

The Law at War 1914 – 1915

Engaged to Act on Another Front

A Working Paper describing the actions of Members of the New South Wales Legal Profession on Gallipoli

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Introduction

Legal history is not simply the accumulation of cases, decisions and statutes. Around this framework swirl the private lives of the solicitors, barristers, judges, clerks and associated professionals who worked in the law. A profession gains part of its character from the private lives and experiences of its early members. Through its professional ancestors the New South Wales legal fraternity is connected to a range of institutions – everything from sporting groups, schools, universities and churches. One significant group has been the military. In World War One all of these elements came together. Men who had been at the same school, worshipped at the same church,

shared the space at the law courts, walked the corridors of chambers, had garden parties overlooking the harbour and caught the same trams and ferries home found themselves next to one another in strange exotic fields when the bullets flew and ordinary soldiers looked to the privileged officers for leadership. While the battles raged, in Australia the mothers, wives and sisters of the soldiers gave countless hours to preparing packages for their menfolk, or organising fundraising, or tracking down details of their fates. Other lawyers sorted out the truth in various legal cases associated with the war.

The Great War haunts the chambers, corridors, conference rooms and lecture halls that house the lawyers of today. Such places that have inherited the names such as Selbourne Chambers, Wentworth Chambers and the solicitors' firms such as Minter Simpson, Stephen Jaques and Stephen and Clayton Utz hold memories of the many members of the legal profession who gave up the law to become soldiers. Some became senior officers. Others joined and served as private soldiers, despite in some cases, their advanced age and professional status. Many were killed. An up and coming legal generation was decimated in the war. It is impossible to do justice to every family who lost a son

Outbreak of the War

The legal profession joined in the general enthusiasm at the outbreak of the First World War. The Hon. Vernon Trett MLA, then a law student at Sydney University, recalled 'the excitement which prevailed in both class and common rooms and the efforts of even the youngest students to enlist.' He stated that the Law School removed one 'embarrassing obstacle' by moving exams forward to facilitate enlistment. In his words, the students were 'ready and eager to take up arms'. Many legal graduates shared the students' willingness to enlist. A steady stream of aspiring and existing

members of the legal profession volunteered for service overseas. They provided a significant proportion of the leadership on Gallipoli.

New Guinea

The earliest enlistments in August 1914 went with the Australian Naval & Military Expeditionary Force (ANMEF) to fight in New Guinea. The force was organised by Colonel James Gordon Legge. Legge was a 51-year-old British born barrister and teacher. He had been admitted to the New South Wales bar on 6 March 1891 and practised for three years. While in practise he had compiled *A Selection of Supreme Court Cases in New South Wales from 1825 to 1862*. Legge joined the permanent forces of New South Wales in 1894 and had served in the military in a variety of positions, including being instrumental in implementing the defence plan adopted in 1909 known as the *Kitchener Scheme*. He had also written a handbook on military law and was Quartermaster General at the start of the war.

The official historian, Charles Bean commented that the first recruits who went into the ANMEF tended to be 'adventurous' types. Among the officers of that contingent were: Lieutenant Cecil Rodwell Lucas a 27-year-old Sydney University graduate and barrister from Waverly and Major Windeyer Alexander Ralston, a 29-year-old barrister from Strathfield. Ralston was the son of Alexander Gerard Ralston KC. Commanding the machine-gun section was a 33-year-old Scottish barrister living in North Sydney, Captain James Logie H Marcus. H Marcus was in University Chambers. Another Captain was the 35-year-old Sydney barrister, Charles Edye Manning who listed his Chambers at 151 Phillip Street as his address. His family home was at Hunters Hill. His father, Charles James Manning, had been, amongst other positions, the first probate judge in New South Wales. Charles Manning's brother Guy was also to be in New Guinea with him as a Captain in the tropical Unit.

Other enthusiastic recruits included a 20-year-old solicitor's clerk from Woolhara, Norman Phillip Scheidel. Accompanying him amongst the lower ranks to New Guinea were: George Edwards, a 21-year-old articled clerk from Ashfield; Clarence Timbrell Collier, a 21-year-old law student from Roseville; Charles Edward Clayton, a 22-year-old law clerk from Darlinghurst; John Joseph Young, a 31-year-old law clerk from Erskineville; Albert Henry Edgington, a 30-year-old English trained solicitor from Long Bay; Henry Reginald Booth, a 20-year-old law clerk from Thirroul; Wilfred Robert Dovey, a 21-year-old Sydney University law student from Glebe; another Sydney University law school graduate, articled clerk private John Bayley Lane of Strathfield, and John Malbon Maughan, a 36-year-old solicitor from Neutral Bay with offices at 2 O'Connell Street.. All these men had enlisted in the first half of August 1914.

On 17 August 1914 the men of the ANMEF excitedly marched through the Sydney streets that were crowded with enthusiastic supporters. The soldiers embarked at Fort Macquarie for the transfer by lighter to Cockatoo Island where they embarked on the transport, *Berrima*, and rolled out Sydney Heads. Some men had been in the army for less than a week. They were tasked to destroy the German wireless stations in New Guinea. *Berrima* sailed north in convoy then the men trained briefly on Palm Island before action in New Guinea. One of the Reserve Naval Officers in the command group was Lieutenant Commander Richard Stanley Lambton, a Sydney solicitor.

Captain Marcus is recorded as having led his men in a number of important engagements. Once the German Wireless Station at Bitapaka was captured the expeditionary force had completed the bulk of its work. Some of the law professionals were employed in the newly established

British legal system in New Guinea. Charles Ede Manning was appointed Assistant Judge-Advocate General for New Guinea on 12 September 1914. On 2 October John Bayley Lane was appointed secretary to the Court of Justice but like Manning he was keen to get back into action. On 9 August 1915 he sailed to war again. Manning worked hard to solve the difficult legal problems of the first few months and administer German law. The official historian for the Australians in Rabaul was himself a barrister: Seaforth Simpson Mackenzie. He wrote that Manning carried 'out his duties with great legal ability', but he was also 'anxious to be gone, and did not conceive himself bound to do more than cope with the existing situation.' The German population were not keen on bringing actions before a British judge. 'Most of the legal work which Manning found to do was therefore in the advisory and administrative branches, and, as a barrister, he found less interest in these than in the judicial functions and the practice and procedure of the court.' Mackenzie himself took over as Deputy judge advocate general from Manning. Manning then left for Australia on 4 April 1915, the day after he was relieved of his legal role in New Guinea. He was keen to fight. The law professionals in the ANMEF returned safely and for the most part reenlisted for service overseas. Charles Manning's brother, Guy, was not so lucky. Captain Guy Manning's experience as a Planter had led to him being made Commissioner for Native Affairs. He was killed in a motorbike accident at Myom, New Ireland on 18 June 1915.

The later part of 1914 saw much larger contingents form up for service and depart for destinations much further away than New Guinea. For the most part, these men would land at Gallipoli.

First Leaders in the AIF

While the ANMEF went off to do battle in New Guinea, a new army, the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) was recruited at home. The new recruits were allocated to battalions based on state and district criteria. The New South Wales battalions were organised ‘on Randwick Racecourse and the grassy sandhills of Kensington’ according to Charles Bean. There was an acute need for suitable military leaders of the new army. The legal profession was one of those groups viewed as good sources of such leaders; partly due to the emphasis then on character amongst officers, but also because many lawyers had previous experience in the militia.

One of the first men to be selected to command was a 36-year-old Sydney barrister with militia experience: Colonel Henry Normand MacLaurin whose Chambers were at 11 Wentworth Court. He commanded the formation of the New South Wales 1st Infantry Brigade – a force of some 4,000 men made up into the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Battalions. Colonel MacLaurin was a graduate of Sydney University Law School and the son of Sir Norman MacLaurin, a well-known public figure who had been the Chancellor of Sydney University. The official historian, Charles Bean, wrote that Colonel Henry MacLaurin was ‘a man of lofty ideals, direct, determined (and) an educated man of action of the finest type.’ MacLaurin knew he was young for the position of commanding a brigade but he showed his strength of character by choosing older, more experienced men to command the battalions under him. Within those units there were many members of the law chosen to be officers. Colonel Leonard Dobbin, a 46-year-old Irish born solicitor and notary with Dobbin & Spier of George Street. He lived in Woollahra and was put in command of the 1st Battalion. Lieutenant Robert Haylock Owen was not a lawyer himself, but was the grandson of a well known

solicitor and Judge, Robert Owen and through marriage and schooling at Sydney Grammar well connected with the legal community.

Another influential appointment was an Indian born 34-year-old solicitor who practiced with the law firm Dodds & Richardson in Hunter Street and frequented the University Club in Castlereagh Street: Major Charles Melville Macnaghten. He was an imposing, vigorous, impetuous character who had gained a reputation for being able to transform Australian youth into soldiers through his success in turning a group of inner city larrikins into a well-drilled militia unit. The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* quotes a colleague who recalled ‘Macnaghten in his Glengarry, tight-fitting short tunic, plaid breeches, and dark blue puttees, with his masterful face, heavy shoulders, and slim legs, striding onto parade, and his . . . vibrant compelling voice ringing out the command “Par-r-ade, ‘Shun” ‘. Macnaghten was also well connected. He had been in the New South Wales Scottish Rifles - the same militia unit as Colonel MacLaurin. The two men worked together and according to Charles Bean ‘largely influenced the choice of officers throughout the (1st) Brigade. Indeed the notion began to spread that the selections were being made by a coterie of the Australian Club in Sydney’. Whether or not this was true, it certainly was the case that many officers were connected to each other, and many came from the legal profession. Some were remarkably young for command. The new commanders needed to be tough, because the first recruits certainly were.

