



HIS WAS THE CALL

Brunswick's Roll of Honour in the First World War
1914-1918

Part 1: 1915

Paul Freestone

For the citizens of Brunswick who have fought for
and supported the Australia Defence Forces.

Acknowledgements

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Sincere apologies for any errors or omissions that may have occurred in
this history.

Cover image: Detail of studio portrait of Brunswick volunteer Spr Albert Renshaw prior to
enlisting in August 1914. AWM H05471.

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Forward

His was the call that came from far away,
An Empire's message flashing o'er the sea –
The call to arms! The blood of chivalry
Pulsed quicker in his veins; he could not stay!

This excerpt is, in part, the memorial penned by a young Robert Menzies for his friend and Brunswick sporting identity, Lieutenant Joseph Rupert Balfé. Balfé was one of 8,141 Australians who perished during the Gallipoli campaign and amongst 16 Brunswick men who died during the Landing on 25 April 1915. In all, 78 Brunswick lives were lost in 1915.

His was the Call is an account of 50 Brunswick lives lost in the first of year of major conflict for Australian forces in the First World War and whose names are recorded on the Roll of Honour in the Memorial Foyer of the Brunswick Town Hall. Presented in order of date-of-death and marking the major offensives that defined the Gallipoli Campaign, they offer an insight in to official military accounts of how Brunswick's volunteer soldiers lost their lives and the impact those deaths had on loved ones. In particular, on the 100th anniversary of the Landing at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915, *His was the Call* identifies all known men from the suburb who died during the Landing on what later became ANZAC Day.

This biographical history derives primarily from the Australian Defence Forces Personnel Records (B2455), Red Cross Missing and Wounded reports, Charles Bean's *Story of Anzac* and the Australian Army Campaigns Series. Correspondences on the soldier's files relate to Base Records documents (the military's information depot based at Victoria Barracks in Melbourne), Court of Enquiry testimony, and personal letters from family members to illustrate and commemorate the Brunswick volunteers who served in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) a century ago.

Brunswick Soldiers Memorial Foyer

Throughout the war, and particularly after the Armistice in November 1918, Brunswick's war veterans returned their suburb. Then mayoress, Elise Wales launched an appeal in June 1919 to establish a 'suitable meeting place' for the returned soldiers 'that shall also serve as an enduring memorial to the splendid fallen.' The appeal stalled, not in collecting funds, but in progressing towards construction of a memorial. The Returned Sailor's and Soldier's Imperial League, Australia (RSSILA) motioned the Brunswick Council in 1925 as to why no promises had been fulfilled or resolutions honoured to construct a memorial. Council advised that the matter was under consideration along with the construction of a new Town Hall.

In April 1927, H. Goldman Manufacturing Company won the tender for decorating a soldier's Memorial Foyer in the new building at a cost of £1,500. Brunswick's renovated Town Hall opened months later in early August. The *Brunswick & Coburg Leader* reported on the new building observing that 'In the foyer of the main hall is the Shrine of Remembrance, or soldier's memorial. The walls are panelled in polished blackwood, on which are bronze tablets containing the names of the all the soldiers who from Brunswick joined the A.I.F. A club room for the R.S.L is also provided.'

Shortly after the opening, the Brunswick Branch of the Australian Imperial League of Sailors and Soldiers' Womenfolk petitioned the Council to place a memorial within or near the Honour Roll to allow the laying of wreaths. The Womenfolk declined a number of option offered to them choosing to have their memorial placed over the central entrance. It reads:

YE WHO PASS THIS WAY HOLD IN MEMORY THOSE GALLANT
MEN WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN OR THROUGH THE GREAT WAR
1914-1918.

THEY SHALL NOT GROW OLD AS WE WHO ARE LEFT GROW OLD

AGE SHALL NOT WEARY THEM NOR THE YEARS CONDEMN
AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN AND IN THE MORNING WE
WILL REMEMBER THEM
THE SOULS OF THE RIGHTEOUS ARE IN THE HANDS OF GOD
A TRIBUTE OF LOVE FROM THE A.I.L.S.S. WOMENFOLK
BRUNSWICK



Figure 1: A.I.L.S.S. Womenfolk Memorial Plaque. Personal Collection.

Brunswick's mayor in 1927, Councillor Albert Holbrook took responsibility for obtaining the names of the suburb's enlistees for display on the memorial panels supplied by the Department of Defence at a cost of £130. According to the Australian War Memorial, an individual qualified for induction to the Roll of Honour if they 'died during service as a member of the Australian armed forces, or as a result of that service'; had 'been a member of a unit which was, or could be sent overseas'; and died between '4 August 1914 – 31 March 1921'.

Published in the *Brunswick & Coburg Leader* in twenty instalments between July 1927 and February 1928, the public could view the lists at locations such as the

Brunswick Town Hall and Mechanics Institute, and the State Library of Victoria.

On the 19 August 1928, Major General Harold Edward ‘Pompey’ Elliott, who commanded the landing of the 7th Battalion at Anzac Cove on 25 April 1915 that included Brunswick soldiers, officially opened the Memorial Foyer and unveiled the Womenfolk’s plaque. The Roll of Honour contains the names of 513 men and a solitary female who died during the First World War. Surrounding the foyer are a further 2,526 names on the panels of the Nominal Roll, and 538 names of those who ‘Did Not Embark’. For those who died, an epitaph expresses the gratitude of the City: ‘WE CAN BUT HONOUR, CHERISH, BLESS YOUR SACRED NAMES, NO WORDS EXPRESS THE MEASURE OF OUR THANKFULNESS TO YOU, OUR DEAD.’



Figure 2: Brunswick's Roll of Honour. Personal collection



Figure 3: Panels of the Nominal Roll from the Memorial Foyer. Personal Collection.

The names of over 3,500 Brunswick volunteers appear on the Memorial Foyer panels. Their service records offer an insight in to the demographic of Brunswick’s volunteers who died in 1915.

Profiling the Brunswick Soldier 1914-1915

In his research on the Australian First Division in the First World War, historian Robert Stevenson offered a profile of the “typical” early enlistee: he was single, white, Australian-born, and 24 years old. Over one quarter of those who served were British-born or came from across the British Empire. Most often, the soldiery were from major centres in Victoria and New South Wales; and the town-born outnumbered the country-born (fewer than twenty percent were in bush occupations). The blue-collar working-class were represented over middle-class professions. One-third were tradesmen, whilst almost another third were labourers. The most commonly recorded religious denominations were Anglican (Church of England), Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterians and nearly two thirds of men had previous military experience in the militia or Citizen Forces.

The Brunswick enlistees who died in 1915 were also predominately single, ‘white’, Australian-born and aged 24.7 years old. Rather than resting with such a basic description of the Brunswick enlistee, it is worth considering the suburb’s volunteers in more detail particularly in relation to the often-accepted myths of the ANZAC soldiers.

The AIF had recruitment standards in place in August 1914 in which a man needed to be 18-35 years old and a minimum of 5 feet 6 inches tall (167.6cm). These standards altered in June 1915 to 18-45 years and 5’ 2” tall (157.5cm). Charles Bean created a myth of the ‘big men’ of ANZAC that persists today. Yet artist and friend, George Lambert disagreed with Bean’s assumption, countering ‘We constantly picture Australians as tall, wiry men, whereas the average Australian ... is short and stout’, and this image is borne out by the measurements of the Brunswick enlistees who stood on average 5’ 7½” tall (171.6cm). Brunswick’s shortest enlistee to die in 1915 was William Roberts measuring 5’ 2” (157.5cm) and the tallest was Jeremiah O’Malley standing 5’ 11¾” (182.3cm). The youngest volunteer at enlistment was

Henry Withers aged 18 years 3 months, and the oldest was Cuthbert Jones at 44 years and one day.

The majority of men were Brunswick ‘natives’ or born in a Melbourne suburb such as Collingwood, Richmond, or Albert Park. Less than one-quarter were country born, and nine percent came from interstate or England. Few of the Brunswick enlistees were married (13%) and only one man was widowed, although men were caught out falsifying their marriage status or married after volunteering. Every man recorded a religion, an important consideration when it came to burial. Over one-third of the enlistees identified themselves as Anglicans (Church of England) followed closely by Roman Catholics (27%), Presbyterians (20%), and Methodists (9%). Congregationalists, Church of Christ, and Protestants were also represented.

When it came to recording their trades, 69 different occupations appeared on the Attestation forms ranging from labourers to painters, farriers, clerks, and a cycle mechanic. In all, 32% of the men classified themselves as ‘labourers’, the next most numerous occupation was ‘clerk’ accounting for 4% of enlistees. Only 10% of those employed were, or had been, apprenticed; a consequence of the increased industrial mechanisation and unskilled occupations that flourished after the 1870s.

In the early period of 1914-15, volunteer enlistments were at their highest. The following graphs contrast national and Victorian enlistments against Brunswick enlistment during this period (based on the Board of Honour). Of particular note is the increased enlistment in June 1915, attributable to a lowering of the AIF’s enlistment standards and publication of war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett’s heroic account of the Landing that appeared in newspapers in May.

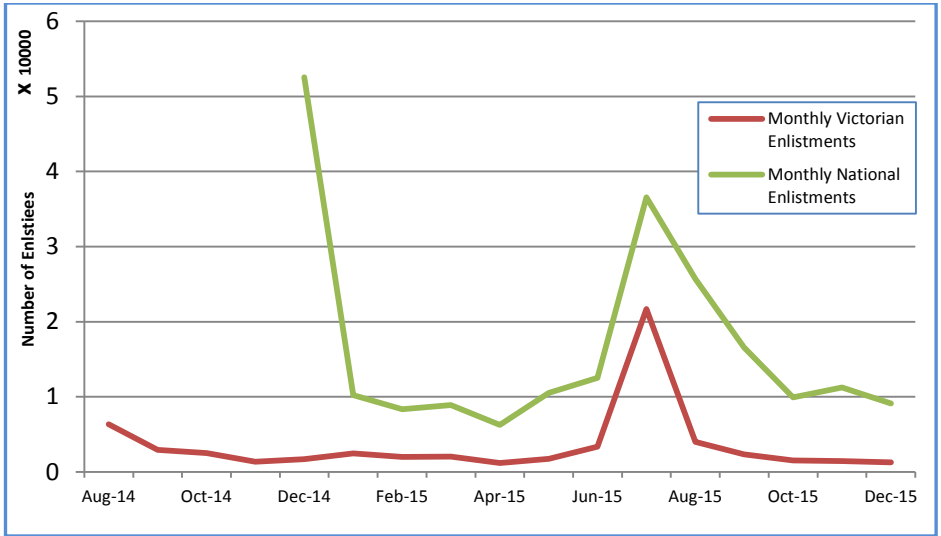


Figure 4: Monthly National and Victorian enlistments 1914-1915.

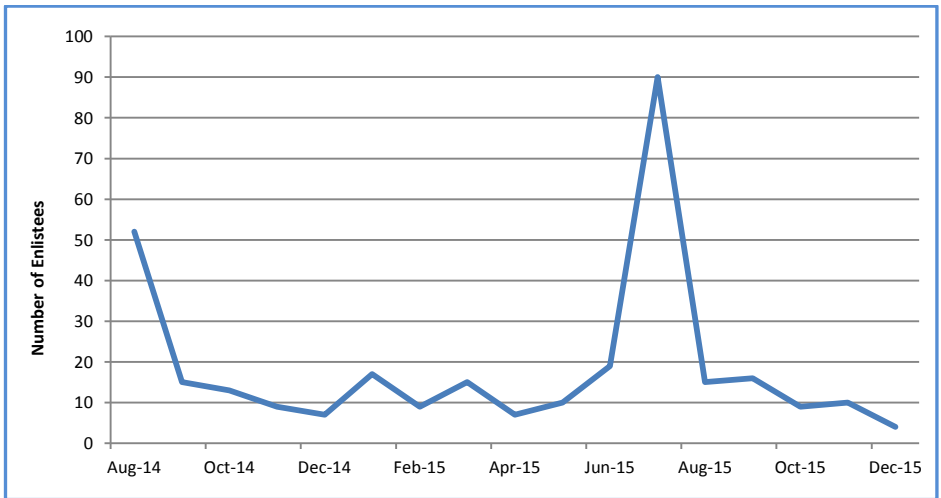


Figure 5: Monthly Brunswick enlistments 1914-1915.

News of the deaths of Brunswick’s volunteers was often slow to reach loved ones in Australia leaving families uncertain of their fate for months or years, and for many never knowing exactly how or where a soldier died. As both official confirmation of a death, and the wounded themselves filtered back to Australia,

enthusiasm for the war declined over the years as can be seen in the later months of 1915.

The overwhelming majority of men who died in 1915 were 'killed in action' (78%) at Gallipoli. Few died of wounds (14%) or disease (6%) and fewer still were evacuated from the peninsula (8%), later dying 'at sea' or in hospital in Alexandria (Egypt), Malta, or England.

Arguably, the first Brunswick man to fall at Gallipoli and in the First World War did so in the earliest hours of the Landing. His name is Joseph Balfe.

Joseph Rupert Balfe

Joseph Balfe, the third son of the then Brunswick Mayor Mathew Balfe, was a well-known local sporting identity and scholar. Better known as Rupert, he briefly played football with VFA team Brunswick and then for University in the VFL before turning his attention to athletics while studying medicine at Melbourne University. Balfe's military career began in 1911 with the University Rifles in which he gained promotion to the rank of lieutenant.

Enlisting with the AIF on 15 August 1914 aged 24, Balfe accepted a commission as second lieutenant with the 6th Battalion. The 6th were a 'Victorian' unit of the 2nd Infantry Brigade that also comprised the 5th, 7th and 8th Battalions. Lt Balfe embarked for Egypt on the *Hororata* on 19 October 1914.

Reports filtering back to the Balfe family in May broke the news that their son was wounded. In early July, Base Records officially informed the family that Rupert Balfe had died 'in action'. Particulars of his death went unrecorded at the time, the family unaware of how their son lost his life. His sole remaining personal item, a writing case, was returned to the family in mid-August 1915.

Mathew Balfe wrote to Base Records in January 1916 seeking information, 'we have got no particulars of his death and would be pleased to know if any definite



Figure 6: Joseph Balfe, March 1915, Cairo. AWM P06424.002.

advice had been received'. His disappearance triggered an investigation in January 1916 by Base Records and the Red Cross Inquiry Bureau to establish what had become of him.

Curiously, Base Records wrote to the Balfe family in April 1916 indicating they were 'in receipt of advice which shows that [Lt Balfe] was killed in action at Gallipoli Peninsula, on the 25th April 1915, and was buried at Gallipoli'. What advice Base Records had received is unknown and it does not appear any details were forwarded to the family.

However, at some stage, the Balfe family received personal correspondence regarding the fate of their son. Such personal letters are not evident on Lt Balfe's file, only hints of their existence appeared in official communications. One such letter was sent to them by Reverend W. Neile, Chaplain of the 6th Battalion, alluding that Lt Balfe survived the morning and 'was dressing the wounds of some of his men' up to 2pm on the 25 April, and that he later buried the lieutenant's body. In July 1916, Rev. Neile responded to the Red Cross Inquiry Bureau that he could 'add nothing at all to what [he] long ago wrote to [Lt Balfe's] parents and cousin'.

The Australian Red Cross Wounded and Missing file records two accounts of Balfe's death, both dated after Base Records forwarded their letter. In October 1916, a Corporal Johnson recorded:

At Anzac Green Patch, near shrapnel Gulley [sic], he was leading, and very keen, got further on than I did, two of his party came back and said he was killed, but could not bring his body back – and they left it out there, we had to retire that evening and we never got back over that ground for sometime.

In 1919, Infantry Sergeant Collins, writing from North Fitzroy, claimed that:

Landing in the morning about 5.20 a.m. just reached beach and a bursting shell killed Balfe instantly. He was in command of B.Coy. Came from Australia with Informant on transport "Hororite" on 19th 1914 [sic].

Buried at Hillcrest – Shrapnel Gully – Gaba Tepe. Temporary Cross erected.

A third account of Lt Balfe's death appeared in *Fallen – the Ultimate Heroes* quoting from an unidentified source in which an 'officer' claimed that the Lieutenant survived the beach landing and 'was seen with a handful of men surrounded by a large body of Turks, and fighting desperately with bayonets until they were all killed' near Pine Ridge. This account is not documented in official military or Red Cross files.

The Australian Historical Mission and official war historian Charles Bean visited Gallipoli in 1919 following the Armistice. They discovered skeletal remains of soldiers along with 'the red and purple arm patches or bronze number of the 6th Battalion'. It should be noted that Bean did not identify the remains as belonging to any particular man of the 6th, but understandably the authors of *Fallen* have concluded from the account they present that 'it is believed the skeletons were those of Balfe and the men of his platoon'.

The 6th Battalion began landing after 5:00am under shrapnel fire, and upon leaving Anzac Cove pushed beyond McCay's Hill through Bolton's Ridge to Pine Ridge, located south of Lone Pine. While Cpl Johnson's account attests to events at Shrapnel Gully, he concludes the men withdrew in the evening from a position the Australians clearly lost. Charles Bean clarifies the events in more detail as Major Harry Gordon Bennett of the 6th Battalion 'organised an advanced line of some 300 men of the 6th, 7th and 8th Battalions' who later encountered counter-attack by the Turkish 77th Regiment:

Many of Bennett's three hundred, himself among them, had been hit and struggled back to the main line, or at least to the washaways on the rear slope of Pine Ridge, where they waited for stretcher-bearers or for the dark. But of those who were still holding that part of the ridge when the Turks advanced, no word came.



Figure 7: Members of the 6th Battalion with Rupert Balfe (centre) wearing the Melbourne University Regiment cap badge, September 1914. AWM P06424.001.

According to a Turkish medical officer's account taken during an armistice on 24 May 1915, some of Major Bennett's men 'pretended to be dead but fired into us again after we had passed them. We had to kill all those'.

It is possible that Lt Balfe died during this time but whether the remains of Australia soldiers in uniform recovered in 1919 did include those of Lt Balfe is uncertain. Regardless, the testimonies provided support for Lt Balfe's death occurring during the landing of the 6th Battalion after 5:00am or late in the afternoon of the 25 April; his body either buried or left behind as Turkish soldiers countered the ANZAC advance. Yet only Sergeant Collins' report appears on Lt Balfe's service record indicating this testimony served as closure on the missing soldier's file.

In January 1921, Mathew Balfe, still concerned for the whereabouts of his son, wrote to Base Records for details of his burial, 'my wife and I are both very anxious to know where our son's body is buried. Can you tell us we shall be deeply obliged [sic]'. In reply, Base Records forwarded the family Sg Collins' account, assuring the family if Lt Balfe's remains were found they would be informed.

Lieutenant Balfe's final resting place remains elusive, as would many sites of internment on the peninsula. Lt Balfe, the first known Brunswick soldier to die in the First World War and at Gallipoli, may yet lay somewhere near Shrapnel Gully in an unmarked grave or further afield of Pine Ridge. His name appears on Panel 25a of the Lone Pine memorial alongside fellow officers of the 6th Battalion.

Arnold Frederick Davis

Arnold Davis enlisted on 19 August 1914 aged 19. Born in Melbourne, he listed his calling as 'clerk', and before volunteering with the AIF he served for two years with the 60th Infantry in Melbourne. Davis stood only 5' 5" tall (165cm), one inch below the early enlistment standards, contradicting the often-accepted myth that ANZAC soldiers were tall men. His family consisted of his parents Francis and Mary, and siblings Ethel, and two elder serving brothers, Captain Clarence John Davis and Sergeant Ernest Leslie Davis. Both brothers survived the war; Ernest enlisting again during the Second World War.

Allotted as a private with A Company, 7th Battalion, Pte Davis embarked on the *Hororata* in October 1914. As part of 7th he was involved in the Landing on 25 April and subsequently disappeared. His service record initially listed him as missing between 25 April and 2 May.

Exactly when Pte Davis died is unknown. His service record did not record him as missing so no official investigation was established or testimony recorded as to how or when he perished.

A letter from his father, Francis indicates Base Records notified the family around 11 June 1915 that his son had died on 3 June, the date a cable was issued

from Alexandria notifying Base Records that Pte Davis was missing. Francis also refers to a will drafted by Pte Davis prior to embarkation leaving all properties and monies to him, and requesting the return of ‘any little trinkets found on his body’ in particular a gold ring inscribed with ‘Billie’. At the beginning of March 1916, the family received Davis’ effects consisting of a gift box, fountain pen, cards, and a serviette; the ring was absent.

One month later, official notification arrived that Pte Davis died in action between 25 April and 2 May. One copy of Pte Davis’ Active Service record has the date of ‘2/5/1915’ struck out, amending the exact date of death to the 25 April. This has occurred on a number of Brunswick enlistee’s service records.

Pte Davis’ body was never recovered, perhaps hastily buried along with personal effects he was wearing or left behind in Turkish held territory. The items returned appear to be items of ‘kit’ often discarded by the men during the push towards the Sari Bair Range.

In 1967, Ethel applied for the Gallipoli Medallion for both her brother and husband, Sergeant Raymond West (2472). Sgt West had served at Gallipoli late in the campaign, later wounded in Europe, and finally discharged to Australia the following year.

Private Davis may have lost his life anywhere between Fisherman’s Hut in the north to Pine Ridge in the south where the 7th Battalion saw action on the first day of the Gallipoli offensive. In the confusion of war, the details of his death went almost unrecorded. Today his name is commemorated on Panel 28a of the Lone Pine memorial, perhaps close to where he may yet lay in an unmarked grave.

Harold Denston

Harold Denston was a 24-year-old insurance inspector when he enlisted on 17 August 1914. Born in London, England, he served as a private in B Company, 7th Battalion, embarking on the *Hororata* in October 1914. Denston was only one of two British-born Brunswick men who died in 1915. A full analysis of the Brunswick

Honour Board reveals the majority of British-born Brunswick enlistees volunteered from September 1915 onwards. His siblings included brothers Philip and Cyril, and sisters Winifred and Dorothy, the later Pte Denston's next of kin was living in Bendigo.

Private Denston was involved in the Landing but it was not until 22 May 1915 that he was declared 'missing' between 25 April and 2 May. Dorothy wrote to Base Records around mid-August 1915 asking for news of her brother's whereabouts, but according to Base Records, her original letter was not received. On 22 September, she wrote again to Base Records noting Pte Denston was reported wounded on 24 June. Her letter reveals the concern many families and friends experienced during the war:

I have received no reply to my enquiry. All I want is information as to where I can cable in Egypt, so as to be able to trace his movement. As we have had no word from my brother, you can imagine our anxiety, as to how & where he is. Trusting you will look into the matter [sic].

Base records followed up on the request, informing Dorothy that Private Denston 'was reported wounded on 25th April' and that the Egyptian authorities were investigating his whereabouts.

Initially confirmed 'wounded' on 12 January 1916, it would take a Board of Enquiry held on 5 June 1916 to establish Pte Denston was 'killed in action' at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915. Private Denston's file does not include any testimony or transcript to establish how or when exactly he died, nor is there a Red Cross Wounded & Missing file. The Board's finding led to a backdating of Pte Denston's Service Record updating his status of 'missing' to 'wounded' on 25 April 1915, and his death on 25 April officially entered on 19 October 1916. His death certificate would not reach Australia until December 1918.

Dorothy married Hermann Rothacker in 1917, changing her surname and moving to Wingello, New South Wales where she took receipt of her brother's personal

effects in October 1917 consisting of a purse, brush, Testament, badge, scarf, comb, 'military book', and compass, but no service disc. Winifred also later married in 1919 and changed her address.

When the time came to distribute Pte Denton's memorials in 1921, Base Records contacted both Dorothy and Winifred only to have their letters returned, and also wrote unsuccessfully to H. R. Denston in Brunswick Road that may have been the private's residential address. Subsequently, Pte Denston's 1914-15 Star was returned to 'untraceable'.

Eventually Winifred was tracked to Hampton, whereupon she notified Base Records that Dorothy had moved to America and she would address issues relating to her deceased brother. However, Base Records declared that the eldest brother,

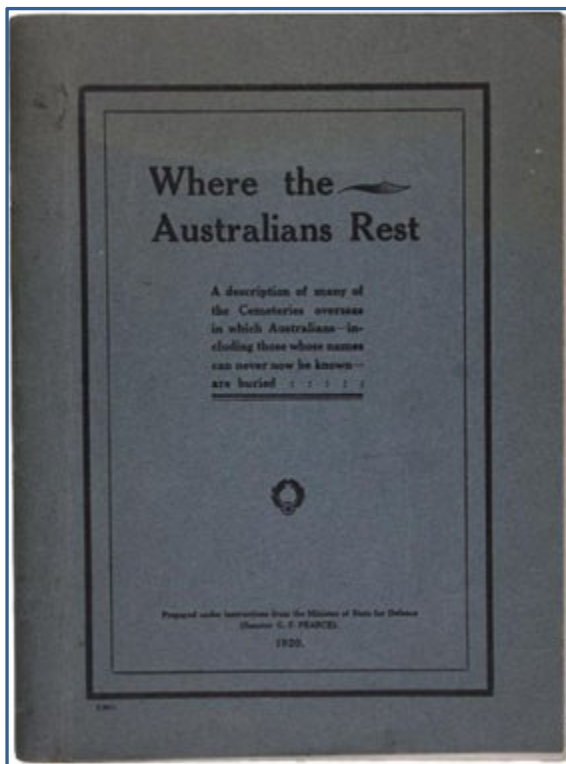


Figure 8: Example of *Where the Australians Rest*. Museum of Victoria (MV) HT 36985.

Cyril would receive Pte Denston's memorials that included the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll, Memorial Plaque, and copy of *Where the Australian's Rest*.

The booklet *Where the Australians Rest* and the earlier memorial pamphlet *Graves of the Fallen*, were sent to families who received them as consolation for lost sons, especially when a body was never recovered. *Graves of the Fallen* depicted 'the military cemeteries as they will generally appear when completed, as well as the type of headstone, &c., being provided by the Imperial War Graves Commission'. *Where the Australians Rest* similarly contained altered images of the memorials under construction in Turkey, Palestine, Egypt, Britain, France, and Belgium.

Pte Denston's body disappeared at Gallipoli, with only the few personal items recovered that he perhaps dropped on the day of the Landing. The location of his death is likely to have been on the ANZAC line where 2nd Infantry soldiers held on to the southern end of Sari Bair Range. He may have fallen in territory later held by Turkish soldiers or his body buried in an unrecorded grave. Today, Pte Denston's name appears on Panel 28a of the Lone Pine memorial, one of many 7th Battalion volunteers who died on 25 April.

Edward Gorrie

Edward Gorrie, a 19-year-old iron moulder, enlisted on 22 August 1914, serving as a private with B Company, 6th Battalion. He was a fraction shorter than AIF requirements, standing 5' 5½" (166.4cm) tall. With both parents deceased, the young soldier was evidently close to his sister, Millicent, whom he made next of kin. While stationed in Australia in October, Pte Gorrie lost five days' pay for being absent without leave (AWL).

Private Edward Gorrie was not the only member of his Brunswick family to enlist. Older brother William (885) also enlisted in 1914, possibly alongside his sibling. The military discharged William as 'temporarily medically unfit' but he re-enlisted in March 1915 only to die in France in August 1916. A third 'brother',

referred to in correspondence from Millicent, remains unidentified.

Joining the British Mediterranean Expeditionary Forces (MEF) on 5 April 1915 from Alexandria, Pte Gorrie came ashore in the early hours of 25 April with his Battalion. By late in the evening he was dead. Pte Gorrie's service record reflected the fate that befell many soldiers: firstly listed as wounded, then wounded and missing, and finally, one day shy of a year since his disappearance, pronounced 'killed in action' by a Court of Enquiry.

Mrs Millicent Hall, sister of Pte Gurrrie, received word in June that her brother was wounded but 'not ... seriously'. Concerned for his welfare, she again sought information regarding her brother in August having had no reply to her letters sent to Egypt. Base Records replied that Pte Gorrie 'is not reported as having been seriously wounded, and the Egyptian authorities advise ... that in the absence of further reports it may be assumed satisfactory progress in being made'. By November, Base Records, in response to Millicent's on-going requests for information, had begun to investigate the whereabouts of Pte Gorrie. Yet, in February 1916, there was still no news, and Millicent learnt that a Court of Enquiry would investigate the missing soldier and 'collect all evidence of the case and record an opinion as to whether it is reasonable to suppose he is dead'.

