Somme.²

1

Five British Corps defended an equal length.

2

For accounts of Australian fighting during the German offensive,

568. Lt. C.J. McDonald, M.C., 3 Bn., Blacksmith's improver, of Bowral, N.S.W. D.O.W. 19/9/18, aged 23. (L), 24/4/18
 224. Callen, (281,3), (L), 11/4/18; 255. Chedgey, (333,2), (L), 23/4/18; 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 12-4 and 16/4/18;
 358. Fairweather, (281,3), (L), 4/4/18; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 27-28/3, 5/4, and 3/5/18; Bean, op. cit., V, pp.117-235, 298-680.

The failure of their offensive destroyed German ambition, but the British Army lost 316,000 men in the fighting, and was for the time being incapable of protracted effort. By good fortune no Australians had met the initial German blows, and they entered the fight when the Germans were most extended. But, often against great odds, they had won several of the most crucial actions of the war, each for a fraction of the loss suffered during the bloody battles of the previous three years.¹ While many around them reeled in defeat, they averted disaster, and opened the door to victory. They had fought not, as at the Landing, as novices charging to glory for the flag, but as professional soldiers, who knew well the risks of war, but who accepted them eagerly, revelling in the chance to apply their skill with telling effect. "The fighting was much more to our liking than anything previously...",² one veteran remarked, and, wearied by years in the trenches, another stated, "...this style of warfare suits us better and the men are keen and in excellent health...We fight in open fields, among hedges and farm houses and dig trenches all over the country. We have got right away from fixed trench warfare..."³

Their ebullience now led Australians, while all on their side save the New Zealanders were prostrated, to commence 'peaceful penetration', or persistent and

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Between 21 March and 7 May, 15,000 Australians were made casualties.

2

704. Serjeant, (330,2), (L), 6/5/18.

3

255. Chedgey, (333,2), (L), 23/4/18.

aggressive patrolling against German positions, killing and wounding men, occupying ground, and shattering morale. For four months, between April and August, this was virtually the only activity on the British front. It suited Australian temperament, for its chief weapons were stealth, individual initiative, patience, and skilled bushcraft. Daily the Australians crept through the long crops in No Man's Land, moving almost at will about the enemy's line, falling upon their victims, capturing entire posts and in time whole battalions, and occupying thousands of yards of front and even a town without the knowledge of their own or the German command. Their stealth and aggression terrorized the German divisions placed against them; some were disbanded after heavy losses, a few refused to re-enter the line opposite the Australians, and most feared to face the Australian sector.¹

George Mitchell was on the Somme during this period. He had won an M.C. at Dernancourt, and now led 'penetrating' patrols enthusiastically:

...we advanced cautiously through a wheat crop, and then crawled through the long grass. There was a little MG fire. A few flares were coming over. We crawled on and on. At length I found a deep comfortable shell hole...Listening we heard coughs, click of rifle bolts and the sound of picks and shovels...Sergeant Halliday and I worked forward through the grass...[then] squirmed back to the rest of the party. I got them ready.

1

See Bean, op. cit., V, pp.675-6; VI, pp.59-60, 345, 357, 379-81, 383-4, 388-90, 395, 403, 407-11, 437-40; Gammage, op. cit., pp.85, 87, 169, 194.

We all stood up together and gave rapid fire on to the party in front...silence. No a leaf stirred. We crouched down into our shellhole. Still no answer. So I sent them off in the direction of home.¹

At Villers-Bretonneux in April an Australian signaller, having sampled the contents of a village cellar, and knowing that prisoners were wanted, fixed his bayonet, "strolled" over to the German trenches, yelled to bring the Germans forth from their dugouts, selected a prisoner from among the respondents, dismissed the remainder, and shepherded his captive back to his battalion.² A 4th Battalion corporal noted on 9 July, "'C Coy" made an advance on "Jerry's" outposts & "salvaged" about 30 prisoners & 6 machine guns", and a day later, "Our men are going out in daylight to the opposition posts & gathering in "Adolfs" by twos & threes; also their machine guns."³

These men - casual, careless, undisciplined in the parade ground sense, but deadly effective - convey the spirit of 'peaceful penetration'. On the Somme the activity advanced the Australian line three quarters of a mile by 6 May and a further two miles by 8 July,⁴ and took more than 1,000 prisoners. Patrols of between one

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607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 27/6/18.

2

Bean, op. cit., VI, p.43n. Another remarkable feat is described in Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.54-5.

3

834. Addy, (98,3), (D), 9 and 10/7/18.

4

In May and June formal Australian attacks on the Somme gained ground not included here.

and 70 men competed for the highest 'bag' of prisoners: on 5 July, for example, an Australian sergeant¹ captured an officer and 12 men, on 29 July Australian patrols took 128 prisoners, six machine guns, and two trench mortars. At Hazebrouck the First Division advanced more than two miles and took over 1,700 prisoners: on 11 July six Australians captured 68 Germans, 7 machine guns, and 300 yards of front, and by 30 July the town of Merris and 180 prisoners had fallen without the knowledge of either command. So it went on, wherever there were Australians, their successes by far overshadowing their 1917 triumphs, their losses only slightly exceeding those of divisions manning quiet sectors of the front,² their activity relentlessly regaining the offensive for the Allies.³

Not content with this, on 4 July 1918, at Hamel, brigades of the Second, Third, and Fourth Divisions delivered the first major Allied attack in France since November 1917. General Monash, the new Australian Corps commander, planned the attack carefully, training infantry, tanks, aeroplanes, and artillery thoroughly together. Probably his preparation added to the soldiers' pre-battle tension - one admitted on 3 July, "Put in a poor day,

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Sgt. W.E. Brown, V.C., D.C.M., 20 Bn., Grocer, of Hobart, Tas. b.1885.

2

Bean, op. cit., VI, p.376.

3

For accounts of 'peaceful penetration', 397. Lt. G.S. Gemmell, 11 Bn., School teacher, of Claremont, W.A. K.I.A. 10/8/18, aged 25. (L), 8/6/18 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 9 and 11/7/18; 310. Dial, (334,3), (L), -/-/18; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 3/5 and 4/7/18; 760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 11/7/18; Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.42-60, 336-440.

thinking of "hop over" to-morrow morning leaves us all rather "screwed up"...No sleep - cold and anxious - but NOT funky" - but in the event the Australians cooperated perfectly. The same soldier related,

Left support trench at 1.40 a.m. loaded up like a mule. Usual fighting order,...220 rounds: 2 mills bombs: extra water bottle: shovel - down back, and a pannier for Lewis gun - all hellish weighty...Knees knocked when barrage opened, but after the start all trepidation vanished. Wonderful barrage put up, ground shrapnel shell on explosion lit up the scene and we caught glimpses of Fritz going for life. No return barrage and no machine gun fire...An easy walk over. Slung my gun and stumbled across...Experiencing none of the "blood lust" nor became "another man". A most prosaic affair. Met no Fritzes myself until near final objective...Spared his life to rat him but found nothing...¹

The battle was won in 93 minutes. For the loss of 775 men,² the Australians captured 1,472 Germans, two guns, 171 machine guns, 26 trench mortars, and much renown: the General Staff praised Hamel's planning and execution, and afterwards used both as ideals for attacking British troops.³

1

951. Pte. F.W. Roberts, 21 Bn., Orchardist, of Upper Hawthorn, Vic. K.I.A. 1/9/18, aged 28. (D), 3 and 4/7/18.

2

United States infantry were attached to Australian companies for this attack, and suffered 13⁴ casualties.

3

See General Staff of the British Army, Staff Sheet No.10. Bean states that British training schools by 1918 had generally adopted Australian methods of patrolling and attack. In Your Hands, Australians, p.81. For accounts of Hamel, 709. Short, (226,1), (L), 8/7/18; Bean, Official History..., VI, pp.242-335.

It was the prelude to a greater battle, one in which "The men were so keen [to take part]...that in some cases men detailed to stay out paraded about it and wanted to go in to the fight."¹ At 4.20 a.m. on 8 August, under the shroud of a river fog, the Australian and Canadian Corps moved side by side to destroy the enemy positions south of the Somme.² Despite the usual staunch resistance from German machine gunners, the enemy's front crumpled before them. The Australians advanced seven miles, and took almost 8,000 prisoners, 173 guns, and sufficient engineering material for the rest of the war. The Canadian success was almost equally stunning: it was the most complete Allied victory of the war, the turning point,³ the "black day"⁴ of the German Army, which induced its leaders to sue for an armistice.

On 9 August the advance continued. The Australians pushed forward a further five and a half miles, but troops on their flanks could not come up, and they were left unsupported. The advance was particularly encumbered on the left flank, where an English division north of the Somme lagged two miles and more behind the Australian

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483. Joynt, V.C., (332,1), (D), 7/8/18.

2

They were flanked by Frenchmen on the south, and by Englishmen north of the river, but these contributed little to the battle.

3

Some, though not the German leaders, consider the French offensive between the Soissons and the Marne River, begun on 19 July, to be the turning point of the war. See Gammage, *op. cit.*, p.97.

4

This was originally Ludendorff's phrase.

front. Observing this, and anxious to discover its cause, six Australians of the 1st Battalion crossed the river and found an English regiment held down by machine gun fire which for two days had impeded its progress. The six immediately advanced, silenced the machine guns, cleared the village of Chipilly and 2,000 yards of ground, captured about 300 prisoners, brought the English front into line with their own, and rejoined their battalion.¹

By 12 August, for the loss of 5,991 men, the Australians had advanced between 12 and 14 miles, and taken almost 10,000 prisoners.

Well it was easily the best two days the Australians have ever had in France and it did 'em more good than six weeks in a rest area - I wouldn't have missed it for anything and only hope that they give us another show like it every three months...Our chaps are as happy as Larry and simply singing at the top of their voices.²

The Corps 'peacefully penetrated' a further mile after 12 August; on 23 August it attacked again, taking 2,000 prisoners, and six days later bringing the line to within three miles of Péronne.³

1

See also:

62. Lt. H.D. Andrews, D.C.M., 1 Bn., Farmer, of Wauchope, N.S.W. b.1897. (L) to the Australian War Memorial, 29/12/29 760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 16/8/18 (The six were of Traill's company); Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.651-2; Gammage, op. cit., pp.99-100.

For accounts of 'August 8th',

146. Gnr. E. Berthon, 10 F.A.B., Student, of Brighton, Vic. D.O.W. 13/10/18, aged 21. (D), 8/8/18

483. Joynt, V.C., (332,1), (D), 7/8/18; 741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 10/8/18; Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.463-712.

2

326. Duke, (83,1), (L), 20/8/18.

3

For accounts of fighting between 12 and 28 August, 321. Douglas, (333,1), (D), 23/8/18; 483. Joynt, V.C., (332,1), (D), 22/8/18; Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.713-80.

This city was guarded by Mont St. Quentin, a commanding height believed impregnable to infantry. Known along much of the Western Front for its thick wire and extensive trench system, the mount was protected by long, open slopes, by a canal near its foot, and by selected volunteers from German Guards divisions. The Australian battalions were worn by ceaseless effort,¹ and some were reduced by battle to less than 100 men. They knew their enemy on the mount outnumbered them, and that British policy was not to attack the place, yet they responded willingly when Monash sent them against it. On 29 and 30 August Second Division infantry cleared the mount's approaches after severe fighting, and on the following day attacked the slopes and the summit. Within a few hours most of the enemy's position and 2,600 prisoners, half of them from one of the ablest German divisions in France, had fallen into their hands. By 2 September a hard fight had won Péronne, and once more the German Army sought safety in flight.²

Some rated Mont St. Quentin the finest single feat of the war: the achievement surprised Haig, amazed the German officer commanding Péronne, delighted the press, and elated

1

The 38 Bn. staff, for example, had by 29 August worked continuously for 89 hours.

2

For accounts of Mont St. Quentin and Péronne, 428. Lt. J.T. Hampson, M.C., 19 Bn., Clerk, of Coraki, N.S.W. D.O.W. 6/10/18, aged 27. (L), 8/9/18 315. Dodimead, (333,1), (L), 3/9/18; 341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 14/9/18; 709. Short, (226,1), (L), 7/9/18; Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.781-872.

Monash.¹ Yet, save for words, it brought the soldiers no reward. They had hoped for rest; they were sent to pursue the enemy. They reached the Hindenburg Outpost Line on 10 September, breached it eight days later, and on the following day arrived opposite the Hindenburg Line. Monash now planned to rest his troops, but was offered the assistance of two United States divisions² if he would assault the Line. The American units were each twice the strength of a full British division and probably 10 times that of the battered Australian units; and the Line was the last German defence system in the west. Monash accepted, and on 25 September the Americans filed into the Australian trenches.³

The Hindenburg Line comprised three trench systems, the last four miles behind the first, and, predictably, was well defended, by a canal, by thick wire, and by carefully sited machine guns. The Americans attacked it on 29 September, and at first advanced successfully, but, neglecting to overpower all the defenders as they progressed, they shortly found themselves surrounded and brought to a halt in the first trench system.⁴ The

1

See, for example, in Bean, op. cit., VI, p.873n; in Monash, J.: The Australian Victories in France..., p.207.

2

In the event, 27 and 30 Divs, American Expeditionary Force.

3

This was the first day since 7 April 1916 that no Australian infantry held a sector of the Western Front.

4

Australians made this mistake in 1916, and otherwise the Americans proved good soldiers. At the same time it is impossible, save in the psychological impact of their presence upon the Germans, to find that American soldiers significantly influenced the course of the war.

Australians supporting them fought forward and gained ground, but could not make good the deficiency,¹ and the last German line was not breached until 3 October. Two days later, after capturing Montbrehain village, the last Australian infantry division, the Second, withdrew from the Western Front.²

Australian infantry never returned there, for as they began to do so Germany signed an armistice. In a swift moment, the war was over.

Almost 27,000 Australians had been killed or wounded since 8 August. Eleven of 60 infantry battalions had been disbanded for want of men, and more must have followed had the war continued, for none could muster more than a quarter of its full complement, and all were completely exhausted. By October the men had been fighting for six months without interruption, whereas three weeks was usual. Success and ability had won them only toil, battle, and the risk of death. Their spirits refused to yield, but their bodies had come close to breaking. Early in May a private remarked, "Most of us are a delapated looking lot, haven't had our clothes off for 60 days...I've got the knees and seat out of my pants never went about so ragged before, plenty like me, but for all that we have had a

1

Enemy resistance behind the front of the advance had to be subdued without artillery assistance, which of course gave it every advantage.

2

For accounts of fighting after 2 September, 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 11/9/18; 574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), 29/9/18; 760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 17/9/18; Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.873-1044.

fairly good time."¹ In June an officer noted, "There was a mild epidemic of [trench fever]...Its like influenza only a bit worse and when a whole battalion starts to get it its a sure sign they are run down and want a rest. As we have been on the go for four months solid we earned one..."² By September the men were

...battle-worn and weary. Their faces were drawn and pallid, their eyes had the fixed stare common in men who had endured heavy bombardments, and they had the jerky mannerisms of human beings whose nervous systems had been shocked to an alarming degree. So tired, so dead beat were they that many of them, when opportunity offered, slept the heavy drugged sleep of utter exhaustion for twenty-four hours on end. Their faded, earth-stained uniforms hung loosely from bodies which had lost as much as two stone in as many months. Sheer determination and wonderful esprit de corps had enabled these gallant fellows to work...when physically they were done.³

This, and bitter experience, shackled Australian enthusiasm. They were keener to fight than in 1916 or 1917, and spurred by success, but some still preferred peace and rest to achievement and renown, and found their best reward in a 'blighty'. During the eventful April

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534. Mactier, V.C., (341,1), (L), 3/5/18.

2

683. Roth, (94,1), (L), 16/6/18.

3

Williams, Comrades of the Great Adventure, p.289. see also p.292.

see also:

4. Sgt. F.A. Abbott, 33 Bn., Storekeeper, of Penrith, N.S.W. K.I.A. 31/8/18, aged 25. (L), 25/8/18

271. Pte. O. Cornell, 3 M.G. Bn., Chemist, of Ballarat, Vic. K.I.A. 10/8/18, aged 25. (L), 18/6/18

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 23/7/18 compare with (L), 18/4/18.

days a lance corporal wrote, "I got a piece of h.e. [high explosive] shell in my left leg...it went through a loose blanket, through a sheet of iron, then my puttee & my leg ...if [they]...had not been there, I would have got a nice "blighty" however better luck next time".¹ H.R. Williams, the soldier who had described his debilitated comrades in September, received a 'blighty' soon afterwards, and felt like a little boy unexpectedly given a day off school.² "...Albert...is back in England to be operated on...", another man reported, "lucky beggar I think he would win Tatts sweep if he went in for it. I have no luck at all that way I always have to carry on...I would not be surprised if he did not get home with it he is lucky enough",³ and in June Lieutenant Chedgery asserted, "I have been jolly lucky to get such a nice "blighty" and I will be out of the war for a while, only way to get a decent holiday in this stunt."⁴

The real holiday came in November 1918, and by then the Australians had earned their rest. Since March they had opposed 39 enemy divisions, 19 more that once. They

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618. L/Cpl. H. Morphett, 51 Bn., Farmer, of Bruce Rock, W.A. K.I.A. 25/4/18, aged 22. (L), 2/4/18.

2

Williams, The Gallant Company, p.262.

3

976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 11/6/18.

4

255. Chedgery, (333,2), (L), 10/6/18

see also:

161. Pte. D.P. Bissett, 57 Bn., Ironmonger, of Brisbane, Qld. (b. Scotland) D. while P.O.W. 19/9/18, aged 28. (L), 6/7/18

491. Kilgour, (273,2), (D), 27/10/18 compare with p.273, n.2;

607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 5/4/18; 975. Molesworth, (281,2), (L), 6/7/18.

defeated all, and forced six to disband. They took 29,144 prisoners, 23 per cent of the British total, 338 guns (23½ per cent), and 40 miles of ground (21½ per cent). They made possible much more, and weightily influenced momentous events, yet they made up less than 10 per cent of the British Army. They had served King and country well, for few soldiers¹ during that war produced a comparable record.

1

But few in the A.I.F. would have denied that their record only equalled that of the Canadians, the New Zealanders, the Scots, and some British regular soldiers.

Nationhood...

Soldiers are citizens of Death's grey land,
Drawing no dividend from time's tomorrows.
In the great hour of destiny they stand,
Each with his feuds, and jealousies, and sorrows.
Soldiers are sworn to action; they must win
Some flaming, fatal climax with their lives.
Soldiers are dreamers; when the guns begin
They think of firelit homes, clean beds, and wives.

Siegfried Sassoon.

We Diggers were a race apart. Long separation from Australia had seemed to cut us completely away from the land of our birth. The longer a man served, the fewer letters he got, the more he was forgotten. Our only home was our unit, and... Pride in ourselves ... was our sustaining force.

G.D. Mitchell, Backs to the Wall, p.168.

The principal haven from the storm and stress of the flame racked years was England.¹ Wounded soldiers were sent to England, troops on leave came there, men marked for home sailed from its ports, veterans and half trained recruits knew it as the last outpost of civilization. "Somehow one gets very casual in France and sees men die, without appearing...even to notice it", an Australian wrote from Wandsworth hospital,

but when one gets back to England - to civilisation again - it all seems so horrible - and so unnecessary. I sometimes lie awake at nights, and think things over - and I often on such occasions pray that I shall not suffer from insomnia for a long time after the war...it would be too awful.²

England was also head and heart of the Empire, the source of everything great and secure, Australia's shield, and, to many Australians, home. Some had been born there,³ others were sons of Englishmen, almost all had

1

The two chapters following describe attitudes also considered in chapter 5. The complex interaction evident between various attitudes on Gallipoli continued in France, so that I have found a neat division of attitudes into chapters not possible, but generally this chapter describes the impact of the Western Front upon pre-war Australian values, especially in relation to Empire and to duty, while the next discusses attitudes Australians evolved or confirmed in place of those they modified or abandoned.

2

567. Lt. C.V. McCulloch, 2 Bn., Student, of Strathfield, N.S.W. K.I.A. 11/4/18, aged 26. (L), 27/10/17
see also:

568. McDonald, (345,2), (L), 21/5/16.

3

64,221 (19.4%) of the A.I.F. embarked and at least 150 (15%) of the writers of records read for this thesis were born in Great Britain.

learnt England's glories at school. They were impatient to see the old country, and as they drew near they crowded their ship rails, eagerly scanning the distant grey coastline that rose slowly from the mists of the morning. "How often have I heard your glories blazed abroad throughout, Old England," George Davies enthused,

and now, and now I view your coasts, thy shore line, your hills and valleys...tears welled in my eyes at the sight of the Home Land...there is no land so sweet, no spot, so hallowed as the spot of land we call Britain

Australian soldiers, unquenchably curious, toured every part of the British Isles. The length of their leave often limited them to the surrounds of their camps on Salisbury Plain, but a surprising number, perhaps because they respected its soldiers, took the long night train journey to Scotland.² Some went to Cornwall and Devon, a few to Kent and Sussex, and a few to Ireland. Every man went to London, where, being well paid and in quest of their heritage, they inspected all the points and scenes conceivably interesting to sons of the Empire. After stopping at A.I.F. Headquarters in Horseferry Road for pay and sometimes a new uniform, they went to Australia House perhaps,³ then to an Anzac Buffet or a

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302. Davies, (53,4), (D), p.15 (-/7?/16).

2

By November 1916 men going to Scotland were allowed two days additional leave, which may have influenced Australian enthusiasm for the country, but Mr A.W. Bazley informed me in December 1969 that many of those who went to Scotland were veterans from France. See also Rule, op. cit., p.337.

3

After it was completed early in 1918.

'swank' hotel for a 'good feed', then to the Tower, the Palace, Parliament, the Abbey, St Paul's, the Waxworks, the museums, the great houses, the law courts, the parks, the dock sometimes, the churches occasionally, the theatre matinees, and anywhere else that smacked of history or entertainment. At night they had another 'good feed', or saw a live show, or got drunk, or responded as inclination prompted to offers from prostitutes or women made available by the turbulent times.

Perhaps, though a thousand organisations in England hosted soldiers, the Anzacs were particular recipients of English hospitality. They had come further to fight than most, which attracted English sentiment, and they had won a magnificent reputation on Gallipoli, to which the English press paid full tribute.¹ They dressed differently, were easy going, and told tales of a strange land. Their want of discipline weighed against them; but, particularly if they were convalescent and officers, they were frequently guests of England's royalty and society, lunching and living in houses open to few Englishmen.²

1

In mid 1916 C.E.W. Bean, then Australia's Official War Correspondent, was led to request that the press give less attention to the Anzacs. See The Times, London, 22 June 1916.

2

I had completed most of the research for this thesis before K.S. Inglis suggested the value of outlining the experience of Australians in England, and therefore have recorded little of the evidence available, but see,
 965. Pte. W.V. Wright, M.M., 4 Bn., Overseer, of Wagga Wagga, N.S.W. Rep.T.A. 10/1/18, aged 23. (D), 21/11/16
 966. Pte. S.B. Young, 36 Bn., Bricklayer, of Campsie, N.S.W. Rep.T.A. 21/12/18, aged 23. (D), 16/8/16
 997. Sgt. A.N. Roberts, 1 F.A.B., Inspector, of Glenelg, S.A. b.1886. (D), 25/8/18
 840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), III, pp.108-9 (16/6/16).

Yet at some point during all this Australians realized a truth. England was cold, wet, and sunless, and mainly a repository for barren camps and bleak hospitals. "Hurrying crowds of the three sexes surged past," George Mitchell wrote during an early visit to London,

They all bore the hall mark of the Cog. Pale faced and undersized, they appeared quite passionless, these people who work year in and year out beyond the reach of sunshine and out of touch with nature. They seem to have been moulded to a definite pattern by a machine-like, artificial existence.¹

Some other Australians were less critical, yet whatever England was, it was not Australia. Many in the A.I.F. never loved their country better than when they had left it, and they longed to return to the bright sunlit land they had quit so readily. George Davies concluded his panegyric by confessing, "...and yet in the midst of it all...I still saw the ocean beating upon the shores of far Southern Victoria."² "We are no more homesick for Australia than an ordinary mortal is homesick for heaven",³ George Mitchell declared, and a Queenslander decided, "On the whole life is well worth living. But all the time there is the longing to be back in Australia...I hardly realized what a great country Australia is untill I left it."⁴ At Lark Hill camp a man of the Third Division

¹ 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 8/9/16.

² 302. Davies, (53,4), (D), p.15 (-/7?/16).

³ 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 8/9/16.

⁴ 179. Boyce, (338,2), (L), 14/7/17.

announced before he left for France, "All I want is to get a good knock soon after I get there and to be invalided back to Australia. They will never get me to leave there again once I get back."¹ The son of an Englishman told his father, "Australia is God's own country"...It is absolutely the best place that I know of - the land of plenty. There is practically no poverty there...[as] in Blighty."² "How often do you get leave to Australia?", asked a lady in England. "Once every war", replied a digger, "At the end of it",³ and an Australian soldiers' paper wrote,

When God knocked off one night said He:
 "This world's a rotten failure."
 Lor lumme, though, He'd let 'em see -
 Next day He made Australia.⁴

Their homesickness and their disillusion with England supported a change of sentiment many Australians had already made. Martial splendour and the glory of the Empire had

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106. Bambrick, (77,1), (L), 7/1/17 see also (L), 12 and 21/9, and 29/10/16.

2

341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 11/7/18.

3

Aussie, (A.I.F. trench paper), No.1, p.3 (18 January 1918).

4

Ibid., No.3, p.9 (8 March 1918)

see also:

12. Maj. W.A. Adams, D.S.O., 3 Pioneer Bn., Engineer, of Hawthorn, Vic. (b. Scotland) K.I.A. 15/10/17, aged 48. (L), -/12/16

10. Adams, (153,5), (L), 13/6/16; 41. Allen, (77,2), (L), 26/12/16; 262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 20/2/18; 393. Gates, (106,1), (L), 29/10/16; Harding et al., op. cit., p.70 (1/9/17); Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.7-8; Mann, op. cit., p.10.

intertwined before 1914, and England's greatness had given substance to both. Years of blood destroyed the romance of battle; and also the esteem in which Australians held their Empire, because they could blame Englishmen for their worst defeats, yet still take pride in their own achievements. At Lark Hill a recent arrival, the son of an English immigrant, had written,

Paw will be glad to know that my impression of the British Tommy is very favourable. While not so tall as the average Australian he is neat and clean... there are more...objectionable, ignorant, discordant, half baked and dirty tongued youngsters of about 18 years old among our troops than among the Tommies

but after a year in France he decided,

I suppose you sometimes think that the Australians are overpraised, but...the Colonials generally and the Scotch regiments are absolutely the best troops in the British army. We have never yet failed to get our objective and the idea of not getting it never enters our heads. What we do worry about, is whether the Blighters on our flanks will get theirs, a much more uncertain proposition. Most of the Tommies are good, but many of them have no heart.¹

He expressed exactly the attitude general among Australians. An officer declared,

Everyone here is 'fed-up' of the war, but not with the Hun. The British staff, British methods, and British bungling have sickened us. We are 'military socialists' and all overseas troops have had enough of the English. How I wish we were with our own people instead of under the English all the time!²,

1

255. Chedghey, (333,2), (L), 22/7/16 and 15/10/17.

2

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 20/12/17 see also (L), 3 and 19/2/18

See also Montague, C.E.: Disenchantment, p.170.

and some British soldiers aroused contempt by "playing the Saxon game of "You don't fire, and we won't." The cold footed hounds. The more one learns of the Tommies, the more one despises them. We shake [the Huns] up wherever we go."¹

Australians doubled criticism of English soldiers after the Germans attacked in 1918. During the First Division's advance to Hazebrouck a man of the 4th Battalion wrote disgustedly, "The road is a continuous stream of...detached parties of "Tommies" who have become "lost, stolen, or strayed"...Seems to me that the whole damn lot are more intent on getting back than getting up. They'll make a good advance guard - for the civilian's retreat."² On the Somme a machine gunner included a current A.I.F. joke in his criticism:

There is a lot of feeling among our chaps against the Tommies. They were driven back at Messines as soon as we moved south and lost a village in a sector where they had relieved us a few days previously...A Tommy brigadier is reported to have overtaken a hare on the road towards Amiens and said savagely, "Get out of the road you brute and give a man a chance who can run."³

Whereas formerly Australians had sung of 'dear old Blighty', by 1917, to the same tune, they sang,

Blighty is a failure,
Take me to Australia

1

760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 6/3/18
See also n.1, p.274.

2

834. Addy, (98,3), (D), 12/4/18. But see n.2, p.343.

3

99. Axtens, (275,4), (L), 2/5/18.

"And so with everything",¹ a soldier added. At times A.I.F. parades received even the King in stolid silence,² and by 1918 abuse and insulting comparisons floated so freely and frequently about their camps that men were reprimanded by the authorities for damaging the war effort.³ Though they continued to trust and admire much in the Imperial system, during the war Australian soldiers learnt their own worth, which formerly they had doubted, and saw faults and cankers at the heart of their Empire, which once they had imagined great above every imperfection. The war dealt the affections of Empire a mortal blow, and men never returned to the adulation of 1914.

Yet almost every Australian remained prepared to do his duty. A.I.F. reinforcements trained in England after mid 1916⁴: many knew that a bitter struggle lay before them, but were not daunted, and were ready to try their fortunes. A Third Division N.C.O. at Lark Hill wrote,

¹ 663. Peters, (281,3), (L), -/-/17.

² 255. Chedgey, (333,2), (L), 19/7/17 quoted p.422; 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 12/7/17; Bean, op. cit., I, pp.14-5.

³ Australian War Memorial File Nos 265/3 (Letter from Birdwood to 3 Div., 30 April 1918) and 265/2 (Circular from 1 Div. H.Q. to officers commanding 1 Div. units, 23 May 1918). See also Bean, op. cit., V, pp.236-7.

⁴ Because the mid 1916 fighting marks a radical change in the expectations of both new and old soldiers concerning their entry into the firing zone, the outlook of men in France before mid 1916 has already been described, on pp.268-72.

"...we go to La Belle France [soon]..., and probably straight into the front line trenches. I can tell you, when the 3⁴th get there the Germans are going to know it ... They'll make a name for themselves all right",¹ and another, "Our aim is to fix these Huns as quick as possible - and the quicker the better. I guess Jack could tell some good tales of these savages - he has had a slap at them."² A Second Division reinforcement stated, "...we are ready to go over and Strafe Fritz good and hard. Then it will soon be over",³ and an artillery reinforcement at Bulford camp reported, "...we are on draft...We are all madly delighted and keen to get away as soon as possible."⁴ Many soldiers made impatient by prolonged training adopted this outlook. "I won't be sorry (for a start at least) to get away," a gunner decided, "We have been tin soldiers a little too long",⁵ and after four months in England a Victorian private exulted, "...at last there seems a chance of me going to France...I need not tell you how pleased I am...I have

¹
224. Callen, (281,3), (L), -/8/16.

²
228. Lt. A.D. Cameron, 36 Bn., Engineer, of Hillgrove, N.S.W. K.I.A. 4/4/18, aged 29. (L), 20/8/16.

³
104. Lt. W.D. Baldie, 24 Bn., Farmer, of Thorpdale, Vic. K.I.A. 5/10/18, aged 27. (L), 17/2/18.

⁴
353. Evatt, (334,2), (L), 20/7/17
see also:

496. Pte. W.E. Lahnleiter, 47 Bn., Carpenter, of Kilkivan, Qld. b.1883. (L), 3/3/17.

⁵
729. Spr. M.R. Smith, 6 Fld.Coy.,Eng., Student, of Lane Cove, N.S.W. K.I.A. 1/12/16, aged 23. (L), 7/9/16.

had more than enough of Lark Hill and will be real pleased to get away after my long stay here."¹

But most Australian reinforcements after mid 1916 feared the trial ahead. At Codford camp an infantry reinforcement hoped that it would not be long before Germany threw in the towel and gave him a chance to get home again,² and at Durrington another wrote,

Its Bad we meet men Here who Have Just come out of Hospital & They vouch for Things being Bad. Fritzs Artillery Is Hell: I am going to work my nut & am Trying all the Time but I can't See my way So Far. There are Plenty of fellows Here at The Same Game...But cheero whats The odds. Ive lived & Had a Fair Time as Times go & if I go up well It will be Bad Luck Thats all.³

Many at this time had been led by duty, honour, or shame to enlist, and duty and honour sustained them now, as the inevitable hour approached. An officer stated,

...I am still wasting my time here, when I should be up in the firing line assisting my comrades; our poor fellows have had a very bad time of it lately...only about 150 men and 2 Officers left out of 1026 so they must send me along now...It makes one think a bit sometimes and wish it was

1

473. Jack, (341,2), (L), 29/7/17

see also:

852. Pte. F.J. Brewer, 20 Bn., Journalist, of Kangaroo Point, Qld. b.1884. (D), 29/4/18

855. Pte. N.C. Brierley, 31 Bn., Farmer, of Sydney, N.S.W. b.1897. (L), 22/8/18

974. Higgins, (63,1), (L), 16/10/18.

2

41. Allen, (77,2), (L), 25/11/16 see also (L), 28/10/16.

3

975. Molesworth, (281,2), (L), 2/11/17

see also:

88. Asher-Smith, (337,2), (L), 17/6/17.

all over. I am anxious to go and know the worst.¹

A private believed that he approached the trenches free from fear, because his God would succour him if he were wounded, and if he were killed a fairer inheritance would be his.² A young bombardier thought that the war would end in about six months, and was

...glad that at last we...are going to have a bit of a hit to help finish it off...everyone... recognize what we are going into, that its dangerous, but we are trusting in God, and looking forward to, that glorious return to our home folk and loved ones, after a victorious peace for the allied arms, which it will have been our privilege to help to bring about.³

At Codford Private Gallwey announced,

We are all in the greatest excitement over our coming departure. At last we realise we are really going to war to do our bit...Come what may I am fully prepared for it spiritually as well as physically. I do not expect to get through without a scratch for I know too much about what is going to be done these next few months. I may only get a blighty which would not concern me...England expects that every man this day will do his duty⁴,

and from Sutton Veny camp a First Division officer told his family,

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357. Lt. A.F. Everett, 25 Bn., Storeman, of Brisbane, Qld. (b. England) D.O.D. 19/2/17, aged 37. (L), 3/8/16.

2

302. Davies, (53,4), (D), pp.23-4 (-/11/16).

3

266. Collett, (334,2), (L), 30/12/16.

4

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 20/2/17.

I...miss you all a great deal, but you could not wish me [in Australia]...in such times as these, I would rightly be termed a shirker, nearly every family is in the same sad plight, but you must face it all with a brave heart, and...look forward to the day when I come home...¹

Veterans in England know even more clearly the probability of death and the certainty of travail in France, and many did not wish to go back. At least two men, fearing imminent transportation, killed themselves,² and a few Australians malingered or deserted rather than return. Private Bryan was 16 when wounded at the Landing, but recovered to fight at Lone Pine and Pozières, and endure the 1916 winter. He bore it all stoically, but in December 1916, just before he was due to return from leave in England, he noted in his diary, "I did not Like return to france so I stoped 8 days over leave I gave my self up to the police and was sent to my Bde training camp." On 4 January he wrote, "I was tried at orderly room and given 32 days pay and 2 days detention I was not striped", on 13 January, "we cleared out to London on French leave and had a good time", and not until 12 March, "I surrendered to the police warick square." He was tried for absence without leave on 17 March, and convicted, but continued to

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367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 11/10/17 see also (L), 17/12/17

see also:

193. L/Cpl. S.T. Brooks, 33 Bn., Clerk, of Bondi, N.S.W. K.I.A. 25/6/18, aged 23. (L), 26/3, 24/10, and 9/12/17

425. Pte. H. Halewood, 35 Bn., Bookseller, of Sydney, N.S.W. (b. England) K.I.A. 6/5/18, aged 43. (L), 25/7/17

106. Bambrick, (77,1), (L), 6/8, 12 and 21/9, and 29/10/16, 7/1/17.

2

648. Neaves, (322,1), (L), 22/12/16.

go absent until classified unfit for service in July. In February 1918, aged 19, he was repatriated to Australia. He was not a coward - he gave himself up to the police repeatedly - but he was worn beyond his youthful endurance, and simply could not face the field of slaughter again.¹

Most veterans forced themselves to return. At Le Havre a Military Medal winner wrote, "move on to the Bn. at 4 this evening don't like the idea nor do any of the others...[London was] absolute paradise and...[now] the mud again...I hope I get a decent knock that will send me home again to Blighty..."² In London in February 1917 a pioneer private recalled that at Pozières,

I saw a battallion of 1000 men going up to go in ...and within half an hour there was only 300 left...every where you would look you could see pieces of men dead and moaning. it was terrible I will never forget [it]...I expect if I go back I will see a bit more but I might be lucky enough not to see it I hope I do [not] because I have done my share and I dont want to see any more of it³,

and after five months duty in England Arthur Thomas decided, "I may...be packed off to France to battle another shocking winter I don't want to kill myself a fair thing is fair, I

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859. Bryan, (79,3), (D), -/12/16, 4,12,13/1, 12,15,17/3, 16/7, 29/8, and 12/9/17, -/2/18

see also:

370. Lt. G.J. Flannery, 25 Bn., Commercial traveller, of Leichhardt, N.S.W. (b.Ireland) b.1875. (L), 22/4/19
Adcock, W.F.: Genuine War Letters, pp.53-5 (12/7/16).

