

WAR HISTORY

OF THE

5th BATTALION

King's Own Scottish Borderers

BY

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"It is their just due that these deeds should be put on record, so that future generations may know what Border men were able and willing to do in the interests of King and Country."

The late Major W. T. FORREST,
who was killed in battle at Gaza, 19th April, 1917.

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PREFACE.

It was not until January, 1927, that I undertook the preparation of this volume.

During the last nine years there have been many changes; officers and men have left the district, and often for the Colonies or India. Nor are the memories of those strenuous, glorious days so clear and definite as they were in November, 1918.

In fact the book would have been an almost impossible undertaking were it not for several special advantages.

In the first place, Major Cuthbertson, M.C., generously handed over to me an enormous amount of material which he had collected together.

Of even more importance was the ready, enthusiastic assistance which I received from many comrades, both officers and men, who spared neither time nor trouble in helping me. I am exceedingly grateful to them for their invaluable co-operation.

Fortunately for me the Battalion Diaries turned out to be not only full, exact, and accurate, but also of real literary value.

It is only just to point out that a large part of the story is taken word for word from their fresh and lively descriptions, which were often written in moments of almost intolerable strain.

The story would have been dull indeed were it not for these diarists (Major Youngson, Col. Millar, Capt. Mathieson, Capt. Craig, Col. Coulson), and others of whose names I am not certain.

I have made use of numerous diaries, books, and papers, in fact of everything which I could discover.

I wish specially to mention the *History of the 52nd Division* (already a military classic), by Col. R. R.

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WAR HISTORY

OF THE

5th Batt. King's Own Scottish Borderers.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY.

SOUTH-WESTERN Scotland, the country in which the Fifth King's Own Scottish Borderers were enlisted, consists of the County of Dumfries, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and the Shire of Wigtown.

To the traveller by express train or by motor the impression carried away is that of a peaceful, fertile countryside with many woodlands and well-designed policies, and with, for a rural district, rather a dense population.

It is true that the arable land, what little there is of it, is rich ; a harvest of 60 bushels of oats per acre is not unusual, and there are many fine dairy farms with 70 or more first-grade cows. But as a matter of fact the population is by no means great, and the proportion of farm land to mountain and heath is exceedingly small.

If one follows up any one of the "dales" in Dumfriesshire, the broad river, after passing through a splendidly wooded valley, divides into winding lynns or burns, and these eventually lead to wide rolling moorlands as in Liddesdale, to the intense solitude of the Eskdalemuirs, or to the grouse moors of the Enterkin and Crawfordjohn. There, even a shepherd or gamekeeper is but rarely seen.

In Galloway the waters of Urr, of Ken, and of Dee, as well as the Waters of Fleet and Cree, very soon turn into mountain torrents winding away into the intricate recesses of Carsphairn and The Merrick.

It is true that every burnside and valley has its own peculiar and mysterious charm, but these lonely solitudes

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are practically uninhabited. Only an occasional black-faced sheep appears to be shocked at your intrusion. The proportion of Dumfriesshire and Galloway which is given over to sheep and to the whaup is astonishingly great.

The original population of these counties, that is of the drainage area of the north shore of the Solway, was of a very mixed character. It seems that, in the East, Saxons and Danes fought their way into the "hopes" and "coombs" of Dumfriesshire, and this Northern race predominates.

The Western part was populated chiefly by recurrent swarms of wild Gaelic-speaking Irish-Scots whose country had become too hot to hold even them. Along the coastline Vikings, Sea Wolves from Norway and Denmark, first ravaged and then settled in the richer and more attractive lands.

Finally, a very few of the most adventurous, or most unruly, of the French-Norman Knights distributed themselves over the more fertile districts. Every one of these races, as well as of the Neolithic aborigines, could be detected amongst the present-day population and could be picked out in the battalion in 1914.

Though the general idea of the area from Liddesdale to Whithorn leaves an impression of peacefulness or of lonely solitude, there is no valley or glen which has not some tradition of war: a ruined peel tower, a battlefield where heroic resistance was made against overwhelming strength, or some tragic tale of martyrdom.

That the inhabitants were savage fighting races from the very first is evident. Numerous "forts" or hill refuges crown the hills in Galloway; the elaborate fortifications of Birrenswark show that in Roman times this frontier was a very dangerous one. Indeed, as soon as the Legions retreated, the wild tribes of Dumfries and Galloway overran Northern England.¹

Authentic history begins with the Battle of the Standard, 1129 A.D. The Scots of Galloway, a "fierce ungovernable race who fought half-naked," had already

(1) *Archæological Survey.*

distinguished themselves in King David's advance. They demanded the right to lead the van. In the second line came the Borderers and men-at-arms, led by the young and gallant Prince Henry. In support were the men of the Lothians and Highlanders.

The enemy consisted of a solid phalanx of Barons and their retainers, clad in full armour, with quantities of Archers in reserve. The men of Galloway, shouting "Albanich," charged, and during two hours wrought such slaughter amongst the English spearmen that these latter began to yield.

But all the time the arrows of the bowmen were falling fast on the naked bodies of the men of Galloway and they became dismayed. Then Prince Henry charged at full gallop upon his appointed part of the English line and went through it "as if it had been a spider's web." He went on to attack the rear. The men of Galloway rallied and went forward again. But just at this moment some wily Englishman displayed the head of a slain soldier on a spear and shouted that it was the King of Scots. Then the Scottish army fled in confusion.

From the history of the troubled times that followed, it is surely safe to say that there never would have been a Scotland at all if it were not for the hardy thieves of Liddesdale and the wild riders of the Debatable land.

Stories of Wallace cling to the neighbourhood of Lochmaben. Robert the Bruce's career began in the Greyfriars' of Dumfries and was very nearly finished in the recesses of Glentworth.

These districts from 1129 to 1550 A.D. had a history not of peace and prosperity but of hardship, poverty, and war.

Even when there was no foreign enemy there was continual fighting amongst the local lairds, between Comyns and Douglasses, between Johnstones and Maxwells, and between Elliots and every one else.

Then came, long after 1550, the "killing days" of Claverhouse and Lagg.

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There is, we think, no more beautifully varied coastline in the world than that of Solway shore. Wigtown Bay is for ever associated with the tragedy of Margaret, the Solway martyr. Arbigland, for all its peaceful loveliness, was the birthplace of Paul Jones, variously described either as the Pirate or as the Founder of the American Navy, whose father was gardener there.

Nor is the spirit of adventure lost, for even in our own day, whenever one reaches the outside edge of the British Empire, in any part of the world, the "English" turn out to be almost all Scots, and amongst them Dumfries and Galloway men form a very large proportion.

Before the war one used to wonder how the sedate, particularly law-abiding and taciturn Lowlanders, with all this history behind them, would behave in a national crisis.

This book is an endeavour to describe the achievements of one battalion only.

The story of the K.O.S.B. regiment and of the 25th Foot begins in 1689.

When Claverhouse spoke to the Lairds of Convention and—immediately afterwards—galloped off at full speed for Stirling, Lord Leven called for Volunteers. So on the 18th March, 1689, *within four hours* 800, or as some say 1000, men volunteered and were enlisted (*see* page 15).

As Leven's regiments advanced towards Inverness, after a long and tedious scramble up the two or three miles of Killiecrankie Pass, they were kept hanging about idle, and probably hungry, until just before dark.

Then there suddenly descended upon them the wild charge of yelling Highlanders. Leven's men alone kept their ranks, and firing steadily, saved themselves, their General, and indeed the City of Edinburgh.

At the end of the campaign, when they returned home, they received a great privilege. They and they alone had the right to march through the town with bayonets fixed and colours flying.

They distinguished themselves in Ireland, specially

in the capture of Athlone and in the crossing of the deep and rapid Shannon (*see* Auja).

They fought at Steen Kirke in July, 1693. At Namur, when advancing under a murderous fire to storm the St. Nicholas counterscarp, 20 officers and 500 other ranks were killed by the explosion of an enemy mine (*see* page 50).

Though greatly outnumbered at Sheriffmuir (1715) they were amongst those who did *not* run. Then again they saved the situation at Fontenay.¹

On the 16th April, 1746, it was the 25th Regiment (Sempills) which won the battle of Culloden Muir, and with this victory finished the whole campaign.

The armies faced each other; both of them were arranged in a double line of battalions.

In the front rank of the Duke of Cumberland's army stood, counting from left to right, the battalions of Burrell, Monro, the Scots Fusiliers, and two others.

All day long the Highlanders had been under fire and were suffering heavy casualties. Early in the afternoon they got out of hand. Suddenly a yelling horde of Mackintoshes, Frasers, Camerons, and others charged and broke to pieces Burrell's and Monro's regiments, whose men took shelter behind the Fusiliers. These last stood firm. The victorious Highlanders then concentrated their fury on the 25th Foot, which was the left-hand battalion in the 2nd rank.

But the Borderers, firing accurately and steadily, were not to be dismayed. Their fire was deadly; then, in a steady advance, they dispersed the Highlanders, who fled in confusion. Lord Cobham's Horse pursued, and the Chevalier's hopes were crushed for ever.*²

Further notes on the history of the old 25th Foot will be found in Wilkinson's *History*.

In India they were always distinguishing themselves, *e.g.*, by "good work, constant rearguard actions,

(1) Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Lowland Scots Regiments*, 1908 (by Brigadier-General Sir Montague Grant Wilkinson, C.B.)

* *See* Dueidar, where Lord Cobham's Horse, Fusiliers, and Borderers were all engaged.

(2) *The History of 1745* (Sanford Terry).

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marching through ice-cold water, picketing the highest hills, and fighting all night without food or blankets."

After the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, the British Government realised the weakness of our defences at home.

So Volunteers were called for, and men enlisted freely. The 1st Dumfries Volunteers were established on the 4th January, 1862. On the 30th June, 1861, the Galloway Rifle Volunteers were embodied at Newton-Stewart.

The Emperor of France (Napoleon III.) was, in the late fifties and early sixties, suspected of planning schemes of Foreign Conquest, and all sorts of men joined the Volunteers from patriotic motives.

It is on record that a distinguished officer, General Harley Maxwell of Portrack, enlisted as a private in the Volunteers.

The parade of Volunteers was on one occasion inspected by General M'Murdo. He stopped before Pte. Harley Maxwell, whose tunic was covered with decorations, and said: "You have surely seen a lot of service?" The private explained, and the General remarked: "Surely you ought to be taking this parade."

The Captains commanding the Companies were J. Gilchrist Clarke, Esq., Thornhill; Sir Robert Jardine, Lockerbie; P. Dudgeon, Esq. of Cargen.

Every Company had its own shako and indeed its own uniform. That of the Galloway Rifles was, of course, quite different.

Thus the parades were in many ways remarkable.¹

NOTES REGARDING FIRST VOLUNTEER SERVICE COMPANY OF K.O.S.B.

By Captain R. J. CUNNINGHAM.

The South African War started in October, 1899, and in the end of that year and early in January of 1900

(1) Colonel Robert F. Dudgeon, C.B., of Cargen.

matters were going pretty badly. Reinforcements were urgently required, and the War Office called for a Volunteer Service Company to be provided by the Volunteer Battalions of each Line Regiment which was represented in South Africa. They laid down somewhat high standards of physique and shooting, but the Companies were easily raised. I think at that time there were about 100 Line Battalions serving in South Africa, so there would be about 100 Volunteer Service Companies. The conditions were that enlistment should be for a year, or the duration of the War, if less, and the First Company was to be relieved by the Second Company, which was formed and more or less in readiness at home until the First Company's period of service should expire. The K.O.S.B. Company was drawn from all the Volunteer Battalions then attached to the K.O.S.B., namely, the Border Rifles, the Berwickshire Volunteers, the Dumfriesshire Volunteers, and the Galloway Rifles, in practically equal numbers from each Battalion. The Officers of the First Company were Captain Andrew Haddon of the Border Rifles in command, with the late Mr Craig-Brown of the same unit and Mr Stoddart of the Berwickshire Battalion, with the late Mr Harry Shortridge of the Galloway Rifles and Mr R. J. Cunningham of the Dumfriesshire Battalion as Reserve Officers of the First Company. The First Company went to Berwick to begin their training in January, 1900, and sailed for South Africa on 13th February, 1900. This draft, on arrival at Capetown, served in various places with a provisional battalion which was formed for some special service, and did not reach the First K.O.S.B. till August, 1900. Thereafter it formed part of the First Service Company. That Company remained with the Battalion until November, 1900, when it was believed the War was practically over, and short service troops were being sent home. The Company returned to this country at the beginning of December, 1900. The War, however, was *not* over, and the Second Company, which was commanded by Captain James Blacklock of the Galloway

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Rifles and was similarly drawn from the various Battalions interested, went out.

Annan, 23rd December, 1927.

By Colonel ANDREW HADDON, V.D.¹

This seems to have been the first occasion on which Volunteers had ever been employed on active service overseas.

On arriving at Capetown, just in time to witness a magnificent sunrise over Table Mountain, they went for two nights to Greenpoint. There much time was spent in grinding and getting an edge on the ordinary volunteer bayonet, which was never sharpened.

They entrained for Touws River, where a few weeks were spent in guarding the water supply. Then they had a long, tedious journey, sitting mostly in open trucks with magazines charged, through the Karoo and Veldt to Brandford.

At five o'clock on the next day they were on the march for Kroonstad in charge of an ammunition convoy consisting of sixty waggons, each drawn by eight oxen, and covering on the march a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. On the first day they covered 21 miles.

They marched chiefly by night and rested during the heat of the day, when the oxen were outspanned to graze. They followed the track of Lord Roberts' army, which was easily traced by the dead bodies of horses and oxen. They ran short of rations, but, like their ancestors, managed to obtain sheep when necessary. After four days of this dreary trek, with usually only two hours' sleep by night, they arrived at Kroonstad.

The pipers of the Regular 1st K.O.S.B. came out to meet them, and played them into camp to the tune of "O but ye've been lang o' comin'."

They were, however, the first Volunteer Company to arrive in the Brigade.

(1) *The South African War* (Lieut.-Colonel A. Haddon) and *Hawick Volunteer Bazaar Handbook*.

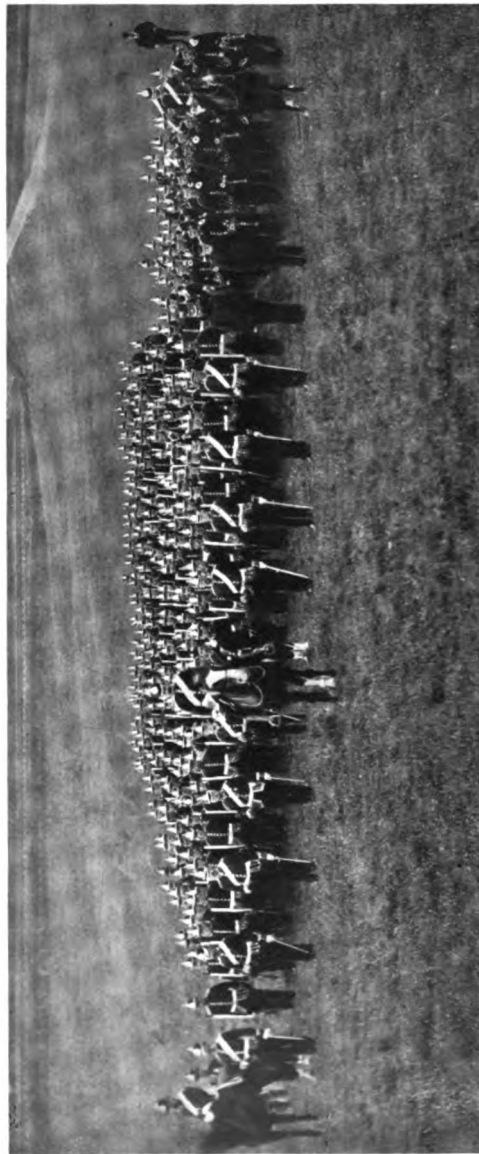


Photo by

3RD VOLUNTEER BATTALION K.O.S.B. AT HASSENDEAN.

Hood, Moffat.

Early History.

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They had now joined the Regular Army, and took their full share in the hard work of the campaign.

On the 31st May the K.O.S.B., preceded by their pipers, led the Brigade in the triumphant march into Johannesburg.

They were now No. 9 Company of the 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers, and took part in the advance to Pretoria.

At Nine-mile Spruit, on the 4th June, they were in action, for the Boers were at first inclined to resist. They doubled out and extended to six paces, advancing over a rocky ridge.

But unfortunately—and as happened at least three times afterwards—the astute Boers, with great discretion, mounted their ponies and disappeared. Pretoria was abandoned by the Boers. They had a similar experience shortly afterwards when they marched to the rescue of the Lincolns and Scots Greys, who were engaged at Zilicote's Nek. They then occupied Wonderboom Heights, but the Boers did not attack. They were attached to Sir Ian Hamilton's column, and proceeded to Watervaal and De Wagen Drift. Next day as rear-guard they had to protect the withdrawal of the baggage, and were shelled for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

The Boers, however, never ventured within reach of their rifles.

During the rest of their service their experiences were very similar. The marches were long and trying; any attempt to catch mounted Boers by slow-moving infantry always ended in failure. The men had a hard time of it.

"So we put in a most miserable night, lying in mud, with nothing to eat or drink, and nothing to cover us but what we had with us."

In the attack on Oliphant's Nek, De Wet just held the ridge long enough to allow them to see the Boers rise from their cover and bolt over the ridge. They were "off at daybreak in the famous chase after that slimy leader," who, of course, got clear away.

They had long spells of marching to Zutpen, Pienar's

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River, Pretoria, and Belfort; then, as the war appeared to be over, the Volunteer Companies were sent home.

The Company had a railway journey to Capetown of eight days and eight nights in charge of 60 Boer prisoners in open trucks, and then proceeded to England in the *Avondale Castle*.

For the following account of the doings of the 2nd Volunteer Company K.O.S.B. in South Africa, I have to thank Captain James Blacklock.

“The Company consisted of four sections, one from each of the Border Rifles, the Berwickshire and Dumfriesshire Battalions, and Galloway Rifles, the Officers being myself as Captain, and Lieutenants John Herbertson and Christie Thomson. The Colour-Sergeant, R. Grierson, was an old Royal Scots Fusilier, the best man-at-arms in India in his day, and a very great help to the Company and to myself.

After some preliminary training at the regimental dépôt at Berwick-on-Tweed, the Company sailed from Liverpool in the steamer *Montrose* along with some 1100 men of other Volunteer Companies, and landed at Durban on 11th April, 1901. From there the Company went to Pretoria, and after assisting to man the heights to the west of that town for a week or two, it joined the First Battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers at Krugersdorp early in May. At Krugersdorp we took over a Boer prisoner, who was understood to be willing to disclose where certain Boer big guns had been buried.

The First Battalion and the Derby Regiment formed the infantry of Brigadier-General Dixon's Column, and immediately after the Company joined the Battalion, the Column started out for the Magaliesberg region. On the 28th May, at Vlakkfontein, to the south of the Magaliesberg, the Column was employed in connection with the search for the alleged buried guns when the Boers, under Kemp (De la Rey, it was understood, being down with enteric), came up behind a grass fire and captured

two of our 15-pounder guns, incidentally wiping out B Company of the Derby Regiment, which formed the escort to the guns. The guns were turned upon us, and my Company with other Companies of the Battalion advanced towards them. Our rifle fire had to be restrained in the direction of the guns on account of our wounded being there. The Boers retired, however, and the Company got into action on them with effect at about six or seven hundred yards. Vlaktefontein engagement was the most considerable that had occurred for some time, there being some two hundred and fifty casualties out of a total force of about 1500. As there was a very large force of Boers in the neighbourhood, General Dixon decided to leave his hospital and make a night march back about some twenty miles to the nearest base. The movement was carried out successfully.

After that the Column escorted a convoy into Rustenburg and thence passed into the Bush Country beyond, going on to Zeerust, where we met the various Columns operating under Lord Methuen. From there we proceeded towards Mafeking, and then made a sweep through Lichtenburg and Ventersdorp to Welverdiend, where we reached the railway towards the end of July. We then marched to Krugersdorp, where our Column was taken over by General Kekewich, the Defender of Kimberley, who took the earliest opportunity to single out our Volunteer Company, and during the whole time we served under him we had a feeling of great satisfaction due to the friendly interest manifested by our Commander. We continued to operate in the Magaliesberg region. One day in August (to my regret, I was laid up with fever at the time) Colour-Sergeant Grierson and eleven men encountered Frikkie Wolmarans and some thirty Boers of his Commando. The Boers were surprised and surrendered, but on realising how small the force was that had captured them they were inclined to resist. However, the steadiness of Grierson, and in particular of two privates named Dixon and Macmillan, was admirable, and the disarmament of the Boers was completed and they were marched into camp. Grierson and the two

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privates received mention, and the latter were specially promoted King's Corporals by the Commander-in-Chief.

We continued with General Kekewich until Monday, 23rd September. Only seven days afterwards the Boers, under De la Rey, launched at Moedwil a terrific onslaught before daybreak on Kekewich's weakened Column, with very disastrous results, although the attack was beaten off!

The Battalion trekked across to Frederickstad, taking over blockhouses *en route* along the Mooi River, and so we remained until near Christmas time, when the Volunteer Company assisted in the erection of a new blockhouse line from the Mooi River to Ventersdorp. The last strand of barbed wire was actually being placed on this line when we were instructed to take it all down again, rejoin the Battalion with our stores, and erect another blockhouse line in a different direction from Naauwpoort to Tafel Kop. We did so, and we were sitting down on that line when I received an appointment in Pretoria and left the regiment, Mr Herbertson being appointed Captain in my place.

When I left the Company in the end of April, 1902, every man was on duty, with the exception of four men who had been invalided home suffering from the after-effects of enteric.

Our association with the First Battalion was very harmonious, and personally I cannot imagine a finer body of men or a more kindly set of comrades.

The War came to an end at the end of May, and the Volunteer Company shortly afterwards returned home, only a few of its members deciding to stay in South Africa. I kept touch with two of them for a little while, but do not know their whereabouts now. They were doing quite well when I last heard of them."

The 3rd Battalion K.O.S.B. (Dumfries Militia) also went out as a unit, and did excellent work in South Africa.

After the Boer War the Territorial system was introduced and the old Volunteer system was abolished. The K.O.S.B. consisted of :—

The two Regular Battalions (1st and 2nd), the 3rd Battalion (Militia, Training and Recruiting), 4th Battalion (Roxburgh and neighbouring counties), and 5th Battalion (Dumfriesshire and Galloway), the first C.O. being Col. R. F. Dudgeon.

For the Fourth and Fifth Battalions which volunteered to go overseas, Training and Recruiting Units (2/4th and 2/5th K.O.S.B.) were raised, and to these were added 3rd Line (Reserve) Battalions and Volunteers, which last were entirely for home defence.

The system was complicated and clumsy, but on the whole it worked.

That war with Germany was inevitable had been realised by many long before 1914.

During the annual training (1914) at Doonfoot the officers of the 5th K.O.S.B. were officially recommended to supply themselves with revolvers. No sooner had the training closed than (August, 1914) the telegram "Mobilise," sent off at 5.30 p.m., reached Headquarters.¹

The Battalion Mobilisation Orders were adequate and detailed; they "worked with unexpected smoothness and celerity."² Each detachment mustered at its Drill Hall, and travelled by road and rail to Company Headquarters, where it was equipped from the company stores, and thence to Battalion Headquarters. The original recruitment areas were :—A Coy., Dumfries; B, Annan, Canonbie, and Langholm; C, Ecclefechan, Lockerbie, and Moffat; D, Thornhill, Sanquhar, and Kirkconnel; E, Maxwelltown; F, Dalbeattie; G, Castle-Douglas; H, Creetown, Newton-Stewart, and Whithorn.

Those who joined up included representatives of almost every class, trade, and profession. Amongst the officers were county gentlemen, ministers and students of the Established and U.F. Churches, doctors in practice,

(1) Colonel W. J. Millar, D.S.O.

(2) They had been prepared long beforehand by Captain Youngson.

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architects, lawyers, and other professional men, as well as farmers, tradesmen, etc.

Of the men, quite a considerable number were foresters, gamekeepers, gardeners, grooms, and chauffeurs from county houses all over the district. These were a fine, useful, and hardy contingent.

Farmers, ploughmen, and shepherds were also well represented. From Sanquhar, Kirkconnel, and Canonbie came a magnificent body of miners, and many others from the tweed mills, engineering works, and other factories of Dumfries, Maxwelltown, and Annan. There were also fishermen from all along the Solway and quarrymen from Dalbeattie and Creetown.

Of course the Territorial system broke down. Thus the first man enlisted in New-Galloway went to the Cameron Highlanders. As soon as he had been seen swaggering in his kilt down the High Street of this ancient burgh, nine or ten of his chums went off to join that regiment.

It must also be remembered that only a very small proportion of the men enlisted in the 1/5th K.O.S.B.

The Roll of Honour of one only of the three counties contains over 6100 names, and at least 5500 served overseas.¹

In proportion to the population, those who volunteered from Dumfries and Galloway for service overseas were exceedingly numerous. It is believed that the proportion of those who enlisted was as great if not greater than that in any other area in Britain.

The towns of Whithorn and Kirkconnel hold the record for the whole of Great Britain in the number of volunteers in proportion to inhabitants.

The Battalion consisted on mobilisation of 27 officers (including Chaplain and Medical Officer) and 749 other ranks. The National Reserve also mobilised at Dumfries at the same time; recruits from this body and others enabled the Battalion to reach war strength on the 11th August, and on the same day they left Dumfries for Bannockburn, the war station. This was only seven

(1) *Roll of Honour of the Stewartry*, by J. H. Maxwell, Ltd., Castle-Douglas.

days after the fateful telegram "Mobilise" had been received. Many men had to be turned away, and it is said that another thousand men could have been easily obtained—the whole countryside was thoroughly aroused and eager for war service.

The collection of transport and stores, medical inspection, etc., were all completed before they left home.

The Lord-Lieutenant of the Stewartry (Colonel R. F. Dudgeon, C.B.), the Provost and Magistrates of Dumfries and Maxwelltown, and an enormous crowd of relations and friends, all enthusiastic, gave them a magnificent "send-off."

At Bannockburn quarters were found to be unsuitable and insanitary, and the Battalion marched by road to Tillicoultry.

Here they were most hospitably entertained by the leading gentlemen of the neighbourhood.

"Energetic training was soon in full swing and rapid progress was being made, when the Battalion was suddenly ordered to North Queensferry." They took over a section of the defences from the 4th Battalion Black Watch.

Training was persistently carried on, though under serious difficulties, for they had to furnish numerous guards and patrols and to carry out other miscellaneous duties.

Some little excitement occasionally varied the monotony of training. Imaginary aeroplanes, submarines, and other strange craft were reported. "On one occasion an enemy submarine was alleged to be trying to get under the boom of nets at the Forth Bridge in order to reach the fleet which was lying at anchor near Rosyth." The forts fired zealously; their shells ricocheted through Dalmeny Woods, cutting out a pathway in the treetops, some hundred or more feet above water level.

The submarine, however, turned out to be an empty whisky bottle!

The detection of imaginary "spies" and "signal lights" was another agreeable diversion.

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The Battalion was now reorganised in the usual four double companies, who were quartered at Garthhill (H.Q.), Arrol's Hut, Welldene, Seggsburn, The Hill, Golf Clubhouse, and Crombie.

It was responsible for the guards at the north end of the Forth Bridge, Pier, Tunnel, and Wireless Station (Rosyth). Cyclist patrols watched the coast from Inverkeithing to Aberdour.

In the development and improvement of the scheme of defence against a possible enemy landing, very severe labour was carried out. The tough whinstone rock had to be blasted for entrenchments, and new strongpoints and blockhouses were prepared.

It is an interesting coincidence that to the 4th Reserve Battalion under Col. W. J. Millar, when quartered at Dunfermline in 1918, was allotted the duty of filling in the very trenches which many of the men had dug under his orders in 1915.

In spite of all difficulties good progress was made in training. As there was no convenient rifle range the Battalion had itself to construct a new range at Seafeld, where, only after much delay, the regular musketry courses could be fired.

On 15th April the Battalion was relieved by the 12th Provisional Battalion, and moved to Birkhill, Stirling, to rejoin the South Scottish Brigade, where thorough training was resumed.

There was still another move to Kildean Old Bridge, near the River Forth, before the long expected order to prepare for overseas was received. After the rush of fitting out with full equipment, leave was granted to all ranks and all arrangements made to move at short notice.

On the 19th May the orders came, and the Battalion entrained for Liverpool, "receiving a rousing send-off from the populace of Stirling." All horses and half the transport were left behind.

Every station from Beattock to Carlisle was full of cheering crowds of friends, admirers, and relations waiting to see the departure of their boys.



Photo by

5TH K.O.S.B. AT DOONFOOT, 1914.

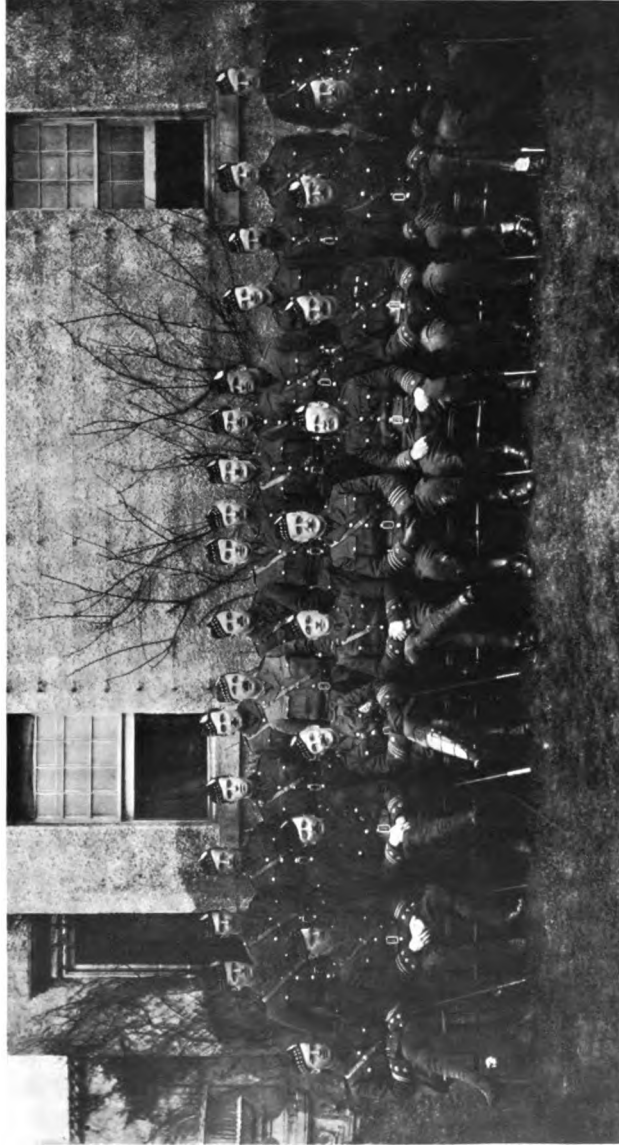
Elliot & Fry, London.



Photo by

Simon Reid, Dumfries.

COLONEL P. MURRAY KERR, T.D.



By kind permission of

Messrs Lafayette, Glasgow.

1/5TH K.O.S.B. OFFICERS ON FORTH DEFENCES.

Back Row.—Capt. E. Grierson, Lieuts. McNeill, Clark-Kennedy, Carlyle, Turner, Smith, Penman, Gilson, Douglas, Coventon, Watson, Salmon, MacFarlane, Maxwell, Macrae, and M. George.

Front Row.—Capt. Dykes, Crumlie, Cunningham, Major Bell, Capt. Youngson, Col. Murray Kerr, Major Millar, Capt. Ford, Anderson, and Welsh.

At Liverpool we found that the troopship *Aquitania* had grounded in the Mersey. The *Mauritania* was hastily prepared instead for the 155th Brigade (less 1/4th K.O.S.B. detained at Stirling). So on the 26th May we embarked on this magnificent steamer with Brigade Headquarters (General Erskine), the 4th and 5th R.S.F., and other troops.

The departure was hurried, and the crew were not up to strength. Several of our men took on duties in the engine room, stokehold, etc., for the voyage. The "chief" paid the regular wages and was exceedingly pleased with their work, even offering them billets with the company when the war was over.

We were escorted down the Mersey by four destroyers, which left us on the 22nd to our own devices.

The voyage was pleasant, comfortable, and uneventful. Our pipe band performed daily. On approaching Gibraltar a warning was received, and the course was changed. So we did not pass Gibraltar until after dark.

Crete was left to the north, and at daybreak on the 28th May we entered Lemnos harbour.

Clearly we were for Gallipoli, but was it to be Helles or Anzac? However kits, baggage, etc., were at once prepared for immediate disembarkation, though as a matter of fact the 155th Brigade was detained on board for several days.

"This natural harbour was an interesting sight. It was crowded with all sorts of craft—British and French battleships, cruisers, T.B.D.'s, submarines, and transports of all descriptions. Here was a liner crowded with Australians and New Zealanders; there another filled with Ghurkas and Indians. Horses and mules occupied others. Encamped on shore in large numbers were Algerians and Senegalese and other French troops.