The Court of Enquiry began collecting eyewitness statements in March 1916 providing an insight in to what happened on the evening of the 25 April. W.J. Reed recorded seeing the private 'well and unwounded' around 5-6pm, while Lance Corporal J. Johnson testified Pte Gorrie died on 27 or 28 April at Gaba Tepe. Pte Lawrence Buckley, a friend of Pte Gorrie, received a bullet wound on the 25 April. Temporarily evacuated, he returned to the peninsula to be informed by two other soldiers that his mate died instantly due to a shell exploding 'down at the Cook House', also injuring another soldier. Curiously, the later testimony does not appear on Pte Gorrie's service record file.

Pte Buckley's testimony suggests that Pte Gorrie died on Australian held ground. The Graves Services Unit could not locate the remains of Pte Gorrie after the war yet Millicent was in possession of his service discs. Clearly, Pte Gorrie's body was

recovered or accessible after he died, but if he was buried the site was lost. Today his name appears on Panel 26a of the Lone Pine memorial. Pte Gorrie's war mementos proudly went to his sister, Millicent who endured the loss of her parents and then two brothers in successive years. Brother, John accepted the medals of his sibling Pte William Gorrie as 'mementos of his supreme sacrifice'.

David Norman Johnston

David Johnston, a native of Brunswick, was a 29-year-old bricklayer's labourer, married, with over 3½ years' of experience with the 5th Australian Infantry when he enlisted on 27 November 1914. Johnston's family consisted of his daughters Doris and Millicent, parents Richard and Agnes (deceased), and at least nine other siblings. As a married man, Johnston allocated 3/5ths of his pay to his wife, Mary and a further 1/5th to a child whom he described as 'illegitimate' on his Attestation form.

According to civil records, Johnston married Mary Neylon in 1912. She was married to a James Hancock in 1903 raising at least three children, Gladys, Grace, Mary and possibly Doris although there is no record of her birth. David and Mary had one daughter, Millicent who was born in 1913. Doris, later described as 'step-daughter' on Mary's war pension claim, must have come from Mary's previous relationship.

During his medical examination, Pte Johnston exhibited a number of distinct marks that included a tattoo of a bird on his left forearm, a tattooed ring on the third finger of his right hand, and a scar on his chin. Allocated as a private to C Company, 6th Battalion he embarked on 2 February 1915 aboard the *Clan Macgillvray*. In early April, Pte Johnston joined the MEF at Alexandria and was part of the Landing on 25 April whereupon he went missing.

It is not known when news of her husband's disappearance reached Mary but on Pte Johnston's service record, an undated pro-forma indicates that a member of Pte Johnston's family, very likely Mary, had received information that he was 'ill in

hospital'. A reply to a cablegram sent by Base Records to Egypt was forward to Mary on 2 September 1915 informing her that 'Hospital authorities at Heliopolis deny the report of [Pte Johnston's] admission, but further enquiries are being made'.

At this point, there are no more communications on file from Mary regarding her husband. Nor are there any military or Red Cross correspondences or testimonies to provide details of how or where he went missing or died. On 10 June, Pte Johnston's Active Service record reported him as missing on 25 April. It would not be until April 1916 that a Court of Enquiry pronounced Pte Johnston 'killed in action' on the day of the Landing.

While awaiting the outcome of the Court of Enquiry, Pte Johnston's personal effects returned to Australia in March 1916. With the finding of the Court finalised, Mary received her husband's death certificate in mid-July 1916 and his name appeared in the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* 'Honor Roll [sic]' on 25 August, although incorrectly stating the date of death as '4 April'.

Mary took receipt of her husband's 1914-15 Star in 1920 but moved the following year forcing Base Records to contact Agnes in February 1921. She provided Base Records with a Coburg address from which Mary accepted the Memorial Scroll and the Memorial Plaque in August 1922, signed for by Doris. By October, correspondence to Coburg was returned unclaimed including a packet marked 'WAR MEDAL' containing the Victory Medal returned with 'gone away from readdress [sic]' pencilled on the top flap, and King's Message contained in an envelope marked 'On His Majesty's Service'. The receipt for delivery of the Victory Medal is still attached to the original issue letter.

A second issuing of the Victory Medal occurred in January 1923, 'returned unclaimed' penned next to the issue stamp on Pte Johnston's War Gratuity Schedule. Once more, on the 14 March, Base Records attempted to send the medal to Mary, but there is no confirmation that the memento was successfully delivered on this occasion.

In 1967, a Mrs J. Jensen applied on behalf of her mother to Base Records 'for any medals being held on behalf of her husband' that included an Anzac

Commemorative Medallion being distributed to the next of kin of the deceased involved in the Landing. Whether Mary was seeking the various medals of her husband, including the Victory Medal or only applying for the Commemorative Medallion is not clear in her letter. The Central Army Records Office responded to the letter informing Mrs Jensen that all medals Pte Johnston had qualified for were issued and therefore Mary could only apply to receive the Commemorative Medallion.

Private Johnston died somewhere between Anzac Cover and Lone Pine on the 25 April 1915, perhaps beyond the Allied line or interred in a grave later forgotten or obliterated by war and the passage of time. With no burial Pte Johnston's name adorns the Panel 26a of the Lone Pine memorial as testimony of his service at Gallipoli.

Cuthbert Jones Long

Cuthbert Long served as a private with B Company, 7th Battalion, volunteering the day after his 44th birthday on 29 August 1914, nine years over the maximum recruitment age. Only 4% of enlistees on the Roll of Honour are over the age of 40, and Pte Long was one of only four men from this exclusive group who died in 1914-15. Beside his age, he wrote '28/8/1870', perhaps to confirm his date of birth to the military authorities.

Prior to serving with the AIF Pte Long was employed as a 'ticket writer', was unmarried, and belonged to another select group of Brunswick enlistees in having recorded a previous civil offence on his Attestation form for obscene language. He was around 19 years old when convicted, a point he wanted to make clear by writing and underlining '25 years ago' beneath his confession. Pte Long nominated his mother, Marie as next of kin.

Initially stationed at Broadmeadows with D Company, he embarked on the *Hororata* on 19 October 1914, later joining the MEF and landing at Gallipoli the on the morning of 25 April when he disappeared. There is neither testimony nor an

investigation in to the death of Pte Long. His service record reports his date of death occurring between 25 April and 2 May while the Commonwealth Graves Commission and Australian War Memorial record a date of death of 25 April.

In April 1920, his mother, Marie received a simple communication from the War Graves Commission, informing her of son's burial at No.2 Outpost cemetery. Located approximately 1.8km north of Anzac Cove, No. 2 Outpost cemetery received its first interments on 30 April 1915 of soldiers from the 7th and 12th Battalions killed nearby during the Landing.

The 7th Battalion began landing around 5:00am when Major Alfred Jackson directed four boats containing B Company to come ashore near Fisherman's Hut. Waiting nearby at No. 1 Outpost was a platoon of 80 Turkish riflemen of the 2/27th Regiment who killed or wounded 80 Australians as they attempted to land.

Pte Long was allotted with D Company in Australia but there is no confirmation on his Active Service records to indicate he was still with them on the 25 April; his service record indicates he died with B Company. Following the four B Company boats was Lieutenant Colonel 'Pompey' Elliot, who directed the rest of the 7th Battalion to Anzac Cove where Turkish shelling greeted the Australians. The evidence provided in Pte Long's military file suggests he died between Fisherman's Hut and Anzac Cove as the 7th Battalion attempted to come ashore in the early hours of 25 April.

Back in Australia, Marie, like all loved ones of serving soldiers, was oblivious to what had occurred to her son. The Defence Department in Melbourne received advice of Pte Long's death from Alexandria on 3 June and a notice appeared in *The Age* of 14 June 1915, probably at the same time Marie learnt of his death. Exact details of how and when he died were not forthcoming and further advice in October only confirmed Pte Long was 'killed in action'.

It took another ten months for Marie to learn that Pte Long died between 25 April and 2 May at Gallipoli. A month earlier in March, Marie received her son's personal effects that included his service disc, letters, photos, newspaper cuttings, a notebook, and wallet, Testament, and 'colour-set' (likely to be military Battalion

colours). The return of Pte Long's service disc indicated his fellow soldiers had access to his body and took the time to remove the tag and recover his pack. Four years later, Marie learnt of Pte Long's burial at No.2 Outpost Cemetery, and began to receive his memorials including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll, Memorial Plaque and *Where the Australians Rest*.



Figure 9: Example of the 1914-15 Star. MV NU 44385.

Pte Long was not the only Brunswick man interred in No.2 Outpost Cemetery. Also believed to have suffered the same fate is Pte William O'Brien (see below). This would potentially make them the earliest Brunswick soldiers to die in the First World War and at Gallipoli if they were involved with Major Jackson's ill-fated attempt to beach at Fisherman's Hut.

Given the lack of testimony to his disappearance, it is unknown how the War Graves Commission concluded Pte Long was buried at No.2 Outpost Cemetery or that he died on the morning of 25 April. However, Pte Long's death is recorded in this history as occurring on 25 April as per the records of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and circumstantial evidence in various sources. His grave can be found at Sp. Memorial 26, marked with a

standard cross and an epitaph common to fallen soldiers whose exact location and date of death remains speculative: 'Believed to be buried in this cemetery ... Their glory shall not be blotted out'.

Finlay John McDonald

Finlay McDonald was a rather enthusiastic recruit when he enlisted on 17 August 1914 responding to half of the questions on his Attestation form with ‘yes’ or ‘no’ responses punctuated with exclamation marks. Born in Brunswick, and a clerk by trade, 23-year-old McDonald served as a private with A Company, 7th Division. He listed his father, Patrick as next of kin.

Private McDonald was the only Brunswick soldier who died on the 25 April to record an offense in his service record. In September 1914, while at the Broadmeadows camp, he was fined ten shillings for ‘leaving ranks’. The following month he embarked on the *Hororata* in October, and joined the MEF on 5 April in preparation for the Gallipoli Campaign. As part of the 7th Battalion, Pte McDonald landed on the morning of 25 April and subsequently disappeared. It was not until 2 May that the military declared him ‘killed in action’, the date of death sometime between the Landing and the updating of his active service.

Correspondence from Alexandria on 3 June 1915 confirmed Pte McDonald died in action. Patrick had received this information believing the date of the dispatch to be that date his son had died. In August, seeking answers to the circumstances of his son’s death, he wrote to Base Records, ‘I have not hird how he fell and would so much like to know how he was killed. Could you kindly give me the information [and] kindly direct me how to get the information [sic].’ He also requested the contact details of Pte Edward Dorian, a ‘tent mate’ of his son, who he wished to contact, almost certainly hoping to learn more about his son’s death.

Brunswick enlistee Pte Dorian was clearly friends with Pte McDonald who filled out his mate’s enlistment form with the same exclamation marks that appear on his own Attestation. Pte Dorian also served in the 7th Battalion at Gallipoli and was badly wounded in August and invalided to Australia in December 1915. It is likely he made contact with Patrick at some stage, although no further information regarding the missing Pte McDonald appears on his service record.

In late October 1915, Base Records forwarded a certificate of report of death to

the family solicitor who was attending to any issues of probate. However, the report did specify a date of death. The following month a parcel of Pte McDonald's personal effects was despatched. It arrived at Patrick's Brunswick address in March 1916 containing two wallets, letters, a notebook, a diary and bible, lenses, and an 'antique ink-well', perhaps purchased in Egypt.

Patrick did not receive final confirmation of his son's death until April 1916, in which Base Records informed him that his son had died between 25 April and 2 May 1915. An edited copy of Pte McDonald's Active Service record appears on his file indicating a Board of Enquiry had convened, possibly in June 1915. The date of 2 May is struck out on this record, leaving the 25 April as the official date Pte McDonald was killed in action on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Private McDonald's body disappeared alongside many other soldiers in the early stages of the Gallipoli offensive. The 7th Battalion were active between Anzac Cove and the ANZAC line at Pine Ridge on the 25 April. The circumstances of Pte McDonald's death remain unknown, although he may have died during an attempt by the 2nd Infantry to take Third Ridge when men were left behind in hostile territory, or hastily buried in a trench and his service disc left with his body. His name is recorded with other fallen comrades of the 7th Battalion on Panel 29a of the Lone Pine memorial perhaps close to where he fell.

Patrick could not bury his son nor know the exact circumstance of his death. He would be left to seek comfort in his son's mementos that he received after the Armistice of 1918. They included the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal and Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll and Memorial Plaque and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.

James Rivet McGillivray

James McGillivray enlisted on 19 August 1914 at the age of 22, and served with B Company, 7th Battalion as a private. Born in the town of Tallarook, he listed his trade as baker having served a four-year apprenticeship with J. Hennessy's

bakery at 53-55 Sydney Road, Brunswick.

Private McGillivray embarked on the *Hororata* in October 1914 and was part of the morning landing on the 25 April. On that date he was declared missing, a status that remained on his record up to 29 December 1915 when confirmation of his disappearance triggered a Court of Enquiry. The Enquiry was held in France in June 1916 and recorded a finding that Pte McGillivray's death occurred on 25 April, 'KILLED IN ACTION'.

Unfortunately, no transcript or testimonies appear on Pt McGillivray's military files to explain his disappearance. Neither his body or service disc was officially recovered. Perhaps he fell beyond the ANZAC line or fellow soldiers hastily buried him without the removal of personal items.

Confirmation of the Enquiry's finding reached Alexandria in mid-October 1916 and Base Records on 12 December when the McGillivray family took receipt of their son's death report. The family did receive his personal effects years later in April 1918 consisting of a scarf, belt, knife, cigarette case, sunglasses, Testament, cap, gift tin, and a photo. The return of personal items can be attributed to the fact many men dropped their packs on the beaches before heading to the Sari Bair Range. It is likely Pte McGillivray did just such a thing, accounting for the return of his personal possession, while any military kit remained the property of the Department of Defence.

In the years after the war, Private McGillivray's Memorial Scroll and King's Message went undeliverable to his father as next of kin, the family having moved and the parents, Donald and Caroline passing away in 1921 and 1919 respectively. The King's Message reads 'I join with my grateful people in sending you this memorial of a brave life given for other in the Great War'. Fortunately, Base Records tracked down the eldest brother, Donald Jnr who took receipt of the message and his other mementos including the 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, British War Medal, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*. Pte McGillivray's name appears on Panel 29a of the Lone Pine Memorial alongside the almost 5,000 names that grace the monument.

Alfred Joseph Norton

Alfred Norton, a labourer by trade, enlisted on 17 August 1914 aged 25 years, and was allotted as a private to A Company, 7th Battalion. Norton nominated his mother, Sarah as his next of kin, his father having died in 1911.

Initially stationed at Broadmeadows, Pte Norton embarked for Egypt aboard the *Hororata* on 19 October 1914, and joined the MEF on 5 April 1915 ahead of the landing of the 2nd Infantry battalions on the morning of 25 April. Sometime in the first phase of the Gallipoli offensive, Pte Norton disappeared. On 2 May, his service record was update to reflect his status as ‘missing’. A few weeks later this was amended to ‘wounded’ and then on 15 June as ‘wounded in action at Dardanelles’.

The following month, Sarah received two telegrams ‘reporting him missing and wounded’. Silence followed until January 1916 when Pte Norton was again confirmed as wounded on 25 April. In August, an anxious and confused Sarah wrote to Base Records ‘will you kindly let me know if you can tell me anything of my son’ having recently received his personal effects including his identity disc, belt, gold ring, pendant, coins, fountain pen, Bible, and diary while still being reported ‘wounded and missing’. All that Base Records could do was reply that ‘no definite official report of soldier’s death’ had been received, and given the time since his disappearance and his name not appearing on prisoner of war lists, ‘the Military Board is regretfully constrained to conclude that this soldier is dead, and that death occurred on or about the 25 April 1915’.

As a missing soldier, the Australian Red Cross sought testimony from fellow soldiers to determine the whereabouts of the private. A single statement from a J.P. Rialand taken in September 1916 suggested he survived the first day. Rialand recollected Pte Norton being wounded on 25 April and evacuated to hospital on Mudros. In November of 1915, he had been sent to Mudros to deliver ‘about 50 letters’ to Pte Norton but was told that he ‘had left 3 or 4 days previously.’

It took a further year for a Court of Enquiry to convene in September 1917 ‘with a view to finalizing [sic] his case.’ Base Records requested any personal

correspondence or information Sarah may have received that could be provided to the Board. She could only verify what information she had already received: that her son had died ‘at the landing on Gallipoli’.

The Court of Enquiry clearly dismissed Rialand’s testimony, finding Pte Norton was killed ‘on or about’ 25 April 1915 and Sarah was duly notified of the finding. She took receipt of a second consignment of her son’s effects in 1918 including notebooks, seas shells, a knife, private armlets, coins, matchbook and cover, cards, scissors, New Testament, and a photograph found in Pte Norton’s paybook.

In an unfortunate mix up for Sarah in 1920, the first memento distributed to families after the war that she referred to as the ‘Gallipoli Badge’ (1914-15 Star) was initially not forthcoming. Her touching letter to Base Records revealed the tensions felt by many families seeking mementos of their loved ones:

The badges was given out at the Brunswick Park. (Brunswick) I attended but my name was not called out though several people that live in the same street that I am living in has got them – hoping to hear from you [sic].

Base Records offered no reason as to why she missed receiving the badge. Under Regulation set out in the Deceased Soldiers’ Estates Act, 1918, distribution of memorials such as the Star firstly went to the father, then mother regardless of the declaration of next of kin on a soldier’s enlistment form. Base Records requested to know if the father was still alive and where to contact him. Sarah replied that her husband was deceased, noting she had received her son’s death certificate and personal items including his belt and ring. Shortly after, Sarah received the Star, followed by the Victory Medal, British War Medal, Memorial Plaque and Scroll, and copy of *Graves of the Fallen* and *Where the Australians Rest*.

Throughout the war and even in the years after the Armistice of 1918, Base Records deal with the files of 60,000 Australian war dead, creating 900,000 reports, 400,000 files, and corresponding with 1.5 million letters and 170,000 cables and telegrams. Unfortunate mix-ups were bound to occur and the department went to great lengths to assist families.

The exact circumstance of Pte Norton's death would remain unknown. As Sarah received her son's identity disc it is certain his body was accessible to fellow soldiers when he fell and it is possible he received a burial, his resting place later lost or forgotten in the months of protracted warfare that occurred on the Gallipoli Peninsula. However, given the position of the 7th Battalion on the 25 April, he could have died anywhere between Fisherman's Hut and Anzac Cove to Pine Ridge

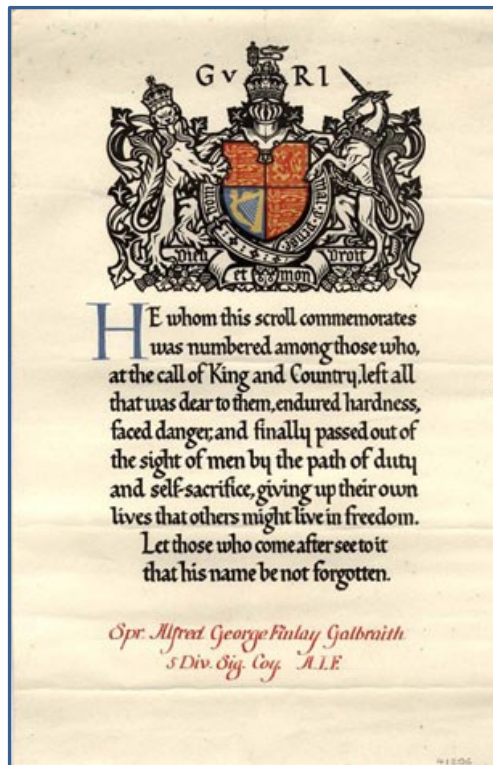


Figure 10: Example of the Memorial Scroll (issued to Spr Alfred Galbraith). MVST 041206.

beyond the ANZAC line. Fittingly, the Lone Pine memorial records his sacrifice on Panel 29a alongside the names of soldiers whose bodies also disappeared on the peninsula during the Gallipoli Campaign.

William O'Brien

William O'Brien was a 19-year-old, Brunswick-born, (horse) driver when he enlisted on 17 August 1914. Allotted as a private with A Company, 7th Battalion, he had twelve months previous military experience as a signaller with the 60th Infantry in North Carlton. His father John became his next of kin.

Embarking for Egypt aboard the *Hororata* on 19 October 1915, Pte O'Brien joined the MEF in Alexandria on 5 April and took part in the Landing on 25 April. By the 2 May, his military record listed him 'missing' between 25 April and 2 May 1915. What became of Pte O'Brien during this period is unknown. A Board of Enquiry held 23 May 1915 recorded his death as 'killed in action' on 25 April but no transcript or testimony of the Enquiry has survived on Pte O'Brien's records.

In mid-April 1920, John learnt that his son was buried somewhere in No.2 Outpost Cemetery, Gallipoli north of Anzac Cove, along with fellow Brunswick enlistee Pte Cuthbert Long (see above). Although not precise, the primary and secondary sources indicate Pte O'Brien died between Fisherman's Hut and Anzac Cove as the 7th Battalion attempted to come ashore in the early hours of 25 April, potentially one of the earliest Brunswick soldiers to die at Gallipoli.

With the Board handing down its decision in May, military officials in Alexandria were notified of Pte O'Brien's death on 15 June 1915. Shortly after, an entry appears on the 'Roll of Honor [sic]' in the *Brunswick & Coburg Leader* for Lance-Corporal W. O'Brien, 7th Battalion, 'previously reported missing, is now reported killed'. At some point, Pte O'Brien became Lance Corporal O'Brien on correspondences. Military authorities who noted there was no record of his promotion on file did not correct the error until after 1920.

The family had to wait until late November of that year to receive their son's

certificate of death. At this time, Thomas Cook & Son forwarded a parcel of Pte O'Brien's effects to Australia. John received the consignment in March 1916 consisting of a purse, photos, coins, belt, prayer book, and a letter, penning 'with thanks' on the receipt.

In early April 1916, Base Records wrote to John to inform him that they were 'now in receipt of advice which shows that [Pte O'Brien] was killed in action at Gallipoli on the 25th April 1915.' Years later, John received his son's memorials consisting of the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Plaque, Memorial Scroll, and *Where the Australian's Rest*. Base Records also offered the family a copy of *Graves of the Fallen* and forwarded a record of his service and death 'in Action' on 25 April 1915 to his former commanding officer of the 60th Infantry.

Although Pte O'Brien's service file contains no official testimony as to exactly how or where he died, it appears he did receive a burial. His grave in No.2 Outpost cemetery, Sp. Memorial 42, is marked with a cross carrying the less definitive inscription of his final resting place that adorns many graves across Gallipoli: 'Believed to be buried in this cemetery ... Their glory shall not be blotted out'.

Harold Paterson

Harold Paterson, a 24-year-old cycle mechanic and native of Brunswick, volunteered for service on 24 September 1914. At the time of enlisting, his medical examiner noted vaccination marks and a raised scar on the back of the right foot. Paterson nominated his mother, Louisa as next of kin. His father, James enlisted in 1915, falsifying his age as 43 when he was at least 47, potentially making him the oldest known enlistee from Brunswick to serve in the First World War.

Meanwhile, Pte Harold Paterson was allotted as a private with the 1st Reinforcements (A Company), 6th Battalion at Broadmeadows, embarking for Egypt aboard the *Themistocles* on 22 December 1914. On 5 April, Pte Paterson joined the Gallipoli Campaign and was involved in the Landing on 25 April where he

disappeared.

It was not until 10 June that his Active Service recorded reflected his status as missing. The family posted his name alongside the soldiers 'reported missing' in the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* in November but would never learn the exact fate of their son. Due to his status of 'missing', and almost exactly one year after the Landing, a Court of Enquiry convened on 24 April 1916, recording Pte Paterson died 'in action' on 25 April.

What became of Pte Paterson is unknown. His Australian Red Cross Wounded and Missing file contains only one document, a certified copy of the Enquiry finding dated 12 June 1916. The 6th Battalion began landing around 6am under shell fire before moving towards Pine Ridge. Neither Pte Paterson's personal effects nor his body appears to have been recovered suggesting he died in a forward position south of Lone Pine, either hastily buried or more than likely left behind during Turkish counter-attacks later in the day. The first newspaper notice of Pte Paterson's death at Gallipoli appears in the *Brunswick & Coburg Leader* on 16 June 1916.

In 1921-1922, the Patersons' received their son's memorials including the 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, British War Medal, Memorial Scroll and Memorial Plaque, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.

Private Paterson's body disappeared, perhaps still buried in an unmarked grave on ground his father would also serve on months later during the August Offensive. Reflecting the fate of so many soldiers who died with a known grave, his name appears on Panel 27 of the Lone Pine memorial.

Alfred James Pettis

Alfred Pettis' was a 19-year-old locksmith when he volunteered on 2 October 1914. Born in South Melbourne, he had previous exposure to the military via the 64th Infantry in Melbourne before serving in the AIF as a private with A Company, 7th Battalion. His parents, Thomas and Margaret were both deceased (1900 and 1906 respectively) and he had two brothers William and Thomas, and at

least one sister, Annie.

Pte Pettis embarked for Egypt aboard the *Themistocles* on 22 December 1914 and joined the Gallipoli Campaign on 5 April. He took part in the Landing with the 7th Battalion, disappearing sometime between 25 April and 2 May. There is no record of a Court of Enquiry ever convened for the missing private and no testimony appears on his military files to suggest how or where he died at Gallipoli. The family received a communication around 3 June 1915 that their son had died between 25 April and 2 May; his death advised in the *Brunswick and Coburg Star* on 18 June.

On the 1 April 1916, Base Records notified William Pettis that his brother died in action at Gallipoli ‘between the 25th April and 2nd May 1915’ and a few days later received the ‘certificate of report of death’. Years later in August 1918, Pte Pettis’ former 64th Infantry drill commanding officer accepted a Record Book form confirming the late private’s service and death ‘in action, between 25th April and 2nd May, 1915’.

William signed for Pte Pettis’ memorials after the war comprising of the 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, British War Medal and other commemorative items; a task he shared with Annie when also taking receipt of Thomas’ memorials. In 1967, a nephew of Pte Pettis, William, applied for the Gallipoli Medallion.

Private Pettis’ vanished in the chaos of war on the Gallipoli Peninsula. His death could have occurred anywhere from Fisherman’s Hut to Pine Ridge, but more likely



Figure 11: Example of the British War Medal 1914-1918. MVNU 36954.

in ground from which his fellow soldier were unable to recover his body or were forced to bury his remains. His personal effects never arrived in Australia either. The official Field Service record on his military file and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission records an open date of death of 25 April to 2 May for the fallen soldier, while the Australian War Memorial is more specific, commemorating his date of death as 25 April as appears in this history.

Both Alfred and his brother Thomas appear on the Brunswick Memorial Hall Roll of Honour; Thomas having died in France in 1917. Thomas Pettis was in the 7th Battalion at Seymour when news of his brother's death reached Australia, subsequently serving on the Gallipoli peninsula later in the campaign. He was part of the evacuation of Allied troops along the ANZAC line, a task completed in the early morning of the 19th December. An often quoted story recalls that a departing Australian soldier hoped the dead would not hear the men 'marching down the deres'. One such soldier who had to leave his brother behind was Thomas Pettis, who along with all Allied service members left their dead in 'Turkish hands'. The memory of the Pettis brothers' service on the peninsula lives in the name 'Pettis A.J.' inscribed on Panel 29 of the Lone Pine memorial alongside the many soldiers whose exact circumstance and place of death remains a mystery.

Herbert Rowland

Herbert Rowland served as a private in B Company, 7th Battalion having enlisted on 20 August 1914. A 26-year-old sawyer by trade, he had served eleven months in senior cadets prior to the war. His father Michael was his next of kin.

Initially posted to A Company of the 7th at Broadmeadows, Pte Rowland departed Australia on the *Hororata* in October 1914 joining the Gallipoli Campaign on 5 April and was involved in the Landing on 25 April when he disappeared. His service record reflects the sad realisation that fellow soldiers could not account for him in the days after arriving at Gallipoli and he was declared 'missing 25/4/15-

2/5/15’.

The family posted his name under ‘Wounded’ in the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* ‘Roll of Honor [sic]’ in October 1915. Confirmation of Pte Rowlands status as ‘missing’ occurred in late December 1915 resulting in a Court of Enquiry held in France on 5 June 1916 that returned a finding that Pte Rowland died ‘in action’ on 25 April 1915. No witness accounts of Pte Rowland’s death appear on his military file or Red Cross Wounded and Missing file.

Official confirmation of the Court finding reached Alexandria on 10 November 1916 and Australia shortly thereafter. Pte Rowland’s name remained in the ‘Wounded’ column of the ‘Roll of Honor’ until the 17 November 1916 edition when appended to ‘Killed in action, 25/4/15.’

