

# A 'duty clear before us'

North Beach and the Sari Bair Range, Gallipoli Peninsula  
25 April–20 December 1915



Front Cover:

George Lambert *Anzac, the landing 1915* 1920–22 oil on canvas 190.5 x 350.5cm  
(AWM 2873)

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Researched and written by Richard Reid with assistance from Courtney Page and Robert Pounds

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# Foreword



The words 'Anzac' and 'Gallipoli' are part of the Australian and New Zealand heritage. They bring to mind thoughts of young men who fought and died far from their homes and families, and the values that we hold dear—courage, mateship and determination.

The Anzac landings on 25 April 1915 led to the tragedy of the Gallipoli campaign and a generation of young lives lost. But they also epitomised commitment to duty in the face of appalling odds and conditions and heroism of an extraordinary nature.

On a small peninsula, a force of almost 500 000 men, drawn from 14 nations, came against a similar number of Turkish soldiers determined to defend their homeland. The casualties sustained by both sides during the eight-month campaign totalled more than 400 000, of whom some 130 000 were killed.

Yet, as the title of this book suggests, the Anzacs who served at Gallipoli willingly embraced their "duty". They thought of loved ones, they sought wisdom from their leaders and nothing could deter them from their commitment to duty.

Laurence Binyon, who wrote the words of the *Ode of Remembrance*, says of the Gallipoli landings:

*Into the water they leapt, they rushed and across the beach,  
With impetuous shout, all  
Inspired beyond men, climbed and were over the crest  
As a flame leaps over a wall.*

The events of those times have passed into history. Yet, each year, the genesis of the Anzac legend and its enduring effect on two countries a world away calls ever-increasing numbers of Australians and New Zealanders to Gallipoli for Anzac Day. No visitor is left unmoved by this place.

The year 2000 marks a new chapter in our commemoration of Anzac Day at Gallipoli. A new amphitheatre site will be dedicated in the shadow of the Sphinx on North Beach, where many of the original Anzacs struggled ashore on the morning of 25 April, 85 years ago.

We all now have a 'duty clear before us' to ensure that future generations continue to understand and honour the special place that Gallipoli holds in the history of Australia and New Zealand. The new Anzac Commemorative Site, with its interpretative panels, will serve to uphold the significance of Gallipoli forever more.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Bruce Scott".

Bruce Scott  
Minister for Veterans' Affairs

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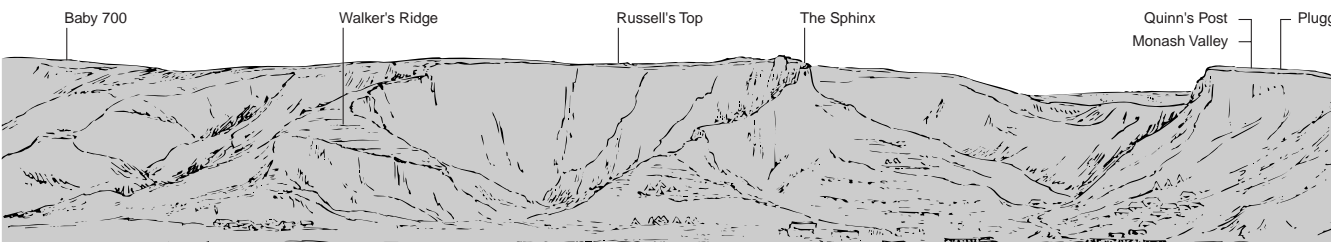
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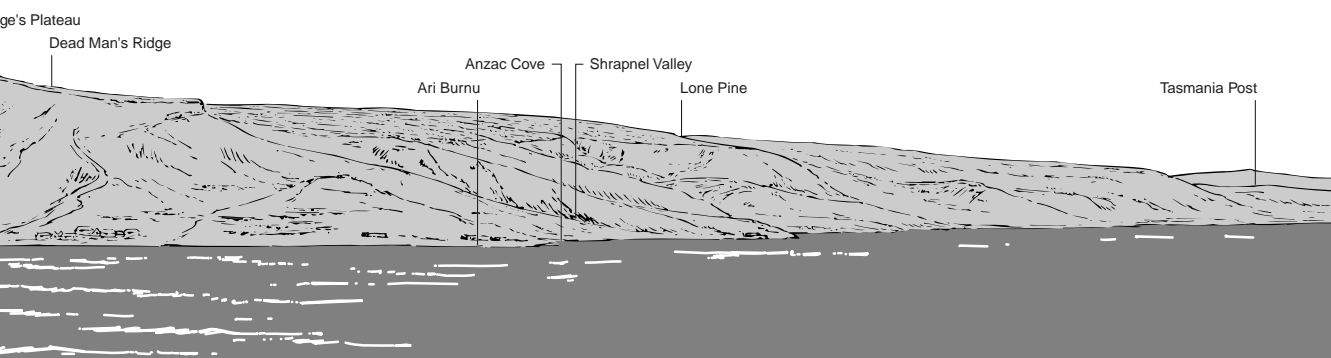
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*Panorama taken in 1919 by the Australian Historical Mission, from No 1 Outpost looking north towards the four seaward spurs of Baby 700, with Rhododendron Ridge in the distance, leading up to Chunuk Bair. It was along that ridge that New Zealand soldiers made their approach to Chunuk Bair in the early hours of 7 August 1915.  
(AWM G01810A & G01810B)*







# Preface

For Australians and New Zealanders, the landing at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915 is forever associated with a short stretch of beach known as Anzac Cove. The cove was part of the small portion of the Gallipoli peninsula captured that day by the men of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—the ‘Anzacs’—and held until the evacuation in December 1915. Australia’s official war historian, Charles Bean, would later describe this small area as ‘Old Anzac’. The sites of ‘Old Anzac’ have ever been sacred to Australians and New Zealanders for their associations with events such as the Landing, the Battle of Lone Pine and the charge at The Nek. But, as the term ‘Old Anzac’ suggests, there was more to the whole ‘Anzac’ position on Gallipoli than the few square kilometres of Turkey seized on 25 April.

Approaching Anzac Cove from the sea, an arresting sight is the amphitheatre of coastline and escarpment immediately to the north. Beyond Ari Burnu point, at the northern end of the

*The southern end of North Beach, dominated by the Sphinx and Plugge’s Plateau, where Australian soldiers landed on the morning of 25 April 1915. (photo courtesy Tom Curran)*



cove, North Beach and then Ocean Beach sweep away in a great semi-circle towards the lowlands of Suvla Bay. Bordering this coastline, precipitous and sparsely vegetated spurs run down to the sea from a range of high hills which terminates at Kocacimentepe—the hill of the great pasture. At North Beach, the eye is drawn to a spectacular natural feature. This is the ‘Sphinx’, a worn and weathered pinnacle from which the ground falls steeply away into narrow gullies. To the Turks, the Sphinx was Yuksek Tepe, ‘High Hill’, and its steep slopes Sari Bair, ‘Yellow Slope’. In Australian, New Zealand and British accounts of the Gallipoli campaign, the high hills leading to Kocacimentepe were known as the Sari Bair Range and Kocacimentepe as Hill 971.

*The approach  
to North Beach  
by sea.  
(photo courtesy  
Tom Curran)*

On 25 April 1915, some of the first waves of Australians landed at North Beach beneath the Sphinx. Thus, North Beach was part of ‘Old Anzac’. However, in early August 1915, thousands of Australian, New Zealand, British and Indian troops marched from North Beach up the coast and into the hills in an attempt to



seize the heights of the Sari Bair range. This great assault, together with the Australian attack on the Turkish positions at Lone Pine, was the start of the so-called 'August offensive'. This resulted in a significant enlargement of the Anzac area, so that it now embraced a region along the coast and up the valleys of the Sari Bair Range to trench lines just short of the peaks.

What happened in 1915 in the rugged landscape leading to Kocacimentepe is as much part of the Gallipoli campaign as what happened at 'Old Anzac'. This booklet tells that story.



# It was just breaking dawn

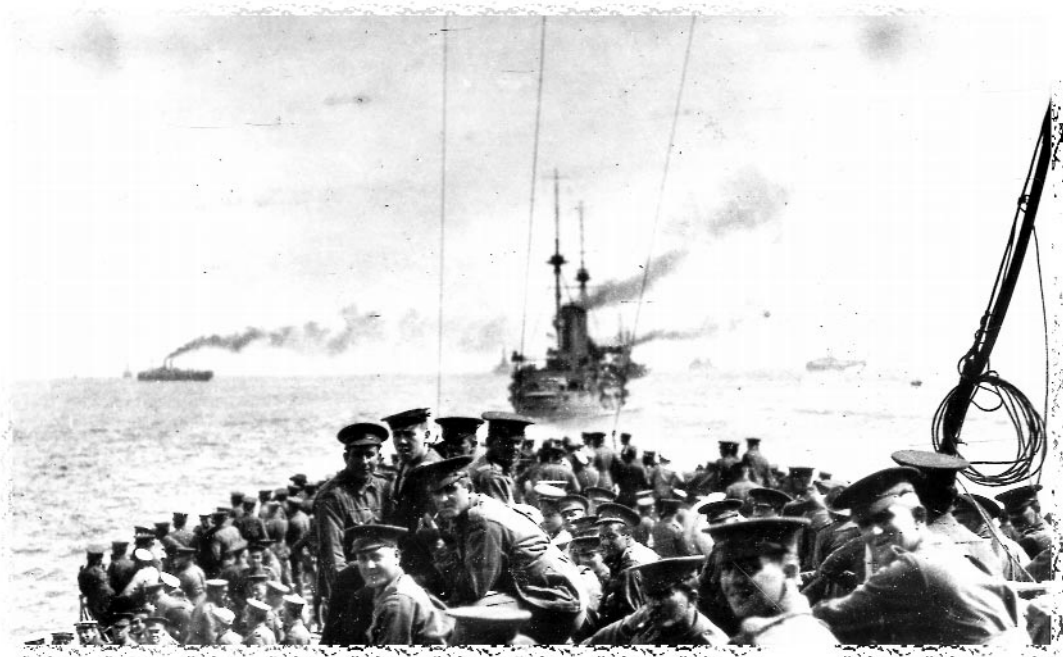
## THE LANDINGS AT NORTH BEACH, 25 APRIL 1915

Hanging in the Gallipoli gallery of the Australian War Memorial is one of the best-known Australian war paintings—George Lambert’s *Anzac, the landing 1915*. Depicted in the centre of the painting are Australian soldiers, crawling and scrambling their way up a steep, scrubby cliff. Some have been killed, some lie wounded, while others press on towards the heights where the growing daylight shows up distant, shadowy figures of the enemy above. Lambert has caught on canvas the struggle of Western Australians of the 11th Battalion, Australian Imperial Force (AIF), as they made their way up towards Plugge’s Plateau from where they had been put ashore on North Beach. In the painting, the Sphinx is beginning to catch the first light of day as

*George Lambert*  
*Anzac, the*  
*landing 1915*  
1920–22  
*oil on canvas*  
190.5 x 350.5cm  
(AWM 2873)



the men climb in the shadow of the western side of ‘Plugge’s’. This is the dawn rush of the first wave of Australians as described to Lambert by Lieutenant Hedley Howe who, as Lance-Corporal Howe, had taken part in the landing.



*Men of the 11th Battalion and 1st Field Company, Australian Engineers, assembled on the forecastle of HMS London at sea off Lemnos, 24 April 1915. The next morning they would leave the London to land on North Beach, Gallipoli. (AWM A02468)*

Rowing in to land opposite the Sphinx, just a quarter of an hour after the Western Australians, was ‘A’ Company, 12th Battalion, comprised mainly of Tasmanians. With the rest of the great invasion fleet, the destroyer HMS *Ribble*, carrying the Tasmanians, had the evening before steamed from its anchorage at nearby Lemnos Island and headed for the Turkish coast. As dawn approached on 25 April, the crew of the *Ribble* watched anxiously as the first boatloads of Australians—men of the 9th, 10th and 11th Battalions—brought close inshore by battleships, headed for the hazy coastline ahead. The ship’s captain, Commander Wilkinson, called out:

*Lights out, men, and stop talking. We’re going in now.*

[C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1921, Vol I, p.249]

The *Ribble* increased speed and headed for an anchorage further inshore and to the north of the battleships. On board was Lieutenant Ivor Margetts, 12th Battalion, a Hobart schoolteacher:

*As we neared the peninsula of Gallipoli, the Captain of the Destroyers gave the order for silence and for the men to stop smoking. And thus in the darkness and in silence we were carried towards the land which was to either make or mar the name of Australia. On either side we could dimly see other destroyers bearing the rest of the Third Brigade. I am quite sure that very few of us realized that at last we were actually bound for our first baptism of fire, for it seemed as though we were just out on one of our night manoeuvres, but very soon we realized that it was neither a surprise party nor a moonlight picnic.*

[Captain I S Margetts, Diary,  
25 April 1915, AWM 1 DRL/0478]



*The 10th  
Battalion in  
formation on  
the deck of HMS  
Prince of Wales,  
24 April 1915.  
The battleship is  
leaving Mudros  
Harbour on  
its way to the  
Gallipoli landings.  
(AWM A01829)*

Minutes later, when they were about 200 yards from the beach, Commander Wilkinson gave the order to man the boats. As the first boats from the *Ribble* moved away they heard the firing of a Turkish machine gun and bullets began hitting the

*Troops lowering themselves into tow boats for the landing at Anzac, 6 am, 25 April 1915. (AWM J05589)*



water around them. Margetts watched the 12th Battalions commanding officer—Lieutenant Colonel Lancelot Clarke—head off in the first boat:

*I turned around to get the second tow ready, when a man just in front of me dropped, hit in the head. This was the first casualty and very soon there were several others hit. There was some difficulty in getting the second tow ready but eventually when a naval cutter came alongside we got in and started for the beach; three men were hit before the boat struck the shore. When she hit the beach, I gave the word to get out and out the men got at once, in water up to their necks in some cases, men actually had to swim several strokes before they got their footing. It was almost impossible to walk with full marching order, absolutely drenched to the skin and I fell twice before I got to the dry beach where I scrambled up under cover of a sand ridge. I ordered the men to dump their packs off, load their rifles, and waited a few seconds for the men to get their breath.*



*It was just breaking dawn and, as we looked towards the sound of the firing, we were faced by almost perpendicular cliffs about 200 feet [60 metres] above sea level, and as we were of [the] opinion that most of the fire was coming from this quarter, it was evident that this was the direction of our attack. Therefore, after a minute or two, having regained our breath, we started to climb.*

[Captain I S Margetts, Diary,  
25 April 1915, AWM, 1 DRL/0478]



*North Beach  
looking towards  
Plugge's Plateau,  
with the remains of  
a landing craft in  
the foreground.  
(photo courtesy  
Office of Australian  
War Graves)*

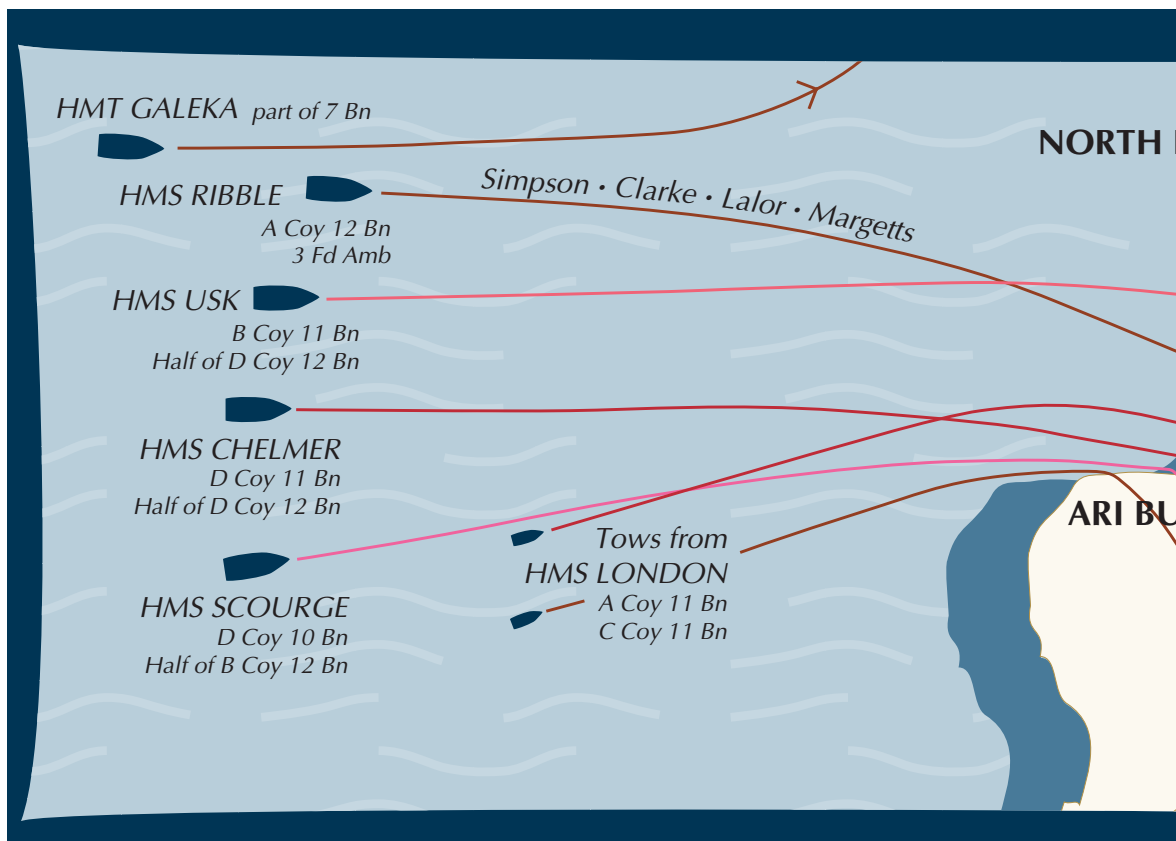
Another who landed with Margetts, and whose name is closely linked with the fighting on 25 April, was Captain Peter Lalor. Before joining the AIF, Lalor had a colourful career which included time with the Royal Navy, from which he deserted, the French Foreign Legion and a revolutionary army in South America. At the landing he carried, wrapped in khaki, a family sword given to him by his father-in-law.

