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Once More on Chunuk Bair: The Anzacs Return to Gallipoli 1918-1919

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Abstract

There has been much said about almost every facet of the Gallipoli campaign. It has been an enduring favourite topic of many scholars, even more so with the 100th anniversary just passed. Every aspect of the military campaign has been scrutinised, the attitudes of the men analysed, and the decisions of the leadership criticised. It would seem at face-value, there is little left to add to the discussion surrounding Gallipoli. It has long been acknowledged that this battle saw New Zealand, alongside Australia, step on to the world stage as a separate entity to the British Empire – and thus Anzac became synonymous with Gallipoli. Anzac has come to stand for much more than just the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps; it is a spirit and tradition. This was readily recognised when, after the Armistice of Mudros, the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, NZEF and 7th Light Horse Regiment, AIF were chosen to return to the Dardanelles as a part of the wider occupation of Turkey. During this return to Gallipoli, the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse took part in a reconnaissance of the Peninsula, and the Canterbury Mounted Rifles worked to identify and rebury the dead from the 1915 battle. The reverence with which this was done, and the fascination these Anzacs displayed when they patrolled the old battleground - shown in the photographs captured during their stay - indicates just how significant Gallipoli has always been as a physical space and a memory. Immediately after the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse left, the Australian Historical Mission led by Charles Bean arrived. The images captured by this team help provide a broader context for those captured by the Canterbury Mounted Rifles. The words of journalist Ernest Peacock, embedded with the 7th Light Horse, similarly provide framework for the photographs, as well as giving some information as to how this return to Gallipoli was seen from the home fronts of New Zealand and Australia. The Anzacs' first pilgrimage to Gallipoli marked the beginning of a long-standing tradition that marks the birth of our nations.

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Introduction

The history of the First World War is well documented. Although those involved in the Great War have passed away, their stories continue to be retold in many formats, and modern communities in New Zealand and Australia are well aware of their forebears' roles in the conflict. There is an abundance of ever-expanding scholarship born of archives, both public and private, containing the stories and photographs of a conflict that ended almost 100 years ago. This scholarship has covered almost all facets of the Anzacs' role in the Great War, from Gallipoli to Le Quesnoy, and it has become increasingly difficult to find an untold story. However, the smallest incidents are sometimes overlooked, simply because they are overshadowed by the much larger events surrounding them.

With the Gallipoli centenary just passed, there seemed no better time to re-evaluate the well-known story of the Anzacs, and my own family's involvement in its telling. I am not alone in this endeavour, as interest in the First World War has peaked thanks in part to a level of engagement broadened by social media.¹ There is also evidence that awareness of Gallipoli has increased since the beginning of the centenary commemorations.²

I started by tracing the path of my great-grandfather as he served with the Canterbury Mounted Rifles [CMR] of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade through the war. Fortunately, (and as I suspect commonly), he had compiled a photograph album upon his return to Marlborough. This album aided in following his journey, providing context to the places and conflicts mentioned in *The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles 1914-1919*,³ which served as a written accompaniment, as my great-grandfather had left no diary or letters behind.

Journeying through the Sinai-Palestine campaigns, the album soon turned to images of a landscape that was familiar to me but oddly out of place amongst the biblical pictures preceding them. Reading on in the regimental history provided context, albeit only around three and a half pages of it. At the end of the war, as thoughts turned to peace and home, a group of Anzac soldiers were chosen by the 28th Division British Expeditionary Force [BEF], then occupying the Dardanelles, to return to Gallipoli. The Anzac soldiers who returned to Gallipoli in 1918 to take part in the occupation were selected from the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse, Australian Imperial Force [7th LH]; both units who had served at Gallipoli in 1915.⁴ Where the soldiers went, so too did their cameras.

¹ For a broader discussion of public engagement surrounding the Gallipoli centenary see: Tom Sear 'Uncanny Valleys and Anzac Avatars. Scaling a Postdigital Gallipoli' pp.55-81 in Raelene Frances and Bruce Scates (eds.) *Beyond Gallipoli New Perspectives on Anzac*. Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2016.

² *Interim survey of the New Zealand public to measure their knowledge and understanding of the First World War and their experience with Centenary commemorations*, Colmar-Brunton for the WW100 Programme Office, 2016, p.1.

³ Colonel C G Powles (ed), *The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles 1914-1919*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1928.

⁴ Charles Bean *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1948 notes on p. 10 that 'the Australian and New Zealand interest in the Peninsula being so keen' an agreement was made that 'the British garrison of the Peninsula under the terms of the Armistice with Turkey should comprise two Anzac regiments...'. Powles in

This explained the images of the rolling, steep hills and narrow beach of Gallipoli in my great-grandfather's album, as he had not joined in time to see action there in 1915. I was intrigued by the return of the Anzacs to Gallipoli, and the early recognition of the importance of the place to New Zealand and Australia, represented in the appointment of the CMR and 7th LH to the Peninsula. I wanted to know more about the return of the Anzacs to Gallipoli, but my searches did not bring to light a lot of information. The existing scholarship, outside of writings by the famed Australian journalist and historian Charles Bean, is relegated to small paragraphs or chapters scattered in larger anthologies focussing on Gallipoli or the Anzacs.

Key Questions:

This research led me to investigate the event more thoroughly, the results of which can be found in this thesis. Guiding my research were three key questions the first being: (i) What work did the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse undertake while on Gallipoli? While this question at face value had a simple answer in 'army of occupation', the CMR did more than sight-see during their reconnaissance patrols. Throughout December 1918, parties of soldiers ventured from their camp on to the Peninsula in an effort to find and renovate the graves from 1915. This work continued throughout their stay on Gallipoli, the details of which were recorded in the unit war diary. The results of these efforts have been documented in Chapter 1.

The second key question, answered in Chapter 2, is related to the purpose of the return: (ii) What did it mean to be among those Anzacs who were some of the first to return to Gallipoli after the evacuation in 1915? I was interested to know what emotions were provoked in the Anzacs when they returned to Gallipoli, which was, after all, the scene of their defeat. Unfortunately, written material from the soldiers who participated in the occupation is difficult to come by, but there are several photograph albums which show Gallipoli during the 1918-1919 occupation. Luckily, a picture is worth a thousand words, and these photographs can be supplemented, and at times contrasted, with those taken by the Australian Historical Mission. Charles Bean along with the photographer Captain George Hubert Wilkins and several others, also returned to Gallipoli in 1919. Their mission was to document the evidence that remained of the 1915 battle; a very different purpose from the CMR and 7th LH soldiers who had just departed the Peninsula. The images captured by both parties are useful in answering how it felt to return to Gallipoli, as the places seen preserved in the photograph albums were clearly sites of emotional importance.

The final question I set out to answer was: (iii) How was this return to Gallipoli treated at home in New Zealand and Australia? Family and friends of those who died on Gallipoli were largely unable to afford the lengthy trip to Gallipoli, so the reinternment of the bodies, and establishment of the now recognizable cemeteries was immensely important to those left

The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles similarly says it was 'sentiment [that] prompted a decision that the Australians and New Zealanders should be represented in the force to be landed on the Gallipoli peninsula.' p. 244.

behind. I believed that the burial work of the CMR would be widely reported because of this importance. I also assumed that the return of Anzac forces to Gallipoli would be widely reported, due to the importance of Gallipoli to New Zealand and Australia. The first visit of the Anzacs to Gallipoli since the evacuation of 1915 did not escape the notice of the newspapers at the time. A journalist was attached to the 7th LH, Ernest Peacock, whose vibrant prose provides the words to accompany the photographs and inform the sometimes sparse war diaries of the regiments. His reports were published widely throughout New Zealand and Australia, which also indicates an interest from the general public. An examination of Peacock's articles, and other reporting on the return to Gallipoli, can be found in Chapter 3.

While answering these questions, I was also looking for clues as to why this event has been historically neglected. There are several reasons why this event has not been treated in depth from the New Zealand perspective in detail before. The CMR and 7th LH spent a very short amount of time on Gallipoli, having landed in early December 1918, they saw Christmas and New Year on the Peninsula before leaving on the 19th of January 1919. Additionally, not all members of the CMR or 7th LH returned as 'preference was given to old hands, if they passed the doctor, to go with the Regiment, as against those who had recently joined.'⁵ From the Australians, 22 officers and 399 other ranks were selected,⁶ while 25 officers and 464 other ranks were chosen from the CMR.⁷ The small timeframe, and the reduced number of men who returned to Gallipoli means that the event has been overlooked in the larger context of the war. As this topic has been overlooked, the questions guiding this thesis are necessarily basic to ensure the story itself can be told for the first time.

Main Sources:

While there is relatively little written about the Anzac's role in the occupation of Gallipoli after the Armistice of Mudros, there is a much wider historiography surrounding Gallipoli, the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission [IWGC] and the Anzac myth.⁸ What has been written about the return to Gallipoli in December 1918 and January 1919 by the CMR and 7th LH comes largely from the histories of those regiments published in the years after the war. These accounts are not lengthy, and do not give a lot of detail about day-to-day

⁵ Powles, p.245.

⁶ 7th Australian Light Horse Regiment War Diary, 25/11/1918. RCDIG1000258, AWM. There is no official explanation as to why there were more soldiers from the CMR sent back to Gallipoli. It is possible that the size difference is because the Australians were having difficulty recruiting soldiers for the war, and unlike New Zealand, did not institute conscription. For a discussion of reactions to conscription in Australia, and difficulties in recruitment, see chapters 9 to 11 of Ernest Scott, *Australia During the War: the Official History of Australia in the War 1914-1918*, Volume XI, (7th edition). Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1938.

⁷ Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit War Diary, 27/11/1918. R23515956, Archives New Zealand.

⁸ Regarding the work of the IWGC see: David Crane, *Empires of the Dead. How One Man's Vision Led to the Creation of WWI's War Graves*. London: William Collins, 2013. Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief. Australians, War Graves and the Great War*. Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2007. Regarding the Anzac myth see: E M Andrews. *The Anzac Illusion. Anglo-Australian Relations During World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Mark David Sheftall. *Altered Memories of the Great War. Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada*. London: I B Tauris & Co Ltd, 2009. These sources are by no means exhaustive regarding these topics, but will give sufficient background for these topics which are important to this thesis, but are too lengthy to be discussed at length here.

events, but instead give a broader account of the soldiers' experience on the Peninsula.

These regimental histories provide some of the context around the photographs taken by the Canterbury Mounted Rifles. The photographs on their own form the bulk of the primary evidence of this thesis. Although they are informative in isolation, they are best examined alongside the regimental histories, unit diaries and contemporary newspaper articles. Together these sources tell the full story of the Anzacs' return to Gallipoli.

Informing these primary sources is Charles Bean's *Gallipoli Mission*, which was published in 1948, documenting his and the Historical Mission's visit to Gallipoli in 1919.⁹ Although they were not on the Peninsula at the same time as the 7th Light Horse and Canterbury Mounted Rifles, the resulting publication is still useful in providing context for the condition of the Peninsula at the time. There is a set of photographs which accompany the *Gallipoli Mission*, many taken by the photographer Hubert Wilkins, which, by way of comparison, helps to give more context to the images taken by the amateur photographer Trooper Leonard William Mowat of the CMR.¹⁰

The unit war diaries of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse are both invaluable sources in regards to the movements of the soldiers during their stay on Gallipoli.¹¹ These war diaries were also supplemented by the unit war diary of the Graves Registration Unit itself.¹² They provide important details such as the details of the parties sent out on reconnaissance and their findings, as well as the number of men who became sick on the Peninsula. These diaries also give a timeline for the events of the 1918-1919 return to Gallipoli, which makes it easier to track the movements of the men. Unfortunately, the war diaries lack the emotional depth which can be found in other sources such as the photograph albums and the newspaper articles written by Ernest Peacock.

These newspaper articles, published throughout 1919 in several New Zealand and Australian titles, were the result of the observations of Australian journalist Ernest Peacock. He went to Gallipoli alongside the 7th LH, and his descriptive if embellished prose, speaks to the thoughts of the soldiers as they explored Gallipoli. The journalist was also writing for an audience on the home front who was unlikely to ever see the famed slopes of Gallipoli themselves, hence the need for the lively writing. The circulation of these articles also speaks to the interest in the work of the 7th LH and CMR on Gallipoli, and the enduring interest in the place itself.

⁹ Bean *Gallipoli Mission*, 1948.

¹⁰ Trooper Mowat's albums held at the National Army Museum, New Zealand: 1992.745.1-4. Other albums considered: Trooper William Jenkins, 1992.1153 NAM. Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry Scrapbook 1992.1203 NAM. Unknown CMR Soldier 2007.553, NAM. Trooper Robert Diamanti, private collection.

¹¹ 7th Australian Light Horse Regiment War Diary. RCDIG1000258, AWM. Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit War Diary. R23515956-R23515959, ANZ. Both war diaries were consulted from November 1918 - February 1919.

¹² Graves Registration Unit (Gallipoli) November 1918 – November 1919. WO 95/4954, The National Archives, UK.

There is a much wider historiography which discusses the importance of Gallipoli to New Zealand and Australia even today, and the battle's role in the birth of these two nations.¹³ An examination of this theory and its surrounding historiography is worthy of its own thesis. However, the key to this thesis will be locating an unknown month in a wider discussion of the place of Gallipoli in historic memory through the available historiography, and by telling the story of the return through primary sources.

Methodology:

Much of the information I began with came from the regimental histories and my great-grandfather's photograph album. Early research was focussed on finding more examples of photograph albums and diaries – primary sources which could expand on the information I started with.

This involved searching archives throughout New Zealand, Australia and the UK, both online and in person. When looking through archives, it was easiest to look for soldiers who had served with the CMR and 7th LH and check their personnel files to see when they concluded their service. If they were not discharged until the later half of 1919, it was worth looking at their photograph album, diary or other materials held in the archive. Where the material had been digitised and was available online, it was much less time consuming to look through the material to see if it was relevant. Unfortunately, this search only netted one diary from the Australian War Memorial, and four other photograph albums found online through the New Zealand National Army Museum.

Another necessary search of contemporary newspapers was undertaken, and as New Zealand and Australian newspapers from the early 1900s have been digitised, this part of the research was conducted using keyword searches. The obvious keywords such as 'Gallipoli' and 'Anzac' without a date filter results in too many articles to be useful. Being that the occupation of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse took place over a short space of time, it was easier to eliminate information and sources from the outset, as I could confidently eliminate articles by narrowing the date range. Therefore, the date range was narrowed to November 1918 through to December of 1923 to catch any later, relevant articles published as a result of the work of the Graves Registration Unit [GRU] and IWGC. Other keywords used include 'Canterbury Mounted Rifles', '7th Light Horse', 'New Zealand Mounted Rifles', 'Dardanelles', and 'Anzac Mounted'.

Almost 100 years on from this event, there is a marked lack of written primary evidence available with which to flesh out this story. Whether these written accounts ever existed, or if they are lost, or still held in family archives, it is impossible to say. The photographic evidence that does exist is easy to identify as Gallipoli, due to the distinguishable nature of

¹³ Gallipoli has a continued importance to modern New Zealand and Australia, as illustrated in Bruce Scates *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Similar conclusions could be drawn from the *Interim survey of the New Zealand public to measure their knowledge and understanding of the First World War and their experience with Centenary commemorations*, Colmar-Brunton for the WW100 Programme Office, 2016. See also: Alistair Thomson *Anzac Memories Living with the Legend. New Edition*. Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2013.

the landscape. Successfully recognising that the photograph was taken between 1918-1919, and not 1915, can be a little more challenging. When images in albums are labelled only with recognisable place names – for example, Rhododendron Spur from Chunuk Bair – and no date, this challenge only becomes more difficult.

The biggest factor in the silence of this story is that it is overshadowed by Gallipoli itself; the well-known Gallipoli of 1915, and the recognisable Gallipoli of today. Gallipoli is both a physical place and a memory, and it is one in a state of constant flux.¹⁴ The concentration on Gallipoli in 1915, and as it is seen today, means the events in the interim century are overshadowed by the dichotomy of battle and memorialisation. These events, in particular the return of the Anzacs to Gallipoli at the end of the First World War, show there is much that can be gained by exploring the interim 100 years of the Peninsula.