First Departures for Overseas

The first contingents’ departures overseas were delayed because of fear of the German cruiser *Emden*. The frustrated soldiers were penned up near Sydney and difficult to control. Charles Bean commented that Colonel MacLaurin ‘whose discipline was sterner than that of other brigadiers, arranged a “drive” of some of the streets a secured a large haul of absentees. He would have liked

to take his brigade away marching through the country.’ MacLaurin was showing himself to be ‘a very vigorous and strong commander.’ The more he led his men, the more his reputation increased.

In late 1914 a succession of units in the 1st Brigade marched excitedly, often through cheering crowds, to the Sydney docks then left for war. Their route took them near the various legal offices and chambers, which housed the city-based legal professionals. It was very much a community event. Everyone knew someone among the men who lined the decks holding the coloured streamers, which gradually stretched tight then broke, severing each one from family and friends. Many men carried their civilian connections into their military lives.

In the 1st Battalion under Colonel Dobbin were: Sergeant Ernest Clarence Harris, a 20-year-old law clerk of Paddington; Frederick Warren Muir, a 21-year-old law student from Unanderra and Lieutenant Geoffrey Austin Street, a 20-year-old law student from Elizabeth Bay. Street was one of those unusually young commanders noted by Charles Bean, but he was to perform his duties with great courage and skill and survived the war. One of the men in Dobbin’s headquarters group was Victor Cleveland McKell, the 26-year-old son of Thomas Charles Kerr McKell, a stipendiary magistrate from Newcastle. They sailed for war on *Afric* 18 October 1914. Joining them later in Egypt was Private Alan David Mitchell, a 23-year-old law student from Manly.

Among the men departing in the 2nd Battalion were: Lieutenant Karl Joseph Fourdrinier, a 39-year-old managing law clerk of Vickery’s Chambers in Pitt Street; Lieutenant Norman Leonard Rex Griffin, a 21-year-old a Sydney University Law School student of Double Bay; Charles Bernard Donaldson, a 23-year-old law student of Wahroonga; Harry Lansbury Urquhart Reid, a 25-year-old civil servant and graduate of Sydney University Law School living in Drummoyne; Lancelot Vicary Horniman, a 21-year-old clerk and 4th year student of Sydney University Law School and

Corporal Clarence Raymond Lobban, a 22-year-old law clerk of Vaucluse. They left Sydney on *Suffolk* also on 18 October 1914. Later reinforcements for this unit included Lieutenant Alan Dawson a 22-year-old solicitor of St Leonards and, in 1915, Rayner Garlake, a 38-year-old solicitor of South African birth.

On 20 October the 3rd Battalion left on board *Euripides*. On board in A Company was a 21-year-old Judges Associate, Laurence Whistler Street. He was the son of The Honourable Justice Philip Whistler Street. Laurence Street was another graduate of Sydney University Law School and had joined up 14 September 1914. His older brother Kenneth was also in the law but was in England when hostilities broke out. Kenneth Street had joined the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry in England about two weeks after Laurence Street signed his papers. The extended Street family went off to war. Laurence and Kenneth Street's cousin, Humphrey Scott, of Wahroonga had joined up around the same time as them.

The 4th Battalion were also on *Euripides*. The energetic Major Macnaghten was second in command. In charge of B Company was a 29-year-old Sydney solicitor Hector Joseph Richard Clayton, who listed his address as his father's legal practice: J.H Clayton of City Bank Chambers in Pitt Street Sydney. Serving in the same company as Clayton was a 27-year-old solicitor, Bertie Vandeleur Stacy of Crossington. His brother Dr Valentine Stacy had embarked for war the day before. Both sons served on Gallipoli. Commanding C Company was a 26-year-old law clerk, Lieutenant Adam James Simpson, the son of Mr Justice Simpson of Hunters Hill. His older brother, George, was with him in the same unit. Also in the 4th Battalion was George Robertson, a 20-year-old law clerk from Randwick. Colonel Henry MacLaurin sailed on *Euripides* as well. He would keep close control of the men under his charge.

On the same day as *Euripedes* left, so did *Star of Victoria*. The 1st Light Horse was on board.

Included in the ranks of this unit were: William Dagleish Oliver, a 25-year-old articled clerk from Neutral bay, who was a graduate of Sydney University Law School; John Harold McGregor, a 23-year-old articled clerk from Glen Innes; Dudley Hobart Sargent, a 34-year-old articled clerk from Mosman who was orderly room sergeant and William Thornton Tucker, a 21-year-old law student from Kirribilli.

Other legal professionals to go in various units before Gallipoli included: Charles Howard Helsham a barrister and graduate of Sydney University Law School who embarked with the 1st Light Horse Field Ambulance on Southern 23 September 1914. At the time of his enlistment he was the Secretary of Sydney Hospital. His age is a mystery. On his August 1914 enlistment paper he wrote that he was 39 years old. A year later, when he applied for a commission he admitted to being 47. He travelled to war on the same ship as his brother, William, a doctor from Richmond. Other departures included Keith Cameron Waugh, a 28-year-old solicitor from Neutral bay who sailed with other New South Welshmen of the 13th Battalion on board *Ulysses* 22 December 1914. Lieutenant Reginald Charles Garnock, a 29-year-old solicitor sailed with reinforcements for the 6th Light Horse Regiment on *Marere* on 20 February 1915. On 13 April 1915 Reinforcements for the 4th Battalion left on *Kyarra*. Albert Edgington, the English solicitor newly returned from service in New Guinea was among the men.

What were the fates of these and later men? Some were well known and their careers and deaths well noted. Their names appear briefly in the official records so some idea of their experiences can

be reconstructed. For many men it is only the cryptic comments in their service records that give an indication of what they endured.

MacLaurin trained his men hard in Egypt in early 1915. He tried to make their activities as realistic as possible. Charles Bean described one such training activity for the seven days beginning 8 February. MacLaurin marched his men 10 kilometres to the edge of the desert then camped, posted outposts, made a theoretical attack on a position in the desert, then entrenched overnight, before marching back. They had the next night off, then went out and had ‘four days and nights of almost continuous sham-fighting and entrenching. In the short rushes of the final night attack the men, when they flung themselves down to fire at the end of each advance, dropped fast asleep.’ MacLaurin was very keen, and when news of the landing was told to him he happily cancelled his leave and bounded smiling up the stairs to the general’s office to plan the attack. His actions leave the impression that he could hardly wait to get into battle.

Lead up to Gallipoli

The men sailed to Lemnos and waited while their commanders prepared their plans. Colonel MacLaurin was careful to brief the men. Macnaghten went aboard the battleship “HMS Queen Elizabeth” and sailed on her along the coast to reconnoitre the landing place. The night before the landing MacLaurin sent a message to his men stating his confidence in the courage and resolution and urging them to “keep a cool head and listen to the fire orders of your officers. When you shoot let every bullet find its mark; when you use the bayonet see that you stick it in.” He was a little less

fiery to the officers reminding them to control the men's use of ammunition and warning them of the tendency to drink all their water on the first day.

Gallipoli: The first days.

On the early morning of 25 April 1915 the New South Wales units of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Infantry Battalions under the command of the Sydney barrister, Colonel MacLaurin waited on the decks of the British ships watching the first wave of Australian soldiers attack the beach at Gallipoli. MacLaurin had trained his men hard in Egypt and they were keen to prove themselves. After the first wave of assaults the New South Wales men of the 1st Brigade clambered into rowboats carrying rifles, bayonets, ammunition pouches, a small amount of food such as the inedible tinned beef and hard oatmeal biscuits. The men also carried some firewood. They were rowed ashore in the morning. They may well have been going into destiny but in the short term the situation was chaotic and it not improve greatly over the next few months.

The Australians on shore were sorely pressed by the time MacLaurin's men arrived. He stood on the beach with his greatcoat wrapped around his shoulders watching the men clamber out of the rowboats and stagger up the beach under their heavy loads. He soon set up a command post in the scrub on the edge of the sand. Each newly arrived battalion in his Brigade tried to find him on the beach for their orders. The four battalions of the 1st Brigade were kept in reserve then fed into the battle on the slopes, tangled gullies and escarpments of Sari Bair. Often, they assaulted the enemy trenches in full-blooded charges to relieve already beleaguered troops. MacLaurin repeatedly went up the scrubby terrain to reconnoitre the best routes to send his men into battle. MacLaurin and his

fellow legal practitioners were a world away from chambers, courts, lecture theatres and conference rooms of their civilian profession.

Sydney law student, Lieutenant Geoffrey Austin Street landed midmorning on 25 April with the 1st Battalion. His cousins Laurence Street and Humphrey Scott were nearby. Geoffrey Street's company dropped their packs and were sent up Russell's Top to a hill known as Baby 700. They arrived around 11 am to find the Australians there sorely pressed and in danger of being surrounded. Street's company deployed then charged, forcing the Turks over the top of Baby 700. Once on the reverse slope they could see some Turkish tents and defences, but all they could do was to lie down in the undergrowth and try to avoid being hit. Street then began a long series of actions, which went continuously for days. He suffered a gunshot wound to the head while fighting with the 1st Battalion and while it was described as 'slight' it was sufficient to have him evacuated to Alexandria on 30 April. He rejoined his unit at the end of May. He served with them for the remainder of the campaign.