While there are no witness accounts recorded as to where or when he died, items of Pte Rowland’s kit were returned to the family in 1918 consisting of a silk handkerchief, cards, a box of curios, fountain pen, belt, ‘housewife’, letters, scarf, pipe, cigarette case, and badges. Pte Rowland could have dropped his pack, as many soldiers did, on the day of the Landing leaving the items behind. He may have stored them in a sap or ‘dugout’ before going in to action. Either way, his body was never officially located, possibly because he was buried in an unmarked grave or fell beyond the ANZAC line near Pine Ridge where fellow soldiers could not retrieve his remains.

In the years after the war, Base Records sought any information the family may have privately received that could shed light on the whereabouts of their son. Michael was unable to assist lamenting, ‘I am very sorry to say that I have no letters, nor information of any kind that could help in the matter’. At this time, the Rowland family began to take receipt of their son’s 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, British War Medal, Memorial Plaque, Memorial Scroll, and *Where the Australians Rest*.

Still seeking closure or comfort in the memorials made available by the military authorities, in 1926, Michael requested eight copies of Part III of the Lone Pine Memorial Register that identified his son’s entry on the monument. Inscribed on Panel 29a of the Lone Pine memorial amongst the two columns of names is

‘Rowland H.’, a Brunswick volunteer who died on the first day of the Gallipoli Campaign.

Raymond Sullivan

Raymond Sullivan enlisted at the age of 24 on the 20 August 1914. Born in Fitzroy, he had served a seven-year apprenticeship at his father John’s butcher shop in Brunswick and was himself a butcher by trade. Sullivan was familiar with the military having accrued three months experience in school cadets. Besides his father, Sullivan’s numerous siblings included Francis, James, John, Mary, Veronica, Thomas, Frederick, Arthur, George, John and Ida. Another sister, Catherine died in the 1890s.

Allotted as a private with A Company, 7th Battalion, Sullivan embarked for Egypt aboard the *Hororata* on 19 October 1914 and joined the Gallipoli Campaign on 5 April. During the morning of the Landing, Pte Sullivan disappeared. On the 2 May, military authorities recorded his status as ‘wounded’ backdated to 25 April.

It took a further four weeks to notify the family of their son’s status. A cable sent to John Sullivan on 9 June states ‘WOUNDED NOT REPORTED SERIOULSY [sic]’ however, the family was already aware of their son’s injury thanks to ‘many callers & inquirers’. As it transpired, John received the cable on the morning of 10 June despite it having arrived at the Brunswick Post Office on the evening of the 9 June. Clearly annoyed, John wrote to the Department of Defence, ‘It would appear that information which is necessarily confidential and sacred till divulged to the relatives is apparently obtained and distributed through the irresponsibility of some official’. Base Records could only lay blame on the postal authorities having forwarded the information immediately upon receipt in Melbourne.

By the beginning of October, an unidentified sibling became anxious to hear news of their missing brother signing their letter with their initial ‘F’ only. They wrote that Pte Sullivan was ‘reported wounded in June last and hearing neither from the Dept. nor from him since we wondered if there was some method of

departmentally getting in to communication with him or with someone who could give us some information about him.’ In response, Base Record cabled the Egyptian military authorities for the ‘condition and whereabouts’ of the missing soldier but could only confirm his wounding in two further correspondences, adding that this occurred on 25 April. A further search of Maltese hospitals in December also proved fruitless.

Though March to April 1916, the Australian Red Cross began investigating and collecting testimony on the missing private. Private Lawrence Black of the 7th Battalion knew Pte Sullivan: ‘his people are in the butchery business in Brunswick’. Pte Black claimed he had seen Pte Sullivan in January 1916 ‘in the Auxiliary Hospital at Atelier apparently waiting to go to Australia’. This hospital was the No.2 Australian Auxiliary Hospital located in Cairo.

Conversely, Private John Smith, who served with A Company, submitted two testimonies in April and May 1916, stating that he saw Pte Sullivan on the 25 April. In his first account, Pte Smith saw Pte Sullivan ‘about three o’clock in the afternoon of April 25th ... lying shot through both legs in a crowd of wounded men’. Pte Smith gave him a drink and cigarettes before moving on, recalling that ‘the ground on which Sullivan was lying was later given up by the English and occupied by the Turks, and there can be little doubt that if Sullivan is still alive he is a prisoner’. Pte Smith’s reference to the ‘English’ suggests he believed the Australians were not responsible for the loss of territory, a denial that persists to the present day.

In Pte Smith’s later account, he ‘believed he was about the last man to see Sullivan on the day of the Anzac landing’.

Between 9 and 10 a.m. he saw him lying on the ground at a spot about 2 miles from the shore, shot through both legs. He was pretty well. Witness gave him some cigarettes and a drink from his water bottle. He had to leave him and heard nothing further. He believed Sullivan must have died from exposure.

Sergeant Major Frank Pilmer (993) confirmed Private Sullivan was ‘on the Peninsula and took part in the fighting’ on the 25 April but could add nothing more. This evidence would remain on file for more than a year until a Court of Enquiry, held in France on 3 September 1917, confirmed that Pte Sullivan died ‘on or about’ 25 April 1915.

Some six weeks earlier, Base Records sought any private information the Sullivan’s may have received regarding their son. The reply, again signed only with an initial, revealed the family had received reports from ‘Company mates & others from friends in other units’ that Pte Sullivan ‘was wounded in action on the day of the landing’. They were also aware that he ‘was not in any recognised Prison hospital in Turkey [sic]’ and had failed to attend a role call on the 28 April or fight at Cape Helles on the 8th August.

Brunswick soldier, Captain William Symons (VC) who served with the same company, also informed the family he was ‘satisfied’ Pte Sullivan died on the 25 or 26 April. When the sister of Pte Sullivan visited Base Records with this information, she claimed ‘she was laughed at and told to take no notice of “returned soldiers”’. The final communication the family had with Pte Sullivan was prior to commencement of the offensive and they had not received any of his kit. Whether the Enquiry considered any of this information is unknown.

The Sullivans were officially informed of the death of their son in October 1917. Brother Charles wrote to a Colonel Hawker on 17 October on behalf of the family thanking him for his ‘kind messages of sympathy’ and requesting a Certificate of Death. A later letter from John dated to March 1918 claimed he had received Colonel Hawker’s communication on 22 October 1917 and was yet to receive Pte Sullivan’s Certificate of Death. An agitated John, most certainly seeking closure after so many years of uncertainty writes:

Base Records was requested to issue Certificate of Death, I have not yet received Certificate of Death, please forward without delay, otherwise I

will be compelled to take further action as such a delay is now not warranted and I am desirous to have all matter wound up [sic].

The Certificate was promptly mailed out and Pte. Sullivan's kit arrived at the Sullivans on 20 April 1918 consisting of books, brush, safety razor, belt, rosary, pipe bowls, and curios. After the war distribution of Pte Sullivan's mementos began consisting of the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll, Memorial Plaque and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.

Two years after the Armistice in 1920, the family learnt that the British War Graves Commission had located the remains of Pte Sullivan in a 'recently discovered Turkish cemetery' at Pine Ridge. It is unknown if Pte Sullivan received a burial through the compassion of Turkish soldiers or was captured, possibly wounded, and later executed.

Private Smith considered himself one of the last people to have seen Pte Sullivan alive; however, he had provided two different times that this had occurred. The 7th Battalion had taken up position at McCay's Hill, behind Lone Pine on the 25 April by 11am remaining here for the rest of the day, so if Pte Smith had encountered Pte Sullivan between 9-10am he would have been within the ANZAC Line. It is more likely Pte Smith last saw Pte Sullivan around 3pm but forward of McCay's Hill.

The first Turkish counter-attack occurred at 12.30pm at Lone Pine while Turkish guns at Anderson's Knoll on Third (Gun) Ridge lashed Pine Ridge with shrapnel. Between 4-5pm soldiers of the Turkish 77th Regiment advanced on Pine Ridge 'overrunning the Australians still there' while some Australians made it back to Bolton's Ridge or the lower ridges of Lone Pine. Those who remained behind 'were never heard of again'.

Major Henry Gordon Bennett organised the advanced line of 6th, 7th and 8th Battalion men in the afternoon of that day that may have included not only Lt Balfe but also Pte Sullivan. The Australians never held a position forward of Bolton's Ridge after 25 April. Given Pte Sullivan's burial in a Turkish cemetery so far forward of the ANZAC line, it is highly probable he was involved in Major

Bennett's advance on Third Ridge.

It is curious as to why Pte Smith altered the time of when he last saw Pte Sullivan from mid-afternoon to mid-morning and why Pte Black claimed to have seen Pte Sullivan in Cairo. Both privates were recalling events that occurred months previous but they may also have been reluctant to pass on any account that could translate as bad news to families of fallen soldiers.

There are no Commonwealth cemeteries near Third Ridge. As with all soldier remains found at Pine Ridge, and with due care, Pte Sullivan was reinterred at the Lone Pine Cemetery. His grave is located in Row L.6, marked with a simple cross, a photograph of which the family receive in the 1920s. The memory of Pte Sullivan was not lost within the family when in 1967 descendant a Mr R. Sullivan applied for his late uncle's Anzac Commemorative Medal.

The line at Pine Ridge serves as a reminder of the fighting that took place south of better-known sites such as Lone Pine and Chunuk Bair, or Scrubby Knoll and Adana Spur on Third Ridge the furthest advance of 3rd Infantry soldiers, and does not end with 'skeletons of men in the rags of Australian uniform.' Of the soldiers fighting at Pine Ridge, Charles Bean wrote 'The full story of the remnant of the main line ... will never be known.' In the biography of Brunswick volunteer Pte Raymond Sullivan we can now add a post-script to a history of soldiers 'who held the line upon Pine Ridge [and] died where they fought'.

George William Warren

George Warren had served for two years with the 60th Infantry before he enlisted on the 22 August 1914. Employed as a bricklayer, the 19-year-old became a private with A Company, 7th Battalion departing on the *Honorata* in October 1914. His father had died sometime around 1904 and his mother, Susannah, remarried in 1911 changing her surname to Fiest.

A cable from Egypt notified the family that Pte Warren had died in action on the 3 June 1915, a date that persisted in the family recollections of his service through to

the 1960s. His military record, however, reflected the broad date of 25 April to 2 May as the date of death. A Board of Enquiry that appears to have sat in late May 1915 amended his date of death to 25 April.

Pte Warren was never regarded as ‘missing’ so no subsequent Board of Enquiry was held in to his disappearance. Yet the Australian Red Cross opened a Wounded and Missing File, collecting two witness accounts from Pte James William Akers and Driver Thomas Mason that were unhelpful in determining how and where Pte Warren died. The accounts do reveal the difficulty faced by authorities in determining fact from fiction.

In 1916, Pte Akers claimed that he ‘saw Warren lying badly wounded at the landing at Suvla Bay. He was on a stretcher and was being carried down to the Dressing station; shelling very heavy’. However, Pte Akers enlisted in July 1915, embarking in October for the Middle East, and did not serve at Gallipoli. He suggested a Billy Florence could provide information. Pte William Florence was in the 7th Battalion the day of the landing, wounded on 25-26 April and eventually returned to Australia in 1916. It appears that Pte Akers received his knowledge of Pte Warren while at Tel el Kabir, Egypt where the both he and Pte Florence were stationed. Obviously, Pte



Figure 12: Example of the Victory Medal embossed with ‘THE GREAT WAR FOR CIVILISATION 1914-1919’. MV NU 44395.

Warren did not land at Suvla Bay in August 1915 and fabricated his testimony.

Driver Mason was also not present at Gallipoli in 1915. He confirmed that he was not with Pte Warren when he died but claimed in 1919 that the private was a ‘mate of mine’, 5ft 10in tall, dark complexion, and ‘age about 27-28’. Producing a photo of Pte Warren, he believed his wounded mate, evacuated in the first days of

the conflict, was home in Australia. Pte Warren was just over 5ft 10in tall, described as fair complexion during his medical examination, and the same age as Pte Mason. Both men therefore would have been around 24 in 1919, a few years younger than the estimate provided by Pte Mason.

This type of information could find its way back to families via letters on in person. Perhaps soldiers wanted to provide closure to families even if they didn't know facts, or lessen the blow of losing a loved one when facing confused relatives. They themselves may have become confused as to events that occurred months or years earlier, while some appear to have just plain lied about events.

However, many families treasured returned objects last held by their fallen sons as lasting mementos. By March 1916, Susannah had received her son's recovered effects including of a gift box, letters and cards, compass, medal, matchbox, watch, ring, wallet and money belt. After the war she received the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll and Plaque and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.

In 1944, Susannah inexplicably sought her son's war medals, claiming she 'did not know about them [and] should like to get them if they are to be obtained'. Base records replied that the medals were issued to her and copies of the receipts held. Susannah admitted in correspondence dated to 1921 that she received a number of mementos including the 1914-15 Star. What became of the medals over the decades is not clear, nor why she would claim them again after so long.

Pte Warren's only sister, Ellen requested an 'Anzac' or 'Simpson' medal in 1967 struck to commemorate the fallen. Although there is no confirmation on file, it appears she was able to obtain the medal as the only surviving relative.

Whether Pte Warren left the peninsula wounded is highly speculative. It is more likely he died beyond the ANZAC line where many men fell and could not be recovered or given an appropriate burial. His name is inscribed on Panel 29a of the memorial at Lone Pine as testimony to his service on the peninsula.

Arthur Wilden

Arthur Wilden is the last known Brunswick man to die on 25 April. The 26-year-old labourer worked at Butter's brickworks, leaving his job to enlist on 18 August 1914. Born and educated in Richmond and Brighton, he had a year-and-a-half previous military experience with the 5th Infantry. His father Herbert was nominated next of kin.

Allotted to A Company, 7th Battalion at Broadmeadows Private Wilden embarked aboard the *Hororata* on 19 October 1914 bound for Egypt and joined the MEF on 5 April. He was part of the Landing on 25 April when he disappeared. Unable to find any trace on him in the confusion of the first weeks of the Gallipoli Campaign the military listed him as missing between 25 April and 2 May, and then in early June as 'wounded'. The family advised that their son was missing in the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* on 9 July 1915.

Pte Wilden's status remained unchanged until January 1916 when appended to 'wounded & missing', promoting a Court of Enquiry investigation to be held in June 1916. The Enquiry received no testimony to the disappearance of the soldier excepting that the Australian Red Cross could find no trace of him in Malta. Subsequently, they returned a verdict that Pte Wilden was 'killed in action' on 25 April 1915.

It would be a long wait for Pte Wilden's personal effects to be returned to his family, not being received until February 1918. They consisted of his identity disc, knives, purse, compass, and badges. It is striking that the identity disc survived while there is no account of his death or burial, a fact not lost on the family. Herbert wrote to Base Records in 1918:

We received word of our boy being missing, but after a very long time they sent us word to say they considered him dead as they could not find any trace of him anywhere but they never said how he died Please could you find out for me if he was killed while fighting or was he drowned like

a lot more poor boys, at the landing, he was missing at the landing 27th april, & was one of the first lot to go to fight They must know something now else how did they recover some of his belongings [sic].

The final words of their letter are underlined in pencil by Base Records staff. to Base Records took receipt of the Enquiry's finding via Alexandria in November 1916 but they did not have a transcript of the proceedings. The family were assured that when the Court of Enquiry proceeding became available they would be 'promptly communicated' but it does not appear this ever occurred.

There is no record of exactly how Pte Wilden died. Perhaps he did drown as the family feared. The recovery of his service disc supports the idea fellow soldiers were able to access his body and even provide a burial, the exact location of the grave now lost. It is also possible he did not die on the 25 April but some days later. Today his name appears on on Panel 30 of the Lone Pine memorial.

In time the Wilden family received their son's mementos of his sacrifice including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll and Plaque, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*. In 1967, Pte Wilden's sister Phyllis, the last surviving relative, sought the Gallipoli Medallion in honour of her late brother.

C O N S O L I D A T I O N : 2 6 A P R I L - 5 M A Y 1 9 1 5

George O'Loughlin

George O'Loughlin was just one month shy of his 20th birthday when he enlisted on 17 August 1914. A salesman with Stainer and Company in Swanston Street, he had senior cadet experience and was allotted as a private with C Company, 5th Battalion. His family consisted of his parents Henry, a stationmaster at Flemington Bridge station and Maude, and at least nine siblings, one of whom also served with the 5th Battalion, Captain Henry Herbert George O'Loughlin.

While stationed in Melbourne, Pte O'Loughlin received a promotion on 2 October to corporal and a few weeks later on the 21st embarked for Egypt aboard the *Orvieto*. He joined the MEF on 5 April and was involved in the Landing on 25 April 1915. Cpl O'Loughlin's file contains no testimony as to how he died at Gallipoli, his service record updated on 2 May states that he had died in action on 26 April.

News of Cpl O'Loughlin's death reached Australia by 10 June 1915. His name appeared in the *Argus* newspaper on 19 June remembered by family and work colleagues who submitted an epitaph:

Oh for a touch of the vanished hand,
And a sound of the voice that is stilled;
A place is vacant in our home,
Which can never be filled.
He gave his young life for King and country.
Deeply mourned.

In April 1916, Cpl O'Loughlin's family was officially notified he had died on 26 April 1915 probably in the area of Lone Pine when the 5th Battalion were consolidating the ANZAC line after the Landing, although his body was never officially recovered. His effects arrived a month earlier in March consisting of a tobacco pouch, photo, Bible, notebooks, cards, and letters but his service disc was not returned. The Area Officer of his former drill hall in West Melbourne received notice of his death.

With the news of the loss of Cpl O'Loughlin fresh in the minds of the family, tragedy struck the family again in 1917 when Captain O'Loughlin died in action in France in February. Months later on 9 August 1917, while checking signals on the Manningham Street bridge at Flemington Bridge station, Henry fell 25' (7.6m) after being struck by a goods train and suffered a fractured skull and ribs. He died the following day.

After the war, the Commonwealth War Graves Service visited Gallipoli in search of soldier graves. As news of the search reached families, many expected a son would have received a burial during the war and the site located. Although she had received a photograph Captain O'Loughlin's grave in France, Maude was anxious to receive a similar photo from Gallipoli writing to Base Records 'I have never received a photograph of my sons Corporal George O'Loughlin will you please enquire if his grave had been photographed & kindly get me some copies [sic]'. Base Records replied 'It is regretted that no photographs of the late soldier's [sic] grave have been received at this office, and as no burial report has come to hand, it is assumed in the absence of such advice that your son's burial place was not discovered by the Graves Service'.

At this early stage, families were consoled that authorities intended to 'perpetuate their memory by the erection of a suitable memorial'. While Cpl O'Loughlin's body remains undiscovered at Gallipoli his name appears on Panel 24 of the Lone Pine memorial. Both brothers' names appear on the Brunswick Roll of Honour. Maude received both of her late son's personal effects and in the early 1920s and their memorials consisting of the 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, British War Medal, Memorial Scroll and Plaque, and copies of *Graves of the Fallen* and *Where the Australians Rest*.



Figure 13: Undated newspaper photograph of Cpl George O'Loughlin. 'Australians who have fallen', *The Argus* 29 June 1915, p.5.

Albert Edward Renshaw

Albert Renshaw was a 27-year-old boilermaker when he enlisted on 20 August 1914, having served a five-year apprenticeship with C. Renshaw & Company. According to one fellow soldier, his striking red hair earned him the nickname 'Red Renshaw' although his Attestation form recorded him having 'light brown' hair. His father John was listed as next of kin.

Renshaw served as a Sapper (Spr) with the 2nd Field Company Australian Engineers embarking for Egypt in October 1914 aboard the *Orvieto*. While in Mena Camp, Egypt, he earned himself fourteen days confined to camp for 'using insubordinate language to his superior officer'. By early April 1915, he had joined the MEF in Alexandria and was part of the Landing on 25 April.

In June 1915, John received news that his son was wounded but 'not reported seriously'. A second cable was forthcoming in September: 'Now reported Sapper A. E. Renshaw progressing favourably will advise upon receipt further particulars [sic].' Yet in early November, Spr W.J. Veitch reported that he heard Spr Renshaw 'was sent to Alexandria' as 'up to September 20th, Renshaw had not returned to his unit' therefore the military should have been aware the sapper's disappearance. A copy of a Red Cross investigation held in Cairo in November 1915 titled 'ALEXANDRIA REPLY TO AUSTRALIAN HOSPITAL CASE [sic]' concluded simply 'Gone to Australia'.

By mid-December, the family was seeking more news of their son with none forthcoming. In January 1916, the military became aware that Spr Renshaw had not drawn pay since April. The search was on.

In February 1916, Base Records informed John Renshaw that his son 'is reported by his unit as having been severely wounded in the groin sometime during April, but no trace can be found of him in any of the hospitals'. A statement taken at this time from Spr William Macintosh noted that Spr Renshaw was hit by a bullet in the 'thigh or stomach' on the night of 25 April and taken to the dressing station with a 'very bad' wound.

In November 1916, the first of two Court of Enquiries convened in to the disappearance of Spr Renshaw. Spr MacIntosh confirmed his earlier statement.

On the night of the 25th April 1915, a party of Engineers from the 2nd Field Co. were at work excavating a trench on Mac Laglans Ridge, RENSHAW and I were working together. RENSHAW got out on the parapet to chop away a bush, and whilst stooping he was hit by a bullet which entered at the buttock and remained in him. I helped to assist him down to the Field Ambulance on the beach and reported him to a Medical Officer, who sent two stretcher bearers to assist him. They placed him in a boat which was towed by a pinnace. I saw the boat leave for the Hospital ship at about 2.a.m. on the 26th April 1915, that was the last I saw of him. I had no idea to what Hospital ship RENSHAW would be taken [sic].

The second statement by Spr James Crawford confirmed that Spr Renshaw had ‘got out of the trench to gather some brushwood’ when he was shot. He then assisted Spr MacIntosh to convey the wounded Renshaw ‘to the Field Ambulance station on Anzac Beach ... [handing] ... him over to the care of the Army Med.Corps. I did not see RENSHAW after that as I returned to our work [sic]’.

Four further eyewitness reports filed on Spr Renshaw’s Red Cross Wounded and Missing File support both the wounding of the soldier while digging trenches and his removal to the beach and treatment. Two men believed he was shipped to England. Lance-Corporal Edward Dilworth ‘ascertained from the Ambulance next day that he [Renshaw] had been put aboard a ship, but not a hospital ship.’ Sergeant J. Harley recalled Spr Renshaw ‘was wounded in the buttock and complained about pains in the stomach’ and believed ‘that he died from internal wounds’.

Another Court of Enquiry convened in February 1917 finding Sapper Renshaw was missing since 26 April 1915. The outcome of their enquiry was:

1. That he was in a very serious condition when placed upon boat, towed by pinnace, for the hospital ship on the twentysixth [sic] of April 1915.
2. That no reports have been recorded since twenty sixth of April 1915.
3. That no pay has been drawn by him since thirteenth of April 1915.

The Court decided that “it reasonable to suppose him dead”.

The Court finding reads:

There is insufficient evidence available, to show what became of Sapper RENSHAW A.E after he was seen leaving “ANZAC COVE” in a boat, to be placed aboard a hospital ship. The name of the Hospital ship is not ascertainable, as at that time several transports were being utilised in addition to the regular hospital ships.

According to Charles Bean, ‘the wounded accumulated round the Clearing Station at the south end of [North] beach’ being sent to hospital ships and transports ‘by every available boat’. Two extenuating factors presented themselves to the medical staff on the day of the landing. Firstly, Australian commanders were petitioning the British for a withdrawal of forces from the peninsula, so the beaches needed to be cleared of wounded men. Secondly and most importantly, there were more wounded than had been anticipated. Once past the waterline, responsibility for evacuating the men fell to the navy and General Headquarters administrative staff. The few actual hospital ships allocated to the campaign filled quickly requiring transports to function as medical vessels. Converted to receive the wounded, many transports were inadequately equipped to take the wounded; aboard one transport, men were crowded beside horses, other wounded men arrived alongside soldiers yet to be disembarked at Anzac Cove, and as little as two or three overworked doctors attended 600-850 wounded.

‘Many spoke of it afterwards as a nightmare’, Bean recalled, ‘Barges crowded with wounded were hauled round in the dark from one transport to another until they found one not already over-crammed’. Some wounded were overlooked in barges that lay for hours beside transports and one barge overturned when stuck by the transport *Derffinger* moving out of Turkish shelling range in the early hours of the 26 April. Only two survived the icy water. In these conditions, under fire and in the darkness, Spr Renshaw was removed from the coast for treatment.

News of the findings of the Court had apparently not reached Australia when in late February 1917 Base Records sought further information on Spr Renshaw on behalf of

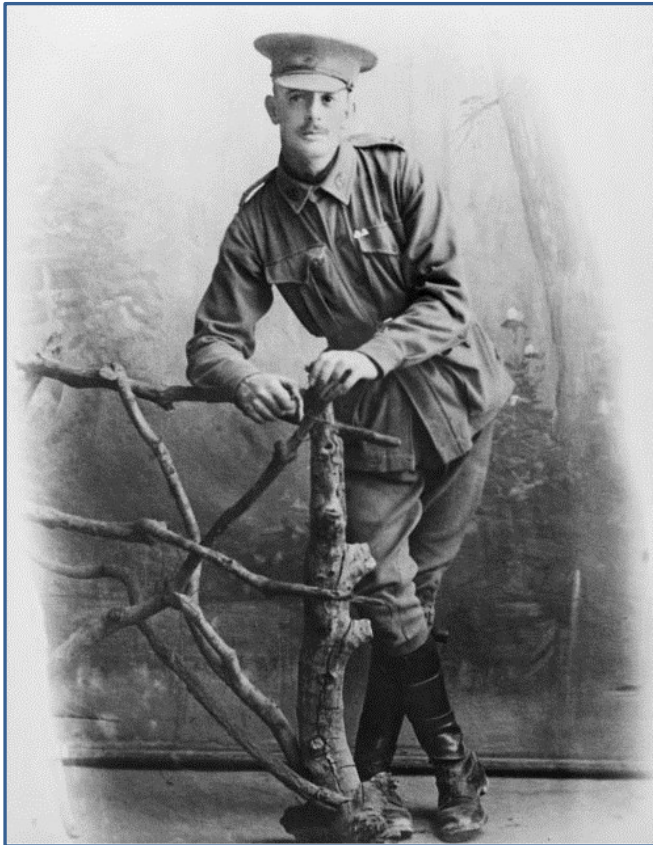


Figure 14: Studio portrait of Spr Albert Renshaw prior to enlisting in August 1914. AWM H05471.

‘Mrs.Intosh [sic]’ who had ‘been to the Base Records 100’s of times about it’. She appears to have been seeking information on behalf of her son, Spr McIntosh, knowing her son had carried Spr Renshaw to safety and medical treatment. A reply in early March 1917 confirmed the findings: Spr Renshaw had died of wounds on 26 April.

John received his son’s effects in March 1918 consisting of a Bible, comb, shoulder ties, letter, numeral, knife, and lanyard. Soon after, Spr Renshaw’s memorials were issued including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, and Memorial Scroll and Plaque.

In 1919, a notice issued by the AIF 2nd Field Company in London in regards to Spr Renshaw read, ‘Believed killed ... Died of wounds ... No burial’. His body disappeared on the morning of the 26 April and therefore his name appears on Panel 12 of the Lone Pine memorial at Gallipoli. However, the implications of what occurred to Spr Renshaw are profound.

Approximately one-quarter of the Australians who died during the Gallipoli campaign died on hospital ships or after evacuation as recorded on their files. Yet, many men disappeared at Gallipoli without trace. Peter Stanley suspects that men from the 3rd Infantry who drowned during the Landing, and whose bodies remained in the water days later, were committed to the Aegean by the navy ‘perhaps only a few hundred yards offshore’. Could Spr Renshaw and other wounded that died before making the ships and transports have suffered a similar fate of being dumped in to the water? Equally speculative is the possibility that Spr Renshaw was on the barge tipped over by the *Derffinger*, lost alongside wounded men awaiting treatment.

The Court of Enquiry never went as far as to suggest that Spr Renshaw’s body was thrown overboard from a pinnacle, if indeed this is what occurred. Perhaps a more fitting record of Spr Renshaw’s service would be an acknowledgement that he was in fact ‘buried at sea’.

William Donnelly

William Donnelly originally hailed from Portland, Victoria, enlisting on 29 August 1914 at the age of 29. He recorded his trade as ‘diamond driller’. His family consisted of mother, Ellen, and siblings Mary, Alice, and Michael living in Brunswick. His father, William had died about 1906. Donnelly served as a private allotted to B Company, 3rd Battalion of the 1st Australian Infantry Brigade from NSW, having enlisted in Sydney.