As they came ashore the Australians were fired on from near the Sphinx and further north. Several of these men were killed or wounded. Among these initial casualties were 17 men of the 3rd Field Ambulance, the only medical unit to participate in the initial landing. Three of the Field Ambulance men died in their boat before they reached the shore. Coming ashore at



*Private John Simpson Kirkpatrick, 3rd Australian Field Ambulance, using a donkey to carry wounded men from the firing lines down to the hospital at Anzac Cove. On 25 April 1915, Private Simpson landed with others of his unit on North Beach. During the landing the unit lost three stretcher-bearers killed and another fourteen wounded. Throughout the morning of 25 April, the men of the 3rd Field Ambulance provided medical care to those fighting in the vicinity of North Beach and the immediate ranges. Simpson was killed by a Turkish machine gunner on 19 May 1915. His grave is in Beach Cemetery, Gallipoli. (AWM J06392)*

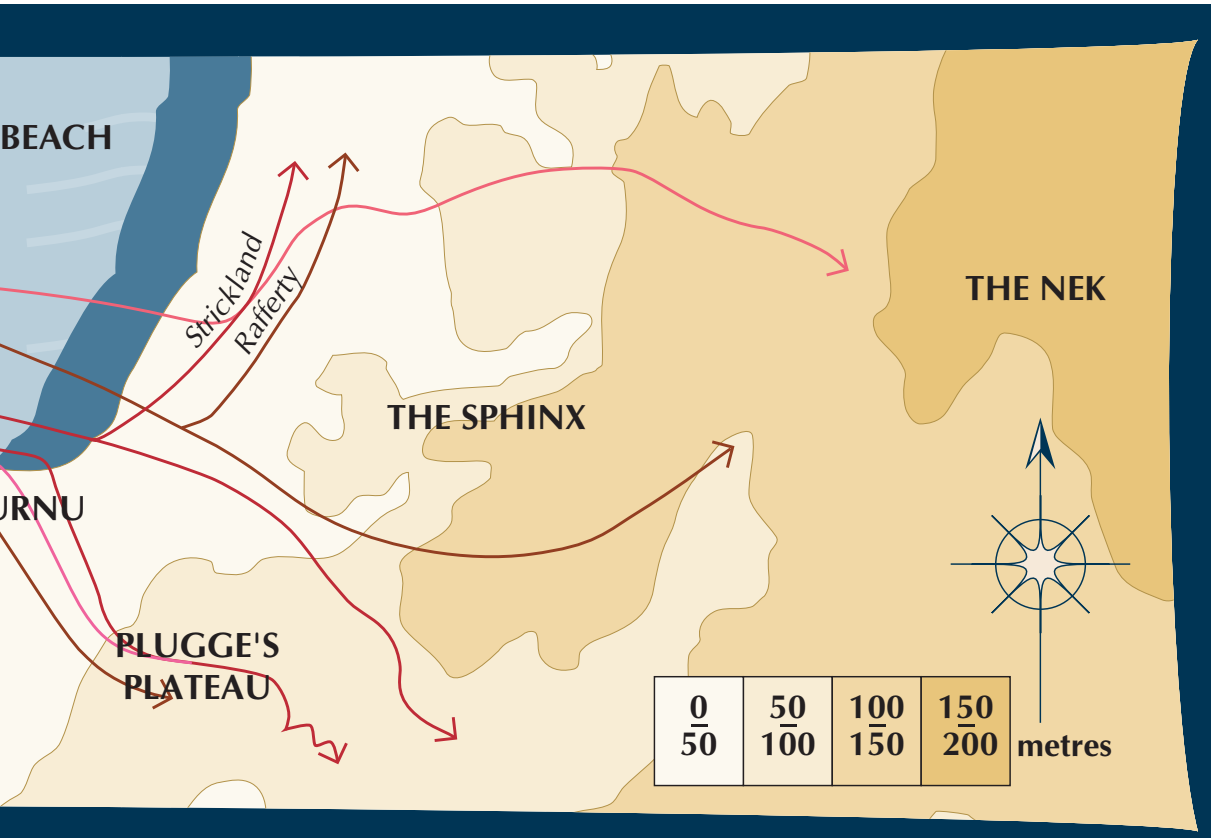
*Landings at North Beach, 25 April 1915*



North Beach as part of the 3rd Field Ambulance was Private John Simpson Kirkpatrick, who later achieved fame for his work with the wounded on Gallipoli. So heavy was the fire from a machine gun on the left that Colonel Clarke of the 12th Battalion sent Lieutenants Rafferty and Strickland off along the beach and inland to seek out and silence the Turkish gun.

The orders to these first waves of Australians were to press on inland as rapidly as possible. Clarke, Margetts, Lalor and others now led the way off the beach. A northern party worked its way up Walker's Ridge to the left of the Sphinx while Margetts went directly up the cliffs to the right. Charles Bean, the Australian official historian, later described this climb off the beach:

*Odd parties of the 11th and 12th Battalions were scrambling up these gravelly and almost perpendicular crags by any foothold which offered. ... One of this party, Corporal*



*E W D Laing ... clambering breathless up the height, came upon an officer almost exhausted half way up. It was the old Colonel—Clarke of the 12th Battalion. He was carrying his heavy pack, and could scarcely go further. Laing advised him to throw the pack away, but Clarke was unwilling to lose it, and Laing thereupon carried it himself. The two climbed on together, and Margetts ... reaching the top, found to his astonishment the Colonel already there.*

[C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol I, p.272]

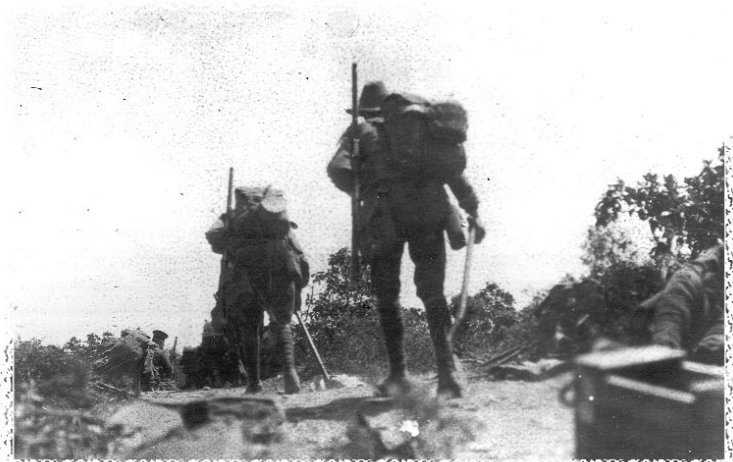
The battle raged for the rest of the day on the tops of the ranges above North Beach as the landing parties, reinforced by other units who came ashore in subsequent waves, tried to secure the all-important objectives of Battleship Hill and Baby 700. Eventually, a determined Turkish counter-attack late in the afternoon of 25 April drove the Australians and New Zealanders back to lines not far from the crests of the cliffs that they had climbed up after the landing. Both Captain Lalor and Colonel Clarke were killed. Lalor's sword disappeared. His remains lie in Baby 700 Cemetery, close to that vital section of the Gallipoli peninsula for which he gave his life. Clarke, who was killed in the morning shortly after he had made his way up from the

*Photograph thought to be taken from the deck of the transport ship Galeka, of members of the 7th Battalion, 2nd Brigade, AIF, being towed by a steam-pinnace towards Fisherman's Hut on North Beach, 25 April 1915. (AWM P1287/11/01)*



cliffs at North Beach, lies further away in the Beach Cemetery, just past the southern edge of Anzac Cove. At 57, he must have been one of the oldest Australian soldiers to die on 25 April 1915.

North Beach was also the scene of one of the great tragedies of the early landings at Anzac. After the 3rd Brigade—9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Battalions—were ashore, men of the 2nd Brigade—5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Battalions—began to land. At the top of North Beach, at the end of a spur of the main range which sweeps down to the sea there, the Turks had established positions on a hill overlooking the beach near a fisherman's hut (the position became known as Fisherman's Hut). It was from here that a machine gun fired on the 12th Battalion's boats landing near the Sphinx and it was to silence this gun that Colonel Clarke had dispatched Rafferty and Strickland.



*Australian troops going into action across Plugge's Plateau, 25 April 1915. The kneeling men in front are under fire from the Turkish defenders. (AWM G00907)*



*Fisherman's Hut,  
North Beach,  
Gallipoli.  
(photo courtesy  
Tom Curran)*



As he worked his way towards the Turks, Rafferty saw four white boats full of Australians of the 7th Battalion from the transport *Galeka* heading for the beach opposite Fisherman's Hut. He rushed on to assist their landing but, as his men crossed an open field, 12 of them were killed and another eight wounded. Rafferty temporarily lost sight of the approaching boats but when he climbed a rise and looked down on them he saw they had beached. He could see a line of men on the sand immediately in front of the boats but not one of them moved. Private Stubbings of Hobart went out to see what had happened and he reported that most of the men in the four boats had either been killed or wounded by intense Turkish fire from the Fisherman's Hut area. In fact, of the 140 men of the 7th Battalion who had attempted to land there, only about 35 were unhurt or lightly wounded. Of the dead, many lie buried in No 2 Outpost Cemetery, near where they fell. This is one of the most northerly cemeteries on Anzac and it contains more identified Australian burials from 25 April 1915 than any other cemetery on Gallipoli, except for the Lone Pine Cemetery.

# The Turks were almost close enough to touch

## THE ANZAC OUTPOSTS, APRIL–JULY 1915

The initial landings on 25 April 1915 on Gallipoli by British Empire forces and French forces failed. It had been intended on that day for the Australians to seize the main heights of the Sari Bair Range from Kabatepe in the south to Hill 971—Kocacimentepe—in the north. Landing after the 1st Australian Division, the New Zealand Infantry Brigade were to push eastwards across the range to Maltepe, a hill overlooking the straits of the Dardanelles. British

*The strategic significance of the Dardanelles*





*Steep ground at  
the head of Mule  
Gully and  
Walker's Ridge.  
(AWM G00914)*

forces, landing at the tip of the peninsula around Cape Helles, were to push north as far as a hill called Alcitepe (known to the British as Achi Baba). From these initial positions, the British and the Australians and New Zealanders—the ‘Anzacs’—would then advance to the north east and south east in a pincer movement to capture the whole of the southern Gallipoli peninsula. This would silence the Turkish defences on the western shore at the narrowest part of the Dardanelles—the Narrows—and permit ships of the Royal Navy through to threaten the Turkish capital, Constantinople (now Istanbul). However, on 25 April, on the Gallipoli peninsula, the British and the Anzacs were only able to seize a small portion of Cape Helles and a few square kilometres inland of where the Australians and New Zealanders had

landed. For the rest of the campaign these areas were known respectively as ‘Helles’ and ‘Anzac’. For three days the Anzacs fought desperately to avoid being thrown back into the sea by the Turks.

As everywhere along the line during those days, the enemy assault at Walker’s Ridge above North Beach on the left flank of the Anzac position was fierce. Lieutenant Ivor Margetts recalled the attacks of the Turkish soldiers:



*On Tuesday [27 April] the Turks made a very determined attack against our left flank and we were standing to arms all day with bayonets fixed awaiting the charge which never came. At night the Turks did everything imaginable to raise their courage, blowing bugles, shouting "Allah" and shooting like Hell. We naturally expected every minute to be called upon to get to work with the bayonet. Every few minutes the cry rang out "Supports ready to charge" and up we rush, revolvers drawn and bayonets gleaming in the moonlight and one continuous rattle of musketry and machine guns. It was a nerve-wracking night, the tension broken every now and then by the orders "Stretcher-bearers wanted on the right or left" or "Another machine gun wanted". But the longest night must come to an end and every man seemed to heave a sigh of relief when the grey dawn spread over the sky and showed us that, although by a hot fire we had held our position, the still forms of Australia's manhood and the stream of stretchers making towards the clearing hospital on the beach, our name had been made with heavy casualties.*

[Captain I S Margetts, Diary,  
27 April 1915, AWM, 1 DRL/0478]

The Anzacs held off these attacks and the position was eventually stabilised.

On 30 April, to avoid Turkish infiltration down the ranges and along North Beach, New Zealanders of the Nelson Company, Canterbury Battalion, were sent to set up outpost positions at the seaward end of two valleys to the north of Walker's Ridge. These became No 1 and No 2 Outposts. The Outposts looked out over the spot near Fisherman's Hut where elements of 7th Battalion had tried to land on 25 April. In constructing their living quarters, the New Zealanders used the oars of the beached landing boats. The approach to these most isolated of all the Anzac positions was along the beach in full view of enemy snipers. To protect men on their way to and from the Outposts, a deep trench or 'sap' three kilometres long was dug just inland of the beach all the way from the northern end of Anzac Cove. Appropriately, it was known as 'the long sap'.



*Colonel Arthur Bauchop, Commanding Officer, Otago Mounted Rifles, New Zealand Expeditionary Force, in front of his hut, near No 2 Outpost. Bauchop's hut was partly constructed using oars from the boats of the 7th Battalion, AIF, which were stranded near the site of the outpost on 25 April 1915, many of their occupants having been killed during the landing. Colonel Bauchop was wounded on 7 August 1915 in the August offensive and he died of his wounds the next day. He is commemorated on the Lone Pine memorial to the missing. (AWM A02031)*

On 26 May, as part of the general development of their positions in the ranges north of Anzac, the Turks secretly set up their own outpost in the foothills leading to No 2 Outpost. The New Zealand Mounted Rifles, who were now garrisoning the two outposts, instantly took up this challenge to their previous

dominance of the area and attacked the position, taking it from the Turks. Over the following days, sharp engagements ensued as the enemy fought hard to regain the post. Sergeant John Wilder of the Wellington East Coast Squadron recalled the intensity of the fighting:

*It was regular hell for 24 hours that we were there, we hardly had a moment's peace. We were absolutely surrounded by Turks who were just beneath us under the cliff with covering fire on the other side of the gully. The Turks were almost close enough to touch, but the covering fire kept us down and they just threw in bombs as they liked. The only thing to do was to pick them up and throw them back at the enemy.*

[Wilder, quoted in C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.233]

Eventually, despite the determined resistance of the New Zealanders, the Turks regained their trench and the New Zealanders retreated to No 2 Outpost, having lost 26 killed and 65 wounded.

So fierce had been the fighting for this small piece of the Anzac line that it had drawn in virtually the whole brigade of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. The incident impressed one of the Turkish commanders—Colonel Mustafa Kemal. Kemal reasoned that if he could send a whole regiment down the rugged spurs from the heights to contest ground with the Anzacs, then they could just as easily send men up from the beaches to contest Turkish mastery of the Sari Bair Range.

The story of these small outposts at the end of North Beach where it runs into Ocean Beach is a little known story of Anzac. But men suffered and died there as much as at any better known part of the line. Something of the sacrifice of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles in this area can be seen in a small cemetery—Canterbury Cemetery—which, as the cemetery register

*Men of the  
1st Australian  
Light Horse  
Regiment taking  
over new  
dugouts near  
No 1 Outpost,  
below the  
rugged spurs  
of the Sari Bair  
Range.  
(AWM C02727)*



states, is 'one of the central cemeteries of Anzac'. Those buried here were brought in after the war from isolated grave sites dotted throughout this area and 20 of the 26 men buried in this small cemetery fought with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles.

# I was able from what I saw of the country to make a map

## SCOUTING THE SARI BAIR RANGE, MAY 1915

Colonel Kemal's apprehensions regarding the vulnerability of the Turkish position along the ranges to the north of Anzac were well founded. Soon after they garrisoned the Outposts, the New Zealanders began actively scouting the complex of valleys and

*Looking down  
from Russell's Top  
near the Nek, to  
No 1 Outpost,  
Fisherman's Hut,  
and the seaward  
ridge leading up  
to Baby 700.  
(photo courtesy  
Tom Curran)*



scrub-clad spurs leading up to the heights of Chunuk Bair and Kocacimentepe, Hill 971. In charge of this scouting activity was Major Percy Overton of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles. Overton had worked as a scout in the Boer War and he enhanced his reputation in this activity at Anzac.