One of the first of the legal professionals to fall in action was the Sydney solicitor, Alan Lieutenant Dawson, on 25 April. He was fighting with the 2nd Battalion, not far away from Geoffrey Street. . The exact details of Dawson's death are not clear. It is known that he was under the command of a very brave Captain Concanon of Wahroonga. At around 1.30 pm Colonel MacLaurin ordered Dawson's unit up the steep goat-tracks of Walker's Ridge to Russell's Top. All the while, they were subject to harassing fire. Once on top, around 4.00 pm., they crawled into the scrub and waited. For the next few hours they fought off Turks who tried to infiltrate down the ridge. Somewhere in this action Dawson was killed. The first day has always been described as one of fierce fighting and desperate defence with the Australians constantly threatened with being

surrounded and annihilated. The history of the 2nd Battalion describes the time as ‘a day of epic deeds.’

On 26 April at 8 am the 2nd Battalion were tasked to attack a newly constructed Turkish trench on Walker’s Ridge. They charged it successfully, but lost 84 men in 15 minutes. They were then ordered forward again to clear the bush 50 metres away as it concealed a number of Turks who ‘maintained a continuous devastating fire.’ The law clerk, Lieutenant Karl Fourdrinier, was shot in the back and shoulders in this charge. He was evacuated to Cairo. The other law clerk in the unit, Raymond Lobban of Vaucluse, survived these actions without recorded injury but soon after fell victim to the harsh conditions and endless physical activity. He was evacuated crippled with rheumatism a few weeks later. The 2nd battalion were in action for 72 hours and then were allowed to rest. Law student, Lancelot Horniman survived, but his fellow student from Sydney University was not as lucky. Harry Lansbury Urquhart Reid was reported killed in action on 2 May. On that day the 2nd Battalion were moving back into the line after recuperating from the landing and subsequent battles. Three men were killed in the move into position. Reid was probably one of them, although other reports have him shot and killed in the landing or a day or two after.

The men on Gallipoli were certainly keen to fight: Major Macnaghten, the Sydney solicitor, showed just how keen in a famous incident on 26 April, just one day after the landing and when the situation of the Australian force was still highly problematic with the Turks moving down the hillsides towards the beaches. The Australians were in danger of being overrun. A messenger burst into the 4th Battalion Headquarters on Bolton’s Ridge and blurted out: “the line is to make a general advance.” That vague instruction was all Macnaghten needed. In one of the great moments of the

campaign he said to his commanding officer, Colonel Onslow Thompson: "I'll take the right Colonel, if you'll take the left." That was their plan of attack. The two officers picked up rifles and off charged with their men up the slopes and across 400 Plateau towards the enemy. Charles Bean wrote that 'led by two of the bravest and most highly trained officers in the force, without the vaguest instruction or any idea as to an objective, the 4th . . . went blindly on to Lone Pine.' Defeat was inevitable. They had attacked without being clear about their objective and soon they were out in the open, scrabbling for cover in the scrub under fire from their own allies who did not know who they were and assumed they were the enemy. Naturally the Turks also kept up a furious fire. As if to give the scene a surreal edge Charles Bean noted that in the rays of sunset the low light glittered and shone as it reflected from the streams of Turkish machinegun bullets which laced the air above the plateau. Macnaghten did his best to rally the fleeing troops. He was shot in the chest, but went on. Then he was shot in the throat. He staggered back to an aid post and collapsed. But the noise of battle was too much. He revived, drew his revolver and set off again at the enemy. He only stopped when he fainted. It was not the last time Macnaghten would attack Lone Pine. For the time though he retired to recover from his wounds then returned as a Lieutenant Colonel to command the 4th Battalion, just in time for Lone Pine again.

Fighting with Macnaghten in the 4th Battalion in that battle were the Sydney solicitors Lieutenant Bertie Stacy and Lieutenant Adam Simpson. Bertie Stacy was reported as being a particularly effective soldier who 'displayed gallantry, coolness and judgement during the whole operation.' The report was one of a number of such commendations made by the company commander, another solicitor, Captain Clayton. Both men were obviously in the thick of the fighting in the first days of ashore. Adam Simpson survived the attack and was later temporarily evacuated sick from Gallipoli. Stacy was later commended again for acts of conspicuous bravery or service during the entire Gallipoli campaign.

On the next day, 27 April, Macnaghten's commanding officer and colleague, Colonel MacLaurin climbed the hill above the beach and peered through the scrub at the Turkish positions. MacLaurin had scouted forward up the ridges to try to make sense of the confused terrain and the disposition of his forces. It was easy to lose track of where the enemy were in the thick scrub and confused geography. The prevalence of Turkish snipers who crept through the thick bush on the ridgelines amongst the thick scrub was not fully appreciated. MacLaurin was in his shirtsleeves and mistakenly stood in a section open to the enemy near a position known as Steele's Post at around 3.15 pm. He was shot and killed by a sniper who was secreted some 300 metres away on the adjacent ridge. The surrounding area was known as *MacLaurin's Hill* throughout the campaign. Charles Bean described MacLaurin as a 'very vigorous and promising young commander' and a 'brave and energetic leader' on Gallipoli. The loss of such a senior officer put to rest any illusion that the campaign would be easy.

Not all men's deaths were well recorded as MacLaurin's. Somewhere in the first few days, Alan Mitchell, the young law student from Manly serving with the 1st Battalion was wounded in action. He was evacuated to Egypt but died in hospital. Ernest Harris, the law clerk from Rose Bay also went ashore with the 1st battalion on the first day, but he too was lost in action on 2 May.

May Battles

There were many attacks and counterattacks by Turks and Australians in early May. A focal point of attack was the tenuous hold on a high point known as Quinn's Post. On 10 May a Turkish attack found its way into the Post and occupied a short stretch of Australian trenches. A group of about 40 West Australians from the 16th Battalion were ordered to charge the Turks and regain the position.

A 29-year-old barrister, Captain Samuel Edward Townshend had been the Transport Officer for the 16th Battalion but was very keen to get into the action as a front line fighter. He got his wish and went into the fray after landing on 7 May. He led the charge at Quinn's Post on 9/10 May.

Townshend's family had lived in Randwick. He had attended Sydney High School then, according to the Sydney University *Book of Remembrance*, he had been the University Medallist in law. From 1910 to 1913 he had been Clerk of Examinations at Sydney University before taking up a position as Registrar at the University of Western Australia until his enlistment in 1915. Charles Bean described Townshend's actions in the final charge in some detail. With officers being shot all around Townshend led the men over the parapet in the dark. He shouted to them 'Fix your bayonet, then told them, 'When I call "Australia for ever", charge boys.' Some were killed immediately. Townshend was shot in the foot, and then killed outright when he was shot again as he was carried out of the fight. His body was not located until after the war. The battle was one of extreme violence, unique even on Gallipoli as the Turks and Australian were so close together. Men newly arrived on Gallipoli were thrown into such actions with little preparation. Townshend's death marked the loss of a man with great promise. The Vice Chancellor of the University of Western Australia wrote of Townshend that "by sheer determination, ability and hard work he had reached a good position and was quite willing to surrender all for his country. . . His Death is a glorious and fitting close to a brilliant career."

While Townshend was fighting on the slopes above the beaches his fellow Graduate from Sydney University Law School, Sergeant Charles Howard Helsham landed with the 1st Light Horse Ambulance. Helsham was 39 years old when he landed. He had embarked on 23 September 1914 in the same unit as his brother William, a medical practitioner from Richmond, NSW. Charles Helsham's unit had landed completely by 12 August and went into action at the comparatively

quieter section at Pope's Trench. The unit was transferred through a variety of places, and withstood a number of Turkish attacks. Helsham was transferred from Gallipoli on 27 June to accompany wounded back to Australia on *Port Lincoln*. Helsham was not content with staying at home. He arrived in Australia in August 1915 and returned in November of the same year with a remount unit. He survived the war serving with a Pioneer Battalion and was awarded Mention in Despatches four times. In 1919 he was awarded the OBE

When the 6th Light Horse landed on 15 May, the solicitor, Lieutenant Reginald Charles Garnock accompanied them. He had commanded the February reinforcements. He served on Gallipoli from May to September. He survived action at Lone Pine and Suvla Bay as well as various illnesses until being invalided to London. He returned to duty and served with that unit throughout the war, eventually seeing action in Gaza, Beersheba, Richon, Jerusalem, Jordan Valley, three assaults at Amman and the Egyptian Rising. He was awarded the Order of the Nile.

According to his service record, young Laurence Whistler Street went ashore in command of B Company of the 3rd Infantry Battalion on 6 May. This date may be incorrect, as his battalion was landed on 25 April. He had a torrid time and his actions in battle over the two weeks earned him some recognition in divisional orders for "acts of conspicuous gallantry or valuable services." On 19 May he was leading his men in their defence against a powerful Turkish attack which began around 4.00 a.m. At one stage the Turks were standing over Street's trench and shooting directly into it. Bean describes the moment as one of 'tense excitement' with the Australians under Street and his major 'standing their ground.' As dawn came the Australians fought the Turks off, often sitting high above the trenches to gain a better shot at the fleeing enemy. In the early light, this practice made them targets to other Turks who had crept forward in the scrub. Street had bravely kept his men steady to repel the attack but had left himself exposed and was shot down at around

4.30 a.m. Thirty-three men from his battalion were killed on that night and he was interred with them in Shrapnel Gully.

On enlistment, the District Commanding Officer, Colonel Wallack had suggested Laurence Street be appointed a Lieutenant. Colonel Wallack's son, Gordon, had travelled to war with Laurence Street and was killed in the same action on the same day in remarkably similar circumstances, only a few hundred metres away. Colonel Wallack obviously took a keen interest in the men he had chosen for command. He had made a special effort a few days before his son was killed to send a telegram to the wounded Geoffrey Austin Street on behalf of Street's relatives: 'hope quick recovery love from all ends.'