Private Donnelly initially trained at Kensington before embarking on the *Euripides* on 20 October 1914 from Sydney, later joining the MEF on 5 April 1915. The 3rd Battalion were part of the Landing on 25 April arriving at Anzac Cove between 7-8am and for days afterwards held the ANZAC line with thousands of Allied soldiers. The line ran southeast from North Beach along Walker’s Ridge to Russell’s Top, with gaps between Pope’s Hill up to Quinn’s Post. It then continued down the Sari Bair Range (Second Ridge) through 400 Plateau (Lone Pine), Bolton’s Ridge and Holy Ridge to Brighton Beach. Chris Roberts describes this sector as ‘roughly 400 acres of no tactical value whatsoever’. Denied their request to British Command to withdraw on the evening of 25 April, the Allies had to hold this position, making some gains at Russell’s Top to The Nek.

The date of 28 April is described as a ‘quiet day’ in one account of the early phases of the Gallipoli Offensive as Turkish forces reinforced their positions and no major offenses took place. Nevertheless, it was on this day that Pte Donnelly died. The exact circumstances of his death are unknown as no testimony appears on his military record and no Enquiry was held as he was not declared ‘missing’.

Pte Donnelly’s family received official notification of his death months after the event in early January 1916, indicating that he died on 1 May 1915. By 30 March, Base Records had received notice he had in fact died on 28 April 1915 but how they came to this conclusion is unknown. At the same time the Donnellys learnt of their son’s fate, his personal effects consisting of a single service disc arrived at the family home in Brunswick. What happened to the rest of his personal items is a

mystery but fellow soldiers often stripped discarded packs.

The presence of Pte Donnelly's military identity disc suggests his fellow soldiers were able to access his body. If he was buried, the location of any such grave is certainly lost as Pte Donnelly's name alone is memorialised at Lone Pine on Panel 20 alongside the dead of the 3rd Battalion.

In the year after the war ended, Michael Donnelly became recipient of his brother's service memorials when his mother, Ellen died in May 1919. He took receipt of Pte Donnelly's 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll and Plaque, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest* between 1920 and 1923.

Gilbert Beresford Dyer

Gilbert Dyer was born in Carlton, Victoria, and enlisted on 9 January 1915. The 25-year-old mechanic's assistant had a distinctive scar on his left arm, perhaps a consequence of his trade. His family consisted his parents Benjamin and Francis, a sister, Lena, and at least two other brothers who enlisted, Arthur and Ralph. Both siblings survived the war, yet inexplicably Ralph's name does not appear on the Brunswick memorial.

With almost six years' of previous experience as a Colour Sergeant with the 51st Infantry, Victorian Rifles, Dyer served as a private with the 14th Battalion, 3rd Reinforcements having transferred from the signals school in February 1915. Once in Egypt, he joined the MEF on 12 April 1915 landing at Gallipoli with his Battalion on the morning of the 26 April.

Before departing for the front, Pte Dyer promised his mother 'that he would write as often as possible'. His last correspondence dated 24 April from Lemnos elevated the concern the family felt for their son, yet in late November, Base Records had no report of his death.

In December 1915, Lena Dyer wrote to Base Records in a letter that reveals how official channels were not the only way a family could learn the fate of a serving

son.

Dear Sir, I would not bother you thus only this waiting is telling rather seriously on mother. She got a letter from a very old friend of hers today stating that her brother had written home months ago saying that my brother had been killed during the earlier operations but she had not told mother before because she was waiting for it to be officially reported. He said that my brother was killed whilst they were capturing a turkish[sic] trench.

Lena also divulged that her mother had met two returned soldiers from the 14th Battalion 'in town' who informed her that her son 'was killed on the second day [26 April]'. The soldiers also claimed Pte Dyer 'had been promoted to Sergeant ... & was landing his men & they were taking a trench when he was killed [sic].' One of these soldiers appears to have been a cousin serving in the 14th Battalion. Benjamin Dyer relayed a similar story, suggesting his son was now a corporal. Base Records enquired in to this account, eventually confirming that Pte Dyer did not receive a promotion. Another returned Lieutenant of the 14th Battalion, perhaps the same cousin, told Benjamin 'that he was positive that [Pte Dyer] was not with the Battalion five days after they had been in action'.

Despite the best efforts of Base Records, the family had little faith in the system of reporting on soldiers. When their son Ralph Dyer returned to Australia wounded in October 1915, the family had received no official word of his whereabouts from the military. When Base Records finally informed the family in late December that Pte Dyer was officially missing the family had reached its own conclusions. In early January Benjamin wrote, 'but we have too much evidence ... to refer of him as anything else but dead. From what we have been told he fell too close to the Turkish trenches for his body to be recovered & that was why he has been posted as missing.'

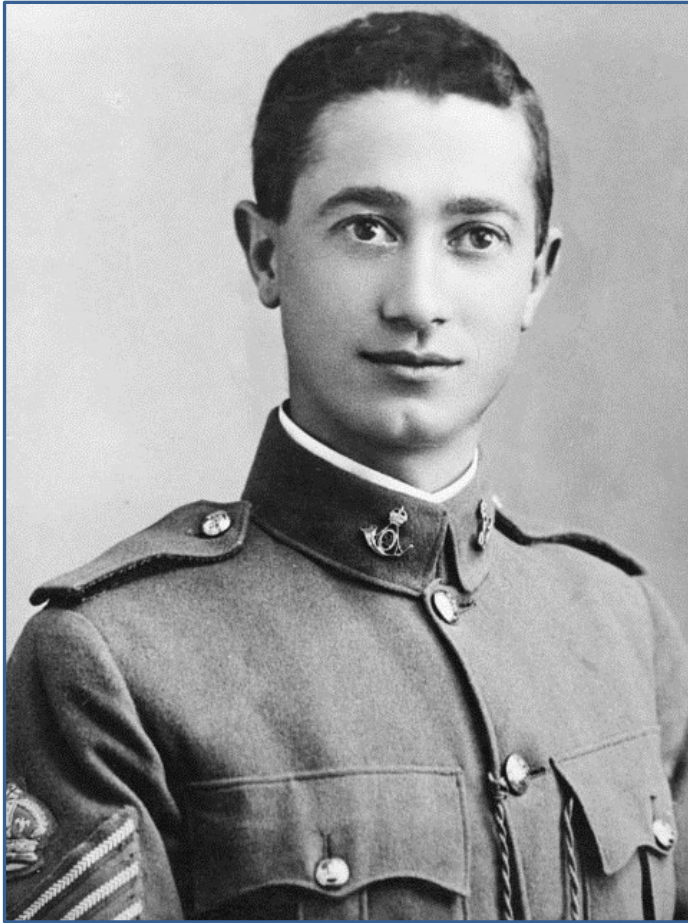


Figure 15: Studio portrait of Pte Dyer taken before the war. AWM H05724.

Base Records made contact with Egyptian authorities in mid-January confirming Pte Dyer as wounded and missing since 25 April but that ‘nothing further is known at present.’

It would take a Court of Enquiry, held in April 1916 to record Pte Dyer as ‘Killed in Action’ on 28 April 1915. A single testimony on Pte Dyer’s service record from Pte J. Kelly recorded that he ‘was killed in the same charge as Pte. A. Delaney at Dead Man’s Ridge on 1st or 2nd May. Several of Witness’ mates say they saw him killed.’

Pte Dyer's Red Cross Wounded and Missing file contains two further testimonies. Sergeant G. Raper, 14th Battalion, observed that 'Dyer took part in the landing and was also in the fighting at Courtney's Post on 27/4/15' but had not 'seen him since'. A sapper named Barter heard 'common talk in trenches that [Pte Dyer] was killed on or about 17th May, at Courtney's Post', and that a Pte Ruggles saw 'Dyer killed by rifle fire in trenches'.

Pte T. Sellars, a cousin of Pte Dyer who returned to Australia in 1917, sought information regarding his relative in September 1916. He was nursing a war wound in 3rd London General Hospital when informed in November that Pte Dyer was 'Officially Killed in Action on April 28th 1915'. Three unofficial reports from the 14th Battalion suggested Pte Dyer died in a charge at Dead Man's Ridge or Courtney's Post.

The 14th Battalion engaged Turkish counter-attacks at Courtney's Post in late April and early May. This was a dangerous area of the ANZAC line as the Turks held the high ground at The Nek and Dead Man's Ridge looking down on the ANZACs. Pte Dyer died in the same area as Pte William Donnelly. The dead often remained exposed on open ground, perhaps hastily buried in Monash Valley or the trench where they fell, soon filled in as mass graves. This was likely Pte Dyer's fate, as he would not receive a proper burial. However, his name is commemorated on Panel 41 of the Lone Pine memorial alongside other men of the 14th Battalion who fell at Gallipoli.

In September 1916, Pte Dyer's personal effects arrived in Australia consisting of 'Hair & Shaving Brushes, Boot Brush, Wrist Strap, Belt, Book, Pencil [sic]'. In the years after the war Benjamin Dyer received his son's commemorative items including war medals, and Memorial Scroll and Plaque.

Leslie Oldham Hart

Leslie Hart was a 19 year old shop assistant when he enlisted on 18 August 1914. He was an only child: his family consisted of his mother, Elizabeth, and his stepfather. His biological father had disappeared almost twenty years earlier when Leslie was aged 3-4 years and Elizabeth believed him to have died, receiving no word or support from her husband 'or his kin'.

Initially serving as a private with A Company, 7th Battalion, Hart was appointed Lance-Corporal on 30 April, dying of wounds received 'in action' only days later on 4 May 1915 at Gallipoli. His mother received notification on 26 May 1915 that her son was wounded but it was not until March 1916 that she learnt he had died.

L/Cpl Hart landed with the 7th Battalion on the morning of the 25 April. Testimony taken in early 1916 from fellow battalion soldier Pte F.W. Shore recalled that L/Cpl Hart died between 1-2 May, 'killed in the trenches, shot through the head [and] was carried away towards the beach a few minutes after he fell.' Corporal Bromley recounted that L/Cpl Hart, known as 'Babs', was wounded in 'late April or early May in the head, and got to the dressing station on the beach'. Cpl Bromley 'helped dress him in the trench, part of his head having been blown away by explosive bullet, and he was unconscious from the time he fell.' According to historian Peter Pederson, it was a 'widely held belief that the Turks used "explosive bullets, soft nose and dumdum and have inflicted some terrible wounds"'. When Cpl Bromley enquired of L/Cpl Hart later, he learnt that he only survived about twenty-four hours.

Two consignments of personal effects were returned in June and September 1916, including L/Cpl Hart's service disc, pendant, silver-chain, badge, wallet, coin, notebook, photos, brushes, and shaving mug. The following year, Elizabeth received notification that her only son was buried at Beach Cemetery at the southern point of Anzac Cove, Plot 1, Row A, Grave 17 officiated by the Reverend Failes of the Royal Naval Brigade. His grave registry indicates his grave is marked with a Jewish 'cross' although he recorded his religion as Methodist on his Attestation form. Peter Stanley

relates a similar story of a 3rd Infantry soldier's father requesting a Star of David for his son's grave later discovering it was a Jewish symbol. The citizens of Brunswick held a memorial service at this time for the fallen with a 'stirring and eloquent address' read by Councillor Mathew Balfe. Amongst the hundreds of names was L/Cpl Hart.

After the war, Elizabeth received a photo of the grave and in due course, her son's war medals and commemorative items. In 1934, Elizabeth also obtained the Mother's Badge, a medal struck by the Defence Department in 1919 for all mothers and wives whose sons and husbands died in the First World War.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF KRITHIA: 6-8 MAY 1915

Alfred Howard

Alfred Howard enlisted on 17 August 1914 at the age of 20. A labourer by trade, he was adopted at the age of three weeks by his foster mother, Matilda Howard. He had two years of experience in the 60th Australian Infantry Regiment at Coburg and served as a private in the 7th Battalion.

Pte Howard sailed for the Middle East aboard the on 18 October 1914. His time in the military included a minor indiscretion when he absented himself without leave from pack drill in November 1914; whatever punishment he received is not recorded. Pte Howard finally joined the MEF on 5 April 1915 and would have been part of the landing on 25 April. Just over a week in to May later, he was declared missing and wounded.

On 22 June, Matilda Howard was notified of her son's condition, but that it was not serious; a standard procedure adopted by the military. Hearing nothing more over the following months, she approached her local Member of Parliament in September, Frank Anstey. His handwritten note to Base Records on House of Representatives letterhead reads like a telegram, 'Mother anxious to know if he is dead or alive. What can I tell her [sic].' In reply, Base Records responded that no

'later reports' were received and sent a cable to Egypt seeking further information. Two weeks later, Base Records could only confirm Pte Howard as wounded on 8 May.

With no official reports received by 10 October, Base Records cautioned Matilda that given the length of time since her son had been reported missing, and that he was not on any prisoner of war lists, 'the Military Board is regretfully constrained to conclude that this soldier is dead, and that death occurred on the 8th May 1915'. Nine days later, another communication was sent to Matilda, again relaying that 'no further information can be obtained' on the missing private.

A memo on Pte Howard's Red Cross file indicates that Matilda had received a letter in December from a Captain Wall, stating that Pte Howard was 'not yet dead'. Perhaps the captain was genuinely of the belief that Pte Howard was alive at this time, or he may have been trying to relay hope to Matilda in making such a claim. Regardless, he was not the only soldier who suggested Pte Howard was still alive.

Pte J. Arroll claimed to have seen Pte Howard in a Maltese hospital in October 1915 with a fractured leg and amputated arm having been wounded at Steele's Post on the Sari Bair Range. Pte A. E. Bunting of the 7th Battalion also claimed to have met Pte Howard 'on two occasions in England ... and he was well and out on leave.' Authorities in Malta and England later dismissed these claims.

Other testimony supported a belief Pte Howard had not survived. A Pte McEwan stated that he had heard Pte Howard 'died at Lemnos Island from pleurisy.' Pte W.G. Smith of the 7th Battalion declared that Pte Howard, known as 'Alf', died on 1 May from a shell burst and was subsequently buried in Shrapnel Gully cemetery.

Sergeant A.C. Smith however, claimed he knew Pte Howard, and that he was wounded at Cape Helles: 'All the boys understood that casualty was sent to the beach and was put on board a hospital ship.' If Pte Howard was evacuated, what happened to his body is not known as he did not receive a burial. Eventually, a Court of Enquiry found his death occurred on 8 May 1915, at Gallipoli, killed in action.

The British had landed at Cape Helles on the 25 April and on the 28th the 'First Battle of Krithia' saw the 29th Division along with French troops attempt to advance

on Achi Baba near the village of Krithia without success. The Allies repeatedly attempted to take the higher ground during the 'Second Battle of Krithia' on 6-7 May, finally deciding to send New Zealand battalions to take Achi Baba on the 8th with Australian and Indian battalions held in reserve. The Turks would not give up the height easily, and the New Zealanders took heavy casualties, halting late in the afternoon short of Krithia.

The Australian 2nd Infantry (5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Bns) hurriedly moved up on the right of the New Zealanders to Krithia Nullah (a dry gully) at 5:30pm to continue the advance. Launching themselves from a position known as 'Tommies' Trench', the 6th and 7th Battalions pushed forward across 'open moorland' in to a hail of Turkish rifle and machinegun fire 'such as the Australians seldom encountered during the war'. The push failed; the New Zealanders lost 771 casualties, while the 2nd Infantry sustained 1,056 casualties. The 7th Bn lost 277 casualties of which 43 died, 146 were wounded, and 88 went missing. Nine Brunswick men were amongst the dead, while Pte Howard was missing, possibly left behind as darkness fell over the battlefield or buried at sea without record.

Matilda endured eighteen months of uncertainty regarding her son's welfare, only to eventually learn of his death. In July 1917, Pte Howard's personal effects arrived in Australia. They included two Testaments, cards, letters, fountain pen, purse, booklets, knife, gift tin, beads, pipe bowl, 'book-of-views'. All his medals and memorial items went to his foster mother, Mathilda.

In 1967, Pte Howard's sister Gladys requested the Anzac, or Gallipoli Medallion, as next of kin. She believed he died during the 'Battle at Cape Helles'. Today, Pte Howard's name adorns the Memorial at Cape Helles, Gallipoli, on Stone No. 203a.

Claude Spencer

Claude Spencer enlisted on 10 September 1914. He was born in the town of Nathalia, northern Victoria. At the time of his Attestation, he was a 23-year-old labourer, sporting a tattoo on his left arm. He, alongside George Lovelock,

served in D Company, 6th Battalion. His father, William Spencer was head porter at North Melbourne railway station.

Pte Spencer embarked on the *Hororata* in October 1914. While on the voyage, his larrikin streak became apparent when he was drunk on parade and defaulted on drill. He joined the Gallipoli Campaign on 5 April 1915, but temptation got the better of him and his larrikinism was unleashed yet again. On 20 April, he received 28 days detention for ‘creating a nuisance, breaking away from arrest, attempting to strike an N.C.O. using obscene language [sic].’ This punishment must have been suspended and he alighted with 6th Battalion at Gaba Tepe in the early hours of 25 April.

Pte Spencer survived the first weeks until the unsuccessful attempt to break through the Turkish defences during the ‘Second Battle of Krithia’ on 8 May. The 6th Battalion advanced along with the 7th to within reach of the Turkish defences enduring a higher number of casualties than any other 2nd Infantry battalion. All up, the 6th sustained 365 casualties, of which 85 died, 153 were wounded, and 127 went missing. There is no testimony as to how Pte Spencer died, but in September 1915, he was listed as killed in action. His father received notice of his son’s death at this time.

Pte Spencer’s identity disc was returned to Australia the following May, suggesting a fellow soldier grabbed his service disc during the heat of battle. If he did receive a burial, the site is now lost. Other personal effects including ‘brush, comb, handkerchief, piece of chain, metal match box, corkscrew, note book, and letters’ were received in January 1918. William received all of his son’s memorials and medals in due course. Pte Spencer’s name is memorialised at Cape Helles on Stone No.202 alongside the other men who died at the southern end of the peninsula.

George William Wood

George Wood enlisted at the age of 23 on 20 August 1914. He was a boot maker by trade and answered ‘no’ to the question of ‘Are you married?’ He nominated his father, Arthur as next of kin. Wood served as a private with the 7th Battalion and shortly after entering camp in Melbourne married Elizabeth Stebbing, who bore him a son, George Aisne Wood in 1915. Subsequently, both Wood’s death and personal life would become a series of complicated and sad events.

As a member of the 7th Battalion, Pte Wood embarked in October 1914, later joining the MEF from Alexandria on 5 April 1915, and landing at Gallipoli on the 25 April. In June 1915, he was reportedly wounded although not seriously, but was in fact, deceased.

The death of Pte Wood is rather confusing: his Statement of Service records him ‘wounded and missing’ on 8 May, but also as ‘previously reported missing’ 25 April. Officially, he died on 25 April as the Roll of Honour held by the Australia War Memorial reflects today, yet witnesses from the 7th Battalion placed him at Cape Helles as late as 8 May.

A Corporal Hardner knew ‘that he took part in the fighting at Cape Helles’ seeing ‘him there on 8th May, but [was] unable to say what became of him subsequently’. Corporal Carlile stated he received word from a Sergeant Young that Pte Wood ‘was killed in the charge on Cape Helles on the 8th May.’ Conversely, Cpl William Connell reported that he and Pte Wood were ‘badly wounded on the morning of April 25 ... [Pte Wood being] ... shot through the small of the back ... was carried away by stretcher bearers ... to the beach [sic]’, and hearing no more of him assumed he died. Friend Pte William Donovan of the 6th Battalion, who lived two doors away from Pte Wood in Brunswick, claimed Pte Percy Alexander (6th Battalion) informed him via the English newspapers of the death of Pte Wood. He also claimed Pte Alexander, a Brunswick enlistee killed in action in 1917, ‘would find him’ but he does not clarify this statement as to whether Pte Alexander had found Pte Wood wounded or was merely searching for him as indeed both soldiers

were in 1916.

Despite the evidence provided, a Court of Enquiry held in June 1916 found Pte Wood had died on 25 April. In 1921, responding to two requests from Base Records for personal communications that may provide the circumstances and locality of a deceased soldier, his mother, Emma wrote back that her son was killed at Krithia on 8 May: 'At first reported Wounded, then Wounded & Missing, and finally Killed in Action at Krithia on 8th May 1915. We received a letter written on the morning of the 8th prior to joining into battle in the evening, but this was the last communication of any kind received from my son.' A slip of paper on Pte Wood's file dated April 1922 from the Deceased Section simply states 'correct date of death is 25.4.15'.

In 1926, Base Records wrote to the Wood family regarding remittance of payment for a copy of the Lone Pine Memorial Register forwarded to the family. Emma replied again, firmly refuting the official reported date of death of 25 April:

I have in my possession letters from my son dated 8th May 1915 and it was on the day that he was Killed in Action. Further proof is in a letter received from a comrade stating they were in the same battle and that my son was killed in this action 8th May '15. I would thank you to have this corrected in proof slip before compilation of register [sic].

Base Records replied that the evidence supplied by Emma supported a correct date of death being 8 May, advising her that 'the records have been provisionally amended to conform therewith.'

After the war, Base Records began the process of distributing the medals and memorials due to the family. In 1920, Pte Wood's son claimed the commemorative items 'of his late father.' Base Records wrote 'It appears from the file that the soldier's widow married again, and this son had to be taken away from the custody of his mother on account of the cruelty of this step-father, who was convicted and sentenced for wilfully illtreating the child [sic].'

Charles Stephenson, Elizabeth's new husband, was convicted in Richmond Court

in October 1917 for ‘causing bodily injury’ on a ‘boy under the age of 14 years’ and sentenced to twelve months hard labour. His prison record demonstrates his violent temperament, spending a number of stints in solitary for violent behaviour. Elizabeth Stephenson signed for two packages of Pte Wood’s personal effects in February 1918 containing his identity disc, and again later in December, consisting of ‘2 Devotional’ books, a damaged metal watch and strap, and letters.

As grandparents, Arthur and Emma received custody of young George via the Department of Neglected Children. Subsequently, George, via Arthur, received Pte Wood’s 1914-15 Star. In 1921 and 1922 both Arthur and Emma signed for receipt of Pte Wood’s other memorials including the Victory Medal, Memorial Plaque and Scroll, and copies of *Graves of the Fallen* and *Where the Australians Rest*.

Pte Wood’s exact place of death remains uncertain. Perhaps he did die in the fatal charge by the 2nd Infantry Brigade on the evening of 8 May at the ‘Second Battle of Krithia’, his body lost on the field of battle. The account of his service is presented in this history with respect to his death occurring on this date, rather than



Figure 16: Example of the Memorial Plaque embossed with ‘HE DIED FOR FREEDOM AND HONOUR’ (issued to John Lydon). MVNU 44371.

during the Landing. Pte Wood is commemorated on Panel 30 of the Lone Pine Memorial, his death reflecting the officially recorded date of 25 April 1915.

C O N S O L I D A T I O N : 9 M A Y - 5 A U G U S T

Arthur Gordon Balderson

Arthur Balderson, a farrier by trade, enlisted on 22 August 1914 aged 22. His experience with horses saw him allotted to the 2nd Brigade Australian Field Artillery Ammunition Column with the rank of driver. Driver Balderson's family consisted of his father, William and mother, Harriett who lived in Chelsea, a serving brother, John, and his sister and next of kin, Mrs Annabel Head (nee Balderson) and her husband, Benjamin. However, Dvr Balderson lied on his Attestation form that he was single when he was leaving behind an estranged spouse, Mrs Amy Balderson.

Dvr Balderson embarked on the *Shropshire* in October 1914. He was evidently a true larrikin soldier. On 21 December he faced a Courts-Martial at Mena Camp, Egypt for 'absenting himself without leave' from 11pm on 15 December to 7:30am on 17 December. He was 'reduced to the rank of Shoeing Smith' with seven days Field Punishment No.2 without pay; a penalty that 'consisted of heavy labouring duties, possibly being restrained in handcuffs or fetters, and being tied to a post or wheel [but] not liable to be attached to a fixed object.'

His lesson far from learnt, by early April he would amass a total of 282 hours Field Punishment No.2 and 21 days detention for offences including overstaying leave, drunkenness in camp, breaking camp, and 'committing a nuisance'.

Dvr Balderson's record does not contain any evidence or testimony of his death, other than he died in action on 10 May. Instead, the contents of his file reveal the messy relationship issues he left behind in Australia.

Eighteen-year-old Arthur married Amy Couacaud in 1911. They had no children and the marriage broke down. Knowing her husband was serving, and despite having left him almost three years earlier, Amy had apparently taken interest in her soldier-

husband once again. Before his death, and probably aware she was not next of kin, Amy supplied Base Records with a copy of her marriage certificate. Base Records amended their records, and she received a pension, allotment, and deferred pay during Dvr Balderson's service.

In late July 1915, Base Records informed Benjamin Head that Dvr Balderson had died in action, and a month later, his brother Pte John Balderson died at Lone Pine during the August Offensive (8-9 August 1915). John's name is absent from the Brunswick memorial possibly because he did not reside or work in the suburb.

In a further shock for Annabel, the original next of kin now reflected Amy Balderson as recipient of Pte Arthur Balderson's effects. Soon after, Benjamin penned a 'tell all' reply to 'protest against the alteration of Will and records ... in favour of Mrs A.V.E.M Balderson, his wife in name only'.

According to his brother-in-law, Dvr Balderson had not finalised a divorce due to his enlistment in the war, having 'not resided with, nor maintained' her for years. He did not intend to make his wife next of kin but rather his sister and niece should receive his belongings 'should a fatality occur to him'. Benjamin became embroiled in the family affairs stating that by 'her own admissions and Police Records she was a Wanton [woman]'. Amy had even turned up at Broadmeadows camp just prior to her husband embarking to prevent him from leaving unless he allocated part of his pay to her. Dvr Balderson did so on the suggestion of his superior officer who was 'concerned in leaving her the minimum allowance'.

In November 1919, both his sister, Annabel and Amy were notified of his burial in Beach Cemetery, Gallipoli and soon after, the distribution of medals and memorials for the deceased Dvr Balderson began. Harriett Balderson initially received the 1914-15 Star but in June 1920, Amy wrote to Base Records requesting the medal as Dvr Balderson's widow. At the same time, Harriett wrote to Base Records claiming Amy had deserted Dvr Balderson and that she 'was a wayward person'. While the memorials of a deceased soldier could offer some closure or comfort for a family in mourning, they were fuelling the bitterness of the Balderson clan.

Base Records promptly direct all correspondence to a higher authority: the 3rd Military District, also located at the Domain (St Kilda Road Barracks). Base Records had requested a review of the 1914-15 Star ‘to establish whether deceased’s widow has any moral claims whatever’ prompting a request from a Military District Major for ‘discreet enquiries’ to be made as to ‘why the Star should be withheld’.

Two Military District Officers investigated the case in September 1920, with a judgement handed down a few days later stating that Mrs Balderson had evidence to show that she was Dvr Balderson’s wife, was ‘quite unknown to the police’, and there was no ‘confirmation of her mother-in-law’s innuendo.’ Their judgement was simply ‘war medals to widow’.

Consequently, Base Records were required to recall the Star from Harriett in January 1921 and issue the medal to Amy who remarried around 1922. She received all other mementos, including the British War Medal, Memorial Scroll and Plaque, Victory Medal, and copies of Dvr Balderson’s grave photos. In February 1916, Dvr Balderson’s effects including a service disc and a letter had arrived back in Australia. It is not clear who received the package, but it is likely Amy came to



Figure 17: Hell Spit Cemetery (Beach Cemetery) May 1915. Dvr Balderson’s initial grave is located on the far left (white cross with circle) and later moved to Beach Cemetery. AWM P02226.018.

possess the item.

Precisely where Dvr Balderson died is unknown. Mounted brigades were called for from Egypt at the end of April to boost the Australian frontline pinned down near Quinn's Post by the Ottoman 15th and 16th Division. Given the burial of Dvr Balderson near Anzac Cove, it is likely he was wounded near Monash Valley or Quinn's Post, and evacuated to the beach where he died. His body was later re-interred in Beach Cemetery in Plot 1, Row B, Grave 8 and marked with a simple cross.

John Thomas Leonard

John Leonard was a 28-year-old labourer when he enlisted on 18 August 1914, assigned to the 6th Battalion. A month later, he re-enlisted on 19 September 1914 as a trooper with A Squadron, 8th Light Horse Regiment. His service record refers to him throughout as private, while the Australian War Memorial Honour Board refers to his rank as Trooper.