The entrance is narrow, but the harbour itself resembles a huge inland lake. It is, however, subject to storms; indeed, in rough weather it is sometimes impossible to land at all.

On 30th May an advance party, one platoon of

(1) Captain Coventon.

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C Company, under Lieut. Douglas, left for Helles, but for some unknown reason they were carried to Imbros.

The Battalion, Lieut.-Col. Kerr commanding (less D Company), left on the torpedo destroyer *Harpy* on the evening of the 5th June, arriving in the early morning at Helles. D Company followed on the S.S. *Immingham*, which also carried certain 5th R.S.F. Companies.

We were taken to V Beach alongside the famous old collier *River Clyde*, and made our way over the beach, which was even then littered with miscellaneous stores of every description.

Of V Beach, Sir Ian Hamilton says: "The whole landing-place was ringed round with fire." At the time of the original landing the *River Clyde* was commanded and swept not only by rifles at 100 yards range but by pompoms and field guns. Only a narrow ledge of sand afforded some little cover.

Immediately after landing, and as we assembled on the beach, the Turkish guns gave us a hearty welcome with shrapnel and high explosive. Eventually guides led us to our camping ground, and we commenced digging ourselves in. We were encouraged to do so by the Turkish high explosive which from time to time landed in our midst. The effective strength on landing was 28 officers and 929 other ranks.

On the very first day, however, two men were wounded, and Capt. E. S. Forde, who was suffering from dysentery, was invalided.

The site was clearly too exposed, and the battalion moved to a somewhat more sheltered spot, where, during the 7th, trenches were improved and the men settled down to a new and strange kind of life.

It is difficult to realise the fact, but the whole of the Helles area was exposed to shell-fire. Only in trenches or in a few narrow and deep gullies was there any real protection. Although the rudiments of the science of dodging shells were very soon picked up, men were wounded on the Peninsula at all hours and practically everywhere. Even the Rest Camp was devoid of shelter either from view or from fire.

The Gallipoli Peninsula is just the remnant of a mass of solid land which, towards the close of the Tertiary Period, stretched from Greece to the very centre of Asia Minor. There was at that time no Aegean Sea.

During the "revolutions" of early glacial times, a large proportion of the Aegean continent was drowned, leaving only innumerable islands. The line of cliffs on the north-western side of the Peninsula from Suvla to Tekke Burnu is really a line of fracture; the north-western part was submerged.

Achi Baba is not an isolated hill but an elevation at the end of a considerable plateau.

Before these movements the Dardanelles was an inconsiderable river separated from another stream running towards the Black Sea by a ridge now covered by the Sea of Marmora.

A tributary of the old Dardanelles River once joined it about Morto Bay. The gullies (Krithia and Achi Baba) which joined the Morto Bay stream are narrow, 12 to 15 feet deep, and end above in a network of shallow irregular trenches.

Thus the whole area of occupation could be easily seen in detail from Achi Baba.

Even the few inlets, such as V and W Beach and Morto Bay, were completely exposed to the Turkish gunners on the other side of the Straits.

"Asiatic Annie," that is, the guns on that side, had excellent targets in the landing-places and at our men when bathing. On one occasion they very nearly sunk a small boat in which was the G.O.C. himself!

The view of Achi Baba from our camp has been compared to that of Tinto from the Ayrshire side (Dr Gillies), and to Ruberslaw by others.

The "Garden of Gallipoli" at the moment of occupation was a flourishing place. The soil is rich and fertile, with fig trees, vineyards, and cornfields. Krithia means "place of Barley."

The part not under cultivation was scantily covered with low scrub, chiefly "box" or "heather"; and in

places there was a beautiful carpet of "poppies, corn-flowers, lilies, and tulips."

Our tragedy was enacted on one of the most celebrated battlegrounds of mankind.¹

It was the Thracian Chersonese. The shades of Miltiades (500-400 B.C.), of the Spartan Lysander (Battle of Aegospotami), of Darius, and especially of Greeks and Trojans, are for ever associated with the Dardanelles. A few miles inland, on the Asiatic side, is what little remains of Troy. The mysterious blue, "many fountained" Ida may be seen in the distance.

Before the war, and even in quiet spells during its course, our men were impressed by the exquisite colouring of the islands and the "extravagant blueness" of the Aegean. Larks were singing; great flocks of geese circled round the battlefield, and then petulantly departed for the Adriatic Islands.

No wonder! For after the occupation every cottage and every house was a heap of stones; all flowers and every green blade of herbage had been trodden into the ground. Whirlwinds of dust forming great columns 200 feet in height swept across the Peninsula; indeed the whole area as seen from the sea was usually covered by a golden brown fog of dust particles.

(1) Rev. Dr Gillies, *Lesmahagow Parish Magazine*.

CHAPTER II.

GALLIPOLI : THE TWELFTH OF JULY.

THE first few days were spent in digging trenches and in learning how to live the strange existence required in trench warfare.

The first tour in forward trenches was on the 9-10th June, when the Battalion occupied the support trenches of the 29th Division near Twelve Tree Copse, to the west of Krithia Nullah.

Here the Turkish shell-fire had been severe, and working parties were required to repair the parapets which had been in many places blown in, and to bury the dead. The first man in the Battalion to be killed in action was Corpl. Robert Teesdale (Dalbeattie). On the evening of the 12th June he was out with one of these fatigues under Lieut. Coventon.

It is almost impossible to give any exact description of the experiences of our men on the Peninsula.

I would have liked to quote in full the diary of Pte. J. Welsh, which he kept written up from day to day right through the Gallipoli campaign. Nothing that I have ever seen gives so vivid and exact an account of the sufferings of the men throughout these terrible months. Unfortunately it is too long for insertion here. He has kindly permitted me to make the following extracts and others in the following chapters :—

“ Lay in trenches ; terrible night ; were fired on all the time. Bullets and shrapnel shell in all directions.

June 11. Still in trenches under fire ; some miraculous escapes.

Trenches attacked ; British troops driven back. Trench retaken by 1st K.O.S.B. Turks got terrible slaughter. Small issue of bread and marmalade at 9 o'clock ; men in bad state for food, and terribly dirty.

June 12. Morning quiet. Men thankful to see it. Infantry still sniping away. At 9 o'clock Turks got range of us, and shell after shell fell all around us. My mate, D. Jardine, was killed (on 13th) and other

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comrades wounded. . . . Ordered to retire same night for rest to trenches beyond rifle range. Rush through the 'Valley of Death.' Thousands of bullets flying."

During this first experience of trench warfare our casualties were 2 men killed, with 1 officer and 18 other ranks wounded.

At 3 a.m. on the 13th the Battalion was relieved, and returned to its original trenches.

June 14. The Battalion was then stationed in reserve at Backhouse post (Achi Baba Nullah). Here much heavy work was carried out on communication and other trenches.

"June 15. Terrible heat. Having a little rest, but don't know how long. Tin of meat and vegetables issued for dinner; the first we have had. Quiet afternoon, but at night we were shelled by shrapnel, about 15 being killed or wounded.

June 18. The *Hawke* R.N.D. Battalion attacked a Turkish sap and trench. A Company was detailed in support, but charged with them."

A Company lost 9 men killed and wounded, including Sergt. Thompson, Pte. Carruthers, and Pte. Anderson,¹ who were all killed. The attack was successful, but later on the Turks managed to recapture it (from the R.N.D.) through the efficiency of their bombers.

Over and over again the long, careful, and detailed preparations of Germany were clearly manifest.

Their bombs were efficient, and they had carefully trained a large number of experts to throw them. Moreover, they seemed always to have enormous numbers at hand.

Our supply of bombs was pitifully small, and proper training was almost impossible. For one week's practice only 7 Roburite, 3 Hand-grenades, and 20 Jam-tin bombs were available!

The celebrated Jam-tin bombs were manufactured on the Peninsula, and are thus described by Capt. Boyle.

(1) The order to advance was intended for A Company of the Royal Naval Division. Sergt. Thompson and the eight others who advanced with him were all either killed or wounded.

The recipe for a Jam-tin bomb was as follows :— Bore a hole in the centre of the lid for the fuse. Bore two small holes, one in the lid and one in the side of the tin, so that a piece of wire passed through them and tied will close the lid. Partially fill the tin with scraps of metal, then put in a whole stick of gelignite. Fill up with scraps of metal, etc., round the gelignite. Put the fuse in the detonator. Cut a piece of white safety fuse $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and fix it in the detonator, which should be placed in a hole bored in the gelignite with a piece of wood. Fasten lid on with wire.

These weird missiles were used by our trained men with deadly effect. They were better than nothing, yet they were crude, amateurish, and unreliable weapons.

On one occasion over 80 out of 123 Jam-tin bombs did not explode at all !

The German bombs were at first just a shade too slow in exploding, and in the heat of an attack some one discovered that it was possible to throw them back at the enemy. Afterwards this was constantly done, and the results were highly satisfactory.

“ June 19. C Company replaced A Company in the support trenches.

June 21. Two Companies were detailed in support of an attack by the French, who had captured several trenches.

Sergt. Ramage and Pte. Telford were killed on this day.

June 22. The Battalion now returned from the support trenches to the Rest Camp, having ‘ been 10 days in trenches without a break.’ ”

Even at this early date the Battalion was suffering severely from dysentery. The innumerable flies and the stench from unburied bodies was quite beyond description.

A little later on (10th July) the Turks requested a truce in order to bury the dead.¹ This was refused, on the ground that it had been made simply because of the

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difficulty that the enemy had had in getting their men to charge over the dead.

As a matter of fact the Turks did counter-attack and charge long after this date. They must almost certainly have learnt or guessed the reason for our refusal of a truce, and were naturally pleased at the idea that we were afraid of them.

Moreover, the more they did charge, the better would it have been for our interests.

The really serious point, however, was that the stench arising from all these unburied corpses was almost unbearable. The whole Peninsula was cursed with ever-increasing myriads of flies, and each insect carried the germ responsible for dysentery.

The Commanding Officer (Col. Murray Kerr) was ordered to hospital. Others invalided were the Adjutant (Capt. Youngson), Capt. Forde, Capt. E. Grierson, Capt. and Quarter-Master Axson, and many others.

Disease was mainly responsible for the enormous percentage of men evacuated from the Peninsula.

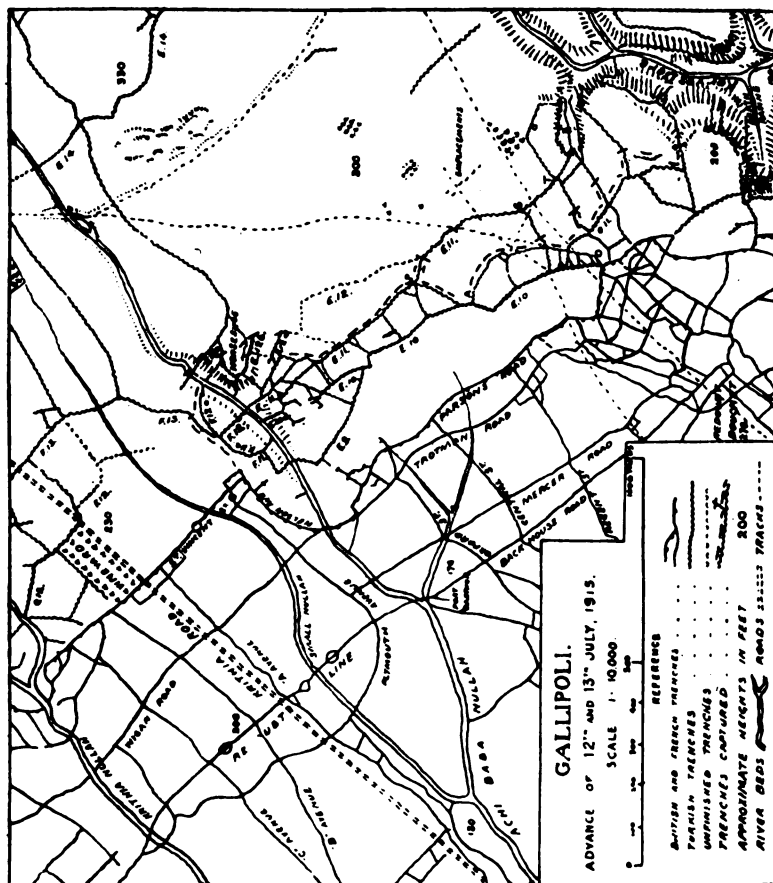
In all 15 officers and 327 men were evacuated from the Peninsula through sickness, and the vast majority were cases of dysentery.

But returning to the fortunes of the 5th K.O.S.B. From the 22nd to the 26th June the Battalion was standing by in support of the R.N.D. This was a comparatively peaceful interval, though the Turkish artillery was, of course, always busy, and give-and-take trench fighting was always going on.

"June 26. Lieut.-Col. Murray Kerr was again ordered to hospital suffering from dysentery, and Major Millar, now Lieut.-Colonel, became the commanding officer.

June 28. Reconnaissances of No Man's Land in front of the R.N.D. were carried out." (This was the day on which the 156th Brigade, without any artillery assistance,¹ made their magnificent attack upon impregnable trenches and lost 1281 men).

(1) Gallipoli Diary.



PLAN OF GALLIPOLI TRENCHES.

By permission 52nd Divisional History and Messrs Macdonald, Jackson & Co.

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"The day dawned, and such a day! At a given signal all our big guns started. About a hundred shells a minute were poured on the poor Turks. The sight I shall never forget. Achi Baba seemed all in a blaze. After mid-day the firing still went on. Turks driven back at all points. Nearly deaf with noise of guns. Poor Turks driven on by German officers to certain death. Bombardment continued during the day and night of 29-30th."

On this night the Battalion was suddenly ordered to fill a gap in the firing-line to the right of the R.N.D. A French unit had left its place without waiting for the arrival of its relief. However, the French soon arrived and took over their section.

One man was killed and about 15 wounded by enemy rifle fire.

"July 1 and 2. Numerous fatigues were provided in order to prepare the firing-line for the great attack of the 12th July.

July 3. After returning to 'Rest' trenches heavy rain fell, and became even worse in the evening. All ranks were soaked to the skin.

Washed out at night; men in a deplorable state."

However, the weather cleared somewhat towards the morning (4th July). A sort of dress rehearsal of the pending attack was carried out.

A suspicion of what was to happen seems to have penetrated to Turkish Headquarters, and a heavy bombardment followed.

After various alarms and conflicting orders A and B Companies (220 strong) were detailed to relieve the R.N.D. in a section of the British firing-line. They took over from the *Drake* Battalion, providing both garrison and support. This was their first tour in the front trenches; hitherto they had always been in support or reserve.

No Man's Land in front of them was littered with dead bodies, but during the night many of these were buried and the ground gradually cleared. Several men were killed.

Gallipoli : The Twelfth of July. 27

"July 7. Sniping going on in trenches, but big guns quiet. Heat terrible; more comrades killed or wounded, including Peter M'Ardle. His death caused gloom, as he was always cheery and highly respected by the Company."

July 10. Being relieved by the 5th R.S.F., the Battalion returned to the falsely so-called "Rest Trenches."

These were always exposed to artillery fire from Achi Baba and guns concealed behind it. Stray rifle bullets also reached them. "Asiatic Annie" and "Quick Dick," from the other side of the straits, also fired on the right rear of the Rest trenches.

During the whole of this time the men had hardly ever had their clothes off, and were "terribly dirty." They now thoroughly enjoyed a swim in the Dardanelles.

"Cooking chupatees—an Indian feed, composed of broken biscuits ground up into meal, mixed with water, and fried in fat. All enjoyed them well."

July 11. After *one day* in the Rest trenches they moved to a position of readiness, where final instructions were issued to the Company Commanders and all others who were to take part in the attack, which is now to be described.¹

This great attack had been fixed for the twelfth of July, and elaborate, careful preparations had been made.

On the eleventh of July officers were taken up to Parson's Road, and the trenches were thoroughly examined, so far at least as they were visible. Owing to the configuration of the country, however, though the Turkish front line trench could be more or less clearly seen, of the rather irregular second and third line trenches nothing whatever was visible.

On the other hand, Turkish observers on Achi Baba, whilst themselves in comfort and in perfect safety, could observe everything that was going on. They could watch the distribution of picks and shovels, count the reinforcements going up to the front and note any special

(1) Col. W. J. Millar.

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preparations for an assault, and, of course, make their own arrangements accordingly. Every detail in their own front lines was, of course, known to them.

It is necessary to try and describe that section of the Turkish trenches upon which the 155th Brigade were now to be let loose. They formed part of the complex system between Achi Baba Nullah and the steep-sided ravine of Kereves Dere.

As seen from our forward line (Parson's Road), the Turkish front line trench was on the skyline. But it was not on the highest point of the down or ridge. The second Turkish line was nearly on the highest point, and the third line was just on or a little over the reverse side.

The ridge or down was in fact convex, looking towards Achi Baba. In the other direction, that is, parallel to our front, it sloped gently towards Achi Baba gully, and also towards the edge of the ravine (Kereves Dere).

Special orders had been issued with regard to maps and plans. *No sketch or map was to be taken forward beyond Parson's Road.*

If the reader will refer to the sketch it will be observed that the second and third Turkish lines were by no means regular and easily remembered. But all their complicated details had to be carried in the officers' heads by an effort of memory.

This would have been difficult even if the map had been correct in every detail.

As the reader will find in what follows, it was not, to say the least of it, accurate.

"On the afternoon of the eleventh July, and in brilliant sunshine, we filed up the Nullah; of course under the usual intermittent shell-fire of the enemy."

We passed the ruined aqueduct amidst olive and fig trees, alongside the stream where our old friends the frogs were croaking in a semi-human manner, and went right up past the Brown House and "the Eski Line which had been the scene of much hard work and harder fighting."

Gallipoli : The Twelfth of July. 29

The plan was as follows :—

There were to be four separate waves or lines of attack. The *first* wave (4th K.O.S.B.) was to start from Parson's Road, and the *second* wave (also 4th K.O.S.B.) from Trotman's Road.

These two first waves were to jump the first two Turkish lines of entrenchments, but not to occupy them. They were to capture and consolidate the third line of enemy trenches (*see* sketch). On their right two parallel waves of the 4th R.S.F. were to capture the complicated mass of trenches thereabouts, and on the right of the Fusiliers the French were also to push forward. The idea was to advance the whole of our front to the third Turkish line.

Later, in the afternoon, the H.L.I. were to come up on the left of the 155th Brigade after, as it was hoped, the Borderers, Fusiliers, and French had captured and consolidated the three first lines of Turkish trenches immediately before them.

Beyond the third of these trenches there did not seem to be any other strongly-fortified lines until well up on the slopes of Achi Baba.

The third wave (5th K.O.S.B.) had to start from Mercer's Road, which was 270 yards behind Parson's Road, and the fourth wave from Backhouse Road, which was 350 yards from Parson's Road.

The third wave (D Company and a platoon of C Company) were to jump the Turkish first or front line trench (ARW in plan) and seize the second line (1 AX). Part of this wave (2 platoons of A Company) were to capture the cross or communication trench, P to R.

The objective of the fourth wave (B Company less 1 platoon, and C Company less 1 platoon) was the Turkish front line RWO Z iii.¹

By 6 a.m. (12th) every man was in his place, and eagerly awaiting the order to advance.

(1) Platoons of B and C Companies were detailed for carrying up water, rations, and ammunition to the firing-line. Another platoon of C Company was despatched to Divisional Reserve.

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At 6.55 a.m. our artillery opened with a bombardment of a fury hitherto unknown on the Peninsula.

Our own artillery and the French guns (which are acknowledged to be the best in the world) began to deluge the Turkish lines with high explosive and shrapnel. Though this bombardment only lasted for forty minutes, it is said that 500 heavy howitzers and 4000 high explosive shells scoured and in parts destroyed the enemy trenches.

British warships and monitors, far away to the left front, were attending to Achi Baba.

They were "raising six or eight cart-loads of dirt at every shot."

The whole of the hill was soon enveloped in black clouds of smoke.

The Turks retaliated as well as they could upon our front line trenches; indeed, casualties occurred before ever the men started.

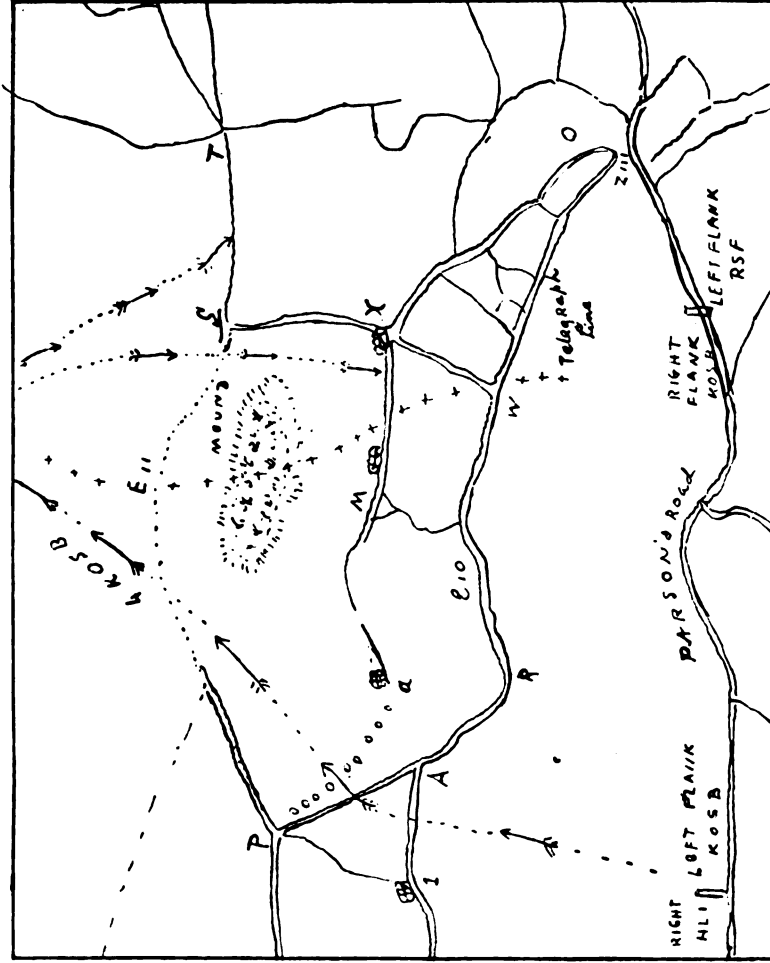
The orders were to advance rapidly, to use the bayonet, without firing, and at once to dig in and consolidate the position gained. The last message from Headquarters was: "Everything in war is difficult, but we have got to stick it. Scotland for Ever."

At 7.25 the word ran along the line, "Ten minutes to go"; at 7.30, "Five minutes to go"; and at 7.35, "GO." Immediately the men scrambled out of the trenches by scaling ladders or by toe-holes in the parapet, and the four long lines of Borderers went off at the double.

As a spectacle of war it was magnificent. The men, vigorous, robust, in the prime of life, were keen, eager, and determined to carry everything before them. It was a splendid summer morning, and sunlight sparkled on the bayonets and on the little slips of tin which every third man carried on his back as a guide to our artillery.

But very soon the dust arose in clouds which were full of pieces of shrapnel. So thick was the atmosphere over the battlefield that our machine gunners in Parson's Road had the greatest difficulty in obtaining targets.¹

(1) Capt. J. B. Penman.



PLAN OF TRENCH AO.

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But soon there were casualties. Lieut. Macfarlane was one of the first to fall. When they had reached No Man's Land, and came under the full force of the Turkish shell and machine gun fire, men were falling killed or wounded in every line. Major Bell collapsed before the trench was reached.¹

Nothing checked in the slightest the fierce determination of the Borderers. It is true that the pace dropped from a double to a steady quick march. Each man carried his rifle, 200 rounds of ammunition, entrenching tools, and sandbags. Moreover, the 5th K.O.S.B. had to jump or scramble over two or three trenches. These (Mercer's, Trotman's, and Parson's Roads) were broad, and six feet in depth.

The two waves of the 4th K.O.S.B. passed over the first two enemy lines, bayoneting such of the dazed and decimated Turks as tried to resist. Then they vanished over the downward slope beyond them.

Few indeed of the officers and men in this magnificent battalion were ever again seen by any of their comrades.

What happened to them can only be inferred from a very few observations.

They had happened to strike a place where there was no third Turkish trench! (Compare plan.)

One cannot in any way blame the aeroplane observers for its non-existence; there was a line of holes a few inches deep which from an air-photograph would appear exactly like a trench. Indeed it was probably intended to resemble one, and had been so designed by the Turkish engineers.

The gallant Col. M'Neile led his men steadily onward, still looking for the trench that was not there. He had gone forward at least five hundred yards, and then found that they were entering the French barrage, a horribly effective one. He called a halt. An eye-witness saw him consulting with the Adjutant (Capt. Lang) and twirling his cane.

(1) The bullet just failed to touch the lung.

Obviously *the only possible order was "Retire."* They did so.

On the way back Capt. Lang found something that looked like a trench (ST in sketch), and with some twenty men began to dig himself in. It was only two feet deep, but clearly part of the mythical third line trench.

About 7.45 a.m., Major W. J. Millar (O/C 5th K.O.S.B.), who was leading the fourth wave forward, observed "An extended line of men moving towards our advance from beyond ST and quite 500 yards away."

There was a heat haze, and it was impossible to tell whether they were Turks or not, even with field-glasses.

Was he to open fire? It was a terrible responsibility.

Fortunately he decided not to fire as they might be the 4th K.O.S.B. in retreat! Thus a poor remnant reached our lines.¹

I have endeavoured to find out whether, as is reported, some of them succeeded in getting far up the slope of Achi Baba, but have not obtained any definite information. A few were taken prisoner, but those whose testimony I have been able to get were all wounded and captured in ST.²

When the third wave, that is, the first line of the 5th K.O.S.B., had arrived in the Turkish front line its

(1) Lieut.-Colonel J. M'Neile, Major Herbertson, Capt. Sanderson, Lieut. Bulman, Lieut. P. Woodhead, and 242 men were killed. Capt. Lang and Lieut. Patrick with 10 men were killed in the trench ST.

(2) Pte. Nixon:—"Men fell like corn below the scythe. Major Herbertson, lying on his side, was waving his revolver and urging us on. I managed to get to the furthest point, that was the third Turkish trench or dummy trench. It was about one foot deep, and we had to set-to and fill sandbags. We were packed together and enfiladed from the left.

Our fire rapidly diminished, till there was no one left to fire. Then I was knocked out. When I came to, our little trench was occupied by a Turk to every two yards. Four or five of our men were lying across me, and I could not get up. I was bayoneted six times in the back whilst lying there.

A Turk officer, at the point of his revolver, ordered the Turks to release me."

[Nixon was taken down the trench with a rifle muzzle at the back of his neck. He eventually reached home after having been jailed with criminals, chained with others, and carrying leg-irons for three and a half years.]

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condition was indescribable. Parts of it had been blown up and almost obliterated by our artillery ; in places it was almost choked and full to the brim with dead and wounded men. No less than 79 Turks were still in the trenches. Many were not wounded, and still retained their arms. These were taken prisoners and disarmed by our men.

Thus the first wave of the 5th Borderers, or what remained of it, set to work consolidating the first line, reversing the parapet, and clearing out the dead. Whilst doing so they managed so to overawe the prisoners that they gave no trouble.¹ Their presence, however, made the necessary work excessively difficult to carry out.

On the extreme left Capt. M'Neill was repairing the trench, and building a barricade to keep off enemy bombers who, during the whole day, occupied the adjacent second line of trenches.

It is necessary to turn for a moment to the sketch plan in order clearly to follow what was happening.

It will be observed that part of the first line (5 3 1 to A) was approximately parallel to our own front. Then there was a sharp turn towards it (A to R), and then a concave curve sweeping forward which joined our line at Z iii. The Turks were on the alert when our third and fourth waves were crossing No Man's Land. The distance was fully 500 yards, and in consequence a deadly enfilade fire from the trench AR could be turned upon them. They were also under a merciless fire from the front as well as from both flanks.

A number of Royal Engineers with picks and shovels had accompanied our parties. It seems as if no single man of them ever crossed No Man's Land. They were, of course, especially easy marks for the snipers.

Another effect of the change in direction of the Turkish firing-line about AR was inevitable. The 4th K.O.S.B. had been advancing roughly at right-angles to our own line ; on reaching AR they naturally and inevitably right-inclined and went forward towards S.

(1) Lieut. Salmond pointed his revolver with one hand at the Turks, and handed out cigarettes to them with the other.

We have already referred to the peremptory orders to take no maps or drawings forward. Thus beyond Parson's Road and in front of the Turkish line all was unseen and unknown. Nor was there anything to march on except the stumps of the telegraph poles. Any officer who stopped even for a moment to look through his field-glass would almost certainly be killed.

Nevertheless certain officers, notably Major Millar, did so. He was struck by several small pieces of shrapnel in the neck and head, but paid no attention to the wounds. It was here that many officers were killed. Major Crombie was wounded and nearly buried by a shell explosion near the point P.

Capt. Tom Welsh was found lying dead between A and P. Near this spot young Lieut. Carlyle was killed; Capt. Dykes was first wounded and then killed. Lieut. Sinclair was severely wounded between Parsons Road and ARW; he would not allow anyone to help him back, but ordered the men to go on.

Whether the German engineers had deliberately designed this twist in the line and the break of the trench between A and "a" is unknown. But if it was a death-trap, it was a remarkably efficient one, for this part of the line was littered with dead and wounded men.

Though it sounds incredible, this part of the line, that is, the first Turkish line, was captured by our third wave and held by them for four days and three nights.

The officers in charge were Capt. M'Neill on the left, Lieut. Salmond in the centre, and Capt. Gibson on the right. Capt. Gibson's chief difficulty was the number of prisoners, who could not be removed. No less than 79 Turkish prisoners were captured by the Battalion on this day.

Throughout the day the Turks about P were sniping, bombing, and counter-attacking. Yet the whole trench was deepened, parapets were reversed, and the line was thoroughly consolidated!

It is necessary now to take up the story of the fourth wave, led by Major W. J. Millar, and which arrived about 7.45.

He found the third wave with as much as they could do in consolidating the trench (ARW) and holding it, and at once "ordered his men to overleap and charge the next trench, into which he led them." He himself planted a red flag marking the extreme left of the position occupied.

This flag had a history of its own. The shaft was blown off, and Coventon stuck the flag on a bayonet. Later it was taken down, as it seemed to draw the attention of the enemy.

Under a murderous fire his men, now only about half a company, so heavy had been their casualties, proceeded to consolidate the trench, reversing the parapet and, where possible, deepening it.

Lieut. Coventon had apparently struck the vacant space A to "a," where there was no trench at all, and went on with his men trying to find the second line.

"The result was that I arrived with the remnant of my platoon at the trench E11 ST, where I found Capt. Lang, Adjutant of the 4th K.O.S.B., and about 50 men working like Trojans and consolidating their position. They were very short of sandbags, and as we all carried six of these, we, at his request, handed over as many as we could spare. He asked me to keep my men behind the parados, as there was no room in the trench. It was narrow, very shallow, not more than two feet deep. This I did, and I remember that there was only about three or four inches of head-cover when lying on our stomachs, and I passed the word along to use entrenching tools to best advantage."

Whilst lying there he observed "hordes of Turkish reinforcements coming from Krithia by the circuitous road which fed the trenches in front and connected with ST at T. These probably rushed Capt. Lang's gallant little band and either killed or captured every one of them. Coventon remained at this spot until 8.10 a.m. Here he was out of sight of Major Millar and the half company under Lieut. Douglas, who had indeed no time to look about them. Under every conceivable

disadvantage the men were filling sandbags from the parados to form the new parapet and building barricades.

The trench itself was bad. There was no trench at all between A and "a." At 60 yards from A there was another gap or gully. The only part of it which was four or five feet deep was from this gap to the deep cross-trench at X.

A barricade was built at about "a"; another was constructed to the right of the telegraph line. Both flanks were entirely in the air.

The Turks at P were always trying to bomb their way forward, and sniped incessantly from perfect cover. At the other end the cross-trench SXW was good, and the Turks could approach without being seen, and from this direction they continued to attack with obstinacy.

There was no sign of the 4th R.S.F., who should have occupied X to O (*see* page 45); moreover, there were casualties every minute.

About this time (8 a.m.) this half company, always under terrible fire, had to go through the severest test of steadiness in action that can ever be experienced by troops in war.

The scanty survivors of the 4th K.O.S.B., retiring in obedience to orders, reached aX, and rested there for four or five minutes; they then retired to the next trench (WRA). They had in all probability been ordered to retire to Parson's Road. Some of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. began to go back with them, but at the forcible order of Major Millar they at once came back to aX. Some few of the 4th K.O.S.B. seem never to have left it; others who had arrived in Parson's Road followed their officers forward again to ARW and stayed there.

At about 8.10 a.m. Lieut. Coventon, lying out away to the front and out of sight, decided that he could not get into ST, and that it would serve no useful purpose if he remained where he was. He saw Major Millar standing, fully exposed to the enemy, on the edge of the narrow trench at "a" directing the construction of the barricade.