Gallipoli was a place that was geographically confined in the extreme, and in the claustrophobic atmosphere news of friends and relatives travelled fast. Thus Laurence Street's death was communicated to his cousin, Captain Humphrey Scott, on a nearby position soon after the event. Humphrey Scott would have heard the cacophony of battle engulfing his young cousin on the next ridge. He wrote to Judge Street within a week of Laurence Street's death. "My Dear Uncle Phil, It is with deepest regret I am now able to write to you to give what few details I have been able to gather about poor Laurence's death . . ." Scott, of Wahroonga in the northern part of Sydney maintained his family's reputation in battle. He was famous for his willingness to expose himself to enemy fire when necessary, including one time when his unit was under attack - he stood out in the open to see where the Turkish bullets were coming from. Charles Macnaghten dragged him back under cover.

Condolences flowed to the Street family from a range of sources, including Laurence's fellow officers and eventually the King and Queen. Fellow soldiers praised Street's skill and courage in

battle. Unfortunately the family suffered a not uncommon added burden of the bereaved in that the various notifications and letters concerning their son were inaccurate. Their home address was not correct, nor was Laurence's date of death. Judge Street's name was mangled to be *J. Street. Esq.* It took a great deal of effort to make sure all records were amended to be correct and no doubt added to the family's grief. Such stressful mistakes were not uncommon. For example, the fate of Colonel MacLaurin's personal effects was not established by his next-of-kin until 1921.

The battles continued. On 19 May the Turks attacked again in force and the men of the 4th Battalion resisted fiercely. In the aftermath of the fight, on 22 May, Sydney solicitor Captain Hector Clayton, who had been so generous in praising others, was shot in the leg. He was carried to the casualty station on the beach and when he came to he discovered that his brother, Harry, who was a Doctor, was tending to his wounds. According to Richard Travers, Hector Clayton's grandson, Hector wanted to stay, but Harry correctly insisted on evacuating him – Hector's wounds were worse than he thought.

On 29 - 30 May the Turks made a series of attacks on Quinn's Post. During the fighting Major John Brier Mills of the 2nd Australian Field Artillery died of wounds. He was a 45-year-old solicitor who had been born in St Marys New South Wales but later operated in Broken Hill, Coolgardie and Perth. The exact location of his death was unknown at the time, and his body was not located until the careful examination of the battlefields made after the war. Possibly he had been killed while scouting forward to observe the fall of fire onto the enemy attack and was caught in the open by one of the ubiquitous snipers. Mills had been keen. He had fought in the South African campaign and then joined the AIF on 28 August 1914, barely two weeks after hostilities had broken out. Three days after Mills was killed, Lieutenant Geoffrey Austin Street came ashore

again, recovered from his head wound and rejoined the 1st Battalion. He had been allowed a little less than three weeks to recover from being shot in the head. He was soon back in the action.

May Enlistments in Australia

New units were formed in Australia in May 1915 to supply reinforcements for those fighting on Gallipoli. News of the Gallipoli landings was delivered through evocative drawings on the cover of the *Sydney Mail*. There were also compelling accounts of the landing by Charles Bean and Ashmead Bartlett in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Ashmead Bartlett's May account of the landing had the leader: 'Glorious entry into the War' and claimed there had been 'no finer feat of arms in the war'. The general enthusiasm to the war amongst the legal profession was not restricted to the opening weeks of the conflict. There was a spontaneous increase in enlistments by members of the legal profession in early May 1915. Charles Bean wrote that of the men who enlisted at that time, 'a high proportion volunteered not so much from impetuosity of spirit as reasoned patriotism.' Many had just returned from service with the ANMEF.

Not all the recruits from New South Wales were in battalions from their home state. Serving as adjutant with the predominantly Victorian unit, the 24th Battalion was the Sydney Charles Ede Manning. He was just back from serving with the ANMEF where he had been appointed Assistant Judge-Advocate General for New Guinea on 12 September 1914. Charles Ede Manning left again for war from Melbourne 10 May 1915 on board *Euripedes*, barely a month after he had been relieved of his legal duties in New Guinea. He never returned from the war.

On 12 May the transport *Themistocles* cleared the docks with the 17th Battalion crowding the sides. Among the waiving troops were the following people who listed their professions as being

involved in the law: Captain John Malbon Maughan, a 37-year-old solicitor in command of D Company; Lieutenant Cecil Rodwell Lucas, the barrister from Waverly who had served with Maughan in the ANMEF; Captain Errol Wharton Kirke, a 27-year-old managing law clerk from Manly; Edmund Ralston Raine a 20-year-old law student whose father was in practise in Pitt Street; Allan Costello, an 18-year-old law clerk from Lidcombe; Joseph Henry Murphy, a 24-year-old managing law clerk and ANMEF veteran from Ryde, who was the orderly room sergeant; Percival Edward Addison, a 40-year-old private, who had been the Clerk of Petty Sessions at Kiama, and Private Cornelius Thomas Dempsey, a 26-year-old law clerk from Manly.

On 31 May a 20-year-old legal clerk, Basil Vincent Hill left on board *Ajanana* with the 5th Field Ambulance. He would be attached to the other men from New South Wales in the 5th Brigade when they landed on Gallipoli in August. He survived the war and later graduated from Sydney University Law School.

On 13 June *Suevic* took the 12th Light Horse Regiment to war. Commanding them was a 46-year-old solicitor and Member of Parliament, Percy Phipps Abbott from Glen Innes. He had interviewed a number of men who were in his unit, including at least one other solicitor: Ernest Roberts, a 43-year-old based in Wagga. McLachlan, Westgarth and Co of Pitt Street Sydney handled Roberts' affairs. In later years this firm ensured that particular war graves were kept maintained. The principal of the firm, George Westgarth was the half brother of the 12th Light Horse Adjutant, Major John Ellesmere Westgarth. John Westgarth had qualified to study law at Sydney University but had left this career in favour of life in the military – beginning with service in the Boer War and continuing through to the ANMEF. His nephew, Mervyn, was in the same unit. Commanding B Squadron was Major Harold McIntosh, a 46-year-old grazier who had served his articles in his father's firm before going on the land. He was veteran of the Boer War in which he had taken part

in all of the New South Wales Mounted Rifles' major operations. Also serving in the 12 Light Horse was Alistair Wharton Cox, a 20-year-old law student articled to A'Beckett and Holdship of Wentworth Court. Also in the unit was Robert Hunter, a 23-year-old solicitor from Forbes.

On 16 June *Karoola* left the docks with reinforcements for the 1st Battalion. Included among the officers was Lieutenant Francis Leonard Flannery of Dulwich Hill, a 24-year-old final year law student at Sydney University. Private Henry Gordon Liddon Simpson, a 39-year-old barrister from Warrawee was serving under Flannery in the same unit.

In the same month as reinforcement units left Sydney, new arrivals landed on Gallipoli. On 17 June reinforcements for the 4th Battalion slipped ashore. Among them was the ANMEF veteran and solicitor Albert Edgington. June was the time when sickness was in epidemic proportions. A month later Edgington was reported sick with diarrhoea and sent to the Casualty station on Mudros, then to Hospital on Lemnos where his records show he was "dangerously ill" with dysentery. He died 20 August – another victim of Gallipoli.

On 25 June *Ceramic* steamed out of Sydney Harbour with the 18th and 19th Battalions on board. The commanding officer of the 18th Battalion was a 46-year-old police magistrate, Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Ernest Chapman from Crow's Nest. His second in command was a 45-year-old solicitor, Major Arthur James McDonald .of Double Bay. Also in Headquarters was a 36-year-old Sydney barrister, William Samuel Hinton, who was a graduate of Sydney University Law School. His Chambers were listed as at 145 Phillip Street. Other law professionals in the unit included: Lesley Webster Sherring, a 19-year-old law clerk from Mosman; Norman Philip Scheidel, the Bellevue Hill law clerk who had already served in New Guinea; Captain Horace Charles McLean

Morris, a 32-year-old law clerk from Ashfield and Lennox Ross Owen Douglas, a 20-year-old articled law clerk from Orange. Captain Morris had already served for six months in the German internment camp at Liverpool. Most of the men in the 18th battalion came from Sydney. Their unit had a tragic fate.

Commanding the 19th Battalion, also on board *Ceramic*, was the 43-year-old barrister, Lieutenant Colonel William Kenneth Seaforth MacKenzie. He was another graduate of Sydney University Law School. His listing in the Australian Dictionary of Biography states that Mackenzie had been called to the Bar at the inner Temple, London in 1895 and admitted to the New South Wales bar on 2 March 1897. He practised in Sydney with Bowman & Mackenzie in 1898 – 1900 specialising in divorce and tenancy consultations. He was the author of *The Practise of Divorce in New South Wales* and several other papers. In 1901 – 1914 he was in chambers at Phillip Street Sydney. He too had been in the Scottish Rifles with MacLaurin and Macnaghten.

Mackenzie's second in command was Major James Whiteside Fraser McManamey, a 53-year-old barrister from Milson's Point with Chambers at 8 Wentworth Court. McManamey was a well-known personage. He had been admitted to the Bar in 1892 and was president of the Australian Rugby Union and active referee at the time war broke out. He had played in the first NSW - Qld interstate game. Major Windeyer Alexander Ralston, a 29-year-old barrister from Strathfield commanded A Company. Ralston was the son of Alexander Gerard Ralston KC of University Chambers. Lieutenant Francis Coen, a 31-year-old barrister from Selborne Chambers, who gave his address as at Yass was in B Company. Captain George Heydon, a medical practitioner and the son of Judge Charles Heydon of the Industrial Court, was in C Company. Captain John Milton Edgley, a 32-year-old solicitor from Dorrigo was in D Company, along with Lieutenant Eric William Atkinson, a 24-year-old law student from Ashfield.