Looking up from his outpost position, Overton could see the rear of the Turkish trenches at Baby 700 and a narrow strip of a saddle between two valleys which led up to Baby 700—the Nek. Any advance from Anzac towards the dominating peaks of the Sari Bair Range would have to take care of the enemy positions at the Nek. Overton’s task was to see if a way could be found for troops to move up the valleys and on to the range behind the Turks. In mid-May 1915, Overton began his reconnaissance of the ranges:

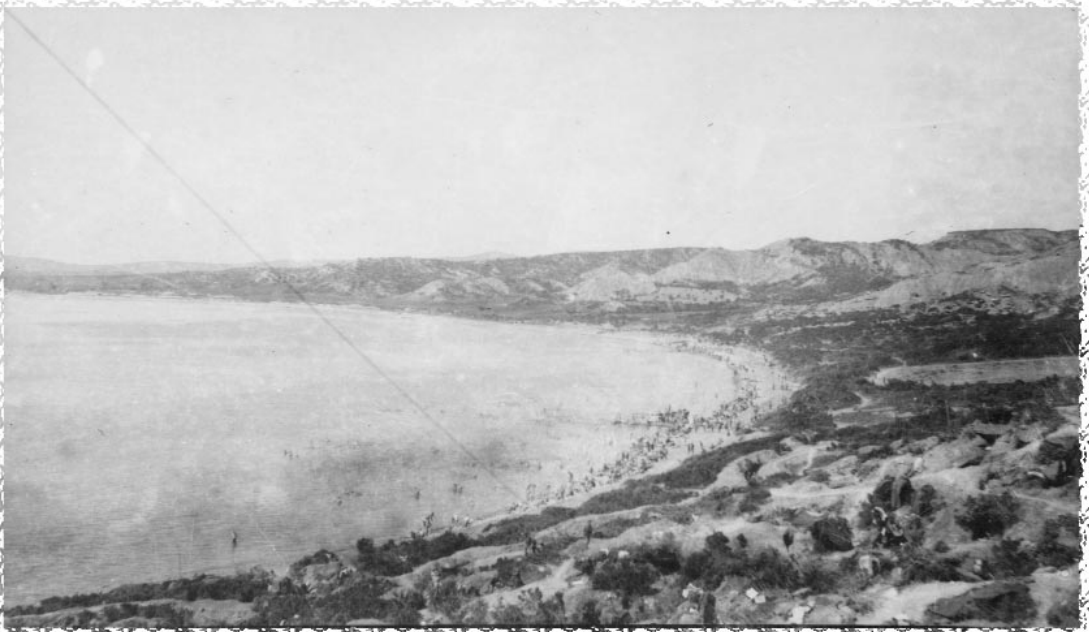
*I have been out on two occasions ... outside our outposts and through the Turkish lines. The first time I took Corporal Denton and we had a great day together and gained a lot of valuable information for which General Godley thanked me. The last time I was out for two nights and a day and I took Trooper McInnes and Corporal Young. We had a most exciting and interesting time dodging Turkish outposts. I was able from what I saw of the country to make a map and gain much information as to the movements of the Turks, and would not have missed the experience for the world.*

[Overton, quoted in C Pugsley,  
*Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.218]

Overton’s discoveries were to alter the whole course of events on Gallipoli. British thrusts at Helles in early May failed to break the Turkish lines. A major Turkish attack on 19 May, which sought to drive the Anzacs back to the beaches, also failed with great loss. At Helles, and all along the Anzac line, the campaign by the end of May had entered a period of stalemate and trench warfare. This was the very sort of campaign the British Empire forces had sought to avoid at Gallipoli. Overton’s scouting reports from the Anzac outposts suggested a way out of this impasse.



*The 4th Australian Brigade in early June 1915, assembled in Reserve Gully beneath the Sphinx. The brigade, which had just spent a month in the front-line trenches, is being addressed by the commander of the New Zealand and Australian Division, Major-General Alexander Godley. (AWM G01016)*



*View of North Beach from Ari Burnu, May 1915. Despite the presence of enemy snipers, a great number of troops visited the beach to bathe. (AWM J02710)*

The seaward slopes of the ranges north of Anzac, he discovered, were lightly held. Here, in this rugged landscape, the Turks did not expect to be attacked and they had consequently concentrated their forces to the south against Anzac and Helles. As Pugsley writes:

*From the Turkish perspective it was the Anzacs who were pinned against the sea, and the isolated Anzac outposts were to prevent the Turks breaking in rather than being a way for the Anzacs to break out.*

[C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.218]

But it was for a break-out from this area that the Anzac commanders now began to plan. Overton and other scouts had shown that it was possible, although difficult, to push a large body of troops up through the valleys or ‘deres’ and take the heights. From there they could come down behind the Turkish trenches surrounding the Anzac position. From there, also, artillery could range on the Turkish supply lines to Anzac and Helles to the east and perhaps, eventually, from there the successful advance across the peninsula, which had been sought for on 25 April, could be made.

*The AIF  
supply depot at  
No 2 Outpost.  
(AWM H15401)*





Throughout June and July preparations and plans for the proposed break-out went ahead. British reinforcements were brought in to boost the Anzac garrison. The 'long sap' to No 2 Outpost was greatly widened to take mule carts bringing supplies to new dumps at No 2, from where it was envisaged a great attack into the ranges would commence. The battle plan itself was complex. On the afternoon of 6 August, in the south at Lone Pine, the 1st Australian Division would mount a strong attack on the Turkish trenches to draw in Turkish reinforcements and take their attention away from the northern ranges. Later, once night had fallen, a force of approximately 10 000 British, Australian, New Zealand, Indian and Gurkha troops would make its way from North Beach to the outposts and then up the valleys and into the range.

The Australians of the 4th Brigade under General Monash were to take the most northerly route virtually to the end of the range and then work their way through the valleys to the highest peak of all—Kocacimentepe, Hill 971. The New Zealanders, supported by the British, Indians and the Gurkhas, were to move up the valleys and spurs above the outposts to seize the vital peak of Chunuk Bair. As this attack was proceeding in the dark of 6–7 August, a new British landing was to be made at Suvla Bay to the north. It was intended that, by dawn on 7 August, the heights would be taken and that an attack by Australian light horsemen could proceed across the Nek as the New Zealanders took Turkish attention away from the threat behind them. It was a bold plan aiming at nothing less than a campaign-winning stroke from Anzac.

Among those who were about to be called on for a supreme effort—the soldiers—there was some apprehension. Although

*Trooper Alan Huthwaite, 1st Australian Light Horse, at No 1 Outpost, August 1915. Huthwaite, described as 'an old soldier', of Goulburn, New South Wales, died, aged 50, in Egypt on 5 November 1917. He is buried in the Kantara War Memorial Cemetery. (AWM C02735)*



reinforcements had arrived, many of the Anzacs had now spent over three months on the peninsula. During those early summer months they lived on a monotonous diet of bully beef, tea and hard biscuits. Sickness and disease were causing far more casualties than the enemy, and what had been a fine and healthy force in early May was now reduced to an army of thin gaunt-looking men. As he waited on 4 August to march up the seaward valleys of the Sari Bair Range to his death on Chunuk Bair, Colonel William Malone, the commanding officer of the Wellington Infantry Battalion, wrote:

*We are to move out soon, round left flank ... . No movement all day 6th and go out on night with rest of Brigade to take Chunuk Bair in a big combined movement against 971, Koja Temen Tepe. We are pleased to be moving, but the men are rundown and the reinforcement men are in a big majority, so I am not too sanguine about what we can do.*

[Malone, quoted in C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.271]

Others accepted the struggle ahead with stoic fatalism. Lieutenant E W Cameron of the 9th Australian Light Horse confided to his diary on 5 August:

*Ere another entry is made in this book we will have passed through a very trying time. We are leaving almost everything behind; whether we see it again or not will be a matter of luck. And now we go forward in the full consciousness of a 'duty clear before us', and ... we can only say 'Thy will be done'. God grant comfort to those in anxiety and sorrow and give our leaders wisdom.*

[Cameron, quoted in B Gammage, *The Broken Years — Australian Soldiers in the Great War*, Penguin Books, 1975, p.68]

# Their uniforms were torn, their knees broken

## THE AUGUST OFFENSIVE IN THE SARI BAIR RANGE, 6–10 AUGUST 1915

The battle for Chunuk Bair began after dark on 6 August 1915. In the late afternoon, before the long columns of men began their march along North Beach to Ocean Beach and then up into the range, the 1st Australian Division mounted its famous attack on the Turkish line at Lone Pine. So strong was this attack that initially the Turkish commanders were of the opinion that a major break out from Anzac towards the south-east was being attempted. At 9.30 pm, Brigadier General John Monash's

*A platoon of the  
13th Battalion,  
4th Brigade,  
AIF, awaits an  
address by its  
commander,  
Captain Joseph Lee,  
in Sphinx Gully,  
probably prior to  
the brigade's  
night march on  
6–7 August 1915  
to attack  
Kocitementepe.  
(AWM P02536.002)*



4th Australian Brigade—the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th Battalions—left their bivouac positions in Reserve Gully beneath the Sphinx and, with Monash marching in the middle of his brigade, made their way north along a newly made road.

*The 4th Brigade formed part of the North Assaulting Column, and I had associated with me the famous 29th Indian Brigade ... with one battalion of Sikhs and three battalions of Gurkhas. My Brigade was in the lead and at 9.30 pm ... my column swept out of Reserve Gully into black darkness for its two mile march northwards along the beach into enemy territory. It was like walking out on a stormy winter's night from a warm cosy home into a hail, thunder, and lightning storm. We had not gone half a mile when the black tangle of hills between the beach road and the main thoroughfare became alive with flashes of musketry, and the bursting of shrapnel and star shell, and the yells of the enemy*

*New Zealand soldiers resting in a trench during their assault towards Chunuk Bair, 6 August 1915. (National Library of New Zealand, F58131)*



*and the cheers of our men as they swept in to drive the enemy  
from the flanks of our march.*

[F M Cutlack (ed), *War Letters of General Monash*,  
Sydney, 1934, p.61]

What the men of the 4th Brigade heard on the right flank of their march was the noise of the attack by the New Zealand Mounted Rifles on Turkish positions in the foothills of the range. The Mounted's task that night was to clear the way for the New Zealand Infantry Brigade who were to take Chunuk Bair by first light on 7 August. That struggle in the dark in the foothills was a brilliant success for the New Zealanders. Charles Bean described it as:

*... this magnificent feat of arms, the brilliance of which was  
never surpassed, if indeed equalled, during the campaign.*

[C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, p.576]

Hot on the heels of the Mounteds, the New Zealand Infantry Brigade—Otago, Auckland, Wellington and Canterbury Battalions—began the long climb through the valleys and over the scrub-covered ridges towards Chunuk Bair.

Monash's men, accompanied by the British 40th Brigade and the 29th Indian Brigade, made their way beyond No 2 Outpost and

*George Lambert  
Charge of the  
3rd Light Horse  
Brigade at  
the Nek,  
7 August 1915  
1924  
oil on canvas  
152.5 x 305.7cm  
(AWM 7965)*



into the foothills to the west of Hill 971, Kocacimentepe. Here they became lost and dawn on 7 August found them well short of their intended position from where they were to have attacked and seized Hill 971. The men were exhausted and the debilitating summer months in the trenches of Gallipoli had left them unfit. The 4th Brigade was allowed to stop and dig in. The Indian battalions had also taken the wrong route and were in no position to attack. The 6th Gurkha Battalion pressed on up the slopes towards what turned out to be Chunuk Bair. Only the New Zealanders ended that night march somewhere near their objective. As they came out on the top slopes of what was called Rhododendron Ridge, they could see Chunuk Bair about a kilometre ahead.

It was at this point—dawn on 7 August 1915—that there occurred one of best-known Australian tragedies on Gallipoli—the charge of the 3rd Light Horse Brigade at The Nek. The original plan had envisaged the New Zealanders attaining Chunuk Bair and then coming down the range behind the Turkish positions towards the Nek. This did not happen. Just before dawn the lead New Zealand battalion—the Otagos—were still short of Chunuk Bair. General Birdwood, the commanding officer of the Anzac forces, allowed the light horsemen to



*General Sir  
William Birdwood  
surveys operations  
on North Beach  
during his last  
day on Gallipoli.  
(AWM H10389)*

proceed in order to give all possible support to the Chunuk Bair assault. If Turkish reinforcements could be held from that vital height for even an extra half hour then its capture, the main purpose of the whole new August offensive, might be achieved. However, Birdwood had written earlier of the Turkish positions at the Nek and up the slopes of Baby 700:

*These trenches and convergences of communication trenches ... require considerable strength to force. The narrow Nek to be crossed ... makes an unaided attack in that direction almost hopeless.*

[Birdwood, quoted in C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, p.464]

At 4.30 am the first wave of the 8th Light Horse Regiment—men from western Victoria—rose from their trenches and dashed for the Turkish line at the Nek. Minutes later a second wave went over. Lieutenant William Cameron, 9th Light Horse, was watching the charge:

*We saw them climb out and move forward about ten yards and lie flat. The second line did likewise ... . As they rose to charge, the Turkish Machine Guns just poured out lead and our fellows went down like corn before a scythe. The distance to the enemy trench was less than 50 yards yet not one of those two lines got anywhere near it.*

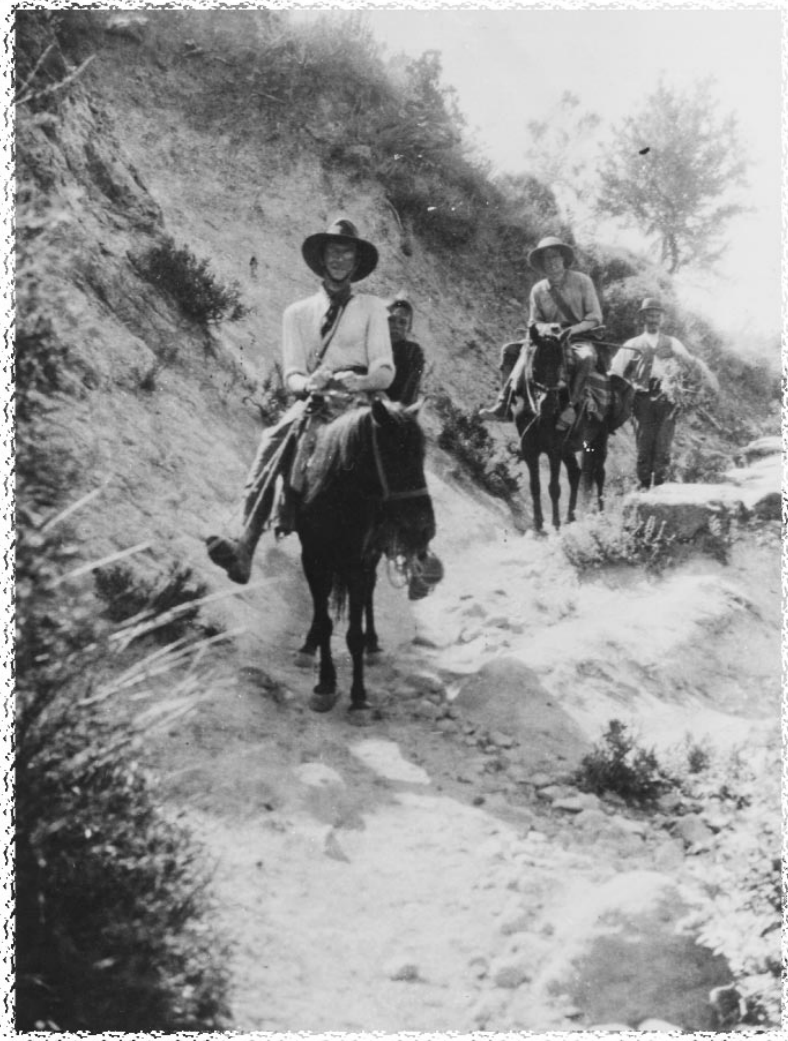
[Cameron, quoted in P Burness, *The Nek — The Tragic Charge of the Light Horse at Gallipoli*, Kangaroo Press, 1996, pp.105–106]

Within half an hour two further waves—men of the 10th Light Horse from Western Australia—met a fate similar to the Victorians. From his vantage point on the approaches to Chunuk Bair to the north, Sergeant John Wilder of the Wellington Mounted Rifles saw the destruction of the 8th and 10th Light Horse:

*I saw the whole thing ... and don't want to see another sight like it. They were fairly mown down by machine guns.*

[Wilder, quoted in C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.283]

*Australian official correspondent, and later official war historian, Charles Bean (front) and British war correspondent Ashmead Bartlett on the island of Imbros, 1915. (AWM A05382)*



Historians now see the charge at the Nek as a waste of life that should have been stopped after the slaughter of the first wave. Writing years later, Australia's official historian, Charles Bean, tried to salvage some meaning from this futility:

*Probably the attack on the Nek effected its purpose of holding temporarily near Baby 700 at least part of the Turkish reinforcements which were just then streaming northward towards Chunuk Bair.*

[C E W Bean, *Anzac to Amiens*, Canberra, 1946, p.156]

On Chunuk Bair and its approaches there now ensued what has been called 'the climax on Anzac'. This was the battle,



fought from early morning on 7 August to early morning on 10 August by Australian, New Zealand, British, Indian and Gurkha soldiers, to take and hold the peaks of Chunuk Bair and Hill 971. Resisting them, in an equally brave and determined manner, were Turkish soldiers led in the later stages of the battle by Colonel Mustafa Kemal.

At 11.00 am on 7 August, the Auckland Battalion advancing towards Chunuk Bair ran into intense Turkish fire. They advanced only 100 metres and took 300 casualties. For the rest of the day the New Zealand battalions dug in under constant Turkish artillery and rifle fire. They could see far below at Suvla Bay the new British landing force establishing itself. However, the British at Suvla made little effort to advance and throughout the battle Turkish guns, situated near the village of Anafarta, not far from the British lines, were able to fire unimpeded on the New Zealanders and other British units on Chunuk Bair.