Trying to escape the close-range rifle fire, he

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zigzagged down to him, and then with his men joined Lieut. Douglas in aX. At 8.30 a.m. Major Millar sent the following message to Brigade Headquarters:—"Am in position in Trench aO, but it is not as in plan, and there are no communication trenches so far as I can see leading backwards. I am only a half company strong, with my left on front red flag. Support on right must be forthcoming, or I will have to withdraw from trench aO."

Runners were continually being sent back, but so many were killed that their heroic devotion to duty was of no avail. Telephone wires had long been broken.

One of those who did survive, Pte. (afterwards Sergt.) Henderson, received the D.C.M.

Seeing that the struggle at aO was becoming more and more desperate, Major Millar went back to Ziii. to try and hurry on reinforcements.

At 10 a.m. in the trench aO, or rather aX, there were still about a hundred 5th K.O.S.B. and a few of the 4th K.O.S.B. holding a distance of 150 yards.

At this time a heavy fire came from the direction of S, and "we saw the Turks in mass formation coming from direction of road across Kereves Dere, and fired repeatedly into their ranks at 5 to 600 yards. They got into the hollow under cover, and crept forward towards our trench." Lieut. Douglas then despatched Sergt. Wilson to the C.O. for reinforcements. At 10.50 a.m. there was an even more dangerous crisis, and the following message was received from him:—

"Am holding trench on the right as far as Red Flag immediately to the left of old Telegraph Pole. Have erected barricades across against enfilade fire, and have one bomb thrower and 12-15 bombs.

Reinforcements should, if possible, retake continuation of this same trench, advancing across the open to get there. So far as is known there are no Turks in said trench for a distance of 60 yards to my right. Send further bomb throwers and bombs, please.—R. Douglas, Lieut."

This part of the line, that is, to the right from X,

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had been assigned to the 4th R.S.F., who had been held up. The Turkish bombers could, however, reach X in almost perfect safety, for the trench SX was deep and narrow.

Sergt. Wilson, after the delivery of this message, returned to aO and found that Lieut. Douglas and his men were being slowly forced back to the left of the trench, that is, towards "a." They were firing steadily, but were being overpowered by superior fire from the right front. The skilled, well-trained Turkish bombers were provided with the very best of bombs and plenty of them; they had to be resisted with a totally inadequate number of "Jam-tins." Yet our men used them until their faces were black with powder.

Major Millar (at Z iii.) sent the following message to Brigade Headquarters :—

"Without more bombs it will be impossible to hold trenches taken, as the enemy are simply bombing our men back. Please send up 400 to 600."

This was one of the most critical moments. Turkish snipers were posted both on the left and on the right. Pte. MacKay mentions that when he was commandeered by a sergeant to reset the parapet, he was in the act of handing him a sandbag when the sergeant was shot through the head and killed.

The men had had neither food nor water since early morning; dead and wounded comrades were lying all round; the day was very hot; the action was fought in a yellow, stinking mist of dust.

It seemed impossible that they could maintain aO. Had they retired it is doubtful if the trench first captured (ARW) could have been held. It was even yet not in a state to resist. The trenches in rear were but lightly manned. However, by a miracle they did hold on with dour determination.

Col. Pollock M'Call then sent up two platoons of the 5th R.S.F. under Lieuts. Brotherton and Grierson.

These (5th R.S.F.) reached Major Millar (Z iii.) at 12.25, and received from him the order :

"As soon as bombs reach you, charge across parapet and occupy trench in front, reinforcing 5th K.O.S.B."

Lieut. Brotherton with Lieut. R. S. F. Grierson (5th R.S.F.) charged with their platoon of some 50 men across the open into aO.

Just as they arrived, a body of Turks tried to rush the barricade at "a." "Poor young and gallant Grierson dashed to stop them, and was shot within five minutes of his arrival; yet his self-sacrifice saved the situation." The six Turks who had got on to the top of the barricade were killed by one of their own shells. The bodies lay there smouldering for hours. This disheartened the Turks, who, at least for some little time, made no further attempt on this dangerous spot.

Later on Sergt. Wilson was again sent for reinforcements. His message was given to the Adjutant, who sent him to the Royal Scots.

This was probably about 3 p.m. He was told that two platoons of the Royal Scots had already gone forward. However, a platoon was offered as reinforcement if he would lead the way. He did so, and guided these men (twelve in number) into the left of aO.

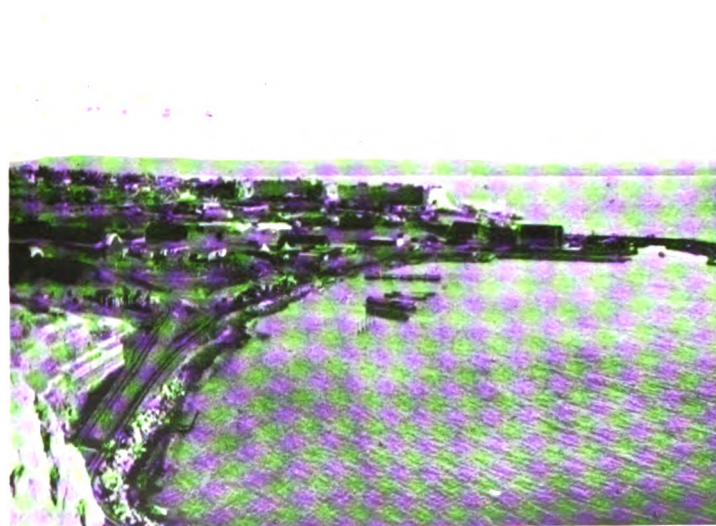
Between 3 p.m. and 4.30 p.m. the Turks had almost driven out the scanty garrison.

The ground over which this strenuous, hardly-contested struggle took place is a low ridge about 150 yards in length. There was a gentle slope towards our firing-line (Parson's Road). The Turkish front trench (ARW), now held by the main body of the 5th K.O.S.B., was on the skyline as seen from Parson's Road; but the ground rose very gently from this first Turkish firing-line to the second line (aO), and just in front of this was a low mound with a few scattered bushes, so that even from the second Turkish line (aO) one could not see the ground immediately to the front, even as far as the contour where it began to descend to the hollow below.

Away to our right the main ridge fell gently downward for a short distance, and then came the steep-sided ravine of Kereves Dere. On the other side, that is,



S.S. " RIVER CLYDE " AT GALLIPOLI.



SEDD EL BAHR (GALLIPOLI).

to our left, there was also a gentle decline towards Achi Baba Nullah.

Thus an observer in the second line (aO) could not see farther to his immediate front than the bush-covered mound referred to. He could easily observe away out to his left front a road coming from the direction of Krithia, and on this track reinforcing Turks were streaming down towards the front. As soon as these Turks got down to the foot of the hill they were out of sight. The road continued parallel to our front and in perfect cover from fire to the ravine of Kereves Dere. From this road there were Turkish communication trenches, quite out of sight, by which men could be brought up to the point P. Also similar covered ways led to the cross-trench at S. Turkish reinforcements could also be brought down from the slopes far off to our right front.

Naturally their guns (well concealed on this side and also about Krithia and Achi Baba) could keep up a continual hail-storm of shrapnel upon our trenches, especially on Parson's Road, upon No Man's Land, and upon what had been their firing-line after we had captured it.

But whereas our men were losing heavily during the whole of their advance, and even after they had reached the trenches which we were trying to consolidate, the Turks could appear suddenly either at P or at X, in the best of spirits and full of venom, without one single man having been shot at during the whole of their advance.

At this time, between 3 and 4.30 p.m., our men had had neither water nor rations since early in the morning. Of the hundred 5th K.O.S.B., not more than 50 were left; of the 50 R.S.F., not more than 20 had survived. A few 4th K.O.S.B. were also in the trench.

They were fighting in an evil-smelling haze of dust raised by shrapnel bullets. Through this mist robust, agile, and vigorous Turks would appear, now in front, then from the left, and then from the right.

Between these hours, that is, between 3 and 4.30 p.m., independent attacks were proceeding, and none of those

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engaged in any one of them could see or hear from any of the other parties.

First, as regards the happenings in the centre and foremost trench aO.

The sight of their own men's bodies burning on the top of the barricade had, for the moment, daunted the Turks on our left.

Towards X, however, avoiding the barricades about the telegraph poles, the Turks now began to file to their right, taking cover behind the bush-covered ridge just in front of aX. Moreover, they were still advancing up SX, and still throwing bombs.

Our men were again driven back to their left towards "a." For part of the afternoon they were forced to get under cover by creeping forward until they got some shelter from the bush-covered ridge referred to and also in the line of shell-holes "a" to P. But they still retained command of aX to an extent that enabled them to keep it clear of Turks, at least as far as the break.

Lieuts. Douglas, Coventon, Brotherton, and Sergt. Wilson were, with a number of our men, however, near "a," or a little in front of it, and by steady and accurate fire prevented the Turks from entering it.

A very few of our men were still in the trench near X. Not more than ten or twelve in number were still holding on either to the right of X or at the mouths of the communication trenches.

One party consisted of C.-S.-M. M'Gregor, two Sergeants of the 5th R.S.F., Pte. Stewart, Corp. Jewel, and Pte. Swanson.¹ When the two Fusilier sergeants had been killed and the others all wounded, C.-S.-M. M'Gregor retired down the sap toward the line RW. Another small group, however, in which were Ptes. Quinn, Hughes, Lacy, and Owen Martin, remained in the trench until the Royal Scots appeared.

Meanwhile, on the left, another and independent action was proceeding vigorously.

(1) Pte. Swanson was killed; Corpl. Jewel and Pte. Stewart were wounded.

Three-thirty to four-thirty p.m. It had been intended that the 157th Brigade should attack at 1.29 after the 155th had attained their objectives.

The Highland Light Infantry were not, however, let loose until well on in the afternoon. They came up with vigour, and, charging forward, passed right over the first and second Turkish lines, and were puzzled, just as the 4th K.O.S.B. had been, by the total absence of any third line of defence. The devilish ingenuity of the German engineer who had provided a row of holes to deceive the aeroplane observer and to provide an easy target for his own artillery met again with a rich reward. But on this occasion the trap was discovered, and the men were soon brought back in an orderly manner to the trenches still held by us.

Capt. M'Neill, on our extreme left, had pulled down his barricade in order to extend into the new line, from which the Turks had been driven by the savage rush of the Highlanders. He had immediately afterwards to build it up again, for an unfortunate incident now occurred.

There was not room in our trench to accommodate the whole of the newcomers. An order to some of them to go back to Parson's Road and to others to close together in the trenches was misunderstood, and the whole of the H.L.I. went back together.¹

Our men had been there since 7.35 that morning, and quite naturally a few of them began to go back also. They could not suppose that they were to remain while the others retired.

The moment was critical. The danger was imminent; a horrible disaster was threatening not only our line but the whole Gallipoli expedition.

For the Turks had perfect observation. If our line had broken at that moment, they could have followed up in overwhelming force and—but it is unnecessary to describe frightfulness which never occurred. The line did *not* break.

(1) This retreat was only temporary. The H.L.I. had many casualties. The 6th H.L.I. never retired at all.

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A few men did go back. They were not absent for longer than one or two minutes, and returned at once when ordered to do so.

The danger was averted chiefly by the vigorous personality and determination of Capt. A. H. M'Neill. His orders, expressed in language appropriate to the occasion, were cheerfully obeyed, and at once they set to work again building up their barricade and working and fighting for the rest of the day. Several N.C.O.'s, and especially Pte. Alex. Tweedie (afterwards 2nd Lieut.), took an active part in this affair.

In the part of the forward trench (aX) farther to the right, Douglas, Coventon, Brotherton, and their men went forward in line with the Highland Light Infantry. Unfortunately both Douglas and Brotherton were wounded in this advance. Both had to retire.

Douglas, one of the foremost fighters on this terrible day, died at sea, and was buried on the site of the Battle of Trafalgar, a suitable burial ground for a hero of our own times!

Soon after they had left they were followed by Coventon, who had been wounded quite early in the day and was now incapacitated and unable to walk. The survivors of the men remained under charge of Lieut. E. Smith, who had now come up to the trench.

Almost immediately afterwards Smith was shot dead in the act of writing a message.

The only survivors in or probably in front of the fatal trench (aX) were Sergt. Wilson with about 20 men. He held on there, without any officer, without orders, with both flanks fully exposed, out of touch with everybody, and with the enemy in overwhelming force in front and, so far as he knew, on both flanks of him.¹

Then he retired into ARW, and was thoroughly justified in doing so.

Those who had entered or held aX between 7.45 a.m. and 3.30 to 4.30 p.m. had consisted of 7 or 8 4th K.O.S.B., 100 5th K.O.S.B., 50 5th R.S.F., and 20 R.S.

(1) "He was recommended for recognition."—Col. Millar.

Gallipoli : The Twelfth of July. 45

Of these 177 men, not more than 30 remained alive and able to fight.

That the Turks did not realize what was happening at this particular section is just one of those miracles, of which there are many recorded in the Great War.

The Turks still held on at P, where there was a strong bombing party, machine guns, and nests of snipers; P was within 60 yards of our line, and it was impossible to get within 50 yards of it during the whole of the four days' fighting.

But on the right of aX a third independent attack was beginning to develop, and in a promising manner.

Until at least 3 p.m. the right of the trench AO, that is, from X to O, was empty. It had not been occupied by the Turks.

This had been the objective of the 4th R.S.F., not of the Borderers. The Fusiliers had been at first delayed by the French troops.

At the precise moment when the French were on the point of beginning to move an unlucky burst of Turkish fire struck down the General and his Chief of Staff, as well as the Colonel who was in special command of the assaulting troops. Thus the First French Division, to whom had been entrusted the leading part in the assault, were seriously held back. When they did go forward, the 175th French Infantry captured the first Turkish trench line and part of the Rognon redoubt.¹

The gallant 4th R.S.F. had found themselves in an intricate entanglement of numerous skilfully-designed fire trenches. They had lost 12 out of 13 officers and a very large proportion of their men. It is indeed remarkable that they got as far as they did.

At 2.55 p.m. Col. Peebles, in command of the 4th and 7th Royal Scots, received orders to fill a supposed gap between the French and the Fusiliers. He sent forward two companies, but it turned out that only one platoon was required for this purpose. Thus two companies of the 4th Royal Scots, less one platoon, returned to Z iii., and were available.

(1) Charles Roux, *Expedition des Dardanelles*.

These were ordered to support the Fusiliers. They charged across the open, and occupied the trench from X towards O, thus filling a blank which had existed from 7.45 a.m. until this moment.

A third company (4th and 7th Royal Scots) had now appeared at Z iii. This company had been at first under the command of Lieut. Hawes, who was wounded; then under Lieut. Lyell, who was killed; and was now under 2nd-Lieut. Tyndall M'Lelland.

It is not quite clear how they reached aO. They either crossed the open to our right (they were not seen by any of our men) or went up a communication trench. But when they did reach it they found it practically empty. They rushed vigorously down it, and hustled such Turks as showed themselves down the cross-trench (X to S). These Royal Scots thus took over the defence of this line, and held it with stubborn tenacity.

According to Lieut. (now Major) M'Lelland, there were troops in front of him and to his left. These were surely Sergt. Wilson's little band, who were fired on from their right rear. The controversy regarding the events of the 12th July centres upon the interval between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m., and especially upon M'Lelland's reinforcement, the time of its arrival, and the route by which it came.

The writer suggests that if the reader tries to realise the conditions in aO on that terrible afternoon, twelve years ago, it is surely obvious that even men who were present cannot be quite certain within one or two hours of what they saw or where they were.

One must also remember the yellow fog, the slope of the ground, and the never-ending casualties.

I have, in the above, set down a narrative of events as, according to my own personal opinion, they occurred. I did not wish to distract the reader by a complex mass of evidence in the midst of the story.

Thirst and hunger were amongst the severest of the torments during that day. Two platoons had been set aside to bring up rations, etc., but men's lives are more precious than food, and all carriers had to concentrate

Gallipoli : The Twelfth of July. 47

on ammunition and bombs. The defenders in the trench stripped the dead Turks of a few good bombs (cricket ball type), and persevered with the "Jam-tins."

Quite early in the day an attempt had been made to dig a sap or communication trench from Parson's Road to the Turkish firing-line. But this digging party had been annihilated.

About 4 p.m. our two platoons and the 5th R.S.F. were ordered to try again. The confusion was terrible; a constant stream of stretcher-bearers and of walking cases occupied the narrow saps (some were only two feet wide). So these digging parties did not get forward to Parson's Road until 7 p.m. There they divided and set to work on the two saps. These at the time were only two feet deep and thirty to forty yards long. They carried on for several hours. Each man, as soon as his spell was done, dropped like a log—dead to the world—and was waked up with difficulty when his turn of duty began again.

Every few minutes the Turks sent up flares. Then our men "clapped" and lay motionless, only to set to work again when the light had vanished.

Between 3 and 6 a.m. a message was at last received by Lieut. Salmond from M'Lelland.

The garrison was now almost adequate, for Col. Blair had pushed forward some of the Scottish Rifles, who filled the trench between M'Lelland's right and the left of the R.S.F.

The whole of our troops remained "standing to" throughout the hours of darkness.

As soon in the morning of the 13th as light appeared a great body of Turks came over in massed formation, and tried to rush the trenches.

Before the steady, accurate fire of the Lowlanders they vanished. The charge melted away, and not an enemy could be seen.

Again at 10 a.m. there was another counter-attack, organised by German officers.

"When they saw us they did not know whether to go forward or to stand still. We shouted to them to

throw down their arms, and the word was passed, 'Don't fire, they are going to surrender.'

They moved forward a few more halting, hesitating steps, each with one hand held before his eyes. One of them said something which seemed to exasperate a German officer, who turned round and gave him a clout with his rifle. Another spoke, and the officer shot him dead." After this the whole body fled in confusion. Every gun and every rifle opened on them.

All through the 13th there were recurrent Turkish counter-attacks, but these became more and more feeble as time went on.

It is a curious point that even at mid-day, on the 13th, Lieut. Fairgrieve was summoned to Divisional Headquarters and asked where was the 4th K.O.S.B., and why had neither Col. M'Neile nor his Adjutant sent in any report.

Both had been killed more than twenty-four hours before Fairgrieve arrived.

Even more serious was the fact that even then it was not realised that the third Turkish line did not, and never had, existed. Late in the evening of the 13th certain battalions of the R.N.D. came up to the front; according to some authorities they also went on to the mythical third line. They had to retire with some loss, and did not succeed in taking any other trenches.

A party of the *Hawke* Battalion were sent forward on the 14th to capture the point P, which has been often mentioned in this chapter.

Their attack was supported or covered by a party of the 1/5th K.O.S.B., who were under the charge of Sergt.-Major Connolly, but they did not capture this important point. They threw their bombs, and afterwards withdrew.¹

Even as late as the afternoon of the 14th this pernicious spot was a dangerous nuisance, for it was a very strong point and could be easily reinforced by the enemy. On this last date Capt. M'Neill sent out patrols composed

(1) There is an account of this affair in *The Hawke Battalion*, by Douglas Jerrold.



Photo by

Gibbs, Annan.

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. J. MILLAR, D.S.O., T.D.

of his almost worn-out men to reconnoitre the ground thereabouts. But they had to report that it was impossible to capture it.

To return to the 13th July. Counter-attacks continued all day, against which M'Neill, Salmond, Gibson, M'Lelland, the Royal Scots, the Scottish Rifles, and the 4th R.S.F. resisted with a dour determination which could hardly have been expected of starving and thirsty men.

When the precious water came the wounded always had the first of the water bottles. No rations reached those in front before the night of the 12-13th.

On this night, as also on that which followed (13-14th), there was no sleep for any man in the front trenches. They "stood-to" all night long.

On the 14th the Turks seem to have been somewhat disheartened, as there was but little in the way of counter-attacks.

But the conditions were indescribable—the stifling heat of the trenches, the horrible stench and dust, the strain on the nerves, and occasional shell-fire continued all the time.

On the 14th some of the 5th K.O.S.B. were withdrawn from the front line. Others appear to have still remained in the trenches which they had won until the afternoon of the 15th.

When they did retire "the state of the men was deplorable; caked with dust, starving and thirsty, they were so exhausted that they could hardly drag one foot after the other."¹

Yet they noticed that the R.M.L.I. who relieved them were only a shade less weary and worn than they were themselves!

The losses of the Battalion in this battle were 11 officers and 259 men. Capt. Welsh, Capt. Dykes, Lieut. Smith, Lieut. Douglas, 2nd-Lieut. Carlyle, and 2nd-Lieut. Macfarlane were killed. Officers wounded were Major Bell, Capt. Crombie, Lieut. Coventon, Lieut. Sinclair, and Lieut. Macrae.

(1) Pte. S. Welsh (MSS. Diary).

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Macrae, though suffering from a horrible wound in the stomach, refused all assistance, and managed to get back to the dressing-station unaided. There were 76 other ranks killed and 183 wounded.

The work done by the stretcher-bearers was magnificent. Capt. W. T. Gardiner states :—" Though hardly able to move from fatigue, all kept on till every man wounded had been brought in." Specially mentioned by him are Corpl. Gould (R.A.M.C.), Lance.-Corpl. Murdoch, and Ptes. Ross, M'Millan, Erskine, and O'Neill.

The 4th K.O.S.B. had 535 casualties, which is a larger number than those lost at the famous Siege of Namur. No less than 18 officers were casualties.

The 155th Brigade lost 48 officers and 1268 other ranks; the 156th Brigade, 5 officers and 221 men; the 157th Brigade, 39 officers and 938 men. Thus in the 52nd Division alone the total casualties were no less than 92 officers and 2407 other ranks.

The following facts are surely quite beyond contradiction :—The Turks had a perfect observation of our front trenches and of all our preparations. They had an overwhelming preponderance in artillery, and ample supplies of ammunition and of the best bombs.

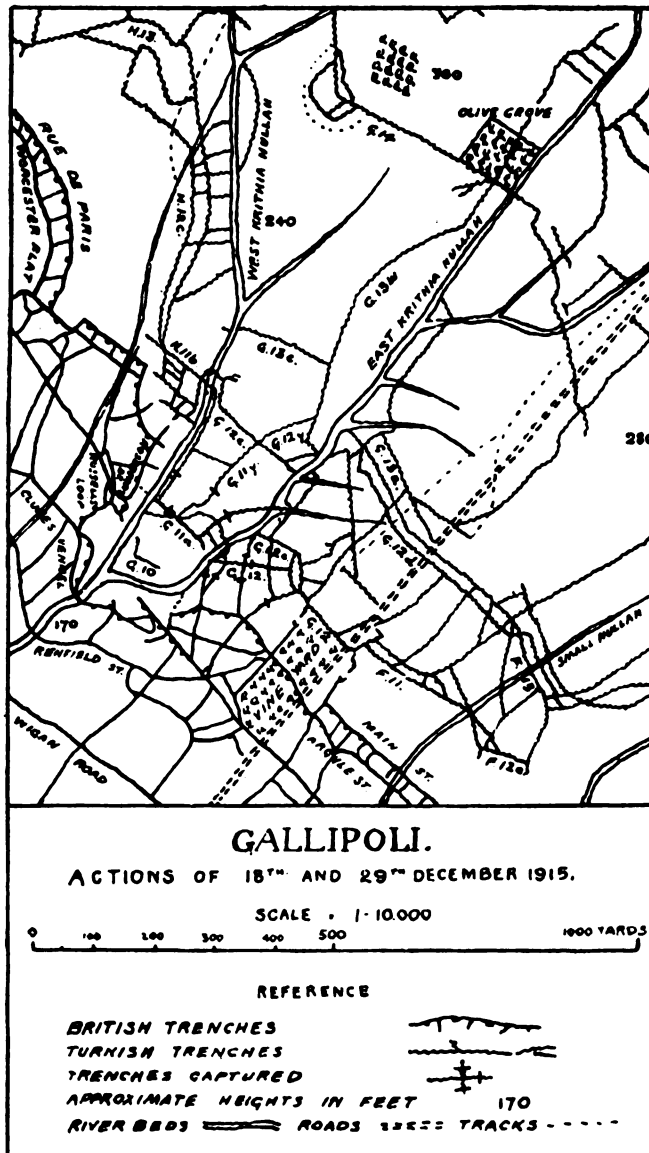
The attack was frontal and across the open. Our own four lines of trenches, as well as the two Turkish ones, were exposed to shell-fire from the front, from the left, and from the right front. The Turkish machine gun nests and bombing stations were excellently placed.

The German engineers had surpassed themselves in the clever arrangement and design of their trenches; the sturdy Anatolian Turk proved himself brave and determined, in fact " a bonny fechter."

The superiority as regards numbers of the enemy was overwhelming. Moreover, their men could be brought to the actual line of battle in almost perfect cover from view and from fire.

The only conclusion which can be drawn from these facts by any competent authority is that *the capture of these trenches was quite impossible.*

Nevertheless, the attack did succeed ! The



PLAN OF GALLIPOLI TRENCHES.

By permission 52nd Lowland Division and Messrs Maclellan, Jackson & Co.

objectives, that is, the only two trenches which were there, were captured, consolidated, and held !

For this splendid achievement no one surely would depreciate the courage, tenacity, and leadership shown by the 4th and 5th R.S.F., the Royal Scots, and the Scottish Rifles.

The charge of the 4th K.O.S.B. was magnificent, a more dashing feat-of-arms even than that of Balaclava.

But it was the 5th K.O.S.B. who captured these two trenches, and who held on till those in the second Turkish line were almost exterminated.

Then by a miracle reinforcements arrived just at the most critical moment.¹

Upon the gallantry, devotion to duty, and stubborn tenacity of Major Millar, his officers, and the men of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, no words of mine are necessary or could possibly be adequate. I have put the facts as clearly as I could, and the reader will surely appreciate their heroism.

I have to thank many officers and men of the 5th K.O.S.B. for their kind assistance in the preparation of this chapter. In the first place I must thank Col. W. J. Millar, D.S.O., who got together an enormous mass of evidence from eye-witnesses and others. Amongst these Capt. Penman, Capt. Gibson, Capt. Coventon, Sergt. Wilson, Sergt. M'Gregor, Sergt. Locke, and Sergt. Connolly should be specially mentioned.

Amongst others I must also thank Col. W. Carmichael Peebles, D.S.O., Major Tyndall M'Lelland, and Col. Blair.

(1) It was not until the 20th July that a message was received from Brig.-Gen. Erskine which congratulated the Battalion on their gallant conduct and complete success in gaining, consolidating, and holding these two Turkish trenches.

CHAPTER III.

LAST MONTHS ON THE PENINSULA.

ON the 16th July the Battalion returned to the Rest Camp. Our losses in officers and men had been so heavy that it was necessary to form three companies instead of four.

The following days (17-26th July) were spent in fatigues. A new site was selected for the Rest Camp, which involved very heavy labour. Moreover, an enormous amount of work was expended both by day and by night in improving communication trenches, preparing tracks, and unloading boats.

16th July. Gen. Egerton sent for Col. W. J. Millar, and "expressed his gratification with the Battalion." They had done exceedingly well, not only in the fighting but also in heavy fatigue duties. Similar congratulations were received from Gen. Erskine.

This period was not without excitement. On 21st July the Rest Camp was shelled intermittently, and especially at breakfast-time.

On the 22nd a note was dropped by a German aeroplane giving us twenty-four hours to clear off the Peninsula. Our reply took the form of a vigorous bombardment of Krithia and Achi Baba.

As there seemed to be a prospect of an enemy counter-attack, the Battalion had to "stand-to" on the nights 21st-22nd and 22nd-23rd. On the 23rd the Camp was again shelled, and one man was killed. An "H.E." shell alighted on the parapet. On the 23rd, 24th, 25th, 27th, and 29th, and indeed at intervals throughout the whole occupation of Gallipoli, German aeroplanes or Taubes visited the trenches, dropping bombs. On three days, bombs were dropped on the Rest Camp, but there seems to have been no casualties.

On the 25th all fatigues were declared off, and the Battalion enjoyed a much-needed rest. Many thoroughly appreciated an occasional dip in the sea, often at Lancashire Landing.

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26th July. Major W. J. Millar was promoted Lieut.-Colonel. The Turks signalised this event by a vigorous bombardment.

July 30th. A fatigue party went out at night to dig trenches, but returned to Rest Camp at 2 a.m. One man had been killed.

On August 4th a concert was held after dark, Sergt.-Major Johnston in the chair. It included songs by Col. Millar and Lieut. Gardiner, R.A.M.C., and was thoroughly appreciated by all.

August 6th. This was the date of the great attack by the 29th Division on part of the Turkish trenches in front of Krithia. The bombardment of the Navy and other artillery continued from 2 p.m. until dusk. The Battalion received a hurried order to move to the trenches, and were "standing-by" in Divisional Reserve throughout this and the following night.

Three lines of trenches were gained. At 5.30 a.m. a Taube again hovered overhead dropping bombs, but was driven off by the anti-aircraft guns of a destroyer.

At 8 a.m. our bombardment again opened on the next sector of the enemy's line, which was then attacked by the 42nd Division, to which the 52nd Division was in reserve. This also resulted in an advance.

These attacks so diverted the attention of the Turks that our forces at Gaba Tepe were able to capture another series of trenches.

"Great advance made. Allies over hill on left flank. Victory near if can only hold on. Terrible slaughter of Turks."¹

August 8. On this day the Turks counter-attacked the captured trenches with bombs and artillery fire. The French, on our right, made a demonstration, and "at night everything in the shape of a gun poured shells on to Achi Baba. A sight and a noise which I shall never forget. Turks give-in in hundreds."

On this night also "Asiatic Annie" and her friends about Kum Kali shelled our Rest trenches from the right rear, but there were no casualties.

(1) Pte. S. Welsh (MSS. Diary).

August 13. Lieut. Maxwell and six bombers were detailed to assist the 42nd Division in the firing-line. The G.O.C. of the 42nd Division afterwards commended them, stating that they had done very well in the "Vineyard" Gap.

The Battalion moved forward, taking over Wigan Road and the Redoubt line trenches from 6th Manchester and 8th Lancashire Fusiliers. One officer and 60 other ranks reinforced the 4th R.S.F. in the trench F 4.

"On this date Lieut. W. J. Maxwell was killed by a Turkish sniper in the forward sap in the Vineyard. An unassuming man, devoid of fear, and a favourite with all ranks. He was buried in a picturesque spot in Krithia Nullah."¹

Throughout the rest of our stay on the Peninsula the men were either in the firing-line and support trenches, in Divisional Reserve, or in the Rest Camp, where they still had to endure bombardment from Achi Baba, varied by heavy shelling from "Asiatic Annie" and her sisters. Moreover, when in the Rest Camp, daily fatigues were required, involving hard labour in digging trenches, in improving the tracks required for the mule carts, and especially in unloading steamers and carrying up stores from the beach. A favourite hour for the arrival of these boats was 3 a.m.

The reader should realise that there never was a peaceful night on the Peninsula.

There were only two real days of rest without fatigues and out of the firing-line! These two days were the 26th September and 18th October!

To save repetition, I have endeavoured to give the various tours in the firing-line and support trenches together. Later on an attempt is made to describe the most interesting events in the order that they occurred.

They were in the front line or support trenches in August for 15 days, in September 18 days, in October 18 days, in November 21 days, and in December 26 days.

(1) Col. W. J. Millar.

It was on the 17th August that they occupied the line from Sap 8 to Krithia Nullah. Here Turkish snipers were peculiarly enterprising, and managed to smash eight of our periscopes.

The Battalion was not pleased; after dark more and better loopholes were prepared.

The Turks then discovered that we fired two shots for every one of theirs, and also that we had some very fine marksmen. As a result his behaviour became more seemly, and he gave us very little further trouble.

During our stay on the Peninsula, and afterwards in Egypt, officers and men took to sniping and to night patrols as a superior and exciting kind of sport.

A trained sniper would remain motionless for hours watching a gap in the enemy parapet. Every Turk that passed the gap was shot. Then the enemy put up some sort of notice board warning their men to stoop or crawl past this dangerous spot. For some considerable time afterwards every Turk would stop to read the notice. They are not very smart scholars, and the sniper's daily bag increased in consequence.

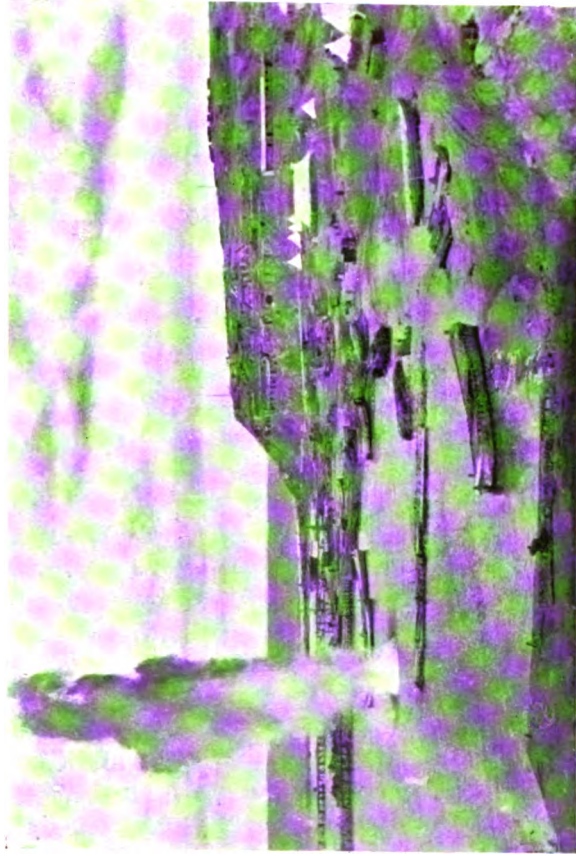
Night patrols were an even more thrilling experience, for which the men readily volunteered.