The photographs taken by the soldiers of the CMR on their return shows a deliberate attempt to capture important sites, and to show the harshness of the landscape and the difficulties it presented to those who fought there. These images represent an early recognition of the significance of Gallipoli, and specific ridges and hilltops of the landscape. The soldiers of the CMR were able to capture images that would have been difficult, or impossible to get during the campaign of 1915 when Gallipoli was a hive of activity, battle and death. Gallipoli in 1918, by comparison, was strangely barren and the landscape dominated this new chapter in the photographic history of the Peninsula.

The narrative that can be built by examining these photographs and accompanying written accounts of Gallipoli in the immediate after-war period, has a larger application outside of telling a neglected story. It builds on the Anzac legend, in which Gallipoli holds pride-of-place, as a battle and as a place and memory. It is hallowed ground to which a pilgrimage is made every year to honour those who gave their lives. The return trip in December 1918 is early recognition of this, from the Anzacs themselves, to those they fought alongside; it shows just how enduring and important Gallipoli is to New Zealand and Australia. The communal memory of the Great War, and the emphasis placed on remembrance and sacrifice has been an ongoing theme of Anzac Day celebrations since its inception.¹⁵ An examination of the 1918-1919 occupation of the Dardanelles, which included the CMR and 7th LH, is a small but crucial step in understanding the story that has grown to be an integral part of a wider national memory. It also shows that Gallipoli is a place of change, not a static point in 1915 and today. All of this is reflected in the photographs taken on Gallipoli at the end of the war.

¹⁴ Glyn Harper (ed), *Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011. pp.1-37. This introduction provides a good overview of Gallipoli as a battle, and also offers commentary throughout on the importance of Gallipoli to New Zealand, and the development of this in cultural memory over time.

¹⁵ Maureen Sharpe, 'Anzac Day in New Zealand: 1916-1939'. *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Volume 15, No. 2, 1981. pp. 97-114.

Chapter 1 – The Arrival of the Anzacs

Before examining the burial work of the Anzacs on Gallipoli after the war, it is prudent to briefly discuss the conditions of Gallipoli during the 1915 campaign, through to the arrival of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse in 1918. It is also worth briefly looking at the official correspondence regarding the graves on Gallipoli. This will give a sense of what was being done to gain information about these graves during the war. Doing so will provide some necessary background as to the state of the Peninsula in 1918, and offer a better picture of what the Anzacs found when they returned.

When the CMR arrived on the Peninsula in 1915, they had a strength of 26 Officers, and 459 other ranks. This was bolstered to 32 Officers, and 645 other ranks with various reinforcements. During the war 5 Officers, and 108 other ranks were killed in combat, and another 1 Officer and another 45 other ranks went missing.¹ It would be at the end of the war before any Allied forces returned to the old battlefield to pick up where their fellow soldiers left off, tidying the graves and erecting crosses.

When burials on Gallipoli are mentioned, the armistice on the 24 May 1915 features prominently, during which both sides agreed to a ceasefire to bury the dead that had been left in the open in no-man's-land. A letter published in the *New Zealand Herald* almost 2 months later, on 15 July 1915, details the burials as undertaken by New Zealand Lieutenant Raymond Alexander Reid Lawry and some members of the Canterbury Infantry Battalion: 'It was an awful day. Hundreds of bodies – Turks in the proportion of more than ten to one – were buried by our party alone.' He also described the work as emotional; as being completed with 'softened hearts.'²

Burials necessarily continued throughout the campaign, and they were likely completed with similarly tender hearts. The burial reports from 1915 were forwarded on to the regiment's respective Headquarters, and later used to aid identification of remains. An example of this kind of report includes that of Chaplain Bernard James Failes, then with the Royal Naval Division, who discovered and buried the bodies of 12/698 Private Stephen Alexander Bell and 8/1185 Private William Dobson near Twelve Tree Copse. Both soldiers are now buried at Redoubt Cemetery, having died in May 1915. Chaplain Faile also returned their identification discs, rubbings of which are included at the bottom of the original letter.³

Other burial reports filed during the 1915 campaign by the 4th Battalion, Worcestershire Regiment shed some light on the difficulties faced in burying and identifying the dead during the campaign. The reports sent back to their headquarters, and later forwarded to New Zealand emissaries for the purpose of grave identification, paint a bleak picture of burial efforts during the campaign. In most cases the reports give a bearing and a rough sketch of the location, the number of buried dead and the disheartening phrase, 'cannot be identified' or 'name and regiment unknown'. Some nights they buried over 20 dead, often able only to

¹ Charles Powles. *The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles*. pp. 65-66.

² 'Burial of the Dead. Armistice for a day. Heavy Turkish Losses'. *New Zealand Herald*, 15/07/1915, p. 4

³ Letter Chaplain Failes 03/10/1915. War Graves – Gallipoli – General, R12333896, ANZ.

describe the deceased individual as British or Turkish, and on the odd occasion, a New Zealander. Other nights there was no hope of identification unless an identity disk was found.⁴

One can also imagine the difficulty these men faced working at night. Undertaking burials in the dark affected the accuracy of the locations recorded, as it is more difficult to judge distances and landmarks at night. So, although the burial records from 1915 were valuable, there is a high likelihood they were not accurate.

A particularly grim occupation of an old trench was recorded by a section of the 4th Worcestershire Regiment.

‘During the night 13-14 June and on [the] morning of 14 June, the company has been engaged in burying corpses. At least 40 corpses were buried, but exact numbers cannot be ascertained as the corpses were almost all in a very advanced stage of decomposition and in many cases were in many fragments all mixed up, or fell to pieces on being touched or moved. ... Some of the bodies seemed to be 5 or 6 weeks old. Some were found on [the] back or front parapet of the trench, covered with a blanket or thin layer of earth, others buried deep in the trench itself. Owing to the rotten state of the corpses, they could not be moved any distance, but had to be buried more or less where found, except that the remains of those found in the trench or in [the] parapet were removed to the rear for burial.’⁵

Of the numerous burials the 4th Worcestershire Battalion undertook, there were four New Zealanders listed in the report, all of whom can now be identified.⁶ Private George William McKenna, Private Edward Angove, Lance Corporal Charles Savory and Lieutenant Harry Morgan were all serving with the Auckland Infantry Battalion. All were killed in action with the date of death given between the 6th and the 10th of May 1915. Lieutenant Morgan and Corporal Savory both have graves in Twelve Tree Copse Cemetery, while Private McKenna and Private Angove are memorialised on the Twelve Tree Copse Memorial.

There are plenty of other accounts of the state of Gallipoli during the 1915 occupation, and of corpses which were often left strewn across no-man’s-land.⁷ It is, therefore, not necessary to note all of these accounts here. The reports discussed in this thesis, in particular, that of the Worcestershire Regiment, illustrate in vivid detail the environment the Anzacs endured in 1915.

The pain of those who lost a loved one at Gallipoli or elsewhere was pervasive, and significant efforts were made by the government of the time to give some comfort to those grieving. As one mother noted in a letter to the Minister of Defence, James Allen in September 1916, ‘I wish to thank you for your kind and thoughtfull [sic] present of my dear sons grave and that of his comrades. I shall prize it now and allways [sic] and if every mother

⁴ Reports of 4th Batt Worcestershire Regiment. War Graves – Gallipoli – General, R12333896, ANZ.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ The names included in the original report of the 4th Battalion were compared to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission database, which revealed where these four New Zealanders are now buried or memorialised. The database is searchable online at: <https://www.cwgc.org/find/find-war-dead/>.

⁷ For example: Harper, *Letters from Gallipoli*: 2011; Gavin Roynon (ed), *A Prayer for Gallipoli: The Great War Diaries of Chaplain Kenneth Best*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011.

feels as I do you will be thanked indeed. You have had sorrow yourself and will understand how I feel.’⁸ The mother is here referencing the fact that Allen had lost his own son Lieutenant John Allen on Gallipoli in June 1915. This mother, along with many others, wrote to Allen to express their thanks for receiving photographs of their son’s graves, which were likely located on Malta.⁹

Those who did not receive news regarding the grave of their loved one on Gallipoli were likely to reach out to authority figures. This prompted the Mayor of Auckland to write to James Allen asking for information regarding what was to be done with the graves as, ‘there are so very many people who frequently enquire and keep in touch with me on this point.’¹⁰

For the soldiers who had to evacuate Gallipoli in 1915, the grief was similarly acute. Many men offered to stay, even if they were not well enough. Amongst the many reasons not to leave, Charles Bean remarked that:

‘the men hated to leave their dead mates at the mercy of the Turks. For days after the breaking of the news there were never absent from the cemeteries men by themselves, or in two or threes, erecting new crosses or tenderly “tidying-up” the grave of a friend. This was by far the deepest regret of the troops. “I hope,” said one of them to Birdwood on the final day, pointing to a little cemetery, “I hope they won’t hear us marching down the deres.”’¹¹

In an interview conducted in 1960 at a reunion of Gallipoli veterans, an unknown soldier commented on the evacuation, saying that his ‘last view of Gallipoli was everything going up in flames.’¹² What he was seeing was the burning of the last of the stores on Suvla Bay as the evacuees sailed to Alexandria under the cover of darkness.

Inquiries and suggestions as to how commemorations on Gallipoli should proceed were often made, and continued to be received throughout the war. Justice Frederick Revans Chapman wrote to George Warren Russell in January of 1916 with recommendations on how the graves on Gallipoli were to be cared for and decorated.¹³ In response, Russell stated that, ‘I am satisfied that nothing whatever can be done until this disastrous war is over and some arrangement is made by which we can obtain access to Gallipoli...’¹⁴ This sentiment was earlier echoed in a memorandum to the Minister of Defence James Allen, which noted the

⁸ E A Hewalle to Minister of Defence Hon. James Allen, 26/09/1916. War Graves – Overseas – Photographs – Negatives etc. General Overseas photograph file. R12333900, ANZ.

⁹ Letter to Colonel Essen from R. Heaton Rhodes, 02/03/1916. War Graves – Overseas – Photographs – Negatives etc. General Overseas photograph file. R12333900, ANZ.

¹⁰ James Gunson, Mayor of Auckland to James Allen, Minister for Defence, War Graves – Gallipoli – General, 04/05/1916. R12333896, ANZ.

¹¹ Charles Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Vol II, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1940, p.882. See also: David Cameron, *Shadows of Anzac: An Intimate History of Gallipoli*. Newport: Big Sky Publishing Pty Ltd, 2013. p. 331.

¹² Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, Interviews with Gallipoli Veterans at Main Body Reunion, Christchurch, 16/10/1960. 247010.

¹³ Justice Chapman was advocating for native flora to be cultivated in Egypt so they would be acclimatized before being planted on the Peninsula. War Graves – Gallipoli – General, Justice Chapman to G W Russell, 18/03/1916, R12333896, ANZ. For an extensive 22-point outline of native flora and other recommendations for decoration of the graves by Justice Chapman, see letter Justice Chapman to G W Russell, dated 27/01/1916, R12333896, ANZ.

¹⁴ G W Russell to Mr. Justice Chapman, 12/06/1916. War Graves – Gallipoli – General, R12333896, ANZ.

cessation of hostilities would need to come before information regarding the burial of New Zealanders overseas would become available.¹⁵

In the interim years before the war ended, when information about the graves was scarce, there were fears of desecration of the graves on Gallipoli. As discussed briefly by the Prime Minister of the time, William Massey on Anzac Day 1916, 'On those rugged hillsides lie the bones of many a gallant lad [...] We shall be humiliated if the feet of strangers are allowed to leave their prints on the graves of our heroic boys. [...] I hope Anzac will be preserved for Anzacs.'¹⁶

These fears had been allayed in newspapers since the Peninsula was evacuated, with reassurances that requests for preservation of the cemeteries, by military figures such as General Alexander Godley were not likely to be ignored; 'the Turks, who do not lightly treat sacred places, will probably make the cemeteries of their brave antagonists secure against desecration and obliteration.'¹⁷

However, the fear of desecration did eventually cause representatives from the British and French governments to approach the United States Charge d'Affaires in Constantinople. The request to send a representative to view the graves was refused on military grounds by the Turkish, although assurances were given as to the integrity of the graves.¹⁸ It would appear that the Vatican was also approached for assistance in this matter, and as a result the Pope sent instructions to Monsignor Angelo Maria Dolci, of the Apostolic Delegate at Constantinople to speak with the Ottoman Government. After an extended negotiation, the Ottoman Government acquiesced to the requests of the Vatican and gave assurances the graves would be preserved.¹⁹

Photographs and reports from Monsignor Dolci, as well as a Protestant chaplain and a Catholic military chaplain, reached the Vatican and were then forwarded on to all relevant parties. The reports stated the graves were in a respectable condition, and those that were damaged had been damaged by ordnance. If any graves were found profaned, the blame was placed on civilians who were duly punished, and repairs were requested. The article which communicated this to the New Zealand public ended with '...the knowledge that the Turks are respecting the graves of our fallen heroes will bring at least some little relief to many aching hearts.'²⁰

The near constant stream of communication regarding the graves on Gallipoli shows that this was a concern shared at all levels of society. It is therefore unsurprising that on the 1st of November, just one day after the Armistice of Mudros was concluded, an official telegram was sent to James Allen, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Walter Long. It stated simply, 'Your government will be pleased to hear that immediate steps are being taken to investigate conditions of Gallipoli graves. Army is despatching Graves Registration Unit as

¹⁵ Memorandum for Minister of Defence, 10/02/1916. War Graves – Gallipoli – General, R12333896, ANZ.

¹⁶ 'The Best Anzac Memorial Bonds of Empire "Inseparable for All Time".'¹⁶ *Evening Post*, 26/04/1916, p.3.

¹⁷ 'Editorial Notes. The Places of our Dead', *The Star*, 16/02/1916, p.4.

¹⁸ War Graves – Gallipoli – General, American Embassy, Constantinople, 15/09/1916. R12333896, ANZ.

¹⁹ 'Our Gallipoli Graves. Action of the Vatican. Satisfactory reports.' *The Star*, 14/12/16, p.3.

²⁰ 'Our Gallipoli Graves. Action of the Vatican.' *Auckland Star*, 15/12/1916, p.1. See also: Despatches from the American Embassy in Constantinople, 1916. IA1/1681 ANZ, and C E W Bean, *Gallipoli Mission* p.10.

early as possible to mark graves, to which Australian Officer and New Zealand Officer will be attached.'²¹

This was the history that preceded the arrival of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse on Gallipoli. Given this context, it was reasonable to assume that the first return of the Anzacs to Gallipoli would have been highly anticipated. Not just because it is the resting place of their fellow New Zealanders and Australians, but because the Anzacs had been defeated, and were now returning as the victors. It might be expected that there was some fanfare surrounding this event. Perhaps this expectation was the result of the century of myth-building that has taken place since, but it was surprising to discover that this first return was not as widely covered during the time as first thought.

The armistice with Turkey had been declared the month prior to the soldiers of the CMR and 7th LH embarking on the HMT *Huntcastle* for the Dardanelles. This ship was a refurbished German steamer, which was woefully inadequate for the voyage. The weather was cold during the voyage, and there was not enough room for the men below deck, 'some slept on the floor, some on tables, and some in hammocks.'²² It is not surprising then, that the number of men recorded at sick parades on the ship rose to 80 in a day.²³

The conditions on the ship only aggravated the breakout of influenza among the men. An official report, written by Major Rex Carrington Brewster of the New Zealand Medical Corps, who accompanied the ship to the Dardanelles detailed the miserable conditions, 'The total hospital accommodation for the whole ship... was 5 beds, so it was impossible to isolate those infected.'²⁴ Adding to the difficulties, when they arrived it was too rough to disembark, which forced the men to spend an additional 4 days on the ship. Carrington recorded that on the 4th of December he had 45 men on sick parade, and the following day, wrote the commanding officer stating there would be fatalities if they were not sent ashore.²⁵

For those who were well enough to be above deck the view that greeted them, as recorded by Trooper Gordon Lord, 'was a wonderful sight... We were able to see the spot where the English troops courageously beached their boats, and ran ashore.'²⁶ When the time came, the soldiers faced no resistance, and went ashore in simple dinghies, berthing at a wharf during the day. There was no ceremony, only a small greeting party waiting patiently for the Anzac soldiers (Figure 1).

This is not the picture modern audiences would expect to see when told of the return of veterans to Gallipoli. The century of myth-building and annual commemorations was yet to come. However, the fact that they were there at all was early recognition of the importance of the site to New Zealand and Australia. As mentioned earlier, the Canterbury Mounted Rifles

²¹ Official Telegram to the Minister of Defence from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 01/11/1918. War Graves – Gallipoli – General. R12333896, ANZ.