Born in Collingwood, he was unmarried and without previous military experience. Trooper Leonard was tall for the time standing 5' 11¼" (181cm) with a distinctive scar on this right ilium (hip). His sister, Mrs Mary Barnett of Brunswick became his next of kin.

Trooper Leonard had a rough early childhood. His mother, Annie Leonard had not been married to his father, who having denied paternity neither resided with nor supported Annie or her son. His grandmother and mother raised him until the age of 6½ when state authorities took him due to Annie's self-confessed neglect. He was placed with Mrs Bridget Rice in Ballarat and never saw his maternal mother again.

Trooper Leonard embarked on 25 February 1915 arriving in Egypt in mid-March. He would then spend the first two weeks of April in hospital and this is the last detail of his service at Gallipoli. His unit, the 8th LH, was part of the 3rd Light Horse Brigade, held in reserve in Egypt until deployed in mid-May 1915. Trooper Leonard died shortly after the Light Horse arrived, on 30 May at Walker's Ridge, a

location on the frontline of ANZAC positions below the infamous Nek. Wave after wave of ANZAC and Turkish soldiers were cut down in this region as both sides tried to gain the upper hand in a landscape 'that looked like a mining-boom town'.

Back home in Australia, news of Trooper Leonard's death reached Mary, who in August enquired about his personal belongings and money 'he left to me as that is all I had to depend upon'. The following November Mary put in a claim for a war pension, which was rejected as she was not a dependent of her brother. The effects, however, passed in to Mary's possession in June consisting of his service disc, a belt, star, thirteen badges, handkerchief, a damaged watch, case and chains, key, union badge, fountain pen, stylo, gold coin, and photo. By this time, she had moved from Brunswick to Geelong.

Unlike many of his comrades, Trooper Leonard's body received a burial attended by a Reverend E. Makeham near Anzac Cove. Such an act suggests he was evacuated to the beach for medical treatment. Both Mary and Annie (now married with the surname McPhee) received notice of his burial. Correspondence to the Rice family is, however, noticeably absent. Mary took the time to write to Base Records to thank them for the 'letter of details of my Dear Brother and where he is buried', and also thanking the Rev. E. Makeham.

In due course, Base Records began to seek relatives of the deceased soldiers in order to pass on medals and memorials. Unless specified in a soldier's will, the order of recipients for such mementos was: 'widow, eldest surviving son, eldest surviving daughter, father, mother, eldest surviving brother, eldest surviving sister, eldest surviving half-brother, eldest surviving half-sister'. For Mary to receive his medals, Base Records needed to establish that no parents were likely to claim the items.

Mary received just such correspondence in November 1920, and confirmed herself and her three children, Frank, Harry, and Dorothy as the only living relatives: 'I lost a good lad from my home when my Dear Brother [died]'. Base Records rejected her letter as 'hardly sufficient' to allow distribution of the medals to her, as she had not outlined names, addresses or death certificates of parents or siblings. Mary did not reply to this letter prompting the 3rd Military District to contact

Geelong Police.

In late January 1921, Geelong Police interviewed Mary. Their findings were passed to 3rd MD, confirming Trooper Leonard was a 'ward of the state, and has no relatives living', excepting for a seven year old son Mary now claimed was his son. She further asserted they had lived as husband and wife for ten years in Geelong, and she remarried after his death.

Base Records received the claims and immediately dismissed them, as they did not 'reconcile with the records'. Firstly, she had been living in Brunswick twelve months after Trooper Leonard enlisted. Secondly, she always referred to Trooper Leonard as 'her brother'.

Further 'independent enquiries' were requested and police once more interviewed Mary in March. This time she explained that she had married 23 years earlier but separated from her husband, living with Trooper Leonard for a decade prior to his enlistment. She confirmed they were not siblings and she had lived in Brunswick until 1915. Her ex-husband had returned when she moved back to Geelong, but 'adhered to her statement that Leonard was the father of her seven year old son and that there are no other known relatives'.

Base Records were unimpressed with Mary's 'unsatisfactory & contradictory statements'. It was decided she was not worthy to possess the war medals. Perhaps Mary and Leonard were living a secret life together, her status of 'sister' a cover for the stigma of being unmarried with an illegitimate child. Of all the people in his life, including his foster parents, Trooper Leonard had chosen Mary as next of kin, and she in turn kept keen interest in his affairs with Base Records until the lie unravelled.

Annie, now married, protested the distribution of Trooper Leonard's medals to Mary 'on account of her character'. She claimed Mary never had a child and her claim any child belonged to Trooper Leonard was not true, and that she was a 'confirmed drunkard.' How Annie knew such a detail when she also claimed to have had no contact with her son is a mystery. Regardless, she did not want the medals for herself, believing she had noted 'as a mother' to her son, but wanted them handed to her son's foster mother, Bridget Rice.

In May 1921, Base Records wrote to Bridget seeking any objection against the medals being handed to Annie. If Bridget was to take possession of the items she could be required to hand them back at any time. Bridget's husband, Denis replied, advising that she died eight years earlier, and requesting Trooper Leonard's war medals 'for I always looked upon him as my own son, and up to the time he left Australia he always called this "Home" and spend his final leave with me'.

On Denis' letter, penned below his signature is a final judgement on this case: 'war medals &c to Mr D Rice (under bond)'. Denis Rice signed for and received Trooper Leonard's medals and memorial items throughout 1921 and 1922, including photos of his grave located at 'Point Cemetery, Ari Burnu ... about ½ mile N of Anzac Cove', Plot 1, Row C, Grave 3.

George Thomas Weir

George Weir was one of the oldest enlistees from Brunswick when he joined the AIF aged 42 on 11 December 1914 as a private. Only sixteen Brunswick men on the Honour Board were forty or older, the AIF's recruitment standards precluded men over forty-five from serving. Pte Weir was a builder's labourer by trade, with distinctive scars on the right upper arm, and a deformed small finger on the left hand. He had a wife, Laura and three children.

Pte Weir served with the 3rd Reinforcements, 6th Battalion, embarking in February 1915 for Egypt. He arrived on the Gallipoli Peninsula on 7 May. On the 15 June, he received a serious gunshot wound in the buttock. Admitted to the 4th Field Ambulance on Gallipoli and then evacuated to the Hospital Ship *Sicilia*, he died the same day. His body was 'buried at sea between Gallipoli and Malta' under the service of a reverend.

The month of June found the Australians occupied with pushing the ANZAC line along 400 Plateau (Johnston's Jolly, Steele's Post, Courtney's, and 'The Pimple' at Lone Pine) toward the Turkish held positions opposite with tunnelling works and saps. German Officer's Trench in particular was only 50 yards (45m) from Steele's

Post and a main target for the Australians. The Turks held the high ground overlooking the Australian position along 2nd Ridge making any foray in to open ground extremely dangerous. Snipers and machine guns shot Australian patrols and anyone who presented themselves as a target above trench level.

The 2nd Infantry were rested after the 2nd Battle of Krithia and in mid-June moved in to the 'northern half of the Right Central Section' being in the vicinity of German Officer's Trench. It is unknown exactly where on the battlefield Pte Weir was shot. He may have been a member of a patrol that came under fire or targeted by a Turkish sniper but his wounding is likely to have occurred near Steele's Post. Turkish machine gunners using Maxims aimed for the lower half of the body as was



Figure 18: Studio portrait of George Weir taken between December 1914 and February 1915. AWM P11672.001.

the practice in enfilading an approaching enemy. A number of Australians were wounded this way including Pte Weir suggesting he was in open ground, perhaps with a patrol or platoon advance on a Turkish position. Other soldiers were shot in the head such as Major Robert Flockart (below), indicative of men targeted by snipers if they did not keep below the ground level of trenches or parapets.

Exactly when Pte Weir's family learnt of his death is also uncertain. His name appeared in the *Brunswick & Coburg Leader* of 10 September in a list of names on the Roll of Honour obtained from the Holy Trinity Church, Coburg, and again in the 17 September edition of the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* as having died of wounds.

In late June 1915, Laura moved from Brunswick to Coburg and the following year too receipt of her husband's personal effects in May 1916 consisting of a purse, prayer book, tobacco, hairbrush, comb and razor, powder, strop, shaving brush, tooth brush, and a bag. She wrote to Base Records to find out if her husband's watch and 'colours' had also been returned but no further personal effects were recorded in his kit and their whereabouts went unknown.

Pte Weir's service lasted barely six months, becoming one of the many working class volunteers lost in the First World War. His name is commemorated at Gallipoli on Panel 27a of the Lone Pine Memorial close to where he received his fatal wound.

Robert Byrne

Robert Byrne was a Brunswick-born engineer aged 21 when he enlisted on 17 September 1914 as a private. He was adopted as a baby with no knowledge of, or contact with, his biological parents, and was raised by his adoptive parents, Charles and Harriett, whom he nominated as next of kin.

Pte Byrne served with the 9th Australian Army Service Corps (Divisional Supply Column) or A.A.S.C., embarking on 22 December 1914 on the H.M.A.T *Ceramic*. Rather than serving in Turkey, the 8th and 9th A.A.S.C. were destined for England, engaging in the fighting on the Western Front in the second half of 1915. While on their way to England, they stopped over in Egypt where the 9th Ammunition Section

remained, while the remaining 9th Corps continued to the United Kingdom.

After arriving in England, Pte Byrne became ill on 2 May complaining of body pains and soreness of the back and legs. His Medical Case Sheet records his exact words as ‘every inch sore & aching’ suffering with a ‘marked headache’. Taken to Bulford hospital the next day, he was then transferred to Tidworth Military Hospital, Wiltshire diagnosed with influenza. He had in fact contracted cerebrospinal meningitis, a condition that inflames the protective covering, or meninges, of the brain and spinal column. This was an infection common in military camps, even in Australia, that claimed many lives.

An extract of Pte Byrne’s Medical Case Sheet reveals the agony he endured:

May 4th – marked headache, irritable, stiffness of neck, given ‘turbid fluid’;

5th – talks quietly, restless nights, temperature over 101 degrees (38.3 Celsius);

10th – neck stiff;

15th – ‘fairly free from pain but is delirious at times. Progress very unsatisfactory’;

26th – ‘condition not much improved: generally looks bad’;

30th – very debilitated: some ulceration lower portion of sacrum: rapidity muscles back of neck;

June 1st – ‘improved, eating fairly well’;

7th – ‘not so well. Sick after Brandy & milk. Temp down this morning’;

8th – not so well, temperature 99f (37.2 Celsius), pains in left arm & leg, painful in movement, sickness at night;

10th – no change to report;

14th – patient sinking rapidly;

18th – Died 6:35 am. 18.6.15.

Private Byrne passed away on the 18 June aged 22 in the Tidworth Military Hospital of cerebrospinal fever. He was buried two days later at Tidworth Military

Cemetery, Plot A, Grave No.33, Roman Catholic section, his grave marked with a marble slab.

His family in Australia received a cablegram on the 18 May 1915 to inform them their son was 'dangerously ill Cerebro-spinal fever Tidworth Hospital'. A further cablegram related his situation as of 29 May: 'condition more serious worse to-day [sic]'. The day he died, Harriett received notice of the postal address of the hospital, but it was too late. She passed away shortly after her son on 31 July 1915 and father, Charles became next of kin.

In time the family received Pte Byrne's personal effects including pencil and pen, cigarette case, wallet, razor, iron cross, pocket book, letters, and military '9s' of his corps. Distribution of his service mementos halted briefly with the 1914-15 Star. Questions were raised at Base Records as to whether Pte Byrne was eligible as soldiers proceeding to England were 'not necessarily ... eligible for the award of the 1914-15 Star of Victory Medal.' It did not take long to conclude the 8th and 9th Companies were 'entitled to the medals [having landed] in a theatre of War', in this instance, Egypt, and his family duly receive the Star.

Private Byrne did not fall on the field of battle, but he did serve Australia and the British Empire. All further mementos consisting of the British Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll, Memorial Plaque, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest* arrived subsequently. In 1926, Base Records provided the family with photos of Pte Byrne's grave.

Four years later in January 1930, Base Records wrote to Charles providing him with additional photos, 'forwarding herewith at the request of an officer stationed at Tidworth two photographs showing the sprig of wattle placed on the grave'. Perhaps the photos dated to the previous Remembrance Day, the identity of the charitable officer unknown.

Robert Pearce Flockart

Robert Flockart was a 29 year old clerk when he volunteered on 15 August 1914. Born in November 1886 in Ballarat and educated at Scotch College, Melbourne, he had extensive pre-war experience in uniform as a lieutenant in the senior cadets in 1906 before serving with the Victorian Rifles the same year. In 1910, he became an area officer with the 51st Infantry and was promoted to the rank of captain in August 1912.

While serving as area officer in 1914, Captain Flockart attended Brunswick police court to help prosecute two wayward men, Edward Conroy and Frederick Johnson, who had failed to attend drill. Johnson claimed a self-inflicted gunshot wound prevented him from drilling; while the Court, with Cpt Flockart's agreement, allowed Conroy a second chance to prove himself.

Major Flockart's widowed mother, Henrietta lived in Camberwell (his father died in 1902) with two brothers, who also served as officers: Alan Pearce Flockart and Derwent Pierce Flockart. Both brothers survived the war.

The service record of Major Flockart is one of distinction as an officer of B Company, 5th Battalion. He embarked from Australia aboard the *Orvieto* on 21 October 1914 and led his company at the Landing on 25 April. While commanding his men, Major Flockart received a facial wound forcing him from the field and he was admitted to No.15 General Hospital at Alexandria from the 25-30 April.

His actions on the first day earned him the admiration of senior officers, his men and a soldier of the 2nd Infantry. Private Robert Pearce of the 4th Battalion wrote home while recovering from a shrapnel wound that he had 'heard Bert Flockart led his men with great gallantry the first day we landed. His company are properly proud of him.' He also received his commission as major on 27 April while convalescing and a 'special mention in Divisional Order 154 for acts of conspicuous gallantry of Valuable service during period April 25th to May 5th 1915.' A copy, forward to Henrietta in November 1915, and later to brother Alan, reads:

Complimentary – “The Army Corps Commander has very much pleasure in publishing the names of the Junior Regimental Officers, N.C.O.’s, and men, in the attached Supplement, which have been brought to his notice for having performed various acts of conspicuous gallantry or valuable service during the period from 25th April to 5 May. 1915. He cordially thanks them for the good work they have performed, which more than ever testifies to their devotion to duty towards King and Country. His only regret is that they cannot all be rewarded. Major ROBERT PIERCE FLOCKART, 5th Battalion.” [sic]

One of Major Flockart’s military records states that he subsequently received the Military Cross. However, his Casualty Form-Active Service makes no mention of the award, and it is possible he was confused with a Lieutenant Keith Flockart who did receive an MC.

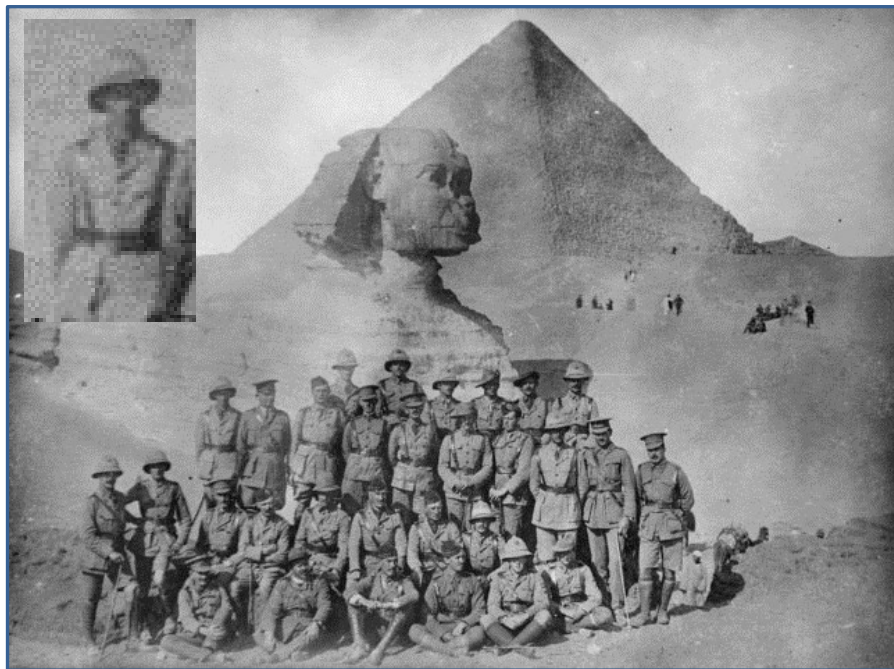


Figure 19: 5th Battalion officers in front of the Sphinx at Giza, Egypt, 1915. Major Robert Flockart stands on the far left in the second row from the back (see insert image). AWM A03182

By 9 May, he had transferred from hospital and re-joined the 5th Battalion on 17 May. The following day, Major Flockart took temporary command of the battalion until relieved on 27 May while its commanding officer, Major Frank Le Maistre recovered from a head wound.

Major Flockart continued to serve on the peninsula until 12 July 1915. The 2nd Infantry defending the ANZAC line on Sari Bair at Steele's Post throughout June and July came under constant fire from a Turkish battery located some 2.5km to the north-east at a position referred to as 'Su Yatagha' (The Watercourse) near 'Turk's Hump'. The battery contained a 6-inch howitzer and 75mm field guns, the shells of the howitzer being the more deadly plunging 'into trenches and dugouts, sometimes burying men beneath the fallen earth'.

The 6th, 7th and 8th Battalions took the brunt of the shelling. Charles Bean recalls:

Although only 45 6-inch shells fell in or near the [Steele's] post on July 13th, and 12, 13, 15 none, and 40 on the five succeeding days, the strain upon the garrison was far heavier than these figures imply. Among others, Major Flockart of the 5th and Lieutenant Biggley of the 6th – who had fought with such distinction at the Landing and at Helles respectively – were killed in the recurring bombardments.'

The toll of this bombardment reduced the men to a 'highly-strung and "jumpy" condition' and 'shock' was diagnosed amongst the rattled soldiery. However, the howitzer did not claim Major Flockart's life as Bean suggested. On the 12 July 1915, while shelling had ceased, he received a gunshot wound to the head, possibly targeted by snipers who waited for men to stray above the ground level of a trench. Evacuated to the Hospital Ship *Gascon*, Major Flockart died of wounds received in action, and was buried at sea between Gallipoli and Alexandria. In March 1916, the *Brunswick & Coburg Leader* incorrectly advised readers that he died from shrapnel wounds.

Henrietta learnt of her son's initial wounding on 1 May, and later on 12 July 1915, she was notified that he was severely wounded. A further notice on 20 July confirmed his wounding on the second occasion and that military authorities would advise her of his condition accordingly. Exactly when Henrietta found out her son had died is not recorded on file but correspondence received from Alexandria acknowledging Major Flockart's death are dated to late July and a death notice appeared in *The Argus* on 3 August advising he was 'killed in action'.

In November 1915, Henrietta was notified that she would receive all of her son's military effects contained in a locked leather trunk, valise with camping gear, and a canvas package. The list of items provides an insight into an officer's kit: two pairs of black boots, watch, badges and stars, cane, belt, two singlets, three pairs of underpants, brown shoes, ties, shorts, khaki uniform, pyjama coat, mess uniform, safety razor, socks, towels, folding chair and stretcher. Major Flockart's personal effects included his service disc, cigarette lighter, keys, sovereign case, and watch.

After the war, Henrietta took possession of Major Flockart's memorials, including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Memorial Plaque, Victory Medal, and Memorial Scroll. The Lone Pine memorial commemorates the name of Major Robert Flockart at Gallipoli on Panel 24 alongside other soldiers of the Australian Infantry 5th Battalion.

George Leslie Giles

George Giles was a 19-year-old iron moulder when he volunteered on 21 September 1914. Queried as to whether he was, or had been, apprenticed, he recorded the Atlas Company Engineers on the Attestation Paper. It is not clear if he was still serving an apprenticeship, but he also had former military experience with school cadets, rising to the rank of 2nd Lieutenant. His family consisted of his father, Edward (next of kin) who remarried after his wife died in 1905, and siblings Kathleen, William and Frederick Gordon Giles, who also served with the AIF until badly wounded in the stomach in 1917. Being under the age of 20, Edward signed

his consent for George to enlist with the AIF.

Initially based at Broadmeadows, George served with B Company, 6th Battalion as a sergeant embarking on the *Themistocles* on 22 December 1914. He joined the MEF on 5 April 1915 and was involved in the Landing on 25 April. His service record indicates he was wounded on 13 July with gunshot wounds to the head, body and leg, perhaps received in open ground near Lone Pine where the men of the 6th were positioned. Evacuated to the beach and placed aboard the Hospital Ship *Gascon*, he died at 4.45am, 14 July 1915. His body was buried at sea *en route* from Gallipoli to Alexandria the same day, his name later commemorated on Panel 25a of the Lone Pine Memorial.

Sgt Giles had written three wills in December 1914 and January 1915 bequeathing 'the whole of my real and personal estate both in and out of Australia to Miss Fanny Webb, West Melbourne ... sole executrix of this my will'. It is not clear who Fanny was, but it appears Sgt Giles was supporting her in a relationship. Fanny applied for a war pension in October 1915 but the application was rejected as she was not a dependent (wife or sister). Whether Sgt Giles and Fanny lived together is purely speculative, but she did receive Sgt Giles personal effects in June 1916 consisting of a pocket book and letters.

While Fanny's name appears on Sgt Giles' Attestation Form as legatee as per his Will, she was not entitled to his memorials after the war not being a family member. Consequently, Base Records set about finding and contacting the next of kin. By this stage, father Edward had passed away in 1919, leaving Kathleen to correspond with Base Records. She established her brother, William and herself as the only living relatives, and applied for the 1914-15 Star 'as I have heard my step Mother is applying for same, I am the nearest blood relative living'. As per the 'Regulations under the Deceased Soldiers' Estates Act of 1918, William as 'eldest surviving brother', received Sgt Giles memorials.

Kathleen also applied for the Woman's Badge in June 1920 for both Sgt Giles and Frederick. Her request was forwarded to the 3rd Military District of which any further correspondences does not appear on Sg Giles' file.

Just over a month after applying for the badges, Frederick died of tuberculosis and exhaustion at No.11 Australian General Hospital (AGH) Caulfield. Frederick's name appears on the Brunswick Memorial Nominal Roll but not on the Roll of Honour alongside his brother, his death occurring after being discharged from military service in 1918.

Decades later in 1967, Kathleen applied for the Gallipoli Medal in memory of Sgt Giles, an item she described as a 'treasured article'. Her desire to obtain such an important memento illustrates how significant the loss of a loved one remained in families long after the war.

Frederick Thomas Walsh

Frederick Walsh, a native of Beechworth, enlisted on 28 November 1914 in Claremont, Tasmania, serving as a private with 12th Battalion. The 21 year old 'dynamo attendant' was unmarried and had no previous experience with the military. His family consisted of his father, Michael and his mother and next of kin, Elizabeth who lived in Brunswick at the time, and at least two siblings Kathleen and Catherine.

Pte Walsh's file contains no indication as to why he enlisted in Tasmania. The majority of Brunswick men landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula on 25 April did so with the 2nd Infantry Brigade between 5:30-7am, but preceding them were the battalions of the 3rd Infantry (9th, 10th, 11th, 12th) landing between 4:30-5:10am. Soldiers recruited from Tasmania formed half of the 12th Battalion along with South Australian and Western Australian men.

The 3rd Infantry were a covering force who according to Brigadier Chris Roberts would 'intercept, delay, disorganise and deceive the enemy before he can attack the force being covered', in this case being the 2nd Infantry and other Allied units deployed on the peninsula. Contrary to well-entrenched beliefs, the objective of the 3rd Infantry was not the Landing itself, but establishing a beachhead long Brighton Beach to Ari Burnu by taking and holding the Third Ridge of the Sari Bair Range,

from Hill 971 to Mal Tepe. This position would aid the British landing at Cape Helles by cutting off the peninsula from Turkish reinforcements. Once in position, the 12th Battalion would be held in reserve at 400 Plateau (Johnston's Jolly and Lone Pine) behind the advanced 10th Battalion.

Embarking from Melbourne aboard the *Clan MacGillivray* on 2 February 1915, Pte Walsh joined the MEF at Mudros on 10 April and is the first known soldier on the Roll of Honour to land at Gallipoli on 25 April with the 12th Battalion. He survived the initial push towards Third Ridge and subsequent Ottoman counterattacks on the first day before the ANZAC line was established along the Second Ridge from Russel's Top to Bolton's Ridge. Subsequently, the Allies were in a stalemate of trench warfare with the Turks from May to August.

On 12 July, beginning at 8:15am, waves of soldiers from the 6th and 7th Light Horse, and 12th Battalion attempted a feint from Bolton's Ridge to Holly Ridge to distract Ottoman troops during an operation at Cape Helles. Two men of the 6th and 7th LH, and 20 men led by Colony T.E. Weavers of the 12th Battalion covered the troops at Ryries's Post and Tasmania Post respectively, the advancing troops immediately looping back to Bolton's Ridge.

'The response of the enemy surprised everyone', recalled Charles Bean. Turkish machine guns, rifles and shelling ripped through the covering parties. Col. Weavers and 13 men were wounded, withdrawing by 9:15am; the 6th LH lost 4 dead and 11 wounded. Yet Bean describes this feint as 'far from embittering the [Australian] troops, the ingenious plans of this demonstration amused and encouraged them'. Amongst the wounded of Col. Weavers men was Pte Walsh, who received a gunshot wound to the pelvis.

Listed as 'dangerously ill' and immediately evacuated aboard the Hospital Ship *Gascon*, he arrived at Tigne Hospital in Malta on 18 July. He did not recover and succumbed to his wounds four days later on 22 July 1915. The following day he was interred at Addolorata Cemetery.

Elizabeth received a cable on the 25 July informing her of the seriousness of her son's injury. The following day Base Records received a convoluted cable from

Alexandria that read: ‘wounds received in action in Gallipoli [sic]’. This information, apparently an attempt to inform Australian military authorities that Pte Walsh had died from wounds, was evidently not passed on to Elizabeth who personally attended Base Records in late July for news of her son. Shortly after her visit, a cable arrived confirming Pte Walsh had died of a gunshot wound to the abdomen. The military offered its sympathies to Elizabeth by consoling her with the knowledge that Pte Walsh had given his life ‘in the cause of his King and Country’.

Elizabeth moved to Fitzroy briefly before returning to East Brunswick in January 1916, informing Base Records of her situation ‘in case any thing comes back for me of my late son’. It would be another nine months before Elizabeth took receipt of her son’s personal effects in September including his hairbrush, a photo, cigarette box, and cross.

In 1920 Elizabeth moved again, this time to Coburg and having seen an article in a newspaper regarding the 1914-15 Star wrote to Base Records: ‘I have seen in The Age last week I can have one I would be so pleased if you will let me have one as I am his mother and next of kin [sic]’. Base Records were happy to issue the Star but in accordance with the Regulations set out in the Deceased Soldiers’ Estates Act of 1918 that stated the father would be first recipient of the medal. Elizabeth replied somewhat convolutedly, ‘In reference to the 1914&15 star received your letter last Saturday asking if my husband was alive yes but an invilad [sic].’

Elizabeth gratefully received the Star and other memorials soon after including the Victory Medal, British War Medal, Memorial Plaque, Memorial Scroll, two copies of *Graves of the Fallen*, and a copy of *Where the Australians Rest*. She also received a photo of her son’s grave in Addolorata Roman Catholic Cemetery, not of the plot itself, but a general view of the cemetery.

Pte Walsh was buried in a multiple grave that reflected the global experience of the war. Marked with a cross in Division E, Section EA, Compartment A, Grave 652 he was interred with Pte W. Leyden of the Royal Scots (died 9 July 1915) and Pte P. J. O’Sullivan of the Munster Fusiliers (died 14 July 1915). Whether Elizabeth was aware of this is unknown and perhaps this was the reason she received a nondescript



Figure 20: Grave of Pte Walsh in Addolorata Cemetery, Malta. From below the cross, epitaphs in order are Pte Leyden, Pte O'Sullivan, and Pte Walsh (top of photo). AWM P00545.170.

photo of the cemetery. According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission details about Addolorata Cemetery, the shallow soils in Malta resulted in ‘many joint or collective burials [being] made as graves had to be cut into the underlying rock.’ An undated photograph of the grave was donated to the Australian War Memorial, courtesy of the ‘President of Malta’.