2

965. Wright, (362,2), (D), 21/11/16.

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207. Burrows, (98,3), (L), 10/2/17 see also (L), 25/2/17.

don't want to see France any more, good sense tells me so."¹ He was sent to the front in January 1918, and was killed in June.

There were old soldiers willing to go back. Some simply accepted the fortunes of war:

...I am off once again to France. I cannot grumble as I have had a fair rest...here for ten months, with only four of them in hospital, extremely lucky don't you think. I...will endeavour to account for a few more huns.²

Others wished to leave England to end the war, to join their friends and units, to appease their honour, or to escape the human parasites that infested Australian camps and English streets. In October 1916 a wounded officer reported,

I'm not going to be in too great a hurry to get back to France, as I reckon I've seen enough for a while; but all the same, I am only stopping my chance of promotion by staying here, and I would like to get back again for the battalion's sake as soon as I can as I would not like anyone to think that I was a "cold-footer."³

In December another decided,

Although the prospect of spending winter in the trenches is not what one might term appealing,

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748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 23/10/17

see also:

21. Aitken, (101,2), (L), 17/5/16; 186. Bridge, (55,2), (L), 7/5/17.

2

829. Sgt. W. Rowley, 18 Bn., Clerk, of Paddington, N.S.W. b.1893. (L), 6/3/18.

3

273. Corney, (271,1), (L), 31/10/16 compare with p.271, n.1.

still being back once more among the old familiar faces - or what are left of them - will amply compensate all difficulties. I was looking forward to spending Christmas with the boys again, and it seems as if my ambition will be realized.¹

"I really don't know why I want so much to get back to the Front", Lieutenant Chapman admitted,

when I think of the slush and cold over there I shiver, and yet I am a jolly side happier over there than here...what I really want to carry about with me is a clear conscience - that I have found is better than a cosy billet and a warm fire.²

A New South Wales corporal stated,

No one who has actually gone through this war and...witnessed its horrors is anxious to get back to it. I am going back. It is not from choice. It is my duty and that alone makes me go into it again...but crave to go back. Never.³,

and in Fovant camp a Pozières survivor remarked of a new arrival, "...he...is itching to get amongst the flying ironmongery that Fritz is so liberal with...Guess he'll know all about the game after the first few hours under fire & will realise that all the ancient glory associated with War has disappeared," then went on to tell his parents,

I have had a long stay in safety on this side of the "Herring Pond" so it's about time I gave another hand to the boys...now hurrying our 'Hun-Kultured' enemy along the Belgian Front...Please

¹ 785. Worrall, (111,1), (L), 6/12/16.

² 254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 7/12/16.

³ 31. Allan, (303,1), (D), -/2/17.

...accept as the Will of our Heavenly Father, the future that is set down for me. Keep up a brave heart & believe in the righteousness of our grand cause - our arms & those of our Allies will win thro' in God's time.¹

In France by late 1916, most soldiers confessed themselves thoroughly weary of the business. In the beginning the unexpected length of the war had not discouraged Australian ardour, nor had Gallipoli in the long term, but Fromelles and Pozières had, and thereafter war was only an onerous duty. Even after their senses began to recover from the mid 1916 battles, in about October, they had an awful experience behind them, the winter before them, and peace hidden in the distant future. Their hopes sagged under a succession of afflictions, and a malaise seized their spirits. "Wish the whole concern was over", an original Anzac declared, "We are all more or less fed up with it. The only real bloodthirsty men are the new hands who have not seen a fight."² "I can tell you everyone will be glad when it

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865. Cave, (224,3), (L), 6/10/17
 For this paragraph, see also,
 518. Capt. A.W. MacDonald, 34 Bn., Accountant, of Neutral Bay, N.S.W. K.I.A. 30/8/18, aged 27. (L), 20/9/17
 542. Lt. G.L. Makin, 5 Bn., Clerk, of Middle Park, Vic. D.O.W. 8/9/18, aged 24. (L), 6/6/16
 825. Sgt. R. Otto, 2 Bn., Baker, of Sydney, N.S.W. (b. N.Z.) b.1893. (L), 3/8/17
 18. Adlard, (138,2), (D), 14/1/16; 144. Berg, (167,1), (L), 22/7/17; 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 14/5/17; 344. Ellsworth, (31,3), (L), 25/3/17; 568. McDonald, (345,2), (L), 7/2/17; 583. McLarty, (115,1), (L), 16 and 30/9/17; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 27/7/16 and 8/11/17; 683. Roth, (94,1), (L), 11/11/16; 712. Simon, (320,2), (L), 13/2/17; 758. Topp, (111,2), (L), 30/1/17; 965. Wright, (362,2), (D), 20/2/17.

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707. Shirtley, (268,2), (L), 8/10/16.

is all over...",¹ a 1915 enlistment noted, and another told his brother, "...as you love me, KEEP OUT OF THIS, we are not all going to be chopping blocks."²

The 1916 winter brought more casualties and suffering, but not peace. At Flers Lance Corporal Mitchell wrote, "At times when there is nothing doing I think of all things and feel tired all through. I feel as though I have lived far beyond my span and need a great rest...It is better not to have to much thinking time",³ and during the winter an original in the 4th Battalion complained,

...we have to go back [into the line] again thats the crook Part about, once I used to be able to look at dead and shattered men & crook sights, without turning a hair, there were a few thousand at "Lone Pine" but now I get nervy. been too long at it without a spell I think. Jove I hope my nerves dont give way.⁴

He was wounded three weeks later, by the tenth shot a sniper fired at him, and decided, "...it will do me, though he could have hit me harder if he liked. I wont get much of a spell out of this lot but he only missed the heart by 2 inches so I suppose I shouldn't growl."⁵ The war had

¹ 82. Arnold, (44,1), (L), 17/11/16.

² 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 26/11/16
see also:

³ 346. Elvin, (77,3), (D), 2/10/16.

⁴ 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 2/1/17.

⁵ 965. Wright, (362,2), (D), 10/1/17.

⁵ Ibid., (D), 3/2/17.

almost two years to run. In mid 1917 a man asked his family, "Did you get that group photo I sent you? well all the boys except 4 on the right were either killed or wounded in the last stunt [Messines], I tell you I am full up, and the sooner we wipe Fritz out the better."¹ "I am looking forward to coming home again and will not be sorry when that happy time comes I can assure you",² a soldier told his wife. Another exclaimed, "I hope it ends soon. I've got a proper guts full",³ and a third swore after a mate was killed, "May this damnable war be over [soon]...Tom...was as game as they make men...But just before the poor fellow got killed he said to me that it was a bit solid and the sooner it finished the better."⁴

1918 came, still the strife continued, and still men struggled on, praying for an end. "I wish he would quit and let us all come home. I wish they would take us all

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412. Gration, (80,2), (L), 19/6/17.

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72. Pte. A. Armitage, 11 M.G.Coy., Storeman, of Muswellbrook, N.S.W. (b. England) K.I.A. 31/7/17, aged 36. (L), 16/7/17.

3

704. Serjeant, (330,2), (L), 29/10/17.

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39. Pte. E. Allen, 49 Bn., Farmer, of Gin Gin, Qld. K.I.A. 25/4/18, aged 35. (L), 6/12/17

see also:

33. Lt. G.G. Allardyce, 4 Bn., Student, of Melbourne, Vic. (b. Ireland) D.O.W. 18/5/18, aged 24. (L), 13/1/17

21. Aitken, (101,2), (L), 16/11/17; 22. Akers, (330,3), (L), 1/7 and 6/10/17; 254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 2/1/17; 262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 15/6 and 14/8/17; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 26/2/17; 758. Topp, (111,2), (L), 30/4/17.



Dead and wounded from the Passchendaele fighting, plus two men who posed for the photographer, 12 October 1917.

to Egypt & do a bit there...",¹ a sapper wrote, and an infantry corporal stated, "...this WAR has knocked the romance out of most of us."² In March the Germans opened their offensive: purpose and success uplifted the Australians, but not their hopes or confidence. "...I am sick and tired of the whole blasted show, it is cruel",³ one recorded, and another, "Truly War is not a thing of Romance and wonderful adventure, [as] we imagined it in days gone by."⁴

These attitudes confirmed another and more fundamental change in outlook, which did much to place the mental framework of soldiers beyond the comprehension of civilians. By about 1917 many in the A.I.F. had abandoned hope of life or happiness: they ceased writing of 'after the war', and 'when I get home', and 'I suppose it is summer in Australia now', for these things had sunk into the past, often beyond dreams or memory, almost certainly beyond recovery. Instead, expecting to die, men counted no future save the next battle or the next leave, and no life save their present uncertain existence. George Mitchell remarked, "I feel that I have lost touch with any life but this one of war. It is hard to recall Australia, and apart from my people nothing stands out

¹ 976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 7/1/18 compare with p.223,n.3.

² 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 4/2/18.

³ Ibid., (D), 4/6/18.

⁴ 741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 6/4/18

see also:

31. Allan, (303,1), (L), 27/5/18; 104. Baldie, (368,3), (L), 15/9/18; Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.5, 7.

vividly. I feel an outsider. We are lost in the magnitude of our task..."¹

Few other soldiers recorded the point, but perhaps their predictions about victory demonstrated it. In 1914 and 1915 most Australian soldiers expected the Empire to win quickly.² More thought a long war possible by 1916,³ and more still by 1917,⁴ while a few by then had decided that Germany would have to be starved to defeat.⁵ Yet during much of this time, because their faith was great and because only victory or death could truly release them, men sought desperately to believe in an imminent end.⁶ At Pozières a man showed the conviction of

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607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 18/7/17 see also (D), 17/8 and 15/9/17, and Backs to the Wall, p.168
see also:

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 26/7/17; 341. Elliot, (275,4), (L), 27/2/17; Bean, op. cit., VI, p.5.

2

See pp.29-30, 100, 136n.3.

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655. Cpl. V. Noble, 3 Bn., Clerk, of Epping, N.S.W. b.1894. (D), 24/12/16

106. Bambrick, (77,1), (L), 21/9/16; 976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 6/8/16.

4

329. Lt. A.B. Eades, 12 F.A.B., Clerk, of Essendon, Vic. D.O.D. 12/11/18, aged 23. (L), 18/1/17

344. Ellsworth, (31,3), (L), 24/6/17; 518. MacDonald, (375,1), (L), 1/2/17; 579. McKenzie, (275,4), (L), 25/6/17; 813. Hill, (111,1), (L), 8 and 16/9/17; 976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 8/9/17.

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404. Capt. R.H. Gill, M.C., 28 Bn., Accountant, of Fremantle, W.A. (b. England) K.I.A. 28/9/17, aged 34. (L), 30/8/17.

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Some men stated merely that the war would end soon. See, 457. Pte. H.W. Hornby, 15 Fld.Amb., Clerk, of Carlton, Vic. D.O.W. 15/5/17, aged 23. (L), 15/8/16
784. Woods, (161,1), (D), 8/4/17.

despair: "I don't think that our division will be asked to do anymore advancing for a while...[soon] we will have the Huns back well broken. our share of the back-breaking is over I think",¹ and another thought, "...you need not expect us home this year; next year you may but early or late I cannot say."² In 1917 a soldier reported, "...some of the boys say they will be back again in their homes by Xmas next. I hope they are right and I hope I am with them. Peace will come much sooner than we think, and I can see it well in sight."³ "I think we will have to do another winter over here there seems very little signs of it finishing", a young private wrote in July 1917, "I reckon it will be about this time next year though it may stop as quick as it started. I hope it does it would do me if it finished the day it started. I think I could hang out till then."⁴ Toil and doubt had sapped the old assumptions, but hope remained, and men could still see victory at the end of a weary road.

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10. Adams, (153,5), (L), 27/8/16.

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175. Bourke, (343,1), (L), 20/9/16.

3

302. Davies, (53,4), (L), 31/3/17.

4

673. Reynolds, (338,1), (L), 8/7/17

There were optimistic soldiers. Some wrote to encourage relatives possibly, others responded to the 1917 victories. For optimistic and pessimistic predictions,

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 13/1 and 9/10/17; 18. Adlard, (138,2), (D), 16/8 and 9/10/16; 144. Berg, (167,1), (L), 24/12/16; 224. Callen, (281,3), (L), 21/2 and 10/10/17; 241. Carter, (123,3), (L), 26/9/17; 326. Duke, (83,1), (L), 15/12/16; 367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 17/12/17; 707. Shirtley, (268,2), (L), 23/9 and 20/12/16; 728. Smith, (335,3), (L), 11/6/17 compare with (L), 30/8/17.

But even hope had evaporated by 1918, when men had thoroughly learnt the unpredictable sequence of success and disaster, and trusted nothing save reality. One or two veterans, on rare occasions, considered defeat. "Fritz is making good, unless something happens he will win,"¹ noted Corporal Thomas, and Lieutenant Mitchell asserted, "I feel disaster in my blood. Curse all the powers that bungled us to defeat...My thoughts were bitter as I looked down at my service stripes. What if they were all for nothing."² Few Australian soldiers at any time imagined being beaten,³ but even as their side won victory most expected a long war. "Don't expect a Peace worth having, until a least another 18 months. Can't be done!!",⁴ an officer assured his parents in January. A month later a corporal confided, "although at present Germany appears to have the best end of the stick...I am very optimistic about us being ultimately victorious, but we'll come to a state of almost hopeless despair first."⁵ In June a gunner declared, "It is ridiculous for people not to recognise and admit the ability of the Bosche, as a strategist and fighter...the Huns will not carry all before them, but it may take many months for the tide to turn."⁶ "...peace by a military decision by this time

¹ 748. Thomas, (276,1), (D), 1/6/18.

² 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 2/6/18.

³ Bean, op. cit., VI, p.8.

⁴ 518. MacDonald, (375,1), (L), 18/1/18.

⁵ 31. Allan, (303,1), (L), 27/2/18.

⁶ 353. Evatt, (334,2), (L), 16/6/18.

next year",¹ a tunneller predicted in September, and after Australian infantry had marched away from the Western Front for the last time an officer decided, "...Peace is in the air and is certinally not more than a year off, perhaps even less."² On the threshold of victory, these were cautious opinions, reflecting a widespread acceptance that war had become the natural mode of existence.³

The association between war and sport evident on Gallipoli was broken in France, although the language of games survived. There were 'sides', an action was a 'stunt', men had 'innings' between wounds, men killed were 'knocked' or 'knocked out', men defeated 'took the count',

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14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 30/9/18 compare with (L), 13/1 and 9/10/17.

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255. Chedgey, (333,2), (L), 8/10/18

see also:

350. Pte. E.C.R. Evans, 46 Bn., Horticulturist, of Emerald, Vic. K.I.A. 18/9/18, aged 23. (L), 31/3/18

658. Gnr. F.B. Oldfield, 8 F.A.B., School teacher, of Albert Park, Vic. b.1897. (L), 3/10/18

241. Carter, (123,3), (L), 18/6/18 compare with (L), 26/9/17; 370. Flannery, (372,1), (L), -/5/18; 574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), 30/10/18; 683. Roth, (94,1), (L), 22/4/18; Rule, op. cit., p.316 (27/7/18)

In August 1918 Marshal Foch believed the war would continue another 12 months. Churchill, op. cit., p.917. Haig thought 1919, other generals 1920. Bean, op. cit., VI, p.485. There were some confident predictions about victory in 1918,

156. Lt. L.H. Bignell, 19 Bn., Salesman, of Flemington, Vic. K.I.A. 7/4/18, aged 27. (L), 11/1/18

275. Sgt. W.P. Cosgrave, 55 Bn., Grocer, of Redfern, N.S.W. K.I.A. 17/4/18, aged 24. (L), 3/4/18

224. Callen, (281,3), (L), 28/3/18; 825. Otto, (375,1), (L), 13/7/18.

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See also pp.449-54.

men winning easily 'had a walkover.' Early in 1917 a veteran of Fromelles wrote that he was about to leave England "to help knock out old "Bill" in the last round of the championship",¹ in 1918 troops chosen for an attack "got their guernseys",² and at Menin Road a brave man dying told his mates that he was still playing and still had a Jersey.³ But usually these words were bereft of their former implications, and now only a procedural similarity connected sport with a detested enemy, and the grim murderous business on which Australians found themselves engaged.

Although ruin and death were perpetually about them, and their hopes were broken, most in the A.I.F. fought obstinately on. A few men, wearied by toil and incessant danger, gave up the struggle, particularly in 1918, when the world seemed so bleak. Packs of deserters marauded the back areas in France:

They live by thieving and gambling. The National pastime of two-up has chiefly given them their living, and when searching B---, we took a double headed penny off him...They stole from British and Yankee dumps such things as petrol and clothing, for which₄ they found a ready market among the French...

¹ 758. Topp, (111,2), (L), 30/1/17.

² Rule, op. cit., p.319 (26/9/18).

³ In 813. Hill, (111,1), (L) re death, 1/10/17.

⁴ 654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 18/5/18

see also:

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 1/11/18; 997. Roberts, (362,2), (D), 2/11/18; Australian War Memorial File No.233/1.

Other men wounded themselves to escape service; an ambulanceman treating one such wound

...covered the tell tale [powder] marks with repeated applications of pure iodine and "wised him up" to keep putting iodine on it until it blistered and remove the burnt skin without detection. Poor beggar had been a good soldier prior to this and was really not responsible for his nerve collapse. Am glad to say he escaped detection and subsequently made good. S.I. wounds are very rare indeed.¹

Self inflicted wounds were rare in the A.I.F., desertion was uncommon, and offences in action - cowardice, murder, and desertion to the enemy - were almost unknown.² The majority of Australians plunged into the raging tides whenever it was asked of them; but only their sense of duty kept them to a task so unrewarding. As on Gallipoli, duty became equated with necessity, for repeated hardship required some explanation to make it bearable, and Australians found this in the need to save their world. Early in 1917 a new arrival reported,

What really does strike one forcibly...is the seeming madness of two supposedly leading civilised nations hammering each other with shot and shell in the one great object of killing as many of the foe as possible. It is only when one gets here...that one really realises what a mad business it is. We have

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615. Morgan, (314,4), (D), 17/6/18

see also:

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 1/11/18.

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For example, only 701 cases of self inflicted wounds were recorded against the A.I.F. in France; about half of these were between March and August 1918. Butler, op. cit., II, pp.864-5, 897. See also Bean, op. cit., VI, p.486; pp.412-4.

a great consolation however in the knowledge that we are fighting for a principle.¹

"One thing that makes me happy is to know that I am doing my duty", another recent reinforcement stated, "If I was still in Australia I would be ashamed to live for I would be a disgrace to my parents and my country for the rest of my life."² A third man, then untested in a great battle, remembered a dead mate: "He died a glorious death, and if I should be taken the same way, don't be sad but be joyous and grateful to know that I obeyed the call and strove to do my duty as a man."³ In 1918 an infantryman recently transferred from the Army Service Corps wrote,

Dear Mother and Father,

Am leaving now to go over to the attack. If you receive this, I shall have been knocked out. Do not worry, but only think that I have tried to do my job as your son and an Englishman. I am not afraid.

Cheerho!

Your everloving Son,

George.⁴

¹ 398. Sgt. J.R. Gemmell, M.M., 7 F.A.B., Accountant, of Claremont, W.A. (b. Ireland) b.1887. (L), 31/1/17.

² 388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), -/3/17 see also (L), 3/3/17 quoted p.337.

³ 108. Pte. W.W. Barber, 36 Bn., Engineer, of Sydney, N.S.W. D.O.W. 23/10/17, aged 24. (L), 12/5/17.

⁴ 715. Lt. G. Simpson, 6 Bn., Farmer, of Mildura, Vic. (b. England) K.I.A. 23/8/18, aged 26. (L), 9/8/18
see also:

302. Davies, (53,4), (L), 6?/6/17 quoted pp.329-30;

425. Halewood, (371,1), (L), 21/4/18; a veteran, 149.
Betts, (33,1), (L), 23/5/17; pp.336-7.

He was killed on the Somme a fortnight later.

Most of these men were inexperienced in battle. Other newcomers, and most veterans, tended by 1917 to champion causes commensurate with the extent of their sacrifice: they battled to prevent future wars, or to ensure that their own land remained peaceful and free. Sergeant Elliott decided, "...the more the Germans get of France the closer they are getting to Australia, and this we are determined they will never do",¹ and a reinforcement asserted, "...if only the people of Australia saw what was once happy villages, now simply heaps of bricks and stones they would begin to realise what war means...I'm glad I'm here but don't expect to enjoy it."² An engineer told his wife,

...if my presence here means that you...[and our families] can live their lives in peace and fulfil their destiny, so do I gladly...forego for a time that happiness [I]...know will be [mine]...at some future period...

'Twas nothing more than this, not the example of others, not the excitement even that urged me in the face³ of opposition at first to take the step I did.

An Anzac wrote from hospital,

I'm sure you wouldn't...like to have to...say that sons or brothers wern't men enough to die

¹

341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 11/7/18

see also:

741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 7/5/17; Statement by Senator E.W. Mattner, 14 May 1968.

²

745. Templeton, (337,2), (L), 27/6/17.

³

992. Capt. R.B. Hinder, M.C., Mining Corps, Engineer, of Mosman, N.S.W. b.1891. (L), 19/9/16.

for all that Christianity stands for, for the Liberty we've always talked about and for the Country we live in and are proud of, and of the traditions of the English race for centuries back. I've been in the Valley of Death more than once and if I have to stop there next time or any time, I'd feel honoured to join the¹ company of Heroes who have already gone...

"...what are we fighting for?", a corporal asked,

Daily hundreds of the cream of our country and thousands of Allies are being killed, or... physical wrecks for life. Is the game worth the candle as the boys say. At times I fancy it is not, but as at other times realising that we must win or go under, agree with Lloyd George that we must win for the sake of the generations to come...the Germans in Belgium... have...shot...300 [citizens near Dinant]...To pillage, destroy and rape the women of a country is terrible but Good God the act committed above is the work of a devil, no human being could countenance such an atrocity...one cannot but preach the doctrine of fight to a finish. God knows what they would do if they became masters of the world. It shakes one's faith in the Almighty to think that such an awful crime against civilisation is permitted.²

"...when it is over, I hope we shall have achieved something for future generations. I would go through a lot of this to prevent...[my son] from ever having to go through it later",³ an infantryman wrote, and an officer demanded, "Why should...[we] make peace now - so that our

¹ 546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 21/8/17.

² 615. Morgan, (314,4), (D), 19/5/17.

³ 665. Lt. J.G.A. Pockley, 33 Bn., Agriculturalist, of Wahroonga, N.S.W. K.I.A. 30/3/18, aged 26. (L), 13/1/18.

children will have to do our work over again? We want to finish our work now".¹

The insistence of Australian soldiers upon the worth of their objectives had two main effects. Especially in 1916 and 1917, it gave purpose to their existence, above life and welfare, and even above going home: Sergeant Major Ellsworth remarked, "Naturally, I am longing to get Home again, & there is never a day or night passes but what my thoughts are of Home, & Home faces, but I hope to be able to see this business thro' before returning..."² And it ceaselessly reinforced their determination not merely to win, but to ensure Germany's utter defeat: "Even if the Germans want peace now, I don't think we should give it before we have got them absolutely smashed",³ Lieutenant W.G. Blaskett considered at Pozières, and in 1917 Lieutenant Alexander exclaimed,

How prominent in practically all the Allied countries of late have responsible persons being emphasising that the autocratic Government (of the Hoenzollerns and their similarly fiendish colaborators) must go. How the unfortunate double-faced arch-fiend must be shaking in his boots now!...the World is in agony through the action of one man...so

¹ 14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 15/9/18.

² 344. Ellsworth, (31,3), (L), 24/6/17

see also:

193. Brooks, (371,1), (L), 8/4/17; 254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 7/8/16.

³ 167. Blaskett, (271,2), (L), 15/8/16 see also (L), 19/12/16.

I think anyone might say "God help the poor Kaiser"!¹

Until 1916 Australians had derived their impressions about the Hun almost entirely from propaganda. They therefore knew less than most about him, and throughout the war they hated him with an intensity abnormal among front line troops. A corporal believed,

A nation whose deliberate policy assassinates law, murders human feelings and strangles with brutal hands the very promptings of Mercy...had to be punished by Someone with Higher Ideals. A Nation that makes slaves of men women and girls and houses them like cattle without regard to sex had the Devil for their leader...Her Kultur as exhibited, which violated women, stuck babies on bayonets and displayed them outside butchers shops, slew priests, purposely destroyed cathedrals etc., is the greatest sham of all²,

and even George Davies, the gentle clergyman, recorded,

...we passed by two dead Germans who were killed in the raid...dead Germans can be seen piled thick upon one another. Thus a nation is paying, in priceless souls, for its perfidity and infidelity.

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27. Alexander, (43,1), (L), 13/4/17

see also:

12. Adams, (364,4), (L), 22/12/16; 341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 10/8/18; 367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 29/7/18; 393. Gates, (106,1), (L), 17/10/18.

2

31. Allan, (303,1), (Notes)

Occasionally anti-German sentiment created practical difficulties: Australians decorating their English hospital for Christmas 1917 discovered pictures of King George printed in Germany, and were perplexed whether to burn the image of their King, or allow German paper to survive! 362. Fawcett, (41,3), (D), 24/12/17.

These...are the lads who were rendered soulless by military government...slain by the hand of a devil, who, to suit his own ends, would bring hundreds of souls into slavery and awful death.¹

"...the anniversary of Nurse Cavell's death. we sent gas over and at 7.30 p.m....made a successful raid on the German trench...Many of our men left cards with "Remember Nurse Cavell" on in the Hun trenches. We also sent gas over later",² a young New South Wales private related, and Corporal Antill, who had fought for employment and adventure until the Landing,³ asked an aunt in England,

How close did the air raid come to [you]?...it makes my blood boil to think of their dastardly deeds and I am very pleased to be able to say that I counted for a few more huns with my machine gun and...it leaves a great feeling of satisfaction⁴ behind when one sees them going over like nine pins.

"...we read in the paper that the Kaiser had told his troops not to take any more British troops and were to show no more mercy", Private Gallwey recalled, "We were nettled at this and decided to do the same. We had instructions to kill anything German. Nothing...was to be spared. They all had to die."⁵

¹ 302. Davies, (53,4), (D), pp.77-8 (-/5/17).

² 141. Bennett, (41,3), (D), 12/10/16.

³ See pp.30, 34, 98, 105.

⁴ 66. Antill, (30,2), (L), 20/6/17.

⁵ 388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17, p.246.

These instructions, if they existed, would not have come from senior officers, because prisoners were valuable. see also:

425. Halewood, (371,1), (L), 29/8/17; 472. Jack, (292,5), (L), 22/4/17.

Experience taught Australians that Germans sometimes could be humane, generous, and brave,¹ and incidents showed some that travail was universal in war. Lieutenant Chapman recalled of Fromelles,

...staggering through the gloom we saw a man - he came about 10 yds towards us, and then fell and started to crawl. I thought it was one of our own men so we went out to him. Poor beggar I have seen worse looking mess-ups but he was bad enough - his left eye was gone -...he was a mass of blood and looked as if he had been through a sausage machine. He pleaded something in German...it was hardly a plead - it was a moan, or a prayer - so I gave him my hand to hold and said as nicely as I could "All right old chap". He kept pushing towards the trench all the time and as it was rather awkward getting along on one hand and two knees while I held his other hand I let it go. Whereupon the poor mangled brute got up on his knee - put his hands together and started to pray! "Oh cruel - cruel" Gib² said when he saw the poor beggar...the thought struck me "How can men be so cruel"...and together we helped him along...I think the Germans must have imagined we were going to eat them when we get in their trench...³

Another officer observed,

It is very funny how one watching the effect of our guns on the German trenches, remarks 'good oh', as

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Australians admired the 27 (Württemberg) Div., which opposed them at First and Second Bullecourt, and the constant courage of the German Machine Gun Corps.

2

Capt. N. Gibbins, 55 Bn., Bank manager, of Ipswich, Qld. K.I.A. 20/7/16, aged 38. Gibbins was killed on the Australian parapet while commanding the 14 Bde.'s rearguard during the retirement at Fromelles. In happier circumstances the quality of his leadership might easily have won him a V.C.

3

254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 30/7/16.

their parapet & dugouts fly up in the air: one does not think till afterwards that some poor devils may be flying up with it, who are, just as anxious for the war to end as we are.¹

Accordingly a few Australians applied rules of fair play to fighting the Hun:

At Ypres salient one of C Comp 19th Batt. chaps every morning used to throw a tin of bully beef to a Hun on post duty 30 yds. away. One day the tin fell short wherupon relying on Australia's Sports jumped up to get it, when he was shot by another C's Men who was ignorant of the Bully beef episode. Everybody was chagrined to learn what had been done and lucky for the culprit he pleaded ignorance²,

and some were generous to a stricken enemy:

There are a whole lot of Germans buried in a cellar at Messines we heard them tapping and started to dig for them until they [the German artillery] started shelling like the devil we then dropped a message over their line by aeroplane telling him we were trying to release his men at Messines if he did not shell it however he must have thought we were pulling his foot for he continued to shell so that those poor³ beggars will just have to die of starvation etc.

Many treated prisoners kindly, sharing food, water, and tobacco with those they captured: and several risked their lives for their opponents. Private Antill was

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382. Fraser, (291,1), (L), 31/7/16
see also:

111. Barlow, (77,2), (L), 2/3/17; Harney, op. cit., p.12.

2

31. Allan, (303,1), (Notes)

3

444. Henderson, (160,5), (L), 13/6/17
see also:

12. Adams, (364,4), (L), 10/6/17; 21. Aitken, (101,2), (L), 28/7/16.

...dressing a wounded German who had been out in no man's land for 5 days and had 2 very nasty wounds...just alive with maggots. Well I had just finished leg wound and was goin to have a go at the back when a shrapnel shell burst over me and one of the bullets entered the right side of my back...¹

But usually Australians defeated the enemy's infantry too easily to respect it, and their own trials were too great and too frequent for most to show compassion to Germans. They remained convinced that Huns were evil, and believed that brave Germans were also misguided sinners.² Some of the men cited above detested their foe,³ and most A.I.F. soldiers hated him vehemently. In 1917 Private Gallwey described a tour of the old Mouquet Farm battlefield:

One dugout had the entrance blown in and a Fritz who was just coming out was pinned down. He could not have been killed but was unable to extricate himself. Circumstances showed that he had lain there and starved to death. He had been there eight months...further on there was a shell hole full of white bones...a shrapnel shell...had got [about a dozen men]...There was one boot found full of foot. An arm was found with only a couple of fingers on the hand. As it was a German soldier recognisable by the uniform and leggings we had a hearty laugh over it. I do not care how many Huns are lying about...We looked in his skull for gold teeth as souvenirs...[and] left him lie there.⁴

¹

66. Antill, (30,2), (L), 10/8/16.

²

For example, 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 4/8/16.

³

31. Allan, (303,1), (L), 16/4/17 and (Notes); 66. Antill, (30,2), (L), 20/6/17 quoted p.390; 254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 31/7/16.

⁴

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17, p.85.

After Messines he reported,

In one trench I saw three or four Germans pinned in. The side of the trench had closed in pinning them as they stood. The tops of their heads were blown off with machine guns. It was a horrible sight. Blood and brains had trickled down their faces and dried...I was filled with delight to see so many Huns killed and could not help laughing.¹

Their hatred of the enemy and their belief in the necessity of their task were the only important original incentives which survived in Australians throughout the war. Yet in 1918 they were still thrusting and successful in battle, partly because they valued the reputation they had won under the sway of the early incentives. Their prestige affirmed their proficiency as soldiers, encouraged their belief that they could contribute to victory, and protected the good name of their units.² Perhaps above all, because the world still honoured martial capacity as it had before 1914, the ability of the Australians gave them common ground with civilians, and earned them the respect of other soldiers. Since the Landing the stirring deeds of men from a land so slight and distant had caught the romantic enthusiasm of the English press: 'Anzac' conveyed impressions of almost legendary fighters, dashing and gallant, far from their

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388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17, p.263. Gallwey's attitude would no doubt have repelled many Australians, but 53 (22.7%) of veterans asked in 1967 or 1968 still retained their dislike for Germans.

See also Bean, op. cit., III, pp.117-8; pp.444-7.

2

This had become very important. See pp.398-401.

homes, and almost invariably triumphant in war.¹ Praise came from other sources also, and men from the new nation reacted proudly. After Polygon Wood a British general told troops of the Fifth Division, "You men have done very well here" "Oh", a man replied, "Only as well as opportunity and ability would allow." "Very well put young man very well put indeed," beamed the general, "but you have undoubtedly the best troops in the world."² After March 1918 the capacity of Australians as first class storm troops was everywhere recognised: the British staff so employed them,³ and they thought this an honour. Captain Mitchell recalled that at Dernancourt, "The men we relieved were Ninth Royal Scots, and K.O.S.B.'s."⁴ They asked "Who are you?" We told them "Forty Eighth Australians." "Thank God" they said "you will hold him."⁵ Major Adcock, a tunnelling officer, stated, "In the retreat I passed some heavy guns being drawn out by tractors. The Major in command asked "What troops are you?" When I replied "Australians," he said "Thank God! My guns are safe."⁶

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See also n.1, p.362.

2

706. Sheppard, (91,2), (D), 26/9/17

see also:

67. Appleton, (272,2), (L), 27/6/16 quoted p.272.

3

Bean, op. cit., V, pp.676-9.

4

King's Own Scottish Borderers, from the British 9 Div.

5

607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 27/3/18.

6

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 14/4/18 see also (L), 5/8/18
see also:

341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 2/8/18; 825. Otto, (375,1),
(L), 25/4/18; Bean, op. cit., V, pp.159, 673-5; VI,
pp.59-60, 367.

French refugees stopped their flight from the Hun when they recognized Australians, even in areas in which the A.I.F. had never been billeted, and, turning back with them, joyfully re-entered their homes convinced that these tall, cheerful strangers of formidable reputation would halt the foe. 'Fini retreat mate,' the Australians assured them. 'Bons Australiens,' the French tearfully replied, 'Soldats terribles et formidables.'¹

Even the Germans respected them. Many considered colonials the best British soldiers,² and troops placed against the Australians came to fear the encounter. At Polygon Wood a signaller reported, "The German prisoners say they do not like being on a front opposite Australians even if not attacking we always manage to make a quiet sector lively."³ Germans captured in June 1918 by the 11th Battalion at Merris "were told they were going to a 'quiet' sector and only needed 'to keep their heads down.' One man on realising who we were exclaimed 'Quiet Sector!

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From, 367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 7/4/18; 840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), XIII, p.5 (25/4/18); Bean, op. cit., V, pp.177, 675; Mitchell, op. cit., p.238; Williams, op. cit., p.243.

Yet probably Australians were more willing than most to scavenge French villages, and more adept at it. Sometimes they sought souvenirs, sometimes necessary goods, sometimes they looted. See, 704. Serjeant, (330,2), (L), 6/5/18; 793. Zimmer, (281,3), (L), 8/4/18; Bean, op. cit., V, pp.190, 525, 531; Rule, op. cit., pp.152, 271-4.