At dawn on 8 August men of the Wellington Battalion took Chunuk Bair from the small number of Turks defending the summit. From there they gazed down on the objective of the



*Turkish artillery  
in action on  
Gallipoli, 1915.  
(AWM A05287)*

whole campaign—the straits of the Dardanelles at the Narrows. Sergeant Daniel Curham of the Wellingtons was aware of the significance of this peak on Gallipoli:

*Some chaps had a glimpse of the sea and all the country in between and we knew perfectly well that this hill was the key to victory or defeat on the Peninsula.*

[Curham, quoted in C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.290]

There are some lines from Alfred Lord Tennyson’s poem about the death of King Arthur—‘The Passing of Arthur’—which well describe the fate of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade and Mounted Rifles as they now tried to hold Chunuk Bair:

*So all day long the noise of battle rolled  
Among the mountains by the winter sea;  
Until King Arthur’s Table, man by man,  
Had fallen in Lyonesse about their lord ...*

[From ‘The Passing of Arthur’, *Idylls of the King*, Alfred Lord Tennyson]

For two days—8 and 9 August 1915—the New Zealanders fought off numerous Turkish counter-attacks. On 8 August it was the Wellington Infantry Battalion that held the two trenches at the summit—one on the reverse and one on the forward slope. British units—the 7th Battalion, the Gloucestershire Regiment and the 8th Battalion of the Welch Pioneers—dug in behind and on either side of the New Zealanders. Private Reginald Davis of the Wellingtons, who was taken prisoner that morning, remembered the intensity of the fighting:

*Private Surgenor was hit in the head somewhere, but kept on firing with his face streaming with blood, until he got another hit in the head, which dazed him for a while, and knocked him back in the trench. This time I thought he was killed, but he partly came to after, and loaded rifles for me to fire. At that time I was using three rifles and each was*

*burning hot ... On the right of my position I was able to see about thirty yards [30 metres] of trench in which all our men were wounded or dead.*

[Davis, quoted in C Pugsley,  
*Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.297]

Lieutenant Colonel William Malone, the Wellingtons' commanding officer, fought with his men. One man recalled Malone's leadership that day:

*Twice it looked very bad so with Colonel Malone we joined the lads in front. I had my revolver and a handful of cartridges and Colonel Malone seized up a rifle and bayonet. The Wellingtons seemed to rise up each time from nowhere and the Turks were hurled back. In the first of these attacks the bayonet on Colonel Malone's rifle was twisted by a bullet, so after this he kept it with him; as he said it was lucky.*

[Major W H Hastings, quoted in C Pugsley,  
*Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.302]

As the day wore on, many of the New Zealand and British wounded from the trenches at the summit found their way back to a gully in the rear. Lance Corporal Charles Clark of the Wellingtons wrote:

*There were about 300 wounded lying in the gully ... we lay there in the sun ... each man looked after himself ... and you would speak to a man, one of your own men and later on you would get no reply, they were dying, dying out as the day went on.*

[Clark, quoted in C Pugsley,  
*Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.299]

Late in the afternoon Colonel Malone was killed in his headquarters trench by a shell fired from either a British naval vessel or from the Anzac artillery. Beside him that day died many men of the 7th Battalion, the Gloucestershire Regiment. These Englishmen, and some Welshmen of the 8th Welch Pioneers, fought beside the New Zealanders throughout that day



*An Australian  
5-inch howitzer  
in position on  
North Beach.  
(AWM H14027)*

of battle. Charles Bean recorded that so heavy were the losses of the Gloucesters that eventually they were 'placed singly among the New Zealanders'. In trying to send reinforcements to the Wellingtons, the Auckland Infantry Battalion also suffered heavy casualties. At 10.30 pm on 8 August what was left of the Wellingtons was relieved. Charles Bean described this moment:

*Of the 760 of the Wellington Battalion who had captured the height that morning, there came out only 70 unwounded or slightly wounded men. Throughout that day not one had dreamed of leaving his post. Their uniforms were torn, their knees broken. They had had no water since the morning; they could talk only in whispers; their eyes were sunken; their knees trembled; some broke down and cried.*

[C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, p.679]

As the New Zealand and British troops fought during 8 August at Chunuk Bair, General Monash's 4th Australian Brigade met with disaster on the slopes leading to Kocacimentepe.



The Australians were never able to find their way on to the correct spur of the range that led up to this peak. Throughout 7 August, in their hastily-dug positions, they had been subjected to Turkish artillery fire and had suffered casualties. In the evening, Monash was ordered to send his men forward on 8 August to take Kocacimentepe. In the words of General Alexander Godley, the officer in charge of the Chunuk Bair operation, ‘the assault should be carried out with loud cheering’.

*Turkish artillery  
in action on  
Gallipoli, 1915.  
(AWM A05290)*

In the early hours of 8 August, three battalions of the 4th Brigade—the 14th, 15th and 16th—set out. Dawn found them nowhere near the approach to Kocacimentepe. As the Australian battalions advanced over an exposed slope, Turkish machine guns opened up. Against this concentrated Turkish fire little progress was made. In the words of the Australian official history, the 15th Battalion, with most of its officers dead or wounded, ‘broke southwards’ for cover. One Australian who disappeared on 8 August as the 15th came under attack was Sergeant Joseph McKinley of Yass, New South Wales. A comrade wrote:

*The men fell under furious fire. It was terrible; the men were falling like rabbits. Many were calling for mothers and sisters. They fell a good way, in many cases, from the Turkish lines. Sgt McKinley ... did very good work on the Peninsula. It was commonly believed that he was killed on that morning during the advance. He was never seen again.*

[Account from Red Cross file,  
Sergeant Joseph McKinley, AWM 1DRL 428]

A Turkish attack, which then threatened the whole left flank of the 4th Brigade, was held off by half of the 16th Battalion. Meanwhile, more Turkish units began to appear and the position of the 14th and 15th Battalions looked increasingly hopeless. At 7.00 am Monash was told that the three battalions had suffered heavy casualties and that there was no hope of an attack on Kocacimentepe. Indeed, the 15th Battalion, which on 6 August had left North Beach 850 strong, had been reduced to 280 men. Fortunately for the Australians in their exposed positions, the machine gun sections of the 4th Brigade now appeared and covered the retreat. Thus ended the 4th Brigade's attempt to capture Kocacimentepe, the highest vantage point of the Sari Bair Range.

During the period 7–10 August, what would have struck any observer looking along the great sweep of North Beach and Ocean Beach and up into the ranges, would have been the sight of thousands of wounded men. Many lay in pain on the heights and died before help could reach them. Those capable of walking or crawling made their way back down to aid posts and assembly points at the end of the valleys near the beach. Sergeant H M Jackson, 13th Battalion, AIF, described the scene:

*From the trench down to the beach, about 4 miles, is one long line of grey stiff bodies of men who have died trying to get down to the beach unassisted.*

[Sergeant Harold Jackson, 13th Battalion, AIF, Diary,  
26 August 1915, AWM, 1DRL/0592]



At the beach below Chunuk Bair a small jetty had been built—Embarkation Pier—to take off the wounded to the hospital ships but because boats bringing in supplies also used the pier, it was shelled by the Turks. From the pier, hundreds of walking wounded struggled down the ‘long sap’ to Ari Burnu point and on to Anzac Cove. As had happened at Anzac Cove during the landing of 25 April, the sheer numbers of wounded overwhelmed the medical services.

*An Australian soldier carries a wounded comrade down from the ranges to a dressing station near North Beach. (AWM H10363)*

Throughout the battle the men of the Australian, New Zealand and British Army Medical Corps, along with the battalion stretcher-bearers, worked night and day to the point of personal collapse. Some died as they tried to carry the wounded down from the heights. Corporal William Rusden saw two lots of stretcher-bearers shot within minutes as they worked their way down a valley. In one of these valleys Private Ormond Burton, New Zealand Medical Corps, witnessed the plight of some 300 wounded:

*Stretcher-bearers at work during the August offensive in the Sari Bair Range. They are probably members of the 4th Australian Field Ambulance at Walden Grove. (AWM P1116/69/20)*

*No one appeared to be responsible for them. Their wounds were uncared for and in the heat some were in a shocking state. They had no food and no water .... Many were hit a second and third time as they lay helplessly ... Many died there—some able to see the hospital ships with their green bands and red crosses no distance out to sea. On one trip I gave my water bottle to a Turkish officer with four or five of his men about him. He gave every drop to his men and took not a mouthful himself. I saw nothing more dreadful during the whole war than the suffering of those forgotten men.*

[Burton, quoted by C Pugsley, Gallipoli — *The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.308]



On 9 August, the New Zealanders clung to Chunuk Bair. A mixed garrison of the Wellington Mounted Rifles and Otago Infantry Battalion manned the trenches at the summit and were subjected to the same fierce Turkish counter-attacks that had befallen the Wellington Infantry Battalion on the previous day. Below them, on the seaward side of the range, British and Indian reinforcements struggled in vain through the valleys to reach the New Zealanders but the only unit to gain the summit





was the 6th Gurkha Battalion. At 5.23 am the Nepalese burst over a crest to the left of the New Zealanders on Chunuk Bair and saw the Dardanelles in the distance. Their commander, Major C J L Allanson, described the moment:

*Then off we dashed, all hand in hand, most perfect and a wonderful sight. At the top we met the Turks ... [and for] ten minutes we fought hand to hand, we hit and fisted, and used rifles and pistols as clubs and then the Turks turned and fled, and I felt a very proud man: the key to the whole peninsula was ours... . We dashed about 200 feet [61 metres] down towards Maidos [a Turkish village on the Dardanelles] but only got about 200 feet when suddenly our Navy put twelve-inch monitor shells into us and all was terrible confusion. It was a deplorable disaster ... and we had to go back.*

[Allanson, quoted in B Farwell, *The Gurkhas*, Penguin Books, 1984, p.101]

*Members of the  
4th Australian  
Field Ambulance  
watching over  
stretcher cases  
awaiting  
treatment at  
Walden Grove  
(AWM  
P1116/69/64)*

By the evening of 9 August the New Zealanders were exhausted. Countless determined Turkish attacks had taken their toll. Trooper Harry Brown of the Wellington Mounted Rifles described the desolate scene in the trenches:

*If only Abdul had known how many were left ... but there, he didn't and possibly he was as exhausted as ourselves for New Zealanders had not died for nothing. In the little neighbouring trench, over which no Turk had come alive, the only sign of life among the many there, was the stump of an arm which now and then waved feebly for help and a voice called 'New Zealand' to four listeners who could give or get no aid to him.*

[Brown, quoted in C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.311]

At 8.00 pm on 9 August the New Zealanders finally left Chunuk Bair. In their place stood soldiers of the British 6th Battalion of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment and the 5th Battalion of the Wiltshire Regiment. Beyond the British trenches, the Turks were massing for a great attack.

The Turks had been highly alarmed by the threat at Chunuk Bair and Suvla to their whole position at Gallipoli. Fighting back the Australian diversionary attack in the south at Lone Pine was Major Zeki. Zeki later told the Australian official historian:

*The situation at Kanli Sirt ['Bloody Ridge'—the Turkish name for Lone Pine] was now better, and it was well known that the danger was elsewhere. Indeed all these days I had been looking over my left shoulder seeing your shells burst on the rear slope of Chunuk Bair. Although the situation at Kanli Sirt was critical I could scarcely keep my eyes on it—I knew things must be happening at Chunuk Bair which were more critical by far, and if you succeeded there, what use would be our efforts at Kanli Sirt.*

[Zeki, quoted by C E W Bean *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra, 1948, pp.198–199]



To take charge at Chunuk Bair, the Turkish high command now dispatched Colonel Mustafa Kemal, a senior officer who led from the front. On 9 August, Kemal routed the British as they advanced across the Suvla plain. In the evening he rode up to Chunuk Bair where the Turks were faltering under the British naval bombardment and the strong stand of the New Zealanders. Convinced that the time had come for an all-out counter-attack, Kemal ordered his men forward at dawn on 10 August in a bayonet charge:

*The blanket of night had lifted. Now was the hour for the attack. I looked at my watch. It was nearly 4.30 am. After a few minutes it would become quite light and the enemy would be able to see our troops. Should the enemy infantry open fire with his machine guns and should the land and naval guns open fire on our troops in our close packed formation I didn't doubt the impossibility of the attack .... I greeted the men and addressed them:*

*Major Leslie Morshead, 2nd Battalion, 1st Brigade, AIF, surveys the results of the action at Lone Pine (Kanli Sirt). Australian and Turkish dead lie on the parapet of the trench.*

*In 1941, Morshead, as Major-General Morshead, commanded the allied garrison during the Siege of Tobruk, Libya (AWM A02025)*



*Colonel Mustafa Kemal, one of the principal Turkish commanders at Gallipoli. In 1923 Kemal was elected the first President of the Republic of Turkey, and later dubbed Ataturk—'Father of Turkey'. (AWM A05319)*

*'Soldiers! There is no doubt that we can defeat the enemy opposing us. But don't you hurry, let me go in front first. When you see the wave of my whip all of you rush forward together!'*

*Then I went to a point forward of the assault line, and, raising my whip, gave the signal for the assault.*

[Kemal, quoted in R R James, *Gallipoli*, London, 1999, p.299]

The Turks rushed forward and swept the British from the heights of Chunuk Bair. They dashed on down the seaward slope only to be slaughtered by the British naval guns and

the New Zealand machine guns. Sergeant Daniel Curham of the Wellington Infantry Battalion was operating one of those machine guns:

*I knew the gun was in good order and I was still fingering it and looking up the hill and I saw a most amazing sight. A great mass of Turks coming over the hill ... . I had my gun trained on the very spot and all I had to do was press the trigger and, of course, they fell all over the place.*

[Curham, quoted in C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.312]

The Turks were held but the battle for the summit, which had so nearly ended in a complete rout for the British Empire soldiers, was over and with it the August offensive. The Turks had regained Chunuk Bair and no British Empire soldier ever again beheld the Dardanelles from that peak.

# I shall be one of the first to fall

**HILL 60, 21–28 AUGUST 1915**

Lieutenant Wilfred Addison, aged 26, a bank accountant from Sydney, New South Wales, landed on Gallipoli on 19 August 1915 with the 18th Battalion. The unit camped at North Beach between the foot of the Sphinx and Walker's Ridge. According to Charles Bean, the very presence of these fresh young soldiers lifted the spirits of the old hands:

*These troops came to the tired, and somewhat haggard garrison of Anzac, like a fresh breeze from the Australian bush. 'Great big cheery fellows, whom it did your heart good to see', wrote an Australian. 'Quite the biggest lot I have ever seen'.*

[C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, p.739]



*'The Yellow Slope', the southern end of Russell's Top, ending at the Sphinx, as seen from Walker's Ridge with Ari Burnu in the distance. (photo courtesy Tom Curran)*

The new arrivals were briefed on the challenges that lay ahead of them on the peninsula. Lieutenant Addison wrote to his mother:

*I daresay I shall be one of the first to fall.*

[Addison, quoted by C E W Bean,  
*The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, p.739]

As the men of the 18th Battalion pondered their fate, the last British offensive on Gallipoli began on 21 August 1915 at Suvla and in the northern sector of the Anzac position. Two British divisions and a composite force of Anzacs and British troops attacked inland towards the Turkish village of Anafarta. The objective of the composite force was a low promontory at the northern end of a spur coming down from the Kocacimentepe Range. To the Turks it was Kaiajik Aghyl—the Sheepfold of the Little Rock. To the British and the Anzacs, this feature was known prosaically as Hill 60—and its capture would both straighten the line between the Anzac and Suvla positions and make communications along the shore between the two sectors safer.

On 21 August, for the Australians of the 4th Brigade—men of the 13th and 14th Battalions—the initial assault on Hill 60 was a costly failure. They attacked across a shallow valley where dozens of them were hit by Turkish machine guns. Those who reached the comparative safety of the slope on the far side looked back to see their wounded comrades and soldiers of the Hampshire Regiment caught in a bushfire started by Turkish shells. As uniforms caught fire, grenades and ammunition carried by individual soldiers exploded. However, the smoke allowed Captain H G Loughran, the Regimental Medical Officer of the 14th Battalion, assisted by his stretcher-bearers, and Battalion Chaplain Andrew Gillison, a Presbyterian minister from East St Kilda, Melbourne, to drag away some of the wounded.

On the following morning there occurred in this remote and now forgotten sector of the Anzac line one of those acts of bravery and compassion which lie buried in the footnotes of Charles Bean's official history of the Australians at Gallipoli. As Chaplain Gillison read the burial service over some of the recent

dead, he heard a groan from a nearby ridge in no-man's-land. Although he had been warned against showing himself in this area, he went forward and discovered a wounded English soldier of the Hampshire Regiment who had lain out all night and was now being attacked by ants. Together with two other men of the 13th Battalion—Corporal Ronald Pittendrigh and Private Hinton—Gillison crawled out to rescue the stricken man. After they had dragged him for about a yard, a Turkish sniper severely wounded Gillison and Pittendrigh. Both men subsequently died—Gillison on the same day, 22 August, and Pittendrigh on 29 August. Chaplain Gillison lies buried in Embarkation Pier Cemetery. Pittendrigh died of his wounds on a hospital ship and his grave is the sea off the shores of Gallipoli. His name is remembered on the Lone Pine Memorial to the missing.

Those in charge at Hill 60 now decided that the only chance of taking the hill lay in using fresh, fit troops. In the early hours of 22 August, the 18th Battalion made its way from North Beach to the Anzac lines opposite the Sheepfold of the Little Rock. By candlelight, the commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel A E Chapman and his company commanders were, for the first time, briefed that they were about to be sent into action. They were to charge the Turks with bomb and bayonet. When Chapman complained that they had no bombs, he was told to do the best he could without them. The lead companies were then taken to a position near Hill 60 behind a low scrub hedge and told to attack. Now, finally, as the men were given the order to fix bayonets, they learned, just two days after they had landed on Gallipoli, that they were faced with the test of battle.