Victor Forster

Victor Forster, a native of Collingwood, was a 21-year-old machinist when he enlisted on 8 September 1914. Perhaps a result of his employment, he had a distinctive scar on the back of his right wrist. Forster had two years previous voluntary experience with state school cadets, later serving in the AIF with A Company, 8th Battalion as a private.

Private Forster's parents, Abraham and Emma initially lived in Brunswick, later moving to North Fitzroy in February 1916. Family members occasionally moved house after losing a son, resulting in Base Records posting notices in daily newspapers to track down next of kin.

Prior to embarking for Egypt, Private Forster received a fine of two days' pay in mid-October 1914 for an unrecorded offence. He shipped out on the *Benalla* on 19 October 1914 and would have been part of the landing on 25 April 1915. According to his Casualty Form-Active Service record, he 'rejoined from Base, Gallipoli' on 8 May suggesting he was evacuated wounded during the early weeks of the campaign.

The next entry on this form is 'Killed in action, Gallipoli' dated 6 August 1915. Boggled down in trench warfare, in a stalemate on the ANZAC front on Sari Bair Range and at Cape Helles that had lasted months, the Allies had formulated a four-phase plan to breakout that became known as the August Offensive.

Firstly, the Allies would take Sari Bair Ridge including Turkish held ground at Lone Pine, Baby 700, and Chunuk Bair with a protected line of supply eventually established at Suvla Bay by soldiers continuing to the north. Secondly, a flank attack from Baby 700 and Quinn's Post would clear the ground along Gun Ridge to Gaba Tepe. Thirdly, a line would be established from Gaba Tepe to Maidos cutting off Turkish supplies and the southern forces engaging the Allies at Cape Helles. Fourthly, to occupy the forts along the Dardanelles, remove any artillery, and clear sea mines allowing naval attacks on Istanbul. This main phase of the plan ran from

the 6-10 August 1915, but continued until 27 August.

The first of nineteen Brunswick men to die during this offensive was Pte Victor Forster. There is no indication of exactly how or where Pte Forster died but it is probable his life ended during the first phase of the Offensive at Lone Pine. Two feints, one by the British at Cape Helles followed by the ANZACs at Lone Pine, gained some ground but cost the Australians 2,277 casualties and an estimated 6,000 Turkish dead or wounded.

Pte Forster death was confirmed in October 1915 from Alexandria. It took a further four years for Base Records to inform his former drill hall in Albert Park of his death. The location of the drill hall explains why the Australian War Memorial lists Pte Forster's 'Place of association' as South Melbourne.

In 1916, Pte Forster's parents received his belongings, although there is no list of what those items were. His memorials were also received by them in the post-war years, including a photograph of his grave in Shrapnel Valley (Gully) Cemetery, Plot 2, Row A, Grave 16 south east of Anzac Cove. The August Offensive would result in failure for the Allies with no more major offensives before the withdrawal of the MEF in December 1915 and January 1916.

Alfred Cavanagh

Alfred Cavanagh was born in Liverpool, County Lancashire, and had served in 'cadets in England as a boy'. He was 28 years old when he enlisted on 14 September 1914, a tanner by trade, and sported tattoos on both wrists and swelling on the right forearm. His next of kin was initially his father in Liverpool, however, the later recipients of his effects and memorials was his wife, Catherine Fawcett whom he married in 1914.

Stationed at Broadmeadows as a private, Cavanagh went on to serve with A Squadron, 8th Light Horse who embarked for Egypt on 25 February 1915 aboard the *Star of Victoria*. His service at Gallipoli began on 6 May 1915 and, although unclear, it appears he gained promotion to Lance Corporal at this time before he was

pronounced missing on 7 August.

There is minimal official correspondence on L/Cpl Cavanagh's service record, with no indication of exactly when or how he died. His name was included in the Honour Roll for Brunswick published in the *Brunswick & Coburg Leader* on 10 September 1915. His service record officially records his death as having occurred on 7 August aged 29, during the earliest stage of the August Offensive. L/Cpl Cavanagh's service disc disappeared along with his body suggesting his remains were inaccessible to fellow soldiers or hastily buried after he died.

Catherine received her husband's personal effects in May 1916 that included seven stone trinkets, scabbard, penknife case, knife, beads and shells, a 'stone curio', bangle, cards, bracelets, and 'souvenirs'. Many of these items represent the souvenirs soldiers often collected while touring the sites of new lands, and perhaps the expectation of a safe return to Australia in good time.

With no husband to support her, Catherine received a war pension of £52 per annum. In the years after the war, she also took possession of her late husband's memorials, including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Plaque and Scroll, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*. L/Cpl Cavanagh's name appears on Panel 5 of the Lone Pine Memorial at Gallipoli conceivably, close to where he died.

Frederick Charles Clifton

Frederick Clifton volunteered for the AIF on the 17 August 1914 at the age of 24. Born in Creswick, Victoria, he had three years' previous experience with the 5th Infantry, being discharged after completing his time of service. He listed his trade as 'metal ceiling fixer' and was not the only member of his family to serve. Younger brother George Edward also enlisted in July 1915. Both boys maintained a connection with Creswick through their widowed mother, Catherine, who was evidently reluctant to accept her son Frederick's death.

Allotted to G Company, 6th Battalion as a private, Frederick shipped out on 19

October 1914 aboard the *Hororata*. Correspondences on Pte Clifton's file suggest he was a lance corporal, a rank that appears on letters until 1946. Testimony on Pte Clifton's Red Cross Wounded and Missing file indicates he was promoted to corporal, however his service record and the Australian War Memorial documents him as a private.

He joined the Gallipoli campaign on 5 April 1915 and was part of the landing on the 25 April. By 8 May, he was listed missing in action. Pte Albert Carroll recorded testimony in 1916 that Pte Clifton was part of a night charge on a Turkish position, and along with some unfortunate fellow soldiers, was cut off 'from the main body' during a Turkish counter-attack. Despite the death of an undisclosed number of soldiers during the charge, the Australian's retook the ground. Pte Carroll did not see Pte Clifton amongst the wounded, assuming he was taken prisoner, but later informed George Clifton that his brother was 'alright'.

Pte Clifton did survive, receiving gunshot wounds to the left side of his body and leg, and was evacuated to Imtarfa Hospital, Malta on 17 May. Transferred to Ricasoli, Malta on 2 July 1915 he returned to active service on 12 July in Alexandria. After a brief stay in Mustapha Barracks, he headed to Gallipoli on 19 July, and re-joined his unit on 25 July. Some two weeks later on the 7 August during the early stages of the August Offensive, Pte Clifton went missing again, but this time he was never to be seen again

A number of witness accounts were collected for a Court of Enquiry in 1916 to determine what had become of the missing soldier. Both Corporal Howell Thomas and Pte George Rowles believed that Pte Clifton died in a charge on a German Officer's Trench from Steel's Post on the 6th August, receiving wounds to the arms and legs. Cpl Thomas further suggested that a soldier named Gibb had returned the wounded private to a dressing station and he was subsequently evacuated.

Another soldier and friend of Pte Clifton, Lance Corporal Arthur Fox claimed he saw a 'disfigured and mutilated' body at Braund's Hill, Anzac in April, believing the body to be that of Pte Clifton. Sergeant Major William Rudd claimed he knew Pte Clifton well, being wounded on the 6th August 'opposite the German Officer's

Trench' and later learning that his friend 'was killed in the trench on the same occasion'. Additionally, brother George recalled that the Chaplain of 6th Battalion had told him 'that during an action of 6th August 60 bodies were never recovered and thinks that is why nothing more have been heard of his brother.'

As part of the August Offensive, a decision was made to take and occupy a position known as German Officer's Trench (opposite Steele's Post) by 400 men of the 6th Battalion during the night of 6th August to aid the Allied advance on Chunuk Bair and Baby 700 the following day. Between 11-11:40pm three mines were set off under the northern end of German Officer's to distract the Turks who shelled Steele's Post earlier in the evening, continuing 'into the night, breaking out with renewed intensity' after the mines were detonated. The 6th filed through unlit access tunnels from Steele's to German Officer's and at 12:35am spilt out into the Turkish occupied position and a storm of rifle and machine gun fire from the *72nd Arab Regiment*.

Men of the 6th fell dead in the tunnel entrances or on open ground and the attack stalled by 1am. Another attempt made at 3:15am resulted in men 'killed or wounded immediately outside the holes, or actually in the openings. A few ... succeeded in running forward, but they were never seen again'. Eight soldiers from the 6th were killed and another 66 wounded, amongst them was Pte Clifton.

Meanwhile, Base Records in Australia were notified on 10 June 1915 of Pte Clifton's wounding on 17 May and that he re-joined the 6th Battalion on 25 July. Catherine received word on 12 July reporting her son was 'wounded not reported seriously will advise upon receipt further particulars [sic]'. A few days later, Base Records updated their records that Pte Clifton was 'now reported wounded not missing'.

It is not clear as to when Catherine was officially notified of her son's death. The first official correspondence confirming Pte Clifton as 'killed in action' dates to 7 June 1916 in light of the finding of the Court of Enquiry held on 24 April 1916. A Mr J. Cullen, West Brunswick received a report of death on 20 July 1916, but what association Mr Cullen had with Pte Clifton is unknown. Wounded and missing lists

published in the Brunswick papers in 1915 and 1916 do not include Pte Clifton, however, some lists were collated from public subscription of names and it is likely his name was not submitted to the local press as he hailed from Creswick.

In March 1917, the Mayor of Creswick Charles W. Jubb wrote to Base Records on behalf of Catherine to enquire of her son's personal effects. It appears Catherine had read of a deceased soldier, Corporal Frederick William Clifton's unclaimed kit being held in London Kit Stores and approached Mayor Jubb to assist her enquiry as to whether this soldier was in fact her son.

Base Records replied that no personal effects belonging to Pte Clifton were returned. As a Court of Enquiry did not confirm his death until 1916, it was considered unlikely 'that anything can have been recovered from his person', and that all personal effects in storage had been returned to Australia. Should any further shipments include Pte Clifton's effects, Base Records would forward those items on.

Mayor Jubb thanked Base Records for their letter, revealing the anguish Catherine was suffering: 'this will set her mind at rest, the poor soul has been trying, in any way but the proper one, to get news or trace of his belongings'.

Catherine's mind was not 'at rest'. In November 1918, she made a further enquiry to Base Records through a Mr J. Sponce of Coburg as to the circumstances of her son's disappearance. The reply to Mr Sponce the following January suggests Catherine was not convinced her son had died. 'It is pointed out' an officer advised:

that before a death finding is recorded by a Court of Enquiry, every regard is paid to the evidence placed before the Court and if there is any possibility of a soldier being a Prisoner of War or otherwise effective, further investigations are invariably made. In Pte. Clifton's case, however, no doubt existed, the evidence of death placed before the court being conclusive.

In September 1920, Defence Deceased Section issued a minute paper to Base Records title 'KIT OF THE LATE No. 780 LANCE-CORPORAL F.C.CLIFTON, 6TH.

BATTN', briefly stating 'referred for early attention'. Once again, Catherine had contacted an elected official to help her search, this time a federal member of parliament, Mr D. C. McGrath. The reply from Base Records only confirmed that no personal effects were recovered and that 'it is considered improbable that any of his effects were recovered at the time of the casualty'.

In June 1921, Base Records contacted Catherine to enquire as to any personal correspondences she may have received that could shed light on her missing son. Catherine noted that, 'We have heard from different fellow soldiers of my sons that he was wounded. We have also heard that there was a hospital ship sunk about that date and would be much obliged if you would inform me if it was true as my son may have been aboard it.' She believed Pte Clifton was last seen at Steele's Post having received advice from his mate, Corporal Thomas.

In reply, Base Records assured Catherine 'The Imperial War Graves Commission has sanctioned a continuance of the search and in the event of a more favourable report forthcoming, you will be at once advised.' The letter continues, 'As regards your enquiry as to whether a hospital ship was sunk about the time of your son's death ... if the late soldier had been transferred to a hospital ship this office would have been notified and the information transmitted to you.'

Catherine would not receive any items belonging to her deceased son. She was granted a war pension of £2 per fortnight in August 1917 as a widowed mother and through 1921 to 1922 received Pte Clifton's memorials including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Memorial Scroll, Victory Medal and Memorial Plaque. Today Pte Clifton's name can viewed on Panel 26a of the Lone Pine Memorial having died on the during one of the failed charges on the morning of 7 August 1915, his body likely buried near German Officer's Trench on the Sari Bair Range.

Charles Conning Dale

Charles Dale served as a lieutenant with C Squadron, 8th Light Horse receiving his commission on 3 November 1914 aged 20. He was born on 21 July 1894 in Melbourne, sitting for his Junior and Senior Public examinations at Melbourne University before studying for three years at Royal Military College, Duntroon, and appointed lieutenant in the Commonwealth Military Forces. When first enlisting, Lt Dale recorded his marital status as single, but married on 10 November 1914 prior to embarkation. His wife Sybil (Cybil) became his next of kin.

Lt Dale's career with the AIF began on 3 November 1914 when he joined his regiment from Duntroon, stationed at Broadmeadows before embarking on the *Star of Victoria* on 25 February 1915. He shipped to Gallipoli on 16 May 1915 and received a promotion to Adjutant (staff officer assisting a commanding officer) on 28 June 1915 subsequently transferring to headquarters staff.

Sometime around 14 July, Lt Dale, a Colonel White, and Captain Sydney Campbell attempted to bathe in the water when a Turkish shell exploded 'amongst them'. Cpt Campbell took the force of the blast later dying of wounds on a hospital ship, while Lt Dale and Cnl White survived. Lieutenant Dale continued to serve until he disappeared on the 7 August during the early phases of the August Offensive. A Board of Enquiry held on 16 August found he died on 7 August, and an official lettergram issued on 21 August 1915 confirmed the missing Lt Dale as 'now reported dead'. His Casualty Sheet records an entry dated 30 August 1915 as 'killed in action'.

Lieutenant Colonel Maygar, commander of the 8th Light Horse wrote a eulogy of Lt Dale revealing the character of the man and manner in which he died:

He was made a troop leader and went through all operations of the Regiment up to 28.6.15 in that position. On that date he was made Adjutant and proved most efficient and reliable in all capacities.



Figure 21: Officers of C Squadron, 8th Light Horse Regiment at Broadmeadows Camp prior to embarkation. Lieutenant Charles Conning Dale is seated at front. AWM DAX0181.

He met his death by his Colonel's side leading the charge of the 8th L.H.R on the NEK at WALKERS RIDGE on 7.8.15.

A most capable and popular Officer with all ranks.

This officers shewed excellent qualities, ability, and promise, and by his early death the Service and the Commonwealth suffered a great loss [sic].

As part of the earliest operations that define the August Offensive, the 8th and a portion of the 10th LH launched the final attack of 6-7 August on Turkish trenches at

The Nek in what historian Rhys Crawley described as ‘one that is remembered in Australian history as an example of the futility of war’. The Australians were tasked with taking Baby 700, but faced fearsome opposition from the Ottomans who had strengthened their position at The Nek. Beginning at 4:30am, without artillery protection, two waves of 150 men were ‘practically wiped out’ emerging from their trenches.

A third advance ordered by Australian 3rd LH Brigade Major, John Antill, suffered the same fate. The two battalions bore ‘372 casualties in an area no larger than a tennis court’. Peter Weir’s *Gallipoli* depicted this action, incorrectly allocating blame for the offensive to British commanders. In the carnage that followed, Lieutenant Dale’s body was never recovered; his name memorialised on Panel 5 of the Lone Pine memorial.

In October 1915, Sybil received a war pension that was also allocated to his daughter, Valda Rita Dale. In February 1916, Sybil accepted five consignments containing her husband’s personal effects included tunics, riding breeches, spurs, underwear, towel, mittens, singlet, military pocket book, wallets, Testament, diary, and tobacco pouch. In the years after the war, Sybil took possession of Lt Dale’s mementos including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, and Victory Medal.

Henry Dawson Chippindall

Henry Chippindall was one of the oldest Brunswick volunteers in the AIF, enlisting on 18 January 1915 at the age of 42 years 9 months. Born in Young, New South Wales, he was a widower with four boys, two of whom served with the AIF, and recorded his occupation as contractor. His mother, Sarah lived in South Yarra, and a portion of his military pay was allocated to Kate Wheeler in Brunswick as trustee of the boys’ estate.

Initially serving as a private in the 5th Reinforcements, 14th Battalion, Chippindall gained promotion to corporal on 2 March 1915, then sergeant shortly after on 16 March. Sgt Chippindall embarked from Melbourne aboard the *Hororata*

on 17 April 1915.

Once at Gallipoli and 'absorbed in ranks' of the 14th Battalion, Chippendall appears to have become a private before re-gaining his rank as sergeant on 10 July 1915. This appointment was confirmed on the 1 August 1915. A week later, on the 8 August 1915, Sgt Chippendall died in action, aged 43.

There is no testimony on any files as to where or how Sgt Chippendall died. The 14th Battalion were part of the 4th Infantry Brigade (consisting of the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th Battalions) lead by John Monash (later Sir) that were to advance on the Sari Bair Range and take Hill 971. New Zealand, British, Indian, and Australian divisions were all involved in an attempt to take positions along the range, including Chunuk Bair.

The 14th Battalion marched up the Aghyl Dere (gully), northeast of Chunuk Bair beginning on the 7 August. On 8th August, the New Zealanders briefly held Chunuk Bair, while the 4th Infantry held a ridge they thought to be Abdel Rahman Bair below Hill Q. The Turks, having retreated, were regrouping at Hill Q and Battleship Hill, and were occupying the genuine Abdel Rahman Bair. As the 4th Infantry resumed its advance on Hill 971, they came under heavy Ottoman fire, broke and ran.

The men carried the wounded, 'our dead left behind and in a great many cases some of the severely wounded left behind too' recalled Sergeant Tom Smith. Turkish counter-attacks kept the 4th Infantry busy until Major-General Alexander Godley, commander of the August Offensive, gave up on taking Hill 971 and turned his attention to Hill Q on the 9 August. It is highly probable that Sgt Chippendall died during this offensive and was one the many whose bodies would remain behind left to the elements or sympathies of the Turks who may have buried the corpses.

There is no correspondence confirming when Sarah or Sgt Chippendall's sons were informed of his death. In mid-September 1915 official correspondence confirmed that 'Sgt Chippendale [sic]' was killed in action, but detail were 'not yet to hand'. His name then appears in the Roll of Honour published in the *Brunswick and Coburg Star* of December 1915, again incorrectly stated as 'Sergeant H.

Chippendale’.

After the war, Base Records opened a line of enquiry regarding a Mrs Isabella Chippendall, Sgt Henry Chippendall’s wife. Writing to Sarah in July 1920, they requested confirmation that ‘Mrs. I. Chippendall, widow of the late No. 1922, Sergeant H.D. Chippendall ... is still an inmate of the Hospital for Insane, Mont Park.’ Sarah replied informing them that her son was not a widower, but that indeed Isabella ‘is still alive and an inmate of Mont Park Hospital’.

Sgt Chippendall had lied on enlistment form. He was married and his wife, Isabella was still alive, residing at the Hospital for Insane, Mont Park, receiving a pension of £2.13.9 per fortnight from October 1915, payed to the Master-in-Lunacy as trustee. How Isabella had come to receive a pension is a mystery as there is no declaration of her existence.

In her letter, Sarah also revealed that Sgt Chippendall’s eldest son Charles had died twelve months previously, leaving his other son William Giles Chippendall as next of kin. William enlisted on 28 May 1915, and another brother, John Tatlock Chippendall enlisted on 22 February 1916. Both boys survived the war.

After the war, Base Records attempted to contact William Chippendall to forward him the war medals of his late father, but was uncontactable. Eventually all memorials were allocated to the custodianship of William’s grandmother, Sarah.

In September 1920, Sarah was once more corresponding with Base Records regarding the inscription of her son’s name on his war medal. Base Records noted that ‘the Star of David is the emblem of the Jewish faith as the Cross is the emblem of Christianity, not of any particular religious denomination, and as the late soldier was a member of the Presbyterian Church, it is thought you would prefer to have the Cross inscribed’.

Whether Sarah agreed to inscribe the medal is unknown. Sgt Chippendall did not receive a Christian or military burial below the Sari Bair Range. His name, perhaps decorating his war medals, is also engraved on Panel 40 of the Lone Pine Memorial, Gallipoli.

Hainsworth King

Hainsworth King was a twenty-eight year old potter, born in Kingston, South Australia. He enlisted on 15 August 1914, serving as a private with the 7th Battalion. His mother, Amelia was next of kin, his father William having deserted the family around 1904.

Private King embarked from Melbourne aboard the *Hororata* on 19 October 1914. At some stage, possibly while stationed in Egypt, he received 28 days detention for an unrecorded offence. Later, he was part of the landing on 25 April, receiving a 'slight' gunshot wound to the left arm, and evacuated to Malta on 4 May. He was discharged to duty on 1 June re-joining his battalion at Gallipoli on 10 July via Alexandria.

Defence wrote to Amelia on 7 June confirming the wounding of her son as 'not reported seriously'. A month later, Pte King was listed wounded on 9 August. It was not until October that Base Records sought confirmation of Pte King being 'unofficially reported Killed' but confirmation from the 7th Battalion was not forthcoming.

Amelia received notification on 5 September that her son 'had been reported wounded (Second Occasion) between 8th and 9th August 1915. It is not stated as being serious'. A further paragraph in this letter warns: 'It should be clearly understood that if no further advise is received this Department had no later information to give [sic]'. A month later on 11 October 1915, Amelia received confirmation that her son was wounded. A note on Pte King's file dated a week later reads 'strong evidence killed pocket book found on body investigate [sic]' but this was not communicated to his mother. In mid-November, Pte King was classified 'wounded and missing'. In November and again in December 1915, Amelia received word from the commanders of the 7th Battalion that they could not confirm the report of her son's death but were still investigating.



Figure 22: Undated studio portrait of Pte King. Note the damage to the left sleeve of his military tunic. Could this photo, possibly taken in Alexandria or Malta, relate to his wounding on the 25 April? AWM H06449.

Testimony began to be collected in March 1916. Sergeant William French (2133) ‘now returned to Australia’ stated that ‘on 8.8.15 at Lone Pine many of the 7th Btn men were killed and fell into the trenches and were walked on by himself and others. Parties were detailed to get them out and they were laid in an old sap and were there buried. Identification discs were not collected, as bombs were coming over in hundreds’. Private Oswald Anderson (1905) observed ‘on the 9th August at Lonesome Pine, Anzac, I saw King killed by a shell. He died about an hour after he was hit. I am certain of his identity.’

Lance Corporal Charles Rettiner (incorrectly recorded as Rettmer) provided an alternative account: ‘casualty ... was called “Snowy” King ... killed on the 8th Aug. at Lone Pine. He was originally wounded at the landing, but rejoined his unit in July’. L/Cpl Rettiner ‘actually saw him killed by a bullet, shot through the head in the trenches’. Pte James Streater (incorrectly recorded as Streeter) stated ‘casualty was killed in the trenches at Lone Pine in the morning of the 9th August. Informant saw casualty lying dead in the trench. There was no time to get his disc. We placed him on one side of the trench in one of the saps. Casualty was a friend of informant.’

In June 1916, a Board of Inquiry, weighing up this evidence, confirmed Pte King died in action on 8-9th August 1915, aged 29, during the failed August Offensive when the Australians attempted to break out from the Anzac Line, suffering ‘heavy casualties from enemy artillery and rifle fire’. In November 1916, Mrs Irene Dessent residing in Gippsland read a report in the *Age* newspaper of a soldier named H. King having been killed. Worried that this was her ‘brother in the ranks of the same initial’ who she had not heard from, she wrote to Base Records, who were only able to confirm the identity of Pte King as No. 239. It is not clear if she was related to Pte King or the correct identity of her brother.

Private King’s personal effects were returned to Amelia in 1918, including a handkerchief, four coins, key chain, curios, mirror, knives, letters and cards, lighter, souvenir brooch, ring, badge, and damaged torch.

Seeking personal correspondence regarding the fate of her son, Base Records wrote to Amelia in June 1921 as the Graves Services Unit began searching the peninsula for unmarked graves. She provided two letters suggesting they contained information that she considered ‘will prove of assistance to you’. Both items were returned without copies being retained on file.

Base Records then followed their standard procedure as per the ‘Deceased Soldiers Estates Act of 1918’ in attempting to contact the father of a fallen soldier. Amelia replied that as William had deserted her she considered him ‘not a fit and proper person to hold his son’s medals’. Subsequently she obtained his memorials including his war medals.

Amelia also sought a copy of *Graves of the Fallen* in July 1922. It is not known if Amelia learnt the fate of her son's body. Witness Pte Streater lived in Hawthorn and could easily have passed on details of Pte King's burial to Amelia. It is possible the testimony provide in the private letters confirmed the evidence given at the Enquiry. Pte King's name is commemorated on Panel 29a of the Lone Pine memorial, his body likely to be still buried in an unmarked sap or trench in the same location.

Richard Edrich Winter

Richard Winter, a baker by trade, was born in Collingwood. He volunteered with the AIF 24 December 1914 aged 27. His Attestation papers record he had a tattoo of a heart on his right forearm. The Winter family had two other sons serving in the war: Robert who was wounded at Gallipoli and in Belgium before being killed in action in 1917, and an unidentified elder brother who was a gunner at Queenscliff.

Winter served as a private with the 2nd Reinforcements, 7th Battalion, embarking on the *Clan McGillivray* on 2 February 1915. According to his Statement of Service Pte Winter transferred to the 6th Reinforcements, 7th Battalion and then to the 5th Battalion on 4 April 1915 at Mena Camp, receiving a new registration number, 1373. Below this entry is a further statement declaring Pte Winter 'returned to Australia per "Ceramic" 26/5/15. ("Soft sore). Disembarked at Melbourne. Returned to Broadmeadows 9.6.15 [sic]', his service record amended to service number 2269. A further record on a Casualty Form-Active Service states he returned to Australia on 4 May 1915. The reason for his return to Australia is unknown, however testimony recorded for an inquest in to his death may provide a reason for this occurrence. Some of the military records on Pte Winter's file are confused with a Reginald Winter, however, there no evidence of a 'Reginald Winter' serving with the AIF.

At some point in June or July, Pte Winter returned to service with the AIF

shipping back to the Mediterranean. On 5 August, Pte Winter was 'taken on strength' joining the action at Gallipoli and posted to A Company. He was declared missing at Lone Pine on 8-9 August 1915, a status confirmed in late December.

Testimony was gathered in 1916 to determine the fate of Pte Winter. Corporal James Seymour recorded that he believed Pte Winter was killed at Cape Helles around 8 May during a charge 'but came out of the charge alright'. Cpl Seymour continues: 'there were a lot of men killed whilst bivouacing [sic] afterwards, about one mile off the beach. Informant further stated that casualty could not have been taken prisoner.' On visiting the Red Cross Information Bureau on 15 April 1916, Cpl Seymour 'identified a photograph shown as that of the casualty and then stated on beholding the photograph – "That is Winter, we all called him Dick." Pte Joseph Clark also affectionately referred to Pte Winter as 'Dick', confirming the 'boys of the Battalion' believed he died at Lone Pine on 8 August.

Pte Frederick Woodberry placed Pte Winter at Gaba Tepe 'within a fortnight of the date of the Landing on 25th April ... [lasting] thought the first few days, but he and the members of his platoon agree, that the casualty must have been killed within the first fortnight'. Pte Horatio Hart provided an alternative account, with Pte Winter at Lone Pine, both men being 'bomb throwers' having arrived together at Gallipoli around the 4-5 August. Pte Winter died, possibly due to a Turkish bomb, when Pte Winter left him to restock on bombs. However, in two separate testimonies, he gave two differing dates for the death: one being 6-7 August, the other 7-8 August. Pte Hart did confirm that Pte Winter went back to Australia, returning with the '6th or 7th reinforcements'.

Another soldier of the 7th Battalion, Pte Hugh Smith enlisted in December 1914. He had contracted venereal disease (VD) while in Egypt and returned to Australia in May 1915 before shipping back to Gallipoli on 5 August. Wounded at Lone Pine on the 7-8 August he claimed he knew Pte Winter having enlisted and embarked 'about the same time'. Pte Smith recalled he, Pte Winter and another soldier, Pte Clarke transferred to the 5th Battalion after a charge on Lone Pine around 6 August 1915. 'They were close to me in the same trench on the 7th August when I was wounded

but they were all right.’ Having seen Pte Winter’s name listed as missing in July 1916, Pte Smith was informed both men had ‘gone to the 15th Battalion.’