2

For examples, in Bean, op. cit., III, pp.443n., 929n.; IV, p.542; V, pp.417, 675-6; VI, pp.722, 1047; v. Hindenburg, P.: Out of My Life (Cassell and Co., London, 1920), p.330.

3

706. Sheppard, (91,2), (D), 26/9/17.

Mein Gott!"¹ A German battalion order captured at Mont St. Quentin stated,

'Forces confronting us consist of Australians who are very war-like, clever and daring. They understand the art of crawling through high crops in order to capture our advanced posts. The enemy is also adept in conceiving and putting into execution important patrolling operations. The enemy infantry has daily proved themselves to be audacious.'²

General Monash, realizing the importance of their reputation to his men, fostered it carefully, and used it to encourage their aggression during 1918. He told Bean in August that "he was ceasing to appeal to the Australians on the ground of patriotism...or public interest. The appeal which he was going to make, and was making, to them on grounds of prestige."³ His message was that his

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397. Gemmell, (349,3), (L), 8/6/18.

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In 852. Brewer, (369,1), (Notes)

See also Bean, op. cit., V, pp.417-8, 675-6; Cutlack, F.M.: The Australians: Their Final Campaign, 1918, p.197; n.1, p.347. After the war German ex-servicemen told Lt.Col. E. Campbell, D.S.O. (12 Army F.A.B., Law clerk, of Young, N.S.W. b.1893) that Australians were the best storm troops in the world. Statement to writer, October 1967. Although some observers showed a preference for one colonial force or another, most, I think rightly, ranked Australians, Canadians, and New Zealanders about equal. See evidence cited in this note and n.2, p.396.

Praise of Australians from many sources between 1916 and 1918 is in Gammage, op. cit., pp.1, 7, 51, 83, 87, 90-1, 96, 108, 142, 161, 165, 169-72, 174-6, 188, 192-9.

3

Bean, op. cit., VI, p.876

see also:

953. Pte. J.P. Scott, 45 Bn. & A.I.F. H.Q., Accountant, of England. b.1886. (L), 5/11/18

Aust. Corps News Sheets (issued by Corps H.Q.), for example, No.7 (October 1918); W.M. Hughes in Kia Ora Coo-ee News (troop paper), 25 September 1918; Cutlack, op. cit., pp.267-8 (11/9/18); Scott, op. cit., XI, p.461.

men could attempt anything, and had only to equal their past glories to sweep all before them.

His men agreed. During the German offensive a Third Division officer wrote,

Some of the English divisions had been badly broken and we passed a number of derelicts all of whom regarded us with a sort of unwilling admiration, as men going up to do the impossible ...It makes one feel proud to be an Australian to see our boys after all this, pass through a village singing. They are magnificent and wherever they go they inspire confidence, both in the Tommies and the French civilians.¹

"There may be debacles in other armies," Lieutenant Mitchell decided during those dark days, "but the A.I.F. will fight till the bitter end",² and after three good German divisions had forced the partial withdrawal of two Australian battalions at Dernancourt in April 1918³ he recorded, "The world had fallen. The Australian line had been broken. Not even pride was left. Tears of grief ran down my face."⁴

Although the prestige of their Corps was always important to them, in time most Australians concerned

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358. Fairweather, (281,3), (L), 4/4/18.

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607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 2/6/18 see also (D), 8/8/18 see also, for example:
615. Morgan, (314,4), (D), 13/4/18; 840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), XII, pp.40-1 (24/3/18); 976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 20/4/18; Mann, op. cit., p.145; Mitchell, op. cit., p.168.

3

This was the only occasion on which an Australian defence in France gave up ground. See Bean, op. cit., V, pp.368-407.

4

Mitchell, op. cit., p.202.

themselves chiefly with the reputation of their units. In Egypt men had resented their transfer from Gallipoli battalions to 'daughter' formations,¹ and years of battle strengthened their affection, until a man's unit was the centre of his existence. In 1918, after six weeks with his unit, a new arrival exclaimed, "It is surprising how soon one becomes linked to his Unit & already I have arrived at that stage when I think the 6th is the only Battn."² Veterans felt much stronger attachments: "Back again with the old Battalion and I can tell you I am just glad to be settled down again with them", Corporal Antill wrote after a sojourn in England, adding, "...I hardly know any of them here at all for they are all new to me."³ He had come back, not to the company of his friends, for they lay at Pozières, but to the security of home. Late in 1916 Archie Barwick stated that his battalion,

...has a fine name & record & we are taught to live up to it...many hard & difficult jobs are given to you simply because of your record, & we are then in honour bound to make a success of it or perish in the attempt. this sort of spirit is beginning to make its appearance in the Battalions of the 1st. Division, & they are struggling one against the other to show the finest performances.⁴

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See p.221.

2

367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 8/2/18

see also:

759. Pte. A.C. Traill, 1 Bn., Pastoralist, of Cassilis, N.S.W. K.I.A. 26/5/18, aged 30. (L), 16/5/18

179. Boyce, (338,2), (L), 18/2/18; Rule, op. cit., pp.259, 265 (-/4/18); Williams, Comrades of the Great Adventure, p.290.

3

66. Antill, (30,2), (L), 8/5/17.

4

840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), VI, pp.29-30 (10/10/16).

Annual dinners quickly became a tradition,¹ and by August 1917 H.R. Williams could declare,

To every Australian soldier, his company, his battalion, was his home. Here lived our truest and most trusted companions, brothers who would share their last franc or crust with each other, bound together till victory or death. Home and civilian associates were only misty memories...²

Men made traditions, and when they died their memory survived in the prestige of their units, so that to disgrace one was to shame the other.

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55. Anderson, (111,2), (D), 8/5/18; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 3/3/18.

2

Williams, The Gallant Company, p.146.

In July 1916 a young machine gunner noted of the Australian soldier, "To the world he appears a dare devil careless equally of the law or the enemy but to those who have fought with him and observed him in many a weary hour he is great big child with a heart of gold and a sympathy & gentleness of a woman. These traits never come out unless in a time of stress when the cloak...is drawn aside..." 631. Mouldsdale, (80,1), (L), 20/7/16. Perhaps the strong affection Australians felt for their mates and their units best demonstrated this observation.

see also:

110. Lt. A.E.D. Barlow, 6 F.A.B., Surveyor, of Sydney, N.S.W. K.I.A. 28/5/17, aged 31. (L), 16/4/17
 288. Sgt. V. Cross, M.M., 49 Bn., Grocer and farmer, of Mary's Creek, Qld. Rep.T.A. 27/8/17, aged 23. (D), 5/4/17
 55. Anderson, (111,2), (D), 28/12/17; 73. Armitage, (78,1), (D), 30/9/16; 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 12/9/17; 443. Henderson, (35,3), (L), 23/3/17; 518. MacDonald, (375,1), (L), 20/9/17; 583. McLarty, (115,1), (L), 16 and 30/9/17; 712. Simon, (320,2), (L), 13/2/17; 785. Worrall, (111,1), (L), 6/12/16 quoted p.374 ; 965. Wright, (362,2), (D), 20/2/17.

For this reason, in September and October 1918, officers and men of eight battalions refused orders to disband. They claimed to prefer any penalty to the sacrifice of their battalion's honour, and requested a difficult battle assignment in which they might win death or glory, in either event thereby averting the detested action. They treated the affair as an industrial dispute rather than as a mutiny, electing leaders, maintaining discipline and propriety, and surviving on the sympathy and support of other units. Seven battalions won brief stays of execution, and none was punished.¹

The strikes manifested a profound change in the loyalties of Australian soldiers. The early incentives of hatred and duty which Australians still felt in 1918 explained why the war must continue, but, even though Australians never abandoned the objectives of their side, the cause for which they fought had become an onerous obligation. Instead they were inspired by the wish to maintain their own reputations.

In thus seeking the esteem of men, Australian soldiers remained to a degree responsive to their civilian backgrounds. But they knew another world, in which the cause of their fighting was less important than the manner of their daily lives. From long experience in a cruel war they derived a new outlook, which confirmed the worth of their old attitudes towards mateship and discipline, but

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Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.937-40; Williams, Comrades of the Great Adventure, pp.290-1.

In April and May 1918 the disbandment of three battalions had been resented, but not resisted. Bean, op. cit., V, pp.658-60.

which included a host of new values. Before the fighting ended they regulated their course by processes alien to civilians, and adopted standards which later set them apart from those who had not fought in the war.

...Brotherhood and Sacrifice

...the two captains, myself, and the two gravediggers stood bareheaded in the driving rain and listened to the great words of Saint Paul concerning immortality...Fifty yards away one of our men was sentry over a dump. He and Hall had been boys together in Castlemaine and in the same class at school. The gravediggers...filled in the soil and we returned to our duties. The sentry searched for some timber and made a rude cross, on which he scribbled his dead mates name and number and stuck it up at the end of the mound.

C.S.M. A.A. Brunton, 57th Battalion, January 1917.

Early¹ in 1919 two Australian lieutenants stood in a line of men at Buckingham Palace, waiting to meet the King. The King had been delayed, and the two Australians were restless. "George is late on parade," one announced, "we'll have to 'crime' him." He was Joe Maxwell,² come to receive the Victoria Cross. His mate was E.W. Mattner,³ and after the King had given him his third decoration for bravery in the field, the two chatted for a few minutes, while the King recalled his visit to Australia. In a busy Palace routine a discussion of that length was unusual, and when Lieutenant Mattner left the King the Lord Chamberlain, heading a clutch of titled officials, pressed him with, "What did he say? What did he say?" "Well," the young officer told them, "he said, 'I'm sick of this turnout. Let's go down to the corner pub and have a couple of beers'." The Lord Chamberlain, shocked and mortified, 'dressed him down.'⁴

The divergence between English and Australian attitudes to discipline and authority survived the war.⁵ The Australian veteran in 1918 was not the intractable

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The content of this chapter is outlined on p.360, n.1.

2

Lt. J. Maxwell, V.C., M.C., D.C.M., 18 Bn., Boilermaker's apprentice, of Marrickville, N.S.W. b.1896.

3

Lt. E.W. Mattner, M.C., D.C.M., M.M., 6 F.A.B., Teacher, of Adelaide, S.A. b.1894.

4

Statement by Senator Mattner, 14 May 1968.

5

Australian attitudes to discipline are also discussed on pp.71-5, 82-96, 124, 148-52, 171-3, 190, 225-30, 255-7, 295-6, 346-9.

individualist of 1915: he was less openly defiant, and he had learnt to tolerate many procedures and formalities germane to a military system.¹ But years in the military had strengthened his contempt for army regulation, and at the end of the war he asserted his independence with practiced guile and unrelaxed persistence.

The A.I.F., accordingly, was barraged by criticism and burdened by disabilities. "I hope to see London soon, but the Australians have not a good reputation and our officers do not like giving us much leave..."², one of the first Australians to reach France noted on arrival, and a year later an old soldier reported,

The Australians have a very bad name in England now, and we get accused of some very terrible things at times...recently [an English sergeant] ...pulled a revolver and shot[an]other, who subsequently died: at the Court Martial...the accused..., asked why he was carrying a revolver ..., replied "to protect myself against the Australians."³

General Hobbs,⁴ an Englishman then commanding the First Division's artillery, told his unit commanders in May 1916 that he was "bitterly disappointed" in his efforts to make his men soldiers: their dress was slovenly, their march discipline atrocious, their failure to salute already

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Bean, op. cit., VI, p.5.

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443. Henderson, (35,3), (L), 28/3/16.

3

344. Ellsworth, (31,3), (L), 24/2/17.

4

Lt.Gen. Sir J.J. Talbot Hobbs, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., V.D. Commanded 1 Div.Arty. 1914-17, 5 Div. 1917-18, Aust.Corps 1918-19. b.1864.

a byword.¹ Similar criticism, from Haig, from Army commanders, and from senior A.I.F. officers continued until the Australians quit the Old World: usually the authorities reprimanded slackness in saluting, assaults on police, absence without leave, and untidy dress.² In short, they considered, Australians needed more polish, and less spit.

Many freely confessed it, for their offences arose from convictions they held strongly. They considered themselves "incorrigibly civilian",³ fighters, not soldiers,⁴ volunteers for a job, not subjects to a medley of archaic impositions. Out of the line they held themselves masters of their fortunes, and treated leave restrictions and military police as unjust and degrading impediments to the exercise of natural rights. By late 1915 Corporal Mitchell, in England with enteric, was well enough to bait the military police patrolling his hospital. He recorded in mid October,

Towards evening we strolled out of bounds. A military policeman arrived and peremptorily ordered us back. We reclined comfortably and

1

Circular to 1 Div.Arty. unit C.O.'s, 13 May 1916, in Australian War Memorial File No.265/2.

2

Australian War Memorial: Various letters etc., dated between 22 July 1916 and 24 January 1919, in File Nos 233/1, 233/6, 265/2-3; Bean, op. cit., V, pp.26-32; Blake, R.: The Private Papers of Sir Douglas Haig, pp.266, 290, 291.

3

Bean, op. cit., VI, p.5. See also *ibid.*, I, p.127.

4

Harney, op. cit., p.8; Henderson, op. cit., p.87; 'Tiveychoc', op. cit., p.115 (2/6/16).

just looked at him. He seemed astonished by this procedure and climbed down. We then explained that we had been anxious for his company and so had waited for him. So we accompanied him back to the building. It is really marvellous the way in which the tommies respect these M.P.s.¹

A month later he noted, "Met several of our boys trailing for the gore of an uppish M.P. About eleven separate chaps are trying to pick a fight with him. But he is not having any."²

The police hoped to enforce leave restrictions, which Corporal Mitchell evaded whenever he could. On 16 November he confided, "I wrote a letter to myself asking me and Lane out to tea on Wednesday. Put it into the ward office with a request for a pass. I will either get the pass or get clink." Next day he remarked, "Got the pass."³ He repeated the manoeuvre several times, but tended more and more to ignore both the restrictions and their enforcers, and between 26 November and 31 December he broke hospital bounds 20 times. Sometimes he had to bluff police:

All went well until we saw a military policeman silhouetted against the light of a lamp. "Look important" I whispered "We're officers." So we stuck our chests out, and cut an attitude as if we were in love with ourselves,...[and] marched straight on. The M.P. clicked his heels together and saluted, we returned it casually, and made our ward without any further event⁴,

¹ 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 19/10/15.

² Ibid., (D), 12/11/15.

³ Ibid., (D), 16 and 17/11/15.

⁴ Ibid., (D), 31/12/15.

and occasionally he was caught and sentenced, but nothing deterred him. In April 1916, at Monte Video camp, he "Dodged church parade but the military police made a round up and marched the absentees up to the orderly room. When no one was looking I walked off." He was re-arrested the following day, and sentenced to seven days confined to barracks: he ignored the sentence, any by June had decided, "Now I never apply for a pass, but go out without one. This enables me to return at just whatever time suits me."¹ Despite intermittent arrests, this became his practice until he sailed for France.²

Many in the A.I.F. shared Mitchell's convictions, and so swelled British crime sheets. Almost every Australian soldier in France must at some time have gone absent from his billet to visit another camp or a farm, or to drink 'vin blanc' or 'vin rouge' at a nearby estaminet. Many did so habitually, and officers cheerfully accepted and even defended their absence.³ After the Armistice a man who had taken four days off to visit Brussels encountered a problem as he made ready to return:

They wouldn't sell a [train] ticket unless a pass was shown at the Booking office. I went up behind

1

607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 30/4 and 13/6/16.

2

For this and the preceding paragraph, *ibid.*, (D), between 19/10/15 and 30/7/16.

3

For this paragraph thus far, *ibid.*, (D), 10/9 and 11/10/16, 1/2 and 13/6/17; 262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 24/2 and 14/3/18; Statement by Senator Mattner, 14 May 1968; Rule, *op. cit.*, p.188.

a chap who had a pass and as he was getting his ticket...I said make it two he handed them over Saying, pass please. I grabbed mine and flew.¹

Australians thought many military conventions objectionable. An officer reported of a Court Martial,

A Corporal is charged with striking a Sergeant. No doubt he is technically guilty, but since I have seen the Sgt. I feel that the Corporal would have failed his manhood had he not 'donged' him. He will probably get off.

He did,² despite the law. Some men dodged compulsory church parades on principle,³ and avoided other parades that were equally useless: in 1917 Lance Corporal Mitchell dodged the march past that honoured his D.C.M.,⁴ and as a lieutenant in 1918 reported that he and fellow officers "had to attend a lecture on "The law, and why we obey it." Consequently we were bored for an hour. We don't always obey it."⁵ "We are always getting discipline into us it goes in one ear and out the other,"⁶

¹ 262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 19/2/19.

² 14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), c.1/6/16.

³ 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 18/3/17.

⁴ Ibid., (D), 12/5/17.

⁵ Ibid., (D), 9/3/18.

⁶ 332. Earle, (292,5), (L), 17/9/16.

another soldier remarked, and a singular example of the divergent English and Australian attitudes to discipline occurred in 1918, when a man of the 2nd Battalion

...indicated a Tommy in the lines of the next camp tied to a wooden cross... Everybody crowded around and started asking questions, it transpired the poor devil had abused a Lance Corporal and had to do 2 hours morning and afternoon for his trouble. Poor devil, a private in the Imperial Labour Corp Coy., somebody suggested cutting him free, the suggestion was no sooner made than carried out, poor beggar kept saying "Don't cut me free chum, I'll only get more," the raiders assured him he would not

get any more while they were around. Having destroyed the cross, pelted the officers Huts with bricks and jam tins and named them for a lot of Prussian b---- the raiders returned to our line. Next morning the Col[onel] read out on parade "with a smile and his tongue in his cheek" that he had received a complaint...and that any man...who entered those lines would be crimed. No one was crimed, and the Tommy next door was not tied up again...a couple of days later, he had not even then recovered from the shock and was living in fear and trembling that the Iron hand of English Army discipline would fall on him again.¹

Because Australians would not surrender cherished prerogatives to army supervision, they detested military police. A former architect observed, "Its a pity the Military police are not sent...to do a bit of fighting instead of loafing about...Low malingerers thats all they are, & a change to the Infantry would do them good anyway it would get rid of a rotten lot of fellows."² During the German offensive an Australian private was scavenging through a deserted village on the Somme when "A Tommy M.P. reckoned I was looting and tried to arrest me, but my mates knocked him out while I departed with

1

615. Morgan, (314,4), (D), 1/4/18.

2

976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 11/2/17

On 11 July 1917 Sportsman (1 Bn. trench paper) p.5, printed the following:

Little trips to Amiens,
 Little drops of vin,
 Makes the gallant Anzacs
 Think the war they'll win.
 Big fat Tommy Redcaps
 Pinches them galore
 Lands 'em in the Peter
 "Strafe the ruddy war."

the swag."¹ Perhaps to many Australians this was reasonable, because the victim was a military policeman, and no doubt the same attitude justified a riot in England:

...a redcap...saw a Canadian coming out of the rear of a pub with a bag on his shoulder and concluded that the man had beer. As a matter of fact he had a pair of boots and this started a brawl. Finally the man was clinked and also an Ausie was put in our clink over the same matter. Then to fix matters the village was put out of bounds. In the evening mobs from Canadian NZ & Ausie camps met and decided to get the boys out who had been unfairly put in...pretty soon the Ausie was released...[and] the Canadian clink...cleared. On the way back they passed the Canadian canteen...[and] rolled 11 barrels of beer out onto the road and wrecked the dry canteen taking everything in it. They were drinking beer out of fire buckets and anything they could get hold of. They also smashed up the furniture and took the legs of chairs for weapons...[and] made for the village where they made a raid on the pub. After that they chased some military police thro' a cafe & then...cleared the [N.Z.] clink... and sacked the [N.Z.] canteen rolling out more barrels of beer...we were given rifles and marched down as quickly as possible... they picked up rocks and anything else handy. We ...pretty soon scattered them...I...with most of the others had a feeling of sympathy towards them but when it come to a fight we were obliged to stick up for ourselves.²

The A.I.F. was noted for one other impropriety. In billets near Armentières Sergeant Barwick recorded, "our platoon has to do a weeks punishment, on account of the

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793. Zimmer, (281,3), (L), 8/4/18.

2

768. Sgr. N.V. Wallace, 48 Bn., Clerk, of Naracoorte, S.A. b.1897. (L), 15/10/17

see also:

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 5/5/19.

many crimes we have to our credit no less than 22 during the week the boys have been having a royal time alright nearly all drunks & stopping away from roll-calls,"¹ and at Vignacourt during the 1916 winter Sergeant de Vine wrote,

During the long wait many men wandered into the village where they obtained plenty of rum...many returned horribly drunk, about half the Bn must have been affected. When the train was about to leave a strong picquet entered the village to gather up the drunks those not capable of walking were wheeled on to the parade ground in hand carts & tossed out on top of one another like sacks...²

Possibly the reputation of their countrymen or the prospect of fun encouraged some Australians to take part in these diversions,³ but usually men defended riots, drunkenness and the like by arguing that they had enlisted to fight, which they did well, without requiring the mindless supervision of the parade ground.⁴

The critics answered by condemning Australian discipline in or near the line. 182 Fourth Army men were sentenced for absence without leave in December 1916; 130

¹ 840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), III, p.4 (12/5/16).

² 308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 1/12/16

see also:

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 27/8/16; 741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 20/10/16.

³ One noted proudly that only three places were within bounds to the A.I.F.: the line, the orderly room, and the clink. 997. Roberts, (362,2), (D), 6/9/18 and (Notes)

⁴ 367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 10/3/18; Wigmore, L.: They Dared Mightily, p.71.

were Australians. 43 prisoners escaped from Fifth Army police in February 1917; 30 were Australians. Of 677 British soldiers convicted of desertion during the first six months of 1917 (an average of 8.87 men per division), 171 were Australians (34.2 per division). Early in 1917 three Australian divisions recorded roughly 12 times the number of absence without leave convictions proved against the 22 other divisions in their (Third) Army. In March 1918 9 Australians per thousand were in field prisons, in every other British or colonial force there were less than 2 per thousand.¹

Although some in the A.I.F., including several senior officers, would have preferred to subject the force to sterner discipline,² most saw that none of the figures described desertion to the enemy, cowardice, or dereliction of duty in the face of the enemy; and these aspects of Australian discipline have never been criticized. Many of the men convicted of desertion had no intention of avoiding duty in the line: for example, it was claimed that two Australians sentenced in 1917 to ten years imprisonment for desertion had gone into a nearby town, bought a few towels, and were caught when they knocked over a garbage can as they arrived back at their camp;³ and a sergeant

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These figures are in Bean, op. cit., V, pp.26-30; Blake, op. cit., p.291.

see also:

654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), -/12/18; Australian War Memorial File Nos 233/1, 233/6.

2

302. Davies, (53,4), (D), p.22 (-/11/16); 367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 4/10/17; Bean, op. cit., V, pp.26-8.

3

13. Adams, (313,2), (D), 28/10/17.

told his father that a brother was in "clink" for "taking a bit of a holiday without permission."¹ A few Australians in the back areas went absent to avoid duty in the line, and the number of offenders did rise after such severe experiences as at Pozieres, at First Bullecourt (among the Fourth Division),² and in 1918,³ but nonetheless the rate of Australian indiscipline might be explained simply by their endemic disrespect for military law when out of the line. Probably the truth cannot be determined, but if the A.I.F. did contain more shirkers than other units, the absence of the death penalty, the general difficulty in punishing persistent offenders,⁴ an unusually high proportion of front line troops,⁵ and abnormally protracted 'tours' in the line might explain this.

Australian success in battle was largely attributable to that same unrelenting independence which so regularly offended law and authority. None could doubt George Mitchell's quality, and by 1918 the best Australian soldier was "...one who can keep himself out of clink by

¹ 704. Serjeant, (330,2), (L), 6/5/18.

² Between January and June 1917, 60% of Australians convicted of desertion were from 4 Div. (Australian War Memorial File No.233/1) which had been obliged to accept most of 1 and 2 Divs. rejects in Egypt. (Bean, op. cit., V, p.27).

² Ibid., VI, pp.486-7.

³ Since the A.I.F., alone among armies, had no death penalty, perhaps its most severe penalty after Pozieres was to be returned to the line.

⁴ Statistics in any force were based on its total number of men.

the force of imagination, and the spoken word. He can do his drill well when he wants to; and when the time comes he can fight hard, and if necessary, die hard."¹ Few critics, if any, attacked the A.I.F.'s discipline in action,² and many defended Australians by claiming their battle discipline to be well above average, even unequalled, and the cause for their success. An English artillery officer greeting Australian infantry during the dangerous days of the German offensive succinctly stated the Australian defence. "We feel quite safe with you fellows on our flanks", he said, "I suppose we shall lose a few horses but its worth it."³ In combat men could depend even on those Australians at other times prone to disorder, for, like George Mitchell, many in the A.I.F. won promotion in the line and demotion out of it. "I am well on my way for stripes now," an infantry private announced in mid 1917,

I could have had them long ago only for the red lines in my book for overstaying leave that 21

1

Matthews, H.: Saints and Soldiers, p.22.

2

Some, judging from Australian achievement in battle, thought their parade ground discipline improved between 1915 and 1918, a notion which Bean has effectively discounted. Op. cit., I, p.viii; VI, pp.5, 1083.

3

962. White, (333,1), (D), 26/4/18

see also:

Bean, Anzac to Amiens, p.287; Bourke, J.P. (ed.): The Australian soldier as others see him, p.27; Gibbs, P.: Realities of War, pp.244, 291; Northcliffe, Lord: At the War, p.81; O'Ryan, J.F.: The Story of the 27th Division (United States Army) (Crawford Co., New York. 1921), Vol. II, pp.339-40; Reveille (Journal of N.S.W. Branch, R.S.L.), May 1940, p.4.

days and Breaking ship in Durban and Capetown... all the Head[s] think I am just it. I have been in all their raids and out over the top every night. any information the want about Fritz's trenches or wire I am on the job...¹

A machine gun officer commented,

Our boys are tricks. They growl like fun when we are in a nice little town if they have to do a bit of extra work and when they get to a place like this [the winter trenches] they make a joke of anything. We never crime men in our company if they play up a bit when we are out of the trenches and they remember it when we get into a rough place. They are always there when they are wanted.²

It was true. The much maligned Fourth Division included some of the finest battalions in the A.I.F.,³ and only soldiers highly disciplined in battle could have persisted at Pozières or Bullecourt, or defended Villers-Bretonneux, or initiated 'peaceful penetration', or captured Mont St. Quentin.

Almost every Australian resented inequality, agreeing with the sergeant in charge of a fatigue party who "didn't have to work, but hopped in and dug a good bit. Its jolly

¹

116. Sgt. H. Barr, M.M., 44 Bn., Seaman, of Fremantle, W.A. (b. Ireland) K.I.A. 13/10/17, aged 30. (L), 11/7/17.

²

233. Campbell, (73,1), (L), 8/11/16
see also:

745. Templeton, (337,2), (L), 20/6/17; Bean, Official History..., III, p.554.

³

Ibid., IV, pp.281, 293-4, 307. 4 Div. had more country men in its ranks than did the other divs. (ibid., III, p.706; IV, p.281), and there seems to be much truth in Bean's belief that country men made the best fighting soldiers.

fine exercise and...Besides, the boys think a lot, if you just stand and look on"¹, and few ever entirely approved of the system of officers.² They realized that officers must exist, but they did not welcome the distinctions accorded their leaders. Officers had batmen and sometimes horses, officially did no physical work, were usually free from military police and restrictions on leave, and on higher pay³ messed a little better out of the line. Some expected more than these privileges, and demanded the salute, conformity to law, and high standards of dress and drill. Unless they were proven in battle, these were the A.I.F.'s least effective leaders, because they tended to substitute formal authority for strength of personality, and often they found life hard. Many had to endure insubordination and non-cooperation, and a few were 'sandbagged' or 'bottle-oed', or worse. Not long after Pozières a party of infantrymen digging a trench were approached by an engineer officer who

...growled at us for not doing enough. We felt pretty mad, and I took a handful of clay and hit him in the back with it as he was leaving. Being a bouncing bully he was also a coward and he cleared off without a word, fearing worse treatment, for our rifles were handy, and a shot more or less is never⁴ noticed among the incessant firing during darkness,

¹ 167. Blaskett, (271,2), (L), 8/5/16.

² Bean, op. cit., I, p.48.

³ After embarkation an A.I.F. private was paid 6/- per day, a sergeant 10/6, a lieutenant 17/6, a major 30/-. The discrepancies were far less than in the British Army.

⁴ 978. Brunton, (81,1), (D), 6/9/16 see also (D), 22?/11/16.

and Corporal Thomas, called as a witness at a court martial, wrote, "Our man reprieved...and is upon another charge. Strange the plaintiffs have been both shot in action."¹

This was a practical deterrent to officiousness, but most A.I.F. officers and men scorned authoritarian behaviour anyway, and mocked it in English units. A corporal commented,

Discipline by some persons is believed to consist of breaking a mans natural spirit under continuous and rigorous drill varied with punishment for the slightest failure to obey. To get proper discipline one must first inspire his men with love for their work and pride for the Service; get the right spirit into them as humans and not as automatons. Give orders if you will when necessary but give the reason for such orders and your men will carry them out with twice the understanding,² 20 times the energy and 100 times the success.

After Fromelles an artillery officer complained bitterly of English officers:

They're only a b---- lot of Pommie Jackeroos and just as hopeless. All they think of is their dress and their mess. The heads only see the Front line when its quiet...most of them are crawlers or favourites of some toff or other in England. They have to be saved and the common men do the job and suffer and these crawling -----s get the honour and glory.³

1

748. Thomas, (276,1), (D), 22/11/16
see also:

760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 3/10/18.

2

31. Allan, (303,1), (Notes)
see also:

Bean, C.E.W.: In Your Hands, Australians, pp.48-9, 79-80;
Mann, op. cit., pp.31-2.

3

654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 20/7/16 see also (L), 19/7 and 26/8/16. See also Mann, op. cit., p.7.

Early in 1917 a Second Division N.C.O. recalled,

We were listening to...[an English Sergeant-Major] drilling a squad one day, and if he were to use the same expressions to our coves as he did to those Tommies, there would a vacancy for a SM very soon...One of the 6th Bde Colonels...bought up an orange stall and gave the fruit to his boys, and the Tommies got the shock of their lives. One little cove said "He's a Colonel too."... Even their corporals do not mix with the privates, and again, sergeants do not walk out with corporals.¹

Inequality had obvious practical disadvantages. At First Villers-Bretonneux a Victorian officer confided,

All the newspaper talk about heroic British Divisions is mostly rot. All that we saw had "the wind up" absolutely and were ready to run at sight of the Boche. Its a disgraceful thing to have to admit but its a fact...One crowd [of Tommies] broke again today and one of our brigades had to restore the line. Its not the men's fault, its that of the Tommy officer. They seem to lack

1

136. Lt. G.S. Bell, 6 Fld.Amb., Clerk, of Melbourne, Vic. (b. Scotland) b.1890. (L), 15/2/17

Two English examples support the point:

In Manning, F.: Her Privates We, the central character, an English private, is on unusually informal terms with his officers and N.C.O.'s (Introduction, p.10), yet this degree of formality did not exist in the A.I.F. Frank Richards, a professional soldier in the Welch Fusiliers, wrote in Old Soldiers Never Die that at Polygon Wood, "The Brigadier-General of the Australians...had arrived [before us]...It was the only time during the whole of the War that I saw a brigadier with the first line of attacking troops. Some brigadiers that I knew never moved from Brigade Headquarters. It was also the first time I had been in action with the Australians and I found them very brave men. There was also an excellent spirit of comradeship between officers and men." (p.251).

the gift of leadership and the quality of inspiring confidence in their men, the whole trouble being probably due to insufficient care in the selection and training of their officers...¹

Almost all Australian officers had been promoted on merit from the ranks, and not many insisted upon strict adherence to rules about leave, gambling², or saluting. "The behaviour of our men is a great surprise," one noted,

Only they will not salute and they will talk on parade and move about when they should be perfectly still. They march splendidly, work well, and are equal to any troops here...in such exercises as presenting arms on ceremonial occasions

We may be a bit to blame on the score of saluting, we officers, but it goes against our grain to make these fine fellows salute us when they somehow feel it demeans them...³

The salute, symbol of authority and inequality, was particularly repugnant, and the English mania for saluting and their class bias in selecting officers⁴ reinforced an reluctance inherent among Australian other ranks to salute

1

358. Fairweather, (281,3), (L), 4/4/18.

2

Bean, op. cit., VI, p.15.

3

671. Raws, (43,2), (L), 27/6/16.

4

Bean, op. cit., III, pp.58-9, 60. See also *ibid.*, I, pp.45-8; VI, pp.5-6. Sometimes, though not often, class bias affected officer selection in the A.I.F. This comes as an impression from the records of some diary and letter writers, and see *ibid.*, III, p.54; VI, p.20; 818. Sgt. E.R. Larkin, 1 Bn., M.L.A., of Milson's Point, N.S.W. K.I.A. 25/4/15, aged 35. (L), 13/2/15
Mr J.N. Barber wrote in 1968 that at Pozières lives were risked to take the bodies of officers to the rear for burial, while those of other ranks were left to lie blackening in the sun. This was not general practice.

any officer, of any rank, from any army. "It was very amusing to watch the Tommies saluting their officers", remarked a young New South Welshman in England,

The officers appeared to have their hands up and down all the time. I should think an automatic spring would have served the purpose thereby saving them a lot of exertion...one morning...some Diggers were walking along the street when two Tommy officers approached and on coming close to the diggers prepared for a salute...The diggers just walked past grinning from ear to ear...a joke the diggers enjoyed immensely as well as myself.¹

One story claimed that Australians not only studiously ignored officers, but from devilment saluted cinema doormen, railway guards, hotel porters, and any other civilian under a peaked cap;² and Birdwood reportedly refused to halt Australians in the Strand for not saluting, because he thought the area inappropriate for being 'told off'. Monash, who until about 1918 had an unfortunate capacity for offending the temper of his men, in mid 1916 was driven to reprimand some of his Division:

'The Div. Commandr. complains that [an N.C.O.]... passed him this morning without saluting. The Div. Commandr. told him that he ought to salute but he continued to adopt a very off hand & almost insubordinate manner. He said that he mistook the Divisional Commdr. for a Military Policeman & when spoken to by Gen. Monash he replied in a very [offhand?] way without addressing the General as Sir.'³

1

50. Anderson, (44,1), (D), -/9/17.

2

Bourke, op. cit., p.27. This is at least exaggerated.

3

in 592. Lt. J.A. McMichael, 37 Bn., Insurance inspector, of Melbourne, Vic. K.I.A. 12/10/17, aged 31. (D), 27/7/16.



Officer: "Why do you not salute?"

Anzac: "Well, to tell you the truth, digger, we've cut it right out."

From the Australian Front, 1917, p. 38.

Some Australians made merry with greater personages than the Divisional Commander:

The King (Mr. Windsor) flew past us in a motorcar the other day and evoked a few feeble cheers. Thereafter, out of pure devilment, the men cheered anybody and anything that came along, and some French officers were immensely pleased...and bowed and smiled with the utmost graciousness, throwing off salutes at the same time.¹

Few A.I.F. leaders would have placed themselves in this predicament. They saw little value in parade ground conventions. "the men...are probably either drunk or A.W.L. or they would not salute",² one observed cynically. Another believed, "...the way to get the real good out of the Australian is not by orders, but by putting him on his honour,"³ and a third asserted, "...to be a leader of these men with any success one must not fear death."⁴ Men like these strove to lead by example, often listening with good effect to suggestions made from the ranks,⁵ and in battle pushing forward to inspire their men. Lieutenant Richards, just commissioned, wrote after a proposed attack was cancelled,

I am sorry...as I want to show my frame up over that parapet with the rest of them and let them see that I got the courage. Its' remarkable how

¹ 255. Chedgey, (333,2), (L), 19/7/17.

² 14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), c.17/6/16.

³ 466. Hunter, (43,3), (L), 8/4/16.

⁴ 104. Baldie, (368,3), (L), 23/8/18.