²² Medical Report on trip of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles to the Dardanelles, 27/11/18 to 23/01/19. Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958, ANZ.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ 'Mission to Gallipoli. Australian's Graves Desecrated.' *The Grafton Argus and Clarence River General Advertiser*, 25/04/1919, p.2.

and 7th Light Horse were on the peninsula at the invitation of the 28th Division who were overseeing the occupation of Gallipoli at the time. This invitation is itself an international recognition of the importance of the site to both countries.

Realising the moment the Anzacs returned to the shores they had once evacuated should be caught for posterity, Trooper Leonard William Mowat of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, took this image. In doing so, he shows how important this moment was on a personal level, and it is likely that the men around him, particularly those who had fought at Gallipoli, were similarly aware of the importance of the moment, although the 1915 campaign had not yet achieved the legendary status it has today.

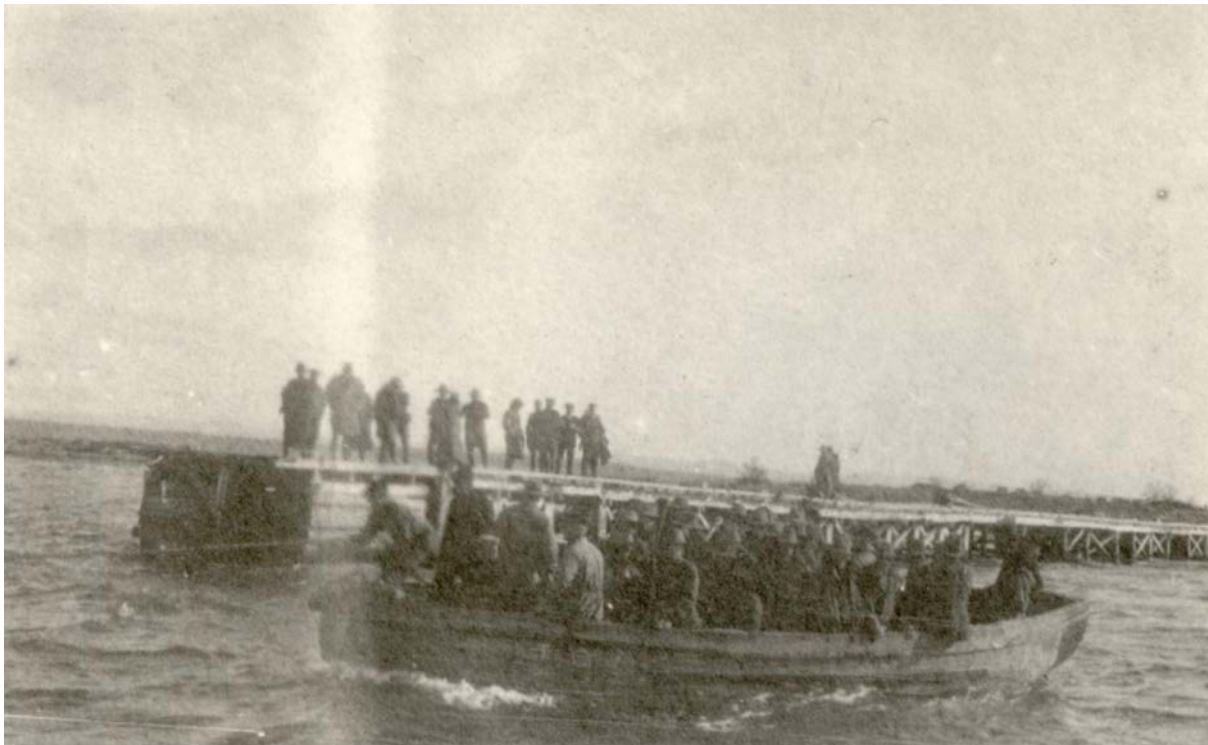


Figure 1: Landing at Midos, Gallipoli. Trooper Leonard William Mowat, National Army Museum New Zealand, 1992.745.3. <https://nam.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4553>

Unfortunately, when the soldiers were eventually sent ashore, it was 'cold, wet and miserable and the billets were mud-brick houses, and some wooden sheds.'²⁷ This did nothing to ease the sickness among the men, although the epidemic eventually subsided as serious cases were evacuated and supplies, including drugs, a heater and marquee, arrived from the 28th Division.²⁸ All of this came too late to prevent deaths, the first of which occurred on the 9th of December 1918. Lance Corporal Hugh McGuckin had joined the NZEF in late 1915 and was awarded the military medal for acts of gallantry and devotion in the field. Lance Corporal McGuckin was one of 11 New Zealand personnel who would pass away while on the Peninsula.²⁹

²⁷ Medical Report on trip of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles to the Dardanelles, 27/11/18 to 23/01/19. Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958, ANZ.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

The 7th Light Horse fared better, although in the same wintry, inhospitable conditions; with 60 'fairly severe' cases, only 20 were evacuated and two died.³⁰ Private Walter White, who had caught influenza only a few months earlier in August 1918, notes in his diary that their 'barracks were in a filthy condition and swarming with fleas and bugs.'³¹

It was not long before the first party made its way over to Anzac after disembarking on the 6th of December. The unit diary of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles states that 100 men hiked to Anzac the following day,³² while Lieutenant Colonel John Dalyell Richardson's *History of the 7th Light Horse* stated the visit took place the same day as disembarkation.³³ Either way, the men were clearly eager to see Gallipoli, and parties were continually going out to explore the area.³⁴ There was also an official picnic at Anzac given by the Company Commander Lieutenant Colonel John Findlay to the 28th Divisional staff on the 19th of December.³⁵

Christmas Day was spent on the Peninsula, 'with puddings and billies issued by the Comforts Fund. The day was fine and bright, and was passed cheerfully, though all thoughts were now centred on getting back to Australia as quickly as possible.'³⁶ More plainly put the soldiers were looking forward to getting back to 'good old Aussie.'³⁷ Although none of the New Zealanders recorded a similar sentiment, it is reasonable to assume they looked to their own return home with similar longing.

The following day, a small and sombre party of five set out with Captain Gerald Holmwood Anderson of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles in command, to tidy up the graves on the Peninsula. The orders issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Findlay regarding this trip, were 'to renovate and do up all known graves, also marking each by crosses or carved stones. It is suggested that the names of the men be written out and buried in old shell cases at the head of each grave'.³⁸ They were also to fence in any cemeteries that were not already enclosed.

This party of five stayed on Anzac until the 29th of December. These soldiers handled the largest number of graves, with some 100 individuals recorded in the combined report submitted in January the following year.³⁹ This is unsurprising, as Captain Anderson's party worked on and around Hill 60 which had been the scene of intense fighting during the 1915 campaign. His report meticulously notes down any details that could be gained from the grave, and the location.

³⁰ Lieutenant-Colonel J D Richardson. *The History of the 7th Light Horse Regiment A.I.F.* Sydney: E.N. Birks, 1923. p.109.

³¹ Diary of Private Walter White, 06/12/1918. PR01791 Papers of Private Walter White, Australian War Memorial Museum.

³² Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, December 1918. R23515957, ANZ.

³³ Richardson, p. 110.

³⁴ Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, December 1918. R23515957, ANZ.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Richardson, p.110.

³⁷ Diary of Private Walter White, 21/12/1918 PR01971, AWMM.

³⁸ Special Orders Lieut Col John Findlay C.B., D.S.O. Commanding Canterbury Mounted Rifles. Appendices to January 1919, Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958 ANZ.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

On Hill 60 his party found 25 sets of remains, nine of which could be identified as members of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, and two of sister company the Otago Mounted Rifles. 18 of the 25 individuals could not be identified, and only four of these 25 had an identifiable regiment.⁴⁰

Noted under Aghul Dere, the other location which this party worked on, the report lists 73 individuals. In this part of the report, Anderson and his party note the recovery of headstones for 9 New Zealanders and 17 Australians in a dugout. The Australians were all members of the 9th Light Horse, while the New Zealanders were all from the Wellington Mounted Rifles. It is unclear if they found the remains the headstones belonged to, although all of the 9 New Zealanders and 17 Australians have known graves in Ari Burnu Cemetery, which was first established in 1915.⁴¹

Captain Anderson's report gives as much detail as possible regarding the location of each grave, for example he gives the direction of Trooper Reginald Frank Birdling's grave as 'south of Walden's Point under point alongside sap running East and West. Bearing from Walkers Monument Gaba Tepe 14°. Chunuk Bair 294°'.⁴² Directions like these would have been invaluable for the Graves Registration Unit [GRU] who later took over the care of the graves on the Peninsula. Trooper Birdling's grave is now located in Embarkation Pier Cemetery, although it is unknown if the work of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles resulted in him having a known grave.

This party was replaced by another on the 2nd of January 1919, who continued the work with Lieutenant Percy George Doherty leading this group. They were able to find only 25 remains in a variety of locations including Beauchop Hill, Hill 60 and Pope's Hill.⁴³ The resulting report offers the best account from the CMR of how the remains were identified where possible.

One grave was noted to contain a man with false teeth in the upper jaw, and a bullet hole through the side of the skull. Other excavations noted that bodies were found with items such as a rosary or knotted silk tie.⁴⁴ Although Lieutenant Doherty and his party were unable to identify these men, these details, combined with the information that could be gleaned from the remains at the time – often only the country they were serving with – may have been enough to help someone who survived the campaign recognise the men.

During the gruelling task of identification, there is one example which highlights this connection between grief and compassion, survivor's guilt and remembrance. Contained within Lieutenant Doherty's report regarding the graves on the Peninsula, is a note which

⁴⁰ Report dated 18/01/1919. Appendices to January 1919, Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958 ANZ.

⁴¹ All the names reported by the burial parties of the CMR were checked against current records, accessible online through the CWGC database. The results of this comparison can be found in Appendix 1.

⁴² Report dated 18/01/1919. Appendices to January 1919, Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958 ANZ.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

states Trooper Charles Patrick McMahon's grave was identified by Sergeant William Plaisted who had buried him.⁴⁵ Both men served with the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and embarked from New Zealand on the same date. There is no evidence to suggest they knew each other before the war, although it is reasonable to assume that they were at least aware of each other during the war. In a letter home, shortly before he was killed, McMahon makes mention of several men from the Marlborough region in which he lived. 'Several of the boys from there – I mean Picton and Havelock – have been wounded or killed. Dalton, Taylor (from Koromiko), Sergt. Boden, Sergt. Patterson were killed alongside me.' He goes into some depth regarding some of these deaths, about Patterson he wrote, 'I stayed out on the hill with him till twelve o'clock, when Father Dore came with two stretcher-bearers.'⁴⁶ It is impossible to know if Sergeant Plaisted was with Trooper McMahon when he died on the 6th of August 1915, but his family must have been thankful that their son's grave was tended to by a friend.⁴⁷

The third party to undertake burial work on Gallipoli was headed by Captain Malcolm Carmichael Milne. This group only identified one grave at Waterfall Gully – that of Trooper Harry Stanley Rudman of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles.⁴⁸ This party spent the majority of their time fencing in cemeteries on the Peninsula. Amongst the cemeteries reported as being fenced in and tidied in the final combined report, was Hell Spit Cemetery, Walker's Ridge and Outpost No.1 and No.2.⁴⁹ In Hell Spit Cemetery, and presumably in others, they cut the grass and placed a ring of stones around each grave, presumably to make them more visible.⁵⁰

The final combined report also notes the difficulty of identifying graves due to the intervening years. After the evacuation of Allied forces, the Turkish reformed the Peninsula, which included work on roads, gun positions, and trenches which 'has undoubtedly obliterated the traces of many human remains, but as far as can be ascertained this was purely a work of military necessity.'⁵¹

This disruption combined with the difficulty experienced in identifying the badges and other identifiers of non-New Zealand units made it doubly challenging for the CMR to make correct identifications when handling remains. Whereas buttons and badges of deceased Canterbury Mounted Riflemen, and even other New Zealand Mounted Rifles' regiments may have been easily recognised, it was much more difficult for the CMR to successfully identify regiment insignia of the Australian, French, Indian or British regiments.⁵² There was also a

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ 'On Active Service Marlborough Trooper's Letter.' *Marlborough Express*, 30/08/1915, p.2.

⁴⁷ 'Personal War Notes', *Colonist*, 04/09/1915, p.2.

⁴⁸ Report dated 18/01/1919. Appendices to January 1919, Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958 ANZ.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

lack of documentation available to assist in identifying the 1915 graves.⁵³ All of this hindered the work of the CMR, and later the GRU.

It is, however, interesting to note that the majority of the remains identified by the Canterbury Mounted Rifles now have known graves, as detailed in Appendix 1. Whether this is because the soldiers already knew who was buried in the cemeteries from 1915, or if it is due to finding identity discs and other identifying paraphernalia is unclear. It is noteworthy though, as the majority of soldiers buried on the Peninsula do not have a known grave.

While parties from the CMR continued to explore Anzac and care for the graves, the 7th LH were expressly forbidden from disturbing any remains or artefacts during their sojourn.⁵⁴ It appears these orders were given in an attempt to prevent any souveniring or disruptions which might affect the later work of the Australian Historical Mission or GRU. It was just as well, as 'War material of all sort [*sic*] lie scattered on the battle field and skeletons are still lying about.'⁵⁵

In evaluating the condition of the Peninsula in 1918 and 1919, and the work undertaken by the first Anzacs to return since 1915, it would be amiss to omit the occupational duties carried out by the CMR and 7th LH. A reconnaissance of the Peninsula was initiated on the 5th of January 1919 by the 28th Division who asked the two Anzac regiments to survey the area between Anzac and Sulva Bay due to concerns there were some remaining operational Turkish batteries.⁵⁶

The area was split into four blocks; A, B, C and D. Block A contained only batteries with guns and ammunition, as well as the required personnel to maintain them. B Block was found to contain nothing of note, while Block C contained a large munitions dump, and barracks with around 100 troops to maintain the ordnance. Block D contained several Turkish camps with close to 400 troops, as well as an ordnance camp with a collection of miscellaneous material including field kitchens and blacksmith gear.⁵⁷ The Turkish troops on Gallipoli were later described by Lieutenant Colonel Richardson as 'very ragged and shabby' and 'ill-fed looking'.⁵⁸ The findings of the CMR and 7th LH as a result of the reconnaissance are further detailed in Appendix 2.

For the 7th LH, the reconnaissance of the Peninsula followed a similar pattern. The Light Horse was allotted a line from Cape Helles, to south of Gaba Tepe and across to Maidos. This

⁵³ Captain Charles Vernon Bigg-Wither, New Zealand's representative in the Graves Registration Unit on Gallipoli lamented in a final report in 1920: 'The lack of definite information re burials, the absence of plans, sketches or photographs, and the conflicting nature of burial reports rendered by Chaplains made the work of location and identification very difficult.' War Graves – Gallipoli – General R12333896, ANZ.

⁵⁴ Letter Lt. Col J.D. Richardson to HQ 2nd ALH Brigade. Undated. MLMSS 5176 Box 8, Item 17 Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Australia.

⁵⁵ Diary of Private Walter White, entry 21/12/1918. PR01971 Papers of Private Walter White, AWMM.

⁵⁶ 7th Light Horse Unit War Diary, 05/01/1919. RCDIG1012438, AWMM.

⁵⁷ Report dated 16/01/1919. Appendices to January 1919, Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958 ANZ.

⁵⁸ Lt Col J D Richardson, Report to HQ 2nd ALH. MLMSS 5176/Box 8/Item 17. Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.

was divided into sections A, B and C. Unfortunately, the 7th LH did not leave behind as detailed a report as the CMR, and Lieutenant Colonel Richardson reported that there were no armaments other than what was reported, aside from a few small dumps.⁵⁹

Of course, the CMR and 7th LH were not the only ones at Gallipoli. The British 28th Division was also on the Peninsula, and in November of 1918, the Graves Registration Unit began to arrive at Gallipoli. As with the occupation force, a New Zealand and Australian presence was requested, and Captain Charles Vernon Bigg-Wither, previously with the Auckland Mounted Rifles, and Lieutenant Cyril Emerson Hughes of the 1st Field Squadron Engineers, arrived at Mardos from Salonika on the 23rd of December 1918.⁶⁰

Some members of the GRU had been on the Peninsula longer, and had begun investigating the conditions of the graves from mid-November 1918, a little earlier than the CMR began their restorations. The war diary indicates that the Graves Registration Unit did not undertake any physical work until 1919, and were largely concerned with obtaining the correct burial records from the 1915 campaign in December of 1918, and January 1919.⁶¹

The unit war diaries of the CMR and the 7th LH provide some of the day-to-day detail of the soldiers' movements on the Peninsula. Combined with other letters and officer's reports of the time, it is possible to construct a more comprehensive picture of their brief stay on the Peninsula than has been previously explored. This evidence answers the simple question 'what work did the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse undertake on Gallipoli?' These sources and the story told through them show Gallipoli as a place in the post-war period – a sight not often seen.