The first wave of the 18th dashed forward through a gap in the scrub hedge and safely reached a recently dug Turkish trench. By the time the second wave came on from behind the hedge, the Turks were ready and poured down machine gun fire. At the head of his platoon was Lieutenant Wilfred Addison. Charles Bean described what happened:

*Private Joseph Walden, 18th Battalion, AIF, aged 22, was killed in action on 22 August 1915 in the attack on Hill 60. Like many members of the battalion who were killed that day, Walden had been on Gallipoli for just three days. Private Walden, of Punchbowl, New South Wales, is commemorated on the Lone Pine Memorial to the missing. (AWM H05799)*



*Other platoons issuing through openings south of it were met by a tremendous fire, but a proportion crossed the field, finely led by some of their officers; among them was Lieutenant Wilfred Addison, who, with dying and wounded men 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 by several bullets.*

[C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, p.743]

By 10.00 am that day the 18th Battalion's attempt to take Hill 60 had also failed. It had left North Beach 760 strong. In four hours on 21 August the battalion took 383 casualties, of whom approximately 190 were killed. In subsequent actions on Hill 60 the unit suffered another 256 casualties. Within a week of arriving at Gallipoli, over 80 per cent of those who had been described as 'great, big cheery fellows' lay either dead or wounded.

Despite the failures of 21 and 22 August, it was decided to press on with the attempt to take Hill 60. As long as the low summit remained in Turkish hands, the movement of men and supplies between the Anzac area in the south and the Suvla sector in the north was unsafe. This next assault was, once again, to be made by a mixed force of Australian, British and New Zealand units. By 27 August, the date set for the attack, the Turks had constructed a complex system of trenches on Hill 60. For these, the British Empire and Dominion forces had no maps or plans and, consequently, little idea of where they were once a section of enemy trench was seized. Once again, elements of the Australian 4th Brigade—250 men from the 13th, 14th and 15th Battalions—were involved in the attack at 5.00 am on 27 August. Within minutes of their advance, two-thirds of them were dead or wounded, and the attack in this sector was abandoned.

For the 4th Brigade, the Gallipoli campaign, which had begun with such high hopes on 25 April, was over. At the landing, the Brigade numbered 4016. Between 6 and 28 August, it had fought exclusively in the battles to the north of the old Anzac lines beneath Chunuk Bair and now at Hill 60. By 28 August, its paper strength had been reduced to 968 weary



soldiers. The medical officer of one of its battalions—the 15th, reduced to 170 men from 959 on 25 April—wrote:

*The condition of the men of the battalion was awful. Thin, haggard, as weak as kittens and covered with suppurating sores. The total strength of the battalion was two officers and 170 men. If we had been in France every man would have been sent to hospital.*

[Regimental Medical Officer, 15th Battalion, quoted in A G Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services, 1914–1918, Gallipoli, Palestine and New Guinea*, Vol 1, p.321]

The Hill 60 fighting, in which they played a prominent part between 21 and 28 August, also saw the collapse of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. The Mounteds had landed on Gallipoli 2700 strong. By the end of August, they were down to 365 men.

Five days later, another attempt was made to seize Hill 60. At night on 27 August the Australian 9th Light Horse was led into the trenches with instructions to bomb their way towards the Turkish positions. In a night battle at close quarters in the trenches, they were unable to drive the Turks back. Among the 9th Light Horse's dead that night was their commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Carew Reynell of Reynella, South Australia.

On the afternoon of 28 August, General Alexander Godley personally visited the camp of the 10th Australian Light Horse, the unit which had suffered so severely at The Nek. Taking the officers aside he told them that he wanted them to take a trench on the summit of Hill 60. During the night of 28–29 August, the men of the 10th Light Horse, in a fierce bombing battle with the Turks, inched the Australian line a little closer to the summit of Hill 60. Between midnight and dawn, the light horsemen, in a captured Turkish trench, held off repeated enemy attacks. Hundreds of bombs hurled into the Australian positions were promptly thrown back and Turkish frontal assaults were beaten off with determined rifle fire. Prominent in this action was Lieutenant Hugo Throssell of Cowcowing, Western Australia. Throughout the night, although wounded, Throssell refused to leave and kept up the spirits of his men. The doctor who



*Lieutenant Colonel Carew Reynell, 9th Australian Light Horse regiment, near Hill 60, 27 August 1915, picking lice from his clothing, a never-ending task on Gallipoli. Colonel Reynell was killed in action the following day and he is buried in the Hill 60 Cemetery. (AWM H02784)*



*Turkish soldiers in a trench, Gallipoli, 1915. (AWM A05299)*

attended him later described Throssell's condition after this night of death, fear and endeavour:

*He took the cigarette but could do nothing with it. The wounds in his shoulders and arms had stiffened, and his hands could not reach his mouth ... [his] shirt was full of holes from pieces of bomb, and one of the 'Australias' [shoulder badges] was twisted and broken, and had been driven in to his shoulder.*

[Captain Horace Robertson, quoted in S Snelling, *VCs of the First World War — Gallipoli*, Stroud, 1995, p.225]

Throssell was awarded the Victoria Cross, the last to an Australian soldier on Gallipoli, but others who had stood with him that night deserve to be remembered. One of these was Corporal Henry Ferrier of Casterton, Victoria, who reputedly flung over 500 bombs that night. Shortly after dawn, a Turkish bomb, which he was attempting to throw back, exploded in his hand, blowing his arm off at the elbow. Ferrier walked to an aid post but died ten days later on a hospital ship. Ferrier's name is listed among the dead of the 10th Australian Light Horse on the Lone Pine Memorial to the missing.

The 10th Light Horse's bombing attack on Hill 60 was the last action of the battle. It was believed, wrongly, that the summit had been captured at a cost of over 1100 casualties. Today it is hard to see what real advantage was gained, although the enemy was pushed back slightly. Charles Bean, careful as always in his assessments, concluded that this sacrifice had allowed the Anzacs 'a position astride the spur [Hill 60] from which a fairly satisfactory view could be had over the plain.' Perhaps the best summing up of the British Empire's struggle for the Sheepfold of the Little Rock came from a New Zealand soldier, Corporal James Watson of the Auckland Mounted Rifles:

*We gained about 400 yards [366 metres] in four days fighting, 1000 men killed and wounded. Land is very dear here.*

[Watson, quoted in C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.327]



# Crikey! They are coming on in these parts

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH BEACH BASE, SEPTEMBER–NOVEMBER 1915

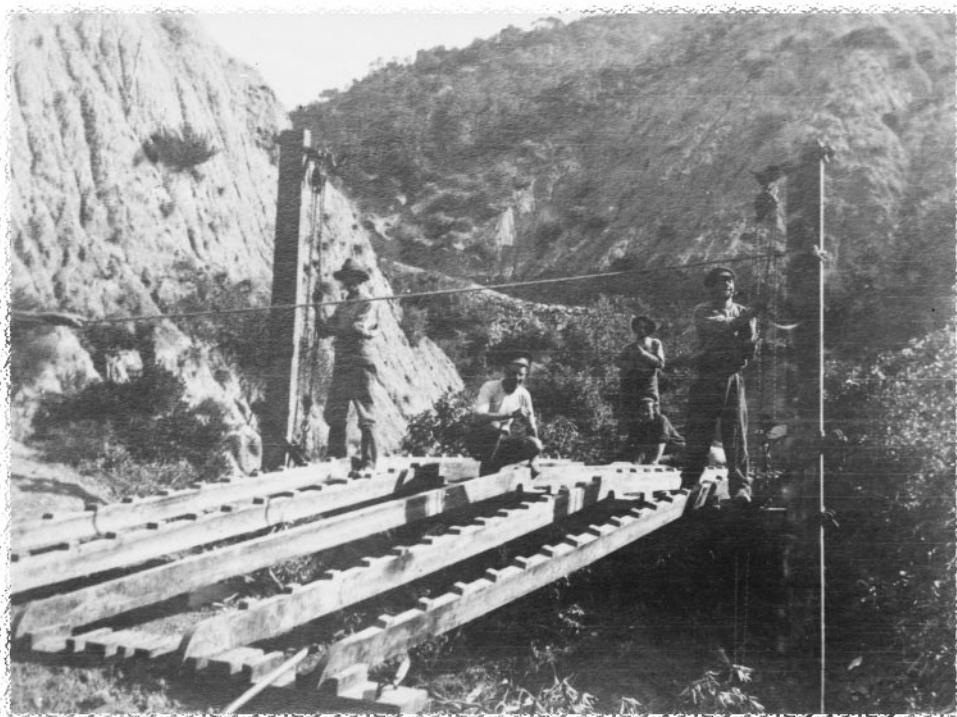
After the failure to capture Hill 60, campaigning on Gallipoli came to an end. Both sides were exhausted and had lost heavily during the August battles. One result of the August battles in the Sari Bair Range beyond North Beach was a great extension of the Anzac area. This required the garrisoning of a whole new line of trenches and defensive positions, all of which needed food,

*Building terraces  
in the side of  
Destroyer Hill.  
(AWM A00908)*

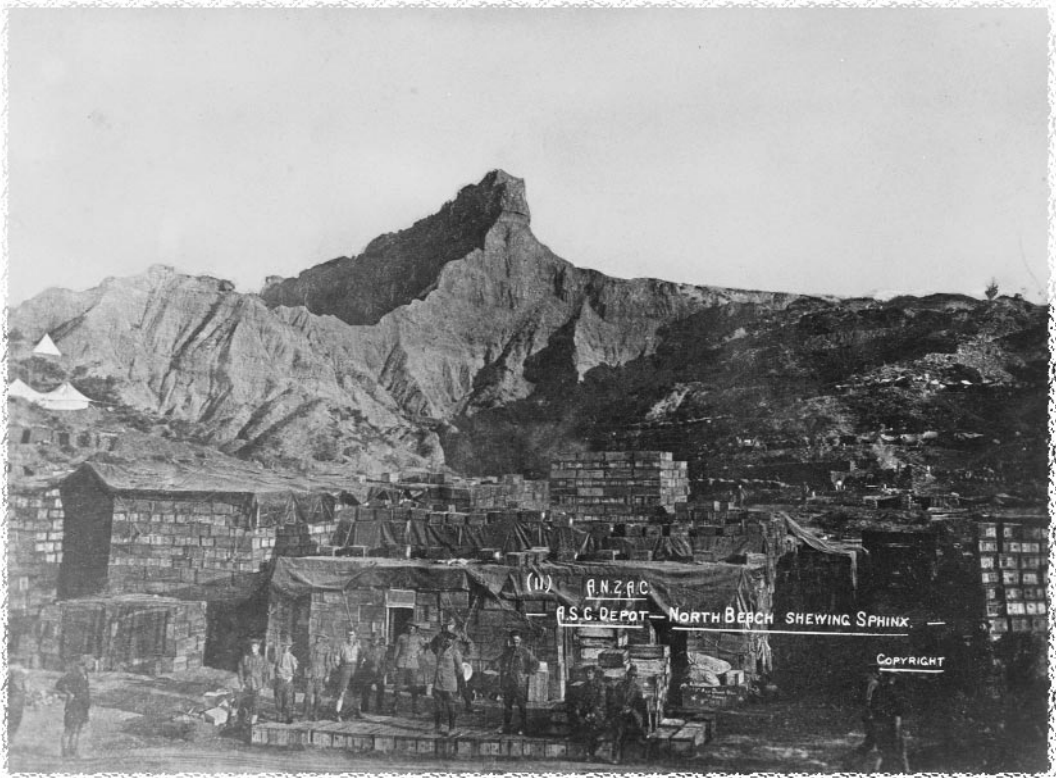


ammunition, trenching equipment and other essential supplies. It was also assumed that what little had been won from the Turks on the Gallipoli peninsula would be held over the coming winter until a new campaign could be started in 1916. Thus it became necessary to look at the whole problem of supply, trench and road maintenance and medical facilities for the coming winter. Once winter weather started in earnest, it might prove difficult to land stores or evacuate the sick and wounded. As most sections of North Beach had now become safe from Turkish fire, it was decided to establish a new base there, a base that ultimately became larger than the one at Anzac Cove.

*New Zealand engineers building a road at Destroyer Hill (AWM A00909)*



At the commencement of the August offensive a rudimentary pier was built at the centre of North Beach. This pier was out of sight of the Turkish artillery observers at Kabatepe, from where they relayed information to their guns in a position known as the Olive Grove. The guns at the Olive Grove regularly shelled transport vessels approaching Anzac Cove. On 8 August the usefulness of the North Beach pier became apparent when a barge-load of badly needed transport mules was shelled as it



came into the Cove. The barge was towed around Ari Burnu point and its cargo unloaded in safety. Another attraction of the North Beach pier was that behind the beach was a large area of relatively flat ground protected by the cliffs behind the Sphinx. This area soon became the main depot for all the reserve stores at Anzac and winter supplies were steadily built up there during September and October.

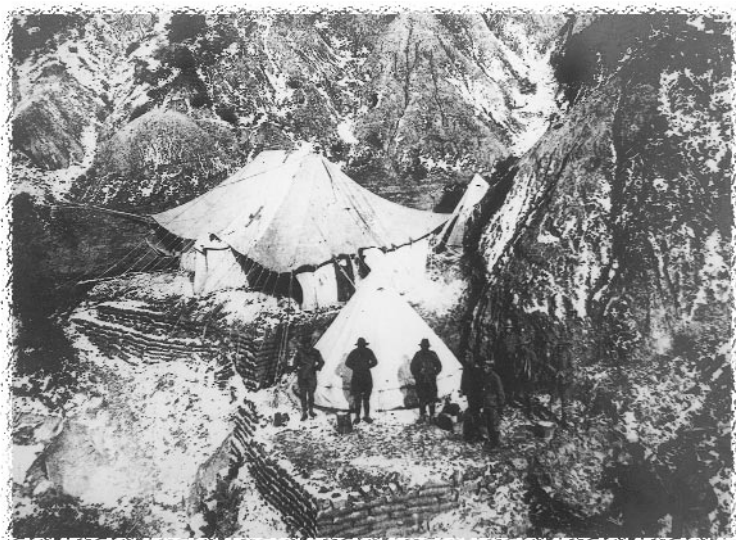
*Australian  
Service Corps  
depot on  
North Beach,  
overlooked by  
the Sphinx.  
(AWM  
P0061/14/04)*

Further along North Beach, opposite No 1 and No 2 Outposts, a sub-base was established during the August fighting. Here were the headquarters of General Alexander Godley's New Zealand and Australian Division and the British 13th Division. It, too, became a busy site, especially during the August battles when, according to Charles Bean, 'the activity around Godley's headquarters ... during August equalled that of Anzac [Cove]'. Dumps of fodder for the transport mules were built up at the Outposts base and lines of mules could be seen tethered there.

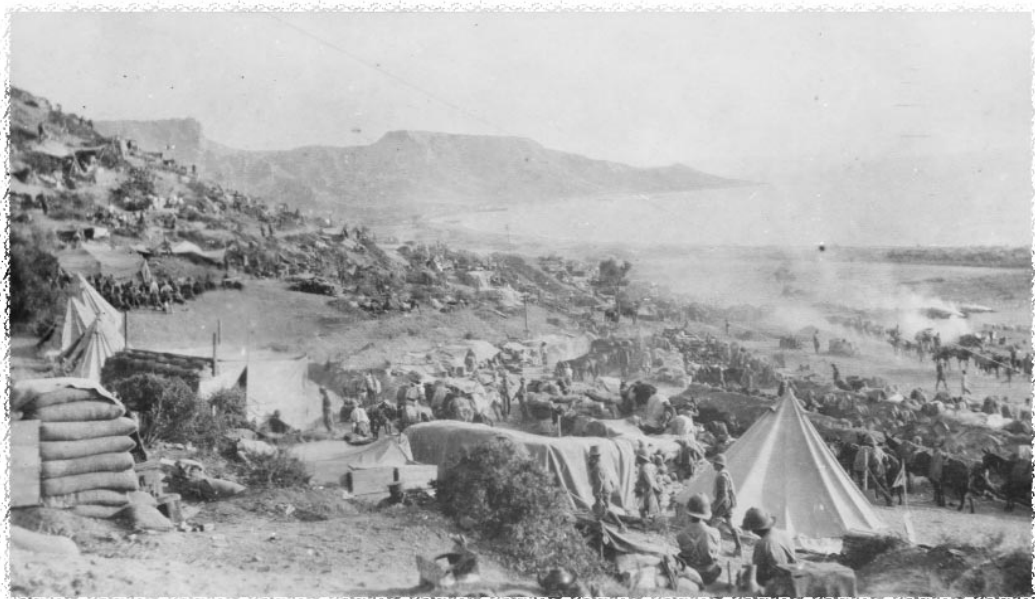
In preparation for the winter, tent hospitals were landed and erected. The British 16th Casualty Clearing Station received

patients at a site near the Outposts. Unfortunately, enemy planes observed this new headquarters site and guns at the Olive Grove soon found the range. On 29 August, shells fell, killing six in the 13th British Division headquarters and wounding several more. Subsequent shelling hit the hospital, killing some patients. Charles Bean, however, felt this hitting of the hospital to be inevitable because it was sited so close to a major headquarters—‘the medical units could not and did not accuse the enemy of a breach of the rules of war’.