⁵ For example, Bean, Anzac to Amiens, p.537; Official History..., V, pp.583-4; VI, p.1084.

our Australians stick to their officers when they have proved their gameness. They hold off until they see a man properly tested and then they love him, but if he fails, then he's right out wide in their estimation.¹

Such an attitude improved the A.I.F.'s effectiveness in action, but also sent several junior officers to die.²

Since personality and courage supplanted convention, an easy informality was possible between the ranks. In November 1916 a young sergeant was commissioned in France, and next day another N.C.O. saw the new stars and exclaimed, "Good God, what will they be doing next?"³ Bill Harney refused to lead his officer's horse because, he said, he did not join the army to lead horses, especially when his officer was obviously capable of the achievement. Later a superior officer agreed, and gave him 40 francs (30/-) for a spree in a nearby village to sooth his ruffled indignation.⁴ A (possibly) fictitious A.I.F. officer warned his men as an inspecting brigadier approached, "Here he comes! Now boys, no coughing, no spitting, and for Christ's sake don't call me Alf!"

'Alf' and most of his fellow officers need never have doubted their men in a test. Their own worth supported them, and many easily became the type of leader

¹ 675. Richards, (135,2), (D), 6/12/16.

² Bean, op. cit., VI, p.22; Mann, op. cit., p.55.

³ 250. Champion, (41,2), (D), 22/11/16. This must have occurred a thousand times.

⁴ Harney, op. cit., p.5.
See also Statement by Senator Mattner, 14 May 1968.

that men follow cheerfully to hell. After the war, Lieutenant "Eddie" Edwards, himself decorated and later promoted for bravery to officer rank in the field, recalled his former company commander:¹

[He was]...the bravest soldier I have ever known ...[in the Ypres trenches one night] most of us were weary enough to drop. He must have been as tired as any of us but he kept walking up and down the platoon with a cheering word here and there, and when he saw someone breaking under the strain he would help him along by relieving him of his rifle or other accoutrement. I saw him at one time carrying three rifles, and he finished the march with one on either shoulder.

...There was no routine with Captain Moffatt [= Moffat], no slope arms, form fours, right turn, left wheel, quick march - it was generally "Right oh". "Come on", and he got more out of us than all the "guardsdrill" in the world. He knew the temperament of the Australian, and we knew that he would never ask for anything unless it was essential, and consequently when he gave an order no matter how irksome, it was generally carried out without a grumble...When "B" Company heard that he had gone the way of all good men they wept, unashamedly too. I have seen hardened soldiers with tears in their eyes as they spoke of Captain Moffatt, M.C.²

This was a kind of mateship, and, like mateship, was a chief cause for the effectiveness of Australians in battle,³ for officers and men judged each other by the

1

Capt. H.H. Moffat, M.C., 1 Bn., Grazier, of Longreach, Qld. D.O.W. 21/9/18, aged 33.

2

989. Edwards, (30,1), (Narrative), pp.20-1.

3

Bean thought, "The crucial attribute of the A.I.F. was its [battle] discipline." Anzac to Amiens, p.536. See also Official History..., III, p.53; Barnett, C.: The Swordbearers, p.383.

test of action, and proficiency there erased almost any weakness elsewhere. Relations between ranks in the A.I.F., contrary to British assumption,¹ succeeded so well that after the war the British Army's disciplinary system veered toward its colonial counterpart.²

What Australians expected from their officers was 'a fair go'. This was a principle of openness, equality, and honour, more generous to Australians than to others because it demanded loyalty rather than impartiality, but extending to all men, excluding errant Australians and embracing deserving allies and opponents.³ It affected discipline most obviously when it was offended, as during the several mutinies which occurred in the A.I.F., those already discussed,⁴ and two which broke out in September 1918.

By late that year many Australians, worn by ceaseless action, only reluctantly accepted more than their fair measure of battle. Too often the British lion's share fell to them, and too often British divisions were given the public credit for Australian success. This was manifestly unfair, and for some weary men it was too much. On 14 September the 59th Battalion, having been relieved from the line near Péronne after a week of intense effort,

1

An American reporter, Martin Russ, made the same assumption about Australians in Vietnam in 1968. Life magazine, 1 April 1968, p.54.

2

Bean, op. cit., VI, p.19; Liddell Hart, B.H., Letter to the Editor of Reveille, 13 November 1932.

3

Bean, op. cit., IV, pp.20-1n.

4

See p.401.

had barely settled to rest in its bivouac when it was again called forward. To impress their plight upon the authorities, the officers and men of three platoons refused.¹

A week later, in similar circumstances, men of the 1st Battalion refused duty. The battalion had just emerged after losing a third of its strength in the battle for the Hindenburg Outpost Line when, with the 3rd Battalion, it was ordered to re-enter the line and take positions that had recently repulsed several English attacks. 119 men, most of them from a company made leaderless by loss, refused. The remainder, about 80 men, went forward with the 3rd Battalion and took the positions.²

The 59th's refusal was short lived, and authorities took little or no action; 118 of the 1st Battalion were found guilty of desertion, but their sentences were later remitted.³ Better leadership might have averted their outbreak,⁴ but in both battalions the strikers had opposed orders they thought unfair, and this had corrupted the strong senses of duty and prestige usually sustaining them in 1918.⁵

1

Bean, op. cit., VI, p.875.

2

Ibid., VI, pp.931-4; Stacy, B.V., et al.: The History of the First Battalion..., pp.108-13. It was in this attack that Capt. Moffat, who had come up from his bn.'s nucleus to take part, was mortally wounded.

3

For this sentence, Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.876, 940.

4

Ibid., VI, pp.933-4, supported by a statement by Mr A.W. Bazley, 29 February 1968.

5

This in turn bears out the observations made on pp.401-2. See also Mann, op. cit., pp.208-11.

Resistance had been possible only because the strikers were supported by their mates. Many Australian soldiers had grown up believing that distinctions between men were odious, and in the army almost all gladly ignored the divisions of civil life, so that mateship became by far the firmest tenet in their creed. Men shared everything with their mates, for them they would defy any authority, for them often they would die. Mates were exempt from general custom: they could abuse a man, use his possessions, spend his money, and impose where others could not. "There is generally a small fire in the billet", a man wrote during the 1917 winter, "but the only way to get a seat near it is to throw in a clip of cartridges and hop in to a seat before they all explode. It is a bit risky however, on account of the chance of a S.I.W."¹ This, too, mateship tolerated, for the sense of their distinctive fellowship was valuable to Australians. Together they were the champions of their country in the lists of the world, jointly they possessed a formidable reputation, but more than this, they had shared momentous events, and were bound together by a myriad of mutual debts and services. In the heat of battle mateship gave men their strongest incentive to fight, because they prized the lives and respect of their mates, and thought the need "to succour poor old bloody Bill, beleaguered in a shell hole on the ridge"² worth the risk of death. Mates strengthened a man's attachment to his unit, shared

1

765. Sgt. W.T. Turner, 56 Bn., Public servant, of Roseville, N.S.W. b.1887. (D), 28/1/18.

2

From Dyson, W.: Australia at War, Frontispiece.

and eased the oppressions of battle and hardship, and multiplied the diversions of leave and the back areas. In everything, so far from home, they were all most Australians had, and they became the A.I.F.'s greatest cohesive influence, discouraging shirking, and lifting men above and beyond the call of duty.

Often the code operated unconsciously, sometimes it was expressed. "I know this job is not too sweet", a sergeant confessed, "But we must carry on. I am not fretting or downhearted. I go in to the trenches prepared to take on any job my mates have to do. that is the spirit we Box on with. If it is good enough for one it is good enough for all."¹ Another sergeant remembered that at Pozieres he was scared, but preferred the front to the rear, because his mates were in the line.² Men deserted from base camps to go into the line with their mates:³ one soldier kept back on medical grounds was found in the front trenches almost too sick to move. "Why?", asked his officer. "Well", he replied, "I thought my mates would think I had cold feet..."⁴ The best Australians were loyal to their mates in every circumstance. One laid down his life by giving his gas mask to a friend;

¹ 116. Barr, (416,1), (L), 6/8/17.

² 233. Campbell, (73,1), (L), 31/8/16

see also:

546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 1/12/17; Harney, op. cit., p.5.

³ 344. Ellsworth, (31,3), (L), 12/9/16; Australian War Memorial File No.233/1.

⁴ 709. Short, (226,1), (L), 19/11/16.

another, shot through the arm, stayed with his wounded mate for seven days in No Man's Land at Fromelles, scavenging food and water from the surrounding dead, and at night dragging him slowly to safety until at last he had rescued him;¹ a third gave up leave in England to search a Flanders battlefield for the body of a mate killed there;² a fourth walked 28 miles to tend his dead mate's grave.³

These things, and the exclusive experience of having fought a battle, and the numbers killed, forged a firm brotherhood among those who survived. "My platoon went through the charge 43 strong, and came out with 18", a soldier wrote after his first 'tour' at Pozières, "But between all of us who had been through the experience together seemed to be a bond quite unknown before...we had all faced the big things together and were comrades rather than officers and men."⁴ An Englishman in the A.I.F., once an adverse critic of Australian soldiers,⁵ reported of them at Pozières, "...they behaved magnificent. They marched across to the German barbed wire under machine gun fire and shells of every kind as if they were on the parade ground... I feel proud to belong to them."⁶

1

978. Brunton, (81,1), (D), 27/7/16.

2.

Harding, B.A.: Windows of Fame, p.30.

3

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 21/4/17.

4

in 278. Cotton, (76,4), (L), -/7/16.

5

791. Young, (157,2), (L), 26/11/15 quoted p.169.

6

Ibid., (L), 4/8/16

see also:

57. Cpl. N.R. Anderson, 5 Bn., Accountant, of Fitzroy, Vic. (b. Ireland) K.I.A. 20/9/17, aged 24. (L), 20/6/17

(footnote continued p.430)

Three statements demonstrate the operation of mateship. A Scottish born pioneer told his wife that after an attack (possibly at Pozières),

...we had to follow the Infantry and Cut a communication trench between our own lines and the German lines we done it but we had about 40 killed and wounded I dont know what became of my mate I looked all over the place for him but no one could tell me anything about him so he is among the missing Well I come through it thank God without a scratch but very sore beat up for I took every ounce of strength out of myself I worked with all my will for I knew that our men that was wounded would have a chance as we pushed through the communication line and officers and men In fact, the hole company shone splendid.¹

Sergeant Callen, a former country accountant and business manager, noted in 1917:

Its funny, when they want something dashing or dangerous accomplished, they always pick on the Australians or New Zealanders. They do it too, and later one reads ... that "the British did so and so."...Never mind, it will be done, and done well by these hard-living, hard-swearing, fighting kangaroos, who don't give a damn for anyone; but who are men...good in every way. I'm just as glad to meet ----, of our Company, who was a rabbit in Surry Hills, as I am to meet the biggest brass

(footnote 6 continued from p.429)
308. de Vine, (95,1), (D), 15/6/17; 574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), 11/10/18; 989. Edwards, (30,1), (Narrative), p.68; Aussie, No.3, p.6 (18 March 1918); Dyson, op. cit., p.26; Mitchell, op. cit., p.102.

1

409. Pte. T. Gormlie, 2 Pioneer Bn., Cabinet maker, of Sydney, N.S.W. (b. Scotland) K.I.A. 11/3/18, aged 37. (L), 15/11/16.

hat officer alive. They are both good, and war is the leveller. And any one with a word against any of our fellows who fight here - the roughest of them - is up against me.¹

The strongest loyalty and affection was that between one man and another: Lieutenant Baldie and his mate fought through France together until September 1918, when his mate was killed near Péronne. The young Victorian farmer wrote an epitaph:

One could not find a whiter man in the whole world. He would never let a pal down...and would never allow a word to be said against me, whether I was right or wrong. Whatever he had was at my disposal right to money which we shared not caring whether one had more than his share so long as we had enough for the two. We would have been separated long ago to go to different jobs that may have been better for us no. we both must go or we would not move... even now I can hardly believe I'll never see him again.

In the same letter he confessed, "I've had enough fighting...I've lost all my keenness since Sam went west... if it should come to the worst I know Jane and the kiddies are in good hands..."² He had never before written like this, and it was his last letter home. Early in October he was killed at Montbrehain.

Mateship recognized few barriers between Australians, and this same flexibility continually prompted them to investigate the events and apparatus of the war. They

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224. Callen, (281,3), (L), 31/3/17
see also:
367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 2/3/18; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 8/1/17.

2

104. Baldie, (368,3), (L), 15/9/18.

made it their business to talk with people they met, they explored areas they occupied, and they showed a keener interest in strategy than the average English soldier:

...most of [the Tommies are] very slow tempered. They don't seem to take much interest in the war outside their own part in it...whereas our are chaps are always speculating on this, arguing on that or giving buscuit tin orations on something else. They are not so good at making themselves comfortable as the Austs...¹

Any new device of war - a tank, a plane, a flamethrower - attracted them, and groups of Australians could often be seen about a new machine, interrogating its mechanics and prying into its workings.² Their own land did not produce such novelties, and they made the most of a rare opportunity. Similarly, particularly at first, they souvenired anything as a relic of the Great Experience. Monash sent his wife "an actual piece" of a Zeppelin shot down in England, which he thought would be "renowned in history."³ At Flers a French plane which crash landed and suffered slight damage was swiftly dismantled by Australian souvenir hunters - even the propeller disappeared -⁴ and pieces of fabric from Richthofen's plane are still scattered through records in the Australian War Memorial. 3rd Battalion men advancing to attack

1

546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 21/6/16
see also:
631. Mouldsdales, (80,1), (L), 8/4/16; Bean, op. cit., V, p.117.

2

Ibid., VI, p.7.

3

Cutlack, op. cit., p.137 (10/10/16).

4

640. Munro, (271,1), (D), 20/12/16.

Pozières village met a batch of German prisoners going to the rear:

our boys from everywhere flocked to see these german prisoners as they were the first some... had seen, anyway before long the boys got that thick around the fritz's after souvenirs off their uniforms, that...a small shell...would have wiped them all out...there was a big ring and anybody would have¹ thought they were playing two up or something...

Australians in action persisted in 'ratting' prisoners, "even when the exigencies of the moment require[d] more important activities on their part":² by 1918 Germans expecting capture held their personal effects in their hands ready to surrender,³ and afterwards many shambled to the rear devoid of every possession and distinguishing mark, "minus all buttons - hats - & anything that could be called a souvenir & are done up with safety pins"⁴ - and some had not even that wherewithal to hold together the few rags of clothing left them. Shells, bombs, bullets, helmets, pistols, swords, bayonets, badges, medals, uniforms, gun parts, aeroplane pieces, stamps, postcards, coins, notes, letters, and a whole range of curios from shattered chateaux, banks, houses, churches, and farms were lugged patiently about

1

858. Pte. A. Brown, 3 Bn., Labourer, of Annandale, N.S.W. Rep.T.A. 22/7/17, aged 22. (D), 23/7/16.

2

397. Gemmell, (349,3), (D), 8/6/18.

3

Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.549-50.

4

869. Pte. V.W. Cocks, 9 Fld.Amb., Clerk, of Randwick, N.S.W. b.1895. (L), 2/3/17.

France until finally they found rest on Australian mantelpieces. Their owners had been souvenir hunters par excellence.¹

Perhaps in a small way they had also been demonstrating their spirit under duress, for some soldiers expecting to die nonetheless collected souvenirs. Certainly Australians would not bend before the storm of war. They were further in time and distance from their homes than most, and they were guided by the bushmen in their ranks:² they opposed hardship with humour and determination, and as they had on Gallipoli, they made such defiance a particular virtue. During the last minutes before Polygon Wood:

Our Infantry had a...wait...in shell holes just behind our forward posts and it would have been fatal for Fritz to guess they were there so absolute silence and no smoking was the order, with a minute to go the order was given men may smoke, and nearly all stopped to light up. While waiting on their first objective for the barrage to lift again they put in time collecting souvenirs. The Welsh and the Scotch on the right were amazed, they had never seen men smoking and

1

For this paragraph, see also, 81. Lt. C.E.T. Armytage, M.C., 20 Bn., Station book keeper, of Strathfield, N.S.W. Rep.T.A. -/12/17, aged 22. (D), 2/3/17
14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 14/2 and 6/6/17; 221. Caldwell, (109,3), (L), -/6/16; 250. Chinner, (41,2), (L), 23/7/16; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 28/3/18; 951. Roberts, (350,1), (D), 4/7/18 quoted p.350; Bean, op. cit., VI, pp.337, 544, 1006; Graves, R.: Goodbye to All That, p.154; Mitchell, op. cit., p.62.

2

Bean, Anzac to Amiens, p.9; In Your Hands, Australians, pp.22-3; Official History..., I, pp.46-7; VI, pp.1078-9.

collecting souvenirs in an attack before. As the prisoners came down..., our chaps were laughing and joking, [and]...singing out Give us a watch Fritz or Give us a Ring...[A British Colonel asked] why do they laugh and joke.¹

In 1918 a veteran exclaimed,

The mud well you know the nastiest thing you can get used to and we also look back to some other place and say, Oh well, its not as bad as that joint anyhow and there you are. A joke and a laugh at every poor beggar who goes up to his neck (yourself included) a hand out and there you are. Food...I've been hungry at times, but through circumstances that carn't always be helped. So you see altogether we do real well.²

Possibly the most frequent and effective counter resorted to was humour. During the 1916 winter a South Australian platoon was sent from its billets to work under German gun fire. The night was cold, it was raining, several miles of cruel mud lay before the men, and machine guns nightly inflicted casualties upon working parties. But as the grim line set forth a man remarked, "Good night for a murder."³ A popular story was told of two Australians who found a man buried to the neck in soupy mud. Carefully they laid duckboards out to him, and pulled. He did not move. His rescuers cleared away as much mud as they could, and tugged and scraped, but the man remained trapped, and at last they decided to find help. The man in the mud offered an alternative

¹ 706. Sheppard, (91,2), (D), 26/9/17.

² 546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 14/4/18.

³ Mitchell, op. cit., p.62.

suggestion. "Wait a minute mate", he said, "and I'll take me feet out of the stirrups." Australians exacted entertaining vengeance on rats that plagued the trenches: "Our rifles, fully loaded, were placed upside down on top of the sandbags, with a small piece of cheese on the end of the bayonet. When a rat nibbled the cheese, the trigger was pressed..."¹

Australians kept their humour and determination in battle, sometimes with telling effect. "In captured orders the Germans have called the Australians "The Elite of the British Army"²...", Lieutenant McInnis reported, "It is due to the phlegmatic way in which our men as a whole take the worst of privations, and to their humour, which nothing can stamp out."³ Private Cleary stated that at Pozières:

Some fellows had to run the Barrage, it was a cool day but when they passed me they were reeking with perspiration and showing a lot of the whites of their eyes. But they were game alright. I couldn't help admiring the efforts they made to act normal, making quiet remarks such as "pretty hot mate" "He must be annoyed" etc.⁴

1

435. Pte. H.G. Hartnett, 2 Bn., Letter carrier, of Batlow, N.S.W. Rep.T.A. 27/11/18, aged 26. (Narrative), p.49 (1916)

This may have been copied from the practice of English units.

For similar reactions to hardship,
358. Fairweather, (281,3), (L), 4/4/18: 655. Noble, (379,3), (D), 4 and 23/1/17; 704. Serjeant, (330,2), (L), 16/8/17; 709. Short, (226,1), (L), 19/11/16; 758. Topp, (111,2), (L), 6/3/17; Dyson, op. cit., p.22.

2

See also pp.396-7.

3

574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), 13/10/18.

4

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 4/8/16.

Men at Pozières still considered war a test of manhood, but their defiance outlived that belief, because it became its own tradition. It became a point of honour among stretcher bearers, for example, not to show fear under fire. An officer recalled,

Fritz was making things hot, strafing our line, searching for his old dugouts...with heavies... in conjunction with...H.E...shrapnel and whizbangs. It was a nice spot, I don't think. One of my fellows got his legs smashed by a slab of shell and word was passed for stretcher-bearers. Cassidy came along immediately - walking along the parapet, enquiring who wanted the stretcher. The trench was narrow and half full of mud and by coming along the top he saved a lot of time. The lad was bleeding badly so Cassidy bound him up a bit and got three others to help him carry this chap away...across...the open. God knows how they escaped.¹

Men even joked in action. In July 1916 some soldiers of the Fifth Division sat in dugouts under an artillery bombardment near Fromelles. When a shrapnel shell burst against the door of one dugout, a man inside ordered, "Open the door and pay the rent; that's the landlord."²

As on Anzac, the wounded forged a distinctive tradition. "Hullo, here is a trip to Australia", a man exclaimed when a shell blew his hand away, and he strolled

1

305. Davis, (301,3), (L), 3/9/16

see also:

Bean, op. cit., III, pp.518-9.

2

'Tiveychoc', op. cit., p.155 (14/7/16)

see also:

707. Shirtley, (268,2), (L), 8/10/16; 858. Brown, (433,1), (D), 25/7/16.

to the rear smoking a cigarette and chatting casually to passers by.¹ A sergeant major badly wounded at Flers sent a message to his captain, "Tell the Capt I couldn't help it! that I am sorry!"² Often their courage gave tragic dignity to the fortitude of men. "It is marvellous how the wounded stand the agony of their wounds, many shot to pieces but never a murmur, others when forced to cry out apologize for it", an ambulanceman noted, "One old chap who was dying kept saying "stop the bleeding boys and I'll get back to the Mrs and kids" alas am afraid his wife and children will never see him again in this world."³ Another ambulanceman reported,

Today a man was brought in with a leg amputated... a high explosive shell exploded near him and caught him in the legs and knocked him into a shell hole Altho' in agony he had sense enough to realize that if he didn't manage to attract attention before dawn he stood little chance... So he made a rough tourniquet around the leg... and attempted to crawl out..., but found the leg, which was hanging by only a few sinews caused too much agony, so he got out his jack knife and cut it off, and thus managed to drag himself...onto the track...⁴

1

568. McDonald, (345,2), (L), 4/5/16.

2

504. Leane, (182,3), (L), 18/1/17

see also:

in 408. L/Cpl. A.F. Goode, 10 Bn., Grazier, of Kingston, S.A. K.I.A. 20/9/17, aged 28. (L) re death, -/9/17

in 661. Sgt. L.A. Parsons, 51 Bn., Farmer, of Korrelocking, W.A. K.I.A. 3/9/16, aged 27. (L) re death, 6/10/16.

3

615. Morgan, (314,4), (D), 23/7/16.

4

640. Munro, (271,1), (D), 4/12/16.

Another man performed a similar operation, then waited five hours to reach a dressing station. He asked for a cigarette on arrival, and said, "Now tell me, Doc. - have I a sporting chance?" He died of gangrene five days later.¹ An artilleryman observed,

I have seen men coming back with legs and arms off smiling and joking. One man was badly wounded, so badly, that he had no hope of coming through... [he] asked for a cigarett. He smoked it, then thanked them saying "Well this is not a very choice spot to die in." "So² long boys"! Our Infantry...are incomparable.

By about 1917 it was apparent to many soldiers that they would probably die. The possibility had already done much to destroy their romantic notions of war, and to confirm the necessity of their duty and the value of their mates; and the war seemed endless, the casualties mounted, the oldest veterans slowly disappeared. But even when they realized the implication of these facts men rejected the thought of dying, until what was usually a gradual process converted them. Initially, the mere sight of dead men repelled (although occasionally fascinated) some Australians. Two months after he reached France Arthur Thomas wrote,

...he is the first dead chap I have dared to look at, but I knew him so well I just had to. I looked at him & felt no horror, for he looked so serene & the morning was so beautiful & the larks how they sing here, & the stretcher bearers took

1

Bean, op. cit., III, p.942n.

2

216. Byard, (333,2), (D), 25/11/18.

him away to the graveyard alongside the ruined farm, another life chucked into the gutter soon to be forgotten.¹

As no doubt the veterans of Anzac and Pozières could have told him, Private Thomas wasted his words. There was nothing exceptional about the frequent dead. "I have seen death all round me in its every shape & form, & many of my comrades are dead or wounded", a late 1917 reinforcement explained, "I don't think of it, & the pressure of new experiences makes for a mere acceptance, without any attempt to appraise their value",² and Sapper Muir decided, "One dares not sit down to think of it all for sickness would soon overcome him & down you also would go...Will go and do some work to try not to worry."³

Throughout much of the war few men dared to sit and think of death, lest its horror overpower them, and many hardened themselves against it. A Victorian officer remembered that one night:

...a Scottie stepped back to let me double past... a moment after I heard an explosion behind and looking round I saw that the poor beggar was gone - actually blown to pieces by a shell...it struck

1

748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 9/6/16
see also:
262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 30/11/16; 865. Cave, (224,3), (L), 25?/7/16.

2

425. Halewood, (371,1), (L), 9/4/18.

3

976. Muir, (223,3), (L), 21/7/16
see also:
607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 28/8/18; 640. Munro, (271,1), (D), 25/8/16.

me as rather funny and I went on down the trench absolutely chortling to myself. Sounds rather callous, I'm afraid.¹

Perhaps it was callous; certainly it was an anaesthetic of nature, the same which permitted the living to joke with the dead. A former dental apprentice recounted,

During the building of the trench, a Fritz was buried under foot, but with one hand sticking out of the trench wall into the trench, so that each time any one walked over his body, the hand wagged as if shaking hands. Sure enough, every man shook hands with him, and solemnly wished him luck²,

and a former university tutor,

For a long time [we]...could not get a drain to run; something blocked it...[At last a man] remove[d] the obstruction...exclaiming "That's the silly ----who blocked it." "That" was the decayed body of an officer of the Sherwood Foresters! I've got one of his buttons ,

while at Passchendaele the same man recalled,

One Hun was amusing. He was sitting up against the wall and all his head was gone save the bare skull - it was as clean inside as an egg - just the skull inside and his hair outside - quite neatly done too. He had just written to his mother...[saying] he would be home for Xmas. Perhaps so.³

1

305. Davis, (301,3), (L), 28/10/16.

2

250. Champion, (41,2), (D), 29/10/16. This is one version of the anecdote.

3

368. Fisher, (330,3), (D), 14/4 and 24/10/17
see also:

39. Allen, (377,4), (L), 23/4/17; 654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 1/5/17; 741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 27/2/17.



"... a risk most glorious ..."

Callousness was harder to feel towards mates killed, but occasionally it was possible. In the Pozières trenches four men were playing cards. One was killed. His body was laid out on the parapet above, a mate took his cards, and the four men continued to play.¹

Front line soldiers were agents of death as well as its witnesses, and many Australians at some point found themselves placed to watch their enemy die, or to kill him. If he remained merely "the enemy", dehumanized by distance, the task was not hard. Major Garnet Adcock watched a Hun counter-attack:

They jumped from the trenches shoulder to shoulder. In about 20 secs. our barrage came down and they thinned to a man every ten or twelve yards. After the next burst only two or three were left...With wonderful bravery they came on...only to be smashed. They were fighters...It was the finest day I have had since I was wounded.²

Early in 1918 a 1914 enlistment stated,

When daylight came we saw a party of about 25 Huns on the skyline 700 yds. away. So we ups with the Lewis Gun and gave him a magazine or two. They soon flattened themselves and later started to crawl into the pillbox on their hands and knees. So whenever they moved we gave 'em a burst, and movement soon stopped.

1

Shortly afterwards all four were killed. Bean, op. cit., III, p.618n.

see also:

171. Cpl. J. Borrows, 35 Bn., Steward, of Sydney, N.S.W. (b. England) K.I.A. 29/5/17, aged 29. (L), -/5/17
388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17; 887. Fry, (80,1), (L), 16/10/16.

2

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 4/12/17.

Later in broad daylight four Huns were seen calmly walking to a pill-box only 400 yds away. It was the best shooting I've had for years. We dropped them with rifles and so to bed for the day, after the best morning's sport I've had.¹

Yet for a short time killing even at this distance worried some Australians. A West Australian sniper, recently arrived at the front, wrote,

at 6 o'clock this morning I shot a Hun, an observer, at 400 yards...he was all alone, looking through a pair of field glasses, with his head and shoulders above the parapet (foolish fellow)...took careful but quick aim and pulled the trigger He spread his arms out and fell backwards throwing his glasses in the air...a queer thrill shot through me, it was a different feeling to that which I had when I shot my first Kangaroo when I was a boy. For an instant I felt sick and faint; but the feeling soon passed; and I was my₂ normal self again; and looking for more shots...

This was a necessary compromise, and most Australians made it. Often they made it abruptly, during the frenzy of a great battle, when they faced the choice of killing or dying. Although some hesitated to kill,³ few found the choice difficult. Describing a German counter-attack on the 6th Battalion at Pozieres on 23 or 24 July Private Thomas related,

1

760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 2/3/18.

2

432. Harford, (307,1), (D), 14/10/16

see also:

Bradby, W.J.: 'Polygon Wood and Broodseinde', Stand-To, Sept.-Oct. 1963, p.22.

3

397. Moncrieff, (349,3), (L), 8/6/18.

...they were coming & I felt thankful, really thankful, for so enraged was I at their infernal bombardment & loss of splendid young comrades that my blood was up & I was like a fiend & felt terrible & I worked every man jack of them up to the same pitch...A German officer loomed up & raised his revolver point blank at me, with a yell I dropped a bomb at him, I held it two seconds in my hand & it did its infernal job. I suppose we all went stone mad then for I finished my bombs & then my bayonet & they ran calling for mercy great big burly hounds, how they scooted falling over each other, jabbering & shrieking & probably cursing...I was lucky damn lucky, & I thank my God for such wonderful glorious joy to be able¹ to live through this & see us win our freedom.

At Pozières a South Australian N.C.O. pronounced himself sickened by war: "I can tell you...[it] is horrible... [none] of us will be...sorry if we never hear another gun fired." Nonetheless he continued, "...I collected a beautiful German bayonet...The original owner and I had a slight argument about the transfer, but I introduced the "Savage" into the discussion and won "hands down"... he'll see no more of this war."²

Bloodlust facilitated killing by all soldiers, yet Australians, by reputation and probably in fact, were unusually willing to kill.³ They had an uncomplicated

1

748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 1/8/16.

2

167. Blaskett, (271,2), (L), 10/8/16
see also:

741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 12/8/18; 992. Hinder, (386,3), (L), 15/6/17.

3

Graves, op. cit., p.154; Inge, D.: England (Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1926), pp.126-7; Rule, op. cit., p.335 (1/10/18).

French soldiers, hating their country's invaders, acquired a similar reputation, and statements by former
(footnote continued p.445)

attitude towards the Hun, conditioned largely by propaganda and hardly at all by contact, and they hated him with an intensity paralleled in the British Army only by some other colonial troops.¹ "I shall never forget the mad intoxication one seems to be in [during battle]...", Archie Barwick stated,

you see absolutely no danger & will do almost anything, for the roar of the guns are ringing in your ears, & you can smell the salty fumes from the powder stinging your nostrils, &...the shouts of the boys & the...ghostly lights of the many colored flares...these are moments when I reckon a man lives 10 minutes of this seems to be at the time worth a year of ordinary life, but the reaction sets in afterwards & nearly all men feel a faintness come over them...but this don't last long either & you are soon itching for another smack at the rotten Hun.²

Driven by hate and sustained by conviction, many Australians killed their opponents brutally, savagely, and unnecessarily:³

(footnote 3 continued from p.444)

Australian P.O.W.'s (filed in the Australian War Memorial Library) attest to sporadic German barbarity. In every army soldiers in battle, driven by a fury they afterwards regretted, killed helpless or surrendering opponents - for Australian examples of this, see Bean, op. cit., III, pp.248-9n; IV, p.624. Most Australians treated a brave enemy very generously after capture. See pp.391-3.

1

See pp.388-90, 393-4.

2

840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), IV, pp.122-3 (18/8/16) see also (D), VI, pp.131-3 (5/11/16) quoted p.315. see also: 167. Blaskett, (271,2), (L), 26/6/16.

3

Equally, many prevented such behaviour, and consistently pursued a course honourable both to them and their country. What follows in no way refers to them.

Prisoners we are not troubled with now for we kill every bosche at sight.¹

I accounted for 5 or 6 Germans with bombs and we had orders to bayonet all wounded Germans and they received it hot and strong...²

In a shell hole further on I saw a wounded man and another one with him. An officer walked up and the German asked him to give his comrade a drink. "Yes", our officer said "I'll give the ----a drink", "take this", and he emptied his revolver on the two of them. This is the only way to treat a Hun. What we enlisted for was to kill Huns, those baby killing ----.³

one of our chaps the very first German he stuck, his bayonet broke off & he used the butt⁴ end of his rifle & smashed ⁴ of their heads in.

This afternoon we got 15 German Red Cross prisoners, they were marched down & searched & 13 of the dogs were found to be carrying daggers & revolvers they [were] promptly put against the wall & finished.⁵

I always reget not having touched that German prisoner up a bit, I haven't killed one yet, that's my ambition. I reckon I could have licked him into shape a bit. He was a nice little brute...There was I marching down behind him praying that he would bolt and let me have a shot at him or fall over something so that I would have some cause for putting daylight through him...⁶

...at Flers the 27th Battalion had 7 German

1

634. Mulholland, (110,2), (L), 17/3/17.

2

265. Cohen, (296,2), (L), 31/7/16

Bean notes of this extract that such an order could only have come from an N.C.O. or junior officer. Prisoners were valuable sources of information to the higher command.

3

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17, p.275.

4

840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), IV, p.2 (23/7/16).

5

Ibid., (D), IV, p.9 (23/7/16).

6

298. Lt. E.W. Dardel, M.M., 24 Bn., Farmer, of Batesford, Vic. b.1896. (L), 20/10/16.

prisoners...[A lieutenant] shot all of them. He tried to shoot one of them with an automatic but the prisoner gripped his hand and the auto missed. He then shot that prisoner and all the rest with his service Revolver. The Cpl... had previously refused to do this.¹

With the peculiar bent some of them had for murder, it is perhaps not surprising that Australians became known to friend and foe for proficient use of the bayonet:

...had some fine stoush in the wood giving the tin openers a chance to make a name for themselves. Hans does not make much noise when he's wounded with the bayonet just throws it in with a sigh.²

Strike me pink the square heads are dead mongrels. They will Keep firing until you are two yds. off them & then drop their rifle & ask for mercy.

They get it too right where the chicken gets the axe...I...will fix a few more before I have finished. Its good sport father when the bayonet goes in there eyes bulge out like a prawns.³

When I jumped into the trench I saw a man lying there and he moved. I gave him a savage prod with my bayonet and he curled up like a caterpillar drawing his legs up and clenching his fists. His eyes turned upside down showing the white and there was a gurgle in his throat like the water running out of a bath...⁴

1

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 24/1/18

see also:

483. Joynt, V.C., (332,1), (D), 19/9/17; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 11/4/17; 834. Addy, (98,3), (D), 23/7/16; Bean, op. cit., IV, p.772n.; Bradby, op. cit., pp.20-1.

2

965. Wright, (362,2), (D), 22(=23?)/7/16.

3

813. Hill, (111,1), (L), 13/8/16.

4

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17, p.272

see also:

in 258. Chinner, (32,2), (L) re death, -/7?/16; Bean, op. cit., IV, p.620.

Even among Australians, killing was random. More killed and died by a shell or a bullet than by a bayonet,¹ more by chance than an aimed stroke. In time the knowledge of slaughter so frequent and so haphazard broke down convictions of immortality in many of the living, and forced them to consider their own deaths. Every inclination in men resisted the thought that they might die; every circumstance drove them to accept it. At first most expected to survive,² and at odd moments throughout the war many were able to resurrect this expectation, because time healed the worst scars inflicted by fearful experiences. "Out of the line at last," Private Wright exclaimed, "by jove she's been a crook spin this trip...[I] fairly didn't care a hang, but we are out now once more so whats it matter."³ Lieutenant Fischer wrote,

we...sang songs and choruses & to have heard us you would never imagine that we were so near such a great war - still it is just this happy go lucky spirit that keeps a man at his job; everyone is the same &...the men cheer up as soon as they get out of the line and forget all their hardships⁴

1

Between April 1916 and March 1919, 52.07% of Australians admitted to Field Ambulances in France had sustained injuries from shells or shell shock, 33.93% from bullets, 11.82% from gas, and only 2.18% from bombs, grenades, and bayonets. Butler, op. cit., II, p.495.

2

For examples, 4. Abbott, (356,3), (L), 21/10/17; 254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 30/4/16.