Here is the report of one of Lieut. McGeorge's numerous patrols, which is given in his own words:—

“As instructed, I patrolled the trench G 11 last night with one N.C.O. and one man. During moonlight we went into the sap, and proceeded over the embankment into the trench. We went to where the trench takes a bend quarter-right.

From there we saw that the trench in front of us was quite blocked with our own dead, evidently killed by enfilade fire down the trench.

It was impossible to see past Point 2, and as we were unable to proceed up the trench on account of the moonlight and the dead we returned to our firing-line. When the moon had gone down we again went out and forward, under cover of the left parapet of G 11, past Points 1 and 2 to Point 3, where we found that a recess had been



By permission, Col. Findlay, i.e., and Messrs W. Blackie & Son.

'W' BEACH (CALLIPOLI).

cut from the left bank of the trench, giving a well-designed sally port.

We then proceeded to Point 4, when our parapet took a sharp turn to the left.

Shots at regular intervals were hitting the parapet immediately in front, as if a rifle was constantly trained on that spot.

We listened for some time at this place, and then the N.C.O. went up the parapet and looked into the trench.

He observed that the trench branched into two. He also noticed that along the parapet of the right branch were rifles, with bayonets fixed, leaning against the side of the trench. There was no barricade. The trench beyond Point 3 was cleared and in good condition, as were both branches.

A trophy of this expedition was a helmet, riddled with bullets and marked "6th Manch."

Lieut. W. D. Watson also went into No Man's Land at night and reconnoitred an old Turkish sap (G 10).

Later on (3rd and 4th September) Lieut. Watson and Lieut. Dunn, with Ptes. J. Goukie and Fallowfield, frequently undertook patrols. They often heard the Turks using picks, or talking and singing. Unfortunately none of our Battalion understood Turkish. On one occasion an interpreter was specially conducted to the spot, but he could not follow what was said.

They brought in, on the night of 3-4th September, 21 British rifles, 4 Turkish rifles, 11 bayonets, 3 Turkish shovels, 1 machine gun ammunition box with belts, and 560 rounds S.A.A. They were officially congratulated on their good work and clear, methodical reports.

"The stench of unburied dead lying thick between our lines and the Turks" was appalling. Myriads of flies carried infection to our trenches, and an enormous number of the men, though suffering severely from dysentery, refused to report sick, and stuck to their duties in the trenches.

Nights were often spent in running out barbed wire entanglements in No Man's Land. The Turks

made several determined attacks upon our line. These were repulsed, and bombs were hurled into their trenches. In this work Bomber J. Douglas especially distinguished himself.

Our diarist records that breakfast on the 20th August consisted of one slice of bread, which was eaten under heavy fire.

During September, three officers' patrols brought in the bodies of a number of the 7th Manchesters, as well as 71 rifles, bayonets and ammunition, and especially Capt. Wayne's revolver.

All our companies were specially congratulated for the way in which this dangerous duty had been carried out.

"I want to bring your good work to the notice of the Brigadier."

September 7. A letter was received from the Provost and Magistrates of Dumfries congratulating the C.O. and the Battalion on its performances on July 12-15th.

September 9. A concert was arranged at Sergt. Corrie's and Corpl. Henderson's dugout.

Sergt. M'Allister sang "Eileen Alannah," "Annie Laurie," and a comic song. Pte. S. Welsh sang "Braes of Balquidder," "Be kind tae auld Grannie," and "The Song that reached my Heart." Corpl. Henderson recited "The Broken Bowl," and Pte. M'Adam gave a comic sketch. The Company sang "Steadily, Shoulder to Shoulder," "Auld Lang Syne," and, standing to attention, "God Save the King."

"A most enjoyable two hours. I think the Turks must have heard us."

Capt. and Adjutant T. W. Youngson was invalided to hospital, and 2nd-Lieut. G. Salmond was appointed Acting-Adjutant.

September 16. Dr Gillies thus describes a Sacrament Service held on this date:¹

"The sun had sunk in the West. Achi Baba frowned down upon us. Shrapnel was bursting about

(1) *Lesmahagow Parish Magazine.*

the French battery on our right. High explosives from Asia were raising dust in our rear. On every side our guns were replying. The crack of rifles and bombs came from the trenches in our front. Men who meet for Communion under these circumstances are in solemn earnest. Some had been rescued from the torpedoed Royal Edward; some had been through all the three months' battles. The night was so dark you could not see half-way down the eight long lines of communicants. The silence of the congregation was profound."

September 14 to 19. This period was spent in fatigues, specially in improving the communication trenches. On September 15th Welsh's diary says, "Slept under a roof of corrugated iron—first night inside for over 100 nights."

The men were in a "deplorable state, dirt from head to foot," and many were suffering from dysentery. Very heavy firing from our guns and French artillery continued, and Damoyzel bombs or "flying pigs" were used with great effect.

September 19. Relieved the Scottish Rifles in the same trenches at 3 p.m. "A sand-storm, and very cold at night."

September 22. A trench mortar in our firing-line bombarded the Turkish barricade at G 11. The Turks retaliated with the same weapon, but their fire was as ineffective as our own.

September 24. A Turkish "stick" bomb landed fifteen yards in the right rear of Battalion Headquarters and in the midst of a box of bombs. The trench was wrecked. Some 63 bombs were destroyed. This led to an artillery duel, in which G 11 received its share.

"Had a few pancakes for breakfast, consisting of flour, sugar, milk, and health salts to act as powder; fried in bacon fat; pronounced good."

September 25. The Turkish trench (G 11) interested our snipers very much, and the artillery were induced to fire on it. But the trajectory of our shells resulted in their just skimming the surface of our own parapet. At 4 p.m. the Battalion was relieved by the

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7th Royal Scots, and returned to their old quarters in Rest Trenches.

The next day was memorable, as it really was a day of rest without any fatigues !

But on the 28th September every available man in the Battalion was required for the construction of a light railway on the beach, and on the 30th heavy fatigues were also necessary.

September 29 to October 3. Advantage was taken of this comparatively quiet interval to have the clothing of the whole Battalion sterilised.

Turkish trenches were always swarming with vermin. One soldier remarked, "It is hard enough work keeping *fat yersel*' without fattening beasts at the same time." After treating his clothes with Keatings "he had nearly scratched himself all away, but they thought it was a condiment."

It was even considered necessary to appoint an official barber. His charges were moderate—Shave, 1d ; Hair-cut, 2d ; Setting Razors, 3d.

This may be considered an appropriate place to give some rough idea of routine trench life on Gallipoli.

The trench was extremely like a long continuous grave, but with right-angled turns at every few yards. "Stand-to" both at dawn (4-5 a.m.) and from 7.15 to 8 p.m. at night. One platoon per company was allowed to take off boots and socks for one hour per day. There were frequent patrols of the trench all night long. The men slept at night with their rifle within reach, and fully equipped. At least four men were to be within "kicking" distance of the sentry.

The manner in which the men settled down to life under these strange conditions was remarkable.

Perhaps what tried them most was not the almost continual noise of guns, nor the vermin, nor the fearful smells, but the necessity of having everything ready for an official inspection.

So also, although the officers had a very trying time in being always ready for a counter-attack or enemy

shelling, the really irritating incidents were such as the following :—

“ The latest return of deficiencies was in this Company on Saturday last, when iron rations, with exception of ten men who admit having eaten their rations on their way over from hospital, were complete.

Another man had his damaged by Cresol spilled over it in the fire trench. Much of the biscuit is broken and discoloured by the beef tins. Others who only had the biscuit ration damaged by wet two nights ago were returned as deficient.”¹

Or incidents like the following :—

“ When taking over stores in this line your inventory showed 87 shovels. I was asked to hand over 44 to Battalion Q.M.-Sergeant. Instead of having 43 left on my hands, I pointed out to you at the time that there were only 20.”*

This sort of correspondence after days and nights of incessant strain and anxiety was almost intolerable.

Bombs, or shells, even counter-attacks, might be expected at any hour of the day or night.

Even those who were on fatigues or taking up supplies to the front were always in danger. We find Col. Millar specially commending Driver Atta Mohamed, of the 15th Mule Corps—“ On several occasions when carrying rations to the forward lines the mule train came under fire, and the drivers hesitated to go forward. On each of these occasions Driver Atta Mohamed pushed forward and led the way. His work was very satisfactory.” These mule tracks were specially observed and bombarded by the enemy.

“ An ammunition waggon broke down at an awkwardly exposed spot. Shells began to drop all around. But the men unloaded every box of ammunition as coolly as if they were in a stableyard.”

Moreover, in sunny weather the glare from the sides of the trench intensified the heat, which was often intolerable. In wet weather the men were ankle deep in mud, and at night it was bitterly cold.

(1*) Capt. Glover.

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October 3-9. The Battalion was in support trenches and endured a severe shelling with Lyddite and shrapnel.

Amongst the important events were a joint concert of 4th and 5th K.O.S.B. on the 4th and 6th October.

"A good feed of Quaker Oats and milk, ham, eggs, and cocoa."

On the 9th they were again in the firing-line. At this time we had not yet reached the junction of East and West Krithia Nullahs, and an elaborate series of operations had to be undertaken in order to improve our position.

These were initiated by the C.O. (Col. W. J. Millar). On the eastern side a bombing sap was pushed forward to within twenty-five yards of the Turkish trenches. Our men "bombed even on from 9 to 11 p.m." The work was not pleasant, for it rained heavily, and the enemy rifle fire never stopped for a moment.

October 9. Orders came to advance, occupy and barricade G 11 communication trench leading from our own to the enemy's line.

After a reconnaissance by Col. Millar himself, operations began at 8 p.m. Then our men obliterated a Turkish bomb-proof shelter.

Barricades were constructed and loopholed, and garrisons of six bombers and six riflemen were placed at them. The trench was deepened and cleared of dead bodies, of which there were many, both of our own men and of Turks.

The operations were completely successful, though the trench was decidedly unhealthy. One man standing beside Col. Millar was shot through the arm.

"Our men find that occasionally parties of Turks are at work on a sap which he is trying to push forward, and which ends in front of our saps (I and J). A few bombs at night usually stop their operations. He has a few active snipers in the vicinity of his bomb station."

This work was continued on the 10th October until 3 p.m., when we were relieved by the 5th H.L.I.

On the success of this well-managed affair hearty

congratulations were received from Gen. Erskine, O/C 52nd Division, and Gen. Pollok M'Call, O/C 155th Brigade.

The operations were continued by the 4th K.O.S.B. on the night of the 12th. They pushed the trench fifteen yards further on, and next morning saluted the Turks, who did not know what was going on, with a salvo of bombs.

The next two days (11th and 12th October) were spent in heavy fatigues carried out in the support lines, but on the 13th they again returned to the firing-line, relieving the 4th K.O.S.B.

More exciting work with bombs was carried on. 2nd-Lieut. Christie reconnoitred the Turkish trenches, and five bombs were thrown, of which two fell amongst a Turkish party working in one of their saps.

The Turks retaliated, and managed to throw two bombs into our N.E. bomb station.

In consequence they received seventy bombs during the next twenty-four hours, and then apparently had had sufficient, for in the early morning of October 15th Lieut. Crombie went out on patrol and discovered that the sap was empty.

Our patrols were active at this time, and brought in material of all sorts (barbed wire, 12 rifles, sets of equipment, and a Mills bomb).

On the 16th October the Turks required another lesson. Digging was heard in the Turkish bombing sap. One bomb, however, put a stop to this nuisance.

On the 10th the Battalion left the firing-line, but moved back to it on the 15th.

The weather was very bad. One thunderstorm with heavy rain lasted for six hours. During the whole time the men, soaked to the skin as they were, kept up rapid fire upon the enemy lines.

On the 15th, from 9 to 12 a.m., our artillery retaliated with shells, grenades, and torpedoes, until the very earth seemed to quiver beneath our feet.

Life was not at this time all misery and depression. The mail had arrived. No one except those who have been on active service in the field can realise the longing

for letters and home news. The parcels were particularly welcome, and Lady Hamilton's generous present of chutney and pickles had been received.

Then the 4th and 5th K.O.S.B. had another joint concert. The programme is not before me. I find, however, a note to the effect that *The Marseillaise* as rendered by the bagpipes had a "succès d'estime" only. These instruments of music can with difficulty reproduce the half-tones of the French National Anthem.

The 18th was a day of rest, a most unusual event, but rain fell all through the following night.

"Asiatic Annie" was extremely energetic during these days. One shell just failed to hit Battalion Headquarters dugout. Another missed R.-S.-M. Johnston and a private by inches. Quite a number of 5.3 shells fell on our Rest Camp.

On the 24th and 25th they moved to reserve trenches, where they were welcomed by a heavy Turkish bombardment. On the 26th they moved forward to the firing-line and relieved the 4th R.S.F. At this time the 1st, 1/4th, and 1/5th K.O.S.B. were holding the front line. We were, however, on the 28th removed to the first support trenches to the right of Shrapnel Nullah.

There were several changes during the month of October. The Adjutant (Captain Youngson, a regular officer) was invalided home. He had been responsible for the training of the Battalion before it left for service, and it was largely through his care that it proved so thoroughly efficient when the time of trial came. Lieut.-Q.M. Axson was also invalided. Capt. Glover was demobilised. Major J. L. Kennedy, and on the 24th, B Squadron and 6 officers of the Ayrshire Yeomanry, were temporarily attached to us. 2nd-Lieuts. Davies and F. V. Grierson joined the Battalion.

On the 3rd November, our men were bombing and sniping all day. Capt. G. D. Watson, with D Company and part of B Company, made a further advance of twelve yards in G 10. A new barricade was built. The operation was carried out methodically and in dead silence. An escort was pushed out in front to cover

the working party. Sandbags were filled and stacked ready, and in this way the trench was slowly constructed. It was not until the 7th that they removed to the Rest Camp, where they had a warm reception by "Asiatic Annie." There were, however, no casualties.

On the 15th, and again on the 17th, terrific thunderstorms with torrents of rain flooded the trenches, which were twelve to fourteen inches deep in water and mud.

On the 17th the Turks seemed to have suspected an attack under cover of the rain, and their rifle fire was very heavy. The trenches were also searched with enemy shrapnel; then the Turks attempted a counter-attack which failed to develop. The conditions were very trying for all ranks.

Yet it is recorded that all through the rain and turmoil "still we heard a voice chanting 'Marguerite.'"

A man, quite naked, and just about to retrieve his belongings by diving into the five feet of water in his dugout, was heard to say:—"I must really complain to the factor about this, my roof's letting in."

Our diarist says briefly:—

"Men muck all over, and deep in mud. What a spectacle."

These advances made by our bombing parties were preliminary manœuvres for position in the great struggle for the junction of West and East Krithia Nullahs.

The tongue-shaped strip of land between these two gullies was only some ten feet above the bed of the Nullahs. It was on this strip that a complicated series of Turkish trenches had been made. They were elaborately wired and strongly held. There were four trenches on the cliffs of the western side of the West Krithia Nullah, which were some forty feet in height and the ground east of East Krithia Nullah was also very strong.

These Nullahs were the only possible method of penetrating and perhaps of outflanking part of the Turkish front line. At any rate this may have been the opinion of the Higher Command.

The attack began at 3 p.m. on the afternoon of the

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15th. It was successful so far as was humanly possible, thanks to the careful planning and the magnificent valour of the Cameronians and Royal Scots, who again distinguished themselves. They advanced about 160 yards on the eastern side and 120 yards on the west, but they had some 107 casualties.

The struggle continued from the 15th to the 20th November.

The machine guns of the 155th Brigade were actively engaged, whilst every available rifleman and bomber in the 5th K.O.S.B. assisted by threatening a bayonet charge, and by keeping up constant firing on any Turks who showed themselves.

On the 20th the weather cleared up, but became bitterly cold.

November 21. The Battalion took over part of the firing-line, where they arrived about 11 a.m. The morning was quiet, "but what a day it turned out!" About 4 p.m. the Turks started a counter-attack, and half-an-hour later "every one of us was on our mettle and gave them a hot reception. I am sure they lost hundreds. About 5.30 p.m. they made a massed attack, and oh! what a slaughter.

To give an idea, we had 27 machine guns trained on them and each gun firing 500 rounds a minute, a grand total of 13,500 rounds buzzing into the Turks every minute, and, as they were massed thickly together, very few were left to tell the tale.

Really another Red Letter Day. All ranks were in the highest spirits, and felt increased confidence in themselves."

November 22-26. Although the weather was fine, the nights became bitterly cold with hard frost. The men suffered horribly. They were still insufficiently clad, though at last cardigan jackets had been supplied; rations consisted of bully beef. Scouting parties went out at night into No Man's Land, although the Turks were only eighty yards distant.

On the evening of the 26th a thunderstorm broke

upon the trenches, "and the rain fell steadily and in torrents."

The parapet of the trench occupied by Pte. S. Welsh and his mate "rushed in and nearly buried my mate and me. But a miss is as good as a mile, and so we live to fight another day. Another comrade killed, Pte. M'Cartney."

November 28. The Battalion moved to the Rest Camp. It was on the 27th that the blizzard began, with a full gale from the south-east and cold, drenching rain. Then the wind veered to the north.

"There was to be no escape, no shelter. The rain became colder and more pitiless, and then turned to sleet. All through the night the bitter hurricane blew a cutting blast of icy rain and sleet right into the aching faces of the sentries on Cape Helles.

Then the snow came, and there burst over Gallipoli that blizzard which seemed as if it would overwhelm both armies in a common, gigantic, and appalling misery.

The biting wind froze the sodden clothing which hung on their benumbed bodies.

On Sunday, the 28th, the heavens were black, and whirling, blinding snow fell heavily, collecting in drifts in trenches and dugouts, and overspreading the ground. Everything was frozen—motors of ambulances, taps of watercarts, even the mechanism of rifles and machine guns."¹

It was on this day that the Battalion left the front line.

"What a morning! We were a pitiable sight. A perfect blizzard, and we were ordered to move in the midst of it. Knee-deep in puddles." (Welsh).

But for the very first time the Battalion moved to the high ground above V Beach, where new dugouts covered by sheets of corrugated iron had been erected.

November 30. This was a day of very hard frost, and at last warm underclothing was issued to the men.

During November, 2nd-Lieut. F. V. Grierson went

(1) Thompson (The 52nd Division).

to hospital. 2nd-Lieuts. J. W. Fergusson, H. E. Pollard, and R. L. Leslie joined the Battalion.

It was bitterly cold still, but on 1st December the sun appeared, and at last the men could get their clothes dried.

December 3. The rain again came on heavily.

December 5. The Battalion moved to the firing-line to the left of Shrapnel Nullah. The men were in a terrible condition, "lame and unfit for duty."

They were to remain in the firing-line or the support trenches, which were just as bad, until the 20th December.

During the whole of this time they were attacked with grenades, and shelled with Lyddite and shrapnel. They had also very heavy fatigues, for the weather had damaged the parapets, which in many places had crumbled away.

The Turks were by this time able to get ample supplies of ammunition *via* the Danube, and thence by rail to the other side of the Peninsula, where roads were available. Thus supplies could be brought up in safety to the batteries, which were in perfect cover.

The bombardment continued on 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th. On the 10th twenty shells landed within a radius of fifty yards from Battalion Headquarters. Three men of D Company were killed by one shell.

There were also night attacks by the enemy, who used hand-grenades. Heavy rain fell on the 16th. During this terrible time of fatigue, constant exposure to all sorts of shells, and occasional night attacks, the only solace of the men consisted in sniping Turks and carrying out patrols. They collected 24 rifles, 1 box of machine gun ammunition, and 3000 rounds S.A.A.

During all this period the Higher Command were preparing for another assault on the fork of West and East Krithia Nullahs. This was intended mainly to distract the Turkish mind and prevent their attending to the evacuation of our troops at Suvla.

On the morning of the 18th December the men were very quiet. The attack was to come off at 2 p.m.,

but it so happened that on this day the duty of the 5th K.O.S.B. was to keep down the fire from the enemy trenches.

They "quickly established their ascendancy." In other words, their fire was so rapid and so mercilessly accurate that the Turks dared not show themselves, and therefore the attack became a possible though a very dangerous enterprise.

This charge, both up the western and the eastern sides of the two Krithia gullies, by which thirty yards of Turkish trenches were captured and a footing established on the tongue of land between the two gullies, really belongs to the splendid record of the 5th H.L.I., and is very well described in the 52nd Divisional History.

Our Battalion had, however, a very strenuous time. It must be remembered that during both days "Lyddite and shrapnel were flying about in all directions."

During the whole attack the men of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. were carrying grenades and ammunition to the front.

They also had to bring up barbed wire, sandbags, Verrey lights, tools, etc. In addition to all this they prepared an advanced cook-house in "Clunes Vennel," whence after "dinner meal" on the 19th hot food could be cooked and brought up to those in the fighting line.

Amongst others who distinguished themselves on this occasion were Capt. A. H. M'Neill, who superintended this dangerous work and provided for a constant supply of bombs and ammunition. R.-S.-M. Charles Johnston, Sergt. John Diamond, Sergt. Thomas Findlay, and Lance-Corpl. Robert Lawson were also recommended by Col. Millar for their splendid services.

These essential supplies were taken right up to trench G 11a.

During the action there were no less than five breaks in the telephone wire; two of these fractures were in places fully exposed to enemy fire. Lance-Corpl. Robert Lawson and others repaired each break under fire as soon

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as it had been made, so that communication was maintained right through the action. For this gallant service he also was commended.

The losses of the 157th Brigade had been extremely heavy. The 5th H.L.I. had 84 casualties, which included 4 officers killed and 5 wounded. Col. F. L. Morrison, who was in command of this battalion, heartily thanked Col. Millar and the 1/5th K.O.S.B. for their valuable help.

On the evening of the 20th the Battalion had returned to the Rest Camp. It was exceedingly wet, and the trenches were full of water. On the 21st, as soon as the water had been baled out, torrents of rain fell, and blankets, clothing, and equipment had to be fished out and dried somehow. Braziers proved exceedingly useful on this occasion.

"Men in a deplorable state; not a dry stitch to put on, and six inches of water to wade about in."

They were, however, moved to divisional dugouts, and ten men were crushed into each.

December 22 to 26. These days were spent under continual bombardment. After the rain the cold was terrible. "Got half of whisky from an officer, or I think I would have pegged out."

During these days the men were also engaged on heavy fatigue work.

Nevertheless, "the sun broke through, and things were a little cheerier." The Divisional Band played in the evenings. "The Christmas dinner consisted of a bottle of beer, an orange, an apple, and two bars of chocolate, with a spoonful of plum pudding." One plum pudding was divided among four men.

For this handsome present we had to thank the Dumfries Comforts Committee.

December 26. The Battalion took its place in the firing-line about Krithia Nullah. On this Sunday morning the diarist from whose notes we have so frequently quoted finished his war service.

A shell exploded near him. He was buried in the trench, bruised and crushed. The internal injury was

so severe that Pte. S. Welsh, Dumfries, now ends his diary with "Farewell to Dardanelles."

This last tour in the trenches was one of the most severe trials that the Battalion had yet been called upon to endure.

The enemy artillery, not being required in Anzac, seemed to be increasing in strength every day. The Turks were always trying to recapture G 11a. Sometimes they attacked in daylight with strong covering fire from machine guns; sometimes they made sudden counter-attacks at night.

At this time there were probably 120,000 Turkish troops on the Peninsula. More heavy artillery was also coming to the front.

However, the Higher Command, who had, no doubt long before this date, decided on evacuation, thought that it was essential to prevent the Turks from suspecting our approaching departure, and an attack was ordered for the 29th December.

Two mines had been laid in the further end of G 11a below the central communication trench, where there was a nest of machine guns.

December 29. In order to get rapidly into the Nullah a tunnel had been dug into the western bank, but not quite so far as the Nullah itself.

Sergt. Byers, with a party of the 1/5th K.O.S.B., proceeded to the end of the tunnel opening into Krithia Nullah.

When the mine under G 11a was exploded the party rushed through the opening and into the enemy trench, taking possession.

We were now put to dig a new communication trench, and on the counter-attack by the Turks we manned the parapets and assisted in repelling their attack.

Near us our bombing detachment, also attached to the Fusiliers, did magnificent service. Lance-Corpl. M'Murray was shot through the head by a sniper whilst throwing a continuous series of bombs during a strong

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Turkish counter-attack. He was ably seconded by Pte. M'Guffie, who later won the V.C. in France.

At 1 p.m. there was a terrific explosion. Then the grenade teams of 4th and 5th K.O.S.B. and the storm troops (4th and 5th R.S.F.) doubled for the craters, capturing the whole of G 11a in record time.

Then from every trench in our lines there arose a tremendous outburst of wild cheering.

The 5th K.O.S.B. snipers again distinguished themselves. One man claimed a bag of 18 Turks. But the fighting was by no means over. The Turks thought over their defeat for about two hours, in which there was, comparatively speaking, a chance of rest.

Then they opened a tremendous bombardment, lasting two hours, and followed this up at 5.10 p.m. by a counter-attack. During the following night three other counter-attacks were attempted. But these all failed hopelessly, for the Fusiliers drove them back with consummate ease.

During the following day this little plot of ground (only 150 yards across) became an "inferno of bursting shrapnel and H.E."

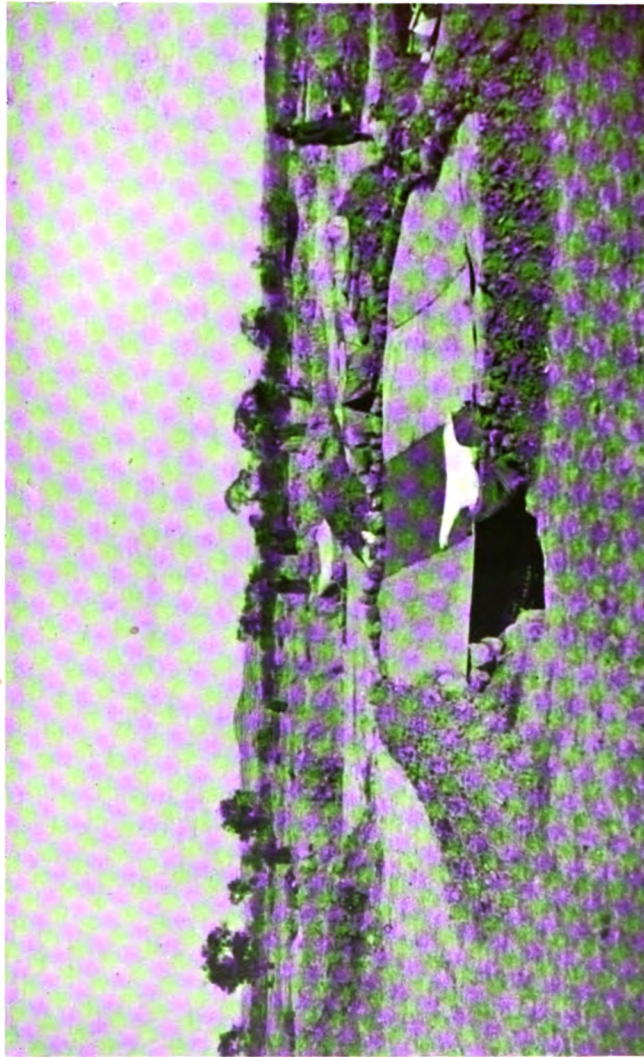
One of the bombing stations was blown up, but was immediately recaptured by the Fusiliers.

In this engagement the Battalion lost 4 men killed and 9 wounded. The casualties of the 155th Brigade amounted to 143.

During this last action (29th December) Pte. G. Lloyd (A Company) distinguished himself. He threw a lighted grenade which happened to strike the parapet and fall back into the bomb station, which was then occupied by a party of miners. It was only a five-second fuse. Lloyd tried to lift the bomb and throw it again, but it exploded, and he received the whole charge in his own body and was very seriously wounded. He could have saved himself easily, but through his devotion no one else was touched.¹

December 31. At 12.30 we pretended to begin a counter-attack. Bayonets were displayed above the

(1) His leg was amputated.—Col. J. W. Millar.



GALLIPOLI: REST CAMP, CAPE HELLES

Looking towards Achi Baba

By permission, Col. Findlay, I.C., and Messrs Blackie & Son.

parapets, and our artillery opened a heavy fire on the Turkish lines.

On this evening the battalion was to have been relieved at 7 p.m., but the night was pitch dark, and it was not until after midnight that they reached the Rest Camp.

Our losses for the last six days were 7 killed and 15 wounded.

Preparations for evacuation had been going on for some time. On the 29th, 30th, and 31st there had been, every night, periods of silence. No rifles were fired or bombs thrown, nor were Verey lights permitted.

January 1, 1916. Official news of the evacuation had been already received, and in consequence heavy fatigues were required to wire and entrench the cliffs near "W" landing.

The Battalion spent the day moving about to make it appear as if nothing unusual was going on.

Every night troops were being embarked. Six of our aeroplanes had been detailed to keep off any inquisitive Turkish observers.

The danger was great !

The Battalion "stood-to" all night long (1/2/1916). During the night of 2-3rd January, and all day during 4th and 5th, the Rest Camp areas and the beaches were incessantly shelled by the Turks.

Our embarkation was fixed for the night of 6-7th January. Three officers and some 100 men (B and D Companies) were left behind for beach and miscellaneous duties.

Lieut. T. W. Woodhead had been retained in charge of some mules, for whom it had been impossible to find transport.

For at least ten days each of these animals had had eight to ten pounds of corn per day, and as much hay as they could eat. During the whole time they had had neither exercise nor work. Every day an order was sent to shoot them, but this order was always countermanded before night.

In the end they were (by order) set loose. Those

who have had personal acquaintance with army mules will wonder what happened to the Turks when they tried to catch them.

The morning of the 6th January was clear and frosty. The men were moving about trying to give an impression of "Business as usual," whilst an enemy aeroplane hovered suspiciously over our camp.

At last (5.30 p.m) came the order to embark, and at 7 p.m. the Battalion moved to V Beach, wound its devious way through the innermost recesses of the River Clyde, and was packed in instalments, and as closely as herrings, in small trawlers. It was a difficult feat, but they *did* succeed in keeping the Battalion drums, which the officer on the beach apparently thought would sink the trawlers.

"For some hours we floated about in pitch darkness. There was no difficulty about keeping perfect silence."

The guns from Achi Baba and "Asiatic Annie" were shelling both our trawlers and the beach, just exactly as they had done when we landed seven months before. But at last we found the elusive S.S. *Partridge*, and after a very uncomfortable voyage reached Lemnos.

The late Lieut. Tweedie, writing on the 5th January, 1916, says:—"The last three days on the Peninsula were about the worst. Most of our Battalion departed a few days before the evacuation, but Capt. Watson, Lieut. Murdoch, and myself were left as a working party to ship stores, and only embarked on the last night. I had a feeling that it was like leaving a well-begun job half finished, but, knowing what we do now, it would have been far better if it had never been begun.

The Turks never yet re-took any of the posts we captured. I honestly believe that they were glad to let us get away quietly!"

"Few I am sure but recalled our landing at this same point in June, 1915, our ranks filled to overflowing, our hopes high, with confident resolve and visions of victory. Through no fault of ours, and in spite of blood, toil, and incredible hardships borne with a fortitude

seldom surpassed, circumstances had forced us to abandon the enterprise in which so many gallant comrades had spent their blood in vain—yet not altogether in vain. Had we not helped to tie down in Gallipoli a quarter of a million Turks, they would doubtless have overrun Egypt and taken our highway to India, the Suez Canal.” (Col. Millar).

The losses of the Turks have only been estimated, but they were certainly enormous. Cape Helles, formerly the “Garden of Gallipoli,” was now known to their armies as the “Graveyard.” Their troops on the Peninsula were the very best they had—sturdy Anatolian peasants, the fire brigade of Constantinople, and the like.

Their sufferings were probably even worse than those which we endured. Capt. Frank Tweedie (brother of Lieut. Alec Tweedie) has allowed me to quote from a Turkish manuscript picked up on the battlefield.

“Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Battalions of the 32nd Regiment have been without food for the last four days.”

“One shrapnel burst killed 13 and wounded 14 men.”

“Our fleet is heavily bombarding our advanced lines, please for immediate countermanding orders.”

“The other most important duty of the squadron is to send patrols all round in the valleys between the positions of the artillery and the village of Koyadere . . . with a view to giving no chance whatever for any man to withdraw from the firing-line.”

“This evening a company of this very battalion (2nd Battalion, 125th Regiment) came to take up a position on my left, but with great noise and shouting of orders it showed itself to the enemy. The squad officer was killed, and all the men ran away; our left wing is still empty.”

“Owing to the death of Kamakan Sheik Bey, the command of this section is now given to me. I hope with the help of Allah to work this properly and loyally. Allah helps the servant who works diligently, therefore each officer must pay very great attention to his duties.”

“On the attack of to-morrow the very existence and safety of the nation depend. With the help of Allah

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and continued spiritual support of our Prophet this attack must be carried out to-morrow.—O/C 1st Battalion, 33rd Regiment.”