*Right: 4th Australian Field Ambulance hospital tents under snow in Hotchkiss Gully after the blizzards of November 1915. Hotchkiss Gully lay between steep hills at the northern end of the Anzac position.  
(AWM C00680)*



*Below: No. 2 Outpost, looking north towards Ari Burnu.  
(AWM H15372)*



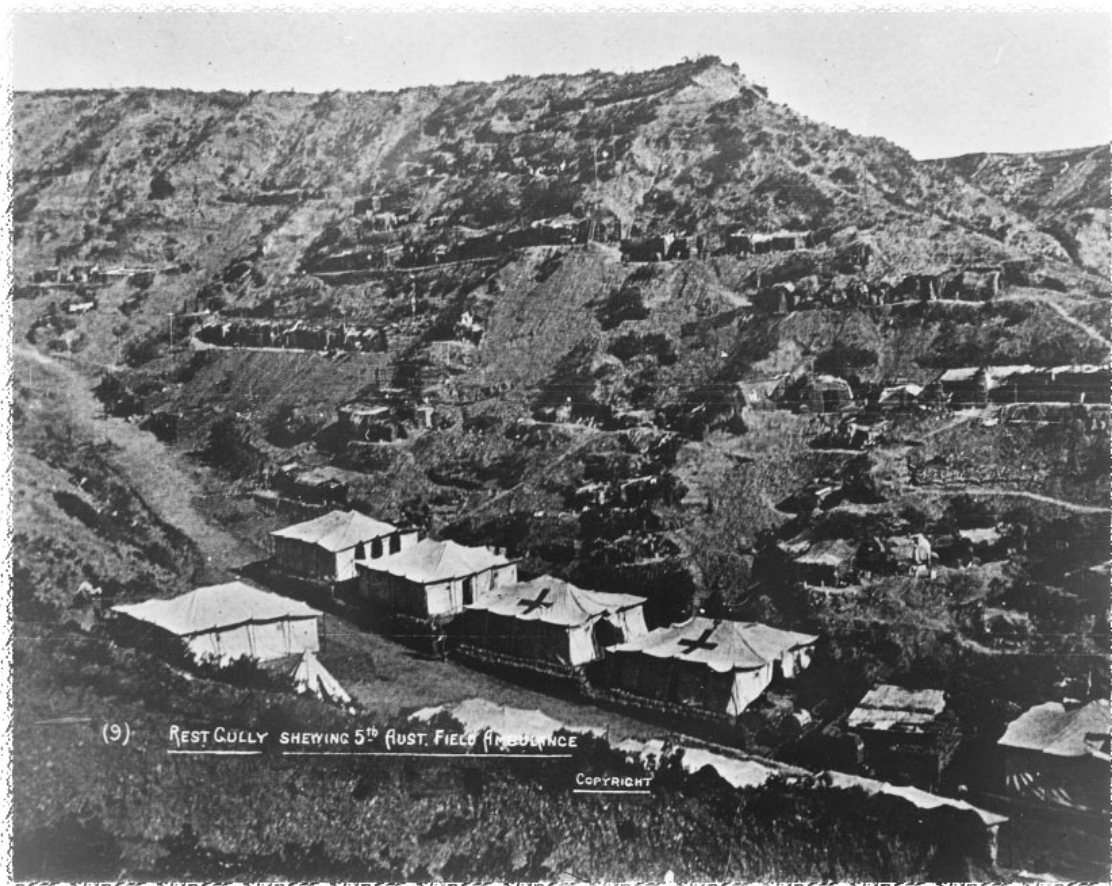


On 4 November, in anticipation of the coming winter isolation of the troops on Gallipoli, the No 1 Australian Stationary Hospital was brought to North Beach. By mid-November this large tent hospital, staffed mainly by South Australians, was fully operational:

*The hospital is now prepared for wounded. We have [an] operating room, X-Ray plant, surgical wards, and the whole is lighted with electricity. We are now preparing tunnels into the hillside. The hospital gets occasional shells, but we cannot blame the Turks, as we are in the midst of guns and ammunition dumps.*

[War Diary, No 1 Australian Stationary Hospital, quoted in A G Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services, 1914–1918, Gallipoli, Palestine and New Guinea*, Vol 1, p.368]

*5th Australian  
Field Ambulance  
in Rest Gully,  
behind Plugge's  
Plateau. (AWM  
P0061/14/07)*



Positioned on the southern slopes of North Beach was the labour corps camp. Charles Bean felt this to have been a thoughtless choice of site as it was the one part of North Beach in view of the enemy post at Sniper's Nest. The labourers were subjected to machine gun fire, and two men were killed on their first night at Anzac. Shells also fell on the unfortunate labourers, and one man died in this way while eating his lunch. These civilian labourers—mainly Egyptians, Maltese and British—had been brought to Anzac to assist in various forms of heavy construction work. Many of the British were over-age for the army and they had expected employment at the docks in Egypt, not close to the front line at Gallipoli. The soldiers dubbed these men 'The Daddies' or 'The Old and Bold'.

But the main activity at North Beach buzzed around the two landing piers. The first of these to have been built was 'Williams' Pier', called after Brigadier General Godfrey Williams, Chief Engineer at Anzac. In September 1915 this pier was lengthened and a tramway built from it to off-load stores. Later a smaller pier—'Walker's Pier'—was constructed to the north, opposite Walker's Ridge. The first severe autumn storm on 8 November badly damaged the piers in Anzac Cove but Williams' Pier was

*Walker's Pier at  
North Beach.  
(AWM J02448)*



virtually untouched. It was hoped, therefore, that North Beach might prove to be usable for landing and embarking, even in rough weather. To provide further cover for Williams' Pier, an old steamer—the *Milo*—was sunk off the pier-head to act as a breakwater. Essential water supplies, which had been disrupted by the destruction at Anzac Cove, were pumped ashore from barges anchored under the lee of the *Milo*. Further gales wrought more damage at Anzac Cove but Williams' Pier and the *Milo* stood fast.

A final feature of the North Beach site was the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) tent. Here there was a canteen and basic comforts. However, despite the difficulties the YMCA undoubtedly laboured under in trying to bring materials to Gallipoli, it seems the Anzacs were a little disappointed in the meagre fare available. Charles Bean recorded an exchange between an Australian soldier and Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, the Commander in Chief of the British Army, who was visiting Gallipoli:

*He [Kitchener] went down Rest Gully to 2nd Division, and there saw the YMCA canteen—a splendid Sydney concern, which against great difficulties does manage to do something for the men here ...*

*'Hallo!—YMCA', he said. Then, turning to a man, 'What can you get in there?' he asked.*

*'Nuts', said the man promptly.*



*Shortly before the final evacuation of Anzac, Australian engineers built a wooden walkway out to the beached steamer Milo, which had shifted slightly away from Williams' Pier in the November storms. Many Anzacs were evacuated from this temporary pier. (AWM A01032)*



*Sheep being taken ashore at North Beach, to be issued live to the Indian troops for slaughter according to their religious practices. (AWM C01662)*

*British and Australian soldiers restoring the circulation to Gurkhas' frozen feet near Walden Grove, December 1915. (AWM C01156)*



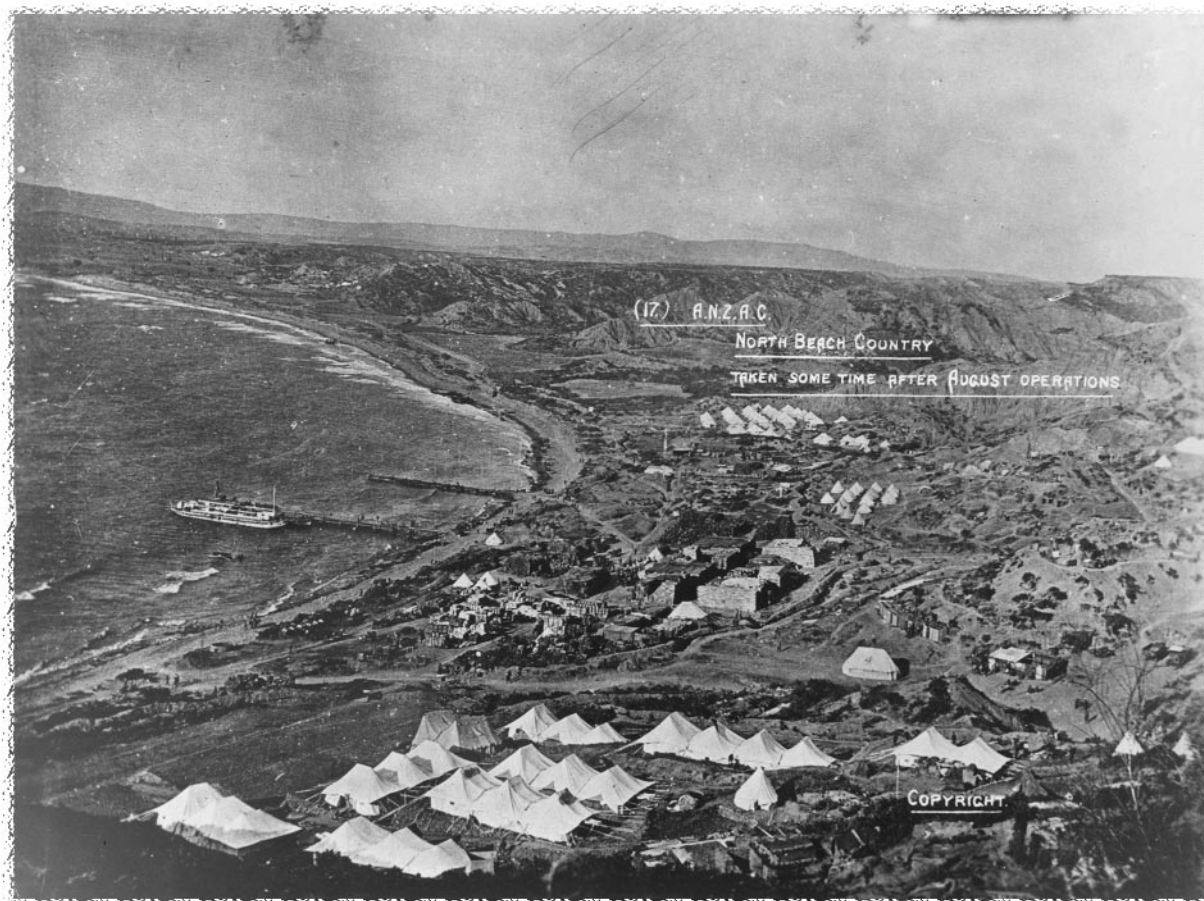
*'Oh yes, but I mean, generally—what have they got in there?'*

*'Nothing', said the man. Thank goodness these Australians generally keep their heads. The need for a canteen was one of the things we wanted impressed on him. ...*

[Kevin Fewster, *Frontline Gallipoli — C E W Bean's diary from the trenches*, Sydney, 1983, pp.178–179]

From late August to early November 1915, North Beach was transformed into the supply hub of Anzac. For the old Gallipoli hands, who knew this sector as a bare beach where they were in constant danger of Turkish bullets, this transformation was a wonder. On Friday 5 November 1915, Sergeant Cyril Lawrence, Australian Engineers, arrived back at Anzac from a rest period on the nearby island of Imbros. What struck him at once as he approached the shore was the sight of North Beach:

*North Beach, seen from Ari Burnu sometime after the August operations, when use of the site increased rapidly to include hospitals, supply depots, piers and a post office. (AWM P061/14/05)*



*Once more on old Anzac. What a change! Why, when we left there was hardly anything round this side of the Cove. It was not safe. Now there are tents and a YMCA and what is this great sandbag mansion going up directly in front of us? A Post Office, eh. Eighty feet long, twelve feet high and twenty-four feet wide. Some building! Windows, doors and a counter, too. Crikey, they are coming on in these parts.*

[Sir R East (ed), *The Gallipoli Diary of Sergeant Lawrence of the Australian Engineers — 1st AIF, 1915*, Melbourne, 1981, p.111]

[The Post Office dimensions were 24 metres long, 3.6 metres high and 7.3 metres wide]



*Australian soldier receiving dental treatment, probably from members of the 4th Australian Field Ambulance. (AWM P1116/69/34)*

# Thus to leave you—thus to part

## THE EVACUATION OF ANZAC, DECEMBER 1915

At about 1.40 pm on 13 November 1915 a small boat arrived at North Beach. From it stepped Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, Commander in Chief of the British Army. He had come to Anzac to see the positions there for himself. As he walked up the pier with other generals, he was recognised and men came running from all over towards the pier where they surrounded the great man. Charles Bean watched Kitchener walk up from the pier:

*The tall red cap [Kitchener] was rapidly closed in among them—but they kept a path and as the red cheeks turned and spoke to one man or another, they cheered him—they, the soldiers—no officers leading off or anything of that sort. It was a purely soldiers' welcome. He said to them, 'The King has asked me to tell you how splendidly he thinks you have done—you have done splendidly, better, even, than I thought you would'.*

[Kevin Fewster, *Frontline Gallipoli — C E W Bean's diary from the trenches*, Sydney, 1983, p.176]

*Lieutenant-General Sir William General Birdwood, Commander, Mediterranean Expeditionary Force; Field Marshal Lord Kitchener; Major-General Alexander Godley, Commander, New Zealand and Australian Division; and Major-General John Maxwell at North Beach, 13 November 1915. (AWM A00880)*



Kitchener spent just over two hours at Anzac surveying the Turkish line from Australian trenches inland of the Sphinx and at Lone Pine. Two days later, after further consultation with senior commanders, he recommended to the British War Cabinet that Gallipoli—Anzac, Suvla and Helles—be evacuated. Without significant reinforcement and the bringing in of considerable artillery resources, little progress could, in his opinion, be made against the strengthening Turkish trenches. This was especially so at Anzac where a further surprise attack, such as had been conducted in August against Chunuk Bair and Kocacimentepe, was virtually impossible. Moreover, local commanders were extremely worried about the problems of supplying Gallipoli throughout the winter with its many severe storms.

Once the decision had been taken, the biggest problem was how to leave the peninsula without arousing the suspicions of the Turks. A detailed evacuation plan was devised by an Australian, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Brudenell White. This involved elaborate deception operations such as the so-called ‘silent stunts’ of late November where no artillery fire or sniping was to occur from the Anzac lines. It was hoped that this would accustom the Turks to the idea that preparations were underway for the coming winter. Hopefully, the enemy would not, therefore, interpret these silences as a withdrawal. Right to the end, great care was taken to keep up the kind of irregular rifle and artillery fire from Anzac that would be expected by the Turks.

An evacuation schedule planned for the leaving of Anzac in three stages. In the ‘preliminary stage’, to be set in motion while awaiting word from London that the British Cabinet had approved Lord Kitchener’s recommendation to evacuate, men and equipment would be taken off consistent with a garrison preparing for a purely defensive winter campaign. After Cabinet approval, the ‘intermediate’ stage would commence, during which the number of soldiers on Anzac would be reduced to a point where they could still hold off a major Turkish attack for about one week. During the first two stages, the Anzac garrison would fall from 41 000 to 26 000. These 26 000 would then be withdrawn over two nights in the ‘final’ evacuation—18–19 and





*The smouldering remains of an accidental fire which began in the supply dump on North Beach at about 1 am on 18 December 1915, the day before the final stage of the evacuation. The fire, at first thought to have been started by treachery, threatened to alert the Turks to the evacuation in progress and led to shelling from the Turkish guns at the Olive Grove. (AWM G01302)*

19–20 December 1915. In the event, by 18 December at the end of the ‘intermediate’ stage, there were only 20 277 soldiers left at Anzac. Although Anzac Cove was used, the chief evacuation points were the piers at North Beach. It was at North Beach, therefore, that many men spent their last moments on Anzac and caught their last glimpses in the dark of the Sari Bair Range as they pulled away from the piers.

During the evacuation, movement to the piers took place after dark. An Australian observer watched a busy night scene at North Beach:

*I went down to see the sending away of the British Labour Corps [the ‘Old and Bold’] and Egyptians and Maltese. Flares were burning on Williams’ Pier and Walker’s Ridge.*

*Baggage was piled on the wharf—mostly field ambulance; four gun-teams made their way through the crowd out towards the left; ammunition was being carried in on gharries [a type of horse-drawn Indian carriage] and taken on to the pier or stacked on the beach ... truck-load after truck-load of warm winter clothing was being sent running down the little railway on Williams' Pier.*

[Quoted in C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, pp. 865–866]



*Williams' Pier, North Beach, December 1915, with the Sphinx in the background. At this time the preparations for the evacuation of the Australian and New Zealand troops were well under way. (AWM C01621)*

At night, from the positions north of Walker's Ridge stretching through the ranges to Hill 60, mule columns looked after by men of the Indian Mule Cart Corps brought material for evacuation to Williams' Pier. Once on flat ground and heading south for North Beach, these columns passed a stretch of coast opposite the Sniper's Nest where they could undoubtedly be heard by Turkish patrols. However, as the mules were constantly going up the line with supplies, there was nothing to tell the enemy that they were now returning, equally heavily laden.



Moreover, so skilled were the Indian handlers that hardly any noise was made. Encountering a column, an Australian confided to his diary:

*At once I thought—‘My goodness, if the Turks don’t see all this as it goes along they must be blind’. But as I went along behind them I began to notice how silently these mules behaved. They had big loads, but they were perfectly quiet. They made no sound at all as they walked except for the slight jingle of a chain now and then . . . I doubt if you could have heard the slightest noise . . . I doubt if at 1,000 yards [915 metres] you could see them at all—possibly just a black serpentine streak.*

[Quoted in C E W Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, Sydney, 1924, Vol II, p.866]

*Members of the Indian Mule Cart Corps with their charges in Mule Gully, near the New Zealand supply dump, looking towards Destroyer Hill, Sari Bair Range. (AWM A00900)*



*An Australian officer visits a comrade's grave on Gallipoli. (AWM G00149)*

Although much equipment was removed from Anzac, a great deal, especially foodstuffs, was left behind or destroyed.