3

965. Wright, (362,2), (D), 10/1/17.

4

367. Fischer, (79,1), (L), 10/3/18

see also:

574. McInnis, (193, 1), (D), 31/7/16; 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 9/6 and 3/11/16; 938. McKay, (277,4), (D), 17/9/16; n.4, p.277.

Yet more and more died, and horror heaped upon horror, and at some point veteran soldiers, no longer deluding themselves, accepted the probability of dying. A fortnight after Fromelles a Fifth Division soldier decided,

If I have to pass out, I hope it is by a high explosive...If...[it] catches you & says go out, well, it is out you go, no suffering, no delay; a hurried departure: with the shrapnel & bullets you simply get a 'go out if you please', half hearted sort of order which one does not know whether to obey or not.¹

Late in 1916 Charles Alexander had felt that a great power was shielding him, and that he was being kept for some purpose in the scheme of things,² but early in 1917 he confessed, "...I suppose we can hardly all expect to return again - but after all, that is not a very grievous prospect, as we shan't "pass over" unless we are wanted...on the other side."³

As time passed the probability of dying approached nearer and nearer to certainty in the minds of Australians. Submission to the rule of inevitable death explained the vice of a murderous war, and comforted men who found themselves its playthings; and by 1918 most old soldiers

¹ 382. Fraser, (291,1), (L), 31/7/16.

² 27. Alexander, (43,1), (L), 28/12/16.

³ Ibid., (L), 17/1/17

see also:

167. Blaskett, (271,2), (L), 13/8/16; 254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 25/4/16; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 18/1/17.

were fatalists.¹ "Certain walks in life seem to foster certain beliefs...", Lieutenant Chapman noted, "most soldiers are fatalists...when fellows are getting wounded - or dying continually, a belief in these words of Shakespeare, "There is a Destiny that shapes our ends, rough-hue them how we will" seems to creep in."² After Passchendaele a 1914 enlistment reflected,

Often one thinks that he is just waiting on and on until he is killed. We lost some fine chaps in the last stunt, fellows whom like myself had enlisted at the first only to endure three years of hell and then be killed...We were just in a hole with shell after shell just missing us, at last the promised one came and killed five of my best pals and left me, the shock to one's nerves is beyond belief.³

In 1918 another veteran stated,

...a few years of this & one treats life very cheaply really...lately some of our officers have been killed who landed on Gallipoli with the Battn. on 25th April so that apparently it is only a matter of time...one must look at this game from a philosophic stand point.⁴

1

Asked in 1967 or 1968 whether they had expected to survive the war, 256 veterans answered:

Yes	36.7%	Fatalists	16.4%
Hoped so	3.9%	No	12.5%
Doubtful	21.1%	Did not think about it	9.4%

2

254. Chapman, (161,2), (D), 31/7/16.

3

359. Fairweather, (97,4), (L), 24/10/17.

4

444. Henderson, (160,5), (L), 21/4/18

The belief was commonly expressed, 'A man cannot keep going forever: if he remains a fighting soldier, sooner or later he will be killed or seriously wounded.'

These and many other Australians believed that "... fatalism is all that counts in France, and if Fritz has your number, it doesn't matter if you are sweeping the streets in Paris, he'll get you"¹, and "You can't stop a shell from bursting in your trench, You can't stop the rain, or prevent a light going up just as you are half way over the parapet. So what on earth is the use of worrying?...So smile, d--- you, smile."²

Fatalism opened the door to premonitions about dying; and the frequency with which men were killed, and perhaps the prediction itself, rendered at least some premonitions accurate. An artillery officer asserted,

...if a shell, or bullet "has my name on it" I will get it no matter how I try to dodge it. I have seen scores of our lads walking along while being shelled without quickening their pace or trying to get out of the line of fire & yet none of them got hit and again I have seen others run...& run into a shell...a lot of our lads are fatalists now - some...say so in...letters...I censor. I have heard...of lots of cases...where men have been killed who had a premonition of their death.³ I knew personally of two in my battery...

Another told of a man who

1

117. Barrett, (339,4), (L), 9/12/17.

2

546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 13/2/18

see also:

31. Allan, (303,1), (L), 16/4, 2/5, and 11/8/17; 395. Gatliff, (222,3), (L), 25/5/17; 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 24/6/16; 840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), XI, pp.102-3 (7/11/17); 978. Brunton, (81,1), (D), 27/7/16; Henderson, op. cit., pp.73-5, 151.

3

395. Gatliff, (222,3), (L), 25/5/17.

...had a premonition that he would be killed, and ...asked to get off that day, but the sergt. major thought he was trying to get out of going up to the guns and roared him up. He was a quiet decent boy, and...He said, "Alright - I know I'm going to die, even if I stop here." and he gave all his things away and went up, and just as he was leaving after having delivered his shells, I saw the shell land on him.¹

In 1918 Archie Barwick was badly wounded by a shell after writing of a premonition: it was only his second wound in over three years of war, and the first premonition to which he had confessed.² In March 1918 a Queenslander who had seen a good mate killed at Second Bullecourt and two brothers die at Messines told his father:

Well the way things are at present I expect my career to be a very short one in France and will end one way or another very soon now. Probably you are surprised at my speaking in this tone but...you will probably understand my meaning. A man cant last forever and it will be short and sweet from now on.³

He had not previously written like this, and it was his last letter. He was killed within the month at Villers-Bretonneux.

Many Australians expected in fate's time to die, and most felt ruled by fate. They gave up the future, believing that "...it would be just as well not to build any castles in the air, for fear they would be rudely

1

654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 29/7/17.

2

840. Barwick, (174,2), (D), XIII, p.28 (25/4/18).

3

39. Allen, (377,4), (L), 26/3/18

See also Bean, op. cit., IV, p.827n.

shattered."¹ They lived not for a joyous homecoming or a glorious reward, but for their mates and units, and they behaved as befitted a man and would grace the memory of an Australian soldier. They looked only at the present, because "...the probability of seeing their own corpses lying in the mud stifled their desire to look into the future",² and because they knew too well that "Good men have answered the last roll call...It is to be: so we bow our heads & vow, that if needs be, we will go to death as well."³ Their predicament was captured by a young New South Wales lieutenant who in August 1917 told his family:

I wonder & wonder when this nightmare is to end? Although I am right in the middle of the struggle I can see no light...Men have fallen & died every hour of the day of each year & yet the nations are no nearer their goal...tho the awfulness of the toll is realised nobody is prepared to stretch out the hand of peace...the armies go on fighting bravely...and suffering...But...every man feels that there is a limit to his endurance and that their [death?] is not so far distant or so indefinite as it was - once...Every hour of the day the best men the world can produce are dying. This must go on indefinitely, so imagine if you can the quality of the next generation...⁴

1

341. Elliott, (275,4), (L), 24/8/18
see also, and for this paragraph,
22. Akers, (330,3), (L), 6/10/17; 607. Mitchell, (79,2),
(D), 3 and 8/1, 22/5, and 3/6/17; Mann, op. cit., p.194.

2

Williams, op. cit., p.73
see also:

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 4/3/17; 741. Stobie, (273,1),
(D), 4/8/17; Bean, op. cit., VI, p.5.

3

481. Jones, (269,4), (L), 9/8/16.

4

428. Hampson, (353,2), (L), 15/8/17.

Their fatalism, their courage, their manhood, and their sheer dogged determination sustained the Australians, and made so many of their attitudes possible. They fought for prestige because that would probably be their last cause, they took greatest comfort from their mates because their mates were all they had, they accepted the sight and spectre of death because they were themselves to die, they adjusted to the daily routine of war because they did not expect to know another. They lived in a world apart, a new world, forgetting their homes and country, and grieving little at the deaths of mates they loved more than anything on this earth, because they knew that only time kept them from the 'great majority' who had already died, and they believed that fate would overtake time, and bring most of them to the last parade. So they continued, grim, mocking, defiant, brave, and careless, free from common toils and woes, into a perpetual present, until they should meet the fate of so many who had marched before them down the great road of peace and sorrow into eternity.

'The Outbreak of Peace'

Any soul who successfully surmounts the horrors of this war, this mad cruel farce, is forever above the run of ordinary men. He may be a vulgar brute; he may be a genius; he may [be] just a common man of the world; but he is worthy of the intensest admiration & respect just because he has suffered so much. The present generation is a super-generation. It is the bravest generation since Adam. What a terrible pity it is that it should bleed to death!

Lieutenant J.T. Hampson, M.C., 19th Battalion, 15 August 1917.

The eleventh hour of 11 November 1918 found the Australians totally unprepared to receive it. In that sudden instant, the world which had encased their lives and thoughts vanished, and a new world materialized, a world bounded not by death and war, but by life and home. This had been ardently desired but little expected, so that few soldiers could grasp immediately that the vast business of slaughter and sacrifice was over.¹

The Australian infantry had begun its return to the front before 11 November, but on that day only a few A.I.F. specialist troops were in or near the line. Hardly a man reacted to the momentous news. Of 46 men writing from France during this period, nine did not mention the Armistice, 21 noted, 'Armistice signed today' or an equivalent, and five described the exultant excitement of English or French civilians.

Three men were joyful. One, a late 1917 artillery reinforcement, was writing home when the news caught him. "By JOVE!!!", he burst out, "Crikey!!! what shall I say?... glorious news...What a Godsent Xmas box for the world!... Funny how calmly they all take it though, considering the tremendous thing it is..."² The only relatively enthusiastic infantryman was Wilfred Gallwey. He had written 350 page letters during the war, yet now commented in his diary simply, "Peace and end of war. Mad

1

From a statement by Mr J.H. Sturgiss, 23 October 1967.

2

324. Gnr. K.S. Dowling, 107 Howitzer Bty., Clerk, of Chatswood, N.S.W. b.1889. (L), 11/11/18

see also:

383. Freiboth, (79,2), (D), 11/11/18.

with joy", and in a letter two days later, "...I am intoxicated with joy."¹

The remaining eight soldiers noted the silent apathy of their comrades, or confessed their own sense of anticlimax. "The day of days," Private Cleary exclaimed, "We had two victory's today. we won the War and defeated the 5th Field Coy @ Soccer. The news of the Armistice was taken very coolly...nobody seemed to be able to realise it."² "After such a long term of this life," an officer explained, "the War has become so much a habit that it has become impossible to realise what peace would really mean. Consequently this news was received very quietly and with little demonstration by all ranks."³ Six days after peace broke out, another officer supposed that his family "all heaved a sigh of relief on hearing that an armistice had been signed...The end came suddenly...and we could hardly believe the news at first."⁴ What happened to the men of the A.I.F. on that quiet November morning was, for the moment, beyond their comprehension.

1

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (D), 11/11/18 and (L), 13/11/18.

2

262. Cleary, (220,2), (D), 11/11/18.

3

741. Stobie, (273,1), (D), 11/11/18.

4

255. Chedgey, (333,2), (L), 17/11/18

see also:

241. Carter, (123,3), (L), 11/11/18; 370. Flannery, (372,1), (L), 12/11/18; 574. McInnis, (193,1), (D), 12/11/18; 760. Traill, (174,2), (D), 11/11/18; Bean, Anzac to Amiens, p.201; p.515; Official History..., VI, p.1053; Chatto, op. cit., Statement by Senator E.W. Mattner, 14 May 1968.

Of course they looked forward to going home. An Anzac reported,

...a car of shrieking brass hats [passed], waving their caps and yelling the war was over. "Garn, yer silly bastards," was the diggers comment... there was no great elation or hysterical outburst among the fighting troops...for the Aussies - the war was over, and the question was "How soon can we get home to be civvies again?"¹,

and a Queensland lieutenant predicted, "...its na poo war now barring a few minor little affairs that are always liable to crop up...but I don't fancy us 6/- a day tourists will be required to do any of it...hang the war we have a sporting chance of seeing Aussy now and that's the main thing."²

Not every Australian would see his country. Corporal Thomas was dead, shot near Merris in June 1918. Lieutenant Alexander was dead, killed at Messines. Sergeant Major Feist was mortally wounded at Mouquet Farm, and Sergeant Major Ellsworth died under artillery fire in Flanders. Lieutenant Callen was killed at Bray, Corporal Antill at Ploegstreet, Captain Armitage at Noreuil. They were put to rest under the green grasses of France, and more than 60,000 of their comrades, marking the tide of war on three continents, shared their exile. Perhaps 7,000 men remained

1

654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), 11/11/18.

2

546. Mann, (102,1), (L), 14/11/18

see also:

412. Gration, (80,2), (L), 28/11/18; 663. Peters, (281,3), (L), 11/11/18; 975. Molesworth, (281,2), (L), 14/11/18.

The reaction of Australian civilians to the Armistice is described on pp.67-70.

of those gay legions which had set forth in 1914,¹ and in some battalions over 1,000 men had been killed in battle.²

The lucky survived. George Mitchell served in the Pacific during a second war, and died in 1961. Archie Barwick went back to farming in New South Wales, and Garnet Adcock to engineering in Victoria. Wilfred Gallwey, Les de Vine, and Thomas Cleary all returned to Australia.

The living would never forget the dead, for war and youth had bound men closely, till their united brotherhood contained everything worthwhile. During the war soldiers had mourned when a mate was killed, but they had restrained their grief because they too expected in time to die. Now the living would soon sail away, breaking cherished associations and bearing only sorrowing memories. For the first time they felt the pangs of parting,³ and for the first time many wrote farewell to their dead friends, rebelling as they wrote against the waste and horror of war, and confessing at last that sense of irreplaceable loss which would stalk them throughout the long years ahead. During the war a man himself to die explained their attitude:

Many chaps who were so good & unselfish that I loved them more than a brother have died...some of them in my arms & such things sadden a man, not so much at the time as the Angel of Death is hovering over us

1

About 30,000 men embarked with the A.I.F. in 1914. Butler, op. cit., II, p.717; III, p.887. Other statistics about the A.I.F. are appended on p.478.

2

In 3 Bn. (N.S.W.), for example, 1,311; in 25 Bn. (Qld), 1,029.

3

But compare with pp.208-9.

all then one goes in daily & hourly expectation of a violent and terrible death, but afterwards when one is...relieved of the mental strain of actual warfare, the memory of such scenes is ineffaceable...¹

"One is jolly glad to be out of it", a private in an English hospital wrote,

yet...men you have been friendly with and stood side by side for months or perhaps into years... have been killed - ones heart fills with sadness - and one has a hankering to be back over there with "the boys" once more. Whatever one may be in private life when you are in the line facing the same enemies fear, death & other horrors you are absolutely one, and one gets momentary glimpses of that truer and greater democracy which is gradually opening out to solve all human problems²,

and on the day of the Armistice a 2nd Battalion corporal related,

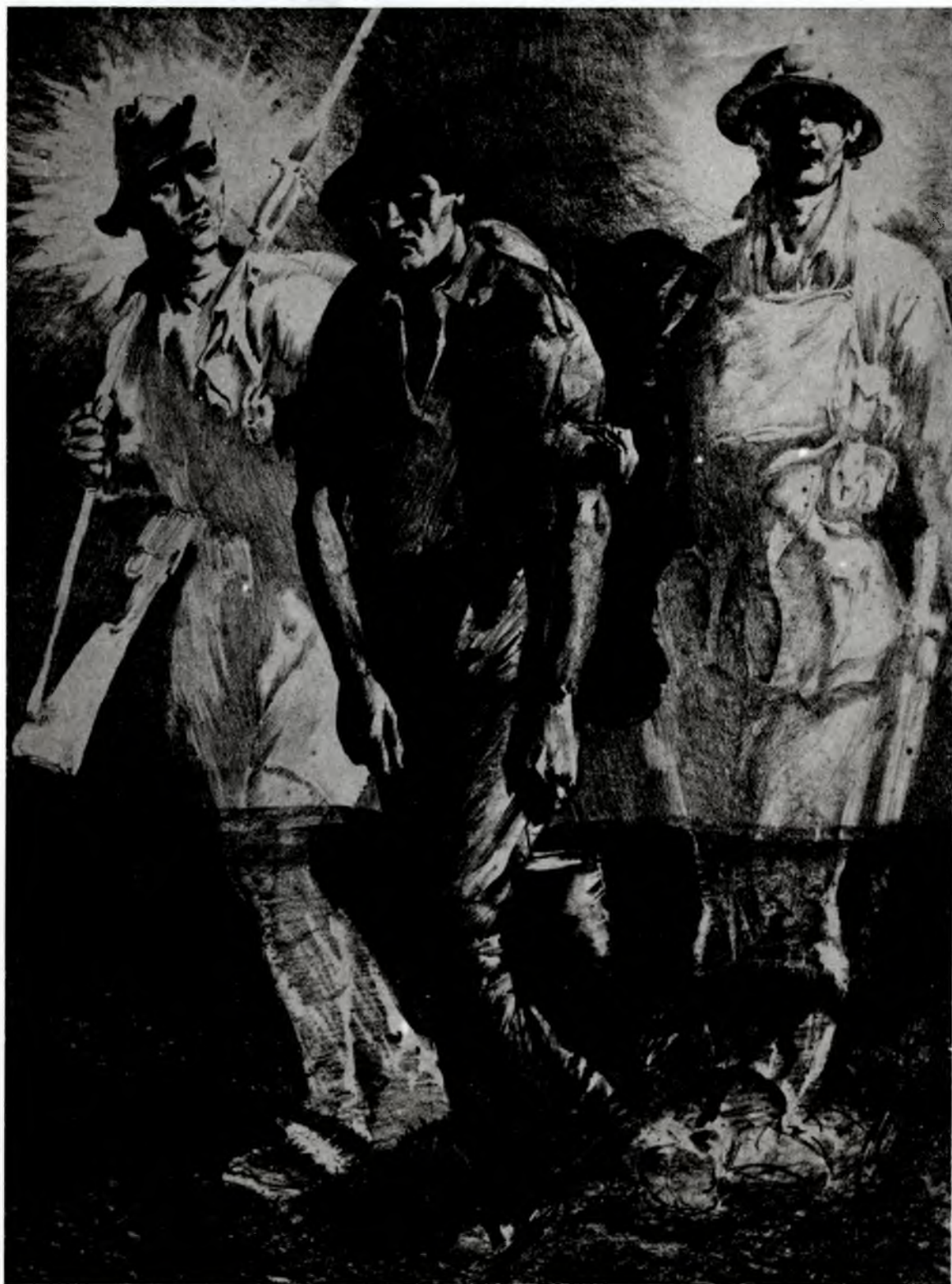
At about noon...was told an Armistice had been declared... it was hardly creditable...so to all intents and purposes the war is finished or seems so. And as one sits and ponders sadly of those many pals who are "gone to that home from which no wanderer returns." It seems so strange that it should be, that one's dearest pals should fall and that I even I should still be here. The very flower of our manhood have paid the greatest price, not willingly for not one of them but longed to live, return home and forget, yes just forget the horrors of the past. Most of us enlisted for... Patriotism or Love of Adventure but not one...had the slightest conception of the terrible price required...Please God...the sacrifices have not been in vain. Brude old pal of mine, would to God that

¹

477. Jackson, (154,2), (L), 10/3/16.

²

953. Scott, (397,3), (L), 5/11/18.



'Xmas Memories', by Will Dyson.

you were here with me this day,¹ but no, God willed it otherwise and so "farewell".

He had turned, as many would often turn, to the great bonds of the past, remembering mates so well loved that they enriched Heaven by their passing.²

The living were united by ties almost equally strong, for war had forged attachments firmer among them than anything possible in peacetime. Mates who for years had meant life, purpose, and home were now to disperse, and units which had symbolized so much love and loyalty were now to disband. It was unhappy fortune. "I am disappointed in a way at not going back to the battery," one man admitted, "...I don't think it possible to strike such a fine lot of fellows in civil life...",³ and in Australia many returned men nostalgically remembered the brotherhood of war. "It was hard to break away from the boys and each time I went into the City we met and still talked shop",⁴ a demobilized Sydney man recorded late in 1918. In 1933 E.J. Rule dedicated his book, Jacka's Mob, "To that grand companionship of great-hearted men, which, for most of us, is the one splendid memory of the war",

¹
615. Morgan, (314,4), (D), 11/11/18.

²
989. Edwards, (30,1), (Narrative), p.19 (1919)
see also:

912. Spr. P. Hodge, 1 Div.Sig.Coy., Warehouseman, of Manly, N.S.W. b.1893. (D), 11/11/18
'Tiveychoc', op. cit., pp.233-4; Statement by Mr J.H. Sturgiss, 30 May 1968.

³
317. Maj. J. Doherty, M.C.& Bar, 7 F.A.B., Company manager, of Balmain, N.S.W. D.O.D. 26/2/19, aged 30. (L), 3/1/19.

⁴
50. Anderson, (44,1), (D), Conclusion, -/12?/18.

and in 1937 George Mitchell recalled of his last days of service, "The battalion, our father and our mother of unforgettable years, was drifting to pieces. The links that connected us with the unforgotten dead seemed to be snapping one by one. As each draft left, mateships were sundered [usually forever]..."¹

The men disbanding had profoundly affected their country. Australia stood firmly upon the world's stage, a member nation at the peace discussions, and in its own eyes proven to men. "Up to the time of this war we were merely an offshoot of the British race...Now we are a Nation..."² General White declared in 1919, and Bean told a Sydney audience in that year:

...Australia rides safely in harbor to-day, a new nation. Five years ago the world barely knew her. To-day, the men who went to fight for her have placed her high in the world's regard. During four long years, in good fortune and ill, they so bore themselves that when the tide changed, the great and free nations...counted Australia amongst them ...She has been given a place in the conference of

1

Mitchell, op. cit., p.281
 see also:
 654. Nicholson, (34,2), (L), -/9/19; 869. Cocks, (433,4), (L), 2/3/17; Statement by Mr L.H. Barrett (formerly Lt., 2 Bn., Carpenter, of Sydney, N.S.W., b.1891?), 4 July 1967; Bean, op. cit., VI, p.1073; Green, F.C.: 'After the Battalion Reunion', Stand-To, Jan.-Feb. 1955, pp.23-5 passim; Kristianson, op. cit., p.210; Statement by Senator Mattner, 14 May 1968; Rule, op. cit., pp.341-6; Williams, The Gallant Company, p.265.

2

In Henderson, op. cit., Introduction, p.4.

nations; the great world has recognised her right to mould her future as she pleases...¹

Few Australians would have contradicted this assessment.

At the same time, a bloody war and bitter experience weakened the affections of Empire. Australians met the English during the struggle, and the acquaintance lifted the veils of distance and ignorance and qualified their old enthusiasms. "Before the war the Australian had almost believed his grandfather's statement that everything truly good was found in the Old Country", a New South Welshman declared, "But [now]...his soldier grandson will only smile and say "Australia will do me." "² Men found England cold, crowded, and corrupted by class division, but more important, they saw the flaws in Britain's martial capacity. Englishmen could err, and err badly, and Australians thought them less able in war and less reasonable about discipline. England's image suffered, so that the men of the A.I.F. not only discharged the debt of tradition, but went on to evolve a separate heritage for their country. The break was not entire: Britain was still much respected after 1918, but she was far more nearly an equal. In 1922, during the incident at Chanak, not far from Anzac's sacred shores, the Australian

1

From an Address for Peace Day, in the Grace Stafford Collection, Australian War Memorial
see also:

377. Maj. C. Fortescue, D.S.O., M.C., 49 Bn., Jeweller, of Toowoomba, Qld. b.1893. (Narrative), p.1.

2

123. Bartley, (79,2), (D), 15/4/19

see also:

233. Campbell, (73,1), (L), 7/7/17.

Government rebuffed an English attempt to formulate its foreign policy, and asserted its right to independent judgment. That had not been possible in 1914.

To many civilians in Australia, it seemed that the soldiers were well rewarded for their suffering and service. They came home to the cheers and thanks of a grateful nation, and to better payments and benefits than fell to the lot of returned men in other lands.¹ They had given their country a tradition, and for the rest of their lives they would be especially honoured. Yet before the last veterans reached home the cheers were already dying away, and the soldiers' rewards were less than those promised them during the war. Worse, "when I got home in 1919 Ex Diggers were singing for a living in the streets. Men without arms or legs, some in wheel chairs."² Probably that was not common in 1919, but it became more so, as stay-at-home Australians, weary of war, recoiling from its horror, and sickened by the number of its victims, forgot those tragic years as quickly as possible. They could continue in ways and occupations they had not quit, and they easily resumed pleasures and relaxations the war had caused them to abandon. They wanted a return to normalcy, and they expected returned men to show a similar desire.

This was difficult for the soldiers, because their past was broken, not merely interrupted. The war had

1

Kristianson, op. cit., pp.198-200; Scott, op. cit., XI, pp.828-57.

2

Statement by Mr H. Brewer (formerly Lt., 54 Bn., Groom, of Newtown, N.S.W. b.1895), 8 October 1967.

taught them a new system of values - mateship, the worth of the individual, courage, humour, cooperation, straightforward action, fair play, generosity, determination, integrity, and patriotism - which they could not easily apply to peace. Bean had hoped they would,¹ but in every mind the war was a sphere removed from ordinary life, so that the sheer enormity of the experience which brought so many Australian attitudes to full flower also divorced them from what went before and came after. The values themselves were linked with horror and tragedy, but as well the men who had upheld them in war had become an exclusive association. They considered their wartime ideals part of their common experience, and tended to keep them to themselves rather than corrupt them among the petty frictions of peace. If the war chastened Imperial enthusiasms in Australia, the peace withered many qualities which the Anzacs had begun to promote in April 1915.

Some veterans did not feel a loss, and easily took up the old or new conventions of peace. More blended past and present: they resumed civil life, but always remembered the security, purpose, and companionship of war. Many of this outlook regarded the years of blood as the happiest of their lives. "Those days, months and years will ever remain memorable to us, there being many bright and happy days as well as the bad ones",² a man predicted,

1

In Your Hands, Australians, and see particularly pp.8-11, 35-6, 42-3, 80-5; Address in Grace Stafford Collection, Australian War Memorial.

2

50. Anderson, (44,1), (D), Introduction, -/1?/19.

probably early in 1919, and a disabled veteran wrote down a song popular among his old comrades:

Now the bleedin' war is over,
 Oh, how many was I there;
 Now old Fritz and I have parted,
 Life's one everlasting care.
 No more estaminets to sing in,
 No ma'moiselles to make me gay;
 Civvie life's a bleedin' failure,
 I was happy yesterday.¹

This was largely the spirit of the R.S.L.,² which many joined to show a united front to their detractors, to keep in touch with old companions, and to pass over and over the momentous events which had first brought them together.³

1

'Tiveychoc', op. cit., pp.261-2

see also:

388. Gallwey, (53,4), (D), Preface compare with (L), 14/4/17 and (D), 1/1/18; Statement by Col. E. Campbell, 9 October 1967.

2

The Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, since 1965 the Returned Services League, has long been popularly known by these initials.

3

Of 265 returned men who answered a questionnaire in 1967 or 1968, 220 were or had been for a considerable period R.S.L. members. 139 of these gave 182 specific reasons for joining, which were proportioned as follows:

Fight for concessions or rights	31.87%) Many gave both) these reasons
See old mates	31.87%	
Help less fortunate or crippled mates, help dependants	17.58%	
Continue A.I.F. spirit	8.24%	
Assist Australia's progress	7.14%	
Other (usually personal)	3.3%	

Only 45 respondents were not R.S.L. members. Of these most disliked the class or political bias of R.S.L. leadership. Lesser reasons given were in order: object to presence of
 (footnote continued p.467)

There were less happy adjustments. Bill Harney rode 800 miles into the Queensland bush after he was demobilized, and never applied for his campaign medals, and refused for almost 40 years to admit that he had fought in the war.¹ Men like him were trying to forget, to blot out the gruesome sights and the agonies and waste of a horrible past. A mid 1915 enlistment felt in August 1919:

I would be a nervous wreck before ever I got within miles of the front and I am certain that I am not an exceptional case. Already many of the horrors of war are fading and one calls to mind more clearly the good times and the funny incidents, nevertheless warfare will always remain in my mind now as something most cruel and merciless, and a future² war to me is something too awful to contemplate.

For some the mental wounds of war never healed. "When I go to bed at night," Dudley Jackson stated in 1967, "if I allow myself to think of the war I'll get no sleep for the rest of the night, thinking of the things "I should have done" and what "I should not have done"."³

(footnote 3 continued from p.466)
 non-combatants; not interested; wish to forget war; dislike R.S.L. clubs. Note that while 83% of respondents were or had been for a considerable period R.S.L. members, only between 40% and 50% of all returned men joined.
 Kristianson, op. cit., pp.116-7, 210-1.

1

Harney, op. cit., p.12.

2

706. Sheppard, (91,2), (D), 10/8/19.

3

Statement by Mr D. Jackson, 4 July 1967
 see also, during the war,
 255. Chedghey, (333,2), (L), 10/6/18; 385. Gaby, V.C.,
 (305,3), (L), 24/9/16; 748. Thomas, (276,1), (L), 9/6/16
 (footnote continued p.468)

Such soldiers found the quiet murmurs of peace harder than the tumult of war. "Its a pretty strange feeling to know that the war is practically over", a man confided three days after the Armistice, "and it makes one realize how difficult it is going to be to settle down again to civilian life. One has...settled so much down to this life that one will feel more or less like a duck out of water..."¹ Some men, at a disadvantage beside those who had never sailed to defend their country, feared to begin civil life again. They felt lost in a community that could not use the skilled trades of war, and they dreaded a new fight for a livelihood. In 1916 a Queensland private had protested,

...when it is all at an end we will...have to fight again in the struggle for existence, to compete against women & against men who have remained at home. There is nothing in the world more short lived & fleeting than a nations remembrance of her fighting men after peace is declared, the Public has no gratitude & being a discharged soldier will act as a deterrent when seeking a

(footnote 3 continued from p.467)

In 1967 or 1968, 237 returned men offered 249 general comments about their active service, which were proportioned as follows:

Quality of mateship incomparable	32.93%
War or A.I.F. service an invaluable experience	28.51%
Miracle respondent survived	9.64%
On average, a good war	8.43%
On average, a bad war	6.83%
War bad or futile	5.22%
Respondent satisfied with own performance	4.82%
Generals bungled conduct of war	3.62%

1

326. Duke, (83,1), (L), 14/11/18

see also:

280. Cox, (275,2), (L), 14/7/16; 388. Gallwey, (53,4), (L), 2/8/17, pp.86, 240.

billet. I am thinking that Australia will be a pretty deadly place for a returned soldier after the war, until he can live down the fact of his having served his country¹,

and a wartime soldiers' verse ran:

God and the soldier we all adore
When trouble is here. Yet no more
When the war is o'er, and the wrongs are righted,
God is forgotten, the soldier slighted.²

In 1931 Garnet Adcock described the senses of disruption, despair, pettiness and monotony which still afflicted many returned men. He quoted the memorable words of a German soldier,³ then continued,

It is said that the war has been over twelve years. For we of the generation who went out as young men, to learn the trade of soldiering at our most impressionable age, and to lead a life which would ever after make any other existence drab and colourless, demobilisation meant the commencement of an era harder than the war.

...we came back to our careers as clumsy beginners, yet lacking the humility of beginners, demanding of ourselves the same skill and...success as we had achieved in the business of soldiering.

We came back to a changed world. Old values had been lost and new standards were changing overnight. The world was going through the upheaval from war to peace...a greater upheaval than from peace to war...

1

477. Jackson, (154,2), (L), 8/11/16 see also (L), 25/1/17.

2

In 170. Pte. J. Booth, 20 Bn., Shipwright, of Balmain, N.S.W. K.I.A. 9/10/17, aged 30. (L), -/2/17

see also:

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), 13/1/19. The verse was well known and derives from one written in the seventeenth century.

3

See Remarque, E.M.: All Quiet on the Western Front, p.95.

We were welcomed back with promises of a rosy future...and perhaps a little more than our share of the common load to carry...Some were installed in 'steady' jobs and people wondered, and many condemned, when they did not 'settle down'.

Others did 'adapt themselves' at a cost, bearing the burden of the lost years...and their share of the legacy of madness. To these the struggle was greater, more constant and more disheartening than any in the war...Peace could crush with care, or dull with monotony. There was no medal ribbon for success, and no hero-worship. The greatest prize was escape from failure.

...the comradeship of war, was lost in peace. Men who lived together as brothers, sharing every danger and privation, drifted apart in peace. Those two factors, 'women' and 'possessions', which only occupy the background in war, came in between friends. Men took wives...[or] accumulated possessions, and in the end, though they would have shared their last crust in war, they mentally ranged themselves, like all others with some prize, against the rest of the world, lest someone should rob them of it.

The Peace following a War is worse than the War.¹

Perhaps the unkindest cut came from the attitude of many Australians who had not been soldiers, those who were unable or unwilling to comprehend either the enormity of the soldiers' ordeal, or the force of the memories, good and bad, which separated returned men from others. The veterans found it difficult to become civilians in spirit

1

14. Adcock, (100,4), (L), apprehend conclusion. Maj. Adcock married a Belgian girl shortly after the war. see also:

Statements by: Mr R.W. Beetham (formerly Lt., 2 Bn., Clerk, of Sydney, N.S.W. b.1889.), 1 October 1967; Col. E. Campbell, 31 October 1967; Mr H.K.T. Chancellor (formerly Q.M.S., 4 L.H.Regt., Bank clerk, of Bendigo, Vic. b.1896.), 8 May 1968.

for the war was etched into their souls,¹ purging them of the trivial and unworthy, binding them with associations and memories, and circling them with contradictions when they took up the ways of peace. They had killed men, and their bloodied hands turned awkwardly to gentler tasks and pleasures. They had watched the bravest and best of their generation die, so that they feared for their country's future, and shrank back from a world which wanted to change and forget. Once a year they were honoured for their part in the war, but they found it hard to accept an

1

In 1966 a Canadian veteran of World War Two compared the outlook of his contemporaries with that of Canadians who had fought at Vimy Ridge in April 1917: "The experience of the two generations had been of a totally different order, almost beyond analysis...They were older by twenty years, wore their medals, and frequently re-visited their old battlefields in large parties. We did not bother to relive, except occasionally and privately...[They] must have undergone together an experience so appalling that the bonds linking them were indissoluble. Such a tiny area of Europe, after all; holding the same ground, day after day, until the days became years; and the old faces became dead faces, and the new faces were blown away also; until those few who were left had common ground only among themselves. They were survivors. And those who had not endured...were strangers." McKee, A.: Vimy Ridge, Foreword, pp.12-3. The Canadian attitude to the Vimy Ridge battle is similar to, although less marked than, the attitude of Australians and New Zealanders toward Anzac (see *ibid.*, pp.252-3). McKee notes similarities in discipline and fighting efficiency between Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders, distinguishes these from English (but not Scottish) troops, and suggests causes for this and consequences in battle much like suggestions I have made in this thesis. (*Ibid.*, pp.253-5) Writers have often noted the similarity in outlook and success in battle between Australians, New Zealanders, and Canadians, and I suspect that further study would enable me to extend statements made here about Australians to the soldiers of those other nations.

attitude which others easily adopted, that what was part of Australian life was also part of Australia's past. Despite these disabilities, many civilians required soldiers to forget the war, as they themselves were doing, and become good citizens, as they were.¹

Not all could not do it, and the consequent division in society was the last of several which the men of the A.I.F. were obliged to bear. The whole world had lost the firm attachments of 1914, but the fighting also destroyed the hopes many soldiers had held for their own lives. They had accepted this, and become devoted to war. Again they were broken, and after 1918 each began again to adjust to unfamiliar ways. Yet always the war stayed with them, in the gapped ranks of their comrades, in the monuments to their friends raised in every Australian community, and in the images which flashed from the dark shadows of their memories. They had become men apart, but this was their pride as well as their burden, because usually they recalled the mates who had served with them in the struggle. Throughout their quiet after journey most caught the old echoes eagerly, for they had learnt to prize that lies in the souls of men above all the glories and agonies thrust upon them during the broken years.

1

For this paragraph, 428. Hampson, (353,2), (L), 15/8/17 quoted p.453; 607. Mitchell, (79,2), (D), 6/7/17; 710. Silas, (100,1), (D), Conclusion, 1916; Bean, op. cit., pp.8-9; Rule, op. cit., pp.340-6.

Appendices

1. Escape method used by Australians in Cairo early in 1916.
2. Social comparisons between Australian adult males, the A.I.F. embarked, and the writers of diaries and letters read for this thesis.
3. The Price: outline of A.I.F. enlistments, embarkations, and casualties.