In this attack (30th April, 1915) this gallant officer, as well as some 4000 other officers and men, were killed. It was a disastrous defeat for the Turkish Army.

There is no doubt that the losses of the Turkish Army were irreparable.

General Sir W. R. Birdwood says :—

“Remember that it was there on the Gallipoli Peninsula that the flower of the Turkish Army was well nigh annihilated. We stuck so close to the heart of the Ottoman Empire that it was only natural that her best troops should be sent to meet us.”

The losses of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. in the Gallipoli Campaign were enormous.

On landing (5th June, 1915) the strength was as follows :—Officers, 30 ; Other Ranks, 939.¹

	Officers.	Other ranks.
Killed, died of wounds, and wounded	13	421
Evacuated sick, and not returned to		
Battalion	2	191
Reinforcements...	20	143
On leave to base, signals, etc.	2	12
Strength on leaving the Peninsula ...	20	322*

Thus, of 50 officers and 1082 men, the 1/5th K.O.S.B. lost 30 officers and 760 men in this disastrous campaign.

It may be true that when the Fleet attempted to pass the Straits 5000 men could have walked up to the top of Achi Baba without meeting with any resistance. But could they have held the position ?

In future, when all this present generation have gone to their last account, we may feel the deepest sympathy for the unfortunate historian who has to find out who was responsible for this adventure.

Lord Kitchener objected to the despatch of the 29th Division. The General Staff was opposed to it.

(1) Includes Chaplain, R.A.M.C., and R.A.O.S.

(2) Includes M.O., 4 R.A.M.C., etc.

Lord Fisher objected, and disapproved of any attempt to force the Straits.

In 1906 the whole question had been carefully considered by the General Staff after consultation with the Admiralty, and the scheme was definitely turned down. From Sir Ian Hamilton's *Diary of Gallipoli* it seems that both Sir W. R. Birdwood and General Hunter Weston (1 c., p. 62) considered the task an impossible one.¹

Nothing could be more clear and cogent than the argument of General Gouraud, dated the 13th June (1 c., p. 297). All except one of the evils mentioned in his forecast happened precisely as he had foreseen.

There are two great maxims laid down by the Great Napoleon. First—*Throughout the History of the World a Junta has never been successful in war.*

Yet Lord Kitchener never had complete control even of the army. "Government has entrusted the superintendence of the Dardanelles business to a small and really strong Committee" (1 c., p. 38, 29th July).

Second—*Celerity. Without it, Failure.*²

The long delay between the attempt to force the Straits and the landing of the army prevented any possibility of success.

It was of course impossible to spare sufficient artillery for the Dardanelles, when every gun and every round was urgently required in France. On Helles we had from 88 to 95 guns for four Divisions, and the gunners were limited to four rounds per gun per day;³ at the Third Battle of Gaza there were 545 guns for four Divisions.⁴

The Battalion remained in Lemnos from the 7th to 31st January, 1916. D Company did not arrive until the 9th, and it was then discovered that Battalion Records, office stationery, and officers' baggage, which

(1) Sir Gerard Ellison, K.C.B., *Perils of Amateur Strategy*—"To besiege or assault the Dardanelles fortress was not a feasible operation of War."

(2) Lord Fisher, in a letter to the Right Hon. Winston Churchill.—*Glasgow Herald*, 30th October, 1923.

(3) Col. Anderson, D.S.O., The 6th Highland Light Infantry.

(4) Sir Hugh Simpson Baikie.

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had been (by order) handed to Ordnance, were entirely lost.

Their stay in the island was uneventful. The men were lodged in marquees, which held 40 men each.

Pickets were required, and occasional heavy fatigues. They had occasionally hot baths at West Mudros. Drill and route marches were assiduously carried out.

The health of the Battalion improved greatly during this rather tame period.

On the 31st January, 1916, they embarked on the S.S. *Ionian*, but remained in Mudros Harbour all night.

*Additional Notes on Gallipoli.*¹

LOSSES ON THE PENINSULA.

Most of the wounded and sick did not return to the Battalion.

The patience and even cheerfulness of the wounded astonished even the surgeons.

"Do you know we have taken the trenches?" said one whilst waiting for his operation.

"And paid almost nothing for them," said another poor fellow who had three holes drilled in his body.

The losses from sickness is perhaps best shown by the following returns of strength and sick in hospital:—

				Rifle Strength.	Sick.
Nov.	13	...	...	223	212
"	20	...	...	241	197
"	27	...	...	233	173
"	30	...	...	218	174
Dec.	4	...	...	229	164
"	11	...	...	209	168
"	18	...	...	197	168
"	25	...	...	195	166
"	31	...	...	163	176

(1) Received too late for insertion in correct position.

TUNNELLING OPERATIONS.

By Capt. A. Burns, M.C.

About the third or fourth day after landing on the Peninsula miners were urgently required, so a detail of men from Sanquhar and Kirkconnel, under Lieut. Macfarlane, were soon wending their way towards Ghurka Bluff, Headquarters of the Indian Brigade.

On arrival no one seemed very clear as to procedure, but ultimately a Royal Engineer officer came upon the scene and pointed out the positions where mining operations were to be carried out.

"Graith" had to be considered, and imagine the look upon the miners' faces when they were issued with the ordinary service pick!

However, it takes a lot to beat those fellows, and soon they were burrowing away with their entrenching tools and "drawing" by means of sandbags.

It was soon found out that if progress was to be made, some other means of procedure would require to be adopted.

Sergt. Watson possessed all the true characteristics of a British soldier for picking up things. He made his way to the blacksmith's shop and had picks made to his liking. This was a step in the right direction, and soon busy little parties were burrowing in below the Turkish lines for the sole purpose of giving them "a lift up in the world."

Ventilation was another problem, only to be met with the same promptitude and solved at once. A box fan was first made, which was geared and driven by man power in the same manner as one would operate a mangle. Later this was replaced by a gear type of forge-fire fan made of cast-iron. One might see such a fan in any blacksmith's shop. The cast-iron piping was continued by 2-inch rubber tubing as far as the rock face.

Ammunition boxes took on the role of hutches, and light was supplied by candles.

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The average dimensions of the mine were 2 feet 6 inch by 3 feet. Shifts were arranged as follows:—Time—Two hours on, four hours off. Work—One at face, one filling, one drawing and one tipping, and a party on fans.

Work proceeded more or less successfully at Ghurka Bluff, but not without incident. Alan Parker and W. Thomson when bathing ventured a little too far out, and came in full view of the Turks, who at once commenced shelling the beach. Although ninety-three shells dropped into the water the men returned safe, though exhausted.

The tunnellers, except Sergt. M. Parker and Corpl. T. Campbell, returned to the Battalion in time to share in the 12th July charge. These two were with the 29th Division Royal Engineers, and miners from various battalions in the Division were sent to them. Thus was born the 8th Corps Mining Company.

Headquarters were at Pink Farm, and work was carried on in the Eski lines, Y ravine, and Bird Cage. The Bird Cage area was a particularly lively spot, and commanded a fine view of the Turkish lines.

As a protection against bombs the trenches in this area were covered with wire-netting, hence the name "Bird Cage."

Some very daring work was performed by the tunnellers in this area, and mining "dust-ups" were very frequent. A good deal of counter-mining by the Turks took place, and on a few occasions opposing parties broke through on each other.

The Tunnelling Company were used as a unit until the evacuation.

Their work was of the trying and daring order. If an attack took place they came at once under the orders of the officer commanding in that particular line.

Their services were very favourably commented on by the Higher Authorities.

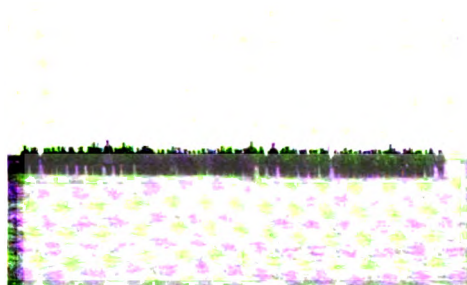
It was in this area and on work of this kind that Parker and Morton won their D.C.M.'s.



NO. 8 PLATOON AFTER THE EVACUATION.



H.M.S. "CANOPUS."



THE BATTALION AFTER THE EVACUATION.

Last Months on the Peninsula.

81

Pte. R. Morton, D.C.M.

During the tunnelling operations two officers and one man had gone down a small counter-mine. Pte. Morton then went down himself and, partially overcome by gas, was pulled back to the surface unconscious.

He insisted on going down again as soon as he had recovered. He rescued the three who were missing, but only two survived.

Sergt. M. Parker, D.C.M.

“ For conspicuous gallantry, 14th Sept., 1915, on the Gallipoli Peninsula.”

In the course of mining operations the gallery in which Lance-Corpl. Parker was working broke through into one of the enemy galleries. By accurate fire he held off the Turks, who began firing and throwing bombs into our gallery until he was driven back by fumes, which extinguished all the lights.

So soon as the air cleared he returned, and under heavy fire from the enemy he plugged up the breach between the two galleries, and thus enabled the charge to be laid which destroyed the enemies' galleries. His bravery and devotion to duty was very marked.

CHAPTER IV.

DUEIDAR AND ROMANI.

THE S.S. *Ionian* sailed from Mudros at 1 a.m. of the 1st February, 1916, arriving at Alexandria at 6 a.m. the following day.

Disembarking on the 5th February, they entrained and reached the Polygon Camp, Abbasia, at 1.45 p.m., where huts and tents were ready for them.

They spent their time at Cairo in training and refitting, varied by visits to the Pyramids and other diversions. February 17: They went off to Port Said in open trucks.

On the 18th they were inspected by the G.O.C., 15th Army Corps, who was much impressed by their physique and fine appearance ("finest body of men in the Brigade").

On the 27th another journey in open trucks brought them to Kantara, arriving at 4.30 p.m. They were kept at the station until 9 p.m.

Headquarters and two platoons then went to Spit Post, on the Suez Canal. Here they had to patrol and guard seven miles of frontage, and especially to watch various pumping stations and other posts.

On March 2nd, Col. W. J. Millar, D.S.O., and five other officers were entertained with extreme hospitality on board the French man-of-war, *Pothuaus*,¹ commanded by Commandant Louel. The guns of this vessel were to co-operate with the Battalion in the event of any attack on our frontage.

The Battalion remained at Spit Post and Hill 58 until the 23rd March. Camp was struck at daybreak, and everything was ready long before 10 a.m., which was the hour fixed for relief. Nothing happened. Dinner consisting of "three small boiled eggs, a bit of bread, and eight walnuts" was consumed. At 2 p.m. there was no

(1) The Treaty of Alliance between France and Russia was signed on board this vessel by the Czar Nicholas and President Felix Faure, at Kronstadt, 1897. An inscription to this effect is affixed to the mast.

sign of anything. At 4 p.m. biscuits were served. Not until 4.30 p.m. did the barges turn up, into which we were packed and conveyed to Kantara. We reached Hill 40 at midnight.

When the 1/5th K.O.S.B. arrived in Egypt, the Suez Canal appeared to be perfectly secure against any attack from the other side of the desert.

A system of inundation had been prepared on the Asiatic side, which practically reproduced that old Pelusiac branch of the Nile which was the main line of defence of the Pharaoh Seti I.

Just opposite Port Said there was a narrow bank of sand along the shore, with a light railway running towards Mahamadyia, which was not inundated. This was guarded by a strong sandbag fortress and by machine gun batteries.

Where the ground stood above the level of the inundation small forts had been built, such as Spit Post, Hill 58, and Hill 34, which were supposed to be strong enough to hold off any possible attack. At Kantara ("The Bridge") a more elaborate series of strong posts had been designed; for this place is the regular gateway of Egypt, by which for at least 5000 years armies of every kind of Asiatic have entered to prey upon the rich lands deposited by the Nile.

Further to our right Ballybunion (not an indigenous name) was occupied by Australian Light Horse, which could be used to strike the left flank of any invader who dared to come on to attack the Canal.

Warships lying in the Canal had their appointed places, from which an annihilating fire could be brought to bear on the right flank of an enemy.

In order to prevent injury to the Canal by spies or small parties who might conceivably cross the unoccupied zone at night, an ingenious arrangement, used by the Emperor Napoleon in his Egyptian expedition, had been revived.

Every night camels had to drag a wide swathe or besom of brushwood over the sand on the further side. It was supposed that an Arab spy would not observe

this track, and if such an one did cross he could be captured.

But further precautions were taken. In order to guard the great caravan track to Gaza, Jerusalem, and the Euphrates, a series of little cavalry outposts had been established well out to the front. Nearer Kantara was a chain of advanced sandbag fortresses held by infantry.

The cavalry, or rather Yeomanry, were at the well-known oases of Hamisah and Katia, with an outlying party at Oghratina to protect certain well-sinking operations. Their headquarters were at the large oasis of Romani, some three miles from the sea.

The infantry posts were at Hill 40, three miles from Kantara; Turks Top, etc.; at Hill 70, which was a strong fortress; and at Dueidar, which is thirteen miles along the caravan track from Kantara.

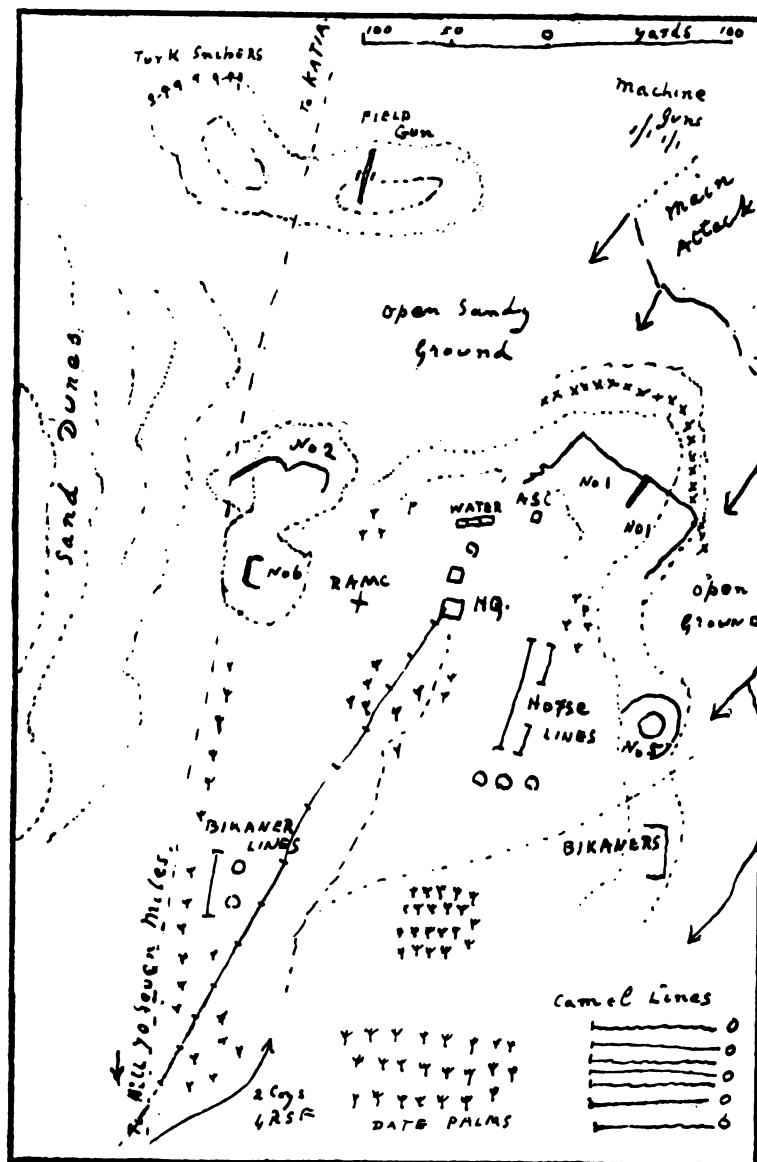
The enemy had to cross fifty to sixty miles of desert from Bir El Abd. On paper it looked as if it was impossible for any large force to approach the Canal without ample warning being given by the Yeomanry patrols or by our aeroplanes, who were incessantly traversing the whole desert area up to and beyond Bir El Abd.

It is, however, an axiom in war that when there are only three courses which an enemy can possibly follow, experience always shows that he adopts a fourth.

The astute German staff had realised that by marching at night large bodies of men can easily be concealed from the aeroplane observer.

Moreover fog is at certain seasons frequent. The intense radiation from the heated desert sand will, if the wind is from the right quarter, cover the whole country with an impenetrable cloud of dense, white, and clinging mist.

The German plans were skilfully laid. Their troops marched only from 6 to 11 p.m. They halted until 1 a.m. within such distance of their destination as they could cover before daybreak. Their orders were precise and carefully thought out. Men were allowed to march very much as they liked. Collars and



After Sketch by

BATTLE OF DUEIDAR.

Captain Roberts, M.C.

shirts were to be opened out. There were halts of twenty minutes after every lap of one hundred minutes, and so on. Large parties of infantry were detailed to assist oxen in dragging the mountain guns by guy-ropes attached to their wheels. Others were to cut the desert bushes and lay a track.

During the day they rested in some oasis, where elaborate precautions were taken. All ranks were to lie down and cover themselves with sand. Tents were covered with earth or bushes, and so on.

These arrangements worked beautifully. None of the officers engaged in the following action had any particular reason to suppose that there was an armed Turk anywhere near his post, whereas 3500 of the enemy, with machine guns and five small pieces of artillery, were lying low quite close to Katia, Oghratina, and Dueidar.

On this night (22-23rd April) I myself happened to be out visiting the sentries at Hill 40 at 3 a.m. The dense, cold and clammy white fog made it quite impossible to see anything—even a water trough at twenty yards' distance was invisible.

The same impenetrable mist covered the desert round the little post at Dueidar, then held by Capt. F. Roberts with some 120 men of the 5th R.S.F.

Since their raid on the Canal in February, 1915, which had ended in disaster, the Turks had never been in the least offensive.¹

Dense clouds of clammy white fog hovered over the little camp. Capt. Roberts had himself visited the sentries at 4.15 a.m. At 5.15 a.m. the Yeomanry had reported "all clear," but still the men were kept "standing-to"!

At 5.30 a.m., just as light dawned, a sentry thought he saw figures on foot moving in the mist near the Redoubt, and fired a shot. The answer was a terrific burst of machine gun and rifle fire, followed at once by a furious charge of yelling Arabs and Turks, who were in very close formation.

(1) For the following details and the sketch I have to thank Capt. Roberts himself, who gave them to me on 27th April, 1916.

Fortunately the attack was on the point where a little barbed wire had been put out, and where there was some dead ground close up to the camp.

The steady, accurate fire of two veteran platoons checked the Turkish charge, which hesitated, stopped, and then melted away. Some of them reached the wire; none crossed it.

Every horse in the lines was very soon slaughtered by the enemy machine guns, which traversed the camp in every direction. The camel lines were also full of dead and wounded beasts. Yet the Bikaner Camel Corps did manage to remove some of their animals to a safer place. They then took up a position (*see Sketch*), where their help was invaluable.

It was impossible to reinforce any of the trenches. Others of the enemy moved out to attack the left front of the camp, where there was no wire, and their snipers became an intolerable nuisance.

One of our own aeroplanes, "flying to the sound of the guns," came upon the scene, dropped a smoke ball to show the position of the main body, and descended low enough to use its machine gun effectively on the enemy. The last message was: "Machine badly hit, am going home.—W. Baillie."

At 7.15 a.m. the outlook was indeed serious. Not only were the Redoubt and hillock still under a murderous fire, whilst the whole camp was traversed by the machine and field guns; but which was the real danger, the Turks were working right round our right flank, where on the side facing Hill 70 there were neither barbed wire nor trenches. They reached the tents and butchered the wretched Egyptian camel drivers, who made no attempt to defend themselves.

They had also snipers on the dune to our left front, and twice attempted to rush the Redoubt from the east, south-east, and south.

But a counter-attack was being organised. The hillock was occupied and brought an oblique fire to bear upon the enemy's left, and by 8.15 a.m. they were preparing to retreat. Another counter-attack was also

being arranged to drive back the enemy who were working round by our right flank.

But the Turks had in one respect blundered badly, for they had *not* cut our telephone to Hill 70. When the signal was received reinforcements were at once despatched. The Colonel and two companies of the 5th R.S.F., under Major Thompson, did a record march to Dueidar in two hours without a halt and charged with the bayonet as soon as they got there (9 a.m.), working round by the north of the Katia Road, but when they arrived the situation was in hand. Other reinforcements were hurrying up from all directions. The 5th K.O.S.B. fell in at 6.30 a.m. and marched to Hill 70, so that two other companies (4th R.S.F.) could also proceed to Dueidar.

The 5th Australian Light Horse had also hurried up from Ballybunion, and were very soon hunting the invaders back into the desert.

A general advance at 2.15 p.m. routed the enemy completely, and twelve unwounded men were captured.

Capt. F. Roberts estimated his garrison as 120 men (*see* Note A—Dueidar). The Turks numbered some 950, that is, eight times as many. They left 70 dead; we captured 30 prisoners, 80 rifles, and quantities of ammunition. Many other Turks were captured or killed during this pursuit; an eye-witness (Major Bell), who had been taken prisoner at Katia, saw long strings of camels bearing the enemy wounded. There were, in his opinion, hundreds of them. There was a camp rumour that another body of 500 had tried to attack Turks Top fortress, then held by the 1/5th K.O.S.B., but that in the fog they could not find it.

On the same morning our Yeomanry posts were also attacked. Oghratina, seven miles out in the desert from Katia, was garrisoned by the Worcester Yeomanry (less one squadron) and a party of the 2/2nd Lowland Field Company Engineers. The idea seems to have been for the garrison to push on entrenchments, but to retire on Katia if attacked in force.

What happened must be imagined rather than



S.S. "IONIAN."



DATES.



OASIS.



ON HILL 58.

Commandant LOUEL, Colonel MILLAR, and Officers.

described. The same clinging, white fog obscured the desert. At 4.15 a.m. the Turks "practically bumped into our camp," but were driven off. Then at 5.15 a.m., that is, when it was just possible to see, the enemy charged. In this first attack the Turks were repulsed.¹ A message came through at 7 a.m., "the place is entirely surrounded and a new attack is developing." That was the last message. The enemy in overwhelming strength attacked from west and north-west, and every man of the garrison was killed or taken prisoner.

In Katia was one squadron of Gloucester Yeomanry, which had arrived on the 22nd, and some 40 dismounted yeomen. There were good trenches, but only for 50 to 60 men, and the horses were picketed close to the camp. At 9.30 a.m., after destroying Oghratina, the enemy (1000 Germans, 2000 Turks and Arabs, with four field guns) rushed the place. A mountain battery was brought up at 9.45 a.m., and within a very few minutes every horse was killed or maimed. A squadron of the Worcester Yeomanry under Col. Coventry tried hard to relieve Katia,² but became involved in the fighting. Of the two squadrons, all except one officer and some 60 men were killed or taken prisoners.

The loss would have been even worse than it was if it had not been for the skill and presence of mind of the officer referred to (Capt. Wiggin, Worcester Yeomanry).

When Col. Coventry was attacking Katia in the hope of relieving the garrison, his men had dismounted and were advancing. At 1.30 p.m. Capt. Wiggin was sent back to bring up the Number Threes (horse-holders), who were some three-quarters of a mile away.

(1) Major Williams Thomas had asked for horses in order to mount the Royal Engineer party, but his request was refused. He was informed that there was no likelihood of an attack on Oghratina.

Cobham :—"The horses were all saddled up ready to go, but I did not feel justified in leaving the dismounted men who had been put under our protection" (l.c.)

(2) On the 22nd Gen. Wiggins had made a raid upon a concentration camp at Mogeibra. He burnt their camp, which was not defended, but did not reach his own camp (Hamisah) until 9 a.m. Hearing the firing at Katia he advanced with three squadrons, but was, of course, too late to intervene.

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At 3 p.m. a bayonet charge of the Turks swept over the Katia camp. Capt. Wiggin realised the crisis, and with great presence of mind galloped up with the "led" horses and rescued some 60 men of the Worcester and Gloucester squadrons involved. These were all that escaped.¹

At 10 a.m. Col. Yorke with the Gloucester Yeomanry came out from Romani (six miles from Katia), but he had not sufficient men even to drive off their covering force.

The 5th K.O.S.B. were fallen in at 6.30 a.m. at Hill 40 and marched to Hill 70, where they relieved the 4th and 5th R.S.F. After having held this post until 3 p.m., A, B, and D Companies went off to the railway, and proceeded in open trucks through a sand-storm to Railhead.

The intention was for the Battalion to march on to Romani, which, as we supposed, was still held by three squadrons of the Royal Gloucesters. At 4.30 p.m. two Yeomanry troopers reported the disaster at Katia, and added that the enemy (3000 strong) was advancing upon Railhead.²

Our three companies advanced some three-quarters of a mile beyond Railhead. By this time the light was beginning to fail. There was only time to occupy the ridges on either side of the track (which had been surveyed for the railway) with two companies. A half company was placed further back to the right rear of the firing-line, and another half company was kept in reserve at Railhead itself. Thus, in full expectation of an attack by 3000 victorious Turks, the night was passed.

Nothing happened. We did not know that, far away to our front, twenty-two of our aeroplanes were bombing and machine-gunning the discomfited Turks. Occasionally small parties of retreating Gloucester and Worcester Yeomanry passed through our lines.

One party left us a present, namely, "Ebenezer,"

(1) MacMunn—*Affair at Quatia*.

(2) At the Battle of Culloden Moor the ancestral regiments of the R.S.F. and 5th K.O.S.B. practically won the fight. A Lord Cobham commanded the Horse on that occasion.

who was promptly enrolled in the Battalion and placed in charge of the cook. Ebenezer was a beautiful, though for the moment tired and depressed, black and white goat.

An officer with ten other ranks accompanied the Intelligence Officer (Major Stirling) to Romani.¹ Another officer was sent forward to an Egyptian Labour Corps camp on the railway track some two miles ahead. These latter were quite ignorant of all that had happened.

About 4.30 a.m. reinforcements (4th Royal Scots and 8th Scottish Rifles) came up by rail and occupied an outpost in our rear. The Battalion was then withdrawn to reserve, and on the 25th returned to Hill 40.

The importance of the action at Dueidar has not always been realised.

Had this elaborate, skilful offensive succeeded, that is to say if about half a company had been overwhelmed by the surprise attack of some 1000 Germans and Arabs, what would have happened ?

We were kept for the next few days at Hill 40, where much hard work was expended in improving fortifications and digging trenches.

During the following months, we became quite accustomed to digging trenches in sand. It is a thankless, disheartening business. For every shovelful of sand which you throw up to the parapet at least two fall back into the trench again.

Different theories prevailed as to the correct siting of trenches. When one series had been dug under the direction of one authority, another still higher authority was apt to appear and insist on an entirely new arrangement.

In a sand-storm the trenches might be filled up to the brim, and then they had to be first discovered and then emptied out.

On 19th May, 1916, the Battalion returned to Kantara East, and again engaged in training and in carrying out heavy fatigues.

(1) Romani had been evacuated by the Gloucesters before the escort arrived. The latter did not reach Battalion camp until 10 a.m. of 24th.

Bathing was possible, and fish (of a sort) could be caught, but with difficulty. The men enjoyed this interlude.

Even the most frivolous could not but be impressed by the huge steamers which were continually passing. They came from India and Australia, from Cochin China and Mesopotamia. Negroes, Chinese, Arabs, as well as Australians and New Zealanders, exchanged greetings and cheers. "Who are you?" "K.O.S.B." "Good old Dumfries." And so on.

At night it was especially impressive when one saw a brilliant searchlight rising above the horizon at Port Said, lighting up little groups of palm trees and the tidy houses of the "chefs" at the stations, as well as Arab sailing craft and patient camels. Then would pass the enormous bulk of the steamer, thudding methodically onwards till it vanished in the distance.

During our stay in Kantara and the vicinity a company was frequently sent out to keep order at the markets established by the Government at El Gilban. The natives were, many of them, starving; some were seen carefully sifting the sand in the market-place in order to collect if possible a grain or two of rice which might have been dropped.

Most of the buyers were closely-veiled Bedouin women. Some wore ornamental head-dresses covered with old gold Carolus or other coins.

They were inclined to shove themselves forward out of their turn, and sometimes to rush the vendors. "We had an awful job keeping the intending purchasers back, the ladies in particular giving us no end of trouble in trying to get through the line before their turn came" (Tweedie). Women with a baby were allowed at first to come before the others. Then the officer in charge discovered that *that* baby had been lent to someone else. Many had travelled forty miles across the desert to buy food. "We had also to issue drinking water, for some of them could hardly articulate for thirst" (Tweedie).

The group of oases about Katia and Romani had now

to be occupied by our troops in order to prevent any other attempt at invasion.

Perhaps we were just a trifle disappointed in the Oasis. It consisted of a group of palm trees, with one or more circular wells four feet in diameter. Each had its wall three to four feet high.

Camps were not pitched anywhere near the wells, for the same ground has been used every season by Arabs and others for at least 4000 or 5000 years. The water is unpleasant, brackish, and unfit for Europeans.

It was decided to hold the Romani-Katia group, and so the railway was continued to Romani. One difficulty was how to arrange a supply fit for British troops. Water from the fresh-water canal was siphoned under the canal and forced through a twelve-inch pipe. This pipe line followed along the railway during the whole of our advance. In itself it was a triumph of engineering, for many serious difficulties were overcome, such as that of arranging for the joints of the pumps in a climate in which the difference in temperature between day and night might be 40 to 50 degrees.

Great troughs of canvas were arranged at special points, where horses, mules, and camels could be watered.

The 52nd Division was always in advance, and only the Australian and New Zealand Light Horse or the Camel Corps reconnoitred far away to our front.

Now a single camel requires one hour and ten minutes to take a satisfactory drink. Hence such problems as how many hours will it take to water 600 camels from a trough 30 feet long and 5 feet broad !

During our march fantasses (metal tanks) were filled with water at Railhead, and after the camels had also filled themselves up, they carried the fantasses up to our camp some miles ahead. The water was carefully sterilized, and not particularly pleasant, especially after its caravan journey.

Yet at dusk, after a long, weary trudge in yielding sand, how welcome was the caravan ! The weird spectacle of these strings of supercilious, cantankerous beasts, with their long necks swaying and bobbing as they

wandered on, became even more remarkable when one distinguished those in control of them, that is, our own Dumfries and Galloway lads wearing a shirt and shorts. They were assisted by a few Arabs, who could not have been distinguished from those which Abraham used to employ.

It was remarkable that our transport men seemed to be on the best of terms with their camels, and managed them quite as well as did the Arabs who had for thousands of years specialised in camel-driving.

The first move forward was made to a line from Mahamadyia, Chabrias, and Romani, in front of which a whole series of elaborately planned trenches were constructed. (*See Plan.*)

These forts of sandbags with barbed wire entanglements had, of course, to be guarded at night.

The writer was on one occasion in charge of one of them which happened to be close to the camp of a unit of the Egyptian Labour Corps, who were at work on the railway track just behind us.

At dusk, when their work stopped, they went to their camp to feed and to settle down for the night.

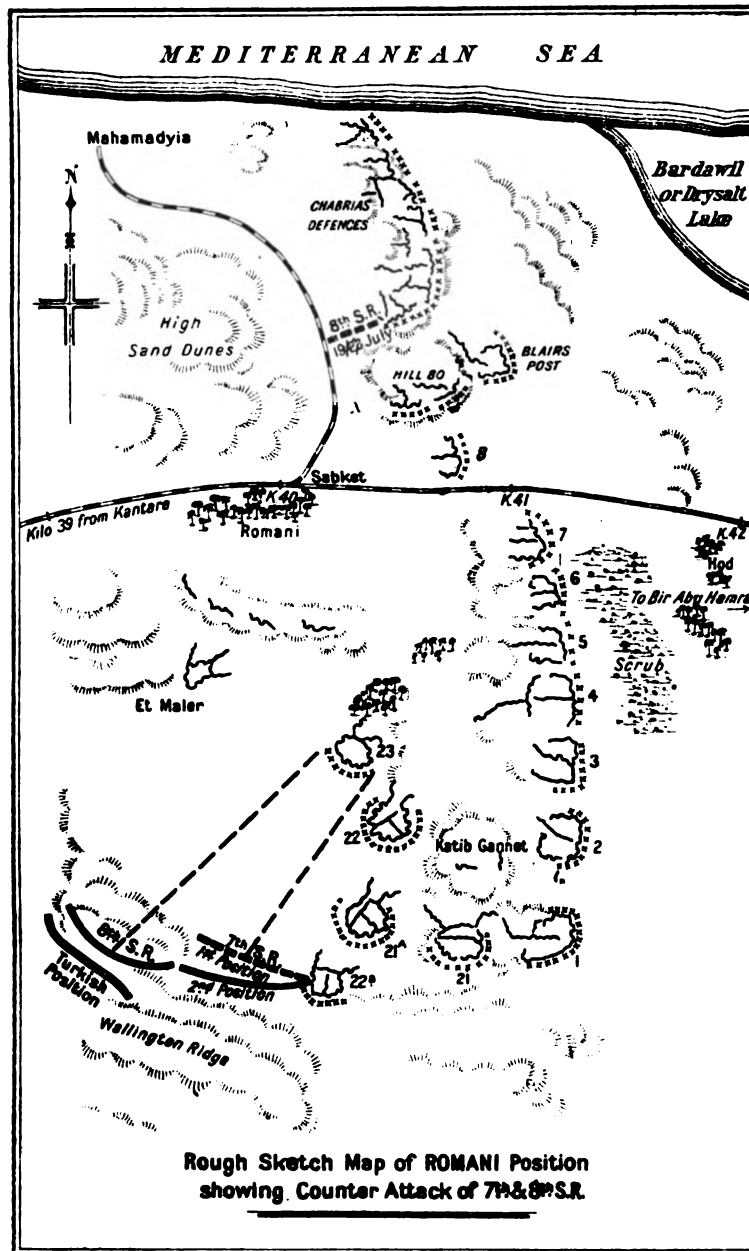
Whilst doing so the noise was indescribable. It did resemble in a way the chattering complaints of a large flock of starlings when they begin taking up their lodgings in the evening. But it was much louder, and lasted for hours on end. It recommenced again in the very early morning, and continued till they started for their task.