The work of the CMR, in particular, shows that Gallipoli is a place of change. It also shows that there is much to discuss in regards to New Zealand's contribution to Gallipoli as it is seen today. However, this information does not come from the soldier – with the exception of Private Walter White – so it lacks the emotions and personal thoughts of the soldiers as they walked across Gallipoli. Fortunately, the soldiers took their camera with them to Gallipoli, and through the lens of their own cameras, what was important to them during their 1918-1919 return.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Graves Registration Unit Gallipoli 01/12/18-31/12/18. WO 95/4954 10696826, TNA. Official Telegram to Minister of Defence from Secretary of State for Colonies, War Graves – Gallipoli – General. R12333896, ANZ.

⁶¹ Graves Registration Unit Gallipoli 01/01/19-30/01/19. WO 95/4954 10696826, TNA.

Chapter 2 – Snapshots of the Peninsula

New Zealand has a vast collection of photographs of the First World War, despite the fact that an official photographer was not appointed until early 1917.¹ This is largely due to soldiers, including the men of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, taking their cameras with them into conflict.² In evaluating the first published picture of Gallipoli, in the *Auckland Weekly News* of June 1915, Sandy Callister noted that this, and other pictures like it, exist because the 'camera had democratized and commodified this new form of seeing war – from the bottom up.'³ This is just as well, as the records of the CMR, discussed in Chapter 1, can be seen as decidedly top-down, as the unit war diary and reports were written by officers.

Photographs also have another advantage over other forms of media which are commonly found among war memorabilia. Letters were censored, postcards were mass-produced and left little room for writing, while a photograph, once taken and developed, was far more permanent. What the soldier chose to photograph could live as unadulterated evidence of their experience longer than they would be around to tell the story. So their subjects were chosen with careful consideration, as Callister notes in the conclusion of her work, 'Each photograph taken in the First World War means that someone, at some point, clicked the shutter, lest they, and we, should forget.'⁴

The albums considered in this thesis were full of the faces of the soldier and his friends, the surrounding landscape and well-known sites, as well as the occasional grave. These albums were compiled by soldiers who participated in the Sinai-Palestine campaigns with the CMR, so biblical locations feature heavily. Interspersed between pictures of the Pools of Solomon and Bethlehem are pictures of graves. The reality of war is often well-hidden in these albums, the graves are a notable exception, reminding the viewer that the men were actively fighting.

There are currently four albums available at the National Army Museum, and one from a private collection, which detail the time spent on the Peninsula.⁵ Amongst the landscape pictures of the well-known sites, there are pictures of the graves and cemeteries the soldiers restored. All five albums from members of the CMR share photographs of the Peninsula. It is difficult to say from whom the original photographs came, as the Gallipoli Peninsula appears to be the only shared, identical thing amongst the albums – the remainder of the Sinai-Palestine campaign photographs are unique to each album.

¹ Sandy Callister, *The Face of War: New Zealand's Great War Photography*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008. p.57.

² This was in part, thanks to the New Zealand Mounted Rifle's lenient attitude to cameras. See: Major Frank Twisleton's diary 27/10/1917: 'In France cameras are barred and to be in the possession of one is a court martial offence. Here anyone carries one who wishes too.' Liddle Collection, University of Leeds.

³ Callister, *The Face of War*, 2008, p.2.

⁴ *Ibid*, p.125.

⁵ Trooper William Jenkins, 1992.1153, NAM. Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry Scrapbook 1992.1203, NAM. Unknown CMR Soldier 2007.553, NAM. Trooper Leonard Mowat, 1992.745.1-4, NAM. Trooper Robert Diamanti, private collection.

The purpose of these gravesite photographs were multiple – to mourn and to remember, and to take or send home to show the family and friends of the dead.⁶ Home – New Zealand and Australia – was so many thousands of miles away, and many families would never be able to make the journey to visit the final resting places of their soldiers. As Thomas James Pemberton noted in his 1926 book *Gallipoli To-Day*, 'out of every hundred people of Great Britain, Australia or New Zealand who can find the time and cash to visit France or Flanders there is not more than one who is likely to be able to make good the pilgrimage to Gallipoli.'⁷

In an effort to alleviate the grief of those in mourning, and to stem the number of enquiries reaching the New Zealand Red Cross Society, a decision was eventually made to photograph each New Zealand grave overseas.⁸ For some, it was necessary to wait to the end of the war, for others, whose relatives' grave was located in England for example, a photograph was received before the end of the war.⁹

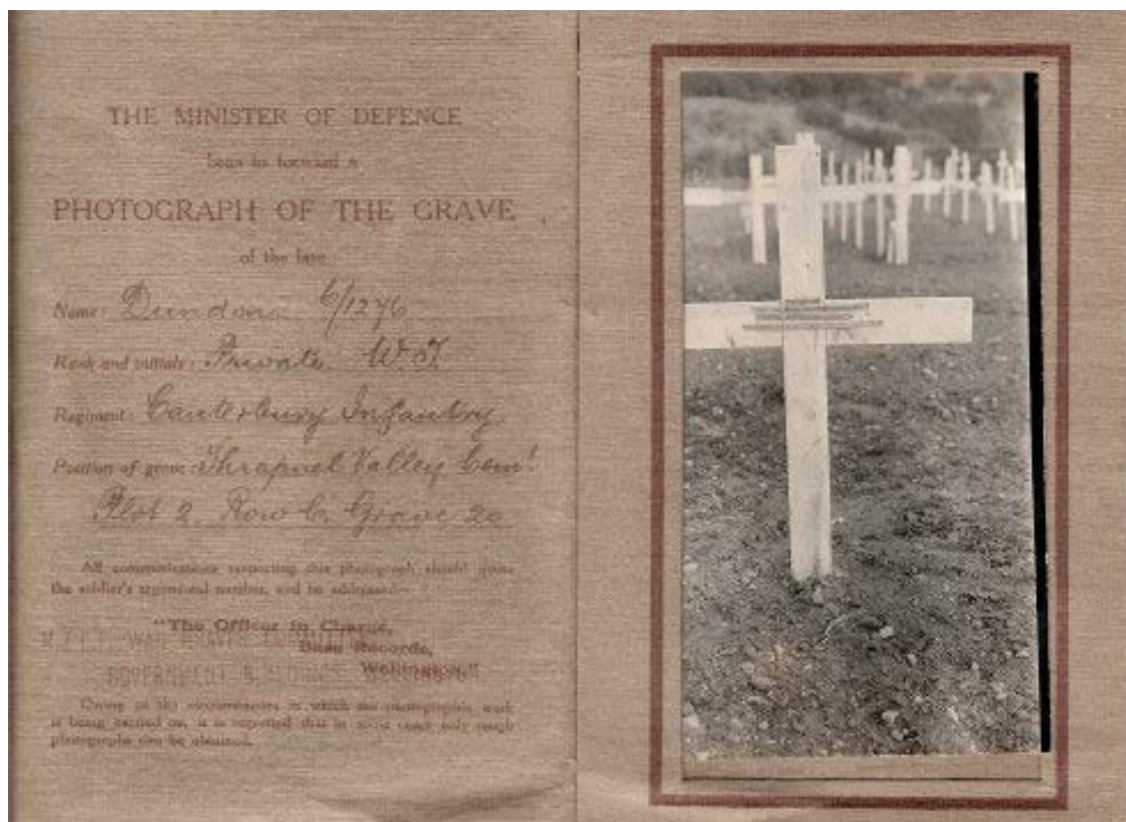


Figure 2: Photograph of Private William Thomas Dundon's grave at Shrapnel Valley Cemetery, Gallipoli. Marlborough Museum. 2002.092.0037.

An example of one of these photographs, received after the war, can be found below in Figure 2.

⁶ Callister, *The Face of War*, 2008, p.54.

⁷ Thomas James Pemberton, *Gallipoli To-Day*, London: Ernest Benn, 1926, p.3.

⁸ Letters between Hon. James Allen and Rev. Laurence Herd discuss this issue throughout 1917. War Graves-Overseas-Photographs-Negatives etc. General overseas photograph file, R12333900, ANZ.

⁹ Letter Mrs R Murphy 18/04/1918.

The image of Private William Dundon's grave at Shrapnel Valley on Gallipoli was forwarded to his family, and with the wooden cross in place, and identical crosses behind, it is likely that this image was taken after the IWGC and GRU had been working on the Peninsula. It was an acknowledgement of the grief that had been suffered, and of the likely impassable distance between the family and their soldier.

Although this image is an official one, it still fits the purpose of a graveside photograph. In sending this to the family, it allows them to mourn and to remember. It takes away the element of the unknown for the mourners – they could see where their soldier was laid to rest.¹⁰

The less official photographs of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles are also more individual. They were taken before any of the work by the Imperial War Graves Commission and Graves Registration Unit had taken place, so they show the time and effort these soldiers took in caring for their comrades' graves. The soldier's photographs are therefore more intimate, often showing the grave from different angles, and paying special attention to the names on the headstones where they exist.

Figure 3 is a headstone on Gallipoli commemorating the dead of the Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry from the 6th of August 1915, and appears in all of the five CMR albums surveyed. The men whose names have been carved on the stone are; Sergeant Robert Anthony Fleming, Lance Sergeant Arthur Robert Greenwood, Trooper Robert Lusk, Trooper James Mounsey, Trooper Louis Albert Mclean and Trooper George Smith. Captain Anderson's burial party found these remains during their work on the Peninsula, so this photograph stands as evidence of their efforts. The care with which the names were recorded – each letter carved by hand with what tools were available, most likely a bayonet, is a testament to the comradeship these men shared.

Additionally, the small cross fashioned from individual stones sitting below the headstone, carefully arranged by hand, created a centre piece for their grief and collective remembrance. The soldiers buried in this grave all belonged to varying denominations of Christianity, as was the norm at the time, so the cross is likely a recognition of this as well.¹¹ The somber search for the suitable stones would also have given the members of the CMR time to reflect on their position as survivors.

Makeshift headstones like the one seen in Figure 3 were likely destroyed or lost after these smaller grave sites were co-located into the larger cemeteries seen today. One surviving 50lb (22.7kg) headstone, commemorating a group of the Wellington Mounted Riflemen killed at Number 3 Outpost on 30/05/1915, was found on Rhododendron Spur in 1971, and subsequently gifted to the Returned Services' Association.¹² In 1923, upon viewing some of the original stones when visiting Gallipoli, Sir James Allen commented they had most likely come from the shore.¹³

¹⁰ Callister, p.67.

¹¹ Personnel files for listed soldiers: R21003473, R16788782, R10921130, R21378106, R10926105, R7818785, ANZ.

¹² 'First World War Memorial Home' *Evening Post*, 03/01/1972. See also R12333969, ANZ.

¹³ 'War Graves' *NZ Times*, 11/12/1923 via R12333898, ANZ.

If this is true for the stone depicted in Figure 3, it would have been a long walk through the hills to bring this stone to its final resting place.



Figure 3: A carved headstone commemorating dead members of the CMR. Trooper Mowat, 1992.745.4, NAM.
<https://nam.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4761>

It is worth noting, that Figure 3 also appears in Glyn Harper's *Images of War*.¹⁴ Several of the images from the five albums considered here also appear in *The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles*, which was released in 1928.¹⁵ This speaks to the circulation of these images; the fact that four of the five albums are available to view online only adds to the availability of the material regarding this first pilgrimage.¹⁶ Given the importance of Gallipoli to New Zealand, and the availability of the images, it is surprising that the work of the CMR has not been investigated in depth before.

The difference between the two photographs above, Figure 2 and Figure 3, further shows why the work of the CMR was significant and deeply personal. The card in Figure 2 was sent out to the next of kin of soldiers killed overseas after the IWGC had begun work on the gravesites. The IWGC favoured uniformity in their cemeteries; the headstones at Gallipoli are deliberately consistent, as befitting an organisation that supported equality, unity and reconciliation among the dead.¹⁷ The goals of the IWGC were ultimately fulfilled, as shown in the cemeteries as they appear today, which stand as a timeless testament to both individual and united sacrifice. Although the current cemeteries evoke strong feelings, the emotion associated with the work done by the CMR, and by those on the Peninsula in 1915, represented in the collection of stones, was lost.

That is not to say that the cards and photographs, and the work of the IWGC, were not appreciated. There are numerous examples of the recipients writing to the Department of Internal Affairs expressing their gratitude.

'Just a note to thank you very much for the Pictures you sent my Father of the Cemetery in which my brother 49715 J G Keith is buried also of the shrine on his grave, we are very fond of them and appreciate them very much, it looks a lovely place if only one day we could be able to visit them.

Again thanking you very much

Yours Faithfully

M Keith.¹⁸

The CMR and 7th LH were fortunate to be sent back to a place so many would wish to go. But as the letter above illustrates, the reality for families in New Zealand and Australia meant that photographs were as close as many would come to seeing their loved ones' final resting place. This was what Callister saw as 'the double tragedy of grief and dislocation.'¹⁹ In light of this

¹⁴ Glyn Harper, *Images of War: New Zealand and the First World War in Photographs*. Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers Limited, 2008.

¹⁵ Powles, 1928. It is possible that these images appeared in this text, courtesy of Trooper Mowat, and that upon purchasing this book, members of the CMR approached Mowat for copies. It is also possible that these men all knew each other, and obtained copies of the photographs before the publication of *The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles*. Unfortunately there is no evidence to suggest which sequence of events took place.

¹⁶ The albums held at the National Army Museum, New Zealand have all been digitized. Trooper William Jenkins, 1992.1153. Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry Scrapbook 1992.1203. Unknown CMR Soldier 2007.553. Trooper Leonard Mowat, 1992.745.1-4.

¹⁷ Crane, *Empires of the Dead*, p177.

¹⁸ Letters forwarded to the High Commissioner from the Department of Internal Affairs 11/03/1926, R12333902, ANZ.

¹⁹ Callister, p. 6.

'double tragedy', the photographs taken by Trooper Mowat, might have been a double relief for families who thought their sons missing. Their son, relative or friend had a known grave, and a fellow soldier, perhaps even a friend, had been able to locate the body and ensure the site was marked. Upon return to New Zealand these photographs may have been given to family members, who would surely have held them as treasured mementos.²⁰

The albums of the CMR contain more than photographs of graves and include many images of the distinctive landscape of Gallipoli. These images, showing Gallipoli during the 1918-1919 occupation, adds to the details contained in the unit war diary. The CMR were not the only ones to photograph the Gallipoli Peninsula after the war. The Australian Historical Mission returned to the Peninsula in February 1919, after the 7th Light Horse and Canterbury Mounted Rifles had left. The 7th Light Horse had been instructed to leave the graves and debris as they found it – the Australian Historical Mission was to find souvenirs and record the appearance of the landscape as they arrived.²¹ It is notable that the New Zealand government did not have any dedicated team such as the Historical Mission, so it is fortunate that the Canterbury Mounted Rifles' visit has been recorded in the photograph albums.

The Australian Historical Mission was supervised by Australian war correspondent Charles Bean. It was noted in the resulting book *Gallipoli Mission*, that the Historical Mission was sent to Gallipoli because 'except for any private souvenirs that might be handed over, the campaign would apparently be unrepresented.'²² The photographs that were taken during their later visit, by Captain George Hubert Wilkins, directly relate to their purpose. They show Gallipoli after the war but before the work of the IWGC or GRU had really begun, so although the landscape is not the same as during the 1915 campaign, these images helped to ensure it would not be under-represented in the future Australian War Memorial Museum.

These two sets of photographs, one captured by an amateur soldier, and the other by a professional photographer, are useful to contrast against one another. The information gained from this contrast goes further in constructing an image of what Gallipoli looked like for the first Anzacs' return, and it provides further information regarding the work they completed. It is also possible to draw some conclusions regarding how it felt to be among the first Anzacs to return to the old battlefield, through the features they chose to capture as 'photography became a site of remembrance'.²³

Both Mowat and Wilkins capture photographs of the same landscape features indicating a growing recognition of important sections of Gallipoli as integral to the history and eventual myth that would surround the place.²⁴ For example, both men capture Anzac Cove. This is one of the better recognised landmarks of the Peninsula, particularly for civilians as evidenced in its selection as the image for the 50th anniversary stamps issued by the New Zealand Post. These stamps, seen in Figure 4, are identifiably Anzac Cove.