Appendix 1

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O O O O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O O O O O O

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1. March off.

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O O O O
O X X O
O O O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O X X O
O XXX O
O XXX O
O XXX O
O O O O O O

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2. Prisoners wedging back, saying they have bad feet or escort is marching too fast.

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O O O O
O X X O
O O O
O O O
O X X O
O X O
O XXX O
O XXXX O
O XXXX O
O O O O O O

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3. More pressure.

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O O O O
O O O
O O O
O X X O
O O O
O X X O
O O X O
O O X O
O O X O
O O X X O
O O X X X X O
O O O O O O

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4. Breaking off.

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O O O O
O XXX O
O X O
O O O O
O O
O X
O O
O O O O
O O X X
O O X O O X X
O X O O X X
O X X

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5. Off.

(x = Prisoner : o = Escort)

Diagrams showing method used by Australian prisoners to break from the escort, Cairo, early 1916.

From 671. Lt. J.A. Raws, (43,2), (L), 8/5/16.

Occupation

	% -----		% -----	
	Males 15-64 in Australia at Census 3 April 1911	Soldiers read for this thesis	A.I.F. embarked	Soldiers read for this thesis
Professional	4.87	29.1	Tradesmen	34.00 19.6
Domestic	2.56	.8	Labourers	30.00 Urban-13.2) 26.7 Rural-13.5)
Commercial	14.86	17.4	Country Callings	17.36 10.8
Transport and Communication	8.84	8.9	Clerical	7.36 20.2
Industrial	28.90	16.2	Professional	4.75 15.8
Primary Producers	35.00	24.3	Miscellaneous	3.89 4.1
Independent	.13	.1	Seafaring	1.98 1.9
Dependents	4.84	2.5	Nurses	.64 .2
Unknown	Allocated proportionately	.6	Unknown	-- .6
Numerical total	1,497,456	999	Numerical total	330,770 999

Note: The 1911 Census classified each occupation according to the industry or calling with which it was associated, and took no account of the status of an individual within his category. Thus a judge and a policeman are both found under "Professional", a businessman and a grocer's assistant under "Commercial". But apparently the "A.I.F. embarked" figures consider the social status of individuals. A valid correlation between the two tables is therefore not possible, and I have compared my own sources first with one, then with the other.

Sources: Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3 April 1911, Vol. 1, Statistician's Report, p.374; Butler, op. cit., III, p.890. Criteria for classifying occupations in the 1911 Census are in the Statistician's Report, pp.347-56.

Appendix 2 (continued)

Religion

	%	%	%
	Males 15 and over in Australia at Census 3 April 1911	A.I.F. embarked	Soldiers read for this thesis
Church of England	39.40	49.22 (a)	55.8 (a)
Roman Catholic	22.30 (b)	19.26	10.6
Presbyterian	13.29	15.01	16.9
Methodist	11.36	10.19	9.7
Other Christian	10.92 (c)		2.9
Non Christian	1.64 (d)	6.33 (e)	.5
Indefinite and No religion	1.09		.3
Unknown	65,227 (f)	--	3.2
Numerical total	1,597,042	330,770	999

- Notes: (a) Records probably include some who gave "Protestant" or "No religion"
- (b) Includes those who gave "Catholic"
- (c) Includes those who gave "Protestant"
- (d) Includes 7,047 Hebrew
- (e) Comprises 5.96% "Others" and 0.37% Hebrew
- (f) This number not considered in reaching above percentages.

Sources: Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3 April 1911, Vol. 2, Detailed Tables, p.772; Butler, op. cit., III, p.890.

Appendix 2 (continued)Place of Birth

	%	%	%
	Males 15-64 in Australia at Census 3 April 1911	A.I.F. embarked	Soldiers read for this thesis
N.S.W.	30.33	26.56	40.3
Vic.	28.65	27.90	24.8
Qld.	9.98	8.52	6.9
S.A. (a)	9.42	8.40	5.7
W.A.	1.44	2.42	3.7
Tas.	4.31	3.95	2.3
Total Australia	84.13	87.75	unknown .3 84.0
Overseas (b)	15.87	22.25	15.9 (c)
Numerical Total	1,497,456	331,781	999

Notes: (a) Includes Northern Territory
 (b) Mainly British Isles
 (c) Figure probably incomplete.

Sources: Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3 April 1911,
 Vol. 1, Statistician's Report, pp.120, 135, 143, 148;
 A.I.F. Records Section: Statistics of Casualties etc.,
 p.20.

Age

For age distribution of the A.I.F. embarked, see Butler, op. cit., III, p.890; the average age of soldiers read for this thesis was approximately 25 years 1 month.

Appendix 3The Price

Note: There are considerable variations in casualty statistics, and the following are indications only. Alternatives in brackets follow some figures.

416,809 Australians, 13.43% of the white male population and probably about half those eligible, enlisted in the A.I.F., and 330,770 (331,781; 331,814) embarked for service abroad. The majority, about 295,000, served in France.

63,163 (59,330; 58,132), or a little less than one man in five, died on active service. 152,422 (156,128) were otherwise made casualties, including some later killed. Casualties therefore totalled 215,585 (214,360), which was 64.98% of those who embarked with the A.I.F. 27,594 of these casualties were suffered on Gallipoli, 4,851 in Sinai or Palestine, 179,537 in France or Belgium, and the remainder in England, Egypt, Malta, or at sea. There were more occasions on which Australians reported sick (332,901) than there were Australians embarked, but only 4,084 were taken prisoner, including 3,848 captured in France.

About 2,000 returned men were permanently hospitalized as a result of the war; 22,742 veterans were in hospital in 1926, and 49,157 in 1939; in 1940 70,462 disabled men were receiving pensions.

Sources: See Official History..., Vols I-VII, XI, especially XI, pp.871-4; Butler, op. cit., II, p.492; III, pp.823, 880, 895-6, 965; the honour rolls in the Australian War Memorial; A.I.F. Records Section: Statistics of Casualties, etc., passim; The War Office: Statistics of the Military Effort of the British Empire, pp.237-9, 252-4. These have various and conflicting statistics.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHYA. Contemporary Material

1. A.I.F. diaries and letters
2. Newspapers and periodicals
3. Books, articles, etc.

B. Post-War Material

1. Histories of the War or the A.I.F.
2. Unit Histories
3. Personal Reminiscences
4. Books, theses, articles, etc.

A. Contemporary Material

1. A.I.F. diaries and letters

(Members of the same family are bracketed)

i) The Australian War Memorial Library:

1. Anon. Lt., 9 Bn., K.I.A.? (D)
2. Anon. officer, 1 F.A.B., K.I.A.? (D)
3. *Capt. D.S. Aarons, M.C. & Bar, 16 Bn. (L)
4. Sgt. F.A. Abbott, 33 Bn., K.I.A. 31/8/18. (L)
5. Pte. H.A. Aberdeen, 47 Bn., D.O.W. 10/6/17. (L)
6. Capt. M. Abson, 6 Bn.,(D)
7. Pte. A.J. Adams, 13 Fld.Amb., D.O.W. 9/8/16. (D)
8. Lt. A.T.S. Adams, M.M., 12 L.H.Regnt. (D)
9. Pte. L.T. Adams, 6 Fld.Amb., K.I.A. 2/9/15. (L)
10. Sgt. R.H. Adams, M.M., 8 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (L)
11. Sgt. R.W.W. Adams, 11 Bn., D.O.W. 26/7/16. (L)
12. Maj. W.A. Adams, D.S.O., 3 Pioneer Bn., K.I.A.
15/10/17. (L)
13. Capt. W.G. Adams, D.S.O., M.C., 45 Bn. (D)
14. Maj. G.I. Adcock, 2 Aust.Tunn.Coy. (L)
15. Lt. W.E. Addison, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 22/8/15. (L)
16. Lt. Col. J.K. Adey, O.B.E., A.A.M.C. (Notes)
17. L/Cpl. R.E. Adkins, 7 Bn., K.I.A. 4/3/17. (L)
18. Lt. J.E. Adlard, 1 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 1/2/18. (D)
19. Sgt. H.A. Affleck, 1 F.A.B., K.I.A. 17/8/17. (D)
20. Lt. T.P. Ahern, 54 Bn., K.I.A. 19-20/7/16. (D)
21. Lt. J.M. Aitken, M.C., 11 Bn., K.I.A. 10/8/18. (L)
22. L/Cpl. C.A. Akers, 35 Bn., K.I.A. 3/10/17. (L)
23. L/Cpl. H.G. Akhurst, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 25/3/17. (L)
24. Sgt. W. Alabaster, M.M., 45 Bn., D.O.W. 5/4/18. (L)
25. Pte. H.T.C. Alcock, 23 Bn., D.O.D. 14/2/16. (L)

*No indication of cause for termination of service denotes writer returned to Australia or England after the war; otherwise see "Abbreviations", pp.ix-xii.

26. Cpl. A.G. Alderdice, 2 Bn., D.O.W. 15/8/16. (Notes)
27. Lt. C.H. Alexander, 9 L.T.M.Bty., K.I.A. 8/6/17. (L)
28. Pte. D.G. Alexander, 13 Bn., D.O.W. 15/8/15. (L)
29. Pte. D. Allan, 33 Bn., Rep.T.A. 15/5/17. (L)
30. Lt. G.A. Allan, 19 Bn., K.I.A. 5/6/18. (L)
31. Cpl. J.R. Allan, D.C.M., 19 Bn., D.O.W. 3/10/18.
(D & L & Notes)
32. Lt. M.M. Allan, 12 Bn., K.I.A. 20/9/17. (L)
33. Lt. G.G. Allardyce, 4 Bn., D.O.W. 18/5/18. (D & L)
34. (Pte. C. Allchurch, 10 Bn., K.I.A. 21/9/17. (L)
35. { Cpl. H.C. Allchurch, 10 Bn., Rep.T.A. 13/2/17. (L)
36. { L/Cpl. L. Allchurch, Wireless Corps. (L)
37. Pte. C.A. Allen, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 25/9/17. (L)
38. Sgt. C.F. Allen, 1 A. & N.Z. Wireless Sig.Squad.,
D.O.D. 5/8/18. (L)
39. (Pte. E. Allen, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 25/4/18. (L)
40. { Pte. J. Allen, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 7/6/17. (L)
41. { Pte. J.E. Allen, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 7/6/17. (L)
42. Pte. F.J. Allen, 53 Bn., P.O.W. 19/7/16, escaped
11/9/18, D.O.D. 25/10/18. (L)
43. Lt. H. Allen, 3 Bn., D.O.W. 7/8/15. (L)
44. Lt. H.S. Allen, 3 Pioneer Bn. (D)
45. Sgt. W.W.B. Allen, 9 Bn., D. while P.O.W. 25/4/15. (L)
46. Cpl. A.J. Anderson, 4 L.H.Reg't., K.I.A. 12/4/19. (L)
47. Pte. C. Anderson, 7 Bn. (L)
48. Sgt. D.J. Anderson, 8 Bn., K.I.A. 16/6/15. (L)
49. Pte. D.J.C. Anderson, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 17/8/16. (L)
50. Gnr. F.G. Anderson, 104 Howitzer Bty. (D)
51. Sgt. H.M. Anderson, 28 Bn. (L)
52. Pte. J. Anderson, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 29/8/16. (L)
53. Lt. Col. J.H. Anderson, A.A.M.C. (D)
54. Lt. K.H. Anderson, 15 Bn., K.I.A. 9/5/15. (L)

55. Lt. K.S. Anderson, M.C., 22 Bn. (D)
56. Spr. N.O.C. Anderson, 3 Fld.Coy., D.O.W. 24/7/15. (L)
57. Cpl. N.R. Anderson, 5 Bn., K.I.A. 20/9/17. (L)
58. Lt. R. Anderson, 7 Bn., D.O.W. 14/1/19. (L)
59. Sgt. W.H. Anderson, 51 Bn. (L)
60. Pte. W.J. Anderson, 5 L.H.Regnt. (Notes)
61. C.Q.M.S. A.M. Andrews, 53 Bn., D.O.I. 17/3/17. (D)
62. Lt. H.D. Andrews, D.C.M., 1 Bn. (L)
63. Pte. G.G.G. Angus, 1 Pioneer Bn., K.I.A. 21/8/16. (L)
64. Pte. J.C. Angus, 28 Bn., D.O.W. 6/7/16. (L)
65. Capt. H.C. Anthony, 7 Bn., P.O.W. 18/8/16. (D)
66. Cpl. R.E. Antill, 14 Bn., K.I.A. 5/7/17. (L)
67. Lt. F.W. Appleton, 14 Bn., K.I.A. 8/8/18. (D & L)
68. Pte. W.J. Archbold, 41 Bn., K.I.A. 26/5/18. (D)
69. Pte. D.R. Argyle, 6 Bn., K.I.A. 20/10/17. (D)
70. Maj. S. Argyle, A.A.M.C., Rep.T.A. 22/2/17. (D)
71. Pte. G.A. Armes, 28 Bn., K.I.A. 3-6/11/16.
(Photographs)
72. Pte. A. Armitage, 11 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 31/7/17. (L)
73. Capt. H.E.S. Armitage, 50 Bn., K.I.A. 3/4/17. (D)
74. (Pte. A.B. Armstrong, 4 Bn., K.I.A. 15/4/17. (L)
75. {Pte. A.R. Armstrong, 4 Bn., D.O.D. 2/7/16. (L)
76. Sgt. A.W. Armstrong, 24 Bn., D.O.W. 29/7/16. (L)
77. L/Cpl. C.F. Armstrong, 4 M.G.Bn., D.O.D. 19/12/18. (L)
78. Lt. D.G. Armstrong, 21 Bn., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)
79. Pte. W.C. Armstrong, 26 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (L)
80. Pte. W.J. Armstrong, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 31/8/18. (D)
81. Lt. C.E.T. Armytage, M.C., 20 Bn., Rep.T.A. -/12/17.
(D)
82. Cpl. B.S. Arnold, 14 Fld.Coy., D.O.W. 31/10/17. (L)
83. Gnr. R.J. Arnold, 1 F.A.B., D.O.W. 29/7/17. (L)
84. Pte. C. Arthur, 3 Camel Bn., D.O.W. 24/11/17. (L)

85. Pte. E.R. Arundel, 28 Bn., D.O.W. 29/3/17. (L)
86. Sgt. A.A. Ash, 10 Bn., K.I.A. 25/2/17. (Poem)
87. Spr. C.B. Ashdown, 14 Fld.Coy., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (L)
88. Pte. C.D. Asher-Smith, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)
89. Pte. M. Ashton, 58 Bn. (L)
90. Lt. E.A.C. Atkinson, 9 M.G.Coy., D.O.W. 13/10/17. (L)
91. Sgt. J.J. Atkinson, 26 Bn., K.I.A. 12/6/18. (D & L)
92. Pte. W.C. Atkinson, 19 Bn., Rep.T.A. 11/12/17.
(Narrative)
93. Bdr. A.E. Attwell, 2 F.A.B., K.I.A. 11/10/17. (D & L)
94. 2/Lt. H. Attwood, 7 Bn., K.I.A. 20/9/17. (L)
95. Capt. P.H. Auld, M.C., 50 Bn., P.O.W. -/-/17. (D)
96. Pte. A.H. Avard, 35 Bn., D.O.D. 15/2/17. (D)
97. Maj. J.E. Avery, A.A.M.C., Rep.T.A. 12/5/18. (D)
98. Pte. R.E. Avery, 59 Bn., K.I.A. 4/4/18. (L)
99. Lt. J.W. Axtens, 8 M.G.Coy., (D & L)
100. Pte. M. Ayliffe, 2 Fld.Squad., D.O.D. 17/10/18. (L)
101. Lt. S.H. Ayliffe, 32 Bn. (Notes)
102. Lt. P.S. Backman, 6 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (L)
103. Bdr. W.E. Baker, 2 F.A.B., K.I.A. 21/3/18. (D)
104. Lt. W.D. Baldie, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 5/10/18. (L)
105. Sgt. C.C.H. Baldwin, M.M., 3 Bn., K.I.A. 2/3/17. (L)
106. Pte. J.S. Bambrick, 37 Bn., K.I.A. 10/2/18. (L)
107. Gnr. J.S. Bannon, 2 F.A.B., D.O.I. 7/8/18. (L)
108. Pte. W.W. Barber, 36 Bn., D.O.W. 23/10/17. (L)
109. Lt. A.R. Barker, 22 Bn., K.I.A. 25/4/18. (L)
110. Lt. A.E.D. Barlow, 6 F.A.B., K.I.A. 28/5/17. (L)
111. Lt. W.G. Barlow, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 12/5/17. (L)
112. C.S.M. B.B. Barnes, 21 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (L)
113. Capt. C.A. Barnes, 11 Bn., K.I.A. 28/4/15. (D)
114. Lt. J.H.F. Barnes, 46 Bn., D.O.W. 8/5/17. (L)

115. Pte. C.C. Barnsley, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 23/8/18. (D)
116. Sgt. H. Barr, M.M., 44 Bn., K.I.A. 13/10/17. (L)
117. Gnr. A.G. Barrett, 12 F.A.B., trans. to A.F.C., 1918. (L)
118. Dvr. D. Barrett-Lennard, 3 F.A.B., K.I.A. 17/7/15. (L)
119. Pte. J.P. Barron, 13 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 4/9/16. (L)
120. Cpl. S.J. Barrow, 33 Bn., K.I.A. 14/7/17. (L)
121. Pte. O.C. Barry, 1 M.G.Squad., trans. to A.F.C., 1917, K.I.A. 11/5/18. (D)
122. Lt. J.S.F. Bartlett, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 25/7/16. (D)
123. L/Cpl. J.S. Bartley, 30 Bn. (D)
124. Maj. A.S.D. Barton, D.S.O., A.A.M.C., Rep.T.A. 8/11/18. (D)
125. Pte. B.T. Barton, 6 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 3/12/17. (L)
126. Gnr. C.N. Barton, 11 F.A.B., K.I.A. 14/1/17. (L)
127. Maj. N.D. Barton, 7 L.H.Regt. (L)
128. Tpr. W.P. Bassett, M.M., 6 L.H.Regt. (D)
129. Lt.Col. W.J. Bateman, 17 Bn. (Notes)
130. Sgt. W.P. Beales, 4 Bn., K.I.A. 3/3/17. (L)
131. Bdr. G.F. Bedford, 2 F.A.B., K.I.A. 9/12/17. (L)
132. Col. the Hon. J.L. Beeston, C.M.G., V.D., A.A.M.C., Rep.T.A. 16/2/16. (D)
133. L/Cpl. E.J. Belford, 1 Bn., D.O.W. 19/6/16. (D & L)
134. Cpl. A.A.T. Bell, 21 Bn., K.I.A. 26/8/16. (D)
135. Pte. A.F. Bell, 59 Bn., D.O.W. 24/7/16. (D)
136. W.O. G.S. Bell, 6 Fld.Amb., trans. to A.F.C. (D & L)
137. Pte. J.A.R. Bell, 49 Bn., D.O.W. 10/4/18. (L)
138. L/Cpl. J.B. Bell, 45 Bn., Rep.T.A. 10/3/18. (L)
139. Pte. S.A. Bell, 2 Pioneer Bn., K.I.A. 6/5/17. (L)
140. Cpl. E.A. Bellamy, 14 F.A.B., K.I.A. 3/11/17. (D)
141. Pte. G. Bennett, 8 M.G.Coy., D.O.W. 6/10/17. (D)
142. Lt. S.J. Bennie, 22 Bn., K.I.A. 5/10/18. (L)

143. Sgt. A.E.B. Beresford, 26 Bn., D.O.I. 29/6/18.
(D & Notes)
144. Sgt. W.N. Berg, 18 Bn., Rep.T.A. 10/4/18. (L)
145. Lt. R.M. Berry, 25 Bn., K.I.A. 7/2/17. (L)
146. Gnr. E. Berthon, 10 F.A.B., D.O.W. 13/10/18. (D & L)
147. Lt. W.H. Bertwhistle, 7 M.G.Coy., Rep.T.A. -/1/17. (D)
148. Pte. F.W.G. Bessell, 51 Bn., K.I.A. 14-46/8/16. (L)
149. Gnr. R.W. Betts, 102 Howitzer Bty, D.O.W. 20/4/17. (L)
150. Spr. S. Betts, 8 Fld.Coy., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (L)
151. Pte. G.R. Beveridge, 27 Bn., D.O.W. 11/10/17. (D)
152. Pte. R.S. Beveridge, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 12/11/16. (D)
153. Gnr. J.V. Bias, 1 F.A.B., K.I.A. 21/7/17. (D)
154. Pte. L.B.C.D. Bibbs, 57 Bn., K.I.A. 28/4/18. (L)
155. Maj. F.L. Biddle, D.S.O., 2 F.A.B., D.O.W. 17/8/17.
(L)
156. Lt. L.H. Bignell, 19 Bn., K.I.A. 7/4/18. (L)
157. L/Cpl. R.A. Birchenough, 8 Bn., D.O.W. 15/4/18. (D & L)
158. Lt. H.M. Bishop, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 5/11/16. (L)
159. Pte. R.C. Bishop, 55 Bn., K.I.A. 20/7/16. (L)
160. Gnr. C.J. Bissell, 13 F.A.B., D.O.I. 13/10/16. (L)
161. Pte. D.P. Bissett, 57 Bn., D.while P.O.W. 19/9/18. (L)
162. Capt. A.S. Blackburn, V.C., 10 Bn., Rep.T.A.
16/10/16. (L)
163. Pte. L.G. Blackwood, 4 M.G.Coy. (L)
164. Sgt. H.M. Blair, 5 Bn., K.I.A. 25/7/16. (L)
165. Capt. L.R. Blake, M.C., 105 Howitzer Bty., D.O.W.
3/10/18. (L)
166. L/Cpl. W.J. Blake, 46 Bn., K.I.A. 18/9/18. (L)
167. Lt. W.G. Blaskett, 48 Bn., K.I.A. 11/4/17. (L)
168. Sgt. D.L. Bleechmore, 22 Bn., K.I.A. 5/8/16. (L)
169. L/Cpl. J. Boe, 1 L.T.M.Bty., K.I.A. 20/7/16. (L)
170. Pte. J. Booth, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)

171. Cpl. J. Borrows, 35 Bn., K.I.A. 29/5/17. (L)
172. Cpl. L.R. Boulton, 33 Bn., K.I.A. 15/7/17. (D)
173. Lt. S.P. Boulton, 2 F.A.B., D.O.W. 3/10/18. (L)
174. Pte. E.D. Bourchier, 22 Bn., D.O.W. 3/5/17. (L)
175. Lt. J. Bourke, 8 Bn., (D & L)
176. Lt. J.J. Bourke, 2 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 20/9/17. (L)
177. Pte. G.L. Bowen, 5 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 3/1/16, D.O.W. 1917. (L)
178. Pte. V.A. Bowman, 9 Bn. (D)
179. Lt. L.A.C. Boyce, M.C., 41 Bn., Rep.T.A. 31/7/18. (L)
- 179A. Capt. W.G. Boys, 25 Bn., D.O.W. 5/8/16. (L)
180. Sgt. A.V. Bracher, M.M., 25 Bn., K.I.A. 29/7/16. (L)
181. Pte. T.E. Bradshaw, 4 Bn., D.O.W. 11/9/18. (L)
182. Pte. E.J. Bramwell, 9 Bn., Rep.T.A. 14/7/17. (L)
183. Pte. C.H. Breckell, 19 Bn., K.I.A. 14/11/16. (L)
184. Pte. E. Brennan, 17 Bn., K.I.A. 14/5/18. (L)
185. Lt. T. Brew, D.C.M., 2 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (D)
186. Pte. H.I. Bridge, 2 M.G.Bn., K.I.A. 18/7/18. (L)
187. Maj.Gen. Sir W.T. Bridges, K.C.B., C.M.G., 1 Aust. Div., D.O.W. 18/5/15. (D & L & Notes)
188. Lt. H.F. Briggs, 14 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 20/7/16. (L)
189. Maj. E.T. Brind, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 28/7/16. (D & L)
190. Lt. E.M. Brissenden, 34 Bn. & 3 Aust.Div.H.Q. (D)
191. Lt. H.T. Britton, M.C., 34 Bn., D.O.W. 21/6/18. (L)
192. Spr. W.J.H. Brook, 1 Tunn.Coy., K.I.A. 10/11/16. (D)
193. L/Cpl. S.T. Brooks, 33 Bn., K.I.A. 25/6/18. (D & L)
194. Capt. A. Brown, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 20/7/19. (L)
195. Dvr. E.A. Brown, 1 L.H.Bde.H.Q. (D)
196. Pte. F.C. Brown, 55 Bn., K.I.A. 4/7/18. (L)
197. Lt. W.D. Brown, 11 Bn. (Notes)
198. Lt. N.J. Browne, M.C., 13 Bn., D.O.W. 22/3/18. (Notes)
199. Sgt. P.G. Browne, 9 Bn., K.I.A. 22/7/16. (L)

200. Cpl. O. Bruce, 4 Fld.Coy., K.I.A. 18/12/16. (D)
201. {Gnr. E. Burgess, 14 F.A.B., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (L)
202. {Gnr. J.B. Burgess, 14 F.A.B., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (L)
203. Lt. J.C. Burgess, 34 Bn., K.I.A. 12/10/17. (D)
204. Sgt. T.V. Burnett, M.M., 20 Bn., D.O.W. 6/8/16. (L)
205. Lt. A.G.M. Burns, M.C., 4 Div.Sig.Coy. (D)
206. Maj. A.F. Burrett, D.S.O., 3 Bn. (D)
207. Pte. M. Burrows, 4 Pioneer Bn., P.O.W. -/1/18. (L)
208. Lt. F.S. Burt, 4 M.G.Bn., K.I.A. 24/4/18. (L)
209. Capt. C.C. Burton, 7 Bn., D.O.D. 13/12/18. (L)
210. Lt. F.J. Burton, 4 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 31/10/17. (L)
211. {Sgt. A.S. Burvett, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 24/8/16. (L)
212. {Pte. H.H. Burvett, 6 Bn., D.O.W. 7/8/15. (L)
213. Pte. R.D. Bussell, 56 Bn., D.O.W. 25/7/16. (L)
214. Lt. E.L.A. Butler, 12 Bn., D.O.W. 23/8/16. (L)
215. {Pte. D.A. Byard, 16 Bn., K.I.A. 2/5/15. (Notes)
216. {Gnr. F.L. Byard, 8 F.A.B. (D)
217. Pte. C.J. Byrne, M.M., 2 Pioneer Bn., D.O.W. 11/3/17.
(L)
218. Pte. W.B. Cabena, 21 Bn., Rep.T.A. 11/4/16. (L)
219. Capt. H.C. Caines, 6 L.H.Regt., Rep.T.A. 23/8/17.
(Photographs)
220. Capt. S.C. Calderwood, M.C., 20 Bn., Rep.T.A.
24/1/18. (Narrative)
221. Lt. D.W. Caldwell, 27 Bn., K.I.A. 2/3/17. (L)
222. Lt. S.R. Callaghan, 34 Bn., K.I.A. 1/10/17. (L)
223. Capt. P.I. Callary, 9 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 28/8/15. (L)
224. Lt. V.C. Callen, M.M., 34 Bn., K.I.A. 20/8/18. (L)
225. Pte. P. Callinan, M.M., 8 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (D & L)
226. Gnr. W. Cam, 6 F.A.B., K.I.A. 25/9/17. (L)
227. Lt. A.A. Cameron, 9 Bn., K.I.A. 26/2/17. (L)
228. Lt. A.D. Cameron, 36 Bn., K.I.A. 4/4/18. (L)

229. Pte. C. Cameron, M.M., 10 Fld.Amb., D.O.W. 17/9/18.
(L)
230. 2/Lt. W.M. Cameron, 9 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 4/9/15. (D)
231. Capt. D.G. Campbell, 5 F.A.B., K.I.A. 21/10/17. (L)
232. Lt. D.G. Campbell, 51 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L)
233. Lt. J.D. Campbell, 6 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)
234. Lt. E.K. Carlile, 7 Bn., D.O.W. 28/2/17. (L)
235. Capt. A.C. Carmichael, M.C., 36 Bn. (L)
236. Capt. A.G. Carne, M.C., 6 Bn. (Narrative)
237. Dvr. H.J.C. Carr, 8 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. & D.O.W. 18/5/19.
(D)
238. Pte. W.C.G. Carr, 58 Bn., D.O.W. 31/7/16. (D)
239. Lt. G.M. Carson, M.M., 33 Bn., K.I.A. 31/8/18. (L)
240. Cpl. A.J. Carter, 13 Bn. (Notes)
241. Lt.Col. H.G. Carter, D.S.O., 5 Pioneer Bn. (L)
242. Pte. G. Cartwright, V.C., 33 Bn. (Notes)
243. Maj. R.G. Casey, D.S.O., M.C., 1 Aust.Div. (D)
244. Lt. R.A. Cassidy, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 9/4/17. (L)
245. { Cpl. A.W. Cavanagh, D.C.M., 29 Bn., Rep.T.A. 24/1/18.
(L)
246. { Cpl. B.H. Cavanagh, D.C.M., 23 Bn., Rep.T.A. 12/11/16.
(L)
247. { Lt. E.R. Cavanagh, D.C.M., 23 Bn. (L)
248. Capt. L.K. Chambers, 17 Bn., K.I.A. 29/7/16. (L)
249. Maj. P.A. Chambers, 12 L.H.Regt. (D)
250. Lt. B.W. Champion, 1 Bn., Rep.T.A. 30/6/18. (D)
251. Cpl. R.H. Chandler, 1 Sig.Squad., Rep.T.A. 8/9/18. (L)
252. Capt. J.A. Chapman, 30 Bn. (L)
253. Lt. J.J. Chapman, 9 Bn. (D)
254. Capt. P.W. Chapman, M.C., 55 Bn., K.I.A. 12/3/17. (D)
255. Lt. H.V. Chedgey, 1 Bn. (L)
256. Sgt. H.A. Cheney, 50 Bn., K.I.A. 2/4/17. (Narrative)

257. Lt. L.G. Cherry, M.M., 2 Bn. (L)
258. Lt. E.H. Chinner, 32 Bn., D. while P.O.W. 20/7/16.
(L)
259. Lt.Col. W. Churchus, D.S.O., K.I.A. 1/4/18. (D)
260. Maj. W.G.M. Claridge, 22 Bn. (L)
261. Lt. A.A. Clarke, M.M. 49 Bn. (D)
262. Pte. T.J. Cleary, 17 Bn. (D)
263. Maj. H.T.F. Coe, 12 F.A.B. (D & L)
264. Capt. F. Coen, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 28/7/16. (L)
265. L/Cpl. J. Cohen, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 4/3/17. (L)
266. Bdr. E.O. Collett, 8 F.A.B., K.I.A. 28/9/17. (L)
267. Lt. C.T. Collier, 53 Bn., K.I.A. 20/7/16. (L)
268. { Pte. J.D. Condon, 46 Bn., K.I.A. 11/6/17. (L)
269. { Lt. R.M. Condon, 22 Bn., K.I.A. 5/8/16. (D & L)
270. L/Cpl. G.C. Cooper, 1 L.H.Bde.M.G.Section. (D)
271. Pte. O Cornell, 3 M.G.Bn., K.I.A. 10/8/18. (L)
272. { Dvr. C.F. Corney, 101 Howitzer Bty. (L)
273. { Capt. F.R. Corney, M.C., 25 Bn. (L)
274. { Lt. H.H. Corney, M.M., 21 Bn., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)
275. Sgt. W.P. Cosgrave, 55 Bn., K.I.A. 17/4/18. (L)
276. Lt. J.G. Cosson, D.C.M., 48 Bn., K.I.A. 7/8/16. (D)
277. Lt. E.R. Cotterill, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 9/5/15. (L)
278. Capt. M.J.B. Cotton, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 24/7/16. (L)
279. Sgt. J.L.B. Coulter, 8 Bn., D.O.W. 10/8/15. (D)
280. Lt. A.C. Cox, 14 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 20/7/16. (L)
281. Gen. Sir H.V. Cox, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.S.I., 4 Aust.
Div. (D)
282. Lt. T.E. Cozens, 21 Bn., K.I.A. 24/2/17. (D)
283. Maj. A. Crawford, 8 L.H.Reg. (D)
284. Pte. D.B. Creedon, 9 Bn., D. while P.O.W. 28/6/15. (D)
285. L/Cpl. H.D. Green, 2 Fld.Coy., Rep.T.A. 8/10/18.
(Narrative)

286. Capt. R.W. Cresswell, 3 Camel Bn., K.I.A. 6/11/17. (L)
287. L/Cpl. A.M. Cross, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 7/11/17. (L)
288. Sgt. V. Cross, M.M., 49 Bn., Rep.T.A. 27/8/17. (D)
289. Lt. R.H. Crowe, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 3/5/15. (L)
290. Lt. H.W. Crowle, 10 Bn., D.O.W. 25/8/16. (L)
291. Capt. A.J. Cunningham, M.C., 2 Fld.Coy., Rep.T.A.
13/3/18. (D)
292. Capt. H.F. Curnow, 22 Bn., K.I.A. 5/8/16. (L)
293. Capt. N.M. Cuthbert, M.C., 2 Bn. (D)
294. Lt. C.H. Dakin, 5 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 15/4/17. (D)
295. Lt. J.M. d'Alpuget, 54 Bn., K.I.A. 17/7/16. (L)
296. Pte. R.C. Darby, 28 Bn., D.O.D. 13/8/18. (L)
297. { Lt. A.L. Dardel, 12 F.A.B., D.O.W. 8/5/17. (L)
298. { Lt. E.W. Dardel, M.M., 24 Bn., trans. to R.F.C.
- /10/18. (L)
299. Maj. A.H. Darnell, D.S.O., 11 Bn., D.O.W. 24/9/18. (L)
300. Lt. A.I. Davey, 32 Bn., K.I.A. 22/10/17. (L)
301. Maj. W. Davidson, 1 Bn., D.O.W. 19/8/15. (L)
302. Pte. G.H.J. Davies, 36 Bn., K.I.A. 12/7/17. (D & L)
303. Sgt. H.M. Davies, 57 Bn., D.O.W. 22/7/16. (L)
304. Lt. H.H.W. Davis, 31 Bn. (Notes)
305. Capt. H.S. Davis, 46 Bn., K.I.A. 11/4/17. (D & L)
306. Capt. C.S. Dawkins, 51 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (D)
307. Sgt. M.G. Delpratt, 5 L.H.Regt., P.O.W. 28/6/15. (L)
308. Sgt. A.L. de Vine, 4 Bn. (D)
309. Pte. E.C.N. Devlin, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 30/5/16. (L)
310. Sgt. T.W. Dial, M.M., 34 Bn. (L)
311. Capt. H.S. Dickinson, 57 Bn., K.I.A. 26/9/17. (D)
312. Lt. E. Digges La Touche, 2 Bn., D.O.W. 6/8/15. (L)
313. Lt. H.L. Dill, M.C., 3 Bn., D.O.W. 29/6/23. (L)
314. Lt. E.V. Doddemeade, 12 F.A.B. (D & L)