This was the one occasion in which the writer was able to see them at work. They sang and chattered, and I actually saw them myself taking each others hands and running, running hard, to begin the day's labour!

Is there any other race of man that sings whilst it runs to its toil?

With their delicate little hands they filled their baskets with the desert sand, and, swarming like ants over the track, one almost seemed to see the railway embankment growing forward.

Their lean, thin figures, actions, and gestures are



By permission of Col. Findlay, I.C., and Messrs W. Blackie & Son.

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most accurately depicted on Egyptian monuments. Neither man nor methods seem to have changed since the days of Cheops and Rameses, for stalwart Ethiopians, with whips of rhinoceros hide, kept stern control.

But the growth of the railway was one of the greatest achievements in the War. An advance of a kilometre, or even sometimes two kilometres, per day was not unusual.

The strength of the Battalion on 31st July was 39 officers and 410 other ranks; 1 officer and 25 men were in hospital.

During the long delay at Mahamadyia and Romani our men spent their time in fatigues and in up-to-date training of every description.

There were also hours of recreation; bathing in the sea was the chief, and it was thoroughly appreciated by all ranks.

A football field was formed, and quite simply. Some 450 men removed every bush or shrub, tramped and levelled the sand, and there was a first-rate pitch of full size. As the Battalion included several League and other first-rate players (Rev. A. J. Stewart, Major W. T. Forrest, etc.), the standard was high and the play good.

At Mahamadyia the cook, in great distress, reported that the Battalion goat (Ebenezer) was absent from parade. We were at the time close to the miles-long Serbonian bog, that is, the Bardawil Lagoon.

The writer visited the neighbouring camp of "Gippos" (Egyptian Labour Corps), where the officers were extremely sympathetic as well as hospitable.

They showed me a magnificent skull of an elephant found in the Bardawil. To my surprise this was not of an African but of an Indian elephant.

Probably at the battle of Rafa (in the time of the Ptolemies), where there were bodies of trained Indian elephants from Mesopotamia contending with African ones which were not so well disciplined, an Indian elephant had been brought back as a prize and escaped, only to be suffocated in the mud.



SAND DUNE NEAR ROMANI.



POST No. 3.



LEMNOS.



TOP OF KATIB GANNIT.

However, Ebenezer was very kindly returned to the cook, and accompanied us all the way to El Arish, where, alas, he vanished !

The three months (May, June, and July) were spent either at Kantara East, Turks Top, Mahamadyia, or Romani.

The Battalion was almost always in tents. The weather in April and May was exceedingly trying. The cold at night was excessive, whilst in the daytime there were very high temperatures of 117 degrees to 120 degrees, even inside the tents. On the 19th May "shorts" were issued to some of the companies.

On the 27th May, Col. W. J. Millar, D.S.O., having reached the age limit, returned to Scotland, there to command second line and reserve units. It was under his magnificent leadership that the Battalion had first distinguished itself. Col. J. R. Simson, D.S.O., eventually took over the command of the Battalion, with Capt. Howieson, and soon afterwards Capt. Rawlins, as Adjutant.

At Mahamadyia, Chabrias, and Romani the chain of little sandbag fortresses and barbed wire entanglements involved severe labour. We had also to guard the outposts at night and carry on with advanced training.

The full ration of water, which was issued twice a day, was only half a water bottle.

At this time the enemy was at least fifty miles away (Mazar). Close watch upon his movements was maintained both by the Anzac Mounted Division and by aeroplanes.

The railway had now been laid to Romani, and the Suez Canal, guarded as it was by this strong system of fortresses as well as by the desert and sandhills, was obviously impregnable to any such raid as that on Dueidar.

An attack in force was not expected, and everything pointed to a summer's picnic in the desert.

But on the 19th July an evening reconnaissance discovered a large enemy force (9000 men) advancing from Bir El Abd, and now less than twenty miles away.

Gen. Kress von Kressenstein was bringing up not 9000 but 18,000 men, with a large force of artillery and numerous machine guns, manned by Germans, as well as Arabs, camelmen, etc.

They were advancing towards Katia and other palm groves within eight miles of Romani. This news of a Turkish advance entirely changed the spirit of the Battalion. Every man was enthusiastic, keen, and eager to be at them.

It was not, however, until the evening of the 3rd August that Col. Simson received information that the Turks were expected to attack at dawn. Everything was methodically planned and made ready.

On the 30th July the Australian Light Horse captured a prisoner, and in the evening (30-31st) the Turk-Arab Camel Corps entered Katia, only to be driven out next morning.

Everything pointed to an attack some time between the 1st and 4th August.

During the Fast of Beiran all except the very worst Mohammedans neither eat, drink, nor smoke from sunrise to sunset, whilst from sunset to sunrise most of them do nothing else. Men who have been living in this way for nearly a month could not be in good condition for a fight. But during the three or four days after the Fast was over, every Arab would be full of zeal, well-nourished, and as fit as possible.

On the 31st aeroplanes began to be offensive. At 7.45 a.m. some fourteen bombs were dropped near the railway station and on some of the camps.

Four men were killed, 20 wounded, and 20 horses were either injured or killed.

Horse lines are an ideal target for aeroplane enterprise, so the necessary orders were issued, and when an aeroplane appeared all horses were led out in different directions.

On the 1st August our armoured train appeared at Romani Station, and a monitor fired a shot or two at Abu Homra.

There was also the usual morning "strafe" between

our mounted patrols and those of the enemy. A small river gunboat with a 6-inch gun bombarded Oghratina. She had the assistance of a spotting aeroplane. On the 2nd, at 7 a.m., a cruiser (*Agamemnon*) approached and bombarded the enemy trenches with her 9-inch and 12-inch guns. The shells began to fall on the Turkish left centre, and then passed along their line to the right. From the 12-inch guns came a "long, sullen boom, a pause, then—as if a few tons of corrugated iron had fallen over a precipice—a rending, tearing bang like an overcharged thundercloud."¹

All those preparatory operations could be observed from Katib Gannit. About 11 a.m. I saw two guns and limbers, with twelve horses to each, hurrying out from our camp towards the Australians.

The 1st Australian Mounted Brigade evacuated Katia, and were in action from 5.30 to 6.30 a.m.

During the 3rd our cavalry abandoned Katia altogether, though they held on to certain ridges two or three miles off.

During the evening the Turks began to shell and push forward against the Australian and New Zealand Horse, who were greatly outnumbered. In this skilfully conducted rearguard action they were gradually forced backwards, and sustained many casualties. They passed round by the south and west of our entrenched camp.

It is difficult to describe the battlefield of Romani, for the country is unusual and resembles nothing known to me in Europe.

The most striking feature is a confused mass of gigantic dunes, or rather mountains, of bare and often yielding sand, which occupy a great extent of country to the west and south of the oasis. Our railway skirted their northern edge, and Romani was nearly at the north-east corner of them.

On the east of the main mountain mass there is a minor series of dunes from 200 to 270 feet high. These do not exactly form a plateau, for they consist of troughs

(1) Lieut. W. B. Campbell.

and crests of sand. On the eastern side this minor series ends in a steep, sloping wall, which is really the advancing edge or crest of the sand-wave.

Our fortresses were arranged in a line just below this almost but not quite inaccessible cliff, and ran from the sea at Mahamadyia by Chabrias and across the railway line to a point below Katib Gannit.

Below Katib Gannit our line of forts turned first westwards and then northwards.

The line of forts resembled, in fact, a very badly drawn capital "J."

All these little posts were situated on minor sandhills perhaps twenty or thirty feet above the usual ground level.

But the field of fire from any one of them was very limited. Not only was the whole country very gently undulating, but the ground was covered with numbers of little mounds or hillocks from two to six feet high and three to four feet wide, which were overgrown with low desert shrubs. (*See Note B—Sandhills.*)

It was only when these mounds had been carefully removed that one could get a clear view to the front.

The Katib Gannit plateau was separated from the main mountain mass (Royston) by a broad space, in which also there were shallow grooves or valleys. Down these hollows it was possible for an enemy to reach the railway station and the dumps, water supplies, etc., without his being detected either from the forts (21a and 22a) or from Katib Gannit itself.

I had been ordered to go to this place (Katib Gannit) at about 3.30 a.m. to observe and report what was happening, and remained there until after dark.

It was a curiously isolated conical peak of sand rising well above the surrounding country, and was a magnificent station from which to watch the progress of the fight. The whole country east and south of the battlefield lay clear in the sunshine, but the view to the west is blocked by the mountainous mass of Royston, Meredith, etc.

Katia amongst its palm trees was just visible away

out to the front. To the left I could see right along the line of small forts to the railway, and beyond it to the seashore. To the right the immense hills (Meredith, Royston, and others) blocked the view. Yet it was possible to distinguish one covered valley leading from Katia in that direction by occasional camels' necks or drivers' heads.

On the summit, about 4.30 a.m., there were two or three Australian Engineers with their instruments (who were removed early), an artillery observing officer, myself, and Pte. Nelson, who was carrying messages to Brigade Headquarters from me throughout the day. As soon as the morning mist began to clear away the whole foreground towards Katia appeared to be alive with Turks. They were coming forward in short rushes, and taking cover behind the hillocks. Some of their snipers began to take notice of us, so we withdrew behind the shoulder of the peak, where one could quite easily observe all that was happening by moving either to the left or right or looking through the R.A. loophole.

It was first obvious that on the right Mount Royston and Meredith were being vigorously attacked; nearer to us on the right Forts 21a and 22a were being bombarded and replying. An attack towards the railway in our right rear was clearly developing.

Another, perhaps a holding attack, was being prepared along the whole line of fortresses to the left as far as the railway. Abu Homra and its palms were soon occupied by the enemy, and a strong firing-line was being built up some 300 or 400 yards in front of the forts (Nos. 2 and 3). At 5.20 a.m. the Turks could be seen rushing forward from one hillock to another. They were establishing themselves, and ready for a rush all along the line as far towards the sea as No. 8. No enemy could be distinguished between this last place and the seashore.

Possibly the armoured train and the warships had overawed the Turkish Command. So far as I could see from Katib Gannit, this part of the field was entirely free of the enemy.

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At 6.17 a.m. the Turks had established themselves in a position ready for an assault. Others were creeping into a gully between Nos. 1 and 21 Forts.¹

At 6.44 a.m. there was another interlude. Quite close to me between Nos. 2 and 3 Forts a single man was observed coolly cutting through the barbed wire entanglement, whilst many others were waiting some 200 yards away to make a rush through the gap as soon as it was ready.

Some of our own men were stationed in a short trench just below the base of Katib Gannit.

I pointed him out to Corpl. Crossan, who was in this trench. He crept forward and shot the audacious Turk, as well as two others who also tried to sever the wire. Not only this, but every attempt to rush our wire was crushed at the very beginning. Our snipers and machine gunners were vigilant and efficient.

If the enemy had seriously intended to rush one of these forts, he very soon had to abandon the idea. None of the continual efforts to break into any of them had the slightest chance of success.

His soldiers remembered Dueidar, and although at several other posts the enemy also attacked persistently, none of them were ever in real danger.

Our men were, however, held to their posts and did not counter-attack, for if the Turks had rushed one of them or penetrated between two of them, then the only reinforcements available were the 5th K.O.S.B., who were in Brigade Reserve close to Brigade Headquarters, where they lay out all day under heavy shell-fire and in readiness for any such emergency.

These Turks remained in front of our line all day long.

But at 8.24 a.m. it became clear that a very dangerous movement was developing towards the right of Katib Gannit. A small post of Australians had been placed out in front of Fort 21a obviously to give warning of any attempt to penetrate down the covered line of approach

(1) At Romani the 5th R.S.F. occupied the following:—No. 1, Capt. Roberts (one Stoke, two Vickers, and two Lewis guns); No. 2, Capt. Brotherston; No. 3-5, Capt. Paton, Capt. Rodger, and Cyclist Company; No. 22, Capt. John Lees.—Capt. Roberts.

to the railways. These were being outflanked and in imminent danger of being cut off by scouting parties of the enemy ; a considerable body of Turks, some 1500 to 2000 yards beyond our right flank, were also advancing to the south-west.

They vanished from my view in the valleys and hollows leading down to the railway.

It was difficult to keep up observation both on the railway end of these valleys, where I fully expected to see them coming out in the wide open space, and also on the eastern line of posts, where interesting things were happening. Persistent attempts were made to approach the wire, now in one place, now in another. Turkish scouts were also seen creeping up towards 21 and 21a.

An advance of the enemy in extended order from Abu Homra upon No. 5 Fort was clearly observed. But it was at once blotted out by our artillery fire.

After 2.15 p.m. the Turks had had apparently enough of such enterprises, and hardly a man showed himself. Yet it was interesting to see individuals carrying up bombs or ammunition or perhaps water bottles until well on in the afternoon. Some of them came up quite close to No. 1 Fort.

But about 4 or 5 p.m. it was clear that the Turks were defeated. A large force of artillery, cavalry, and infantry had been collected near Et Maler. The dangerous enveloping movement to the south-west never materialised.

During most of the day three enemy officers, clearly of high rank, could be distinctly seen high up on the flanks of Mount Royston, from which point they could observe practically the whole of our line. I did not note the time when their horses were brought up to them, but they rode off towards Katia. This perhaps was the moment when they had to acknowledge defeat.

About 6-7 p.m. the 7th and 8th Scottish Rifles began their advance, and had occupied the position shown on the sketch. They dug in, and held on there obstinately under heavy fire.

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During the whole day the Turkish fire was very severe.

For some unknown reason the Turks apparently supposed that a small hollow to the left rear of Katib Gannit was held by our reserves. A continued succession of shells passed over Katib Gannit and exploded in it. This hollow was entirely unoccupied.

All day enemy aeroplanes were flying over us, and at least six bombs as well as a few shells were dropped within fifty yards of the peak of Katib Gannit.

A terrific fire was also directed upon the trenches held to the right rear.

Two unfortunate horses had been left out in the open there. When at last these poor bewildered brutes were killed it was greatly to the relief of everyone.

Quite early in the day the Turks had climbed over and taken possession of the mass of sand mountains (Royston, etc.). They had not been occupied by us, presumably because it was supposed that they were inaccessible even to the Arabs.

In consequence about 11 a.m. there were some very dangerous moments. Far away to our right two battalions of Turks appeared on Mount Royston, and were on the point of breaking through our line between the Gloucester Yeomanry and the Composite Regiment.

Fortunately prompt action by an officer who happened to be present drove off the enemy before they could do much harm.¹

Considering the constant bombardment of all our posts, the casualties in the battle of Romani were astonishingly few. Less than 200 (Buchan, l.c.). The 5th K.O.S.B., though under shell-fire practically all day long, had but few casualties. Lieut. H. E. Pollard (Signalling Officer), who had gone forward to repair some broken wires, was mortally wounded by an enemy shell. The shell landed between the mess tent and the orderly room.

When darkness fell no one knew whether the Turks had retreated or not. In the morning numbers had been seen quite close to our lines. Would they try to rush

(1) See Fox, *Royal Gloucester Hussars Yeomanry*, for further particulars.



ABU HOMRA.



EL KAP, SUEZ CANAL.



BIR EL ROMANI.

the wire in the darkness, or had they gone cannily home? After dark, patrols were sent out. Lieut. J. M. Kerr, 5th R.S.F., discovered one small party of Turks who had destroyed the wire with gun-cotton, and were actually within our line. But he turned a machine gun upon them, and very few got away.

Our Chaplain (Rev. A. J. Stewart, M.C.) discovered another party. These also were soon disposed of.

So the night dragged on. The writer was again on the top of Katib Gannit before daylight, and, as early as 5.12 a.m., it was clear that the Turks were going to act in a way that no one had expected.

Poor wretches! After marching and fighting without food or water for some thirty-six hours, they began to surrender in whole battalions. It was a day of white flags. No less than 3930 prisoners were taken. "Big stalwart men are these Turks, and evidently the pick of the Turkish Infantry."¹

Gen. A. H. Leggett, C.M.G., D.S.O., in his excellent account of the battle, estimates their losses as 600 killed and at least 1200 wounded.²

The total loss of the enemy was therefore some 5730 men.

On the 5th August we attempted to surround and capture the whole enemy force. The Camel Corps on the extreme right and next the Australian and New Zealand Light Horse were to carry out a wide sweeping movement, and so intercept the enemy's retreat.

As early as 6.44 a.m. I, in fact, saw these indomitable horsemen advancing from the west. The Turks who had not surrendered were retreating in a disorderly column to the south of Hod Enna and on to Katia.

Later on (at 12.10 p.m.) the Wellington Mounted Rifles, with a battery in action, assisted by guns of the Ayrshire Battery, could be seen in the act of expelling their rearguard from Katia.

Their retreat, however, was so skilfully carried out

(1) Rawlins' MSS.

(2) Findlay, *The 1/8th Scottish Rifles*, Appendix.

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that they managed to get away, though not without many casualties.

We have already mentioned that on the 4th August hardly a shot had been fired between No. 8 Fort and the seashore.

It was not, however, until the night of the 5-6th August that preparations were made for the advance of our left flank.

The whole 155th Brigade was ordered to march forward at 6.30 a.m. Neither rations nor water had reached us. The men carried iron and emergency rations, one full water bottle, and 320 rounds of ammunition.

It was an extremely trying day for the whole Brigade, but especially for the 5th K.O.S.B., who started at 5.10 a.m., and with a half section of the Brigade Machine Gun Company furnished the advance guard. They marched in artillery formation under our C.O. (Col. Simson).

After a long halt at Kilo 97, they reached Er Rabah at 10 a.m.

It was intensely hot. The men were suffering from lack of food and water, and the whole Battalion was exhausted. No less than sixteen men fell out.

But at long last, after water and food had been obtained, the men revived in a manner which was reported by the Medical Officer as quite remarkable.¹

That night the Battalion found the Brigade Outposts, which were stationed on Yeomanry Hill. They were surrounded by the putrifying bodies of at least thirty horses.

They remained out all day in observation posts. On August 8th and 9th enemy aeroplanes visited our camp at 6 a.m. and 5 p.m., dropping many bombs. One of them just missed Gen. Pollok M'Call's headquarters, but there seems to have been no casualties.

It was not until 13th August that the Battalion

(1) The Australian Light Horse, always chums of ours, were impressed by our march. "We don't know how you all managed it; we were bad enough though mounted on horses, but you — were footslogging it with no sleep or grub since noon."—Campbell.

returned to the Katib Gannit redoubts, and on the march they furnished the rear guard.

Here, at Katib Gannit, they remained until the 24th August. On the 25th the whole 155th Brigade moved towards the sea (No. 14 Post). The Battalion again furnished the rear guard and right flank guard.

NOTES.

A—Dueidar.

The exact number of men engaged at Dueidar seems to have been 9 officers (including R.A.M.C.) and 171 men. This includes the gallant native officer and 15 men of the Bikaners, whose behaviour was admirable throughout the engagement.

Capt. Roberts and Major Thompson received the M.C. The native officer was also subsequently decorated at a full-dress parade of the Bikaners.

Capt. Bruce (A.S.C. Volunteer) was killed.

Lient. Crawford was badly wounded in going to his assistance, but was brought in by Corpl. Clifford.

Lient. Miller (R.A.M.C.) was badly wounded. (For further details see *With the R.A.M.C. in Egypt*, by "Sergeant-Major.")

B—Sandhills.

A campaign does not afford any opportunity of exact scientific observation. The writer was, however, much impressed by the multitude of little bush-covered hillocks. They represent an advance guard of vegetation endeavouring to colonise the desert sand.

Two or three little scrubby bushes manage to hold the ground for a season or two, whilst the loose sand round them is continually blown away. Such an outpost is consolidated and enlarged by other pioneers, and eventually these little mounds increase until they may be several feet long and three or four feet high.

Both at Romani and El Arish there are in the date harvest quite large populations. For these Bedouins fuel of some sort is a necessity. Consequently a shrub of any size has no chance of remaining alive within any distance of these centres. Had there been time or opportunity it might have been possible to find if the tremendous sand mountains both at Romani and El Arish was connected with the absence of any holding vegetation.

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CHAPTER V.

THE LONG DESERT TRAIL.

DURING August and September, 1916, the Battalion remained at or near Romani. We were encamped at El Rabah from the 1st to the 11th September.

The work consisted of the usual fatigues, training, guards, outposts, etc.

On one lovely Sunday morning the Battalion was drawn up in a hollow square for Church Parade. I happened to be near a corner of the square. We had sung the 23rd Psalm. On the opposite side the Padre (Rev. A. J. Stewart, M.C.) had just said, "Let us join in prayer," when I noticed an unusual expression on the faces of the men opposite.

A second afterwards a German Taube (aeroplane) swooped gracefully, like a swallow, right over my head, crossed the other side of the square, dropped a bomb which exploded about 200 yards away, and hurried on to attend the Episcopalian Church Parade which had fallen in some few hundred yards away, where more bombs were left.

Strange to say, no one at either of the services was hurt, though a neighbouring unit had a few minor casualties.

On the 12th we returned to Mahamadyia, where we enjoyed sea-bathing and carried out many heavy fatigues. We remained there till 10th October.

During all this time rumours were floating about the camp. Some said that we were to go forward to Jerusalem; others that we were to hold the Katia-Romani Oases for the "duration."

Various signs had been read as pointing to a move forward.

Everyone had been inoculated against a wide variety of diseases, including smallpox, cholera, typhoid, two paratyphoids, etc.

The men's clothing had also been disinfected.

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A railway van had been specially fitted up with steam pipes and connections.¹

The whole crowd, in glengarries and canvas shoes, with great-coats covering their nakedness, marched to the destructor van, carrying all their clothing wrapped up in a blanket.

The van was fitted up inside with spars, on which the bundles were tightly packed. Steam from the engine under high pressure and at a temperature well over boiling point was then turned on for fifteen minutes. No life could survive this treatment. It was said that an egg could be boiled in the centre of one of these bundles.²

But on the 10th October it was quite clear that we were to advance.

At 8 a.m. of the 11th we were beginning the famous desert march which was, after continual delays and tribulations, to lead us to El Arish, to Gaza, and to places famous in the Crusades, Askalon and Ashdod, to Gibeon, Bethhoron, Joppa, and Arsuf.

Of course we did not know this at the time. It is extremely doubtful if at the beginning there was any clear and definite plan of campaign.

However, throughout the whole long march to El Arish the same general method was adopted.

Far ahead of us were the magnificent horsemen from Australia and New Zealand, as well as the Camel Corps, who were keeping in touch with the Turkish rearguard and suffering privations which can hardly be understood by those who have not endured them, and also inexpressibly bored by the absence of fighting or any other excitement.

Next came the 52nd Division, always in the front, always ready to support the vanguard of cavalry, and breaking all records in desert marching.

It was an advance by bounds.

(1) It was understood that this treatment was a new and most valuable discovery, but I never heard the name of the inventor.

(2) Lieut. W. B. Campbell.

The 1/5th K.O.S.B., usually in or near the front, would start off early one morning, leaving Railhead and all the amenities of civilisation behind. They would bivouac for a night in the desert of Shur, another march or two would be covered, and then we would settle down for a time to build an elaborate series of sandbag fortresses protected by wire entanglements.

During this period the railway and pipe-line would be coming slowly up to us at the rate of a kilometre or a mile per day. When it was within a day's march or so, and when in consequence life was becoming slightly less wearisome, off we would start again.

The first stage was to Bir El Abd. Leaving Mahamadyia at 8 a.m. on October 11th, we reached Er Rabah at 2.30 p.m. Next day we had a heavy march to El Afein. On the 13th October we started at 9 a.m., and the Battalion had to find the advanced and right flank guards for the whole column. We arrived at Bir El Abd at 12.45.

During all our marches not a single man fell out except on one occasion only. The single individual who (through badly wounded feet) could not keep up on that day managed to get to camp in the evening.

For this good record in marching we were often complimented by the Brigadier and higher authority.

From this time onwards tents, tables, and chairs were to be but memories. Bully and biscuits were the regular ration for men and officers. One full water bottle a day for all purposes was the ordinary ration.

Often one wondered how we could ever again turn on a tap and allow the water to flow as long as it liked without qualms!

Marching on sand is as difficult and tedious as walking on seaside shingle or on deep snow. The sand is not firm, but yields under the foot. The men were heavily laden, indeed they had to carry everything they possessed. The dry, arid atmosphere, the clouds of dust, and the heat tried them to the uttermost. Col. James Anderson thus describes the usual proceedings.¹

(1) Col. James Anderson, D.S.O., Sixth Highland Light Infantry.

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"Bivouac has probably been left soon after sunrise, shelters having been struck in darkness, blankets rolled and loaded and breakfast taken before the sun is well above the horizon; battalion stores have also been loaded, the battalion bivouac cleaned, and the refuse burnt.

The battalion marches with fours well spread out in width but not in length, so as to minimise dust and allow free passage of the air; all ranks are in shirt-sleeves, with the lower arms bare and the neck open; the drill jacket is strapped to the haversack, or inside the pack if the latter is being carried, but pack and haversack were never worn together while we were on trek, one or other being left behind to be brought up later.

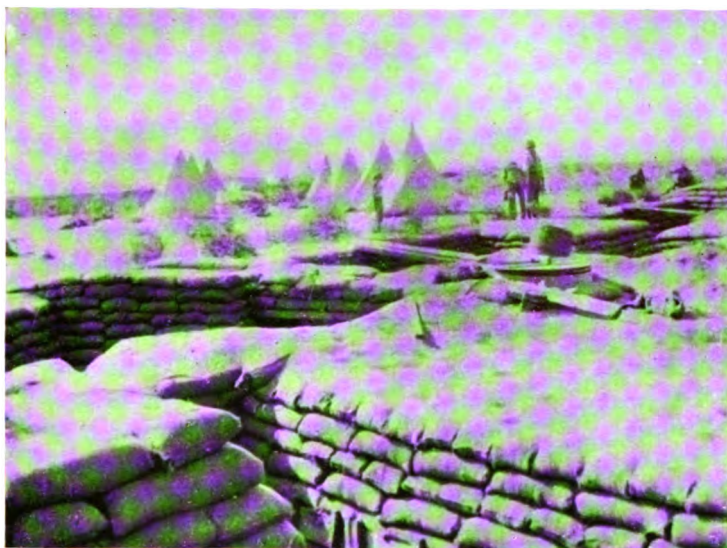
The company commander is probably walking at the head or by the side of his company. At the rear of each company are its pack animals, carrying its Lewis guns and a proportion of ammunition."

One and a quarter miles per hour was the usual speed. Only on one occasion when on the way back to Kantara did the Battalion have the chance to walk on the wire road, on which three miles per hour is quite an easy pace.

We were, of course, following the regular caravan track used by the armies of the Pharaohs, of the Ptolemies, of Alexander the Great and of Napoleon, not to mention Abraham and Jacob, Joseph and his brethren, and the Holy Family.

This famous highroad to the East is not impressive. It is quite narrow, and though it follows as near as may be the harder ground near any oasis, it is mostly of bare sand.

On arrival at our destination, the unchanged desert had to be occupied for defence. Sentries were put out; bivouacs were to be dug, and cookhouses, R.A.M.C. and H.Q. dugouts had to be prepared. Then we had to wait patiently for the transport camels with our evening meal. Telephone wires to Company Headquarters from Battalion Headquarters had to be laid out.



REDOUBT.



WELL DIGGING.

Usually the camel transport with fantasses, rations, baggage, and all sorts of necessities began to appear just at dusk. The sight of these sardonic, ungraceful beasts was often greeted with loud cheers.

"They had an uncanny knack of breaking all our telephone lines in the dark, just half-an-hour after I had reported communication established with all companies! My boys, however, cheerfully went out and did the work all over, and this before they got their supper; and when you consider that they had probably done a long day's march in soft sand, you will understand their spirit.

My section was composed of Kirkconnel men who had known each other all their lives, and would consequently go to any length to maintain perfect communication if only for the satisfaction of proving that they and their pals were able to do this when other sections had failed. They were probably the best in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force."¹

Considering the difficulties involved in this complex system of forwarding daily supplies from Railhead (which was always moving forward) by trains of camels, and to a new camp which was probably in a quite unknown situation, our transport was extraordinarily efficient. The men were generally supplied with rations and at least one full water bottle per man per day.

The next object, if the place was to be a permanent camp, was to settle in; elaborate trenches had to be dug, entanglements of barbed wire put out, and a firing-line established.

Then the men's own "bivvies" (bivouacs) had to be engineered out of a blanket and a waterproof sheet.

Until Railhead had reached us again everyone was kept busy. There were constant fatigues; moreover, the front-line trench had to be constantly manned, and all ranks had to be in constant readiness. From one hour before sunset until full daylight those who were in the trenches "stood-to."

For the officers in charge "stand-to" was a time of

(1) Lieut. R. L. Carruthers (Signalling Officer, 5th K.O.S.B.)

considerable anxiety. Especially was this so when cold, clinging, white fog obscured the whole desert of Shur; wreaths of it now and then drifted past, giving a fleeting glimpse of sandhill, valley, and scrub-covered hillock. Sometimes the mist would not clear away until after 9 a.m. At last one could report "all clear," and breakfast could be justifiably expected.

In spite of having to sleep in the trenches without removing either boots or puttees, I thought that both officers and men preferred the front-line trenches to the ordinary life in camp. There were no fatigues, fewer worries of all kinds, and less chance of unexpected but distinguished visitors.

Both the sunset and sunrise were sometimes quite extraordinarily impressive. In April especially they were strangely beautiful.

"The sun sets red; round it the sky is bright red; if there are no clouds the red fades off into pink, the pink into amethyst, and this into a curious mixture of lemon-yellow and blue. If a cloud floats into this carmine sea, it is grey one moment and then suddenly suffused with crimson light. Then the sun dips and the sombre grey reappears, backed by the scarlet reflection of the setting sun."¹

The sunrise was even more impressive, when, after varying changes of colour, clear daylight suddenly revealed the whole of the wilderness.

This desert is a strange and terrible place, and especially when one is alone, and at night when the moon and stars are shining with a soft yet brilliant splendour, it is then that one realises its mysterious beauty, and also the utter insignificance of mankind.

In most places it resembled the country before Romani. Amongst the innumerable multitudes of undulating shallow valleys, everywhere covered by ugly scrubby little bushes, there are often no landmarks of any description. It is exceedingly easy to lose one's way.

On one occasion (I think it was at Salmana) a sergeant and two men detained at the railway station and

(1) Lieut. W. B. Campbell.

tried to proceed to their camp, which was only three miles off. They missed the way, and for thirty hours wandered about within the perimeter of our line of fortified posts. If an Australian horseman had not happened to meet them, they would undoubtedly have starved to death.

Yet it is not right to calumniate the desert vegetation. Once near El Arish, when I happened to be riding out in front of our camp, the last almost level rays of the setting sun lighted up a company of flowering asphodels; they were in extended order, and I have seldom or never seen anything so beautiful.

The climate is just not quite perfect. The atmosphere is dry and pure. The severe cold at night, though unpleasant in the early morning after a long watch, is invigorating.

In all the hundreds of men's letters which we had to censor grousing and grumbling were rare.

One of them put it thus: "The worst plagues of Egypt are the *fleas* and *skeptics*."

Even the slightest scar or "scairt," when the skin was broken, resulted in an obstinate septic sore which refused to heal. It was difficult to avoid wounds of this kind on the hands, knees, and feet; especially as the men were in "shorts" even quite small sores gave endless trouble.

The "fleas" were, of course, the ordinary house-fly. Being very thirsty themselves, the moisture of the human skin has for them an irresistible charm. They are also indomitable—no sooner is one squashed than three others take its place. Each female fly lays from 300 to 600 eggs, which hatch out in eight days!

Food was always covered by their multitudes. There is, however, an art in managing to eat without including any flies in a mouthful. You vigorously wave the left hand which holds the biscuit or bread, then apply the jam with the right hand, and, still waving the other, bite off and swallow the mouthful.

There is but little to record of this great desert trek.

It was a prehistoric sort of life. The essential importance of food, water, and sleep was impressed upon us.

For those who were not in the front-line trenches the work was severe. Fatigues were continually required. Trenches had to be dug, barbed wire put out, and horse-troughs, etc., prepared.

Millions of sandbags and many miles of barbed wire must have been expended in these elaborate defences at Bir El Abd, Salmana, and many other places.