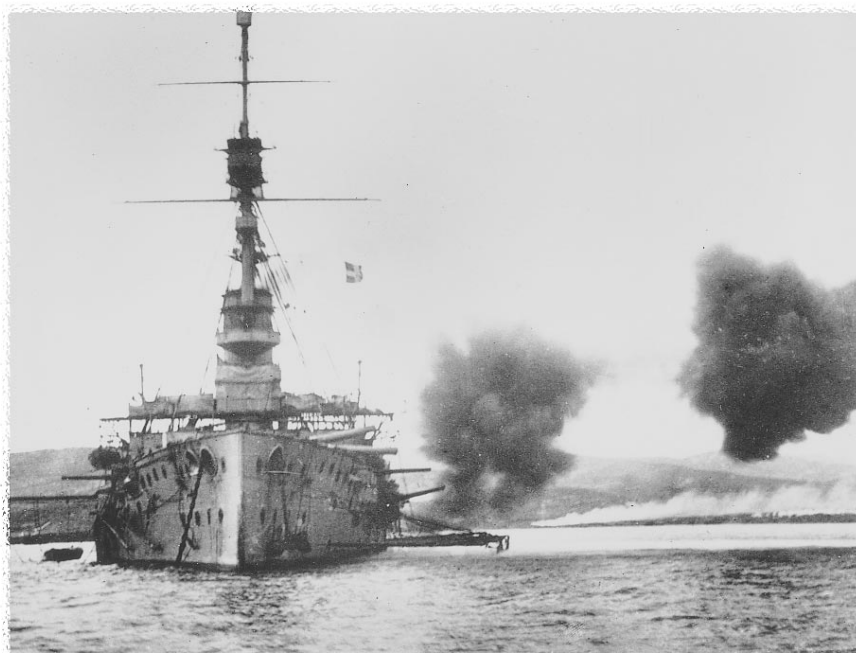
So well were the objectives of the first two stages kept secret from all but those who needed to know, that it was not until the second week in December that the ordinary soldiers realised that a full scale evacuation was in progress. Charles Bean felt that everyone knew by 13 December. Men's reactions varied, but a common sorrow was the thought of leaving behind their dead comrades. Bean noted how many now spent time in the small Anzac cemeteries tidying up the graves.

On the nights of 18–19 and 19–20 December the final 20 000 Anzacs were taken off. On 19 December, the British cruiser HMS *Grafton* lay in off North Beach ready to take the soldiers on board and, if necessary, to open fire on any enemy attempt to hinder this final withdrawal. An observer on the *Grafton* noted:

*It is about 9'clock. An ideal night for the job. No ships (only a few lights) visible at Suvla. One ship about a mile on our port beam. Barely a wrinkle on the water. Soft air from the north. Moon at present quite invisible. The wash of the destroyer has been lapping against our sides like wavelets at the edge of a pond.*

*10.00 pm—Three ships just gone in ...*

*10.35 pm—Five trawlers coming out with cutters in tow.*



*HMS Cornwallis, the last ship to leave Gallipoli in the evacuation of 19–20 December 1915, returns fire to the Turkish guns shelling her as she pulls away. In the background, stores at Suvla Bay, set alight to prevent their use by the Turks, can be seen burning.  
(AWM H10388)*

On 19 December just 10 000 men held the lines of trenches from Bolton's Ridge in the south to Hill 60 in the north. The day was spent in constant activity aimed at convincing their watchful enemy that things were proceeding as normal. At 2.15 pm the British started a feint attack at Helles to distract the Turks. At dusk the rear guard began leaving for the beach until finally there were but 1500 left in all those miles of dark trench. Company Sergeant Major Joe Gasparich, Auckland Infantry Battalion, was among the last to depart in the early hours of 20 December:

*I came down—I got off my perch (the firing step) [and]  
I walked through the trench and the floor of the trench was  
frozen hard ... and when I brought my feet down they echoed  
right through the trench, down the gully, right down, and  
you could hear this echo running ahead ... Talk about empty,  
I didn't see a soul ... It was a lonely feeling.*

[Gasparich, quoted in C Pugsley,  
*Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*, London, 1984, p.343]

By 4.00 am, 20 December 1915, a handful of men were left at North Beach. Among these was the commander of the 'Rear Party', Colonel J Paton, from Waratah, Sydney. At 4.10 am, Paton, having waited ten minutes for any last Anzac straggler, declared the evacuation complete and sailed off. The Anzacs had successfully left Gallipoli with hardly a casualty.

On 19 December, as he waited to go, Company Quarter Master Sergeant A L Guppy, 14th Battalion, of Benalla, Victoria, confided his feelings in verse to his diary. His words probably spoke for them all:

*Not only muffled is our tread  
To cheat the foe,  
We fear to rouse our honoured dead  
To hear us go.  
Sleep sound, old friends—the keenest smart  
Which, more than failure, wounds the heart,  
Is thus to leave you—thus to part,  
Comrades, farewell!*

[Guppy, quoted in B Gammage, *The Broken Years — Australian Soldiers in the Great War*, Penguin Books, 1975, p.110]

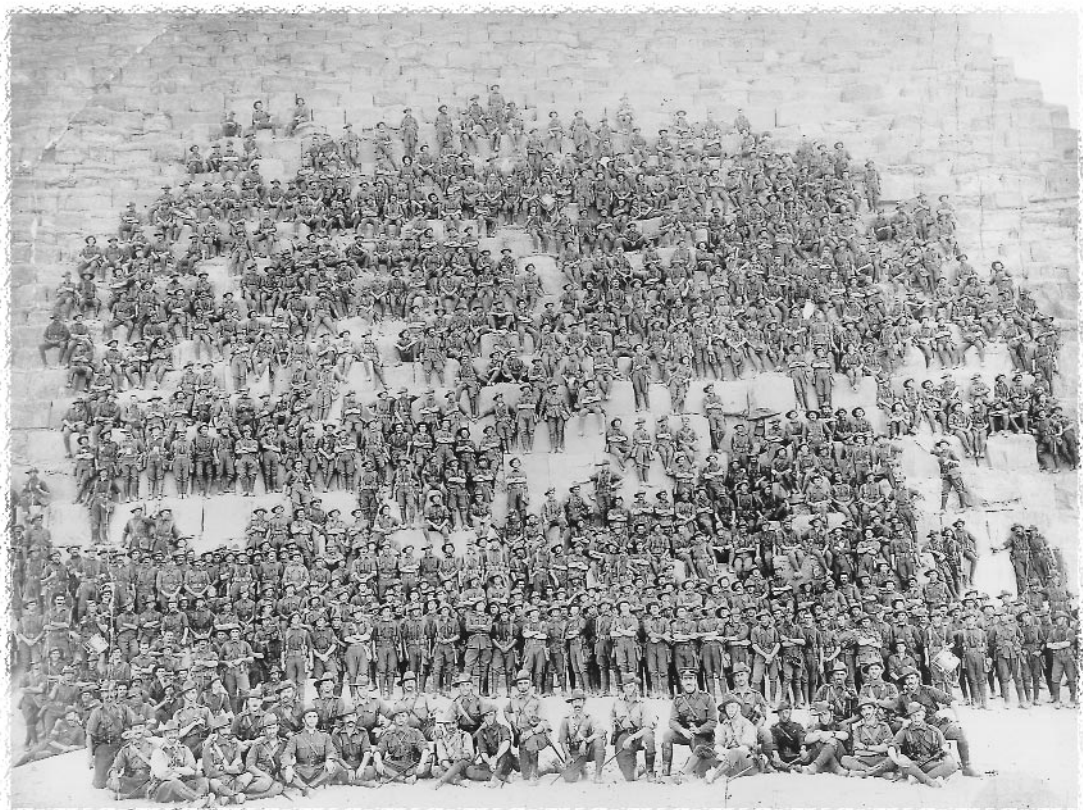
# Where Anzac folk can walk

## REMEMBERING ANZAC

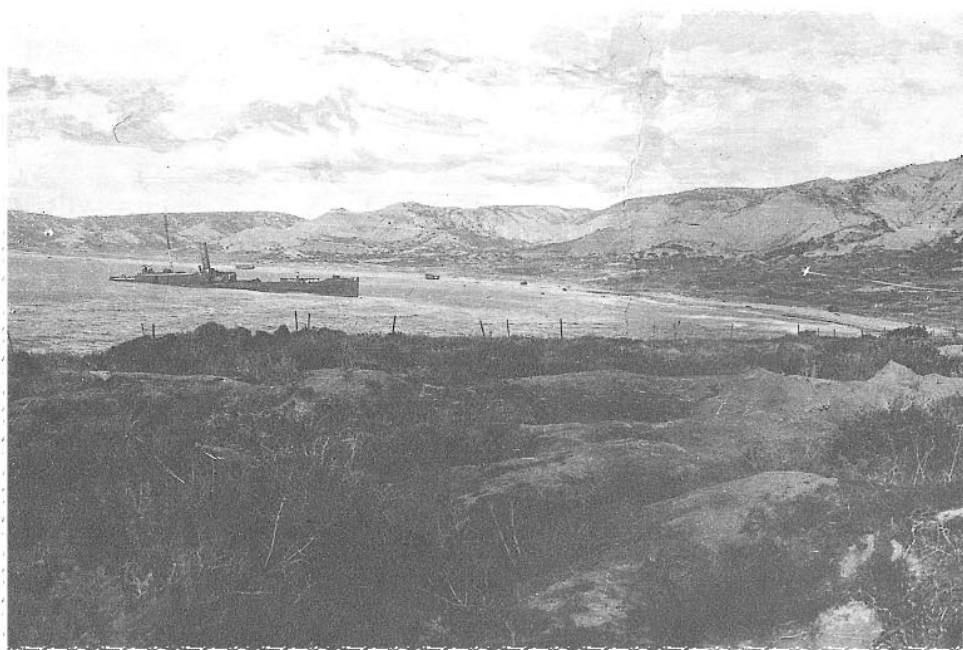


In the early 1920s North Beach rang again to the sound of work parties. Monumental stone from a Turkish quarry was off-loaded at a pier under the lee of the wreck of the *Milo*. From there it was lifted by aerial ropeway up past the Sphinx to the heights near Baby 700 and south down the ridge to the site of the great Australian monument on Gallipoli—Lone Pine. From North Beach stone also went out to build the cemeteries of Anzac, from Hill 60 in the north to Shell Green Cemetery in the south, 21 cemeteries and three memorials in all. The work was overseen by the Imperial (later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission's Director of Works on Gallipoli, Lieutenant-Colonel Cyril Hughes, a Tasmanian who had served on Gallipoli.

*Plugge's Plateau  
War Cemetery,  
Gallipoli.  
(Photo courtesy  
Office of  
Australian War  
Graves)*



*Above: The men  
of the 11th  
Battalion,  
3rd Brigade, AIF,  
at the Great  
Pyramid of  
Cheops, near the  
Mena Camp,  
before they  
embarked for  
Gallipoli in 1915.  
(AWM A02875)*

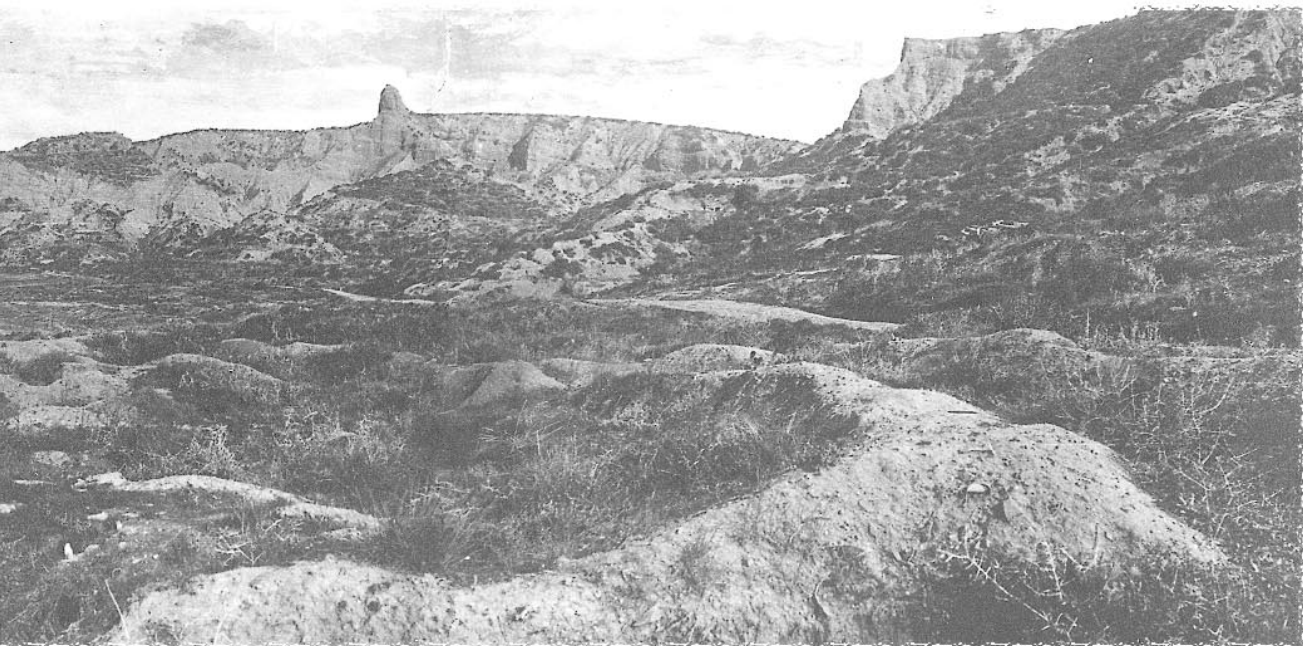




Before Hughes commenced this work of remembrance, he was visited between 15 February and 10 March 1919 by the Australian Historical Mission led by Charles Bean. The mission had come to solve, if it could, some of what Bean called ‘the riddles of Anzac’. It came also to collect material for Bean’s proposed war museum in Australia, a museum that was eventually to develop into the Australian War Memorial. George Lambert, the painter, accompanied the mission and Bean set him to the task of making sketches for what would become two of Australia’s best known war paintings—*Anzac, the landing 1915* and *The Charge of the 3rd Light Horse Brigade at the Nek, August 1915*.

On the morning of 16 February 1919, Bean and other mission members set out for the site of the landing of the 11th Battalion on North Beach. Their guide was Lieutenant Hedley Howe, ex-11th Battalion, who took them to where he and his mates had come ashore and then struggled their way under fire up towards Plugge’s Plateau, with the Sphinx clearly visible on their left. From this

*Below: Panorama of North Beach, taken from Ari Burnu in 1919, showing the slopes first rushed by Australian soldiers on the day of the landing. The first Turkish trench seized by the 11th Battalion was in the scrub half-way up towards Plugge’s Plateau, on the right. The steamer Milo, sunk in October 1915 to form a breakwater, can be seen off-shore. (AWM G02018ABC)*





*North Beach,  
looking towards  
Suvla Bay,  
November 1998.  
(photo courtesy  
Office of  
Australian War  
Graves)*

spot, the mission photographer, Captain Hubert Wilkins, took a shot looking north towards the old steamer *Milo* and taking in the full sweep of the natural amphitheatre of cliffs at the Sphinx. Using this photograph, later reproduced in *The Story of Anzac*, Bean told visually the story of North Beach on 25 April 1915. Marked on the photograph, for those readers who would never see Gallipoli, were some of the significant sites of North Beach on that day—the landing place of the 11th Battalion; where Colonel Clarke of the 12th Battalion had come ashore; the cliff Clarke had climbed from the beach beside the Sphinx; No 1 Outpost; and Fisherman’s Hut from where enemy fire had killed so many Australians of the 7th Battalion. Today, near the spot where Clarke and men of the 12th Battalion came ashore, is the Anzac Commemorative Site designed for ceremonial events at Gallipoli.

Over the next weeks, Bean visited all the battlegrounds of Anzac. At Hill 60, he sketched the scene looking towards the gap in the scrub-hedge from which so many men of the 18th Battalion had gone to their deaths on 22 August 1915. Their

unburied remains were still strewn ‘fairly thick in the stubble-field they had to cross’. Doubtless, those of Lieutenant Wilfred Addison, 18th Battalion, lay among them. Here, today, is the Hill 60 Cemetery and a memorial to the missing for 183 men of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles who fought and died in this area and have no known grave. Burials at Hill 60 number 754, of whom 699 are completely unidentified. Special memorials record the names of eleven Australians, one new Zealander and one British soldier believed to be buried among the unidentified graves. One of these eleven Australians is Lieutenant Colonel Carew Reynell who died at Hill 60 on the night of 28 August 1915 while leading his men of the 9th Australian Light Horse. Part of the cemetery register entry for Colonel Reynell shows the impact of this one death on Gallipoli on an Australian family —‘Husband of May Reynell, of Reynella, South Australia’.