315. Lt. J.G. Dodimead, 54 Bn. (L)
316. Sgt. W. Doe, 45 Bn., Rep.T.A. 20/11/16. (L)
317. Maj. J. Doherty, M.C. & Bar, 7 F.A.B., D.O.D. 26/2/19.
(L)
318. Lt. S.V. Dolton, 45 Bn., K.I.A. 20/11/16. (L)
319. Lt. G.F.S. Donaldson, M.C., 4 Div.Eng. (L)
320. Pte. L.R. Donkin, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 15/8/15. (D)
321. Lt. G.J. Douglas, 59 Bn. (D)
322. Pte. J.W. Dowell, 45 Bn., Rep.T.A. 7/5/17. (D)
323. (Lt. E.S. Dowling, 1 L.H.Regt., D.O.W. 18/11/17. (L)
324. {Gnr. K.S. Dowling, 107 Howitzer Bty. (L)
325. Lt. L.S. Driscoll, 9 L.H.Regt. (L)
326. Capt. C.R. Duke, M.C., 5 Pioneer Bn. (L)
327. Pte. R.H. Duke, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 26/5/15. (D)
328. Lt. G.D. Duncan, 57 Bn. (L)
329. Lt. A.B. Eades, 12 F.A.B., D.O.D. 12/11/18. (L)
330. Lt. T.W. Eales, D.C.M., 21 Bn., K.I.A. 19/5/18. (L)
331. Pte. E.W. Eames, 18 Bn., D.O.W. 11/11/18. (D & L)
332. Lt. A.P. Earle, 6 M.G.Coy., D.O.W. 24/7/17. (L)
333. Sgt. E.S. Earle, 33 Bn., K.I.A. 2/12/16. (L)
334. Cpl. G.C. Easton, 2 M.G.Bn., D.O.D. 4/11/18. (L)
335. Pte. J.T.R. Easton, 14 Bn., D.O.W. 4/7/16. (L)
336. Pte. A.E. Eckford, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 3/5/17. (L)
337. Lt. E.H.D. Edgerton, D.S.O., M.M. & Bar, 24 Bn.,
K.I.A. 12/8/18. (D)
338. Lt. G.P. Edwards, 1 L.H.Regt., D.O.D. 20/11/16.
(Notes)
339. Lt. H.T. Elder, 5 Bn., D.O.W. 9/5/15. (D)
340. Brig. Gen. H.E. Elliott, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., D.C.M.,
V.D., 15 Bde. (D & L & Notes)
341. Sgt. L.F.S. Elliott, 56 Bn. (L)
342. Pte. G.C. Elliott, 21 Bn., D.O.W. 30/12/16. (L)

343. Lt. H. Ellis, 17 Bn., D.O.W. 16/4/17. (Notes)
344. Bty.S.M. N.G. Ellsworth, 102 Howitzer Bty., D.O.W.
31/7/17. (L)
345. Pte. H.P. Elvery, 33 Bn., K.I.A. 2/12/16. (L)
346. Sgt. L.R. Elvin, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 5/5/17. (D)
347. Pte. A.T. Elwood, 2 Bn., D.O.W. 17/5/15. (L)
348. Lt. J.O. Ethell, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (D & L)
349. Pte. A.P.R. Evans, 6 Bn., K.I.A. 10/8/18. (L)
350. Pte. E.C.R. Evans, 46 Bn., K.I.A. 18/9/18. (L)
351. Pte. G.G.H. Evans, 21 Bn., D.O.W. 30/7/16. (L)
352. Cpl. H.F. Evans, 13 Bn., D.O.W. 29/4/18. (L)
353. {Gnr. F.S. Evatt, 1 F.A.B., D.O.W. 29/9/18. (L)
354. {Lt. R.S. Evatt, M.C., 20 Bn., K.I.A. 20/9/17. (L)
355. Pte. G.E. Ewart, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 1/10/18. (D & L)
356. Cpl. W.I. Everard, 2 M.G.Bn., K.I.A. 4/7/18. (D & L)
357. Lt. A.F. Everett, 25 Bn., D.O.D. 19/2/17. (L)
358. {Capt. F.E. Fairweather, M.C. & Bar, 38 Bn., K.I.A.
{29/9/18. (D & L)
359. {Lt. H.A. Fairweather, 38 Bn. (L)
360. Pte. W.J. Falla, 11 Bn., Rep.T.A. 19/4/17, re-enl.
Aust.Corps.H.Q. (L)
361. Maj. W.G. Farquhar, D.S.O., 5 Fld.Coy. (D)
362. Lt. G.H. Fawcett, 4 Bn., Rep.T.A. 16/4/15, re-enl.
3 Div.H.Q. (D)
363. C.S.M. G.S. Feist, 52 Bn., K.I.A. 3-4/9/16. (L)
364. {Capt. G.L. Finlay, M.C., 5 Bn., D.O.D. 9/2/19. (D)
365. {Lt. W.S. Finlay, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 29/11/15. (Notes)
366. Lt. R.B. Finlayson, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 5/11/16. (L)
367. Lt. F.R. Fischer, 6 Bn., K.I.A. 10/8/18. (L)
368. Lt. W.G. Fisher, 42 Bn., K.I.A. 5/4/18. (D)
369. Pte. J.F. Fitzsimmons, 3 L.H.Reg. (L)
370. Lt. G.J. Flannery, 25 Bn., Rep.T.A. 3/7/17, re-enl.
25 Bn. (L)

371. Pte. A.A. Fletcher, 14 Bn., K.I.A. 18/9/18. (D)
372. Gnr. N.K. Fletcher, 6 M.T.M.Bty., K.I.A. 29/9/18. (L)
373. Lt. I.R. Flett, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 28/7/16. (L)
374. Maj. R.P. Flockart, 5 Bn., D.O.W. 15/7/15. (L)
375. Lt. G.W. Foreman, 5 Bn., trans. to R.F.C. 1916,
K.I.A. 14/7/17. (D)
376. Lt. C.G. Forrest, M.C., 57 Bn. (L)
377. Maj. C. Fortesque, D.S.O., M.C., 49 Bn. (Narrative)
378. (Capt. C.M. Foss, M.C., 28 Bn., D.O.W. 11/8/16.
(Narrative)
379. { Cpl. E.C. Foss, 11 Bn., K.I.A. 3/6/18. (L)
380. { Lt. H.C. Foss, 28 Bn., K.I.A. 3/5/17. (D)
381. Capt. S.J. Fox, 20 Bn. & 4 Aust.Div.H.Q. (D)
382. 2/Lt. S. Fraser, 57 Bn., K.I.A. 11/5/17. (L)
383. Gnr. A.W. Freiboth, 5 F.A.B. (D)
384. Maj. A.Y. Fullerton, 2 Bn., Rep.T.A. 29/3/16. (L)
385. Lt. A.E. Gaby, V.C., 28 Bn., K.I.A. 11/8/18. (L)
386. Lt. I.N. Gair, 31 Bn., D.O.W. 30/9/18. (L)
387. Bdr. R.L. Gair, 10 F.A.B. (D)
388. Cpl. W.D. Gallwey, 47 Bn. (D & L)
389. Capt. W.M.F. Gamble, M.C., 15 L.T.M.Bty., trans. to
Indian Army 12/2/18. (L)
390. L/Cpl. F.T. Gardiner, 8 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 30/4/18.
(D)
391. Sgt. R.J. Gardiner, 7 Bn. (L)
392. Gnr. F. Garth, 24 F.A.B., K.I.A. 10/12/16. (L)
393. (Pte. F.J. Gates, 1 M.G.Bn., K.I.A. 19/9/18. (L)
394. { Sgt. G.H. Gates, M.M., 34 Bn., K.I.A. 20/8/18. (L)
395. (Capt. C.E. Gatliff, 13 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 9/8/18. (L)
396. (Capt. F.E. Gatliff, 14 F.A.B., K.I.A. 6/8/17. (L)
397. (Lt. G.S. Gemmell, 11 Bn., K.I.A. 10/8/18. (D & L)
398. { Sgt. J.R. Gemmell, M.M., 7 F.A.B. (L)
399. (Bdr. R.T. Gemmell, 11 F.A.B. (L)

400. Cpl. F.A.C. George, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 15/11/15. (L)
401. L/Cpl. F.J. Gibbons, 26 Bn., K.I.A. 29/7/16. (L)
402. Pte. E.A. Gibbs, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 3/10/17. (L)
403. Cpl. A.C. Giles, 1 M.G.Bn. (D)
404. Capt. R.H. Gill, M.C., 28 Bn., K.I.A. 28/9/17. (L)
405. Lt. W.W. Gocher, M.M. & Bar, 45 Bn., K.I.A. 7/6/17.
(L)
406. Brig. Gen. H.A. Goddard, C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D., 9
Bde. (Notes)
407. Capt. R.A. Goldrick, M.C., 33 Bn. (L)
408. L/Cpl. A.F. Goode, 10 Bn., K.I.A. 20/9/17. (L)
409. Pte. T. Gormlie, 2 Pioneer Bn., K.I.A. 11/3/18. (L)
410. Lt. R.W. Grant, 25 Bn., K.I.A. 15/11/16. (L)
411. { Lt. H.V.G. Gration, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 18/9/16. (L)
412. { Lt. J.W. Gration, D.C.M., 39 Bn. (L)
413. Pte. W.J. Gray, 5 Bn., D.O.D. 30/5/15. (L)
414. Pte. A. Greenwood, 8 Bn. (L)
415. Capt. R.C. Grieve, V.C., 37 Bn., Rep.T.A. 28/6/18.
(Narrative)
416. Pte. M.J. Griffiths, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 26/7/16. (L)
417. Lt. L.N. Grove, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L)
418. Sgt. W.C. Groves, 14 Bn., P.O.W. 11/4/17. (Narrative)
419. Lt. W.E.K. Grubb, 26 Bn., Rep.T.A. 1916, re-enl. 40
Bn., K.I.A. 28/3/18. (D)
420. Lt. W.H.G. Guard, 20 Bn. (D)
421. Pte. W.R. Guest, 11 Bn. (L)
422. C.Q.M.S. A.L. Guppy, 14 Bn., P.O.W. 11/4/17. (D)
423. Dvr. F.H. Hain, 5 F.A.B., K.I.A. 24/9/18. (D)
424. Lt. W.H.E. Hale, 12 Bn., K.I.A. 5/10/17. (L)
425. Pte. H. Halewood, 35 Bn., K.I.A. 6/5/18. (L)
426. Cpl. W.A. Hallahan, 51 Bn., K.I.A. 26/6/16. (L)
427. Capt. M.G. Hammond, M.C. & Bar, M.M., 28 Bn., D.O.W.
14/6/18. (Notes)

428. Lt. J.T. Hampson, M.C., 19 Bn., D.O.W. 6/10/18. (L)
429. Sgt. R.L. Hampton, 5 Bn., Rep.T.A. 23/7/18. (D)
430. Lt. F. Hancock, 1 L.H.Regt. (L)
431. Capt. S.M. Hansen, M.C., 14 Bn., D.O.W. 7/2/17. (D & L)
432. Pte. D.B. Harford, 51 Bn., D.O.W. 31/3/17. (D)
433. Pte. J.M. Harkins, 23 Bn. (D)
434. 2/Lt. E.W. Harris, 3 M.G. Coy., K.I.A. 5/5/17. (D & L)
435. Pte. H.G. Hartnett, 2 Bn., Rep.T.A. 27/11/18.
(Narrative)
436. Spr. N.K. Harvey, 2 Div.Sig.Coy. (D)
437. Gnr. J.J. Heffernan, 36 H.A.G., Rep.T.A. 19/8/17. (L)
438. { Lt. A.D. Henderson, 7 Bn., D.O.W. 25/4/15. (L)
439. { Capt. R.H. Henderson, 7 Bn., K.I.A. 8/5/15. (L)
440. Pte. J. Henderson, 19 Bn., K.I.A. 4/8/16. (L)
441. Capt. J.K. Henderson, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 14/8/16.
(Notes about)
442. { Pte. H.G. Henderson, 35 Bn., D.O.W. 4/4/18. (D & L)
443. { Lt. R.G. Henderson, M.C., 18 Bn., K.I.A. 9/4/18. (L)
444. Capt. R.J. Henderson, M.C. & Bar, 13 Bn., D.O.W.
13/5/18. (L)
445. Lt. C. Henry, 2 L.H.Regt., D.O.D. 7/6/16. (L)
446. Capt. K. Heritage, M.C., 19 Bn., K.I.A. 26/7/16. (L)
447. Capt. M.B. Higgins, 8 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 23/12/16. (L)
448. R.Q.M.S. B.C. Hobson, 13 Bn. (D)
449. Sgt. F.A.W. Hocking, D.C.M., 55 Bn., D.O.W. 4/2/17.
(L)
450. Pte. H. Hodgman, 5 Bn., K.I.A. 25/4/15. (L)
451. Maj. O. Hogue, 14 L.H.Regt., D.O.D. 3/3/19. (L)
452. Lt. H.C. Holland, M.C., 23 Bn. (Notes)
453. Lt. W.P. Holland, 25 Bn., K.I.A. 10/6/18. (L)
454. Capt. N.S. Hollis, 2 F.A.B., D.O.W. 3/10/18. (L)
455. Lt. A.D. Hollyhoke, 7 Bn., Rep.T.A. 20/12/17. (D)

456. Lt. H.W. Homer, M.M., D.O.W. 3/10/18. (L)
457. Pte. H.W. Hornby, 15 Fld.Amb., D.O.W. 15/5/17. (L)
458. (Lt. L.V. Horniman, 55 Bn., K.I.A. 1/9/18. (D & L)
459. { Capt. R.G. Horniman, M.C., 4 Bn. (L)
460. Lt. H.C. Howard, 59 Bn., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (L)
461. (Lt.Col. O.G. Howell-Price, D.S.O., M.C., 3 Bn.,
{ D.O.W. 4/11/16. (L)
462. { Maj. P.L. Howell-Price, D.S.O., M.C., 1 Bn., K.I.A.
{ 4/10/17. (L)
463. Maj. E.A.K. Hudson, D.S.O., Anz.Mtd.Div., D.O.D.
27/10/18. (L)
464. Sgt. A.C. Hunter, 10 Bn., D.O.W. 22/5/17. (L)
465. Pte. F. Hunter, 2 Fld.Amb., D.O.W. 27/9/17. (L)
466. Lt. R.C. Hunter, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 13/6/16. (L)
467. Lt.Col. G. Hurry, D.S.O., V.D., 38 Bn. (L)
468. Maj. A.J.S. Hutchinson, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (L)
469. Sgt. H.B. Hutchinson, 19 Bn., K.I.A. 2/1/17. (L)
470. Pte. W.J. Hutchison, 4 Bn., D.O.D. 20/6/15. (D)
471. Sgt. R.M. Inwood, 10 Bn., K.I.A. 24/7/16. (L)
472. Maj. B.D. Jack, 54 Bn., K.I.A. 9/4/18. (L)
473. L/Cpl. C.R. Jack, 35 Bn., D.O.W. 5/4/18. (L)
474. Lt. A.C.H. Jackson, 6 Bn., D.O.W. 9/8/15. (L)
475. Cpl. H.K. Jackson, 8 Bn., K.I.A. 27/7/16. (L)
476. Sgt. H.M. Jackson, 13 Bn., D.O.W. 15/8/16. (D & L)
477. Pte. P.S. Jackson, 11 L.H.Reg't., D.O.W. 19/4/17.
(D & L)
478. Maj. D.D. Jamieson, M.C., 8 L.H.Reg't., D.O.I.
29/7/18. (L)
479. Pte. L.G. Johnson, 20 Bn. (D & Narrative)
480. L/Cpl. J.L. Jones, 52 Bn., K.I.A. 5/4/18. (L)
481. Capt. O.A. Jones, 21 Bn., D.O.W. 3/5/17. (L)
482. Sgt. T.S. Jones, M.M., 40 Bn., Rep.T.A. 29/8/18. (L)

483. Capt. W.D. Joynt, V.C., 8 Bn. (D)
484. (Pte. B.A. Kelaher, 2 Bn., Rep.T.A. 1915, re-enl.
{ 14 M.G.Coy., D.O.I. 26/9/16. (L)
485. {L/Cpl. J.J. Kelaher, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 22/8/15. (L)
486. Cpl. A.H. Keley, 10 Bn., K.I.A. 21/9/17. (L)
487. Lt. F.G. Kellaway, M.C., 22 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17.
(D & L)
488. (Sgt. F.J. Kellaway, 36 Bn., K.I.A. 3/3/18. (L)
489. {Pte. G.G.B. Kellaway, 53 Bn., K.I.A. 10/5/17. (L)
490. Lt. A.J. Kerr, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 27/7/16. (L)
491. Pte. A.M. Kilgour, 1 Fld.Amb. (D)
492. Capt. D.B.A. King, M.C., 1 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 24/8/18.
(D)
493. Pte. C.W. Knox, 29 Bn., K.I.A. 26/9/17. (D)
494. Lt. A.R. Kunkler, M.M., 15 Bn. (D)
495. Sgt. A.B. Kyle, 3 M.G.Bn., K.I.A. 12/10/17. (D & L)
496. Pte. W.E. Lahnleiter, 47 Bn. (L)
497. Lt. E.W.D. Laing, M.C., 12 Bn., K.I.A. 8/5/18. (L)
498. Spr. A.C. Landon, 4 Fld.Coy. (L)
499. (Maj. C.H.D. Lane, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 29/8/15. (D & L)
500. {Lt. L.W. Lane, 53 Bn., K.I.A. 21/11/17. (D)
501. Sgt. N.H. Langford, 1 Bn. (Narrative)
502. Lt. O.R. Law, 48 Bn., K.I.A. 14/8/16. (L)
503. Capt. S.N. Lawrence, D.S.O., 9 Bn. (D)
504. (Capt. A.E. Leane, 48 Bn., D. while P.O.W. 2/5/17.
{ (L)
505. {Maj. B.B. Leane, 48 Bn., K.I.A. 10/4/17. (D & L)
506. Pte. D.R. Leed, 57 Bn., K.I.A. 15/7/16. (L)
507. Capt. F.A. Leslie, 15 Bn., K.I.A. 11/4/17. (L)
508. Pte. F.B.H. Lesnie (served as F. Bernard), 17 Bn.,
K.I.A. 2/3/17. (D & L)
509. Sgt. C.H. Lewis, 13 Bn., D.O.W. 4/7/18. (L)
510. Capt. A. Liddelow, 59 Bn., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (D)

511. Capt. C.H. Linklater, M.C., 33 Bn., D. while P.O.W.
11/6/17. (L)
512. Lt. N.M. Little, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L)
513. Gnr. G.S. Lloyd, 110 Howitzer Bty. (L)
514. Lt. C.H.G. Loriard, M.C., 42 Bn. (Notes)
515. Omitted
516. Lt. J.R.B. Love, M.C., D.C.M., 14 L.H.Reg't. (L)
517. Lt. J.H. Lukin, 9 Bn., Rep.T.A. 15/4/17. (L)
518. Capt. A.W. MacDonald, 34 Bn., K.I.A. 30/8/18. (L)
519. Bdr. E.G. MacDonald, 4 F.A.B. (L)
520. Capt. N. MacDonald, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 4/2/17. (L)
521. Lt. G.R. MacDougal, 3 Bn. (L)
522. Capt. A.H. MacFarlane, 11 Bn., K.I.A. 22/7/16. (D)
523. Lt. S.R. MacFarlane, 1 L.H.Reg't. (D)
524. C.S.M. D.N. MacGregor, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 26/4/15. (L)
525. (Pte. A.G. MacKay, 15 Bn., K.I.A. 9-10/5/15. (L)
526. {Gnr. A.S. MacKay, 8 F.A.B., D.O.D. 18/12/18. (D & L)
527. Pte. K.S. MacKay, 5 Bn., D.O.W. 29/8/15. (L)
528. Maj. M.N. MacKay, 22 Bn., K.I.A. 4/8/16. (D & L)
529. Gnr. R.G. MacKay, 11 F.A.B. (L)
530. Capt. A.A. MacKenzie, M.C., I.C.C. (L)
531. Lt. R. Mackenzie, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 30/7/16. (L)
532. Col. W.K.S. Mackenzie, D.S.O., V.D., 19 Bn. (D)
533. Bdr. G.N. Mackie, 2 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 27/7/17. (D & L)
534. Pte. R. Mactier, V.C., 23 Bn., K.I.A. 1/9/18. (L)
535. Sgt. W.T. Macwhirter, 1 L.H.Fld.Amb., D.O.D.
6/11/15. (L)
536. Cpl. E.L. Magill, 7 L.H.Reg't., D.O.W. 20/10/15. (D)
537. Lt. J.T. Maguire, M.C., 8 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17.
(D & L)
538. Lt. C.R. Mahony, 43 Bn., K.I.A. 1/9/18. (L)
539. Lt. C.T. Main, 35 Bn., K.I.A. 12/10/17. (L)

540. (Lt. E.C. Main, 52 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L))
541. { Pte. V.N. Main, 27 Bn., K.I.A. 25/12/17. (L)
542. (Lt. G.L. Makin, 5 Bn., D.O.W. 8/9/18. (L))
543. { Sgt. J.J. Makin, 21 Bn. (D)
544. Lt. H.E. Malpas, 7 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 7/8/16. (L)
545. Sgr. H.A.B. Maning, 60 Bn., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (L)
546. Lt. W.A. Mann, 25 Bn. (L)
547. Capt. I.S. Margetts, 12 Bn., K.I.A. 24/7/16. (D & L)
548. Lt. C.B. Marshall, 52 Bn., K.I.A. 25/4/18. (L)
549. Capt. J.J. Marshall, 55 Bn., K.I.A. 27/4/18. (L)
550. Lt. L.J. Martin, 1 M.G.Bn. (L)
551. Pte. S.W. Marwick, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 27/6/15. (D)
552. Lt. L.P. Maschmedt, 12 M.G.Coy., D.O.W. 2/10/17.
(D & L)
553. Sgt. A.E. Matthews, 3 Bn. (D)
554. Maj. A.J.A. Maudsley, 38 Bn., K.I.A. 31/8/18. (L)
555. Lt. D.S. Maunder, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 5/4/17. (L)
556. Lt. J.W. Maunsell, 5 Bn., K.I.A. 9/8/18. (L)
557. Gnr. R.N. Mawby, 12 F.A.B. (D)
558. Capt. G.L. Maxfield, M.C., 24 Bn., K.I.A. 3/5/17.
(L)
559. Lt.Col. L.C. Maygar, V.C., D.S.O., V.D., 8 L.H.Regt.,
D.O.W. 1/11/17. (L)
560. Cpl. W.C. Mayne, 3 Tunn.Coy., D.O.W. 14/2/17. (L)
561. Pte. C.A. McAnulty, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 7-12/8/15. (D)
562. Lt. C.E. McArdel, 7 Bn., trans. to A.F.C. 1918. (D)
563. Capt. H.J. McCarthy, 6 Bn., Rep.T.A. 13/12/15. (D)
564. Lt. L.A. McCartin, M.C., 22 Bn., K.I.A. 18/8/18.
(D)
565. Lt. K.H. McConnel, 1 Bn. (Narrative)
566. Maj. G.G. McCrae, 60 Bn., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (D & L)
567. Lt. C.V. McCulloch, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 11/4/18. (L)

568. Lt. C.J. McDonald, M.C., 3 Bn., D.O.W. 19/9/18. (L)
569. Maj. G.S.J.F. McDonald, D.S.O., 36 H.A.G., D.O.W.
22/3/18. (L)
570. Capt. W.T. McDonald, 4 Bn., K.I.A. 16/8/16. (L)
571. Lt. P. McFarlane, 34 Bn., K.I.A. 2/6/18. (L)
572. Lt. R.W. McHenry, M.C., 2 F.A.B. (D)
573. Lt. J.M. McInerney, 10 Bn., K.I.A. 28/6/18. (L)
574. Lt. R.A. McInnis, 53 Bn. (D)
575. Capt. E.A. McKenna, 7 Bn., K.I.A. 25/4/15.
(Photographs)
576. Lt. B.G. McKenzie, 34 Bn., K.I.A. 12/10/17. (L)
577. Lt. D.L. McKenzie, M.C., 35 Bn. (L)
578. Lt. H.W. McKenzie, M.C., 1 M.G.Coy. (D)
579. Lt. J.H. McKenzie, 20 Bn. (L)
580. Lt. H.G. McKerihan, 2 Bn., D.O.W. 16/8/15. (L)
581. Cpl. H.T. McKern, 4 Bn., D.O.W. 15/8/15. (D)
582. Lt. B.H. McLachlan, 18 Bn., Rep.T.A. 13/9/16, re-enl.
18 Bn., Rep.T.A. 15/5/17. (D)
583. Lt. H.R. McLarty, M.M., 3 F.A.B. (L)
584. Lt. G.D. McLean, D.C.M., 16 Bn., P.O.W. 11/4/17. (L)
585. Lt. J.F. McLennan, 35 Bn. (D)
586. Pte. W.R. McLennan, 2 M.G.Bn., Rep.T.A. 20/12/18.
(D)
587. Capt. A. McLeod, 16 Bn., D.O.I. 5/12/16. (D & L)
588. Lt. J.K. McLeod, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 10/8/15. (L)
589. Lt. T.D. McLeod, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 6/8/15. (L)
590. Maj. J.W.F. McManamey, V.D., 19 Bn., K.I.A. 5/9/15.
(L)
591. Lt. A.S. McMaster, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 9/4/17. (L)
592. Lt. J.A. McMichael, 37 Bn., K.I.A. 12/10/17. (D)
593. Sgt. L.D.G.W. McNamara, M.M., 1 Div.Sig.Coy., D.O.W.
18/9/18. (L)
594. Lt. N.G. McNicol, M.C., 37 Bn. (D & Narrative)

595. Sgt. J.E. McPhee, M.M., 4 Fld.Amb. (D)
596. Lt. N.E. McShane, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 25/7/16. (L)
597. Lt. W.S. McShane, 6 Bn., K.I.A. 9/8/18. (L)
598. { Pte. A.J. McSparrow, 18 Bn., D.O.W. 5/8/16. (D & L)
599. { Pte. W.G. McSparrow, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 6-9/8/15. (L)
600. Pte. N.B. McWhinney, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 28/7/16. (L)
601. { Pte. A.E. Meggy, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 6-12/8/15. (L)
602. { Pte. D.A. Meggy, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 25-27/7/16. (D & L)
603. Cpl. A.S. Metcalfe, 1 L.H.Regt., D.O.W. 19/4/18.
(L)
604. Lt. T.A. Miles, M.C., 12 Bn. (D)
605. Pte. A.P. Millhouse, 32 Bn. (L)
606. Col. A.J. Mills, D.S.O., V.D., 15 L.H.Regt. (D)
607. Capt. G.D. Mitchell, M.C., D.C.M., 48 Bn. (D)
608. Gen. Sir J. Monash, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., V.D., Aust.
Corps H.Q. (Collected Material)
609. Lt. J.B. Moncrieff, 13 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L)
610. Lt. H.E. Moody, 3 F.A.B., D.O.W. 27/8/16. (L)
611. Lt. W.R. Moore, 28 Bn., K.I.A. 3-6/11/16. (L)
612. Capt. F. Moran, 15 Bn., D.O.W. 20/8/15. (L)
613. Lt. H.V. Morey, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 2/9/18. (L)
614. Maj. P.J. Morgan, 7 F.A.B., D.O.W. 4/4/17. (L)
615. Cpl. R. Morgan, 1 Fld.Amb. (D)
616. Capt. S.J. Morgan, 26 Bn., D.O.W. 6/11/16. (L)
617. Lt. C.R. Morley, 5 L.H.Regt., D.O.W. 8/11/17. (L)
618. L/Cpl. H. Morphett, 51 Bn., K.I.A. 25/4/18. (D & L)
619. { Pte. A.J. Morrice, 13 Bn., Rep.T.A. 7/9/15. (L)
620. { Pte. D.H. Morrice, 2 L.H.Regt. (L)
621. { Pte. G.H. Morrice, 53 Bn., K.I.A. 1/9/18. (L)
622. { Pte. W.H. Morrice, 6 L.H.Regt. Did not embark. (L)
623. { Lt. W.T. Morrice, 1 L.H.Regt., D.O.W. 28/9/18. (Notes)

624. Lt. Col. B.M. Morris, D.S.O., 36 H.A.G. (D)
625. Lt. Col. L.J. Morshead, C.M.G., D.S.O., 33 Bn. (D)
626. Lt. W.M. Mortensen, 2 Tunn.Coy. (L)
627. Capt. K.M. Mortimer, 29 Bn., K.I.A. 20/7/16. (L)
628. Col. A.H. Moseley, D.S.O., 6 Fld.Amb. (D & Notes)
629. Lt. A.H. Moss, 15 Bn., D.O.W. 19/6/18. (L)
630. Capt. C.L. Moule, M.C., 50 Bn., D.O.W. 19/10/17.
(D)
631. Capt. F.W. Mouldsdales, 7 M.G.Coy., D.O.W. 12/4/18.
(L)
632. Lt. A.H.T. Mountain, 16 Bn., K.I.A. 27/4/15. (L)
633. Pte. F.W. Muir, 1 Bn., D.O.W. 28/11/15. (D & L)
634. Capt. D.V. Mulholland, 1 M.G.Bn., D.O.W. 31/5/18.
(L)
635. L/Cpl. F.C. Mulvey, 2 L.H.Regnt., K.I.A. 14/5/15.
(L)
636. Capt. R.D. Mulvey, M.C., 30 Bn., Rep.T.A. 10/1/18.
(L)
637. Lt. C.T. Mummery, M.C., 8 Bn., K.I.A. 20/10/17. (L)
638. Maj. W.T. Mundell, 15 Bn., D.O.W. 19/8/17. (L)
639. Gnr. R.C. Munn, 1 T.M.Bty. (D)
640. Pte. E.C. Munro, M.M., 5 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 23/9/18.
(D)
641. Lt. Col. G.F. Murphy, C.M.G., D.S.O. & Bar, 18 Bn.
(D)
642. Bdr. C.C.D. Murray, 107 Howitzer Bty., Rep.T.A.
19/10/17. (Notes)
643. Sgt. E. Murray, M.M. & Bar, 14 Fld.Coy. (D)
644. { Sgt. G.A.H. Murray, 14 Bn., K.I.A. 30/3/18. (L)
645. { Sgt. L.H. Murray, 2 Anz.Mtd.Regnt. (L)
646. { Pte. W.J.G. Murray, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 27/3/17. (L)
647. Lt. W.L. Murrell, 2 Pioneer Bn. (D)
648. Pte. E.O. Neaves, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 6/11/17. (L)
649. Capt. H.H. Neaves, M.C., 45 Bn. (D)

650. Lt.Col. M.W. Neligan, C.M.G., D.S.O. & Bar, D.C.M.,
10 Bn. (L & Notes)
651. Lt. E.C. New, 17 Bn., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)
652. Capt. L.M. Newton, M.C., 12 Bn. (D)
653. Lt.Col. E.J.H. Nicolson, C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D., 1
Div.Arty. (Notes)
654. Capt. N.A. Nicholson, 14 F.A.B. (L)
655. Cpl. V. Noble, 3 Bn. & A.A.O.C. (D)
656. Spr. W. Norgard, 4 Div.Sig.Coy. (D)
657. Lt. W.E. O'Halloran, 56 Bn., K.I.A. 2/4/17. (L)
658. Gnr. F.B. Oldfield, 8 F.A.B. (L)
659. Lt.Col. R.H. Owen, C.M.G., 3 Bn. (L)
660. Pte. F. Palmer, 5 Bn. (L)
661. Sgt. L.A. Parsons, 51 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L)
662. Lt. E.W. Pennell, D.C.M., M.M. & Bar, 4 Div.Sig.
Coy. (L)
663. Capt. C.H. Peters, M.C. & Bar, 38 Bn. (L)
664. Lt.Col. T.A.J. Playfair, D.S.O., O.B.E., V.D., 4
Div.Arty. (Notes)
665. Lt. J.G.A. Pockley, 33 Bn., K.I.A. 30/3/18. (L)
666. Sgt. E.W. Powell, 1 Div.H.Q., trans. to R.F.C. 1916,
Rep.T.A. 16/3/17. (L)
667. Lt. J.M. Prentice, 39 Bn., Rep.T.A. 6/11/18. (L)
668. Lt. J.C. Price, M.C., 2 Div.Sig.Coy. (L)
669. Maj. R.K. Pybus, 11 F.A.B., K.I.A. 15/4/17. (L &
Narrative)
670. Sgt. M.J. Ranford, 1 L.H.Reg't., K.I.A. 5/8/16. (D)
671. (Lt. J.A. Raws, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 23/8/16. (L)
672. { Lt. R.G. Raws, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 28/7/16. (L)
673. Pte. F.J. Reynolds, 35 Bn., K.I.A. 12/10/17. (L)
674. Lt. E.J. Richards, 11 Bn., trans. to A.F.C. (L)
675. Lt. T.J. Richards, M.C., 1 Bn., Rep.T.A. 6/8/18.
(D)
676. Lt. J.G. Ridley, M.C., 53 Bn. (Narrative)

677. Cpl. C.R. Roberts, 8 Bn., D.O.W. 13/8/15. (D)
678. Sgt. G. deQ. Robin, 53 Bn., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (L)
679. Gnr. L.W. Robinson, 10 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 21/4/18. (L)
680. Capt. W.J. Rose, M.C., 3 Pioneer Bn. (L)
681. Pte. R.C. Ross, 1 L.H.Regt., Rep.T.A. 5/10/15. (L)
682. Pte. A.E. Rostron, M.M., 1 Bn., K.I.A. 18/9/18. (D)
683. Capt. L.C. Roth, M.C., 2 Pioneer Bn., D.O.W.
23/7/16. (L)
684. Lt. C.H. Ruddle, 9 Bn., D.O.W. 23/7/16. (L)
685. Pte. C.G. Ruggles, 5 Bn., K.I.A. 25/7/16. (L)
686. Sgt. L.L. Rundle, 48 Bn., D.O.W. 23/8/18. (Notes)
687. Cpl. A.S.K. Rusden, 59 Bn., K.I.A. 4/7/18. (D & L)
688. Lt. A.L. Rush, D.C.M., 14 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 25/4/18.
(L)
689. Cpl. W.C. Ryder, 7 F.A.B. (D)
690. Lt. Col. R.M. Sadler, D.S.O., M.C., 17 Bn. (D)
691. 2/Lt. C.C.D. St. Pinnock, 57 Bn., K.I.A. 19/8/16.
(L)
692. Maj. B. Sampson, D.S.O., 15 Bn. (Notes)
693. Maj. V.H.B. Sampson, 53 Bn., K.I.A. 19/7/16. (L)
694. Capt. R.E. Sanders, 4 L.T.M.Bty., P.O.W. 11/4/17.
(Narrative)
695. Lt. V.G. Sanders, 20 Bn., Rep.T.A. 13/12/15,
re-enl.20 Bn. (L)
696. Pte. T.A. Saxon, 21 Bn., Rep.T.A. 7/6/18. (L)
697. Pte. V.G. Schwinghammer, 42 Bn. (Narrative)
698. Sgt. T.M. Scott, 49 Bn., K.I.A. 5/4/17. (L)
699. Capt. W.C. Scurry, M.C., D.C.M., 58 Bn. (L)
700. L/Cpl. R.L. Sealby, 53 Bn. (Notes)
701. Lt. J.W. Searcy, M.C., 10 Bn. (D)
702. Maj. J.C. Selmes, D.S.O., 1 F.A.B. (D)
703. Lt. F.H. Semple, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 19/5/18. (L)
704. Sgt. C.C. Serjeant, 14 Bn., K.I.A. 18/9/18. (L)

705. Capt. W.H. Sheppard, 17 Bn., Rep.T.A. 23/7/17.
(D & L)
706. Lt. A.E. Sheppard, M.M., 5 Div.Sig.Coy. (D)
707. Lt. W.F. Shirtley, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 11/4/17. (D & L)
708. Lt. Col. G.R. Short, V.D., 17 Bn., Rep.T.A.
21/12/17. (D)
709. Capt. L.G. Short, M.C., 23 Bn. (L)
710. Sgr. E. Silas, 16 Bn. (D)
711. Capt. J.T. Simmons, 3 Aust.Div.Train. (D)
712. Lt. E.W. Simon, M.M. & Bar, 15 Bn. (L)
713. Pte. A.M. Simpson, 13 Bn., D.O.D. 17/6/18. (L)
714. Pte. C.A. Simpson, 10 Bn., K.I.A. 19-23/8/16. (L)
715. Lt. G. Simpson, 6 Bn., K.I.A. 23/8/18. (L)
716. Lt. F.T. Small, 5 Fld.Coy., Rep.T.A. 9/12/16.
(Notes)
717. Pte. A.L. Smith, 1 Fld.Amb., K.I.A. 17/8/16. (L)
718. Cpl. C. Smith, 14 Bn. (Narrative)
719. Sgt. C.J. Smith, 20 Bn., D.O.W. 8/4/18. (L)
720. Cpl. E. Smith, 27 Bn., K.I.A. 5/11/16. (D)
721. Lt. F.G. Smith, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 8/5/15. (D)
722. Spr. G.A. Smith, 4 Fld.Coy., K.I.A. 12/10/17. (L)
723. (Lt. H.E.B. Smith, 19 Bn., K.I.A. 8/10/17. (D & L)
724. {Lt. R.A.W. Smith, 19 Bn., D.O.W. 15/10/17. (D & L)
725. L/Cpl. H.J.S. Smith, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 23/6/15. (D & L)
726. L/Cpl. H.M. Smith, 9 Bn., D.O.W. 17/6/15. (L)
727. Pte. J.R. Smith, 31 Bn., D.O.D. 24/10/18. (L)
728. Pte. L.C. Smith, M.M., 10 Fld.Amb., D.O.W. 15/10/17.
(L)
729. Spr. M.R. Smith, 6 Fld.Coy., K.I.A. 1/12/16. (L)
730. Dvr. S. Smith, 10 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 21/12/17. (D)
731. Spr. S.L. Smith, 2 Div.Sig.Coy., D.O.D. 29/6/16.
(L)