²⁰ Callister, p. 40.

²¹ Charles Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, pp.1-5.

²² *Ibid*, p. 8.

²³ Callister, p.5.

²⁴ It is worth noting here, that 'myth' is considered in this thesis to mean a traditional story, often built on an exaggerated truth. It should not be considered to mean a falsehood.



Figure 4: 50th Anniversary Anzac stamp, New Zealand Post.

The image of the narrow strip of sand, hemmed in by water on one side and an inhospitable mountain range on the other, is distinct enough to be memorialised on a stamp without the location being explicitly named. This was 50 years on from the conflict, however, when the myth of the place had had time to cement itself in the national memory of New Zealand.



Figure 5: Anzac Cove, Australian Historical Mission. G01747, AWMM.

Only a few short years after the conflict both Mowat and Wilkins recognised the significance of the landscape. Both of the photographs show a different side to Anzac Cove – it was not the teeming beach of 1915, and it was not the memorialised beach of today. Figures 5 and 6 show Anzac Cove only a few short years after the evacuation with evidence of the conflict still visible on the beach.

Figure 5, taken by Wilkins, shows clear evidence of the conflict in the forefront of the picture in the form of barbed wire and what may be rotten supply boxes. In the distance, the concrete shelter is still standing, and the remains of a pier and other debris from the war litter the shoreline. The shot also includes the steep hills leading up to Ari Burnu and the remainder of Gallipoli. This photograph has been carefully directed to include these elements of Anzac Cove, and the evidence that the campaign had taken place there.

The most noticeable difference between these two images of Anzac Cove, is that Wilkins' is a colour photograph. It is likely he used James Hurley's process utilizing two plates, one black-and-white and one colour, which when combined, produced a colour image. Hurley and Wilkins worked together in the France, so it is likely Hurley's process was used by Wilkins on Gallipoli.²⁵

The colour does add another dimension to the image that is not found in any of the soldier's albums, due to the different technology available to Wilkins. The pale blue of the sky and sea, and the visible sandy patches on the hills where the foliage is missing, makes it easier to visualize the struggles of the soldiers in 1915, climbing up the unforgiving hills. The rocks scattered along the shore are also more visible because of the use of colour. The concrete building also appears more stark against the hill, thanks to the depth achieved by the method used by Wilkins.

Figure 6 is a similar picture, drawn from the album of Trooper Mowat, and shows the contrast between the more professionally directed photograph of Wilkins. Mowat's photograph is still recognisable as Anzac Cove, and still features the same concrete shelter and pier, only much closer. It appears that Mowat is standing slightly above the beach, so the smaller items, such as the barbed wire, are not visible in his image. This image also lacks the inclusion of the steep cliffs and does not highlight the signature curve of the cove. Clearly though, Mowat recognised this as an important part of the landscape, something he should capture and preserve. The other four Canterbury Mounted Rifles' albums also include this same picture, speaking to the image's encompassing appeal, although it may not have had the same meaning to each man.²⁶

²⁵ Frank Hurley. *Hurley at War: The Photography and diaries of Frank Hurley in two world wars*, Auckland: Penguin Group, 1986. p.5.

²⁶ Callister, p.37.



Figure 6: Anzac Cove, Trooper Mowat, 1992.745.4, NAM.
<https://nam.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4753>

This was not the only picture that Mowat took of Anzac Cove, he includes two wider shots of the beach which more closely resemble the deliberate shot by Wilkins. These additional pictures of Anzac Cove do not appear in any of the other albums, only Mowat's. This may be because the wider shots of Anzac Cove, looking down along the beach, fail to capture the narrowness of the bay in the same way that both Figures 5 and 6 do. After all, the narrowness of the beach is part of the enduring myth that has been built up around Gallipoli, and when the other owners of the albums went to Mowat for copies of his pictures, they selected the images that reflected this emerging myth.

These pictures lack the activity of 1915, and the closeness that the people and boats brought to the small beach. They speak to the emerging myth of the landing on the narrow beach – despite the fact that the CMR were not present at the landing.²⁷ Even a few short years after the landing took place, a group of men who had only heard of the landing, recognised the growing myth surrounding it. The sense of place developing around Gallipoli was already strong, and both Wilkins' and Mowat's picture capture this.

A further difference between the photographs of the Australian Historical Mission, and those taken by Trooper Mowat is illustrated in Figures 7 and 8 below.

Again, both photographers have captured the same subject matter but from very different perspectives. Mowat has focused on the Turkish Monument, showing the details of the roughly hewn stone, and shells atop the memorial in sharp focus. Wilkins, however, has captured the monument from further back, choosing to include the human remains in the foreground. These remains were likely untouched by human hands since the campaign. As the Canterbury Mounted Riflemen traversed Gallipoli, they would have seen the bones of fellow soldiers, bleached white after four years exposed to the elements.²⁸ None of Mowat's pictures, or any of the pictures in the other four photograph albums of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles show human remains at Gallipoli.²⁹ It is not a reality that they wished to preserve, but one that Wilkins and the Historical Mission captured multiple times.³⁰

²⁷ Harper, *Letters from Gallipoli*, p.2.

²⁸ Diary of Private Walter White, 21/12/1918. PR01791 Papers of Private Walter White, AWMM.

²⁹ The photograph albums are much less particular about showing human remains than are those with the Allied forces. The Diamanti album does not hesitate to include an image of jumbled skulls and bones labelled, 'Evidence of Turkish atrocities against Armenians.' Similarly, there is an image of Turkish officers hanging Armenians. This last image can also be found in Trooper Mowat's album 1992.745.4, NAM.

³⁰ Callister on p.37 of *The Face of War*, notes that photograph albums do not show bodies often, and when they do they are often at a discreet distance from the camera. It is interesting to note that although the Historical Mission did make a point of capturing human remains, they too do so from a distance.



Figure 7: Turkish Monument on Russel Top, Trooper Mowat, 1992.745.4, NAM.
<https://nam.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4765>



Figure 8: Turkish Monument, Historical Mission, G01743, AWMM.

There are a few reasons for the differences seen in Figure 7 and 8, captured by Mowat and Wilkins respectively. Part of the Australian Historical Mission's purpose was to capture reality as it was presented, not to filter it as Mowat has done by excluding the human remains deliberately. The photograph's intended audience would also have impacted what images made the final cut into the wider collection. The Historical Mission's photographs were intended for a wide, public audience in a museum. The photographs were portrayals of a past campaign, meant to illustrate the rough terrain and brutal conditions the soldiers had written home about. For Bean and the Mission, the aftermath of the war needed to be presented intact for the purpose of faithfully representing the 1915 campaign.

For the troopers of the CMR, their albums were intended as a personal historical record, and as such human remains – especially those that might have been of friends or comrades – were not appropriate subject matter. They may have wanted to spare the feelings of those who had lost a brother or son.

It was difficult for the soldiers to discuss what they had seen with family members or friends who had not also served, and who did not fully comprehend what had happened during the war -

'traumatic experiences may violate public taboos or personal comprehension' as Thomas put it.³¹ The standard procedure for exhumation was one of these experiences. An Australian officer described the procedure stating:

'The grave would be opened and the body uncovered. The body was checked for identity discs, paybooks, papers or anything else that could be used in identification. Then the body was wrapped in a blanket, sewn up and marked with an identifying tag for future occasions.'³²

This procedure may have been slightly different for the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, as they were not always exhuming bodies, and were not officially a part of the GRU. However, using the details included in Lieutenant Doherty's report, which include descriptions such as 'bullet hole through side of skull. Has false teeth in upper jaw'³³ we can conclude that the Canterbury Mounted Riflemen handled remains closely, and this was something that violated that public taboo. This divide between public and private images, would explain why the CMR conspicuously lack photographs showing remains when there is ample evidence they were scattered across the peninsula.

Of the monument itself, Richardson recorded in *The History of the 7th Light Horse*, that 'the Turks had built unsubstantial "victory" monuments on Lone Pine and Walker's Ridge, and these, as transitory as their victory, were already falling to pieces.'³⁴ These monuments were eventually taken down.

Subject matter also differed between the Australian party and the New Zealand albums. The landscape features photographed by both reflect the emerging national myths surrounding Gallipoli, and the sense of place that was developing over the key features of the landscape. Lone Pine appears in the images taken by the Historical Mission (Figure 9) and Chunuk Bair appears in Mowat's album (Figure 10). It is not surprising that these places appear in the collections, as they were both a part of the August Offensive and resulted in fierce fighting and heavy casualties for the regiments involved.³⁵ Therefore, both Lone Pine and Chunuk Bair have become key touchstones for New Zealand and Australia. Even at the time of the return, 'the later men, who had not been at Anzac, were keen to see all the places whose names were familiar to them.'³⁶

It might seem that the landscape photographs do not tell much of a story; there is no action, no people or items to add dimension or depth to the image. However, Figure 9, shows the remnants of the war in a way that could not be captured during the hectic campaign of 1915. The deep trench in the foreground, and pits caused by artillery or mines shows the extent of the action. The barren hills, intersected by the actions of war, and stretching into the distance clearly shows the harshness of the Peninsula, and the difficult challenge faced by the soldiers.

³¹ Alistair Thomas, *Anzac Memories. Living with the Legend*. Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2013. p.13.

³² Crane, p.142.

³³ Report dated 18/01/1919. Appendices to January 1919, Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958 ANZ.

³⁴ p.109.

³⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the August Offensive see: David Cameron, *The August Offensive: At Anzac 1915*. Australian Army Campaigns. Canberra: Army History Unit, 2011.

³⁶ Richardson, *The History of the 7th Light Horse*, p.110.



Figure 9: Lone Pine, Historical Mission, G01751, AWMM.

The Historical Mission deliberately captured human remains in the left mid-ground and toward the middle of the photograph, while Mowat shows evidence of trenches in the foreground of his shot. Once again, the largest difference in subject matter – human remains – stems from the public and private divide of remembrance of Gallipoli.

Figure 10, looking onto Chunuk Bair from Rhododendron Ridge shows a view that would not have been possible during the 1915 campaign. The intense fighting that took place there is not as readily reflected, due to Mowat's decision to exclude any obvious remains or debris from the image. However, the evidence of the trenches can clearly be seen running along the ridge. The men walking along the path in the left of the image provide some useful scale as well; just as in Figure 9, the enormity of the challenge which faced the soldiers is evident.



Figure 10: Rhododendron Ridge looking to Chunuk Bair, Trooper Mowat, 1992.745.4, NAM.
<https://nam.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4771>

Other than landscape images, the Historical Mission and the CMR did take pictures of their members on the Peninsula. For the Historical Mission, these kinds of images were often formal in front of their camps, or used to illustrate the results of shelling in the area (Figure 11). The CMR, however, were more casual in their approach to including themselves in photographs.

One of the more well-known pictures features members of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles climbing over the large naval guns at the forts (Figure 12). This photograph also appears in *The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles*, by Colonel Powles, and in *Images of War*.³⁷ It is strikingly triumphal, as the soldiers climb on the weapon which once harassed Allied ships only a few years before hand. The Historical Mission avoided casual shots, or anything that could be construed as triumphal. Once again, these pictures illustrate the difference in purpose between the two parties on the Peninsula. It also speaks to the overall tone of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles' albums, which often contain numerous tourist snapshots of landmarks in Jerusalem and Jordan, which gives the albums a more casual tone overall.

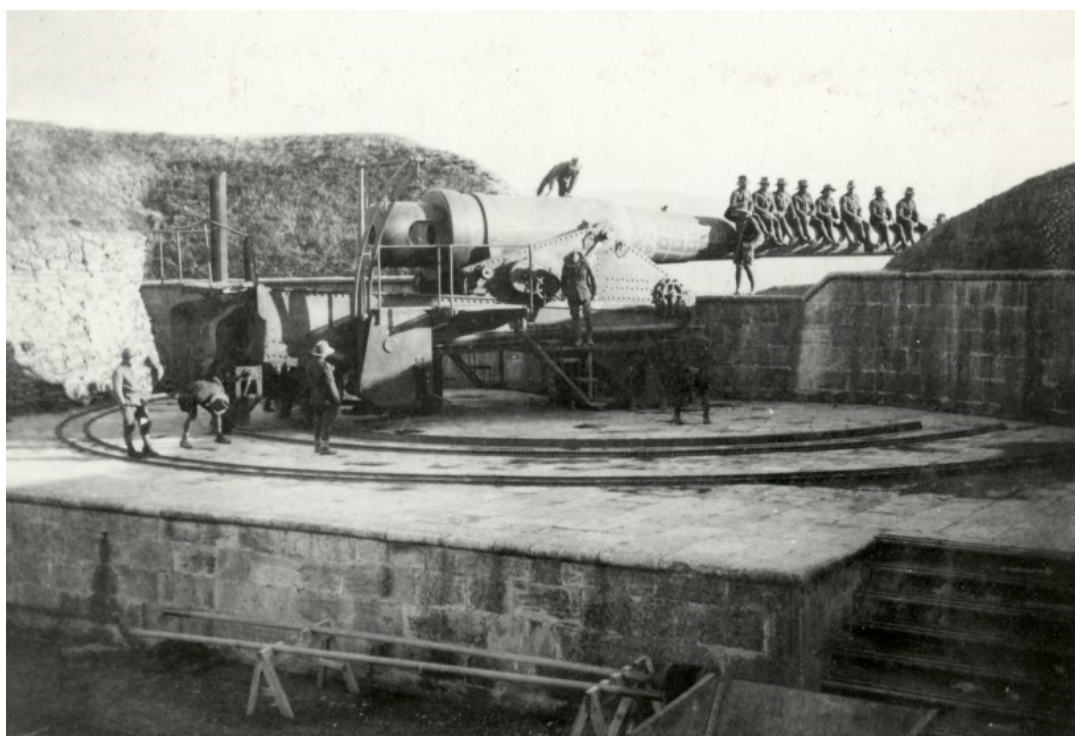
³⁷ Powles, p.244. Harper, 2008, p. 250. As with the image of the headstone earlier in this chapter, this photograph again shows that some of the material surrounding the first return of the Anzacs has been accessible for some time.



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

G01962

Figure 11: Member of the Historical Mission standing in a shell hole. G01962, AWMM.



*Figure 12: Members of the CMR on a Turkish naval gun. Trooper Mowat, 1992. 745.4, NAM.
<https://nam.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4775>*

These images provide useful details to flesh-out the short day-to-day updates in the unit war diaries, and reports. In contrasting the images taken by Wilkins and Mowat, it is possible to draw further conclusions about the images and their intended audience. While the Historical Mission had a clear and public purpose, Mowat's, and the other albums of the Canterbury Mounted Riflemen were intended for private consumption. The features of the landscape which were captured by both parties, and in the case of the CMR albums copied from Mowat's collection, also reflect the gaze of the soldiers during the visits.

The images are also useful in answering how the members of the CMR felt about the return to Gallipoli. They did not record their emotions in diaries or letters, but the photographs show what was important to them during their return. The famous landscape features captured by Trooper Mowat were sites of heightened emotion, and the fact that these images appear in the other CMR albums shows that Mowat was not the only one who felt a need to remember certain sites/sights. These images are a reaction to Gallipoli as a place, and as a site of memory and of sentiment.

Both the Australian Historical Mission, and CMR photographs provide an important perspective on Gallipoli as a site of remembrance, and as a physical space. For those who viewed the photographs showing the famous features of the landscape, it would have provided some context for the stories that took place on the other side of the earth. If they lost someone, they could see what this place looked like, and know where it was they were laid to rest. Both sets of photographs are commemorative, although they differ in that the Historical Mission's photographs are intended for the public, and the CMR's albums more for private remembrance. The two sets of photographs capture in the landscape, naval guns, and graves and bones, a strong desire to find comfort in remembrance. The landscape that was once a scene of horror becomes familiar in its emptiness, the naval guns which had caused such havoc were subdued by the soldiers who posed for photographs sitting on them. The graves and bones captured for posterity do not shy entirely away from the reality of the conflict, although some photographs are more brutal in their depiction of this truth.