On a northern spur of the Sari Bair Range, Bean found evidence of the fate of one group of Australian soldiers. These men had taken part in the 4th Brigade’s attempted attack on 8 August 1915 on Hill 971—Kocacimentepe:

*Here at once we came on groups of our dead, some with the colours of the 14th battalion on their sleeves. One group lay as far up the ridge as Hill 100—Australians and Turks together; one had the badge or colour of the 14th Battalion, and one a small Bible with the name ‘H Wellington’ on the fly leaf.*

[C E W Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra, 1948, p.238]

On Chunuk Bair the relics of the desperate battle of 6–10 August 1915 affected mission members. Human remains lay everywhere around that peak and on the slopes leading to it. Bean wrote:

*For some reason the dissolution of the human remains in that lofty area was not quite so complete as at Old Anzac; and the number that must have been trapped, and the hopelessness of the situation on those steep ridges when once they were caught there, did not bear thinking of.*

[C E W Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra, 1948, p.234]



*Lone Pine  
Memorial,  
Gallipoli  
(photo courtesy  
Office of  
Australian War  
Graves)*

On Chunuk Bair today is the New Zealand National Memorial. Part of the memorial inscription remembers those who came from so far away to participate in the Gallipoli campaign but the words seem appropriate for all who fought at Anzac between April and December 1915:

*FROM THE UTTERMOST  
ENDS OF THE EARTH.*

Nearby is the New Zealand Chunuk Bair Memorial on which are recorded the names of 856 New Zealand soldiers who died, mainly in the August battles at Chunuk Bair, and who have no known grave. In the Chunuk Bair Cemetery are the remains of 677 soldiers; only ten are identified by name. Among those ten is Private Martin Persson, Wellington Infantry Battalion, killed on 8 August 1915, the day the Wellingtons captured Chunuk Bair. Persson was perhaps one of those who, in the words of the English poet John Masefield, 'beheld the Narrows from the hill':

*They came from safety of their own free will  
To lay their young men's beauty, strong men's powers  
Under the hard roots of the foreign flowers  
Having beheld the Narrows from the hill.*

[John Masefield, 'On the Dead in Gallipoli', quoted in  
C Pugsley, *Gallipoli — The New Zealand Story*,  
London, 1984, p.271]



*The Nek Cemetery,  
Gallipoli, looking  
north to Suvla Bay.  
(photo courtesy  
Ashley Ekins)*

Also on the heights of Chunuk Bair is a bronze sculpture of Colonel Mustafa Kemal. On the morning of 10 August 1915, when Kemal's men drove the British from the peak, he was hit by a piece of shrapnel but a pocket watch saved him from injury. In 1923 Kemal became the first President of the Republic of Turkey and he was eventually named 'Ataturk—Father of Turkey'. On Gallipoli he is remembered for his brave and determined leadership at decisive moments, summed up in Kemal's own description of the fighting qualities of his men:

*Everybody hurled himself on the enemy to kill and to die.  
This is no ordinary attack. Everybody was eager to succeed or  
go forward with the determination to die.*

[Kemal, quoted in R R James, *Gallipoli*, London, 1999, p.168]

From Chunuk Bair to the south-west, the view takes in North Beach and all the slope back towards the Australian positions at the Nek in August 1915. At the Nek, Bean was confronted again with the tragedy of the 8th and 10th Australian Light Horse Regiments on 7 August 1915:

*We found the low scrub there literally strewn with their relics .... When Hughes came to bury the missing in this area, he found and buried more than three hundred Australians in that strip the size of three tennis courts. Their graves today mark the site of one of the bravest actions in the history of war.*

[C E W Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra, 1948, p.109]



*View of a Turkish memorial built behind the site of No 1 Outpost, looking along Ocean Beach towards Suvla Bay. (AWM G01808)*

Hughes' burials were made in The Nek Cemetery. This cemetery is virtually a lawn, for by far the largest number buried here were never identified and no markers of any kind were placed above the plots where they were laid to rest. There are only five identified graves and five special memorials to men believed to be buried in this cemetery.

Where the Turkish trenches had stood at The Nek, Bean noticed a Turkish memorial. This memorial—and other reminders of the Turkish soldiers' sacrifice at Anzac—brought from the Australian official historian this tribute:

*I saw now, with something of a shock ... a monument put up by the Turks to mark the spot [at Lone Pine] at which they had stopped the terrific August thrust. Away on the ridges nearly a mile beyond it, at The Nek where also we had been stopped, we could see another monument (and we afterwards noted a third at North Beach). Obviously the Turks were very proud of their achievement. And, we reflected, those who stopped the invading spearheads on Gallipoli well deserved commemoration as soldiers and patriots.*

[C E W Bean *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra, 1948, pp.48–49]

*The grave of Private John Simpson Kirkpatrick, 3rd Field Ambulance, 'the man with the donkey', at Beach Cemetery, Gallipoli. (Photograph: Mike Bowers, The Fairfax Photo Library)*



Charles Bean left Gallipoli on 10 March 1919. He never returned. His personal memorial to those who fought, suffered and died there is *The Story of Anzac*, volumes one and two of the Australian official history of World War I. Bean's account of the Australian Historical Mission—*Gallipoli Mission*—did not appear until 1948. By then the British Empire graveyards and memorials on Gallipoli had long been completed. The statistics of the dead of Gallipoli point up Bean's description of Anzac as 'one great cemetery'. Over 44 000 British Empire soldiers were either killed, died of wounds or died of disease during the eight and a half months of the Gallipoli campaign—21 200 British, 8700 Australians, 2700 New Zealanders, 1300 Indians (which includes Gurkhas), and 49 Newfoundlanders. The French, who fought exclusively in the Helles area, suffered an estimated 10 000 dead. In the defence of their homeland at least 86 000 Turks gave their lives. Over 261 000 of all sides were wounded.

In 1948 Bean wrote of his hopes for the future of Gallipoli:

*The graves of Gallipoli, exquisitely maintained, where Anzac folk can walk amid thousands of names as familiar as those along Collins or Pitt Streets, do call for visitors.*

[C E W Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, Canberra, 1948, p.346]

Today those visitors come in their thousands. They come especially around Anzac Day—25 April—to participate in the many services of remembrance held at various memorials. Australians are naturally drawn to the beach at Anzac Cove. At Beach Cemetery many discover and, like Sir Roden Cutler VC, are moved by the grave of Private John Simpson Kirkpatrick, 3rd Field Ambulance, who spent his first hours ashore on 25 April 1915 helping the wounded at North Beach:

*I looked down and found myself standing at the grave of Simpson, the man with the donkey. It is a moment I will take to my grave.*

[Cutler, quoted in Peter Bowers, *Anzacs*, Australia Post, 2000, p.38]



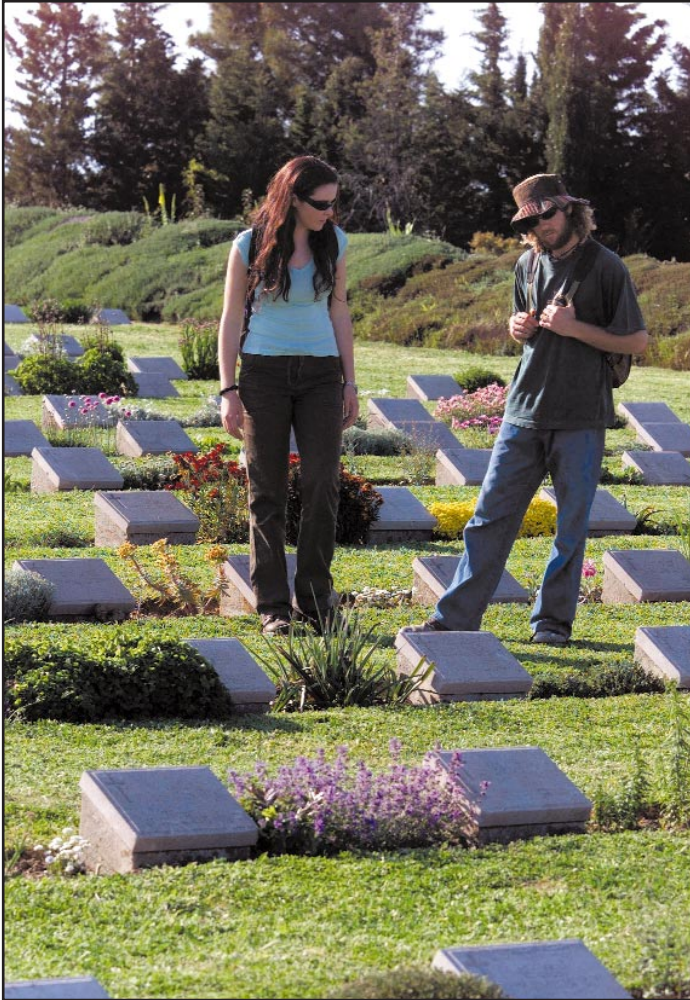


Australians generally move on to the cemeteries of what Bean called ‘Old Anzac’, that southern section of the Anzac position held by Australians and New Zealanders, with support from British and Indian Army units, between 25 April and 6 August 1915. At Old Anzac the most arresting monument is the memorial to the missing—those with no known grave—at Lone Pine.

As with Chunuk Bair for the New Zealanders, the choice of Lone Pine as the site for Australia’s major memorial on Gallipoli was an obvious one. During the days of the Battle of Lone Pine—6–9 August 1915—the 1st Australian Division suffered over 2000 casualties, many of whom were killed. Charles Bean estimated that the blow dealt to the Turks at Lone Pine was a ‘terrible’ one and that for three days the Australians had tied down enemy reserves, thus holding them back from the crucial action at Chunuk Bair.

The Lone Pine cemetery contains burials from every part of Anzac. This was a battlefield burial ground and by December 1915 there were 46 graves here. In the 1920s Colonel Hughes and his

*New Zealander  
Gavin Russell and  
Australian Scott  
Haywood pay their  
respects at the  
grave of Russell’s  
great-uncle Leo  
Anderson of the  
8th Australian  
Light Horse.  
(Photograph:  
Mike Bowers,  
The Fairfax  
Photo Library)*



*Australian backpackers reading headstones at Lone Pine Cemetery. (Photograph: Mike Bowers, The Fairfax Photo Library)*

Imperial War Graves team brought in a further 940 bodies from burial sites scattered throughout the Anzac area. Of these graves, 499 are, in the words of the cemetery register, ‘men whose unit in our forces could not be ascertained’—unknown soldiers in the true sense of that phrase.

The dates on the grave-stones at Lone Pine are a chronology of the Gallipoli campaign as it unfolded at Anzac. Private Henry Riekie, 11th Battalion, of Walter Street, Gosnells, Western Australia, killed on 25 April, the day of the landing, lies in Row O, Grave 14. Was he one of those who survived the 11th’s scramble up to Plugge’s Plateau from North Beach only to die later in the day? Many stones carry dates

between 6–9 August 1915, the days of the terrible diversionary attack. As the cemetery register shows, the soldiers of Lone Pine were born and raised in every State in Australia. Among them also are many English, Irish and Scottish immigrants who joined the first detachments of the AIF.

The Lone Pine memorial itself is a monument to the ‘missing’ of Anzac. On Gallipoli there were three categories of ‘missing’—those who were buried but not identified, those whose remains were never found, and those who died in the nearby hospital ships and transports and were buried at sea. On the memorial, panels list the names of the missing—4228 Australians and 708 New

Zealanders. The name of Corporal Alexander Burton, 7th Battalion, of Euroa, Victoria, recalls the intense, close-quarters fighting in the trenches of Lone Pine. On 9 August 1915, during a Turkish counter-attack, Burton, assisted by Captain Fredrick Tubb and Corporal William Dunston, constantly re-erected a barricade while the Turks attempted to destroy it with bombs. Burton was killed in this action. Along with Tubb and Dunstan, Burton gained the Victoria Cross, one of seven awarded to Australian soldiers at Lone Pine between 6 and 9 August 1915.

Considering the tragic loss of life so evident at Lone Pine, what today's visitor should remember was the point of it all—that the main attack on Chunuk Bair might succeed and the Gallipoli campaign be brought to a swift and victorious end. Other names on the memorial recall that overlooked and costly struggle between 6 and 10 August 1915 away to the north on the heights and slopes around Kocacimentepe. Here, among the missing of the 14th Battalion, is Sergeant Joseph McKinley and others who disappeared on 8 August 1915 during the 4th Australian Brigade's attack towards Kocacimentepe. Here, too, are Lieutenant Wilfred Addison, Private Joseph Walden and many others of the 18th Battalion who died at Hill 60 on 22 August 1915.

As visitors from Australia and New Zealand wander the Anzac cemeteries and gaze upon the names, they bring something of their distant homelands to those who lie there forever. As Bean well understood, for as long as they keep coming, what happened at Gallipoli in 1915 will continue to matter. Their very presence also gives continuing life and purpose to the lines of Anzac poet Lester Lawrence:

*Some flower that blooms beside the Southern foam  
May blossom where our dead Australians lie,  
And comfort them with whispers of their home;  
And they will dream, beneath the alien sky,  
Of the Pacific Sea.*

[Lawrence, quoted in C E W Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*,  
Canberra, 1948, p.385]



*Ari Burnu Cemetery, on the headland between North Beach and Anzac Cove, with the Sphinx and Plugge's Plateau in the background. The cemetery was created under fire from Turkish outposts during the campaign and contains the graves of 251 soldiers, including 151 Australians. For many years it has been the site of the annual official Dawn Service on Anzac Day, but increasing numbers of visitors have resulted in damage to the grave markers and garden. From the year 2000 onwards, services will be held at the Anzac Commemorative Site on North Beach, near where many of the Anzacs first struggled ashore on 25 April 1915. (photo courtesy Ashley Ekins)*

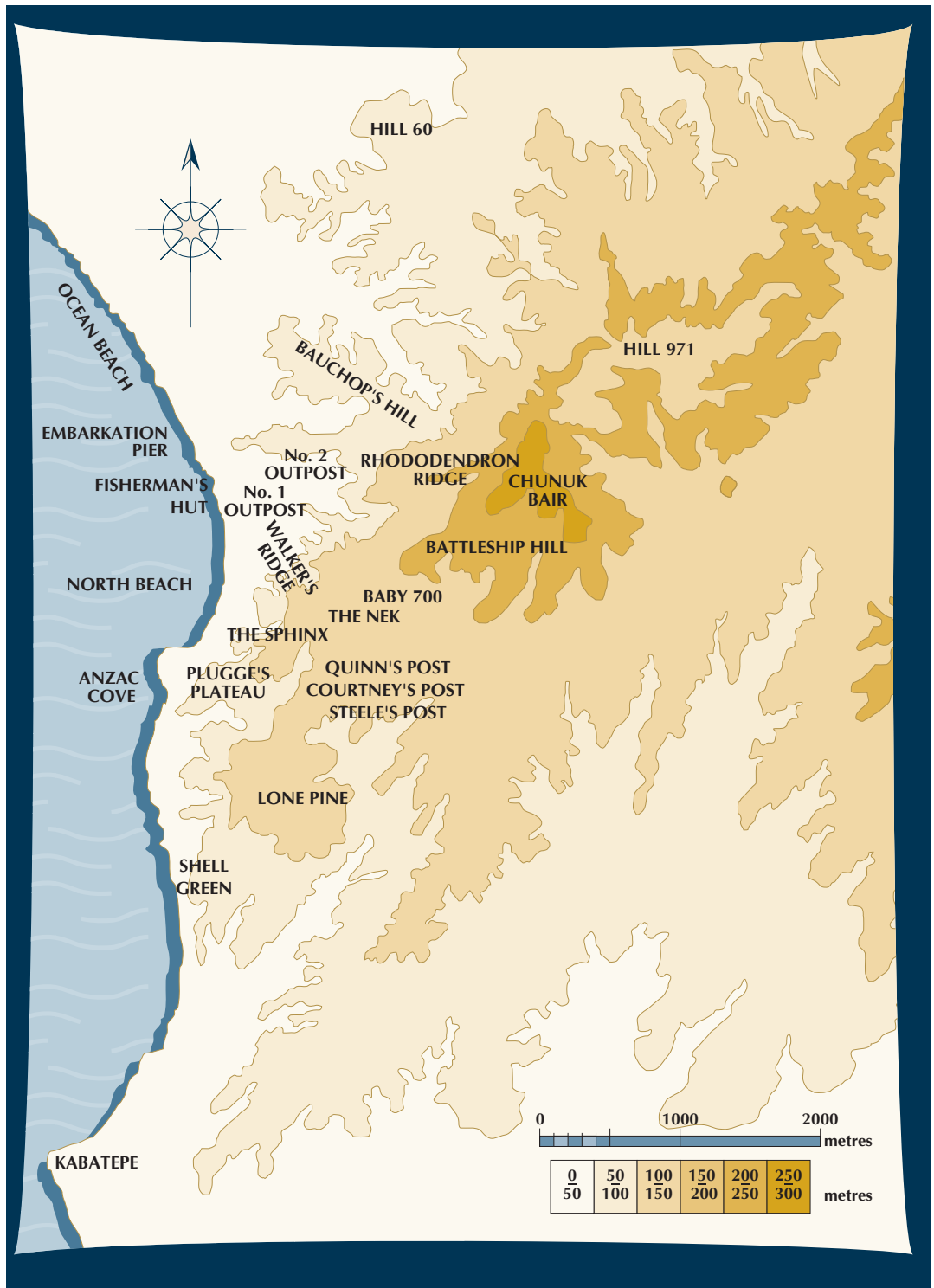
# Appendix 1—Maps

GROUND HELD BY BRITISH AND DOMINION  
FORCES AT GALLIPOLI, APRIL 1915–JANUARY 1916 .....86

ANZAC AREA GALLIPOLI, APRIL–DECEMBER 1915 .....87



Ground held by British and Dominion forces at Gallipoli, April 1915–January 1916



Anzac Area Gallipoli, April–December 1915