On 1 May, Charles Leonard Gavan Duffy, a 32-year-old barrister, had joined the Field Artillery. Duffy was the older son of Honourable Justice Gavan Duffy of the High Court. Many other May enlistments went into the New South Wales 20th Battalion. Commanding D Company in that Battalion was the Scottish barrister from North Sydney, Major James Logie Marcus, newly returned from service with the ANMEF. Serving in D Company was a 22-year-old Law Clerk from Manly: Lieutenant William Vere Jardine Blake. The Battalion Adjutant was a 31-year-old Supreme Court solicitor from Pymble: Captain Gordon Uther. Other lawyers and associates in that unit were: Donald Edmund Kennedy, a Sydney University law student from Glebe; Laurence Low, an 18-year-old law clerk from Randwick; John Lavendar, an 18-year-old law clerk from Queensland; Hubert Thompson, a 29-year-old solicitor from Bathurst; Herbert Ralph Briant, a 33-year-old English solicitor; John James McCredie a 27-year-old law clerk from Randwick, and Arthur Ferguson, a 23-year-old law student. Arthur Ferguson was the son of Justice David Gilbert Ferguson of the Sydney Supreme Court. Judge Ferguson became intensely interested in Gallipoli and constructed a highly detailed model of the terrain his son fought over. The model was so detailed Charles Bean acknowledged it in his second volume of the *Official History of Australia in the War*.

Also on board *Ceramic* were Reinforcements for the 1st Battalion. Major Ignatius Bertram Norris, a 24-year-old barrister of University Chambers in Phillip Street commanded them. Among the men serving under him, was 22-year-old John Deery, an articled clerk to P S Dawson solicitor of Sydney. A few days later, on 29 June Aeneas left Brisbane with the 25th Battalion on Board. They were mostly Queenslanders, but one officer was a graduate of Sydney University Law School:

Lieutenant Harold Hills Page, a 26-year-old clerk from Grafton. He was to prove himself a real warrior.

June on Gallipoli

With a lull in the major battles the Turks and Australians wriggled around each other trying to improve their positions and eliminate threats. One such problem was a Turkish machine-gun position near the 1st Battalion,. On 4th June Lieutenant Geoffrey Austin Street and eight select men crept out from their positions at Steele's Post towards the enemy. Their aim was to silence the machine-gun position. They slithered through a small tunnel then along the bottom of a gully to an enemy position known as 'sniper's trench.' Normally this position was unoccupied but Charles Bean states that as the scout and Street 'were actually putting their legs over the parapet of the old sniper's post they perceived in it a number of dark forms looking up at them. A row of Turks was crouching in the bottom of the work, apparently dumb with terror.' With all surprise gone, Street led his men back to their tunnel. Street was later made the Adjutant of the 1st Battalion and stayed with the unit until they were evacuated in December. He later won the Military Cross survived the war, became a successful farmer and eventually went into politics and became the Minister for Army and Defence in World War II when he was killed in an air crash in Canberra in August 1940.

As troops left Australia in June one high ranking barrister was landing to take up his duties on Gallipoli. Major General James Legge went to command the 1st Division on 24 June after its previous commander, General Bridges had fallen victim to a sniper. Legge had a gift for quarrelling with high-ranking officers. He had already caused a row with the British in Cairo by complaining about the training facilities in Egypt. He arrived on Gallipoli to be greeted by protests from Generals Hamilton M'Cay, Monash and Birdwood concerning his appointment. He was only on Gallipoli for a month and according to Charles Bean 'his short tenure (was) not unaccompanied

by difficulties.’ One area of disagreement was over the tactics for the impending attack on Lone Pine in August. Whether he was right or wrong, no doubt many people were relieved when he left in late July to organise the 2nd Division in Egypt. According to Legge’s biography at the Australian Defence Force Academy General Birdwood had ‘seized on an opportunity to remove Legge from the scene.’ Legge would return.

Support for the soldiers on Gallipoli kept up throughout July. In this hot month a contingent of the 1st Field Ambulance landed. Among them were: Charles Glentworth Addison, a 32-year-old barrister from Denman Chambers who lived at Hunters Hill, and Joseph Palmer Abbott, a 23-year-old law student articled to Arthur Littlejohn of Castlereagh Street. Both men were invalided sick off the peninsular within a few weeks.

A steady stream of injuries continued. On 11 July Lieutenant Stacy was wounded in action with the 4th Battalion. On 20 July the young law student, Charles Bernard Donaldson from Sydney University was killed with the 2nd Battalion. He was working repairing and extending trenches at a place known as Brown’s Dip. As he was carrying a bag of sand along a trench he allowed his upper body to be exposed above the parapet. He was a tall man and according to witnesses ‘a sniper got him through the head.’ Death was instantaneous. His brother John would be killed a year later at Pozieres. His other brother, George, also enlisted and survived the war,. George Donaldson was awarded the Military Cross.

August Battles and Reinforcements

In the early part of August the Australians tried repeatedly to break out of their positions at Gallipoli. On 6 August a number of units attacked one of the heavily defended Turkish Positions at

Lone Pine. Lone Pine was one of the defining engagements of the Gallipoli campaign. It is hard to sort out the actions of all the individuals involved in the extreme violence of a battle that went over five days. Observing the action for the Brigade staff was the solicitor and notary Colonel Leonard Dobbin. The indefatigable Macnaghten, newly promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and recovered from his earlier wounds, led the 4th Battalion in the battle and was commended by ‘for his masterful handling of that unit.’ Typically, Macnaghten led the charge at 5.30 pm from the front. He raced out, whistle blowing furiously, and led his men over less than 200 metres of ground to the Turkish trenches. There, he helped the men uncover the Turkish defences and enter the galleries. He was again wounded, this time in his knee, during the action. His name reappears throughout the accounts of Lone Pine: planning the attack; at one stage calling for reinforcements; replacing officers hurt and killed in action; clearing the trenches of wounded and organising the defence against Turkish assaults. The battle was his finest moment, but it was at some personal cost. He lost many friends, including fellow old Etonian, Lieutenant John Merivale, who had specifically asked to join the unit to be with Macnaghten.

Another commendation stated that Macnaghten had ‘exhibited great dash and gallantry and distributed his men after the first assault through the intricate trenches to the best advantage while reorganising for further attack.’ The battle was a chaotic violence of attack and counterattack in a subterranean world of covered trenches, blind corners and showers of bombs. Turkish soldiers counterattacked repeatedly en masse, or crept along the maze of trenches so that turning any corner could bring death. Macnaghten was at the heart of the battle. George Simpson, the son of Judge Simpson was among the dead on the first day. Simpson’s friend had been with him the night before the attack and wrote of how George had spoken of a premonition of death. Regrettably, he was right. No doubt Adam Simpson went looking for his lost brother and reported back home to their parents what had happened.

Also among the men fighting in the labyrinth at Lone Pine was Captain Allan Humphrey Scott – the cousin on lawyers Laurence (by now deceased), Geoffrey and Kenneth Street. Scott was of the same mould as Macnaghten. When he was told of a Turkish attack, Scott, in a manner reminiscent of Macnaghten’s charge on the second day of the campaign shouted to the men around him “Who’ll come with me?” and tore off to attack the Turks with rifle bomb and bayonet. Scott was awarded the Distinguish Conduct Order for his efforts in such attacks, including the time when he showed his potential as a leader. Taking over when Macnaghten was incapacitated. Also serving with the men of the 4th battalion was the solicitor Bertie Stacy, another young lawyer-officer continuing to impress people with his courage and skill in battle. He was awarded a Mention in Despatches for his work.

Macnaghten stayed in the trenches at Lone Pine for around four days. While there are ample attestations to his skill and bravery there was also a terrible cost. He would never be the same again. The combination of physical wounds and the hidden but perhaps more tragic mental scars affected him for the rest of his life. He was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) for his effort. Once again, Macnaghten was withdrawn to recover from wounds and did not take command again until just before the evacuation..

Amongst the men killed at Lone Pine in the 2nd Battalion was the South African born solicitor, Private Rayner Garlake. His death seems particularly poignant. Garlake had joined the 2nd Battalion’s Reinforcement unit. He had gone ashore on Gallipoli on 6 August, then struggled up the slopes and virtually straight into action. An Anglican Reverend, Everard Digges La Touche, had led Garlake to Gallipoli. Digges La Touche, who was well known in the Anglican community, saw the war as a crusade against German Protestantism and was determined to get into action and

willingly accepted the probability of his own death. He insisted on entering the fray immediately he arrived onshore, possibly trailing his newly arrived soldiers, until he came face to face with the enemy - whereupon he was shot in the trenches at Lone Line. Men who knew him well witnessed his death. Garlake was not so lucky. He was thrown into battle, and then he disappeared. His wife made enquires about his fate through the Red Cross, but no one knew what happened, probably because no one at the battlefront had time to get to know him. He had fallen among strangers. His fate was only confirmed when his body was discovered in 1919. He had probably not had time to unpack his gear and have a sleep before he was killed.