This commemoration and need for remembrance in connection with Gallipoli is a well-known aspect of the historiography surrounding Gallipoli. It extends well outside the need of the Australian Historical Mission and Canterbury Mounted Rifles to remember their visit to the Peninsula. New Zealand and Australia as nations put a large amount of precedence on Anzac Day, and although Anzac forces served outside Gallipoli the word Anzac is almost synonymous with Gallipoli a century later.³⁸ The tender work of the CMR, and the photographs of the Australian Historical Mission certainly deserves greater attention in light of the importance of Gallipoli as a physical site, and a place of remembrance.

³⁸ Sheftall, pp.41-45.

Chapter 3 – The Reactions at Home

Another layer in the investigation of the CMR visit to Gallipoli, and how this can inform our view of Gallipoli as a place and memory, is the reactions to the reburial and identification work on the home front. The cards sent by the Department of Internal Affairs were invaluable to those who received them, so it stands to reason that the work done by the CMR would have been similarly valued by those at home.

Those left behind on the home front during the war did not have an easy road ahead of them. As one author has noted:

‘Anxiety began as early as enlistment itself. Parents were giving up sons to an uncertain future, and subjecting themselves to potential bereavement, and they expressed their worries openly though entreaties to loved ones to be careful. [...] Such entreaties could hardly offer comfort after departure, as imagination intervened with terrifying scenarios of death and wounding, inducing a deep sense of powerlessness.’¹

The men of the CMR and 7th LH began arriving home from August 1919, many after two to three years continuous service.² In the case of Gallipoli veteran Plaisted, he had been in service overseas for 4 years and 185 days.³ Their engagements across the Middle East after Gallipoli had been well documented in local newspapers up until the end of the war, and could often be found under the headline ‘Anzac Mounted Division’ or simply ‘Anzac Mounteds’.⁴ At the war’s end, the Regiments making up the Anzac Mounted Division went in separate directions, and the term ceased to be used. This, of course, did not mean that the regiments were all demobilised at the same time. Work continued for the CMR and 7th LH, and naturally relatives and friends of these soldiers still engaged overseas were eager for any news of their wellbeing and activities.

News was often slow to come to New Zealand and Australia; it was in January 1919 that the *Feilding Star*, a New Zealand paper, published an article titled ‘Another Anzac Scandal’. The article spoke about the occupation of the Dardanelles by the two Anzac regiments, and lamented that many were becoming sick with malaria and influenza, ending the article with ‘They would be better home.’⁵ This was part of a larger article that the embedded journalist Ernest Peacock had submitted at the very beginning of January 1919. The influenza outbreak amongst the CMR

¹ Bart Ziino, “‘I Feel I Can No Longer Endure’: Families and the Limits of Commitment in Australia, 1914-19” in *Endurance and the First World War*, David Monger, Sarah Murray, Katie Pickles (eds). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014. p.105.

² See personnel files: 7/1750 William Jenkins, R18053299; 35916 Leonard William Mowat, R21378132; 7/1603 Ambrose Martin Cotterell, R24055425; 17391 Robert James Michael Diamanti, R24055802, ANZ. Also: 3377 Trooper Walter White, National Archives Australia.

³ See personnel file: 7/388 William Plaisted, R20801716, ANZ.

⁴ See: ‘The Anzac Mounteds’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 22/05/1916 p. 5; ‘Anzac Mounteds,’ *Evening Post*, 10/08/1916 p. 7; ‘Anzac Mounted Force’, *Marlborough Express*, 26/01/1917 p. 2; ‘Anzac Mounteds Operations Praised’, *The Bathurst Times*, 08/08/1916, p. 2; ‘With the Anzac Mounted Division’, *Sydney Mail*, 09/05/1917, p.9.

⁵ ‘Another Anzac Scandal’, *Feilding Star*, 13/01/1919, p.2.

and 7th LH had in fact taken place at the beginning of December 1918. The month's delay in news reaching New Zealand was an inconvenience of the time, but could not be avoided unless news was delivered by a cable, which could come in two days.⁶

The family and friends of the Anzac regiments still deployed on the Peninsula would have been anxious for news of their loved ones. The newspaper articles that were published reflect the anxieties of these relatives, who likely agreed with the sentiment of the newspapers that their loved ones belonged at home. The Armistice had been announced only a month before the influenza outbreak, in November 1918, and would have come as a welcome relief to family and friends who had been worrying for years about their soldier's well-being with only delayed and scant news for comfort. The news of the Armistice 'was a chance genuinely to anticipate reunions, and to see families made whole.'⁷ It would have been heart-breaking to hear that your loved one had been re-deployed on an old battlefield, instead of coming home. Anxieties amongst those at home would only have increased with the knowledge that influenza was spreading amongst the regiments. Any news of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, and 7th Light Horse, would, therefore, have been followed with interest by those looking for news of their relatives to ease any anxieties they had.

While others were looking forward to welcoming their soldier home, for some they could only grieve, and these newspaper articles would have been of interest to those whose relatives and friends had died on the Peninsula as well. Faced with the reality that their loved one would not return, thoughts turned to their final resting place. As already evidenced in the previous chapters, families were eager for any information regarding where and how their loved ones were buried. Therefore, these articles were of interest to two specific groups of people and were likely followed in passing by the general populace.

Many newspapers initially reported on the return of the CMR and 7th LH with a small paragraph noting: 'The Seventh Australian Horse and the Canterbury Mounted Rifles (the latter comprising 25 officers and 464 men) have arrived at Chanak from Egypt, as the Australian section of the British division of occupation in the Dardanelles.'⁸ It had appeared earlier in both New Zealand and Australian newspapers that Australian and New Zealand troops would be included in the occupying force, with the *Marlborough Express* noting the inclusion might not be met with favour as delaying demobilisation would not please families.⁹

More detailed reports came later from an Australian journalist sent along with the Australians, Ernest Peacock. The New Zealanders did not send an accompanying journalist, but given the interest in the topic and the prevalence of syndication at the time, Peacock's articles could be

⁶ Ziino, "I feel I can no longer endure" in *Endurance and the First World War*, 2014. p.106

⁷ *Ibid* p.116.

⁸ 'The Dardanelles Australasian Forces Arrive', *Wairarapa Age*, 30/12/1918, p.5; for Australian example see 'Light Horse Garrison', *The Maitland Daily Mercury*, 30/12/1918 p.4.

⁹ 'Anzacs and the Dardanelles', *Marlborough Express*, 05/11/1918, p.6.

commonly found in New Zealand papers.¹⁰ These were published regularly from the end of December 1918, although Peacock was commissioned as a Mediterranean correspondent before the arrival of the Anzacs at the Dardanelles, so articles unrelated to the occupying force were also published.¹¹

His first article on Gallipoli detailed his arrival in the Dardanelles, including an interview with Mustapha Kemal Atatürk. Movingly, Peacock described seeing Gallipoli from the ship, feelings which have so far gone undescribed as accessed diaries or letters left by the CMR and 7th LH did not describe the experience. It is easy to envision the Anzac soldiers gathered at the rails of the ship, looking out to the hills, unable to put into words what Peacock did.

‘Sombre, yet eager, feelings stirred this truly Australian company as it came at dawn within sight of the sandy cliffs and low dark tree-covered plains which were Anzac. [...] Around us seemed to hover the spirits of those who had eight months of struggle, suffering, and sacrifice, and we thought of the souls of those wonderful men lying yonder, whose deeds revealed as in a flash the national character and spirit, the hidden depths, and resources and capacity which all now know Australia holds.’¹²

Further into this article, he details his interview with Mustapha Kemal Atatürk. A senior commander during the 1915 campaign, Kemal was integral to the Turkish victory, and his heroic actions alongside those of the average Mehmet soldier have become key touchstones in Turkey’s history.¹³ New Zealand soldiers fighting against the Turks did not view them with a huge amount of animosity, instead seeing them as fellow sufferers.¹⁴ The sentiment seems to be reciprocated to some extent, with Kemal telling Peacock he often spoke of the Australians with his men who ‘thought them terrible, but brave.’¹⁵

Kemal and Peacock go on to review the landing, with Kemal noting ‘We knew weeks before that the British intended to make the landing, hence the strength of our defences. I thought the landing at Anzac impossible.’ Peacock, not wanting to influence the flow of the interview simply asks ‘Then?’ To which Kemal continues:

‘You made the mistake of trying to hold too large an area... if the Australians had occupied a smaller area they would have held it securely, with less loss, I saw the mistake

¹⁰ Peacock’s article ‘Graves at Gallipoli’ was published in the *New Zealand Herald*, *Press*, *Marlborough Express*, *The Colonist*, and the *Nelson Evening Mail* throughout January 1919. The latter four newspapers were all from the Canterbury and Marlborough region, while the *New Zealand Herald* was circulated in Auckland. This indicates that it was not just a regional interest in the CMR, but that this was of interest throughout New Zealand.

¹¹ For example: ‘From Turkey Anzacs Released Stories of Illtreatment’. *The Daily Mail* (Brisbane), 06/12/1918, p.5; ‘Kaiser’s Lives Dodge Airmen and Suicidal Effort’. *The Sun* (Sydney) 11/12/1918 p.2.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Jenny Macleod and Gizem Tongo, ‘Between Memory and History Remember Johnnies, Mehments and Armenians’ in *Beyond Gallipoli. New Perspectives on Anzac*, Raelene Frances and Bruce Scates (eds), Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2016. p.26.

¹⁴ Alexander Aitken, *Gallipoli to the Somme: Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963, p.34.

¹⁵ ‘Gallipoli Campaign’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 28/12/1919 p.10.

immediately, and sent my main force round the left, driving in the flank, while small holding forces opposed your centre. ... It was a very daring adventure, and if more men had been employed at Anzac it would have succeeded. Only the bravest troops could accomplish what was done.’¹⁶

Peacock’s respect for Kemal is obvious, and the Colonel spoke ‘so sincerely of the courage and resourcefulness of the Australians that if ever he visited Australia he would find many of his opponents glad to see him.’¹⁷ The mutual respect between Anzac soldiers and their Turkish counterparts comes across strongly in this interview. Although the interview was conducted by an Australian, and speaks exclusively of Australian movements, getting the measure of the man who defeated the Allied forces would have been of interest to a wide audience.

This interest is evidenced in the wide circulation this article enjoyed, as it was published in at least three other Australian papers; *Daily Examiner*, *Daily Standard*, and *Maryborough Chronicle*.¹⁸ It was also published in several New Zealand papers including the *Otago Daily Times*, *Feilding Star*, and *Taranaki Herald*.¹⁹ In regards to the Australian newspapers, the *Daily Examiner* was located in Grafton, New South Wales; the *Daily Standard* in Brisbane, and the *Maryborough Chronicle* in Queensland. The New Zealand newspapers that reprinted these articles were also well spread across the country as indicated by their titles. Many of Peacock’s articles and telegrams shared a similar circulation.

Peacock’s poetic phrases are representative of the thoughts that had been long on the minds of many Anzacs and their relatives and friends. They could imagine the landscape in which their loved ones were buried, piecing it together from letters, photographs and other news reports. Peacock was a descriptive writer, and this is part of the reason why his articles were reasonably well circulated. His writings allowed those who would never see Gallipoli for themselves, a chance to imagine the place, and live vicariously through his own walks along the Peninsula.

Writing on the burials undertaken by the CMR Peacock recorded:

‘This spirit of true comradeship towards the dead shows itself in a wonderful and beautiful manner. Going over each remnant, buttons and scraps of cloth and other details they found sufficient to be convinced that the remains were those of a comrade. It is impossible to describe or to do justice to the tender, reverent, care with which each particle was gathered together, a grave dug, and the whole buried in quite impressive solemnity. There was no funeral service but no dignitary ever received a more truly loving Christian burial than did these remains. Those, big strong rough looking troopers

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ ‘Gallipoli Campaign. Turkish Commander Interviewed.’ *Bendigo Advertiser*, 28/12/1918, p.10.

¹⁸ ‘Gallipoli Campaign. Turkish General Interviewed’. *Daily Examiner*, 20/12/1918, p.3; ‘A Mistake. Gallipoli Campaign’ *Daily Standard*, 28/12/1918, p.4; ‘The Gallipoli Campaign. Leading Turk’s Views’. *Maryborough Chronicle*, 01/01/1919, p.3.

¹⁹ ‘Where Heroes Sleep. Gallipoli Revisited’. *Otago Daily Times*, 18/01/1919, p.8; ‘Gallipoli Landing. Turk Commander’s View’, *Feilding Star*, 14/01/1919, p.3; ‘Gallipoli Attack “A Very Daring Adventure.”’, *Taranaki Herald*, 22/01/1919, p.8.

with their shovels hunting for their comrades on the old battlefields is a picture no artist could paint nor any poet do justice to. [...] They displayed a tenderness, care and love which could not be excelled by mother or wife or child.’²⁰

This quote appears in Powles’ *History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles*, an indication of the accuracy of Peacock’s observation and of its widespread appeal to audiences outside of the soldiers it speaks about.

Peacock’s next telegram came only a few days after his first in early January. He expanded on this telegram with a lengthy article, published in March 1919. Accompanying a small party of Anzacs, he investigated some of the more well-known cemeteries including Shell Green, Beach Cemetery and Shrapnel Gully. The common impression of the cemeteries was that no markers remained – wooden crosses had been removed, although Turkish signs had been erected stating the cemeteries were ‘English Mazar Laki’ which Peacock translated as ‘English burying place.’ There was a lot of overgrowth, but Peacock noted it was still possible to see where individual graves were located especially in Shrapnel Gully Cemetery, where the graves were in regular rows, some with stones outlining the place of internment.²¹

A telegraph sent on the 5th of January 1919 gave more detail to an earlier report that graves on Gallipoli had been ‘grievously molested and desecrated’.²² Peacock elaborated on this by relaying that ‘The digging up of the graves is not extensive in defined areas, but many skeletons in the advanced lines of No Man’s Land in shallow graves have been washed out, and some dug up, probably by road gangs, prowlers or animals. In many trenches the bodies in small groups of graves have been molested, and it is hopeless to identify the majority.’²³ The first, less-detailed article was published in many New Zealand newspapers right before Christmas, on the 23rd and 24th of December 1918.²⁴ It is impossible to know the heartache this caused – an examination of letters to the editor in several New Zealand newspapers in the months following these publications found no discussion of the graves. Perhaps it was too painful to talk about, or it was not something that was discussed publicly, for fear that it would make the situation even more unbearable for some.

Subsequent January updates from Peacock spoke about the Turkish strengthening defences along the Peninsula,²⁵ the bones commonly found strewn along sites of intense fighting,²⁶ and the work of the New Zealanders in marking out and tending graves.²⁷ Peacock also submitted a number of

²⁰ Powles, pp.246-7.

²¹ ‘Telegram: Anzac Memories.’ *The Newcastle Sun*, 01/01/1919, p.5; Article: ‘Fields of Glory’, *The Sun*, 03/03/1919 p.6.

²² ‘Gallipoli Graves’, *Press*, Volume LIV, Issue 16402, 23/12/1918, p.7.

²³ ‘Graves at Gallipoli’, *Northern Star*, 13/01/1919, p. 5.

²⁴ For example: ‘Gallipoli Graves’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23/12/1918, p.5; ‘Graves on Gallipoli. Desecrated by the Turks.’ *King Country Chronicle*, 24/12/1918, p.5. A total of 25 newspaper articles like the two examples given were found on Paperspast online, with the keywords “Gallipoli” and “grave” and the date range 01/11/1918-31/12/1919.

²⁵ ‘Haig and the A.I.F.’, *The Sun*, 10/01/1919, p.1.

²⁶ ‘The Diggers’, *The Sun*, 13/01/1919, p.1.

²⁷ ‘Anzac Graves’, *The Sun*, 22/01/1919, p.7.

other reports on Bulgaria, Austria and other Central European countries, as after his trip to the Dardanelles, the journalist travelled through Europe.²⁸

However, although the journalist and the two Anzac regiments left the Peninsula in 1919. There was plenty of happenings that continued to be reported, particularly reports from Lieutenant-Colonel Hughes and Captain Bigg-Wither as they were made available to the public. One particularly popular report was part of Hughes' account of Anzac Day ceremonies in 1920, which he ended with: 'It made one sad to think of the fine fellows who are scattered all over Anzac, but very proud to be Australian. We had a fine little service on the beach, 34 being present, and Communion afterwards.'²⁹

Further updates on Gallipoli and the work of the IWGC, were published as they became available. 'Regarding the graves on Gallipoli Sir James Allen has received a message stating that preliminary works on the Anzac area is fairly completed and fair progress made on the hills and Suvla areas.'³⁰ An announcement that would have been met with some disappointment given the purported progress in work, came in May 1920, 'The War Graves Commission intimates that owing to the conditions in Gallipoli, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, no facilities can be given to relatives to visit the graves this coming summer.'³¹ Lieutenant Colonel Hughes, in an interview with *The Sun* elaborated on the unfavourable conditions: 'visits of bereaved persons must be indefinitely prohibited, owing to Turkish Nationalist demonstrations, including snipings, and also brigandage, which is rampant everywhere.'