Though of course it was never referred to in conversation, we often wondered why there was this tremendous expenditure of money and of labour.

The Turks never, after Romani, seriously attacked the long line of railway and of pipe-line.

Once the enemy Flying Corps did succeed in setting down a few men beside the pipe-line. They were just setting to work upon it with dynamite when they were ignominiously captured by one of our patrols.

It is true that away to our right flank the Hills of Maghara were held by a Turkish garrison of not more than 670 men. This place was not abandoned until its communications were severed by our capture of El Arish and Magdhaba.

It was no doubt something of a menace to our right flank.

An expedition to Maghara was carried out by a small body of Australian and New Zealand Horse, and the foothills of this range were reached after a long and difficult march.

Before the Australians lay a broad, deep valley, above which rose a steep and precipitous rock, with the fort perched on the very summit.

An attack might conceivably have been tried, but only up narrow and precipitous gullies, which were all guarded by numerous machine guns, beautifully sighted.

My informant said that for a small force of cavalry to attack a position as formidable as Achi Baba was obviously absurd, so they captured a few prisoners and retired.

Perhaps the boredom and the deadly monotony of

existence was the most trying experience. When home letters, newspapers, or trashy novels were received, how thankful we were for them !

When there was a chance of a fight a thrill of excitement ran through the whole Battalion. Everyone was alert, eager, enthusiastic.

But the Turks had not stayed on the order of their going, and it was only the more or less regular visits of enemy aeroplanes that provided amusement. The damage done by these visits was almost negligible.

On one occasion (16th October, 1916) the whole Battalion was in bivouac in a shallow and not very broad valley of sand. I do not think that there was one single square of ten yards without a "bivvy" in it, except just only one part where there may have been perhaps half-an-acre entirely free of men and animals.

It was in this bare space that the shell descended. Many fragments reached the medical orderlies' bivouacs ; fortunately there was a pile of empty metal fantasses sheltering the bivouac, and though many of these were pierced, nobody was badly hurt.

Indeed the only casualty in the Battalion was Rev. Dr Gillies' grey pony (Jimmie), which was killed. One or two men were slightly injured in a neighbouring camp.¹

The chance by which this bomb landed just exactly on the one spot where it could do least damage amounted to a miracle.

On the whole very little damage was done by aeroplane bombs. Their explosion resulted in a hole some six or seven feet in diameter and perhaps four feet deep.

At El Arish, however, a single explosion killed or wounded 20-30 of the Egyptian Labour Corps. They

(1) The Rev. Dr Gillies had been with us in Gallipoli. His experiences after leaving us were exceedingly trying. The ship in which he was going home was torpedoed (23rd December, 1916), and he was taken off by a Japanese torpedo boat. Another steamer in which he had travelled was also sunk in the same way, and he was set ashore on an unknown rocky coast. (His only son was killed during the War.)—*Leemahagow Parish Magazine*.

had ample warning, but instead of scattering they all bunched together.

At this place special officers were posted a long way out in the desert to keep watch for "Johnny," *i.e.*, for German aeroplanes, and various anti-aircraft guns had been contrived to fire at him.

As time went on, their airmen became wily and astute. Starting from Beersheba, or even further to the north, they would fly right out to sea and come up in our rear.

The favourite trick was, however, to take a wide detour, and fly towards the camp exactly in the direction of the sun's rays. In the glare of the sunshine they were very difficult to detect; indeed it was impossible to see them at all without obscured glasses.

When sighted, the officer on the look-out reported by telephone to the Flying Corps.

At first, that is, until after El Arish, "Johnny" had almost invariably dropped his bombs and was almost out of sight before our own aeroplanes could reach the place. These German "Taubes" were exceedingly beautiful. The whirring propellers, the body shining in the sun, and graceful wings attracted everyone's attention.

Soon, as our anti-aircraft guns got to work, the bright blue sky would be dotted with little clouds as white as snow. More little patches would appear all round about "Johnny," but never quite catching him.

It was fascinating to watch his manœuvres; he would circle, alter direction, and change speed. But I never myself saw a "Johnny" hit by our "Archies," that is, our anti-aircraft guns.¹

Long after "Johnny" had departed our own aeroplanes would come up in pursuit, guided by a large arrow head laid down by the spotting officer to show his track.

(1) A London specialist informed me that the invariable name in camp for this kind of gun, "Archie," was derived from a play, now obsolete, "Archibald! certainly not!"

Bir El Abd, Salmana, and Bir El Mazar were amongst the more important stages in the long trail.

At this place we were told that the Turks were holding El Arish in force, and a sort of electric thrill ran through the Battalion.

Next day we bivouacked at El Maadar, and on the following day's march reached Masaid.

But there was no fight !

Meanwhile the Anzac cavalry, tireless and almost ubiquitous, had pushed forward so far as to threaten the envelopment of the Turkish left flank. Cautious discretion overcame any tendency to valour that may have yet remained in the Turkish H.Q. At the last moment they retreated.

Thus it was that when the main body of the Anzacs, starting at 7 p.m., had reached and surrounded El Arish, they captured it at dawn without resistance. Quite a number of prisoners were taken.

El Arish is an important place with a peace-time population of 8000. Before our arrival our ships had bombarded the fort, and with such accuracy in aiming that hardly a dwelling-house was damaged, whilst the fort was a mass of bricks.

The infantry of the 52nd Division had a long, difficult, and tedious march, for the sand was soft and heavy.

However, we eventually passed through El Arish, crossed the river of Egypt, and settled down in a very agreeable camp amongst palms and gardens on the other side.

Before our arrival at El Arish there had been important changes. Sir P. W. Chetwode had taken command of the Desert Column on the 7th December.

For the first (and last) time the 52nd Division were not the vanguard of the infantry, for on the 28th November the 42nd had passed through the 52nd Division and taken up a position five miles east of Mazar. The 52nd Division caught up on the 16th December.

Before we arrived at El Arish the cavalry had again distinguished themselves. At sunset of the day

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following their arrival these indomitable horsemen started off for Magdhaba.

They covered twenty-three miles in less than four hours, which was in itself an extraordinary performance. The going was good, for the ground consisted of alluvial sand mixed with gypsum, which forms a hard surface in dry weather.

At 4.50 a.m. they arrived within two miles of the place. The General and his Brigadiers went forward to reconnoitre. It was just before dawn; the smoke from the camp fires obscured the view, and in an apparently flat valley the forts could hardly be distinguished at all.

There were fine, well-sited redoubts, skilfully arranged and connected by a series of almost invisible trenches and rifle pits.

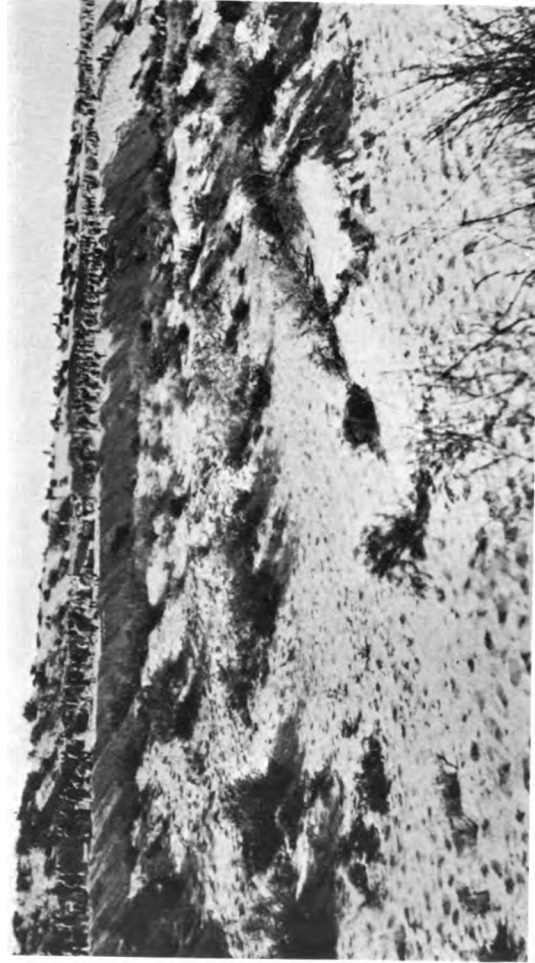
Our troops were posted all round the place, and at 8 a.m. began to attack. At first progress was slow, and even at mid-day it looked as if the place was impregnable.

The enemy's field of fire was nearly perfect, and there was practically no cover. However, the attack was resolutely pushed forward; the fire of the Territorial Horse Artillery and mountain guns was rapid and accurate. Suddenly, about 4 p.m., the resistance collapsed, and the place was taken. During most of this day the men were without water.

It was, however, a very satisfactory day's fighting. The Turks at Magdhaba numbered some 2000 men. Of these, 1350 were taken prisoners and many were killed by the fire of our artillery. We also took 7 guns, many rifles, as well as horses, camels, and all sorts of equipment.¹

This success was most encouraging to the spirit of the Army. We had struck, instead of waiting for the enemy to attack us. The Turks evacuated Maghara

(1) Most of this information was obtained from various Australian and New Zealand officers, who were always ready to give me information. I wish specially to thank them, and also to acknowledge Massey's contributions to the Press and the Official Despatches.



SINAI: DESERT RAILWAY UNDER CONSTRUCTION

.By permission, Col. Findlay, l.c., and Messrs W. Blackie & Son.

and many other places to our right flank and rear, and lost confidence both in their leaders and in themselves.

General Sir H. G. Chauvel, K.C.M.G., was in command of this fortunate expedition.

Our stay in El Arish lasted until the 27th February. Not very much worthy of record happened during this interlude. Once only were we privileged to see this "River of Egypt." Suddenly one morning a stream of water, two to three feet deep and perhaps twenty to thirty yards across, flowed through our camps to the sea, but the river soon dwindled away almost to nothing.

Our time there was on the whole exceedingly pleasant; football matches, boxing competitions, and sea-bathing were thoroughly enjoyed. On one occasion a fox suddenly made its appearance, and was chased by practically the whole Battalion. No one, however, could emulate Samson by catching this little, lithe, brown creature, which seemed to move as rapidly as a streak of lightning.¹

At El Arish the opportunity was taken of practising night marching, brigade manoeuvres, and drill of all kinds.

The necessity of careful practice in night attacks was brought home to everybody by various incidents more or less amusing to all except those who guided the companies or battalions.

In one dense fog only one company out of three battalions turned up at the proper rendezvous.

In another case it was conclusively proved to every man in the company that it is a bad mistake to march by one bright particular star, unless it happens to be the Pole Star.

The few Bedouins who were in the village were not at all attractive, but the children did make friends with our men and appreciated chocolates.

Before we moved off from El Arish another brilliant success was gained by our camelry and cavalry.

(1) How Samson caught the foxes remained an insoluble problem. But if he had done so, and set on fire the immense stretches of barley which we saw later on, then the entire winter supply of the Philistines must have been destroyed.

The main body of the enemy were now busily engaged in perfecting a very strong position about Khan Yunus and Shellal. The westernmost of these fortresses was at El Magruntein, quite close to Rafa, which last is a place often mentioned in history. It was there that Antiochus and Ptolemy fought a famous battle (*see* page 96). It is also often mentioned in the records of the Crusaders.

On the night of 8-9th January, 1917, our mounted troops departed on a march of thirty miles over unknown and most difficult country, arriving just before day-break at a little garden called Karim Ibn Musleh, which is close to El Magruntein.

One New Zealand regiment at once went off to the east and north so as to get between this fortress and possible reinforcements.

Although El Magruntein is quite an insignificant hill and but slightly elevated above the surrounding country, German science had made of it a most formidable place.

There was a central keep, and round it were six detached posts; the trenches were narrow and deep, and connected with the central fort by well-designed communications. All the outer posts were commanded by rifle and machine gun fire from the central stronghold. In some directions there was a clear field of fire for 1500 yards; everywhere, for at least 600 yards, the ground was open, bare, and destitute of cover.

Moreover, from a distance of a mile or so all that could be distinguished of this exceedingly strong fortress was a vague knoll of rising ground, with low indistinct ridges running out from it; the trenches, even with strong glasses, were barely visible.

It was a masterpiece of Poliorcetics, and no doubt considered by the German chief engineer as impregnable.

However, at daybreak, the New Zealanders went off at the gallop, captured the village of Rafa, and attacked from the east.

The Yeomanry came into action from the west, the Camel Corps from the south, and the Australian

Light Horse from the south-east. Some galloped forward to within 600 yards ; from all these directions skirmishing lines of dismounted men pressed forward.

The Territorial Field Artillery also dashed forward to as near the place as possible. They opened fire briskly upon targets which could be seen over the gun-sights.

But the fire from the enemy machine guns, manned by picked German teams, over a nearly perfect glacis was murderous ; their Krupp and mountain guns had splendid opportunities. Our own artillery advanced, but even with the aid of their destructive and deadly fire no progress could be made. The attack was for long held up. Even after nine hours' fighting victory seemed impossible. There was just a moment in which an order to retire was expected, for our scouting aeroplane had dropped a message, " Large Turkish reinforcements were hurrying up from Khan Yunus (three miles) and from Shellal (fifteen miles)."

But just at that critical moment the gallant New Zealanders carried the trenches on the Rafa side with a rush. In a minute or two they and the other troopers were all over them, and the Turks surrendered.

The other New Zealand Regiment had managed to hold off the 3000 Turks who were advancing to reinforce El Magruntein. They now attacked, and so vigorously that the enemy retreated more or less in disorder.

The original Turkish garrison had been 2300 men ; of these 600 had been killed. We captured 1602 prisoners (35 officers), as well as 4 Krupp mountain guns, 7 machine guns, 1600 rifles, 45,000 rounds S.A.A., 83 camels, 58 horses and mules, and a quantity of equipment.

Our own casualties were 72 killed and 415 wounded. The force returned in triumph to El Arish that night, bringing not only the wounded but all prisoners and plunder with them.

This daring expedition was a severe test of endurance both for horses and men. It involved two night marches in an unknown country and ten hours' fighting. The horses had had no water to drink for forty-four hours.

I asked my Australian informant how many of them had died, but was told that they were not much the worse for their experiences and that there were few losses.

This rapid and unexpected attack upon a formidable fortress, carried out with extraordinary skill, not only ended, as we have seen, in complete success, but it had important results.

The loss of Rafa, or rather El Magruntein, was in itself a severe blow to the Turks. But this stronghold was also an essential point in the great lines of defence from Khan Yunus to Wadi Sheikh Nuran and Shellal, upon which the Turks had spent an enormous amount of labour. All these fortifications were abandoned, and the enemy, depressed and humiliated, retreated to Gaza and Beersheba.

These two victories (Maghaba and El Magruntein) raised the spirits of every man in the Desert Column.

We went forward with cheerful confidence on the Last Crusade.

Though from their ordinary conversation one would hardly have suspected it, there was real enthusiasm. Every man knew that we intended and that we would succeed in delivering the Holy Land from the unspeakable atrocities of Turkish misrule.

We advanced on the 27th February to El Burj. On the 7th March we reached Sheikh Zowaid. Here was held the first spring meeting of the Sinai Hunt Club. The most interesting event was the "Jerusalem scurry" for mules.

On the 25th we went on to Khan Yunus. On this day's march the pipers played "All the Blue Bonnets are over the Border," for we had left Egypt behind us, and were now in the Holy Land.

Rafa, though it has a long and interesting history, consisted, when we passed it, of two wells and five miserable hovels. On the 26th we arrived at Im Seirat.

These marches were memorable; everyone was cheerful and in the best of spirits; moreover, the country was changing in character.

At El Arish we had one and a half miles of good

going over the gypsum-hardened bed of an old terrace of the river twenty feet above the present level.

Then passing over a ridge of bare sand dunes, we came again into a country of scrub-covered ridges.

El Burj is a collection of mud huts with gardens of figs and almonds, each enclosed in its own little hedge of cactus.

It was when nearing Sheikh Zowaid that the scenery began to change.

Soon we were passing over good hard ground ; the land stretched away in wide low undulations covered with quite green grass or enormous stretches of growing barley. Here and there were real flowers, and one pretty little iris was noticed by everyone.

Except for one brief railway journey of seven miles in open trucks, most of the officers and all the men of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. had trudged, heavy-laden, every weary mile of the long desert trail, and the green was inexpressibly refreshing.

Even the jaded horses and mules plodding through the sand or climbing up sand dunes, with the riders on their necks and coming down the other side with the weight on their cruppers, really seemed to enjoy the hard going and the sight of green grass.

As to the camels, I cannot really give an opinion. It seemed to me to be an animal always misunderstood, and its attitude to life is incomprehensible.

CHAPTER VI.

GAZA.

EARLY on the morning of the 26th March the Battalion marched to Im Seirat. There we listened all day to the sound of the first battle at Gaza.

In this affair the plan adopted at Rafa and Magdhaba was again put into operation.

Our splendid cavalry, extending far out to the south and east, swept round until they could attack from the north. They also detached regiments to hold off any possible Turkish reinforcements.

Meantime the 53rd Division were attacking along the seashore.

There had been a fog in the early morning and transport arrangements had broken down, but towards evening the New Zealanders were actually within the city; the Turks were surrendering in hundreds; some of the 53rd Division were swarming over Ali Muntar.

In fact, the city was captured.

The 52nd Division were ready, keen to go forward to reinforce and consolidate the captured trenches. The fog had cleared off by the afternoon, and the way into Gaza by keeping to the right of the sandhills was quite unmistakable.

But for reasons which have never yet been made clear Gaza was evacuated !

The victors brought back with them no less than 950 prisoners, including the General and Headquarters Staff of a Turkish Division and some 36 German officers. The Turkish casualties were about 8000.

Our losses were not more than 600 !

Yet, for some unknown reason, this brilliant little victory was so described that it read as a defeat.

I interviewed some of those who had actually been in Gaza when the order to retire was given. Their disgust was expressed with a vigour and a vocabulary characteristic of Australia.

At this time the Turks were disheartened and

demoralised. Our abandonment of Gaza after its capture inspired them with new hope and fresh enthusiasm.

On the 28th March the 1/5th K.O.S.B. prepared and occupied a strong position on the western side of the Wadi Ghuzze. Though there is usually no water in this valley, it has an impressive appearance; the broad bed meanders between high cliffs once crowned by castles built in the time of the Crusades, but it is now a dry and almost uninhabited country.

It was difficult to believe that great armies had once encamped beside it, and that when the army of Antiochus II. advanced to its disastrous defeat just before Rafa 102 Indian elephants had been watered there.

Just across the valley was what had once been a charming country house and garden belonging to some rich inhabitant of Gaza.

The "Red House" had the usual cactus enclosures, but was now derelict. The water-wheel had been broken up. The well, following the usual German custom, had been filled up with rubbish and befouled by the Turks, and this although such destruction is expressly forbidden in the Koran.

This villa had its importance in the story of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. For quite a long period it was held by a company of the Battalion. They had orders to retire if they were attacked by the enemy in superior numbers.

On the 4th April the company in the Red House was attacked by at least one or more (probably by two) battalions.

Capt. A. K. Clark-Kennedy, who was in command, following his orders, withdrew.

This difficult operation was conducted without haste and with extraordinary skill. The men retired in alternate platoons, keeping up a continual fire upon the enemy, who did not dare to follow across the open ground. He did not have a single casualty, and he succeeded in

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bringing back every horse, mule, and camel, as well as everything else of the slightest value.

His task was not made easier by an unfortunate incident.

During the retreat one of the camels suddenly went mad or "magnoon." Now and then, and for no known reason, a male camel will suddenly lose his head. He will run violently about and try to kill anybody that he can catch. His tail will be vertical and twisted like a corkscrew, and foam frothes out through his long yellow and splayed teeth.

If this happens under ordinary circumstances, the correct procedure is to trip him up with ropes, tie him up, and then belabour him with sticks until he comes to his senses.

On this occasion the camel was promptly shot, and Clark-Kennedy's orderly retreat was not disturbed.

From April 5th until the 17th hostile aeroplanes used to hover over our lines. Occasional shell-fire was experienced, but little damage was done.

It was from the

" Red-tiled House which ruined lies,
Verandah wrecked, roof gaping to the skies,
A heap of masonry,"

that the best view of Gaza could be obtained.

It was from this place that I used to study the fortifications. At the proper time in the morning and evening one could see hordes of Turks working at the entrenchments upon Ali Muntar with feverish activity.

The Red House Valley is quite open, bare, and sandy up to within 2000 yards of the town. Then there was a whole series of enclosures with cactus and occasional green trees. Hours of watching never proved that these were, as I felt certain and as proved to be the case, full of trenches and machine gun nests.

The town, with its white-walled and red-roofed houses lying amongst green trees, was exceedingly picturesque. The slender, white, and graceful minaret, once a famous Christian Crusaders' Church, was at first left untouched. When, however, the Turks began to



By permission of Mr. W. T. Massey, Mr. James McBey, and Messrs Constable & Co.

STRANGE SIGNALS.

use it as an observing station, it was broken to pieces by our shell-fire and became a ruinous heap.

Once when carefully watching the El Sireh ridge, I saw what appeared to be a small piece of the ground suddenly get up and walk away. Others followed suit.

These enemy snipers had something like a dustman's hood covering the head and shoulders. The colour of this hood and their trousers so exactly matched the ground on which they lay that I believed they had covered their clothes with gum and then plastered them with the soil of the country.

From the 28th March to the 19th April the strenuous toil upon Ali Muntar never ceased. By this time also the Turks had been strongly reinforced. Typical German officers and non-commissioned officers with any number of biddable and sturdy Turkish soldiers can achieve a great deal in three weeks—as we discovered.

The defences of Gaza were based on principles as old as war itself.

It is probable that two discoveries in the Science of War had been made, even in Palæolithic times.

“Ung,” as soon as unpleasantness arose between him and his neighbour, would try to take the higher ground, so that the impetus of his choice war stones would increase in momentum when they were vigorously hurled down upon his adversary.

Both he and the other duellist would try their best to dodge round so as to strike the flank or back of their opponent.

At Rafa, as we have mentioned above, the central keep dominated the innermost series of entrenchments, and each set of trenches was above and could bring destructive fire upon the next entrenchments farther out.

At Gaza the same idea had been worked out in every detail, and with remarkable skill.

The dominant point was the famous hill of Ali Muntar, which has always been the key to Gaza.

In one of the decisive battles of Crusading times a great Mahomedan army was contending with a strong

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force of Crusaders. These last were assisted by a body of Mahomedan allies, who were posted upon Ali Muntar.

At the critical moment the latter fled in confusion, and the battle ended in a disastrous defeat of the Christian forces.

Here also one could imagine Alexander the Great, furious at his wound (a dart in the shoulder), standing to direct the building of the mighty wall (250 feet high and 124 feet broad) right round the city, which after a long siege was captured and completely destroyed.

But in our battle of 19th April, 1917, Ali Muntar was even more important than it has ever been in all its eventful history.

It was covered with entrenchments, well-designed battery positions; shell-proof shelters¹ and positions of assembly were arranged behind and around it. It dominated the whole countryside, and was the key of the Turkish system of defence. Certain low hills, or ridges, successively lower towards the seashore, were also entrenched. The last, Sea Post, was just upon the cliffs, but all these trenches were under the fire of the guns posted on Ali Muntar as well as from the higher ground directly behind them.

To the right Turkish front the belt of sandhills along the shore did afford a more or less covered line of approach, for it consisted of the usual intricate system of small valleys and ridges, of wave-crests and troughs. But the nearest part of it, the prominent knife-edged dune, which we called Sampson's Ridge, was entrenched and strongly held by the Turks. It also could be swept with shell-fire from Ali Muntar.

The Red House Valley between the dunes and El Sireh ridge was open, nearly flat, and without any cover at all excepting only a few very low hills, or rather mounds.

It ended towards Gaza in a wide strip of cactus enclosures full of machine guns and trenches. The

(1) *Dumfries Courier* (written after 1st November):—"Near by we found mines, dug into the hillside, well sheltered and roomy, in which almost the entire garrison of Ali Muntar might have taken shelter during particularly fierce bombardments and laughed to scorn all the high explosive ever invented."

cactus was twenty feet high, and there were broad ditches behind the hedges.

Looking from Ali Muntar down the El Sireh Ridge, the small hills, Middlesex, Outpost, Blazed and Lees, Queens and Kurd hills, could be seen by an observer on Ali Muntar.

In most cases each of them was higher than its neighbour farther away.

To the left front of Ali Muntar was a broad plateau almost devoid of cover, and which ended on our side in the broken cliff-like crags of Mansura and Sheikh Abbas.

The only unseen lines of approach to Ali Muntar from this direction were up the difficult, intricate, and branching nullahs which ended on the skyline of these last-named ridges.

The plateau, Mansura, and Abbas were fully exposed to the Turkish batteries upon Ali Muntar.

To the Turkish left there stretched a series of ridges, all elaborately fortified, and beyond these was desert so dry as to be impossible for European troops.

The attack was now fixed for the 19th April. The sketch on page 133 explains the general idea. It was just precisely the same plan on a larger scale as that so successfully carried out some three weeks before.

On our left the 53rd Division, assisted by the French *Requin*, monitors, and various smaller craft were to advance by the seashore and sandhills.

On the right there was to be a wide-sweeping or enveloping movement to overlap the extreme right and converge upon Ali Muntar.

The 155th Brigade was to be the inner pivot or directing flank, and was to move up the El Sireh Ridge. As will be seen from the sketch, the troops to the right were the 156th Brigade, the 54th Division, Australian and other horsemen, and the Camel Corps, who were on the extreme right.

The 17th and 18th April were days of preparation and of exceedingly hard work. Enormous amounts of ammunition and stores had to be brought forward.

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All the battalions were moved up nearer to the front, that is, to the "jumping-off" position.

On the 19th April the advance of the 53rd Division may be described first, for it was, in fact, an independent operation.

A small body (two companies) of this Division were supposed to connect the two attacks. These companies were to move up the broad Red House Valley, making such use as they could of the low hills, or rather mounds, of sand as cover.

The 53rd Division moved off in good time; they made their way forward through the sandhills until they came up against the strong Turkish trenches extending from Sampson's Ridge to Sheikh Ajlin. Here they were held up.

The two companies in Red House Valley were then called upon to assist by an attack upon Sampson's Ridge from the rear, and this was skilfully effected. Quite early in the day this Division captured Sampson's Ridge, which was packed with Turkish troops and obstinately held; later on they managed to seize Ajlin, farther up the seashore.

The *Requin* and other ships had to retire, being driven off by a submarine attack.

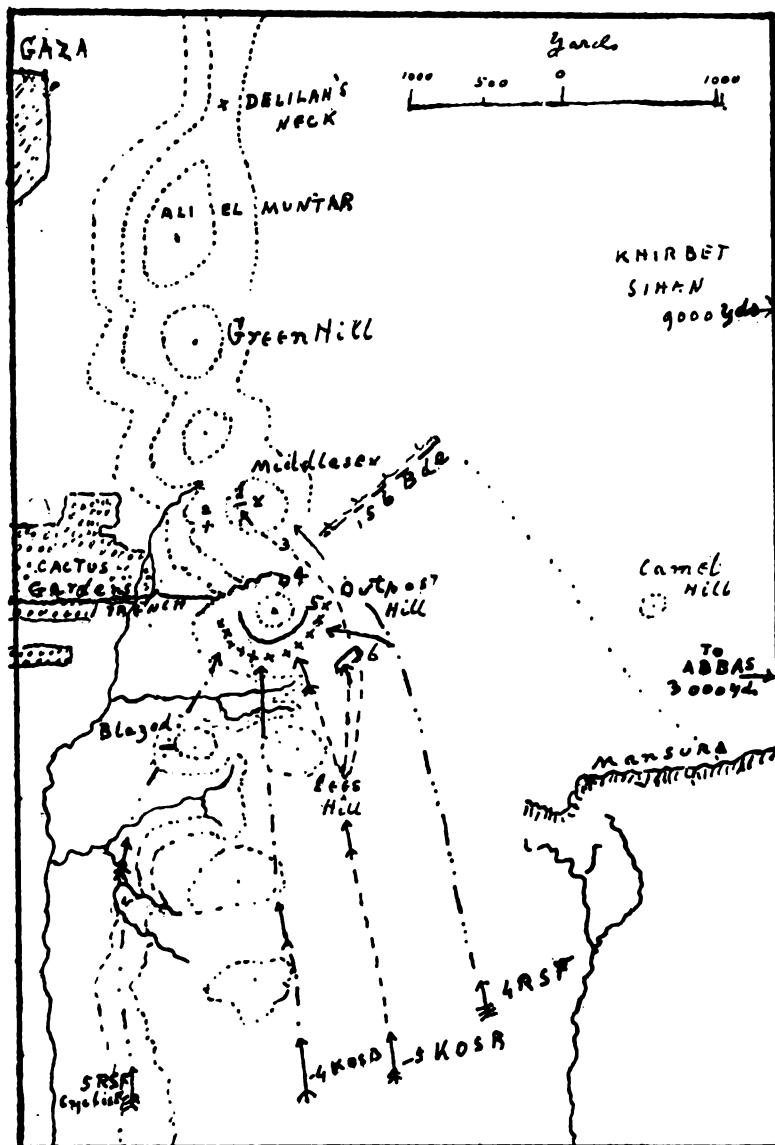
Under these circumstances the 53rd Division could not do anything whatever to help the left flank of the 52nd Division on El Sireh Ridge.

The whole Red House Valley was, in fact, open to frontal fire from the cactus gardens, from Gaza itself, and from Ali Muntar.¹

Thus the 53rd Division remained between Sampson's Ridge and Sheikh Ajlin the whole day. Consequently the enemy were able to devote almost all their artillery to the destruction of the 52nd Division.

Returning to the story of the 155th Brigade, it was

(1) "I was liaison officer between the 53rd Division and the 155th Brigade Headquarters at Kurd Hill. It was necessary to cross this valley three or four times. In doing so plenty of practice was afforded to the Turkish long-range snipers, and it seemed to me obvious that even two battalions could hardly have advanced to within machine gun range of the cactus."



GAZA—OUTPOST HILL.

- (1) First position 8th R.S.F. (2) Turkish machine guns. (3) Turner's Route.
 (4) Turkish bomb-proof shelter. (5) Lunette and barbed wire. (6) Ridge
 held by B Company.

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about 1 a.m. on the 17th April that Brig.-Gen. Pollok M'Call with the Brigade advanced by a narrow path along the crest of El Sireh Ridge to Kurd Hill. This was rather a dangerous proceeding, for no one knew for certain whether it was occupied at night or not. At the same hour Brig.-Gen. Hamilton Moore with the 156th Brigade moved up to a position of readiness at El Burgaliye Ridge.¹ At 4.45 a.m. on the 18th this Brigade moved forward, scaled the steep and rocky cliffs of Mansura Ridge, and by 7 a.m. had captured the formidable entrenchments there and had consolidated the position won. The 54th Division to their right also seized the Sheikh Abbas defences.

The 18th was a day of hard work. Numbers of fantasses with water, ammunition, barbed wire, and other stores were brought up to the new line. The Heavy Artillery also advanced.

During the night the whole atmosphere quivered and trembled at the roar of the "Tanks" as they laboured, lumbering forward.

The 5th K.O.S.B. were to open the attack by assaulting Queens, Lees, and Outpost Hills, the objective of A Company being Middlesex Hill.

At 5 a.m. they left the trenches and formed up in various gullies to the rear of Kurd Hill. At 5.30 a.m. our artillery opened upon Ali Muntar with a sudden burst of shell-fire. All our guns, including the 11-inch howitzers, bombarded the summit of Ali Muntar and the country to the north.

Unfortunately the Turks had arranged a whole series of elaborate bomb-proof shelters, in which their men were perfectly safe.

This area was more than 2000 yards across, and is a confusion of narrow dongas, holes, and fissures in between minor crags and heights, and interspersed with cactus hedges and bushes. "It was full of trenches, the "Labyrinth" and "Warren," etc."²

(1) Brig.-Gen. A. H. Leggett, with the 157th Brigade, remained in reserve at the Wadi Ghuzze.

(2) *Divisional History.*

At the same time gas shells were scattered over the cactus gardens to the left front of El Sireh Ridge. They did not seem to be at all effective. The dry air probably so thinned and refined the gas that no appreciable damage was done.

At 7.30 a.m. the bombardment stopped. The Battalion moved forward in artillery order, passing over Queens and Lees Hills, but as soon as they had advanced beyond Lees they came under heavy shell and machine gun fire, as well as occasional rifle fire. Then the battalions, companies, and platoons extended, and the whole battlefield was covered by some fourteen waves of men eagerly pressing forward.

A magnificent spectacle! From Camel Hill to El Sireh Ridge line upon line of advancing troops in khaki moved forward in an orderly manner; it might have been a field day on manœuvres.¹

The 5th K.O.S.B. were on the left, then came the 4th R.S.F., and beyond these the 8th Scottish Rifles and the rest of the 156th Brigade. The Tank "Tiger" was in front of the 1/5th K.O.S.B., and the "War Baby" preceded the 4th R.S.F.

On our left rear were the 5th R.S.F., who were to assist us by covering fire from this flank, and also the 155th Machine Gun Company, who advanced with the K.O.S.B.

The waves of the 4th K.O.S.B. were coming up in support.