Other reinforcement to arrive at the same time as Garlake included among them the articled clerk John Deery the barrister Henry Liddon Simpson and the law student Lieutenant Francis Flannery. Charles Bean described Flannery's involvement in a fierce close quarter fight on 14 August in a section of Lone Pine known as Lloyd's Trench. Shortly after midnight the 1st Battalion were attacked by a wave of grenades followed by Turks carrying fixed bayonets who plunged into the narrow trench. Many Australian were killed and 'a number of others, mainly half trained reinforcements who had landed on August 6 ran to the rear, and the Turks seized Lloyd's Trench. A cry for officers being raised, Captain Jacobs, after arranging for a supply of grenades bombed along the trench with Lieutenant F L Flannery and drove the enemy out.' Flannery was evacuated sick with Typhoid five weeks later. John Deery suffered a head wound on his first day ashore and was evacuated to Mudros, came back and went off sick in November. Henry Simpson survived the battle but was evacuated sick six weeks later.

There were other battles apart from Lone Pine at the same time. At 4.30 a.m. on 7 August the men of the 1st Light Horse loaded up with 250 rounds of ammunition, bombs, trenching tools, water, iron rations and all the paraphernalia of battle and lumbered up the slope at Pope's Hill. The attack

was one of a series of ventures intended to allow the hemmed in Anzacs the opportunity to break out of their trap and into the open country of the Sari Bair Plateau. The attack does not have the same desperate glory and reputation of that at the Nek by the West Australians but in its own way it was just as savage and tragic. According to the eyewitness accounts gleaned by the Red Cross the articled clerk from Glen Innes, Sergeant John McGregor made it as far as the Turkish trench. There, wreathed in the smoke and chaos of battle, he paused to load his rifle. Just as he charged his magazine and said, 'That's a good thing!' he was shot through the heart and died instantly. His body was left behind when the troopers retired to their original positions, unable to hold their ground against the Turkish counterattack when their ammunition ran out. John McGregor, an ex-student of both Scots College and Sydney Grammar School died for no ground at all. More fortunate was the articled clerk from Neutral Bay, William Oliver. He was caught by a bomb and had the lower part of both legs shattered in the attack. Despite him having multiple compound fractures to both legs as well as various other damages his family were notified that he was "slightly wounded." The other articled clerk in the 1st Light Horse, William Tucker of Kirribilli was also wounded at some time, evacuated and later joined the Field Artillery in the British army.

The 20th Battalion had departed on the transport, *Berrima*, 26 June 1915. Lieutenant Charles Duffy accompanied them and later joined their Battalion. They arrived in Egypt in late July for some brief training and arming then the majority went ashore on Gallipoli as a unit on 22 August. Majors Uther, Marcus and the men of the 20th struggled up the steep track known as Broadway to their position at Russell's Top. There, they faced the enemy, only 100 metres or so away. Between the two sets of trenches lay a flat, bare piece of ground with name made evil by recent events. The innocuous flat land before Uther, Marcus and their men was called The Nek. It was putrid with the

decaying bodies of the Light horseman killed there in the disastrous charge on 7 August. The men who the 20th battalion relieved were the survivors of one of the worst disasters in the war.

On the night of 20 August 1915 the New Guinea veteran, Captain Maughan, was serving his country on the other side of the world as the men of the 17th Battalion slipped ashore on Gallipoli. The 17th Battalion history describes their introduction to the battlefield as landing at night, watching the isolated flashes of exploding artillery and the rattle of small arms fire, which emanated from the dark bulk of the Sari Bair hillside. They soon settled into the round of trench life, battling disease as much as the enemy. They took part in later battles for Hill 60 and a period occupying the crucial position at Quinn's Post. Disease and the enemy took their toll. Among the few fraternities in the unit, Allan Costello and Edmund Raine were evacuated due to sickness.

As the men of the 20th Battalion struggled to their unfamiliar positions they would have heard the violence emanating from a nearby stretch of undulating scrubby country known as Hill 60. Their fellow New South Welshmen in the 18th Battalion were being sent into battle barely two days after they had landed to the great expectations of those already facing the Turks. The haggard veterans on Gallipoli had seen the new arrivals as welcome relief: fresh troops to take the burden of battle. But the newcomers lacked the experience of the Gallipoli old timers. Nor had the newcomers received the same intense training in Egypt. And perhaps the leadership of the 18th was of a different style from that of earlier arrivals.

The Tragedy of the 18th Battalion

A variety of different allied units had tried, and failed to overcome the maze of Turkish trenches and massed defenders on and around Hill 60, a nondescript rise in the landscape, which the

commanders, Generals Cox and Russell, had decided was vital strategically. Charles Bean wrote that just on midnight on 22 August the commanders decided ‘that the communication trench on Hill 60 should be carried at dawn, and that a fresh battalion should be used for the task.’ They chose the 18th Battalion, one in which there was a particularly high number of members of the legal profession.

Commanding that battalion was the police magistrate, Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Ernest Chapman; second in command was the solicitor, Major Arthur James McDonald. Also in Headquarters was a Sydney barrister, William Samuel Hinton. There were a number of law clerks in the unit including Captain Horace Charles Morris as well as Privates Lesley Webster Sherring, Norman Philip Scheidel, and Lennox Ross Owen Douglas. The unit was well connected to the law in a variety of ways. Lieutenant Wilfred Addison of D Company was an accountant by profession, but his uncle Percival Edward Addison was the clerk of Petty Session at Kiama. Percival Addison was serving on Gallipoli near his nephew with the 17th battalion at the time of the battle for Hill 60. Another of Wilfred Addison’s uncles, Charles Glentworth Addison, a barrister, was serving with the 1st Field Ambulance also on Gallipoli at the time of the action. The Addison family was well known to the historian Charles Bean. Bean wrote that before the battle the young officers of the 18th Battalion ‘had spoken gravely to (the men) of their high duty in the tests they were about to face. Young Lieutenant Addison had said “I daresay, I shall be one of the first to fall.”’

In the service record of Lieutenant Colonel Chapman is an account of the circumstances surrounding the attack made by the 18th Battalion. Major Evan Wisdom, the Brigade Major for the 5th Brigade, wrote his version of what happened. Wisdom was also the member for Claremont in the Western Australian Legislative Council. Charles Bean described him as ‘one of the best leaders

in the AIF'. Wisdom was a witness to what transpired in the trenches on the slopes of Hill 60. He wrote that on the evening of the 21 August 'Lieutenant colonel Chapman was given orders to have his Battalion in a state of instant readiness to move at any time of night'. This order was in 'no way varied' but then at 12.15 am on 22 August when Colonel Chapman was told to be ready to move Chapman responded that 'his men had turned in and were very tired, having no rest for two days and had been very hard worked . . . and he appeared to be hesitating at getting his men out.' Chapman was clearly no Macnaghten who had been ready to go at the whisper of an attack. Instead, according to Wisdom, Chapman and McDonald proceeded 'on a leisurely way to awaken the men.' And so the 18th Battalion went up the hill to the front line for its initiation into battle.

Charles Bean wrote that a New Zealand officer, Major Powles, gave the final orders to Colonel Chapman. According to Bean, Powles said that the 18th Battalion 'should assault with bomb and bayonet only. Lieutenant Colonel Chapman interjected that they had no bombs; Powles could only reply that they could do the best that was possible without them'. That is the only mention Charles Bean has of magistrate Lieutenant-Colonel Chapman in the battle. Bean's silence is strange, as, according to a letter he wrote to the Addison family, he was shown the battlefield by Chapman and the battalion second in command, Major McDonald, the day after the attack. Also, he knew McDonald from his law practise.

In Bean's account, the New Zealand Major, Powles, directed the 18th Battalion to front line trenches where they were told to fix bayonets, charge magazines and form two lines then carry out the assault. The men were sent out through a gap in the scrub and into the open. They captured one trench but were then sent on to another. As the Turks poured a 'tremendous fire' onto the positions, Powles sent out the next wave of the 18th. Addison was reported to have jumped up and shouted 'Come on boys, the next on.' Bean described 'Lieutenant Wilfred Addison who, with dying and

wounded around him, and machine-gun bullets tearing up the ground where he stood, steadied and waved forward the remnant of his platoon until he himself fell pierced with several bullets.’ At 10 a m the Australians withdrew to the first trench.

The 20-year-old solicitor’s clerk from Woolhara, Lance Corporal Norman Phillip Scheidel, was named among the many missing men at the end of the morning. A number of his friends tried to find out what had happened to Scheidel and from their enquiries the story of his final battle can be pieced together. He had charged forward with his mates and gained the first line of Turkish trenches. There, they paused, with historian Charles Bean claiming that they did expect to go further. Then Powles’ orders came and they climbed over the parapet and went on towards the second Turkish trench. Somewhere in this space Scheidel fell. His identity disc was retrieved, but his body was then lost and has never been identified. Without the body or a definite witness it was hard to establish the fact of death. The family received a telegram notifying them of his missing in action but then nothing official was established despite their repeated requests for news. The case was not settled until January 1916 when the Court of Enquiry, one of many held at Tel-el-Kebir in Egypt to investigate the unresolved cases of missing men, found that it reasonable to suppose him dead. Another law clerk in the 18th Battalion, Leslie Sherring, was shot in the thigh during the attack and evacuated from Gallipoli

The attack had failed. Scheidel and his comrades had been sent out ill prepared and under equipped. He died for little gain in ground. A unit comprised of men described as being “great big cheery fellows” by the ragged, thin Gallipoli veterans only a few days earlier had lost 385 out of 700 men in the few hours of their first battle.