Hughes feared that smallest misunderstanding might create trouble, so much so, that a visit by an elderly woman was cancelled out of fear for her safety.³² Concern surrounding the stability of the Peninsula was ongoing, and affected more than visits by relatives, with James Allen commenting in a letter that the unrest between the Turks and Greeks on the Peninsula 'caused a great deal of anxiety to the Imperial War Graves Commission because a very considerable sum of money has been spent on cemetery work on the Gallipoli Peninsula and the work is far advanced.'³³

Given the importance of the grave sites, and pending memorials it is surprising that the proliferation of articles documenting these visits, actions and decisions has not been investigated further when it clearly was (and still is) a point of importance to many people. It is perhaps the lack of evidence of true feelings of the families and friends of those buried overseas that has prevented more recent analysis. Diaries and letters are constantly re-discovered, but until the next piece is found, for now it seems the visit of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse was met with general interest, as indicated in the attachment of a journalist, and the broad circulation of his work.

²⁸ For example: 'Within Enemy Lines', *The Sun*, 11/06/1919, p.8 and 'Australia as Model', *The Sun*, 09/12/1919, p.1.

²⁹ 'Gallipoli', *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, 20/08/1920, p.32.

³⁰ 'Gallipoli Graves', *Hastings Standard*, 29/12/1919, p.5.

³¹ 'War Graves', *Marlborough Express*, 21/05/1920, p.1.

³² 'Gallipoli Graves', *Evening Post*, 03/07/1920, p.6.

³³ *War Graves on the Gallipoli Peninsula*, J Allen to the Prime Minister, 10/11/1922 R12333898, ANZ.

The reporting of the Anzacs' return to Gallipoli logically leads on to the reporting regarding the work of the GRU and IWGC on the Peninsula. The newspaper articles discussing Gallipoli in the immediate after-war period highlight the fact that as a physical space, and as a memory Gallipoli has never been a static place. The landscape has been changed to accommodate the memorials and cemeteries, while the memory and myth has been similarly shaped by memorialisation.

As mentioned earlier, the graves which had been established in 1915 were often difficult to find again, either due to the removal of wooden markers, or the weather of the intervening years washing them away. The CMR had done their best to tidy the graves in common cemeteries, and mark existing graves so they could be found again. Although there had been a fair amount of work done in this regard, the number of missing graves was still high, and the work of the GRU and IWGC would continue until the mid-1920s.

The primary role of the IWGC was to plan and erect monuments in conjunction with the Allied governments of the countries whose personnel served and died during the war. Before the erection of the monuments and permanent headstones could begin, the identification of as many bodies as possible needed to be completed. This led to the IWGC, and the GRU asking for assistance from those who had been on the Peninsula in 1915. These requests were often disseminated through local political bodies, and made their way into soldiers' magazines, for example the New Zealand magazine *Quick March*. The column entitled 'Lost Trails' was included to assist 'relatives of soldiers reported killed or "missing" to get into touch with soldiers who may know something of the death, or burial-place of such soldiers, or may be able to give friends and relatives of the missing some information.'³⁴ The March 1920 issue listed 21 queries, the largest set of queries to appear in the magazine.³⁵ These requests were brief, listing the serial number, date of presumed death and regiment. The location of the soldier's next of kin was also included.

The number of queries declined over time; September 1920 had nine enquiries, one of which was a plea for photographs of a son from his mother.³⁶ March 1921 only listed four names³⁷; April 1921 only had three enquiries, one of which was to return a letter found on a battlefield to its rightful owner.³⁸ The remaining two queries were regarding the fate of soldiers in the field. The June 1921 'Lost Trails' requested next-of-kin come forward for 12 New Zealanders who were serving in the Australian Forces.³⁹ The remaining seven queries in this issue are varying for information regarding next-of-kin location and requests that anyone who knew the subjects of the query contact *Quick March*.⁴⁰ July 1922 was the last edition of *Quick March* to feature 'Lost

³⁴ *Quick March*, 10/06/1920, p.35.

³⁵ *Quick March*, 10/03/1920, p. 32.

³⁶ *Quick March*, 10/09/1920, p.67.

³⁷ *Quick March*, 10/03/1921, p.38.

³⁸ *Quick March*, 10/04/1921, p.46.

³⁹ *Quick March*, 10/06/1921, p.35.

⁴⁰ *Quick March*, 10/06/1921, p.35.

Trails' and it only had one request for information regarding a grave.⁴¹ Of the 98 queries that appeared in 'Lost Trails', excluding the 'Relatives' Names Wanted' section, 47 – almost half of all enquiries – were regarding the death and burial of a soldier.⁴²

Occasionally, an enquiry would meet with a reply. For example, Chaplain Charles J. Bush-King replied to the Secretary of the NZEF War Graves Committee in regards to a query of a soldier names Bailey or Baillie.⁴³ The Chaplain believed the soldier had been killed on the day of landing, and subsequently buried on a part of the beach that later became quite busy. Included in the letter, Chaplain Bush-King also noted that he buried a body 'in an advance state of decomposition on May 13th' which he later identified as 6/608 Private Robert Currie.⁴⁴ Private Currie is now remembered on the Lone Pine Memorial.

The assistance provided by returned servicemen like Chaplain Bush-King was instrumental in finding and identifying the bodies of some soldiers who were killed in 1915. It also illustrates the amount of work that was undertaken by many different organisations working in tandem, for the benefit of one soldier and his family. Those so far from the site of their loved ones were desperate for any information that could help them understand the sacrifice of their soldier, 'to share the last moments of their man; to know what he knew; and at least for a moment, to attempt to feel what he felt.'⁴⁵ It was not as simple as visiting the battlefields and hospitals of France from England for those in Australia and New Zealand. Anything they found, through channels like *Quick March*, or the soldier's returned friends was a piece in an emotional puzzle; difficult but important for closure.

The enquiries sent out in *Quick March*, and the level of response garnered by these enquiries shows that for veterans back in New Zealand, the work on identification and burial on Gallipoli was significant. From this it can be concluded that as a group, veterans would also have been interested in the return of Anzacs to Gallipoli, not least because they were returning to a place of defeat as a part of the victorious force. They were likely aware of the work of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse if they read the newspapers, although cultural taboo may have prevented them from discussing the identification work. This may have contributed to the dearth of knowledge about this first return to Gallipoli.

There was clearly a willingness among returned servicemen to engage with Gallipoli and the realities of war in the immediate post-war period. As seen in the articles that were published in many newspapers, this willingness was also shown by the general population. All of this, and

⁴¹ *Quick March*, 10/07/1921, p.24.

⁴² Not all issues of *Quick March* appear to have a 'Lost Trails' section, all issues between February 1920 and July 1922 were considered.

⁴³ This was the other issue faced by the Graves Registration Unit, IWGC and Red Cross alike – record keeping was not always accurate.

⁴⁴ R12333896, National Archives – Chaplain Bush-King to Secretary, NZEF War Graves Committee, June 16th 1920.

⁴⁵ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995 pp.35-36

Peacock's articles which also discuss the work of burials, and of Gallipoli more generally, show there was a reaction to the first return of the Anzacs and their work at home. It was not, however, as pronounced as first expected. Again, this is perhaps due to the century that has passed, and the many Anzac Days that have been held over this time, highlighting Gallipoli's importance.

Conclusion: More than a Footnote

What began as a piece of family history has invoked several questions which I have attempted to answer over the course of this thesis. The first, and perhaps the easiest one to answer, was what work did the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse undertake while on Gallipoli? If the answer is to be put succinctly, they were there as an occupation force, to assist in administering the armistice. Here they encountered Turkish troops and armament dumps across the Peninsula.

It is the Canterbury Mounted Rifles extra-curricular work which is the most interesting. Unlike their companions in the 7th Light Horse, the New Zealand troops on the Peninsula set about restoring the existing graves and cemeteries and attempted to identify some of the dead from the 1915 campaign. The three parties from the Canterbury Mounted Rifles detailed their work in a report attached to the appendices of their unit's war diary for January 1919.¹

The results of this report show that the members of these parties handled the remains of 100 individuals in 57 different grave sites and also recorded the names of 26 soldiers as found on existing headstones.² They did not record their feelings on this experience, or on the wider experience of being among the first Anzacs to return to Gallipoli since the 1915 evacuation.

This made answering the second question more challenging than the first. As they did not record their emotions at the time, it is impossible to know exactly how they felt. However, knowing the work they undertook, and supplementing this with photographic evidence, has made drawing some conclusions possible.

The work the Canterbury Mounted Rifles undertook was difficult, and the care with which they did so, as illustrated in the photograph of the grave site with the cross fashioned from rocks, speaks to the emotions involved. Similarly, the gaze of Trooper Mowat, and the appearance of the same photographs in four other albums, show that Gallipoli was an area of heightened emotion – particularly around sites such as Chunuk Bair.

This is not a surprising conclusion. However, when the images of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles albums' are compared to those of the Australian Historical Mission, further deductions can be made. The difference between the public and private gaze was evident throughout images of the same features of Gallipoli. Where the public gaze of the Historical Mission did not shy away from showing human remains, the soldiers chose to exclude this from their private collections. This exclusion was for the audience of the albums, including themselves. It is clear they did not wish to be reminded of the realities of their work, nor did they wish to upset family and friends.

¹ Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, January 1919, R23515958, ANZ.

² Report attached to Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, January 1919, R23515958, ANZ. For a summary please also see Appendix 1.

It is likely, therefore, that the first Anzacs to return to Gallipoli felt conflicted about being there. The emerging myth meant it was an exciting place to explore, as seen in the photographs spanning across the Peninsula, but Gallipoli was a place to remember the sacrifice of their comrades, and the challenges faced there. In acknowledging the sacrifice of others, they also had to acknowledge their own survival of the war – an emotional reckoning that would have been starkly apparent as they renovated the graves and walked over scattered bones on their reconnaissance.

The other question that was more difficult to answer, was how this return to Gallipoli was treated at home in New Zealand and Australia. It was necessary to turn to newspapers of the time to answer this, and the articles of Ernest Peacock, embedded with the 7th Light Horse, were important. The fact that the journalist accompanied the soldiers at all speaks to some level of public interest in this first pilgrimage. This is further supported by the wide circulation that his articles enjoyed throughout New Zealand and Australia.

There is also evidence in the magazine *Quick March*, that returned servicemen were interested in the identification of remains on the Peninsula. The 'Lost Trails' column elicited responses from those looking to assist in the work from afar, or from those hoping to find a friend's remains. These columns relate to the work the Canterbury Mounted Rifles were undertaking, although the columns necessarily continued after the soldiers' departure from Gallipoli. The work of identification was shown to be important to veterans, and it is reasonable to conclude that identification and renovation of cemeteries by other soldiers was of substantial interest back on the home fronts.

It can also be assumed, as evidenced by the interest of the soldiers themselves in the old battlefields, that the populace at large was interested in the first return of the Anzacs to Gallipoli. This interest is something that was likely satiated by Peacock's first articles, whose vibrant prose told of the state of Gallipoli and the soldier's early treks across the landscape. However, for those without a direct interest – friends and family of the Canterbury Mounted Riflemen or 7th Light Horsemen – the fact that Anzacs were back on Gallipoli may have been as far as their interest in the topic went.

Throughout this thesis the final, enduring question has been, why this topic has not been covered extensively in New Zealand historiography before. We have seen that some of the photographs have been used in previous publications. Furthermore, the photographs taken by Trooper Mowat and the Australian Historical Mission are available online. In fact, the newspaper articles and unit war diaries of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse are also available online. So, it is not that the information is difficult to access.

Rather, it is that this event takes place after the armistice has been signed. It is not a subject of modern interest, which is focused often on Gallipoli in 1915. This is, after all, when the action occurred, and when the myth began; the 'idea that a sense of nationhood was born on the beaches

and cliffs of Gallipoli'.³ And that is the crux of the issue – the first return of the Anzacs to Gallipoli in 1918 is overshadowed by the preceding war in 1915. Once the Canterbury Mounted Rifles and 7th Light Horse left, the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission began. The resulting monuments also overshadow the work undertaken by the Anzacs at the end of the First World War.

This is not to say that the first return of the Anzacs to Gallipoli should take precedence over all else. Rather, there is a popular tendency to view Gallipoli through two lenses - 1915 and the present - especially during the centenary which starkly calls attention to, and emphasizes this inert duality. It exists as two static images of a war-torn battlefield and a modern place of memorialization. The intervening years, the work to erect the memorials and identify the dead, have faded into the background of popular memory – an unpleasant memory of the reality of war, much as it was for the men of the CMR. It has been the purpose of this thesis to explore a crucial part of the transformation of Gallipoli from battlefield to memorial, and to show the role that the Anzac soldiers had in this transformation. This first pilgrimage also marks the beginning of a long-standing tradition in which New Zealanders and Australians travel to Gallipoli to remember those who fought, to explore the landscape and to commemorate their sacrifice – just as the CMR and 7th LH did before them. For all of these reasons, the first return of the Anzacs should be more than a historical footnote.

³ Callister, p.2.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

Original Canterbury Mounted Rifles Data - Anderson Hill 60	Service ID	Rank	Surname	Given Names	Regiment	Date of Death	Cemetery	Plot/Memorial reference
Unknown								
Unknown								
Unknown Maori								
7/600 Bain M.S. 8th Sqdn C.M.R	7/600	Trooper	Bain	Maxwell Stewart	CMR	25/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	Sp. Mem. 2.
7/501 Cpl. Jones E.J. 1st Sqdn C.M.R.	7/501	Lance Corporal	Jones	Edward Joseph	CMR	25/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	Sp. Mem. 15.
Unknown 10th Sqdn C.M.R.								
Unknown C.M.R and two others								
7/18 Sgt Bowker S.J. 8th Sqdn C.M.R.	7/18	Serjeant	Bowker	Stanley John	CMR	21/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	II.D.1.
7/841 Sgt Ferguson G.W. 8th Sqdn C.M.R.	7/841	Lance Serjeant	Ferguson	George Weir	CMR	21/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	II.D.2.
Unknown 10th Sqdn C.M.R.								
Unknown, New Zealand								
Unknown								
Unknown 12th Sqdn. O.M.R								
Sgt. Campbell, C.M.R.								
Unknown								
McKay D.G. O.M.R.	9/511	Trooper	McKay	David George	OMR	21/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	II.C.3.
9/987 Jenkins T.J.M., O.M.R. and 5 unknown	9/986	Trooper	Jenkins	Thomas James Morris	OMR	21/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	II.C.5.
Unknown Chunuk Bair								

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

11/1077 Wood J. 230°. North Point Imbros 86°.	11/1077	Trooper	Wood	James William	WMR	27/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	Sp. Mem. 34.
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Original Canterbury Mounted Rifles Data Anderson Aghul Dere	Service ID	Rank	Surname	Given Names	Regiment	Date of Death	Cemetery	Plot/Memorial reference
7/367 McInnes M, 8th Sqdn. C.M.R. Opposite Mouth Kings Own Avenue, bearing from Walkers Monument Beauchops Hill Redoubt 4° Chunuk Bair 320°.	7/367	Trooper	McInnes	Malcolm	CMR	7/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.A.4.
7/506 Major P Overton 1st Sqdn C.M.R. 400 yards east of No. 20 track, up Aghul Dere under olive. Bearing from Walkers Monument Beauchops Redoubt 50°	7/506	Major	Overton	Percy John	CMR	7/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.A.5.
7/639 Lieut F. Davidson and two unknown Australian graves. N.E. of Waldens Point. Bearing from Walkers Monument North Point of Imbros 89°. South Point Sulva 125°.	7/639	Lieutenant	Davidson	Francis	CMR	7/08/1915	Embarkation Pier Cemetery	I.A.3.
7/1350 Dorman C.P., 8th Sqdn. C.M.R. Kings Own Avenue bearing from	7/1350	Trooper	Dorman	Charles Percy	CMR	18/12/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.A.1.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