It is possible that Pte Winter returned to Australia with VD, or ‘soft sores’ in May before returning to the front with Pte Smith. If this was the case, then Pte Woodberry and Cpl Seymour’s testimony that Pte Winter was at Cape Helles on the 8 May, or had landed with them on 25 April, is not correct as he would have been in Australia. Both Pte Hart and Pte Smith appear to have accounts confirmed by Pte Winter’s statements of service on his military record.

Subsequently the Court of Enquiry held on 5 June 1916 found he died on 8 August 1915. Notification was forwarded to the Australian Records Section from Alexandria in November 1916 and his death notice appeared in an edition of the *Brunswick and Coburg Leader* the same month.

In regards to his unit, a copy of a war pension statement to his mother dated January 1917, states Pte Winter as 5th Battalion, late 2/7th Battalion, but his official records state he served and died with the 7th Battalion.

Unlike many unfortunate men during the August Offensive, Pte Winter’s body received a burial at Brown’s Dip Cemetery in 1915. His father, Andrew was notified in January 1920 of the location and received a photograph of the grave. In April 1923, Pte Winter’s remains were exhumed and interred at Lone Pine Cemetery, Plot 3, Row B, Grave 37, his headstone engraved with a personal inscription: ‘So dearly loved, so sadly missed’. As next of kin, Andrew received his son’s medals and memorials including a copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.

Henry Wise

Henry Wise, a 25-year-old driver, enlisted on 18 January 1915. His parents, James and Fanny, were deceased; his only sibling was his sister Mrs Alice Drayton, who became his next of kin. According to his Attestation, he displayed two facial scars: one on the right cheek, the other to the left of his nose.

Allocated to the 5th Reinforcements, 14th Battalion, he served as a private,

shipping out on the *Hororata* on 17 April 1915. Once in Egypt he joined the MEF on 9 July 1915, serving at Gallipoli until he was reported missing on 8 August 1915.

During the intervening months Alice had been notified of her brother's disappearance. By early November 1915, Alice had written to Base Records having heard nothing further regarding her brother's wellbeing:

I thought perhaps there may be some-thing over looked, if there is any way in which you could make further inquiries concerning him I would be very grateful as he is my only brother & when they are reported missing one does not know what to think hoping you will do all possible to get further information & inform me of same [sic].'

Base Records could only confirm Pte Wise's disappearance on 8 November 1915 and assure Alice 'The American Ambassador at Constantinople has ... the matter in hand.' Solving the fate of Pte Wise, missing for months, fell to a Court of Enquiry held on 28 April 1916.

In preparation for the Inquiry, testimony was collected from soldiers of the 14th Battalion. Private Joseph Webb knew Pte Wise personally serving with him in the same platoon. In November 1915, he reported 'Wise took part in the charge against Hill 971 on August 8th and never returned'. Pte Albert Cunningham confirmed Pte Wise died on the Sunday morning at Hill 971, hit by shrapnel. He also claimed to be present when Pte Wise was buried on the night of the 8 August, at Hill 971.

The Court of Enquiry officially recorded Pte Wise, aged 26, as 'Killed in Action' on 8 August at the Gallipoli Peninsula. His name appears in the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* 'Roll of Honor [sic]' on 8 September 1916 as killed.

The Graves Services Unit searched for Pte Wise's grave after the war without success, perhaps spurred on by Pte Cunningham's assertion of his burial near Hill 971. Having not recovered Pte Wise's body, Base Records Deceased Section requested any personal information from Alice that may shed light on his death. She replied by enclosing a letter she advised contained 'all the information that I have

been able to receive concerning my Brother's death [sic].’ In this reply Alice refers to a Private Webb, requesting his address so that she could contact him. It is highly likely this was Pte Joseph Webb. Whether Alice had received a copy of his testimony or other personal correspondence is unknown, as per her request, the letter was returned to her and no copy maintained on file.

Alice, the last living member of her family, received Pte Wise's belongings in September 1916 consisting of a pipe, damaged mirror, penholder, purse, armlet, badges, hairbrush, and an Australia insignia and numeral. She would also receive his memorials including the British War Medal, 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, and Memorial Plaque between 1921 and 1922.

Today Private Wise is commemorated on Panel 43 of the Lone Pine Memorial at Gallipoli with other men of the 14th Battalion. Both he and Sgt Chippendall served in the 5/14th Battalion, dying on the same date of the August Offensive when the Australian 4th Infantry took heavy casualties in the failed attempt on Abdel Rahman Bair and Hill 971. Somewhere in the ground near Hill 971 may still lay the mortal remains of a beloved brother and Brunswick soldier of the 14th Battalion, ANZAC Corps.

Christopher James Leyden

Christopher Leyden was an unmarried 21 year old when he enlisted on 5 January 1915. Born in Carlton, he listed his occupation as ‘telephone cable joiner’ and religion as Roman Catholic. His parents, father James and mother Catherine, resided in Brunswick. As Base Records noted after the war, he ‘enlisted, fought and died’ under the name James Leyden.

Allotted to 4th Reinforcements, 14th Battalion as a private, he was stationed at Broadmeadows before shipping overseas on 20 March 1915 aboard the *Shropshire*. He served at Gallipoli during the August Offensive when, as part of the 2nd Infantry, the 14th Battalion attempted to take Hill 971. On the 8 August, he went missing.

The first correspondence ascertaining to the whereabouts of Pte Leyden dates to

13 August 1915. Hoffman Philip, on behalf of the Embassy of the United States of American in Constantinople (Istanbul) wrote to the Honourable Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador at London of the death of a Pte J. L Fyden of wounds at Gulhane Hospital, Constantinople on 11 August. This was in fact Pte Leyden, whose body:

Was escorted to the International Cemetery at Ferikeuy [Feriköi], Constantinople, on the 12th instant [August] by a Turkish military detachment. The funeral service was conducted by the Reverend Robert Few, D.D., of the Scotch Presbyterian Mission, in the presence of a representative of the American Consul General.

In turn, on 2 September 1915, the American Ambassador contacted 'His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs', London, advising of the death of Pte Leyden, and that Turkish authorities were in possession of his personal effects. The Australian military authorities in Egypt learnt of Pte Leyden's death on 10 September. Further correspondence confirmed Pte Leyden as having died of wounds on 11 August and corrected the earlier error in the spelling of his name.

It is unknown when the Leyden family became aware their son had disappeared or died. However, Catherine received a letter from Base Records on 5 November 1915 informing her of the return of her son's personal effects consisting of his identification disc, scapular (a Catholic devotional item), and a small book. The letter refers to Pte Leyden dying on 11 August and his subsequent burial in Constantinople, and may well have been the first notification the family received regarding his death. A further package of personal effects consisting of a writing case, two books and a razor strop (a strip of leather for sharpening a razor) were returned in May 1916.

In response to Pte Leyden's status as 'missing 7 August 1915', the Red Cross began collecting testimony as to the whereabouts of the soldier. Although the Red Cross were aware by at least December 1915 that Pte Leyden had died in

Constantinople, they continued to investigate leads. One soldier testimony, from Private Frank Scholes was collected in February 1916. Pte Scholes was ‘positive Leydon was killed’ by a bullet, a mere 15 yards (13.7 metres) from him, on 7 August at Suvla Bay while advancing on Hill 971.

After the war in 1919, an extract account of the events of 8 August surfaced from Pte Patrick ‘Sailor’ O’Connor, D Company, 14th Battalion. He was a fellow Brunswick enlistee and prisoner of war who survived capture in Turkey. Taken prisoner on 8 August 1915 at Anafarta (Gallipoli), he recalled seeing a number of soldiers seized by the Turks who later died, including a Pte Hennessey and Pte Barney Woods, as well as Pte Leyden who he emphatically recalled was ‘wounded in the head and also DIED that night [sic].’

Pte O’Connor’s file contains a handwritten, personal account of 8 August that provides an insight as to how men died and survived on the peninsula. This is an unverified account but reflects a common idea amongst Australian POWs observed by Charles Bean, that without the interference of Turkish or German officers men would be killed and not taken prisoner. Pte O’Connor claimed he was shot in the ankle on 8 August at the same location where Sergeant Chippendall and Pte Wise died and left behind to ‘marauding’ Turkish soldiers who looted and killed the survivors. Battered by a soldier who tried to kill him with a rock, he passed out, only to come to when a German officer prevented his execution by another band of Turkish troops.

Passed in to Turkish hands, denied treatment and left for dead, ‘an Armenian in the uniform of the Turkish Red Crescent’ attended him and he was eventually taken to a dressing station behind the Turkish line where he observed other wounded Australians as recounted, including Pte Leyden. Taken to Istanbul, Pte O’Connor survived his ordeal.

Pte Leyden would not have been transported to Istanbul had he died the night of 8 August as Pte O’Connor suggested. Instead, Pte Leyden survived at least three days in Istanbul, succumbing to his wounds on 11 August 1915, aged 21.

After the war, the Leyden family received all of Pte Leyden’s memorials due to

him including the 1914-15 Star. In March 1922, Base Records wrote to James regarding the inscription the family wished to have on their son's grave, as it exceeded the word limit enforced by the War Graves Commission. The original inscription reflects the sentiment of many enlistees who believed the war was a fight against tyranny: 'I willingly gave my life for the rights of the oppressed. 1775 Christopher James Leyden, 14th Bn. Native of the State of Victoria, Australia. R.I.P.' A photo of the grave was supplied to the family, recording the burial site as 'Fari Keny' Protestant Cemetery, Constantinople.

In May 1922, Base Records wrote in reply to a letter from the Leyden family addressing concerns over the choice of a Protestant cemetery as a burial site for their son. Base Records assured the family that 'although it is designated Protestant, there are apparently burial of other religions' as occurred at other cemeteries in Constantinople. The reply concluded, 'in the circumstances, it is thought that the next-of-kin would probably feel that exhumation is not necessary'.

However, by 1931 the Imperial War Graves Commission deemed it 'necessary' to remove all war graves from 'Feri-Keuy' Cemetery to Haidar Pasha Cemetery, Constantinople, a site granted to the British in 1855 containing Crimean and First World War burials. Pte Leyden was reinterred in Plot A2, Row H, Grave 9, Stone No. 408, with a permanent headstone engraved with full regimental details and epitaph that maintained the families earlier sentiments: 'Willingly gave his life that others might live in freedom. R.I.P.'

William Reburn

William Reburn, born in the nearby suburb of Collingwood, was 32 years old when he volunteered on 11 September 1914. He lived in Clifton Hill with his wife, Selina and daughter, Ethel, while his widowed mother, Margaret lived in Brunswick, his father John having died in 1908. A labourer by trade working in the Newport workshops powerhouse, Reburn displayed tattoos on both forearms. He was the eldest brother of two other serving Brunswick enlistees, Albert Ernest

Reaburn and John Aitken Reaburn, and a sister, Mrs Jennie Lacey, who died in October 1915. Reaburn is one of only five Brunswick men on the Honour Board to have recorded a civil conviction on their Attestation form, in this instance for obscene language.

Reaburn served with B Company, 5th Battalion as a private, embarking for Egypt on 21 October 1914 aboard the *Orvieta*. While stationed at Mena Camp, Pte Reaburn's larrikinism got the better of him. On Boxing Day 1914, he was charged with being 'absent without leave from Reveille [morning] roll call and breaking into camp', receiving three days and three hours of drill punishment, and losing ten days leave. Some months later on 25 March 1915, Pte Reaburn offended again. Charged with obscene language, 'inciting to resist to arrest', and resisting arrest he received 144 hours detention. Despite these indiscretions, the military authorities considered his character 'good'.

Embarking for the peninsula on 5 April, Pte Reaburn would have been part of the Landing on 25 April. His time at Gallipoli attracted the attention of his superiors who promoted him to lance corporal on 11 August and then corporal on 12 August. Shortly after receiving his new rank, Corporal Reaburn died in action, aged 33, sometime around the 14-15 August 1915.

There is no testimony on file as to how or where Cpl Reaburn died. His body was recovered along with £4-1-6 subsequently 'paid into Regimental fund and being used to pay Battalion [sic]', received a burial in Browns Dip North Cemetery. On 9 August, the 7th Battalion had defended the southern portion of 400 Plateau (Lone Pine) from Sasses' Gap to Jacob's Trench just in front of Cooe Gully. The 5th Battalion relieved the 7th at this time and by the following day, the Allies had lost the August Offensive and set about consolidating their positions.

The Australians held a broken front across 400 Plateau on 12 August. Immediately behind Lone Pine is Brown's Dip, the location of Cpl Reaburn's burial. Given the position of the 5th on the date Cpl Reaburn died it is highly likely he was killed in an Australian-held trench at Lone Pine and taken behind the ANZAC line to Brown's Dip Cemetery.

Although communicated as early as 5 September, an official cable confirming Cpl Reaburn's death was not received until 14 October 1915. A death notice appears in the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* on 19 October for a man 'well respected in Brunswick.'

By December 1915, Selina was inquiring to Base Records for the personal effects of her late husband, including his pay book as a 'keep sake':

I loved my husband and I parted with him to do his duty for King and Country and I would like his pay book as it was the last thing he handled. I know I am asking a lot but if you would grant me that wish I would be so thankful to you for it so hoping you will think it over as I have not got anything belonging to him [sic].

Base Records replied that as pay books belonged to the Department of Defence it could not be handed on to next of kin, and they had not received any items so far but would forward his effects promptly. Three packages of personal effects arrived in May 1916 while Selina was holidaying in Sydney. Her mother, Mary Stevenson, took receipt of the parcels containing his service disc, three wallets, two purses, beads, watchcase and watch, a tin, postcards, notebook, and a chain. Selina wrote to Base Records from Marrickville to thank them for the items. However, it would take longer for Base Records to inform Selina of the location of her husband's grave.

In January 1920, Selina learnt that Cpl Reaburn was buried at Brown's Dip North Cemetery. In April 1923, Base Records informed Selina that Cpl Reaburn's body had been reinterred at Lone Pine Cemetery, Plot 3, Row B, Grave 4. His headstone inscription reads, 'In loving memory of my dear husband & loving father of Ethel.' In time Selina, now living in Brunswick, received a photo of the grave, along with the Memorial Scroll, 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, and British War Medal. In 1967, daughter Ethel applied for the Anzac Medal of her late father.

It is unknown how many men served in the AIF with criminal records, regardless of the severity of their crimes while civilians. Many simply enlisted without

disclosing their civil offences and then served as courageous soldiers, while others were shirkers or ‘hard case’ criminals recording their offenses on their service records and even facing civilian courts while serving in the AIF.

While the larrikin character is part of the modern myth of ANZAC, in 1915 ‘larrikin’ was an insulting moniker akin to ‘hooligan’ and often associated with rough, inner-city working class youth and gangs (pushes) from suburbs like Brunswick, South Melbourne, Fitzroy, Richmond and Collingwood. Indiscipline, a major headache for the military authorities, included absenteeism and desertion, contracting venereal disease, rioting, striking, or abusing commanding officers.

Incidentally, the larrikin streak was not isolated to Cpl Reaburn. Brothers Albert Ernest and John Aitken Reaburn committed a number of offenses while serving in the AIF. In particular, John, who enlisted under the name John Wilson Reaburn, served from 1914 to 1919 accruing pages of offenses that culminated in a Courts-Martial for desertion in 1918. Facing 10 years ‘penal servitude’, his sentence was reduced to two years served in French and Welsh prisons, finally returning to Australia in 1919. Both Reaburn brothers’ names also appear on the Brunswick Memorial Foyer Nominal Roll, Albert’s surname misspelt as ‘Raeburn’.

Some men offended in uniform because they did not submit to military discipline. However, Cpl Reaburn represents the larrikin character modern Australians have embraced as part of the ANZAC myth; a beloved family man who had once faced the civil court and challenged military discipline in Egypt, yet rose up the ranks before dying in the First World War at Gallipoli.

William Frederick Roberts

William Roberts enlisted on 6 July 1915. His service with the AIF was restricted entirely to Australia becoming one of many soldiers whose death occurred due to disease rather than combat. Born in Jeetho, north-west of Korumburra, Victoria, Roberts had previous military experience with the 60th Infantry citizen forces in Carlton. This was the second time the 19 year-old labourer had enlisted, being previously rejected due to his height, standing a mere 5ft 2in tall (157.5cm). Perhaps a consequence of his trade, he had distinctive scars at the base of his 1st and 2nd finger on the right hand.

As he was under the age of 21, he required parental consent to serve. His parents, William and Edith signed a simple piece of paper for his enlistment that read, ‘we



Figure 23: Grave of Cpl William Roberts in Coburg Cemetery. Personal collection.

hereby consent to our son William Frederick volunteering with the Australian expeditionary forces for active service abroad [sic].’

Initially accepted as a private on 6 July 1915, Roberts gained the rank of Corporal while serving with H Company, Depot Battalion at the Show Grounds, Flemington. Admitted to the Alfred Hospital in mid-August he lasted only six days before succumbing to cerebral spinal meningitis on 21 August, the same disease that took the life of Private Robert Byrne.

The family received his body and interred him in Coburg Cemetery on 24 August 1915 (Methodist Compartment, Section A, No. 569). As Cpl Roberts had not served in a ‘theatre of war’, his family were unable to receive any service medals. However, they did receive the Memorial Plaque, Memorial Scroll, and a copy of *Where the Australian’s Rest*.

Robert Carter

Robert Carter was 24 years-old when he enlisted on 4 November 1914. Born in Coleraine, Victoria, Carter listed his occupation as labourer, and sported a distinctive scar on the outside of his right leg above the ankle. His family consisted of at least one sister, Mrs Agnes Woolley, and two older brothers, John, and Gordon who enlisted on the 22 August serving with the 5th Battalion at Gallipoli and in Europe before returning to Australia in 1919. His mother, Mary was next of kin, but she died in 1915.

Allocated to the 2nd Reinforcements, 8th Battalion as a private while serving in Australia, he later transferred to C Company, 5th Battalion, perhaps to serve with his brother Gordon. There is no information relating to Pte Carter’s service with the AIF until 22 August when he received a gunshot wound. Two days later he died of wounds aboard the Hospital Ship *Nevaska* while at sea on 24 August 1915, aged 25, his body consigned to the water. Today his name is memorialised on Panel 24 of the Lone Pine Memorial.

Exactly how and where Pte Carter was wounded is unknown. The failure of the

August Offensive had left the Allied soldiers to consolidate and defend their positions, particularly at Lone Pine, and it is likely this is where Pte Carter was shot. By the 23 August, all major offensives had run their course excepting for an attempt to take Hill 60 in late August. No known Brunswick men were involved in this offensive. The Turks were now in a commanding position and viewed the attacks as having 'had no effect except the shedding of blood'. Major-General Alexander Godley described the meagre Allied gains as 'five hundred acres of bad grazing ground'. In total 45,000 Allied soldiers were killed, wounded or went missing; almost half the casualties (21,500) were recorded between the 6-10 August. There would be no more major offensives at Gallipoli.

News of the death of Pte Carter reached his sister, Agnes on 29 November 1915 via Base Records:

I am directed to convey to you the deep sympathy of Their Majesties The King & Queen, and the Commonwealth Government, in the loss you and the Army have sustained through the death of your brother. Your consolation, however, should be the fact that he has given his life in the cause of his King and Country.

Pte Carter's personal effects arrived in Australia in February 1916, consisting of his service disc, belt, and ten coins.

In 1920, John, listed as next of kin as eldest surviving brother, wrote to Base Records regarding the distribution of memorials:

Those two brothers [Robert and Gordon] faced Death & they pledged their word to one & the other if there was a survivor one was to gain the Benefit of the other & private Gordon came through almost an invader & with the War gratuity it Belongs to that Boy without a doubt his father & mother is dead & the Survivors are his Brothers and married Sisters [sic].

Base Records replied noting that Gordon would ‘receive the same medals for his services’ and proposed to John if he would ‘like those of the dead soldier as mementos of this supreme sacrifice.’ Later correspondence indicates Gordon lived with John at Coleraine, with both brothers signing for receipt of Pte Carter’s 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, British War Medal, and Memorial Plaque and Scroll.

CONSOLIDATION: 28 AUGUST -18 DECEMBER 1915

William Frederick Alfred Terry

William Terry signed his Attestation form for the AIF on 13 July 1915. Born in Bendigo, the 25 year-old labourer would succumb to disease less than two months after volunteering; like William Roberts, becoming a victim of cerebrospinal meningitis.

William’s family consisted of his father, Fred, mother, Maria, a younger brother, Smedley, and at least one sister, Mary, who lived in East Brunswick. Smedley Joseph John Terry enlisted in August 1914 and died in action at Gallipoli in August 1915. His name does not appear on the Brunswick Honour Board as he was associated with the township of Drouin.

Initially stationed at Seymour military camp with 81 Company, William Terry was admitted to the Alfred Hospital in Melbourne and, according to this ‘Medical Certificate of Death’, died on 1 September 1915. The Department of Defence received notification from the 3rd Military District on 3 September, advising that William had passed away on 2 September and that the family had made arrangements to inter his body at Coburg Cemetery. His grave is located only two plots north of William Roberts in the Methodist Compartment, Section A, No. 566.

Perhaps a result of the confusion of transferring a sick soldier from a military camp to hospital in Melbourne, William was posted as a deserter. Until the Seymour military officials learnt of his death, in February 1916, ‘no action was taken to strike him off the strength of his unit as deceased.’

Although William's file is quite sparse on documents, his brother Smedley's record contains a number of items relevant to Terry's service. One such item is a letter written by Reverend B. T. Syer on behalf of Maria, requesting the return of any personal items belonging to both her sons. Smedley's items were delivered to her in due course via military channels, whereas William's belongings, including a notebook his mother knew him to possess, would be retained by the Alfred Hospital. Base Records made contact with the Alfred, but whether such personal items were returned is not recorded on file.

After losing her two sons in 1915, death stuck the Terry family once more in October 1918 when Fred passed away in the Melbourne Hospital. By 1920, Maria was residing with her daughter, Mary in East Brunswick. Whether William himself had any actual association with Brunswick beyond his sister, and later his mother's residency in the suburb, is unknown. However, given he was buried at Coburg Cemetery it is likely he lived in the nearby area.

In 1923, Maria claimed the only memorials her son was entitled to having not served in a 'theatre of war'. They included the Memorial Scroll, Memorial Plaque and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.



Figure 24: Grave of William Terry, Coburg Cemetery. Personal collection.

Henry Albert Withers

Henry Withers had turned eighteen only three months before he volunteered for service on 19 February 1915 as a private. A labourer by trade, his mother Margaret gave him permission to 'join the Expeditionary Force' signing the bottom of his Attestation Form. Margaret had remarried under the surname Hardie, his father having died around 1904. Although he just met the minimum standard age for enlistment of 18 years, he was actually under the height limit of 5ft 6in, standing 5ft 4¼in tall (163.2cm) but his service was accepted by the AIF. Beside vaccination marks, his medical examination identified a scar on the right shin, and a scar on the upper lip.

Allotted to B Company, 23rd Battalion and stationed at Broadmeadows from 29 March 1915, Pte Withers embarked for Egypt on 8 May aboard the *Euripides*. On 30 August 1915 he joined the MEF at Gallipoli and a few days later on 2 September was listed as 'killed in action' on board the steamer H.M.T *Southland* near Mudros.

There are no exact details on file as to how Pte Withers died, but a series of articles published in the *Argus* in November and the Charles Bean history of the war reveal the events that claimed Pte Withers and other soldier's lives.

Troop ships carrying soldiers to Gallipoli approached the peninsula via Mudros Island, some 96 kilometres east of Turkey. On 2 September 1915, General Legge, and his staff along with one company of the 23rd Battalion including Pte Withers, and soldiers of the 21st Battalion and 'British artillery and yeomanry' (approximately 1,500 men) were aboard the H.M.T *Southland*. At 9.43am, as soldiers were preparing to drill, the ship came under torpedo attack from a submarine south of Mudros Bay. German submarines caused much anxiety for the shipping of troops, the wounded, and supplies during the Gallipoli offensive. Although the sub

involved remains unidentified, it would certainly have been of German origin.

Two torpedos were launched at the *Southland*: the first found its target, while the second one missed. The resulting explosion blew a hole in the ship 40x12ft (12x3.5m) killing several men and causing the ship to list to the starboard (left) and ‘by the head’, flooding the forehold and upper troop-deck. Most of the men abandoned ship by 11.30am although a number of casualties occurred when two lifeboats overturned or men jumped in to the water from the deck.

A small company of six officers and thirteen volunteers stayed aboard the stricken vessel to stoke the engines and guide her to Mudros Harbour. Pte Withers was not a member of this group of men. Those who made it to the lifeboats, some of which were overcrowded, or remained in the water, faced a three-hour wait for help. Thirty-two men died, mostly drowned.

While there was no account of Pte Withers’ death on his file, he either died on board the ship when struck by the torpedo or at sea during the wait for rescue. His body was recovered and buried at Mudros. The Australians were hailed as heroes for their calmness, organisation and stoicism in the face of danger, the *Argus* reporting ‘if Australia has ever had occasion to be proud of her young men, the occasion was the attack upon the *Southland* [sic]’.

Back in Australia, Margaret would wait until 15 December before receiving

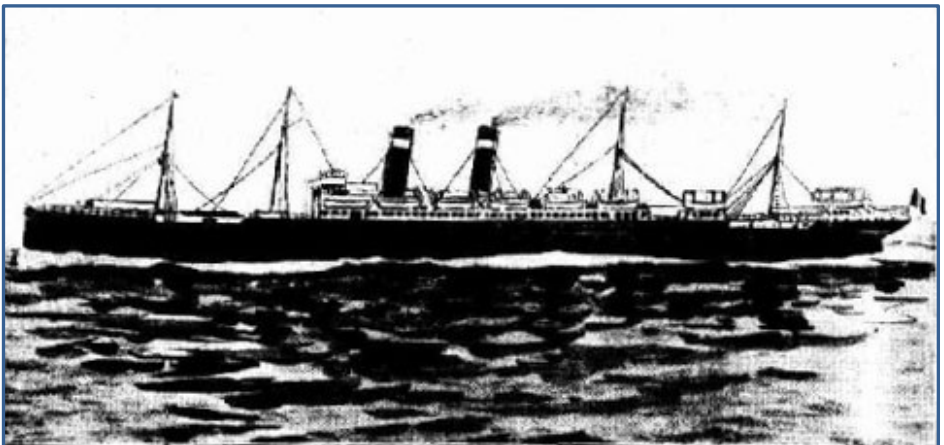


Figure 25: Photograph of the *Southland*. *The Argus* 23 November 1915, p.5.

confirmation of her son's death, and until October 1919 to learn he was buried in Mudros. His personal effects eventually reached home in June 1916, consisting of two pipes, one brush, and two merchant guild books.

A photo of Pte Withers' grave sent to the family after the war records the grave location as Mudros East Cemetery, Lemnos, Plot 2, Row M, Grave 218. While a copy of the photograph is not present on Pte Withers' file, it must have caused some anxiety to Margaret. Correspondence from the Australian Graves Services refers to a temporary cross erected on the grave being incorrectly marked 'Pte. A. Whitey'. The Graves Service Unit promised that 'Pte. Withers' particulars will be correctly shewn [sic] on the permanent headstone which will ultimately mark the grave'.

Margaret received her son's memorials including the 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll, and Memorial Plaque in the years after the war. According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and the Australian War Memorial, Pte Withers died at the age of 17. The cross above his grave did receive a permanent marker bearing an inscription chosen by the family that reads, 'His name is written in letters of gold in the hearts he left at home'.

CONSOLIDATION: 28 AUGUST -18 DECEMBER 1915

James Redmond Gilbert

James Gilbert worked as a labourer before he volunteered with the AIF on 23 January 1915. Born in the town of Bright, the 29-year-old had no wife or dependents and no previous military experience. The medical examiner noted two distinctive marks: a scar on the right elbow and another on the left side of his chin. His parents, Stephen and Ellen were marked as 'deceased' on his enlistment form, his sister Eleanor becoming his next of kin.

After enlisting, Gilbert joined the 5th Reinforcements, 2nd Battalion as a private, embarking on the *Hororata* on 10 April 1915 and joining the 2nd Battalion at Gallipoli on 9 July 1915. One month later, on 8 August he received a shrapnel

wound to the left side of the abdomen and on the 12 August was evacuated to Alexandria. No official medical report is contained on Pte Gilbert's service history but his wound did not heal and by 2 October, he was in the 1st Australian General Hospital, Cairo. Three days later on 5 October, he died of his wounds received in action and a resulting lung infection (empyema), aged 30. On the same day, his body received burial in the Cairo British Cemetery, later the Cairo War Memorial Cemetery, Row M, Grave 75, Headstone No. 1003.