Major Wisdom does not comment on the casualties or his part in insisting the newly arrived men go out. He picks up his account a few hours after the battle. He reported that he and Brigadier Holmes 'went out to the position occupied by the 18th Battalion and visited the trenches and found Lieutenant-colonel Chapman, 2nd in Command and the Adjutant . . . huddled together in a trench and the men running around like wild rabbits in the trenches, and the morale of the battalion considerably shaken; no endeavour was being made to calm the men. . . . The Brigadier gave orders that the men should be put to work to dig a communication trench . . . to take the thoughts of the men off the previous shaking they had had.' An early draft of the report stated that 'the officers were more shaken than the men', but this was deleted from the final copy. In his book *Gallipoli*, Les Carlyon wrote that there was 'something contemptible about the way the 18th had been sent out to die.'

What battle did not take, disease stalked. At the same time as the battle for Hill 60, the unit second in command, the Double bay solicitor, Major Arthur McDonald was reported suffering from dysentery. He survived the battle as did the other legal professionals who were officers. Hinton survived, but in 1916 he returned to Australia sick and was discharged. Colonel Chapman also survived the battle physically but subsequent events suggest a much more poignant personal trauma. Lennox Douglas missed the battle due to pneumonia

Chapman tried to resist the next order to attack a few days later, stating that 'his men were done up and needed rest' according to Wisdom, who also wrote that Chapman did not want to attack 'the trenches which his previous mission had failed.' Again this was deleted from the final draft, as was the comment that the Brigadier told Chapman 'of the mess he was in.' After Chapman had told General Russell of his reluctance to commit the 18th Battalion to another attack on 24 August the

general made some remarks which Chapman 'said he considered insulting.' The first draft of Wisdom's account said that Holmes then told Chapman to go to Russell and 'endeavour to explain the unexplainable fault he had made.' But this comment was crossed out in the signed typed version. Chapman was told by his Brigadier that 'he should have jumped at the chance (to attack) offered for the sake of the Battalion and Brigade, and was not at all surprised at General Russell's (insulting) remarks.'

The second attack on Hill 60 went ahead on 27. According to an account published by Brad Manera at the Australian War Memorial the 18th Battalion were "for the second time in less than a week, . . . cut down in waves." The 18th Battalion suffered another 256 casualties. One other casualty was Chapman's military career. A letter from Major General Cox written on 29 August put the case against Chapman quite clearly. Cox wrote that he 'did not consider Lieutenant Colonel Chapman (was) fit for the position' of commanding the 18th Battalion. A few days later Chapman was allowed to resign 'as an act of grace.'

Chapman had just 70 or so fit men left out of the 700 he had led ashore just 10 days earlier.

Battalion records indicate that Chapman resigned both command of the battalion and his commission in the AIF on 11 September 1915. He was then evacuated sick to Mudros. His official diagnosis was colitis, but scrawled beside that in a different hand was 'shock'. Major McDonald took temporary command in early October but was reported to be too sick to ever take the unit permanently. Two weeks later he too was evacuated suffering from diarrhoea and shell shock. Chapman wrote a number of letters to his superiors while in hospital requesting that he be given his old battalion back, but one hand scrawled note in his service record stated that he was not to be

given any command in any military unit again. He was sent home medically unfit in January 1916. Nothing more about Chapman was recorded in his files apart from his relatives asking about the details of his return to Sydney.

The 13th Battalion also went into action in that violent August. Keith Waugh, the solicitor from Neutral Bay entered battle with them and suffered a shrapnel wound to his shoulder. The injury was variously described as serious or slight depending on which hospital he was in. He was evacuated off the peninsular and remained out of action for the rest of the war. Reinforcements for the 13 Battalion left Sydney on *Runic* at around the same time as the unit was in action. On board was Henry Herbert Neaves, a 22-year-old law clerk from Marrickville who was a graduate of Sydney University Law School. No doubt he was looking forward to seeing his older brother, Alfred, who was serving on Gallipoli in the 6th Light Horse. Unfortunately Albert Neaves was killed on 3 September, just six weeks before his younger brother arrived.

The 19th Battalion landed on Gallipoli 21 August. They took part in the ill-fated attack on Hill 60, but avoided the same number of casualties as the 18th Battalion. Captain Edgley the solicitor from Dorrigo wrote a report to the Red Cross outlining his own actions in collecting the bodies of men killed in action. The 19th then maintained into a defensive role throughout September. Much of their work involved extending and maintaining trenches and the endless grind of carrying water and rations up from the beach. Disease and Turkish bombs were their main threats. On 5 September Major James Whiteside Fraser McManamey the 53-year-old barrister and well known rugby identity from Milson's Point was killed in action with the 19th Battalion. He left a widow, Rose, and two sons, James, and John. He was one of the close-knit rugby fraternity on Gallipoli. The rugby players kept a watch on the fate of each other in battles and his death would have been well noted.

On 29 August, the 12th Light Horse landed, with Glen Innes solicitor and MP Lieutenant Colonel Percy Phipps Abbot in command. His section in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* noted that on the way over to Egypt he had 'railed in his diary against the wickedness of Germany, but anxious, notwithstanding his rank, to observe the proprieties of Australian egalitarianism. On Gallipoli he was appalled by the ferocity of trench warfare, proud of the Anzacs and scathing about British strategy. He was soon commanding the 10th Light Horse. Suffering from enteric fever, in October 1915 Abbott was evacuated to England where he commanded Australian staging camps.' Abbott was an effective commander on Gallipoli until illness forced him to hospital. At least they survived. Major McIntosh the law-trained grazier in the same unit lasted barely a day on Gallipoli before he was wounded in the thigh and evacuated off to hospital. Others were not so lucky - even though the major attacks of August were over.

In late August Major General Legge embarked on *Southland* for the short voyage to Gallipoli. On 2 September the vessel was torpedoed south of Lemnos. According to Legge's biography at the Australian Defence Force Academy he 'won the admiration of many for the quiet good humoured way he handled the situation, remaining on board with the last 400 men, who were transferred to the hospital ship, *Neuralia*.' He worked hard 'on a number of schemes to improve the defences on Anzac, which some thought impractical and others thought showed signs of sheer genius.' Soon he fell victim to illness, but not before finding time to confirm the dismissal of Colonel Chapman from command of the 18th Battalion. On 23 November, Legge was evacuated sick to Egypt.

The men in the trenches were under continuous shellfire and the constant battering weakened the defenses. Tragically one victim in the 12th Light horse of this ceaseless gunfire was the middle

aged solicitor from Wagga - Ernest Roberts. He was a friend of the Colonel Abbott, not surprising considering their common legal background and work as country solicitors. Roberts was rotated through the usual trench routine but on 17 September he was fatally unlucky. According to witnesses he had fired his rifle over the sandbags then ducked down to reload. While doing this he was shot through the head – either through a loophole in the parapet or through a sandbag which had been weakened by the constant peppering of gunfire. His sergeant wrote that the grey haired Roberts ‘was a great favourite (and) his death caused quite a gloom.’

In September the troops were exhausted. Men like the law clerk Captain Adam Simpson had suffered recurring bouts of illness, but persisted with the efforts in leading the troops. Captain Simpson was placed in temporary command of the 4th Battalion on 24 September until he was evacuated sick again in November – one of the many victims of influenza which swept through the weakened men as the weather turned icy. Simpson was a very capable officer. A report on him from Senior Officers’ School describes the young officer as having a “reserved character; quiet manner; not easily ruffled; considerable force of character which is not at first apparent” who “works quietly; uses common sense; forms his own opinion; listens to, rather than takes part in discussion.” He was later given the Order of the Crown of Italy for “the many occasions (he) proved himself a splendid leader during attacks” on Gallipoli and later the Western Front.

There was a great deal of stealthy activity between the two opposing sets of trenches after the major battles had subsided. Occasionally particularly hard men would venture out to collect information or prisoners or just stir up trouble. Some were more suited than others, and one effective night stalker was the Sydney University Law School Graduate in the 25th Battalion, Harold Page of Grafton. His record states that at Russell’s Top on 29 October he and another man ‘carried out a particularly daring piece of reconnaissance to within a few yards of the enemy’s trenches: there they came into contact with two Turks; one being disabled by (Page) and the other shot by (.the

sergeant).’ The two men then ‘obtained a supply of bombs from the remainder of the patrol and proceeded to throw bombs at the fallen Turks and into the trench out of which they had issued.’”

Charles Bean wrote approvingly of the ‘bold reconnaissance’ conducted by Page on that night. This was by no means the last time Harold Page would stalk the enemy. For similar actions later in France he received the Military Cross and the Distinguished Service Order. He was a tough man.

The Australians hold on Gallipoli was tenuous at best. A Turkish attack always threatened. The fear was the Turks would sweep down one of the ridges such as Russell’s Top cut the force in half, and take control of the beach. Thus the long ridge that led into the centre of the defences was always a place of tense confrontation. Turkish artillery shells regularly whistled overhead onto the Anzac battery on Walker’s Ridge, and occasionally some would fall by accident or design on the 20th Battalion on Russell’s Top. The 20th settled into defend their ground, while the higher command worked out how to get of the mess. The main problem the 20th faced, apart from the odd artillery shell, was enemy tunnelling, which could result in mines being exploded under their positions. Engineers crawled into the claustrophobic trenches then underground towards the enemy. General Legge proposed one particularly ambitious scheme. He wanted to sink a shaft 20 metres in depth then drive galleries below the enemy’s trenches to emerge beyond The Nek. Australians would be able to march through he galleries two abreast. Many troops mocked it as a ‘wild venture’ and called it a ‘folly’ according to Charles Bean. No doubt this scheme was one of those which split opinion about the wisdom of General Legge’s planning ability.