Walkers Monument North Point Imbros 88°.								
7/152 Sgt Abraham W.P. 10th Sqdn. C.M.R. Right of the road on Waldens Point saddle looking north. Bearing from Walkers Monument south of Imbros 63°. Damakjelic Bair 215°.	7/152	Serjeant	Abraham	William Percival	CMR	06/08/1915- 07/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.B.7.
7/441 Sgt Fleming R.A. 1st Sqdn. C.M.R. 7/340 Sgt Greenwood A.R. 1st Sqdn C.M.R. 7/364 Tpr Lusk R. 1st Sqdn C.M.R. 7/379 Tpr Mounsey J. 1st Sqdn C.M.R. 7/481 Tpr McLean D.A. 1st Sqdn C.M.R. 7/560 Tpr Smith C.W. 1st Sqdn C.M.R. Left of road south of Waldens Point saddle bearing from Walkers Monument 245° Gaba Tepe 15°.	7/441	Serjeant	Fleming	Robert Anthony	CMR	06/08/1915- 07/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.B.1.
	7/340	Lance Serjeant	Greenwood	Arthur Robert	CMR	06/08/1915- 07/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.B.2.
	7/364	Trooper	Lusk	Robert	CMR	06/08/1915- 07/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.B.6.
	7/379	Trooper	Mounsey	James	CMR	06/08/1915- 07/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.B.3.
	7/481	Trooper	McLean	Louis Albert	CMR	06/08/1915- 07/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.B.4.
	7/560	Trooper	Smith	George Wyse	CMR	06/08/1915- 07/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.B.5.
	7/308	Trooper	Birdling	Reginald Frank	CMR	05/08/1915- 07/08/1915	Embarkation Pier Cemetery	I.A.5.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

running East and West. Bearing from Walkers Monument Gaba Tepe 14°. Chunuk Bair 294°.								
7/479 Tpr Ilsely G. L. 1st Sqdn CMR . On flat south of Waldens Point between Beach Road and Hill 60 Road. Bearing from Walkers Monument South Point of Suvla 130°. Semathrace 113 1/2°	7/479	Lance Corporal	Ilsely	George Leslie	CMR	06/08/1915-07/08/1915	Embarkation Pier Cemetery	I.A.6.
Col Thomas NZMFA and one other grave unknown under olive tree North of Waterfall Gully. Bearing from Walkers Monument North Point of Imbros 89° South Point of Suvla 131°.	3/118A	Lieutenant Colonel	Thomas	Charles Ernest	NZMC	28/08/1915	Embarkation Pier Cemetery	I.A.17.
7/948 Cpl Mitchell J 1st Sqdn CMR. Waterfall Gully North side of gully East of sap running North and South. Bearing from Walkers Monument.	Possible error in recording data by CMR - no J Mitchell serving with the CMR died on							

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

	Gallipoli. 7/948 is the service ID of James Crawford who was discharged as medically unfit in 1917.							
Cemetery West of No. 2 Outpost, also large grave 100 yds West of cemetery. Bearing from Walkers Monument are Burnu 15° South Point Sulva 133°.								
NZ Grave surmised 7/62 Cpl Hay W H 8th Sqdn East of paddle steamer Beach North of No. 1 Outpost also three other graves on beach south of Cpl. Hay. Bearing from Walkers Monumnet Ari Burnu 36° South Point Suvla 138°.								
7/69 Huxford W J and 7/750 Moore G both 8th	7/62	Trooper	Hay	William Harold	CMR	14/05/1915	No.2 Outpost Cemetery	E.16.
	7/69	Trooper	Huxford	William Thomas	CMR	30/05/1915	No.2 Outpost Cemetery	F.15.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

Sqdn CMR Right of sap under hill west of No.1 Outpost. Bearing from Walkers Monument Ari Burnu 44° South Point Sulva 138°.	7/750	Trooper	Moore	George	CMR	30/05/1915	No.2 Outpost Cemetery	F.16.
7/219 Sgt Johnson W J P 10th Sqdn CMR East of track leading to No 1 Outpost. Bearing from Walkers Monument Ari Burnu 44° South Point Sulva 137°	7/219	Lance Serjeant	Johnson	Walter John Pengelly	CMR	23/05/1915	No.2 Outpost Cemetery	E.19.
7/185 Tpr Dalton W H 10th Sqdn CMR. 20 yards West of Sgt. Johnson	7/185	Trooper	Dalton	William Henry	CMR	19/05/1915	No.2 Outpost Cemetery	E.20.
CMR Cemetery on beach under Walkers Ridge containing 14 graves as under North to South 1. 7/309 L/cpl Archer S R MGS CMR 2. 7/610 Tpr Lowe G 1st Sqdn CMR 3. Unknown transferred from sup(?)	7/509	Lance Corporal	Archer	Stephen Radcliffe	CMR	22/06/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	I.A.1.
	7/610	Trooper	Low	Gibson	CMR	28/05/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	I.B.2.
	7/73	Trooper	Johnston	John	CMR	30/05/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	I.B.3.
	7/255	Trooper	Patterson	Thomas Colin Campbell	CMR	30/05/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	I.B.4.
	7/157	Lance Corporal	Arnold	Rory	CMR	17/07/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	II.B.1.
	7/640	Serjeant	Fox	Charles Frederick Dilworth	CMR	12/06/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	I.C.2.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

4. Unknown surmised 7/73 Tpr Johnston J 8th Sqdn CMR			Twiddle					
5. 7/256 Tpr Patterson T G C 10th Sqdn CMR	7/132	Trooper	Tavendale	William	CMR	27/06/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	I.C.5.
6. 7/157 L/Cpl Arnold R 10th Sqdn CMR	13/69	Trooper	Hannah	Arthur	AMR	1/07/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	II.A.1.
7. 7/640 Sgt Fox C F D MGs CMR								
8. Twiddle C. 19/6/15				Lewis Maurice McPherson				
9. 7/122 Tavendale W 8th Sqdn CMR	7/359	Trooper	Leaman		CMR	14/07/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	II.A.2.
10. Tpr Hannah A 3rd Sqdn AMR								
11. 7/359 Lehman L M 1st Sqdn CMR								
12. 7/171 Sgt Bowden R	7/171	Serjeant	Boden	Richard Arthur	CMR	23/05/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	II.A.3.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

A 10th Sqdn CMR 13. (West) 7/791 Tpr Taylor G R 10th Sqdn CMR 14. 7/362 Tpr Hunter P 1st Sqdn CMR								
	7/791	Trooper	Taylor	George	CMR	12/06/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	I.C.3.
	7/562	Trooper	Hunter	Philip	CMR	26/05/1915	Canterbury Cemetery	II.B.2.
8/582 Unknown 4th Regt. and two others. Chunuk Bair bearing from Walkers Ridge	8/582	Private	Gray	Alexander Johns	OMR	9/08/1915	Embarkation Pier Cemetery	IV.D.4.
4 2nd W.M.R. men 11/367 Bromley A. 11/566 L/Cpl Baddeley L R. 11/52 Gascoigne E W. 11/ Sgt Robertson L S.[Page torn] Between Russell's Top and Walker's Ridge Monument. Bearing from Monument Ari Burnu 65° South Point Sulva 140° Ari Burnu Cemetery North Point of Anzac Cove.	11/637	Trooper	Bromley	Alexander	WMR	17/05/1915	Walker's Ridge Cemetery	II.A.6.
	11/566	Lance Corporal	Baddeley	Lionel Richard Logan	WMR	20/05/1915	Walker's Ridge Cemetery	II.A.5.
	11/52	Trooper	Gascoigne	Albert Edward	WMR	20/05/1915	Walker's Ridge Cemetery	II.A.4.
	11/454	Serjeant	Robertson	Louis Somerville	WMR	9/06/1915	Walker's Ridge Cemetery	II.A.3.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

11/112 Sgt Overston 6th WMR	11/112	Serjeant	Overton	Frederick William Ellesmere	WMR	1/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.17
Headstones found in one dugout. New Zealand stones as								
Ross J D NZEF	2/1082	Gunner	James Donald	Ross	NZ Field Artillery	29/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.8
47 Sgt Winks L 2nd WMR	11/457	Serjeant	Lawrence	Winks	WMR	1/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.12
Lieut Cargo J R WIB	10/740	Second Lieutenant	Cargo	James Roy	Wellington Regiment	6/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.16
373 Jackson C C MGS AMR	13/372	Trooper	Jackson	George Covell	AMR	5/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.18
490 Roxburgh A J 2nd WMR	11/480	Trooper	Roxburgh	Alexander James	WMR	31/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.11
470 Hughs L F 2nd WMR	11/470	Trooper	Hughes	Lindesay Filmer	WMR	1/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.13
11/469 Cleary G M 2nd WMR	11/469	Trooper	Cleary	George Marmaduke	WMR	29/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.14
11/393 L/Cpl Marfell M 2nd WMR	11/593	Lance Corporal	Marfell	Manley	WMR	22/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.10
Verner K B 4th AMR	13/470	Trooper	Verner	Arthur Bernard	AMR	26/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	D.8
Australian headstones								
96 Pte A L 9th ALH Killed 29/05/1915	96	Trooper	Axtens	Alec Luffman	9th ALH	30/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.12
844 Pte Binyon H 9th ALH	844	Trooper	Binyon	Harry Hickman	9th ALH	30/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.10
204 Pte Weathers T F 9th ALH	204	Trooper	Weathers	Thomas Francis	9th ALH	15/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.18
Lt Col Miell A P I 9th ALH		Lieutenant Colonel	Miell	Albert	9th ALH	7/08/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	A.17

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

548 Pte Gribble W 9th ALH Killed 29.5.15	548	Trooper	Gribble	William James	9th ALH	22/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.21
600 Pte Day A T 9th ALH	600	Trooper	Day	Albert Thomas	9th ALH	10/08/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	E.11
746 Pte Smith F J 9th ALH	746	Trooper	Smith	Frederick Joseph	9th ALH	7/08/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	A.16
351 STM Harvey W E 9th ALH	361	Squadron Sergeant Major	Harvey	William Edward	9th ALH	7/08/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	A.19
357 Pte Wilson L S 9th ALH	357	Trooper	Wilson	Leslie Samuel	9th ALH	22/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.19
62 Pte Seager G R 9th ALH	62	Trooper	Seager	George Rothwell	9th ALH	7/08/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	A.18
134 Pte Hopping J L 9th ALH	134	Trooper	Hopping	John Leslie	9th ALH	30/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.15
415 Pte Griffiths T 9th ALH	415	Trooper	Griffiths	Thomas	9th ALH	30/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.13
12 Pte Riley W T 9th ALH	12	Trooper	Riley	William Thomas	9th ALH	15/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.16
240 Pte Clarke G 9th ALH	240	Trooper	Clark	Eric Gordon	9th ALH	28/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.22
302 Pte Makin T 9th ALH	302	Trooper	Makin	Thomas	9th ALH	22/06/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.20
143 L/Cpl King A 9th ALH	143	Lance Corporal	King	Alexander	9th ALH	6/08/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	E.12
589 Pte Clough L C 9th ALH	589	Trooper	Clough	Edward Charles	9th ALH	29/05/1915	Ari Burnu Cemetery	B.11

Original Canterbury Mounted Rifles Data - Doherty	Service ID	Rank	Surname	Given Names	Regiment	Date of Death	Cemetery	Plot/Memorial reference
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Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

Unknown NZMR bullet hole through side of skull. Has had false teeth in upper jaw. Evidently a big man. Identified NZ tunic. Situated ridge North of Waterfall Gully opposite old Canterbury Duggouts.								
7/546 Tpr McMahon C P 10th Sqdn CMR. Identified by Sgt Plaisted who buried him. Situated in Redoubt on Beauchop Hill. Bearing Walkers Monument 182° Nebresisi 306°.	7/546	Trooper	McMahon	Charles Patrick	CMR	06/08/1915-07/08/1915	Chunuk Bair (New Zealand) Memorial	4
Mann ? JH 5th Otago. Name on paybook partly readable. Paybook issued Cairo 29th April 1915. Signature of OC Unit A S Hogg Capt Situated Hill 60. Bearing Cape Sulva 360° Chunuk Bair 153°.	8/2047	Private	Mann	William Henry	Otago Regiment	10/09/1915	Lone Pine Memorial	75
7/557 Norrie A E 1st Sqdn CMR. Identified by disc. Situated Hill 60. Bearing Chunuk Bair 152 1/2° Cape Sulva 308°.	7/557	Trooper	Norrie	Angus Edward	CMR	28/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	II.D.3.
Unknown NZMR Identified by Badges.								

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

Situated Hill 60. Bearings as for Tpr A E Norrie.								
Two unknown. NZMR badges 1 Queens S A Ribbon. Situated Hill 60. 1 tin disc not readable.								
One unknown 8th CMR. Identified by numerals. Situated Hill 60.								
11/886 Haughie J W WMR. Identified by disc. Situated Hill 60. Bearings Chunuk Bair 151 1/2° Bearing Cape Sulva 108°.	11/886	Trooper	Haughie	Joseph William	WMR	27/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	II.D.5.
One Unknown NZMR. Situated Hill 60 NZ buttons								
One unknown 10th ALH. Identified by numerals and badges. Situated Hill 60 opposite Turkish barracks. Bearings.								
7/555 Tpr Orr JJ 1st Sqdn CMR. Situate near Hill 60 opposite Turkish Barracks. Bearings.	7/555	Trooper	Orr	James Jarvie	CMR	16/08/1915	7th Field Ambulance Cemetery	II.E.13.

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

1525 Thyer W H Lieut. 16th Battn AIF Forces. Identified by carved headstone. Situated on Hill 60 on left side of gully running towards 971. Bearings Scarthrace 292° Hill 971 123°.		Second Lieutenant	Thyer	Walter Harvey	16th Bn. Australian Infantry	29/08/1915	Hill 60 Cemetery	I.E.2.
Four unknown Australians. One man top set false teeth. One rosary. 25 yds SE of Lieut Davidsons grave (CMR) .								
6/101 Pte Marshall W. R. N.Z.R. Identified by disc. C of E Pope's Hill. Bearing Achi Baba 192 1/2° Walkers Monument 353°.	6/101	Private	Marshall	William Robert	Canterbur y Regiment	2/05/1915	Lone Pine Memorial	75
6/916 Pte Campbell N.Z.R. Identified by Disc. Pres. Also two unknown NZR Popes Hill. Bearings Achi Baba 192 1/2° Walkers Monument 353°	6/946	Private	Campbell	George Scott	Canterbur y Regiment	3/05/1915	Lone Pine Memorial	74
Probably three unknown. Two titles Nelson. One title 14th NZR. Buttons NZ Marine and English. Also one silk tie knotted. Popes Hill near above grave.								

Appendix 1 – Summary of CMR burials on Gallipoli 1918-1919 in comparison to current CWGC data

One Unknown. Titles 13th NZR Walkers Ridge								
Identity disc found but no remains near it. Hill 60. 166 Brown AB 17th AIF	166	Private	Browne	Alfred Benjamin	17th Bn. Australian Infantry	27/08/1915	Lone Pine Memorial	58

Original Canterbury Mounted Rifles Data	Service ID	Rank	Surname	Given Names	Regiment	Date of Death	Cemetery	Plot/Memorial reference
7/1137 Trp Rudman H S in Waterfall Gully.	7/1137	Trooper	Rudman	Harry Stanley	CMR	17/11/1915	Embarkation Pier Cemetery	I.A.7.

Appendix 1 was compiled from the report attached to the Canterbury Mounted Rifles unit war diary, R23515958, ANZ. This data was compared to the current data in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's online database (<https://www.cwgc.org/find/find-war-dead/> accessed 13/05/2016) to produce this Appendix.

Appendix 2 – Summary of CMR & 7th LH reconnaissance findings, Gallipoli

	Shells			Bombs			Aerial Bombs	
	Cases	Loose			Cases	Loose		
Block A		314 (24cm)	2105 (15cm)					
	Total: 2149							
Block B								
Block C	2150	1549	300 (gas)		1444	5298	106 (large)	(446 small)
	Total: 3999						Total: 552	
Block D	1000 shells				125	25 (cricket ball type)	60	
	Total: 1000						Total: 210	

Data from: Report dated 16/01/1919. Appendices to January 1919, Canterbury Mounted Rifles Unit Diary, R23515958 ANZ.

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