732. Capt. R.R.E. Smyth, 52 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L)
733. Lt. E.G. Smythe, 51 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (L)
734. Capt. J.I. Snowball, 57 Bn., D.O.W. 14/8/18. (L)
735. Lt. J.H.A. Sorrell, M.M., 45 Bn. & Dunsterforce.
(D)
736. Lt. Col. J.W. Springthorpe, A.A.M.C. (D)
737. Capt. F.B. Stanton, 14 Bn., K.I.A. 11/4/17. (L)
738. Maj. A. Steele, D.S.O., D.C.M., 11 Bn., K.I.A.
7/10/17. (L)
739. Capt. J.E.G. Stevenson, M.C., 1 Fld.Coy. (D)
740. Brig. Gen. J.C. Stewart, C.M.G., D.S.O. & Bar,
V.D. 14 Bde. (D)
741. Capt. G. Stobie, M.C., 6 Bn. (D)
742. Pte. G. Story, 1 Anz.Mtd.Regt., Rep.T.A. 7/6/18.
(D)
743. Lt. L.W. Street, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 19/5/15. (L)
744. Sgt. R.H. Taylor, 2 T.M.Bty., K.I.A. 30/10/17. (L)
745. Lt. T.H. Templeton, 14 Bn., K.I.A. 24/9/17. (L)
746. { Capt. G.L.A. Thirkell, 17 Fld.Coy. (D)
747. { Capt. R.M.W. Thirkell, O.B.E., 12 Bn. (D)
748. Cpl. A.G. Thomas, 6 Bn., K.I.A. 8/6/18. (D)
749. Pte. N.E. Thompson, M.M., 5 M.G.Bn. (L)
750. Maj. D. Thomson, M.C., 14 Bn., Rep.T.A. 6/6/18. (D)
751. Lt. V.H. Thornton, 13 L.H.Regt. (L)
752. Capt. H.V. Throssell, V.C., 10 L.H.Regt., Rep.T.A.
30/7/16, re-enl. 10 L.H.Regt. (L)
753. Lt. A.H. Tiegs, 11 Bn., Rep.T.A. -/4/15, re-enl.
28 Bn., K.I.A. 26/3/17. (D)
754. Dvr. H.M. Tierney, 2 F.A.B. (D)
755. Capt. R.A. Titford, M.C., M.M., 2 Fld.Coy. (D)
756. Maj. Gen. E. Tivey, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D., 5
Div. (D)
757. Lt. Col. F.W. Toll, D.S.O., M.B.E., V.D., 31 Bn.
(Notes)

758. Lt. S.J. Topp, 58 Bn., K.I.A. 12/5/17. (L)
759. Pte. A.C. Traill, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 26/5/18. (L)
760. Lt. S.R. Traill, 1 Bn. (D)
761. Lt. H.S. Trangmar, 57 Bn. (D)
762. Maj. H.E. Trousselot, O.B.E., Aust.Corps.H.Q. (D)
763. Maj. F.H. Tubb, V.C., 7 Bn., D.O.W. 20/9/17. (D)
764. Sgt. W.E. Turnley, 1 Fld.Coy., Rep.T.A. 10/6/16.
(D)
765. Sgt. W.T. Turner, 56 Bn. (D & L)
766. S/Sgt. P.E. Utting, 20 Bn., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (D)
767. Lt. L.L. Wadsley, 52 Bn., K.I.A. 3/9/16. (D & L)
768. Sgr. N.V. Wallace, 48 Bn. (D & L)
769. Capt. H.B. Wanliss, D.S.O., 14 Bn., K.I.A. 26/9/17.
(D & L)
770. Pte. J.A. Ware, 3 Bn. (L)
771. Capt. E.A. Warren, 27 Bn., K.I.A. 5/11/16. (L)
772. Sgt. G.G. Warren, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)
773. L/Cpl. G.Y. Watson, 35 Bn. (L)
774. L/Cpl. M.W.M. Way, 16 Bn., K.I.A. 31/8/16. (L)
775. Lt. Col. H.St.V. Welch, D.S.O., 16 Fld.Amb. (D &
Notes)
776. Pte. E. West, 12 L.H.Reg. (D)
777. Capt. H. Wetherell, 5 L.H.Reg. (L)
778. Gen. Sir C.C.B. White, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.,
C.B., D.S.O., V.D., Aust.Corps & 5 Army. (Notes)
779. Lt. A.E. Whitear, D.C.M., 24 Bn. (Narrative)
780. L/Cpl. V.G. Whiteman, 1 Div.Sig.Coy. (D)
781. S.S.M. E.M. Williams, M.M., 8 L.H.Reg. (L)
782. Lt. J.S. Wilson, 4 F.A.B. (D)
783. Pte. W. Wilson, 15 Bn., P.O.W. 1917. (L)
784. Lt. H.V. Woods, 16 Bn. (D)
785. Lt. E.S. Worrall, 24 Bn., K.I.A. 4/10/17. (D & L)
786. Pte. C.R. Wright, 8 Bn., K.I.A. 18/8/16. (D)

787. Cpl. H.E. Wyatt, 2 Bn., D.O.W. 11/4/17. (D)
 788. Lt. F.C. Yeadon, M.C., 22 Bn., K.I.A. 5/8/16. (L)
 789. 2/Lt. A.C. Youdale, M.C. & 2 Bars, 7 L.H.Regt.,
 trans.to R.F.C. 1917, K.I.A. 23/12/17. (D)
 790. Sgt. A.T. Young, 7 Bn., K.I.A. 20/8/16. (L)
 791. Pte. T.L. Young, 28 Bn., D.O.W. 2/1/17. (L)
 792. Capt. W.H. Zander, 30 Bn. (Narrative)
 793. L/Cpl. W.H. Zimmer, 57 Bn., K.I.A. 17/6/18. (L)

ii) The Mitchell Library, Public Library of N.S.W.:

File Nos A.2660-1

794. Sgt. W.F. Adamson, 1 L.H.Regt. (L)
 795. Sgt. W.C. Anderson, M.M., 1 F.A.B. (L)
 796. Sgt. B. Baly, M.M., 7 L.H.Regt. (L)
 797. Capt. C.E. Benson, D.C.M., 9 Bn., K.I.A. 2/7/16.
 (L)
 798. Lt. A.K. Blackwell, 1 Sig.Squad. (D)
 799. Capt. C. Bocard, M.C. & Bar, 13 Bn. (L)
 800. Cpl. R.P. Brett, 2 Bn., K.I.A. 8/1/18. (L & Notes)
 801. Dvr. O. Castle, A.M.D.T. (L)
 802. Pte. F. Clune, 16 Bn., Rep.T.A. 31/10/15. (L)
 803. Lt. Col. R.E. Courtney, C.B., V.D., 14 Bn., Rep.T.A.
 17/3/16. (L)
 804. (Pte. E.W. Davies, 3 Bn., Rep.T.A. 8/8/16. (L)
 805. { Pte. H. Davies, 45 Bn. (L)
 806. Lt. J.H. Dietze, 45 Bn., K.I.A. 18/9/18. (L)
 807. (Pte. E.J. Firth, 1 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 3/11/17. (L)
 808. { Pte. F.W. Firth, 4 Coy., A.M.T.S. (L)
 809. Maj. T.W. Garling, 1 F.A.B., D.O.W. 5/4/18. (L)
 810. Pte. J.P. Griffin, 13 Bn., D.O.W. 31/8/17. (L)
 811. Gnr. F.L. Guider, 1 M.T.M.Bty. (L)

812. 2/Lt. E.G. Hellstrom, M.M. & Bar, 1 F.A.B., trans.
to A.F.C., 1917. (L)
813. Sgt. T.H. Hill, M.M. & Bar, 19 Bn., D.O.W. 22/9/17.
(L)
814. Sgt. H.G. Hodges, 54 Bn. (L)
815. Cpl. K.J. Howell, 55 Bn. (L)
816. Pte. W. Hutchings, 1 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 10/3/18.
(L)
817. Pte. G.E. King, 19 Bn., K.I.A. 28/10/17. (L)
818. Sgt. E.R. Larkin, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 25/4/15. (L)
819. Cpl. L.R. Lee, A.A.S.C. (L)
820. Lt. R.E. Lenehan, 1 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 17/9/15. (L)
821. Lt. R.A.L. Macdonald, 1 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 9/8/16.
(L)
822. Pte. F.T. Makinson, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 29/8/16. (D)
823. Pte. J.W. Masters, 19 Bn. (L)
824. Cpl. O.H. McIntyre, 2 F.A.B. (L)
825. Sgt. R. Otto, 2 Bn. (L)
826. L/Cpl. C. Ranford, 3 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 31/10/17. (L)
827. Pte. W. Reece, 2 Bn., Rep.T.A. 7/6/18. (L)
828. Pte. T.G. Richardson, 2 F.A.B. (L)
829. Sgt. W. Rowley, 18 Bn. (L)
830. S.M. W.B. Schaeffer, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 20/5/15. (L)
831. Lt. H.H. Stephen, 9 L.H.Regt. (L)
832. Spr. L. Vasco, 11 Fld.Coy., D. 3/8/18. (L)
833. Pte. R.T. Wharton, 36 Bn. (L)
-
834. Cpl. F.V. Addy, 4 Bn. (D)
835. Pte. T.H. Alcock, 3 Bn. (D & Narrative)
836. Pte. W.J. Allsop, 8 Fld.Amb. (D)
837. Sgt. C. Alywin, 2 Bn., Rep.T.A. 31/10/15. (D)
838. Sgt. G.A. Balme, 29 Bn. (D)

839. Lt. L.V. Bartlett, 56 Bn. (D)
840. Sgt. A.A. Barwick, 1 Bn. (D)
841. L/Cpl. G.W. Bell, 16 Bn., P.O.W. 11/4/17, Rep.T.A. 8/5/18. (D)
842. Cpl. R.P. Bell, 5 F.A.B., K.I.A. 9/12/16. (D)
843. Pte. W.E. Bendrey, 2 Bn., Rep.T.A. 8/8/16. (D)
844. Tpr. J. Bennett, 6 L.H.Regt., Rep.T.A. 30/11/15. (D)
845. L/Cpl. H.V. Berry, 8 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 18/1/19. (D)
846. Spr. L.H. Berry, 5 Fld.Coy., P.O.W. 1916. (Narrative)
847. Tpr. G.T. Birkbeck, 1 M.G.Squad. (D & Narrative)
848. Tpr. J.M. Bolger, 1 L.H.Regt. (D)
849. Pte. J. Booth, 5 M.G.Coy., K.I.A. 9/10/17. (L)
850. L/Cpl. W. Bradbury, 12 L.H.Regt., K.I.A. 31/10/17. (D)
851. Sgt. A.E. Bray, 3 Bn., Rep.T.A. 10/12/18. (D)
852. Pte. F.J. Brewer, 20 Bn. (D)
853. Lt. H. Brewer, 54 Bn. (D)
854. Pte. J.J. Brewster, 56 Bn., Rep.T.A. 23/5/17. (Narrative)
855. Pte. N.C. Brierley, 31 Bn. (L)
856. Pte. C.J. Britton, 9 Bde. H.Q. (D)
857. Pte. J. Brooks, 50 Bn., Rep.T.A. 15/9/18. (D)
858. Pte. A. Brown, 3 Bn., Rep.T.A. 22/7/17. (D)
859. Pte. E.P. Bryan, 6 Bn., Rep.T.A. 30/1/18. (D)
860. Sgt. J.G. Burgess, 6 L.H.Regt. (D)
861. Pte. F.C. Burgis, 20 Bn., Rep.T.A. 17/3/17. (D)
862. Spr. W.H. Burrell, M.M., 4 Aust.Railway Op.Coy. (D)
863. 2/Lt. J.H. Butler, 2 L.H. Regt., trans.to A.F.C. 1917, Rep.T.A. 24/8/18. (L)
864. L/Cpl. W.H. Camroux, 17 Bn. (D & L)
865. L/Cpl. H.J. Cave, 1 Bn. (L)
866. Pte. H.C. Cicognani, 13 Fld.Amb., P.O.W. 1915, Rep.T.A. 23/9/18. (D)

867. Pte. W.O. Clarke, 25 Bn. (D)
868. Pte. T.J. Cleary, 17 Bn. (D)
869. Pte. V.W. Cocks, 9 Fld.Amb. (L)
870. S.M. A.R. Compton, 13 Bn., P.O.W. 11/4/17. (D)
871. Pte. G.C. Cooper, 1 L.H.Bde.M.G.Section. (D)
872. 2/Lt. L.J. Corrigan, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 20/9/17. (L)
873. 2/Lt. T.R. Crooks, M.C., 45 Bn., Rep.T.A. 13/3/18.
(D)
874. Capt. W.A. Cull, 23 Bn., P.O.W. 11/4/17, Rep.T.A.
8/4/18. (L)
875. Pte. T. Darchy, 1 Pioneer Bn. (D)
876. L/Cpl. R.J. Drummond, 5 Coy., A.M.T.S. (L)
877. Pte. G.E. Edmondson, 7 F.A.B., Rep.T.A. 1/2/18. (D)
878. Cpl. M.C. Evans, 1 L.H.Fld.Amb. (D)
879. Cpl. G.R. Faulkner, 15 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 10/9/17.
(L)
880. Pte. R.V. Fell, I.C.C. (D)
881. Pte. C.C. Fisher, Aust.Camel Bde.Fld.Amb. (D)
882. Pte. E.J. Flanagan, 57 Bn. (D)
883. Capt. S.J. Fox, 20 Bn. & 4 Aust.Div.H.Q. (D)
884. L/Cpl. W. Francis, 1 Fld.Coy., Rep.T.A. 29/1/16. (L)
885. Pte. A.H. Freebody, 31 Bn. (D)
886. (L/Cpl. A.F. Fry, 13 Bn., D.O.W. 14/8/16. (L)
887. {Pte. D.B. Fry, 3 Bn., K.I.A. 10/4/17. (D & L & Notes)
888. Cpl. C.M. Geddes, 13 Bn. & A.I.F. H.Q. (D)
889. L/Cpl. H. Gibson, 1 L.T.M.Bty. (D)
890. Bdr. C.B. Giffin, 14 F.A.B. (D)
891. {Cpl. A.C. Giles, 1 M.G.Bn. (L)
892. {Pte. J.A. Giles, 53 Bn., P.O.W. 20/7/16. (L)
893. Cpl. G.T. Gill, 55 Bn., Rep.T.A. 24/12/18. (D)
894. L/Cpl. W.E. Gillett, 51 Bn. (Narrative)
895. Lt. W.K. Gillies, 15 Fld.Coy., K.I.A. 19/10/17. (D)

896. R.Q.M.S. H.E. Gissing, 14 Fld.Amb. (D)
897. Sgt. T. Goodwin, 1 F.A.B. (D)
898. Pte. A.D. Gordon, 1 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 3/11/15. (D)
899. Pte. G.E. Gower, 15 Bn., Rep.T.A. 8/5/16. (D)
900. Pte. A.H. Gray, 2 Div.Sig.Coy., K.I.A. 10/11/16.
(Notes)
901. Pte. J. Green, 2 M.G.Bn., Rep.T.A. 8/1/19. (D)
902. Pte. M.M. Greig, 42 Bn., D.O.W. 6/10/17. (D)
903. Pte. A. Grinyer, 7 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 5/11/17. (D)
904. Gnr. R.S. Hamilton, 10 F.A.B. (D)
905. Pte. W.D. Hardy, 4 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 27/9/17. (D)
906. Cpl. B. Harris, 8 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 20/10/18. (D)
907. Cpl. H.H. Harris, 55 Bn. (D)
908. Lt. R. Harris, 2 Bn. (D)
909. Gnr. C.L. Harslett, 14 F.A.B. (D)
910. Pte. A.L. Hellman, 1 Div.Sig.Coy., Rep.T.A. 27/8/15.
(D)
911. 2/Lt. A. Hine, 3 Bn. (L)
912. Spr. P. Hodge, 1 Div.Sig.Coy. (D)
913. Sgt. O.L. Holt, 3 Fld.Amb. (D)
914. L/Cpl. D.D. Horton, 1 Bn. (Narrative)
915. Pte. J.T. Hutton, 17 Bn. (D)
916. Pte. L.E. Hyder, 6 Bn. Rep.T.A. 15/8/15. (L)
917. Maj. A.W. Hyman, O.B.E., 51 Bn. (D & L)
918. Pte. J.P. Irwin, 21 Bn., Rep.T.A. 27/8/17.
(Narrative)
919. Spr. B.C. Job, 14 Fld.Coy., Rep.T.A. 22/12/18. (D
& L)
920. Pte. J. Joyce, 7 Bn., Rep.T.A. 4/5/17. (D)
921. Pte. J.F. Keary, 18 Bn. (Narrative)
922. Tpr. H.A. King, 2 L.H.Reg't., Rep.T.A. 12/11/17. (D)

923. Pte. J.C. King, 1 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 26/9/17. (D)
924. C.Q.M.S. C.F. Laseron, 13 Bn., Rep.T.A. 24/6/16. (D)
925. Pte. C. Lee, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 5/6/15. (D)
926. Pte. J.R. Lewis, 17 Bn., Rep.T.A. 24/12/18.
(Narrative)
927. Sgt. J.R. Liddle, 18 Bn. (D)
928. Spr. J.H. Lowe, 5 Sig.Trp. (D)
929. Dvr. H.E. Lucas, 103 Howitzer Bty. (D)
930. L/Cpl. E.N. Luders, M.M., 1 Bn., Rep.T.A. 18/9/18.
(D)
931. Sgt. H.B. Macarty, 50 Bn., Rep.T.A. 24/6/16. (D &
Notes)
932. Sgt. G. Macrae, 6 L.H.Regnt. (D)
933. Sgt. D.E. MacDonald, 17 Bn., Rep.T.A. 16/4/17. (D)
934. Pte. J. Marshall, 53 Bn. (Narrative)
935. Pte. H.I. Mason, 1 Fld.Amb., Rep.T.A. 24/8/18. (D)
936. Tpr. S. McCarthy, 7 L.H.Regnt. (D)
937. Pte. G.T. McClintock, 17 Bn., Rep.T.A. 24/9/18. (D)
938. Spr. L.J. McKay, 15 Fld.Coy. (D)
939. Pte. T.J. McKinley, 8 Bn., K.I.A. 11/9/16. (D)
940. Pte. H.M. McLean, 9 Fld.Amb. (D)
941. Pte. J.J. McLean, 25 Bn., Rep.T.A. 22/7/17. (D & L)
942. Pte. J.D. McRae, 19 Bn., D.O.W. 19/9/17. (D)
943. Cpl. H.S. Mercer, 1 Bn. (D)
944. Pte. W.F. Middleton, 3 Bn. (D)
945. Tpr. M. Minahan, 6 L.H.Regnt. (D)
946. Pte. P.E. Owen, 17 Bn. (Narrative)
947. Pte. W.R. Reynolds, 3 L.H.Regnt., Rep.T.A. 11/4/16.
(D)
948. Cpl. O. Rhodes, 20 Bn., Rep.T.A. 16/12/17. (D)
949. L/Cpl. R. Richards, 5 M.G.Coy., D.O.W. 26/11/16.
(D & L)
950. Pte. E. Rider, 4 Bn., Rep.T.A. 19/1/16. (D)

951. Pte. F.W. Roberts, 21 Bn., K.I.A. 1/9/18. (D)
952. Pte. N.P. Scheidel, 18 Bn., K.I.A. 22/8/15. (L)
953. Pte. J.P. Scott, 45 Bn. & A.I.F. H.Q. (D & L)
954. Sgt. F.H. Smith, 2 L.H.Fld.Amb. (D)
955. Lt. F.H. Tomlins, 1 L.H.Regnt. (D)
956. Tpr. H.F.W. Tucker, 6 L.H.Regnt., Rep.T.A. 1917. (D)
957. Sgt. J.J. Vial, 1 Bn., K.I.A. 3/10/17. (Narrative)
958. Sgt. D.V. Walford, 45 Bn., Rep.T.A. 13/2/17. (D)
959. L/Cpl. E.H. Ward, 1 Bn., Rep.T.A. 10/7/16. (D)
960. Pte. E.H. Ward, 4 Bn. (D)
961. Maj. F.V. Weir, D.S.O., 1 L.H.Regnt. (D & L)
962. Capt. T.A. White, 13 Bn. (D)
963. Tpr. L.A. Wittey, 7 L.H.Regnt. (D)
964. Pte. B.A. Wood, 56 Bn., Rep.T.A. 17/8/16. (D)
965. Pte. W.V. Wright, M.M., 4 Bn., Rep.T.A. 10/1/18.
(D)
966. Gnr. J.M. Young, 11 F.A.B. (D)
967. Pte. S.B. Young, 36 Bn., Rep.T.A. 21/12/18. (D)

iii) The State Library of South Australia:

968. Cpl. B.J. Addison, 50 Bn., trans.to Navy Reserve
1917. (D)
969. Col. H.K. Fry, D.S.O., 13 Fld.Amb. (D)
970. Sgt. A.S. Hutton, 3 L.H.Regnt. (D)
971. Pte. H.J. Morrison, 43 Bn., Rep.T.A. 20/12/17. (D)
972. Dvr. H.H. Moule, 3 L.H.Regnt., Rep.T.A. 1915,
re-enl. 1916. (L)
973. Lt. Col. C. Reynell, 9 L.H.Regnt., K.I.A. 28/8/15.
(D)

iv) The National Library of Australia:

974. Gnr. E.M. Higgins, 6 (Army)F.A.B. (L)
 975. Sgr. G.H. Molesworth, 35 Bn. (L)
 976. Spr. R.A. Muir, 15 Fld.Coy. (L)
 977. Maj. Gen. Sir G. de L. Ryrie, K.C.M.G., C.B., V.D.,
 2 L.H.Bde. (L)

v) The LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria:

978. C.S.M. A.A. Brunton, 3 Anz.L.R.Op.Coy., Rep.T.A.
 28/9/18. (D)
 979. Sister A.E. Cocking, A.A.N.S., Rep.T.A. 22/7/18.
 (Narrative)
 980. Rev. W.F. Shannon, O.B.E., A.I.F. H.Q. (D)

vi) Private sources:

981. Anon. Pte., 46 Bn. (L)
 982. Tpr. L.A. Alt, 1 L.H.Regt. (L)
 983. { 2/Lt. E.R. Cotterill, 13 Bn., K.I.A. 9/5/15. (L)
 984. { Gnr. G.F. Cotterill, 7 F.A.B. (L)
 985. { Spr. R.W. Cotterill, 7 Fld.Coy. (L)
 986. Pte. F.H. Cox, 1 Div.Sig.Coy. (L & Narrative)
 987. Gnr. R.L. Cox, 107 Howitzer Bty. (L)
 988. Pte. B.T. Doyle, 23 Bn., K.I.A. 1/10/17. (D)
 989. Lt. A.W. Edwards, M.M., 1 Bn. (Narrative)
 990. Gnr. R.F. Hall, 4 F.A.B. & A.I.F. H.Q. (D & L)
 991. Sgt. S.V. Hicks, 8 L.H.Regt., Rep.T.A. 12/7/18. (D)
 992. Capt. R.B. Hinder, M.C., Mining Corps. (L)
 993. { Lt. M.C. Moors, 1 Bn. (L)
 994. { Lt. W.S. Moors, M.C., 18 Bn. (L)
 995. Pte. T. Patton, 7 Bn., D.O.W. 9/8/15. (D)
 996. Sister M.F. Proctor, A.A.N.S. (L)

997. Sgt. A.N. Roberts, 1 F.A.B. (D)
 998. Sgt. W.E. Turnley, 1 Fld.Coy., Rep.T.A. 10/6/16.
 (D)
 999. Cpl. S.W. Wordley, 108 Howitzer Bty. (D)

2. Newspapers and periodicals

i) General

Age

Argus

Barrier Miner, Broken Hill

Brisbane Courier

Bulletin

Daily Advertiser, Wagga Wagga

Daily Telegraph, Launceston

Herald, Melbourne

Labor Call, (Vic.) (File No. P/2/3/8, A.N.U. Business Archives)

Punch, Melbourne

Sydney Mail

Sydney Morning Herald

West Australian

ii) A.I.F. papers

Anzac Argus (June 1915)

Dardanelles Driveller (May 1915)

Digger (Aug. 1918-Jan. 1919)

Dinkum Oil (June-July 1915)

Harris, P.L. (ed.): Aussie, Australian War Memorial, 1920.
 (Reprints of soldiers magazine, 1918-19)

Kia Ora Coe-ee (March-April 1918)

Kia Ora Coo-ee News (1918)
Peninsula Press (1915)
Rising Sun (Dec. 1916-March 1917)

iii) Unit papers

Anzac Records Gazette (3 Echelon, M.E.F., Nov. 1915)
Barrak (Camel Corps, July 1917-Feb. 1918)
Battalion Buzzer (A Coy., 1 Bn., May 1917)
Battery Herald (14 F.A.B., Sept.-Oct. 1916)
Brain Wave (2 Bn., Aug. 1918)
Bran Mash (4 L.H.Regt., June 1915)
Burnished Bits (5 Div.Sig.Coy., 1917?)
Ca Ne Fait Rein (6 Bn., 1916-19)
First Aid Post (2 Fld.Amb., June-July 1915)
Harding, E.W. et al.: The 7th FAB Yandoo, Sydney, 1919.
(Reprints of 7 F.A.B. magazine, 1916-19)
Mirage (2 L.H.Bde., June 1916)
O.P. (10 Bty., 4 F.A.B.) (later published by Richard Clay
and Sons, London, 1917)
Sportsman (A Coy., 1 Bn., May and July 1917)
Standard of "C" Company (C Coy., 26 Bn., July 1918)
Tassie Times (40 Bn., 1916 and 1918)
Third Battalion Magazine (3 Bn.) (Printed in London, Aug.
1918)
23rd (23 Bn., Sept. 1917-April 1919)
"Two Blues" (13 Bn., Sept.-Dec. 1918)
Twenty Second's Echo (22 Bn., April 1918-April 1919)

iv) Troopship papers

Aeneasthetic (Aeneas A.60)
Afric Echoes (Afric A.19)
Armadale News (Armadale A.26)

Armadillo (Armadale A.26)
Ascanian (Ascanius A.11)
"Ayrshire" Furphy (Ayrshire A.33)
Back to the Bush (H.M.T. Durham)
Ballarat Beacon (Ballarat A.70)
Ballarat Lyre (Ballarat A.70)
Barambah Battler (Barambah A.37)
Beltana Bugle (Beltana A.72)
Benalla Sun (Benalla A.24)
Berrima Souvenir (Berrima A.35)
"Bill-Jim" (S.S. Balmoral Castle)
"Billjim" at sea (S.S. Ormonde)
Blue Funnel Trooper (Aeneas A.60)
Boonah Buzzer (Boonah A.36)
Clan News (Clan Macgillivray A.46)
Devil's Own Rag (S.S. Willochra)
Dixie (Medic A.7)
Dragropes (Shropshire A.9)
Dryarra Wail (Kyarra A.55)
Euripidean (Euripides A.14)
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Fair Dinkum (Nestor A.71)
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Kangaroosilite (Wandilla A.62)
Kan-Karoo Kronikle (Karoo A.10)
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Osterley Keystone (R.M.S. Osterley)
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Persique (Persic A.34)
Pink 'Un (Kyarra A.55)
Port Lincoln Lyre (Port Lincoln A.17)
Reveille (Euripides A.14)
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Seang B-- Liar (Seang Bee A.48)
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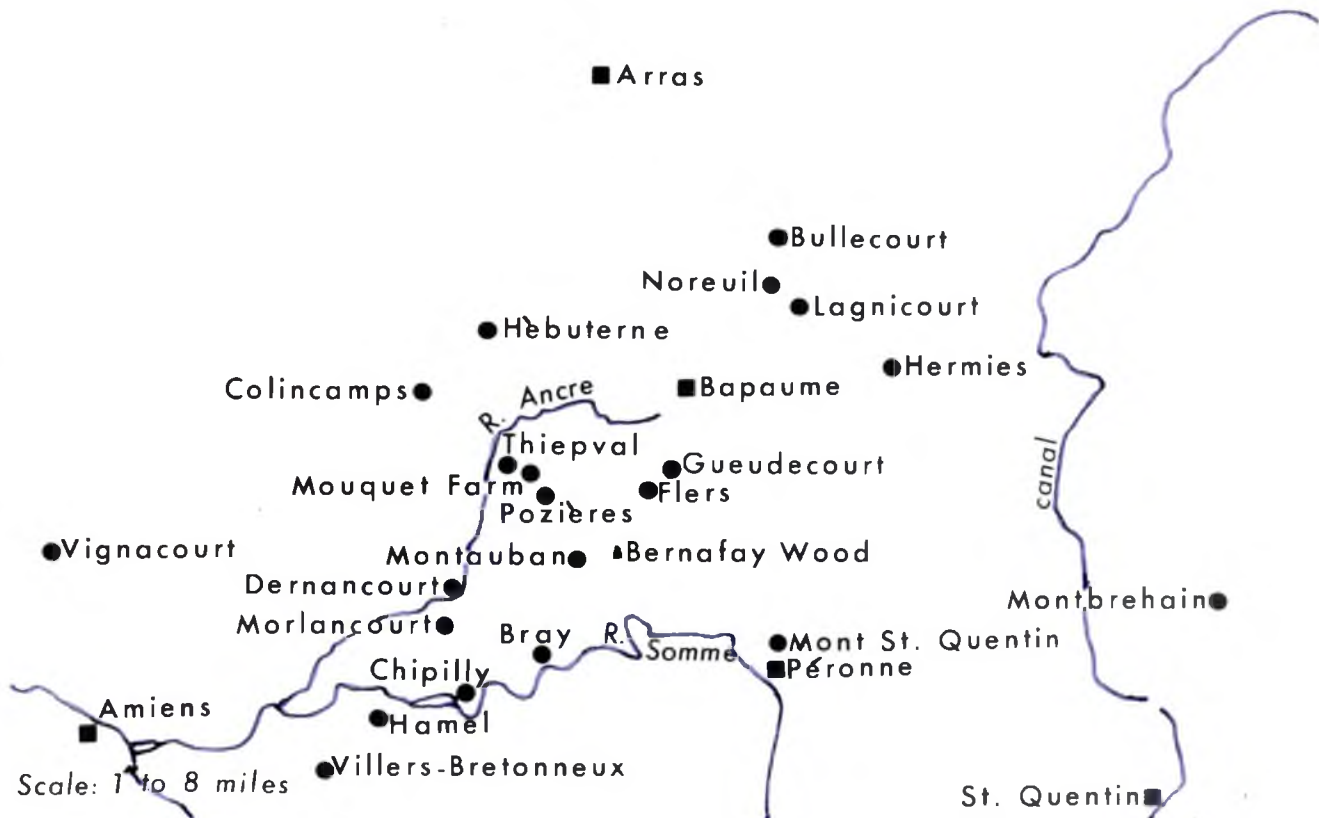
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A FRANCE

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FRANCE



ANZAC

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Red contour line shows
land over 100 metres

Suvla Bay

Hill 60Δ

GALLIPOLI

PENINSULA

Hill 971Δ

Aegean

Sea

ΔChunuk Bair

Sniper's Nest
No. 1 Outpost

The Apex

Rhododendron Ridge

Battleship Hill

The Nek

Poppy Hill

Dead Man's Ridge

Bloody Angle

Quinn's Post

Courtney's Post

German Officer's Trench

Ari Burnu

Plugge's Plateau
Anzac Cove

Monash Valley

Shrapnel Gully

Johnstone's Jolly

400

Daisy Patch

Lone Plateau

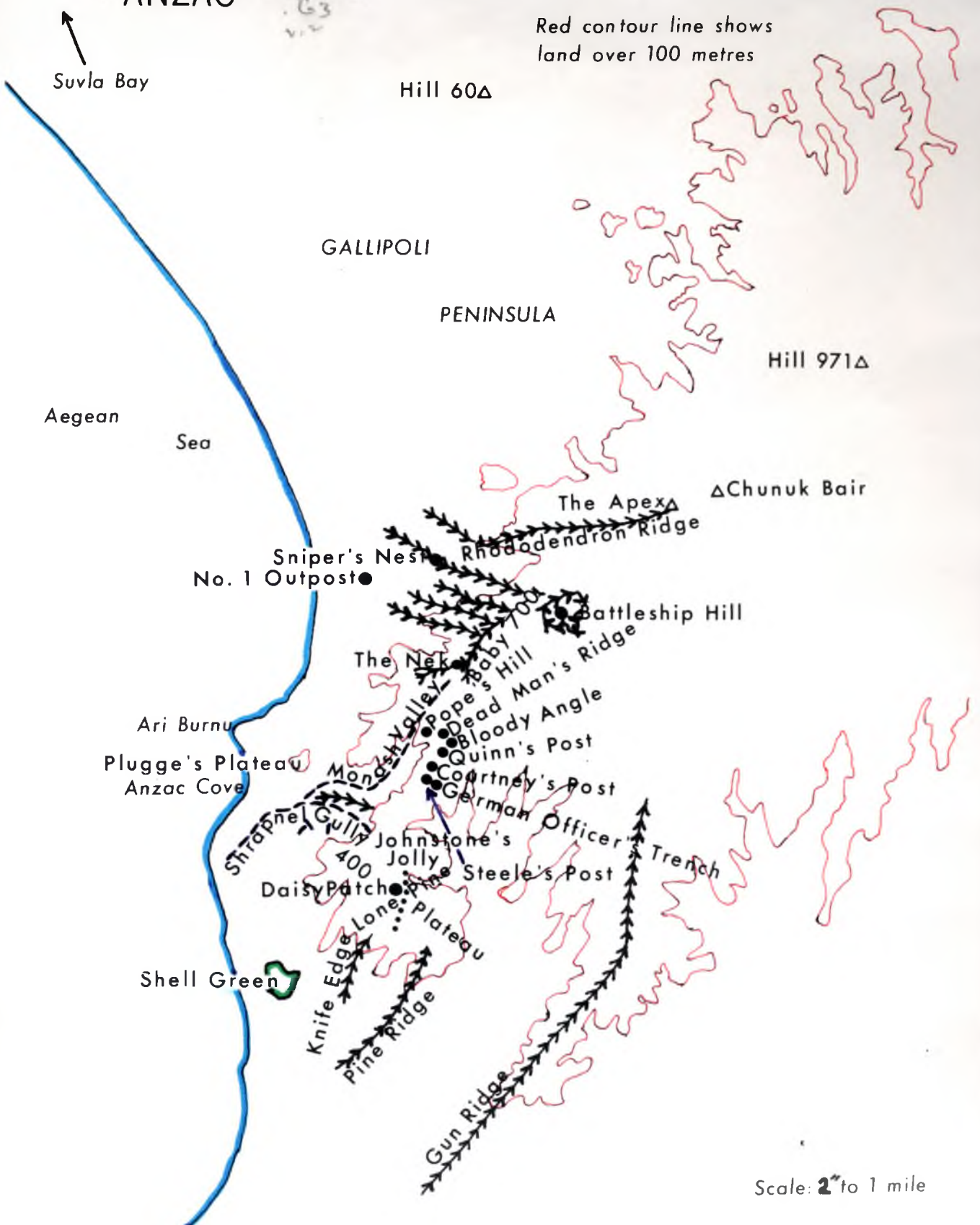
Knife Edge

Pine Ridge

Gun Ridge

Shell Green

Scale: 2" to 1 mile



EGYPT and PALESTINE

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