Conditions on Gallipoli deteriorated steadily until it snowed on 27 November. Still the deaths continued. On 28 November Frederick Warren Muir, the young articled clerk in the 1st Battalion died of his wounds to the head and face. He was on board *Glenart Castle* at the time of his death, and was buried at sea. He had been wounded on 25 November. He was the only son of his

widowed mother. His father had been a solicitor. She received a telegram delivered by the local clergyman with the fearful news on 10 December. He had been on Gallipoli for five months with a brief respite from action because of illness. His letters home describing the landing and the subsequent battles had been published in the *South Coast Herald*. In June he had written: 'we have not had our clothes off for five weeks and it was most pleasant to strip off and have a dip in the sea. The weather here is glorious just at present and I am in the best of health.'

One barrister had a lucky escape around this time. The ANMEF veteran, Major Manning, was serving with the Victorians in the 24 Battalion in the deep, narrow trenches at Lone Pine in the ice and snow of 29 November. Unexpectedly there was a new, heavy artillery barrage which turned these trenches from safe refuges into death traps. Manning's sector on the northern part of the line bore the brunt of the attack and he was wounded. Many men were badly shocked and others were buried alive. There were 130 casualties in his unit, but he soon had the section in action and ready to defend against a possible attack. Manning was badly hurt. His records show that he had suffered head wounds when he had been buried by the exploding artillery and was soon diagnosed with shell shock. He was evacuated to Malta where he was also diagnosed with jaundice. Within a few months he contracted mumps, but still went to war in France. Manning was a respected leader. He was described in General Haig's Despatches as 'a most reliable and valuable officer whose steadfast devotion to duty was as conspicuous as his cheerful gallantry in action.' He was killed in action in France on 7 August 1916. He has the distinction of being the first British Judge in New Guinea..

No all the lawyers who went to Gallipoli were combatants. The legal profession and their families had already commenced their vigorous support of the Red Cross in Australia. In August 1915 a 52-year-old barrister from Sydney, Adrian Knox, landed with supplies for the troops. Adrian Knox

went ashore as a Red Cross commissioner to ensure that the stores reached the men they were supposed to. Knox was to continue his strong support of the Red Cross throughout the war. He acted in a variety of capacities, both at the front and at home. After he left Gallipoli, he was busy later in Cairo trying to track down the fate of various missing men. Occasionally his research took him into the legal community to which he was close. On 18 October he cabled Sydney about the fate of the solicitor Ernest Roberts. He had taken the time to sift the evidence and find out what had happened. He certified the accounts of the death of Roberts and wrote that the solicitor was “shot through the head and killed about 3 weeks ago.” As could be expected, Knox was right.

But it was all a lost cause.

Despite all the deaths and sacrifices, withdrawal from Gallipoli was inevitable because of the freezing weather. There were icicles hanging from the dugouts. On 11 December, two days before the order to evacuate the peninsular was made public, two lawyers, Major James Logie H Marcus and Major Gordon Uther, were killed at Russell’s Top. The two Majors had been part of a group of the 20th Battalion’s senior officers who had gone forward to check the frontline in preparation for covering the withdrawal of troops from Gallipoli. Turkish shells exploded nearby as they scrambled up through Monash Valley, but they were safe in deep trenches. However, when they got onto Russell’s Top they were more exposed and after waiting a few minutes they scuttled along the less protected trench towards the frontline. After barely a dozen yards a shell landed amongst them killing Uther and H Marcus, as well as their Battalion Commander, Major Richard Jenkins of Hornsby. Uther’s records indicate that he received a shell wound to the head and died at 13 Casualty Clearing Station. He left a widow and two young daughters. All the men were good officers, but Uther in particular was so, according to his friend Brigadier General John Lamrock who wrote that he was ‘a wonderful chap, a keen, lovable soldier.’ The close-knit nature of the units is indicated by the connections between the men killed. Two were lawyers. Uther and

Jenkins lived within a few suburbs of each other on Sydney's North Shore. Jenkins' son Godfrey was in the same 20th Battalion only a few hundred metres away from where his father was killed. In addition, Jenkins' nephew Captain George Concanon of Wahroonga had been killed on 26 April on Gallipoli – in the same charge as the one led by Major Charles Macnaghten.

Not all men suffered the same fate as Lieutenant Colonel Chapman. On 29 September a remarkable young ANMEF veteran, Lieutenant John Bayley Lane, landed to take up his place as one of the reinforcements in the 18th Battalion. He served with the unit until the evacuation, despite contracting malaria, for which he had three days off. Later in the war he led raids on German trenches, suffered multiple wounds when he was blown up, recovered was awarded Mention in Despatches twice, was shot twice, although one wound was reportedly 'mild', was awarded the Distinguished Service Order and returned the University Club in Castlereagh Street at the end of hostilities.

Beginning in early December the ANZACs started to withdraw from Gallipoli. The withdrawal was a masterpiece of care and subterfuge. One of the officers in the key rear Party was Captain Errol Kirke, the law clerk who had come over with the 17th Battalion then transferred to the 18th Battalion. He led a party which cleared the trenches as the men evacuated then formed a last strong point on Plugge's Plateau to hold off any attack if the front line was breached. He was stuck out in an exposed position while others withdrew around him. It was a position of supreme trust and only given to superior characters with strong nerves. A fellow officer in the 17th, the barrister, Captain Cecil Lucas was in charge of the last party to leave Quinn's Post in the early morning of 20 December. Lucas shook hands with his commanding officer then set a gramophone playing the

piano march *Turkish patrol* as ‘a graceful compliment to a chivalrous foe’, according to the battalion history. On the same day as the ANZACs withdrew from Gallipoli at last, *Suevic* left Sydney Harbour once again with another load of men for the war. Two young Sydney University law students were lieutenants onboard, in charge of the 7th Reinforcements for the 19th Battalion. One young man, Alan Russell Blacket, would be killed in the fierce artillery barrage at Pozieres just on nine months later. The other, Percy Valentine Storkey, would win the Victoria Cross for an action in Bois de Hangard in France in April 1918 and return to become a Judge.

After Gallipoli

After Gallipoli, the battalions withdrew to Egypt in December 1915. There, they reformed in a great reorganisation and expansion of the AIF. Close bonds were broken as men from the same unit were suddenly transferred to a variety of places. For example Adam Simpson went to the 56th battalion with newly promoted Humphrey Scott and Hector Clayton went to serve with the AIF Headquarters. The AIF took on reinforcements throughout 1916 then went off to battle on the Western Front in France and Belgium, or with other units into the Middle East. As they went to fight again the relatives of those who fell on Gallipoli received their effects – small bundles of wallets, notebooks, pens, uniforms and prayer books. The enlistments, embarkations and subsequent losses to the law profession continued for the next three years. Men who had survived Gallipoli died in later battles in France and Belgium. In May 1916 Judge Ferguson’s son, Arthur, fell in action in France as his younger brother, Keith, was sailing over to join him in war. On the same ship as Keith Ferguson was another judge’s son: Desmond Duffy - a 26-year-old barrister. Desmond Duffy was the brother of Charles Duffy who had fought on Gallipoli. Their father was The Honourable Justice Gavan Duffy of the High Court. Desmond Duffy was sailing to his death, which came to him in the cold weather of November 1916. At least three judges, Street, Ferguson

and Duffy lost a son in the Great War. Coincidentally, each of these sons so killed had a brother who went on to become a Judge. In all four judges had sons on Gallipoli. Eventually, according to Treatt's list, over one hundred graduates of the Sydney University Law School saw action overseas. At least 25 were killed lost in battles at places such as Fromelles, Pozieres, Mouquet Farm and Amiens. Others fell in the Middle East.

In early 1917, the cousin of Alan Dawson, another solicitor, Clement Chauncey of Sydney died of wounds near Bethune in France. Two other Dawson cousins were also killed in the War. Karl Fourdrinier, who was injured in the early days at Gallipoli, died soon after he returned to Australia. Clarence Lobban reenlisted and went back to war, where he was gassed. Major Macnaghten was restless in Australia so he changed his name to Ciam McMilville and reenlisted as a private soldier in 1917. He went back to the front, where he was wounded again. Leslie Sherring, the law clerk from Mosman who had survived the ill-fated charge by the 18th Battalion on Hill 60 recovered from his gunshot wound and returned to duty only to be wounded in action on a further two occasions – which qualified him for an early return to Australia in 1918, no doubt somewhat knocked about. Captain Errol Kirke, the law clerk, survived Gallipoli but lost his life leading the front line in Pozieres. Sergeant Charles Howard Helsham applied for a commission and returned to the war in November 1915. Hector Clayton survived the war and stated a partnership Clayton & Utz in 1920. Stacy continued his legal studies in London after the war. He, Simpson and Ralston were awarded multiple decorations for their service.

The grief continued for those who had lost loved ones. The many letters on the men's files indicate the constant requests for personal effects, memorial scrolls, information regarding the circumstances of death and photographs of graves. There was a great hole left with the loss of talent of all these men. The more remote we get from the events of the Great War, the more

extraordinary are the actions of the men who left the physical safety and occasional privilege of their surrounds to travel to war.

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A Note on Sources;

The bulk of information concerning the names of members of the legal profession who served on Gallipoli was elicited by trawling through the embarkation lists of those units that served on the peninsula. These lists contained names and dates of embarkation as well as occupation. Other names came from the Sydney University Law School Honour Roll, which listed all students who served overseas, not just Gallipoli. Not all the names mentioned in that roll could be traced to a serving soldier's records. All names gathered were then cross-referenced against personal service records, which state if a soldier was taken on strength on Anzac and gave various details about their fate. Unit histories and the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18* complete many stories of individual and unit that are publicly available..

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My thanks go to all these organisations for their excellent service they provide.