Establishing where on the battlefield Pte Gilbert was likely to have been wounded is based on the movement of the 2nd Battalion on 8 August. The 2nd were engaging the Turks in the southern portion of Lone Pine between Wood's Post and Pain's Post, sustaining a high casualty rate of 74% of their officers and men. According to historian David Cameron, 'many of the wounded who managed to walk out of the Pine were not included in the casualty list, nor did such lists take into account the psychological scarring that many would carry for life.' The death of Pte Gilbert, months after the offensive, represents the last known Brunswick casualty to die because of the August Offensive (excluding those who would carry the scars of war).



Figure 26: Newspaper photograph of Pte Gilbert prior to enlisting c.1915. AWM P09848.001

Official notice of Pte Gilbert's death reached military authorities on 7 October 1915 but when the family learnt of their son's death is unknown. The following year, three consignments containing the effects of Pte Gilbert returned to Australia in May and October 1916. Eleanor took possession of the items consisting of his service disc, razor and shaving brush, papers, tin with certificate, face cloth, mosquito net,

brush, letters, cards, and 'notes of law'.

After the war, Base Records prepared to distribute Pte Gilbert's memorials. Despite having two brothers, Edward and Charles, who was a 'wanderer in other states ... and his whereabouts are unknown', Eleanor took custody of his war medals 'under bond'. She signed consent that should another eligible claimant come forward, all items would be return to the Department of Defence.

A photograph of Pte Gilbert's grave was also forwarded to Eleanor. In 1931, Base Records wrote to Eleanor noting the incorrect details of her brother listed on Cairo War Memorial Cemetery register as 'Richmond', not 'Raymond'. The error was corrected in time and today a simple cross without personal inscription marks the grave.

Garnet Albert Roy Brooks

Garnet Brooks had been an apprentice with Hugo Erickson, watchmaker, 520 Sydney Road in Brunswick, Melbourne for 18 months, classifying himself as a watchmaker on his enlistment at the young age of 18 years 4 months. A native of Hopetoun, Victoria, Brooks lacked military training but he was a member of the Brunswick Harriers, a group of amateur runners, coming 3rd in a 5 mile (8 km) preparation run through Brunswick in July 1914. His family consisted of his parents James and Emma, and three known siblings, Arthur, Daisy and Evelyn.

Due to his young age, James Brooks signed the bottom of the Attestation form when Garnet volunteered on 8 February 1915, stating plainly, 'I consent to my son joining the Expeditionary Force'. Allotted to the 22nd Battalion as a private on 1 May 1915, Pte Brooks embarked on the *Ulysses* on 8 May 1915. Pte Brooks remained in Zeitoun, Egypt with the 3rd Training Battalion until stuck off on 19 September 1915 to join 22nd Battalion at Anzac on 29 September 1915. Two weeks later, on 13 October Pte Brooks died in action and was buried at Shrapnel Gully on the same day, south-east of Anzac Cove.

The majority of Brunswick men served with Battalions of the 1st Australian

Division at Gallipoli. By September the majority of men were in such a bad condition that then British physician Lieutenant-Colonel James Purves-Stewart opined ‘they could no longer be regarded as first-class troops’ recommending they be rested from the frontline in Cairo or Alexandria. Meanwhile, in February 1915, the 2nd Australian Division was established by the Australian Government to supply Great Britain with more troops. Subsequently, the 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th Battalions of the 6th Infantry Brigade, 2nd Australian Division formed at Broadmeadows in March 1915.

The majority of the 22nd, including Pte Brooks, embarked on 8 May to relieve the 2nd Infantry Brigade (5th, 6th, 7th, 8th Battalions) on the ANZAC front at Gallipoli in September at Lone Pine. Each Battalion of the 6th Infantry, and 13th Light Horse who joined them, rotated every 48 hour on the ANZAC line. Allied artillery defences were increased but combat was limited primarily to sniping, scouting patrols and an underground war in which the Australians were digging saps to undermine Turkish positions, as well as construction of two ‘galleries’ 60ft (18m) deep through The Nek for troops to march.

The Turks responded with similar saps only 20-30 yards (18-27m), or closer, to the Australian line. On numerous occasions in September and October saps from both sides were broken in to resulting in hand-to-hand combat, the ‘firing’ of an enemy sap to destroy it, or the bombing of positions above ground from artillery batteries.

There is no testimony as to how or where Pte Brooks died as part of the 6th Infantry relieving forces described by Lieutenant-Colonel James Purves-Stewart as ‘of splendid physique, in the pink of condition, active and alert’. He almost certainly died at or near Lone Pine, his body recovered and buried at Shrapnel Gully.

It is unknown when the Brooks family learnt of their son’s death at Gallipoli. On 11 February Pte Brook’s death is listed on the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* ‘Roll of Honor [sic]’. Just over a week earlier, on 2 February, an anxious James wrote to Base Records enquiring about his son’s kit. Base Records replied that upon receipt of personal items in Australia any personal items would be forwarded as soon as

possible. In May and June of 1916, three packages arrived containing Pte Brooks' service disc, cards, photos, letters, knife, and fountain pen, watches, shoes, notebook, handkerchief, Testament and Gospel, hairbrush, and cigarette cards.

It was not until November 1919 that James receive notice that his son burial had taken place in Shrapnel Valley Cemetery, south-east of Anzac Cove, Plot 2, Row D, Grave 49. James received a photograph of the grave in 1921, whereupon he requested further copies that were duly forwarded to him. Shortly after, James received Pte Brooks' memorials including the 1914-15 Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Plaque, and Memorial Scroll.

At this time, Base Records wrote to James informing him that his son's grave would be inscribed with the regimental details and date of death, and could include a personal inscription limited to 66 letters. James requested an inscription on the cross that marks Pte Brook's final resting place at Shrapnel Valley Cemetery today: 'There is a chain, death cannot sever, fond memory clings for ever [sic].'

THE TURKISH BOMBARDMENT: 29 NOVEMBER 1915

Charles Vere Hamilton

Charles Hamilton served his time in the AIF as a private with B Company, 23rd Battalion. Born in Creswick he volunteered on 4 March 1915 at the age of 20, with two years of experience with the Senior Cadets; later transferring to the 60th Infantry in which he was still serving. He returned all of his equipment to the 60th excepting a waist belt for which he had one shilling deducted from this militia pay.

Previously, Pte Hamilton had been an apprentice for six years to his father, Charles V. Hamilton, listing his trade as 'painter'. Charles Snr signed his consent to his son joining the Expeditionary Force at the base of his Attestation form. During his medical examination, a distinctive scar was noted on Pte Hamilton's forehead and on the top of the left shoulder blade.

Initially stationed at Broadmeadows as a private, he embarked for the front on 10

May 1915 aboard the *Euripides*. Pte Hamilton's service at Gallipoli is unrecorded but the 23 Battalion were part of the 6th Brigade, formed in March 1915 and embarking to Turkey in September to support the exhausted and depleted 2nd



Figure 27: Undated studio photograph of Pte Hamilton complete with cigarette. His uniform is that of a cadet indicating the photo was taken prior to serving with the AIF. The photograph is incorrectly tagged on the AWM website as 'Lance-Corporal' C.V. Hamilton. AWMH06568.

Battalion. Alternating every day with the 24th, the 23rd Battalion operated in the Lone Pine sector until the Allies withdrew from Gallipoli in December.

It was here at Lone Pine that Pte Hamilton died on 29 November 1915. Although the exact circumstances of his death are unknown, Charles Bean recalls the events that undoubtedly claim Pte Hamilton's life as 'the first occasion upon which Australian infantry in trenches were subjected to heavy modern bombardment'. While preparing for the withdrawal from Gallipoli, the Allies had waged a 'Silent Battle'. At 9:10am on 29 November, the Turks ended the silence with a 2½-hour shelling of the ANZAC line from Russell's Top to Lone Pine with

heavy artillery howitzers obtained from Germany. Shells ranging from 8-12 inch calibre destroyed ANZAC trenches and saps designed to withstand bullets and field artillery, burying or blowing men to pieces. The 23rd lost eleven men with another

40 wounded; the 24th Battalion lost at least 22 men with over 50 wounded, many buried in what Bean describes as ‘shallow tunnels and dugouts ... [that] were a dangerous form of defence’.

Pte Hamilton’s body was buried at Browns Dip Cemetery on the day he died. Official notice of his death passed through military channels on 29 November 1915. A cable from Egypt to Australia dated 15 December confirmed his death. News of the death of Pte Hamilton appears to have reached Charles Snr around the 20 December when a note written on telegram pro-forma by a Colonel Hawker records: ‘Informed Father Private Hamiltons [sic] death new address one nought one Lygon Street, Brunswick’. The 60th Infantry Drill Hall, located in North Carlton, learnt of their former member’s death in August 1918.

Becoming concerned about the fate of his son, Charles Snr wrote to Base Records on 7 February 1916 for ‘further particulars concerning the death’ of his son, requesting ‘a fuller account of his Death if it is possible to get it [sic]’. Base Records promptly replied that ‘detailed circumstances of his death will not be known here until the receipt of the final official confirming document from the Front, and should any additional particulars be furnished therein you will be promptly advised of same.’

A few months late in May 1916, Base Records confirmed Pte Hamilton’s death and notified the family that he received burial at Browns Dip Cemetery. However, the news of Pte Hamilton’s resting place did not satisfy the family, who like many families, sought closure through the items their sons held while on service.

In early September, Charles Snr inquired about his son’s personal effects writing to both Base Records and Thomas Cook & Sons, who were commissioned to return war effects to Australia: ‘I will be much obliged to you if you can give me any information about my Lads Kit. I have waited a long time now as he was killed in Gallipoli on the 29 of November 1915.’ Base Records checked and nothing of Pte Hamilton’s effects had been returned to Australia at that time.

Charles Snr enquired again of his son’s effects in March 1917, noting that ‘his mate C.R.J. Richardson no 435 says he gave some of his things to the Officer. I do

not expect to get any thing of value to others but it is hard that I have not got any small thing belonging to him as others have [sic].’ Again, no personal items were forthcoming and it appears that nothing of Pte Hamilton’s personal or military kit came back to Australia from Gallipoli. Pte Clyde Reginald James Richardson did serve at Gallipoli. His service record indicates he was writing to Charles while laid up in an English Hospital in 1917. He was invalided to Australia in July of that year.

No further correspondence occurred between Charles Snr and Base Records until after the war when with the distribution of Pte Hamilton’s memorials. Charles Snr also received three photographs of the grave in Brown’s Dip Cemetery in 1921, and almost immediately requested a further twelve copies, which were supplied in March 1922.

The following year Pte Hamilton’s body was exhumed for reburial in Lone Pine Cemetery. His grave, marked with a cross, is located in Plot 1, Row E, Grave 6. It is likely the family received a photograph of Pte Hamilton’s final resting place marked by a cross on which is inscribed: ‘Died the way he wished, to die for his country.’

Richard Hugh Thompson

Richard Thompson, a 23 year-old labourer, was born in Brunswick, volunteering on 17 March 1915 and serving with A Company, 24th Battalion as a private. He was unmarried with no previous military experience. The medical examiner noted a number of distinctive scars on the forefinger of his right hand, forefinger and thumb of the left hand, and on his left knee and right leg. Pte Thompson’s father had died around 1913, and his widowed mother, Annie was his next of kin.

Private Thompson embarked for the war on the *Euripides* on 8 May 1915, joining the MEF at Gallipoli on 30 August 1915. On 29 November 1915, Pte Thompson went missing. A subsequent Board of Enquiry held 21 January 1916 at Tel-el-Kebir, Egypt, would establish how this young soldier died.

Testimony on Pte Thompson’s file indicates he was not alone in a tragedy that

claimed the lives of at least twelve members of the 24th Battalion at a single location at Lone Pine that included six soldiers from A Company, five from B Company, and one from D Company. Those soldiers were Pte Thompson, Pte R. Ellis, Lance Corporal Duncan, Pte W. Werner, Pte W. Deam, Pte H. Ferguson, Pte A. Armstrong, Pte R. Beason, Pte A MacBeth, Pte D. Cousins, Pte H. Jackson, and Pte R. Rothery.

Five witnesses fronted the Board to give their account of the events. Company Sergeant-Major Leslie Craig (A Company) recalled that Pte Thompson, Pte Ellis, L/Cpl Duncan, Pte Werner, Pte Dean, and Pte Ferguson had joined D Company from A Company on 29 November at Lone Pine. Two days later, he could not account for, nor locate the men, believing they 'were buried by the explosion of shells during the bombardment'. Captain Francis Frawley also confirmed that Ptes Armstrong, Beason, MacBeth, Cousins, and Jackson had failed to appear after the bombardment and their bodies were not recovered. 2nd Lieutenant Charles Williams saw Pte Rothery at a site named Gum Lane, ordering him to the 'trenches' due to shelling of this location. Sergeant William Rankin encountered Pte Rothery at 9.30am at another position, White's Gully, believing he died later in the bombardment.

Pte Cecil Lousada (incorrectly recorded as Lonsada) gave his report of how he, a 2nd Lieutenant Fethers, Pte Thompson, Pte Ellis, L/Cpl Duncan, Pte Werner, Pte Dean, and Pte Ferguson had taken shelter in a location he referred to as 'Plateau Sap'. Within five minutes of 'blocking up' in the sap,

A shell burst burying Ptes. Ellis, Thompson, Werner, Dean Ferguson and partly burying Lance-Corporal Duncan. I ran out to the end of the tunnel about 15 yards to inform the Officers there. Mr. Williams then went and had a look for himself and told me to stop at the end of the tunnel with the other Officers. He then passed word for picks and shovels and they commenced to dig Lance-Corporal Duncan out. While I was assisting to dig out Lieut. Feathers, one of the men ran along and stated that another shell had burst completely burying Lance-Corporal Duncan and the men digging him out.

Two further testimonies on Pte Thompson's Red Cross file also corroborate that the man they knew as 'Bob' died in the bombardment, with Corporal Adrian Ball suggesting 'sixteen men from the battalion disappeared in this way'. The presiding officers of the Board of Enquiry concurred that the men, including Pte Thompson, aged 24, 'be struck off the strength of the 24th Battalion as "Killed in Action on 29th November, 1915"'. The Ottoman shelling of Lone Pine claimed 130 casualties including Brunswick volunteers Pte Charles Hamilton and Pte Richard Thompson, killed in trenches and saps that 'proved merely a dangerous trap'. This was the first occasion Australians had experience heavy shelling and confirmed fears that Turkey was being reinforced by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Confirmation of Pte Thompson's death reached military circles on 5 February 1916. Shortly after on the 9 February, Annie learnt of the fate of her son. A brief note on Pte Thompson's War Gratuity Schedule indicates that no personal effects were returned to Australia.

In 1920, distribution of the first medal, the 1914-15 Star, halted temporarily. Annie wrote to Base Records having not received the Star, asking bluntly, 'could you kindly inform us when we are likely to get it'. This prompted Base Records to question the whereabouts of Pte Thompson's father, as deceased soldiers' estates were distributed firstly to the father then mother. Annie replied that her husband had died seven years earlier and she was next of kin having 'received everything belonging to the late soldier', perhaps in reference to correspondences regarding her late son. In time, she received the Star, British War Medal, Victory Medal, Memorial Scroll, Memorial Plaque, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.

The southern portion of 400 Plateau on the Sari Bair Range is as synonymous with Australians as Lone Pine. The memorial at this site records the name of Pte Thompson on Panel 67 alongside his fellow 24th Battalion soldiers who died in the Gallipoli campaign. Located nearby in the same ground is his body, one of twelve soldiers who died together as the Gallipoli campaign took a new turn with heavy artillery bombardments.

Henry Ernest Henderson

Henry Henderson is the last known Brunswick soldier to die in 1915, and at Gallipoli. At the age of 22 and with no previous military experience, he volunteered on 1 March 1915. Born in nearby Fitzroy, Henderson had been apprenticed for five years to his brother Robert, who ran a shirt manufacturing business in Brunswick, listing his trade as ‘shirt cutter’. An advertisement for R.J. Henderson, located at 136 Brunswick Road West, reads: ‘manufacturers of fashion shirts, tennis, Harvards, Regattas, Oxford, Crimean, flannels and pyjamas: sole manufacturers of the famous Navy Shirt.’ The rest of his family comprised his widowed mother, Jane (his next of kin), another brother William, and sister Mary; his father, Benjamin died in 1913.

During Henderson’s enlistment medical exam, three scars were noted, one under the chin, one on the centre of his forehead, and one on the left forefinger. Allotted to D Company, 23rd Battalion, 6th Infantry Brigade as a private, he embarked on the *Euripides* on 8 May. On 16 August, while stationed in Egypt, he received four days Field Punishment No. 2, one for each day he went ‘absent without leave’, returning to camp on 20 August. Pte Henderson received another admonishment on 13 November while serving at Gallipoli when charged 3 shillings, 5 pence for ‘replacing ground sheets’, an item of kit he appears to have lost or damaged. Even small indiscretions such as these could blot a soldier’s Active Service records.

A suspension of most military activity took place in late November with quiet periods without shooting to deceive the Turks in to believing the Allies were preparing for winter and reinforcing their lines while they were actually debating the evacuation. On 8 December, Lord Kitchener dispatched a telegram to Lieutenant General William Birdwood, commanding ANZAC corps, to commence evacuation of the peninsula. The 23rd Bn were still active at Lone Pine in the later stages of the Gallipoli offensive. It was here, on the 17 December 1915, and only one day before

the full withdrawal of soldiers from the ANZAC section began, Pte Henderson died 'in action'. There is no account of his death on file, and as the authorities did not list him as missing despite his body disappearing and therefore no later search took place by either the Red Cross or a Board of Enquiry.

Confirmation of Pte Henderson's death occurred on 18 December via the 23rd Bn but without a report of the event. Officials in Alexandria were also aware by 10 January 1916 of Pte Henderson's death. The family was made aware of the unfortunate circumstances of their son's passing soon after; his death listed on the *Brunswick & Coburg Star* 'Roll of Honor [sic]' published on 28 January. His obituary, under the name Pte Ernest Henderson, reads:

Killed in action on December 17 at Gallipoli, was well known in Brunswick. He was the youngest son of Mrs. Jane and the late Mr. Benjamin Henderson, and brother of Mr. Robert Henderson, shirt manufacturer, and William and Mary Henderson ... his death is deeply mourned.

After receiving the news of her late son, correspondence between Jane and Base Records only occurred in July 1916 regarding Pte Henderson's deferred pay and pension. Deferred pay was provisional on receipt of soldier's pay-books and statement of accounts from Egypt, which had yet to be returned to Australia. Jane did however, begin receiving a war pension 'as from' 14 March 1916 and between 1921 and 1922, took possession of Pte Henderson's memorials consisting of the 1914-15 Star, Victory Medal, British War Medal, Memorial Plaque, Memorial Scroll, and copy of *Where the Australians Rest*.

In 1967, Pte Henderson's sister, Mrs Mary Winstanley, the sole remaining member of her family, applied for the Gallipoli Medallion for both her brother, and late husband, Pte Leslie Winstanley whom she had married in 1919. She only received her husband's medal, and applied again in 1968 for her brother's memento.

Pte Henderson's death has gone almost unrecorded, overshadowed by the evacuation when military authorities forgot to account for the missing private. His body remains lost on the Gallipoli peninsula, perhaps buried in a sap or trench at Lone Pine. Today his name is commemorated at this location, on Panel 66 alongside his fellow 23rd Bn soldiers.

After withdrawing the majority of soldiers by 18 December 1915, on the

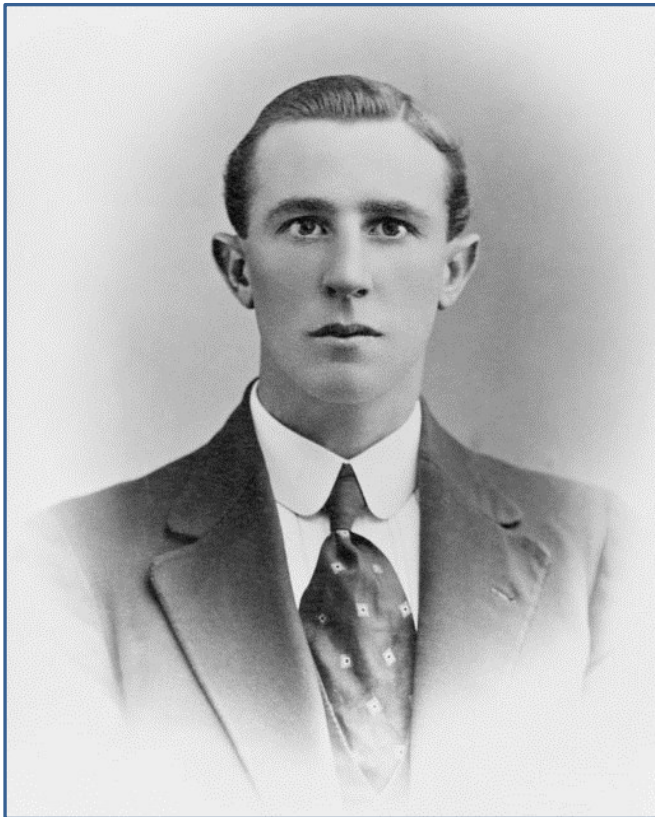


Figure 28: Undated portrait of Pte Henderson, the last known Brunswick soldier to die in 1915. AWM H06453.

following morning between 1:30-3:30am, the final three detachments of ANZACs withdrew from Turkish soil. The British forces remained behind in to January. The Brunswick volunteers would now serve with the Australia Imperial Force in Europe.

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Maps



Figure 29: Gallipoli Peninsula..

Brunswick Honour Roll 1915

Names in italic appear in this history.

Surname	First Name	Service No	Military Unit	Date of Death	How Died	Location
Aicher	William Ludwig	7		8/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>Balderson</i>	<i>Arthur Gordon</i>	<i>1319</i>	<i>2nd Brigade Australian Field Artillery Ammunition Column</i>	<i>10/05/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Balfe</i>	<i>Joseph Rupert</i>	<i>Lieutenant</i>	<i>6th Battalion</i>	<i>25/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
Beith	John Humphrey	78		12/07/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Boase	William Vernon	205		8/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>Brooks</i>	<i>Garnet</i>	<i>124</i>	<i>A Company, 22nd Battalion</i>	<i>16/10/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Byrne</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>2093</i>	<i>9th Australian Army Service Corps (Divisional Supply Column)</i>	<i>18/06/1915</i>	<i>DOD</i>	<i>England</i>
Cameron	Gordon Peter	88		12/07/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>Carter</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>1330/1350</i>	<i>C Company, 5th Battalion</i>	<i>24/08/1915</i>	<i>DOW</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Cavanagh</i>	<i>Alfred</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>A Squadron, 8th Light Horse</i>	<i>7/08/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Chippindall</i>	<i>Henry Dawson</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>5th Reinf., 14th Battalion</i>	<i>8/08/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Clifton</i>	<i>Frederick Charles</i>	<i>780</i>	<i>G Company, 6th Battalion</i>	<i>7/08/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
Coates	Thomas George	776		7/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Conroy	Thomas	48		20/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>Dale</i>	<i>Charles Coning</i>	<i>Lieutenant</i>	<i>C Squadron, 8th Light Horse</i>	<i>7/08/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Davis</i>	<i>Arnold Frederick</i>	<i>199</i>	<i>A Company, 7th Division</i>	<i>25/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
Dean	John Francis	88		11/08/1915	DOW	Gallipoli
<i>Denston</i>	<i>Harold</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>B Company, 7th Division</i>	<i>25/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
Docter	Francis	1935		25/11/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>Donnelly</i>	<i>William</i>	<i>1319</i>	<i>B Company, 3rd Battalion</i>	<i>28/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Dyer</i>	<i>Gilbert Beresford</i>	<i>1655</i>	<i>C Company, 14th Battalion</i>	<i>1/05/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Flockart</i>	<i>Robert Pearce</i>	<i>Major</i>	<i>B Company, 5th Battalion</i>	<i>15/07/1915</i>	<i>DOW</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Forster</i>	<i>Victor</i>	<i>984</i>	<i>A Company, 8th Battalion</i>	<i>6/08/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
Gagino	Harry	19		13/09/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>Gilbert</i>	<i>James Redmond</i>	<i>1948</i>	<i>5th Reinf., 2nd Battalion</i>	<i>5/10/1915</i>	<i>DOW</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Giles</i>	<i>George Leslie</i>	<i>1101</i>	<i>B Company, 6th Battalion</i>	<i>14/07/1915</i>	<i>DOW</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Gorrie</i>	<i>Edward</i>	<i>203</i>	<i>B Company, 6th Battalion</i>	<i>25/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Hamilton</i>	<i>Charles Vere</i>	<i>1044</i>	<i>B Company, 23rd Battalion</i>	<i>29/11/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Hart</i>	<i>Leslie</i>	<i>267</i>	<i>A Company, 7th Battalion</i>	<i>4/05/1915</i>	<i>DOW</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Henderson</i>	<i>Henry Ernest</i>	<i>738</i>	<i>D Company, 23rd Battalion</i>	<i>17/12/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
Hill	Bertie	247		7/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>Howard</i>	<i>Alfred</i>	<i>230</i>	<i>7th Battalion</i>	<i>8/05/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Johnston</i>	<i>David Norman</i>	<i>2250</i>	<i>C Company, 6th Battalion</i>	<i>25/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
Kerrigan	James	1563		8/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
<i>King</i>	<i>Hainsworth</i>	<i>239</i>	<i>7th Battalion</i>	<i>8/08/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Leonard</i>	<i>John Thomas</i>	<i>134</i>	<i>A Squadron, 8th Light Horse</i>	<i>30/05/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Leyden</i>	<i>James</i>	<i>1775</i>	<i>4th Reinf. 14 Battalion</i>	<i>11/08/1915</i>	<i>POW</i>	<i>Turkey</i>
Leyshon	George Alexander	181		7/05/1915	DOW	Gallipoli
<i>Long</i>	<i>Cuthbert Jones</i>	<i>469</i>	<i>B Company, 7th Battalion</i>	<i>25/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>Lovelock</i>	<i>George</i>	<i>2260</i>	<i>D Company, 6th Battalion</i>	<i>8/05/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>
<i>McDonald</i>	<i>Finlay John</i>	<i>127</i>	<i>A Company, 7th Division</i>	<i>25/04/1915</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>Gallipoli</i>

Surname	First Name	Service No	Military Unit	Date of Death	How Died	Location
McGillivray	James	247	B Company, 7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
McNamara	James	1849		8/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Norton	Alfred Joseph	253	A Company, 7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
O'Loghlen	Frank Anthony	85		16/09/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
O'Brien	William	37	A Company, 7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
O'Loughlin	George	828	C Company, 5th Battalion	26/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
O'Malley	Jeremiah Thomas	2279	B Company, 6th Battalion	13/07/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Page	Charles	979		8/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Paterson	Harold	1174	A Company, 6th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Pettis	Alfred James	1168	A Company, 7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Reaburn	William	1016	B Company, 5th Battalion	14/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Renshaw	Albert Edward	178	2nd Field Company Australian Engineers	26/04/1915	DOW	Gallipoli
Roberts	William Frederick	Depot	H Company, Depot Battalion	22/08/1915	DOD	Melbourne
Rowland	Herbert	262	B Company, 7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Simpson	Thomas Gordon	995		8/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Smith	Frederick Joseph	746		7/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Spencer	Claude	2029	D Company, 6th Battalion	8/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Sullivan	Raymond	268	A Company, 7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Terry	William Frederick Alfred	Depot	81 Company	1/09/1915	DOD	Melbourne
Thompson	Douglas William	638		20/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Thompson	Richard Hugh	297	A Company, 24 Battalion	29/11/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Wagner	Roy James	2047		7/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Walsh	Frederick Thomas	1579		22/07/1915	DOW	Malta
Warren	George	272	A Company, 7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Weir	George	1611	C Company, 6th Battalion	15/06/1915	KIA	At sea
Wilden	Arthur	194	7th Battalion	25/04/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Winter	Richard	2269	2nd Reinf., 7th Battalion	8/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Wise	Henry	2039	5th Reinf. 14 Battalion	8/08/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Withers	Henry Albert	476	B Company, 23rd Battalion	2/09/1915	KIA	Mudros
Wood	George William	511	D Company, 7th Battalion	8/05/1915	KIA	Gallipoli
Young	Albert Victor	276		22/05/1915	DOW	Alexandria

POW	Died as prisoner of war
DOD	Died of disease
DOW	Died of wounds
KA	Killed accidentally
KIA	Killed in action