As soon as the leading waves turned the shoulder of Lees Hill and advanced towards the gullies between it and Outpost, there burst on them a tempest of machine gun fire and shrapnel from half-right, from the front, from Outpost Hill, and from the left.²

Officers and men were falling fast. Amongst the

(1) Sergt. Seaton :—" I had the opportunity of being in several fine attacks made by the 52nd Division later in the campaign, but I think that this of the 19th April was the finest that any one could wish to see."

(2) Sergt. Beattie :—" The whole ground to our front was honeycombed with machine gun nests."

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first to drop were the Adjutant (Capt. Howieson), Capt. Gibson, and Lieut. Gilmour.

As those in front fell they were immediately reinforced from the rear. They reached the first gully, which was broad and deep. Then, advancing by short rushes, they reached the barbed wire surrounding the lunette.

Many officers and men fell here.

This redoubt or lunette, as will be seen from the sketch, was (from description) so curved backwards that it could be enfiladed either from the right or from the left. Moreover, a covered way or Turkish communication trench led up to the other side of Outpost Hill, where there was a bombing station from which it was easy for the Turks to throw bombs into the lunette or on to the barbed wire.

The position of the barbed wire was also scientifically designed in such a way that it could be swept by machine gun fire from either end.

Many were killed or wounded at the barbed wire. Amongst them was Sergt. Seaton, who was wounded in the head by a Minnen-Werfer bomb.

In the first attack upon the lunette Lieut. Henery was mortally wounded. Capt. Dunn was killed whilst gallantly leading his men up the slope. Lieut. Nicholson, going to his assistance, was also killed.

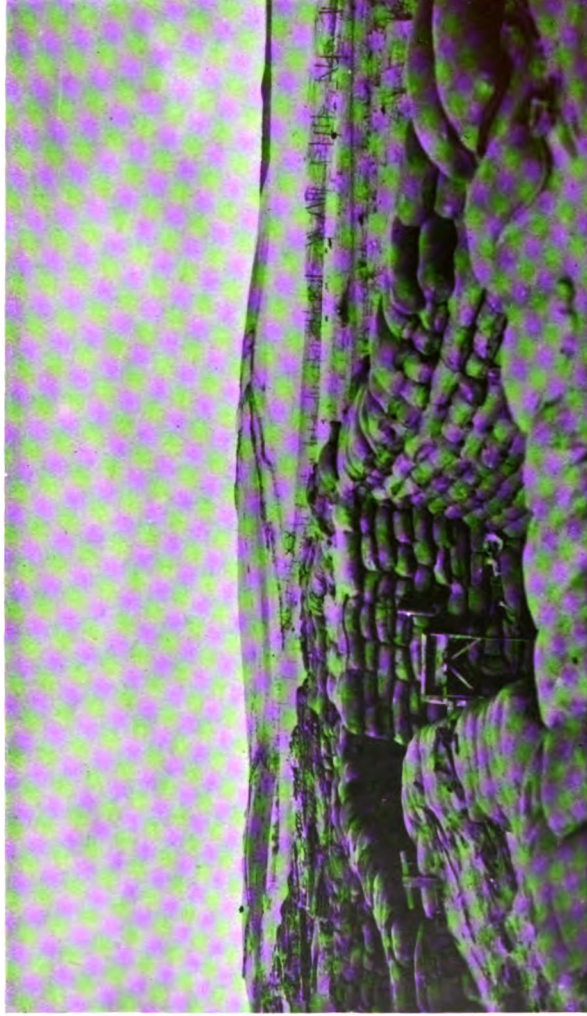
This first attempt was, however, successful; by 10 a.m. the lunette was in our possession!

But the losses were so heavy that it was impossible to hold it, and the few survivors were ordered to withdraw to the gully.

Here perhaps it is best to record the gallant behaviour and the fate of the two Tanks.

The "Tiger" had preceded the Battalion. Unfortunately quite early in the day she got amongst some deep gullies on the side of the ridge, where her tractor broke. Some of her crew, though dazed and wounded, were collected and brought back to the gully by Sergt. Beattie.

She was soon enveloped in clouds of bursting high



GAZA: SAMSON'S RIDGE

From part of our line on Hereford Ridge

By permission, Col. Findlay, I.c., and Messrs W. Blackie & Son.

explosive shells. One of these scored a direct hit upon her, and she went on fire.

"Tiger" was completely burnt out! But even after sunset she was doing good service, for the red glow from her iron body was the only fixed point in the darkness by which the plan of our trenches could be laid out.¹

Another Tank, "War Baby," then came lumbering to the rescue. It is said that her proper place was in front of the 4th R.S.F., but as the check at Outpost was holding up the whole attack, she was quite rightly let loose upon Outpost. After trampling down and crushing part of the barbed wire, "War Baby" seesawed majestically over the top of Outpost and set to work obliterating machine gun nests, destroying trenches, etc. But she also was hit and destroyed.

Lieut. Nicholson had been in command of No. 7 Platoon, which was following up the Tank "Tiger." He found a trench about twenty yards behind the place where the Tank had been disabled. This trench was some two feet deep. It had been "arranged to a nicety" as a mark for the Turkish artillery and trench-mortars, and was clearly intended to tempt us to occupy it. Nevertheless the cover, such as it was, was preferable to the open ground behind, which was regularly traversed by machine gun fire. Sergt. Beattie, now in charge of the platoon, remained there. The Turks were now coming forward, and some of them were taking cover behind the ruined Tank. Sergt. Beattie only withdrew his platoon to the gully, when the remainder of our men were brought back from the lunette.²

Then followed the Turkish counter-attack. Sergt. Seaton says:—"When I recovered consciousness the Turks had retaken the lunette and were advancing towards the wire, about twenty yards from where I lay.

(1) The officer in charge of "War Baby" (Lieut. Braine) received the Military Cross according to information received from Col. R. D. Cheale and Q.M.-Sergt. E. Wilson.

(2) Sergt. Seaton and Sergt. (now Lieut.) G. M. Beattie. Sergt. Beattie went forward again with the second attack, and remained there until the final withdrawal.

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Our artillery again swept the lunette with shrapnel, forcing the advancing Turks back to cover. Mixed troops (K.O.S.B. and R.S.F.) again attacked from a gully to which they had retired, again taking the lunette."

After " War Baby " had passed over the hill, the 5th K.O.S.B. were still devoting themselves to the fatal lunette. Practically the whole Battalion spent itself in repeated attempts to reinforce. The result was always the same; the garrison was promptly reduced, almost to nothing, by rifle grenades from trench-mortars in the bomb-proofs beyond the hill, by bombers coming up from the left, and by machine gun fire from both right and left.

2nd-Lieut. W. B. Campbell led one party forward. His attack was guided forward with great skill, taking every advantage of cover, and it succeeded, but this promising young officer was shot dead just as he entered the lunette.

The Turks attempted other counter-attacks, but these met with so hot a reception from our machine gun and rifle fire that they melted away.

Major J. C. Kennedy led another assault, but he was severely wounded before he reached the redoubt.

Within or near this fatal spot the bodies of many of our very best officers and men remained unburied until the following November. These included Capt A. K. Clark-Kennedy, Capt. Watson, Lieut. G. C. Macleod, Lieut. Tweedie, Lieut. S. P. Crombie (brother of Major Crombie), and Lieut. Law.

Lieut. Scott (Lockerbie) was mortally wounded, and died in hospital at El Arish.¹

As for the men, there is hardly a hamlet or village in Dumfriesshire and Galloway which is not represented in the cemetery at Gaza.

Attempts were made to counter-attack. On one occasion, after driving off an enemy rush, the Borderers followed hard with the bayonet after the retreating Turks and over the hill, but they were far too few in number to rush the masses of enemy in the trenches.

(1) Capt. Dinwiddie.

In another Turkish counter-attack a number of the enemy came forward with their arms stretched out as if they were going to surrender. But their aim was to induce our men to leave the lunette, and every single one who manned the parapet was either killed or wounded.

Lieut. Gibb, on his own initiative, collected a few men and went forward to try and locate the enemy machine guns,¹ but he was never seen again.

In this intolerable situation everything that could have been of any possible advantage was attempted. Everything failed.

Capt. Pirie and Lieut. Stewart, of the 155th Brigade Machine Gun Company, brought a machine gun into the lunette, but very soon Capt. Pirie was wounded and the gun destroyed by a bomb.

No less than five Lewis guns had been brought into the lunette; every one was put out of action; indeed two of them—and their crews—were blown to pieces.

Very soon men of other battalions were irresistibly drawn into this desperate struggle. On our left flank certain of the R.S.F., who were entrenching on Blazed Hill so as to hold that point, witnessing the terrific fight in front of them, threw down their picks and shovels and joined in.

Capt. Clendinning with his Cyclists had got forward to a position west of Outpost, but he was forced back; he and his men came forward and assisted in these desperate attacks. He was killed later in the day.

The 4th K.O.S.B., who were in support, had early reached the 5th K.O.S.B. in front. Many of them were in the thick of the struggle.

Men of the 4th R.S.F. were also drawn into this deadly maelstrom.

This was due to a strange effect not very easy to describe, which seems to have resulted from the terrific machine gun fire which swept this battalion from the

(1) These were never located exactly. They were sited either in the lower ground (cactus gardens) or on the north-west slope of Outpost itself. According to my latest information some were placed as shewn in sketch.—W. R. Owens, Esq.

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left front. The men seem to have unconsciously inclined to the left so as to face it.¹ Thus only one platoon of the company of the 5th K.O.S.B., under Lieut. Turner, went straight on (between one and two thousand yards) towards its true objective, Middlesex Hill. He advanced by section rushes and under very heavy machine gun, rifle, and shell-fire throughout the whole distance. He himself and some three or four men out of the thirty who followed him did succeed in getting there. Fortunately he discovered a small trench with a little cover, and there they remained all day long. He had reached his objective. After dark, and when the troops on his right rear had departed, he managed to make his way back, *bringing with him all his wounded men.*

For this gallant action he afterwards received the M.C.

One or two platoons of B Company, 5th K.O.S.B., received an order to right incline, and seized a ridge to the east of Outpost, where they gave very valuable help. They kept up a covering fire, and stopped the Turkish counter-attacks.

Though the 4th R.S.F. (the battalion on our right) had been influenced by this instinctive urge to face the front, other companies of the 4th R.S.F. kept on to the front, and finally dug themselves in on the lower slopes of Middlesex.

They were more or less in touch with the 8th Scottish Rifles on their right, who with the other battalions of their brigade had advanced from Mansura and were now well forward on the plateau.

The right flank of this brigade was completely in the air.

The 54th Division had also advanced on the plateau. The cavalry and the Camel Corps had come forward, and the latter had captured Khurbet Sihar by a sudden, daring assault, but it was all that they could possibly do to hold on to it. Any advance on their part was out of the question.

During the greater part of the day all these troops

(1) See page 129.

from the Scottish Rifles on the left to the Camel Corps on the extreme right were lying out in the open, exposed to enemy shell-fire and offering ideal objectives for an enemy counter-attack; to advance was obviously impossible; they were pinned down to their positions. How were they to be got back?

At or about mid-day some of our men were still lying in the lunette. But "the fire from the enemy's trenches was terrific—certain death to nearly all who were in the open."

A number of men belonging to every battalion in the brigade (cyclists, machine gunners, etc.) were in the deep, broad gully between the lunette on Outpost and Lees Hill.

Capt. W. D. Kennedy (5th R.S.F.) was endeavouring to reorganise these survivors.

Then the order came that Outpost Hill was to be captured at all costs.

So there was a last attempt to reinforce and hold the place. Major W. T. Forrest, of the 4th K.O.S.B. (the famous "Wattie Forrest" of the football world), appeared walking coolly along the edge of the Nullah. "Come on, every mother's son of you—I don't care who you are, I don't care what battalion you belong to. Come on, boys."

Every man followed him. They made a magnificent, desperate charge up the slope and into the lunette, which was again reinforced. But Major Forrest was mortally wounded; Capt. Cochrane, Capt. Lumgair (4th K.O.S.B.), and Capt. Watson (5th K.O.S.B.) were killed.¹

Within the lunette there were by this time perhaps 350 men, mostly wounded; it was choked with dead bodies. To lift the head above the parapet meant certain death.

Major Crombie, seeing the utter hopelessness of the situation, crawled out and endeavoured to find the Commanding Officer and obtain orders.

After sunset there were still some 70 men, mostly

(1) I have been unable to fix the exact time of this attack. Pte. (Piper) Thomson gave me valuable information about it.

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wounded, lying there. Lieut. R. B. Anderson (4th K.O.S.B.), a most gallant young officer, saw that they would have to retire. He gave orders for "Men to dig gaps in the Turkish parapet; every two men were to help back one of the wounded." He also directed the order in which they were to go.

It was these arrangements, coolly thought out and steadily carried through (after some ten hours of exposure in this horrible spot), that undoubtedly saved the lives of many of the wounded.

But very soon afterwards Lieut. Anderson himself was shot through the heart and killed instantaneously.¹

Just before sunset the situation was critical. Bodies of Turks were seen massing in the woods to the southwest of Outpost with apparently the intention of enveloping our left flank on Outpost Hill.

Lieut. Broomfield (4th K.O.S.B.) with about ten men endeavoured to disperse them. Later he was joined by Lieut. Foote and Major Crombie, who took over the command.

This serious danger was only averted with great difficulty and loss. Men bringing up ammunition had to crawl over the open ground.

The survivors withdrew about 6 p.m., when darkness fell.

By this time the last remaining company of the 4th K.O.S.B., the 7th H.L.I., and the 5th A. & S.H. had formed a thin line across Blazed and Lees Hills, and were entrenching vigorously.

After darkness fell, officers' patrols were sent forward to discover whether the lunette was held or not. Lieut. Lamb penetrated to within the barbed wire, but he was killed. Lieut. A. W. Philip managed to get right up to the lunette, and was able to report that it was strongly held, though he himself was severely wounded.

Throughout the whole deadly struggle it was not

(1) "He was trying to get to Major Forrest, and, not being able to move along the trench for wounded, got up on the parapet and tried to get into the trench further along. There also it was full of wounded, and hesitating to jump down on them, he was killed."—W. R. Ovens.

possible to supply either Brigade or Divisional Headquarters with full and up-to-date information.

During the day at least thirteen runners were sent back with messages. Only a single one succeeded in getting through, and he did not arrive at Headquarters until 3 p.m.

Magnificent work was done by our well-trained battalion signallers under Lieut. R. Lindsay Carruthers, whose telephone lines were always being broken by shell-fire.

Nevertheless he kept up communication between Col. Simson's advanced Battalion Headquarters and those of the Brigade. The incessant fire made even this exceedingly difficult. Sergt. Kerr,¹ Corpl. Stitt, and Corpl. Shankland distinguished themselves in this most dangerous duty.

At the front, officers were for ever being killed and wounded. Thus, though a signal wire was eventually *carried through and right up into the lunette*, the difficulty was to find any officer who could give a report.

Col. Simson was himself severely wounded, about 4 p.m. Afterwards communication was at last obtained with Major Crombie by the desperate efforts and devotion of Lieut. Carruthers, Lieut. Noble Alston (4th K.O.S.B.), and their signallers.

By this time Brig.-General Pollok M'Call had the H.L.I. and Argylls under his orders, and could save the situation.

Thus the 7th H.L.I. were able to link up with the 8th Cameronians on the right, whilst the 5th A. & S.H. faced up the ridge and towards the cactus gardens on the western side of Blazed Hill.

Entrenching was as difficult as it well could be. The soil was rock and hard clay, and in the dark a line had been chosen which was too far forward.

The 156th Brigade was, as has been mentioned above, lying out on the open plateau, and had been for some five hours exposed to heavy shell-fire from the

(1) Sergt. Kerr was given a commission, but he was killed in the Battle of Mughar.

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front and also upon their right flank. The Brigade was therefore in an exceedingly dangerous position. Even as early in the afternoon as 2.45 p.m. the 7th Royal Scots were being fired at from the front, from the right flank, and from the right rear.

On their left flank, on Middlesex Hill, was Lieut. Turner with three or four men (A Company, No. 2 Platoon), and perhaps a company of the 4th R.S.F.¹ Turkish skirmishers were working round the shoulder of Middlesex Hill, and firing into the left of the 8th S.R.

One mile east of them was the 54th Division completely held up. Still further off were the cavalry and Camel Corps, who had been engaged all day long in holding off repeated and resolute counter-attacks.

At this critical moment our aeroplanes reported that formidable masses of Turkish troops were assembling at Delilah's Neck, and also that numerous Turkish skirmishers were working forward round Middlesex Hill.

Fortunately the quick and skilful co-operation of aeroplanes, forward observing officers, and batteries saved the situation.

Within two minutes the enemy masses, advancing to annihilate the 7th R.S. and roll up the entire 156th Brigade, received so deadly a storm of shrapnel that they hesitated, broke, and fled in all directions.

Then with consummate skill Col. Peebles and Major Ewing brought back the 7th R.S., and Col. Findlay retired the 8th S.R. until they were in touch with the 157th Brigade on the left. Eventually, in the dark, a line of trenches had been dug extending from Abbas through Mansura to Lees and Blazed Hills.

It was not until long after sunset that what remained of the 155th Brigade was brought back to a hollow behind Kurd Hill.

At the bivouac of the 5th K.O.S.B. on that night (April 19-20) the Battalion consisted of 6 officers and 116 other ranks!

During the 20th many rejoined who had retired with

(1) I have not been able to get any information regarding these 4th R.S.F.



Photo by

Bramwell & Fergusson, Edinburgh.

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIMSON, D.S.O.

other battalions or had been only slightly wounded. But our casualties on the 19th April were appalling.

The officers who were killed or died of wounds were Lieut.-Col. J. R. Simson (who died of his wounds), Capt. A. K. Clark-Kennedy, Capt. T. Dunn, Capt. W. G. D. Watson, Lieuts. S. P. Crombie, Scott, Law, Nicholson, Geo. C. Macleod, W. B. Campbell, Gibb, Henery, and A. Tweedie. Eight officers were wounded, including the Adjutant (Capt. Howieson), Major Kennedy (Second in Command), Lieuts. W. Dinwiddie¹ and Roberts.

Of other ranks 47 were killed and 226 wounded. Those reported missing were 1 officer and 52 other ranks; all of these were either killed or wounded.

After the battle our medical officer was continually engaged in operations, some of a very critical nature, for forty-eight hours on end. For this feat of skill and endurance Capt. Gardiner received the M.C.

On this occasion the Battalion nearly spoilt its record of never having lost a single prisoner.

It will be remembered that two platoons of B Company had been stationed on a ridge to the east of Outpost, where they were under cover to some extent from the machine gun fire. Some fifty of the enemy attacking this ridge made a pretence of surrendering, whilst others kept on firing. During this counter-attack three men left in an isolated position were surrounded and taken prisoners. Their rifles were taken from them, but they kept their heads and skilfully got back to our lines when the Turks were driven back over the ridge by our machine guns.

This second battle of Gaza was in every respect disastrous. The total casualties in the 5th K.O.S.B. amounted to 344. The 4th R.S.F. lost 283, the 4th K.O.S.B. 213, and the 5th R.S.F. 186. Thus out of a total strength of about 2500, the 155th Brigade lost 1026 men.

No less than 25 officers were killed and 36 wounded. Such losses can only be compared with those at

(1) Lieut. (afterwards Capt.) W. Dinwiddie was wounded when crossing the barley 500 yards from Outpost. He could not be rescued until after dark, and was again hit in the arm whilst lying there.

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Namur (*see* page 5), the Twelfth of July (Gallipoli), and the Battle of Beugneux.

Perhaps the most serious point was the loss of so many experienced officers. Until Col. Kearsey was appointed to the command there does not seem to have been one single regular officer in the Battalion !

Even more serious perhaps was the encouragement given to the Turkish armies. Before the second battle of Gaza they had been discouraged and dismayed. Now they were full of fighting spirit.

To the writer the most remarkable part of the story is that, within ten days, officers and men were just as full of enthusiasm and as eager for a new scrap as ever.

The night of the 20th-21st April was spent in bivouac. But for the ensuing nine or ten days there were not only fatigues during the day, but every single night was occupied in digging front line trenches. Even under the best conditions this is a trying and eerie experience. The watch for enemy patrols and for a Verey light or star-shell, the taking cover or lying flat, listening to the burst of a shell or the whine of a bullet flying overhead—all these to men not too well fed and after their trials on the 19th were indeed trying to the nerves.

Yet shortly afterwards it was my duty to censor some fifty of the men's letters. Only three of them contained grouching or grumbling !

These trenches eventually linked up Sampson's Ridge with Blazed and Lees Hills, and were the front line trenches until Hallowe'en of that year.

Our next move was to trenches in the front line near the sea. We proceeded across the Red House Valley in the dusk. Not the slightest notice was taken of a Turkish aeroplane which hovered over the marching column.

The front line ran from the ruined gardens near Ajlin to the sharp corner called by us the "apex," and thence towards Sampson's Ridge.

We were shown the front trench by an officer of the battalion which we had relieved.

He explained that great care had to be exercised in certain places where the parapet was too low. A

particular scrub-covered slope was a favourite lurking-place of Turkish snipers.

But this slope was soon regularly swept by our machine guns; our own snipers also went out at night and concealed themselves in holes. During the day it very soon happened that no Turk ventured out to snipe, and never a head dared to show itself above the parapet!

At the apex the three companies were holding a line of 1500 to 2000 yards with 426 rifles.

For sniping and night patrols our men seemed to have a natural aptitude. There were always volunteers, and especially for the large patrols which went out occasionally. On the 21st May one of them penetrated two or three hundred yards into No Man's Land. There they uprooted a telegraph pole and replanted it some distance to the right, thus upsetting (as we hoped) the enemy's careful ranging of their guns.

A favourite ploy was to go out at night and plant "Jam-tin" bombs connected by a thin wire. The theory was that some venturesome Turkish scout would blow himself up. I cannot recall any instance of this having really happened.

However, with these "field sports" and under the new Commanding Officer (Col. A. H. C. Kearsy, D.S.O., 10th Hussars), the Battalion soon became as keen and eager as ever.

Bathing in the sea was occasionally possible, and conditions as regards rations, etc., were distinctly improved.

Three advanced posts were held by the Battalion. The garrison consisted of 1 N.C.O. and 3 men by day and of 1 N.C.O. and 6 men at night. On those not infrequent mornings, when a clammy white mist covered the whole of No Man's Land, an eager watch was kept. Perhaps it would lift somewhere, and a working party could be seen. Once a Turkish officer, strolling about the Sugar Loaf, was visible for just a few seconds. This was long enough, however, to see him fall, wounded by one of our snipers.

The Turks did send out night patrols; they seem

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to have been given so many bombs to use that night. They invariably did explode them before returning, but it seemed to us that they were not particular as to whether there was any target or not!

Once when at the apex we were withdrawn to the first support trenches for two hours. Perhaps this was to enable our artillery to register on the lines to our front.

On our return to the apex, machine gun bullets and shrapnel began to fall upon trenches and dugouts which had never before been under fire.

One shell burst above the battalion cookhouse and wounded several men, besides destroying all the dinners.

An orderly standing beside his dugout close to Company Headquarters was killed, although this place had been chosen as invisible to the enemy and in perfect cover from fire. It seemed to me that fire at a high angle had been attempted. It was, at any rate, an extraordinary chance.

During May our advanced posts known as Jones, Bacon's Boil, and Windy were several times attacked by enemy patrols at night.

They were always repulsed, and these evening affairs only meant an exchange of bombs.

Our own patrols were active. On the 28th May a party got to within ten yards of the enemy wire and threw two bombs, and on the 29th to within forty yards of it, without eliciting any reply on either occasion.

On the 26th one of our patrols, consisting of 1 officer and 20 men, were attacked by two parties of the enemy, numbering 30 men each. Our men retired on Bacon's Boil. They had but one casualty.

The Turkish aeroplanes were becoming shy of us. On two occasions enemy planes were driven off by our Lewis guns. On the 27th our Lewis gunners boasted that one "Johnny" had had to stop his engines and volplane down into Gaza.

The casualties in this month were small, two men killed and three wounded.

The strength on 31st May was 22 officers and 771

other ranks. In hospital were 4 officers and 70 other ranks.

During June either Battalion Headquarters or some other part of our trenches was shelled by the enemy almost every day.

On the 6th a single shell-burst of shrapnel, at the apex, killed 2 men and wounded 8 others.

Our night patrols went out every evening and had good sport with enemy patrols.

It was decided to attack Sea Post, which played an important role in the enemy's line of defences, on the night of the 11th June. It was close to the sea, and its position prevented any attempt on our part to get round the extreme right flank of the defences.

The trenches, dugouts, strong-points, and wire entanglements at Sea Post were exactly reproduced at a place some distance behind our lines. The men selected for the raid were then continually practised in assaulting it until they were thoroughly familiar with every stage of the proposed attack. Every man knew exactly where to go and exactly what he himself had to do.

It is worth while giving the story in detail, for it was a nearly perfect example of the very latest development of a raid with limited objective, and was carried out with complete success.

The credit for this brilliant little affair belongs to Lieut.-Col. Kearsey, D.S.O., who was then in command of the Battalion. It was he who suggested, arranged, and designed every detail. Once mooted, the idea was taken up with enthusiasm by the whole Battalion.

Sea Post was perched on the top of the cliffs, which overhung a narrow, sandy, and shingly beach. It was some 900 yards north-east of the Sheikh Ajlin trenches, which were then held by us.

It could be reached either by a very narrow track along the seashore, followed by a stiffish climb up the cliffs, or by a direct frontal advance from our firing-line. Up to about half-way across No Man's Land the ground sloped downwards from our trenches, and was broken with hollows and covered by scrub. Then followed

rather a steep ascent towards the Sea Post ridges, which were strongly entrenched and provided with bomb-proof dugouts, machine guns, etc. There were four communication trenches leading to the nearest enemy positions. A difficult barbed wire entanglement had been arranged out in front of the entrenchment. For several nights previously our artillery fired heavily on the line of wire in front of the whole Turkish right flank, that is, from Gaza to the sea.

Thus there was nothing out of the way in the bombardment of Sea Post on that particular night. Zero hour was fixed at 9 p.m. The night was very dark. The two (right and left) raiding parties assembled at Bacon's Boil at 8.15 p.m., and without meeting any enemy patrols moved to the position of readiness, where they arrived at 8.40.

At 8.54 the concentrated British artillery opened an appalling bombardment upon the wire entanglement, which lasted precisely two minutes. During these two minutes the raiders advanced to within 200 yards of the trenches.

From 8.56 to 8.58 the guns ceased firing, that is, for another two minutes. During this interval the raiders remained where they were, silent and without moving.

From 8.58 to 9 the artillery opened again with terrific violence upon the trenches themselves.

During this interval our men pushed forward to the very edge of the wire.

When at exactly 9 p.m. our barrage lifted on to the communication trenches and other defences behind Sea Post, the Borderers charged at full speed and were, in spite of shell-holes, in a few seconds swarming over the whole position. The wretched Turks had no time to defend themselves, not even the chance to fire a Lewis gun which was placed ready to fire, and which was captured with its drum attached. Before they could even man the trenches they were taken or bayoneted. Two of them were (it is said) decapitated by an axeman as they rose to the parapet. An officers' dugout was bombed and blown to pieces along with its occupants.

The telephone office was destroyed. The Lewis gun was rushed; the four bombing parties detailed for the communication trenches seized them and erected barricades. On the way to the communication trench the right bombing party captured a few Turks who were trying to escape. One of them nearly managed to get away, but Pte. Paul dashed out, hit him over the head with a bag of bombs, stunned him, kept him as his own prisoner, and triumphantly brought him in. Only one Turk escaped, and he carried off an axe which had been so firmly fixed in his body that it could not be withdrawn.

Our engineers laid their land mines in positions near the enemy wire.

The party had been under ten minutes in the work, and 14 prisoners had been sent back, when Capt. Penman blew the "no side" whistle, and, following orders, the party then withdrew quietly and in perfect silence.

In a quarter of an hour Sea Post had been utterly destroyed. Every man except one of the garrison had been either killed or captured; whilst a Lewis gun and much other war material were taken. On our side there were no casualties whatever, except for a slight accidental wound.

Capt. J. B. Penman was in charge of this brilliant little affair. The others who entered the redoubt were Lieuts. Turner, M'Kinnon, M'George, and the bombing officer (Lieut. H. Burt, 1/5th A. & S. Highlanders).

Full and careful arrangements had been made in case of misadventure. A force of 100 riflemen with four teams of bombers under Capt. Gibson remained in a strong position some 300 yards from Sea Post.

The track along the beach had also been blocked by a small party of 40 riflemen and two teams of bombers. These last were heavily fired on by a small enemy post protected by wire, but no one was hit, and as they advanced the enemy retreated.

A small reserve was stationed in rear of the beach party, but their services were not required.

Col. Kearsey says in his report:—"I should like to bring to notice Capt. Penman, who commanded the

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demolition party and conducted the withdrawal from the Post; Lieuts. Turner, Mackinnon, and M'George, who led the assault with the greatest dash and determination, and they were particularly helped by Sergt. A. Sudron, Sergt. R. Wilson, Sergt. A. Connon, Lance-Sergt. P. Brown, Ptes. W. Fergusson, R. M'Rae, A. Harvey, and B. Carlin.

The bombing officer (Lieut. H. Burt), who was assisted by Corpl. W. Ross and Ptes. J. M'Queen and A. Paul.

Capt. Gibson, who commanded the reserve with the greatest coolness and judgment; Sergt. A. M'Leish, and Ptes. J. Dickson and S. Beatty."

For those who watched the proceedings from our front line trenches (where the rest of the Battalion as well as the 1/4th K.O.S.B. were "standing-to") the scene was extraordinarily impressive.

"The darkness was brilliantly illuminated every other second by a shell bursting in rear or to the flank of Sea Post, only making the darkness which followed even more intense, until another shell burst and gave one another glimpse of black, struggling forms in what were once trenches but now mere shambles."

Within two hours the whole party were back in our trenches. Perhaps the most remarkable point in the whole affair is the fact that only one of our men was slightly wounded, and that by an accident. The only stretcher case was one wounded Turk.

REFERENCES.

I have to thank Capt. Penman, Lieut. Carruthers, Capt. Turner, Capt. Dinwiddie, the late Sergt.-Major R. Townsend, Lieut. W. R. Ovens, Sergt. Seaton, Sergt. (now Lieut.) Beattie, Mr Thomson (formerly piper), the Editor *Tank Corps Journal*, and many others for information.



Photo by

WADI LABAN.

Col. Coulson.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAND OF THE PHILISTINES.

THE 5th Scottish Borderers were now to enter the Holy Land, to follow in the footsteps of Pharaohs, Assyrians, Joshua, Ptolemies, Maccabees, and Richard the Lion-hearted. They were to carry on successful war in a country which is perhaps the most difficult in the whole wide world.

Along the coast for about fifty miles there extends northwards a strip of sand dunes "gradually tapering away from a breadth of from three to five miles north of Gaza until on the cliffs at Askalon it peters out altogether."

Inland there is a fairly fertile belt of rolling country, which is five miles wide in the south and thins out to nothing at the base of Mount Carmel. Here there are many small scattered villages, often possessing orchards and cactus-fringed gardens.

"Inland of this belt the bare mountains of Judea rise sheer out of the lowlands and cover the whole of the rest of the country right across to the depression which is formed by the River Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the Valley of Akaba."¹

This depression is the great Rift Valley, a gigantic break in the earth's surface-crust which has been traced right down Africa to the sea near Beira.

The Jordan Valley is narrow, deep, full of jungle, and horribly unhealthy. Beyond it is the elevated tableland of Moab.

Towards the end of June the Battalion had fully recovered its keen, eager, and fighting spirit. Many of those slightly wounded had returned, new drafts had arrived, but a few officers and men had been invalided or returned home.

It is not necessary to go into full details of the movements of the Battalion during the three or four months that followed.

(1) Capt. J. E. Penman, M.C.

As has been mentioned, the arrival of Sir Philip Chetwode had inspired the whole army. According to Massey and others, this officer's appreciation of the situation was accepted by the new Commander-in-Chief, General (now Viscount) Sir Edmund Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., who arrived about the end of June.

It is necessary to attempt to describe the general idea of these operations. Otherwise it is not easy to realise the importance of the part played by the 52nd Division, including the 5th K.O.S.B.

The scheme itself was a masterpiece of careful, scientific staff work. It was exactly carried out, in an extremely difficult country, and it ended in perhaps the most decisive battle in the whole history of the world.

The scene of operations from Gaza to Beersheba covered a distance of some thirty miles. After the second battle of Gaza the Turks had been continually developing and strengthening their trench systems. From Gaza to the sea stretched lines upon lines of formidable trenches. Each group, set, or line was under fire from the one in rear, and so on up to Ali Muntar, which was the central dominating keep (*see* page 133). Towards the Turkish left flank another series of elaborate entrenchments extended to the east and south-east. The last of these were near Sheria.

Beersheba, surrounded by exceedingly strong fortresses and elaborately fortified, lay off to the south and east.

Thus the Turkish left flank was really in the air, with Beersheba as an advanced post.

The general idea was to capture this place by a surprise attack, and then to turn the Turkish left.

The whole country about the Hebron Road was, even for Palestine, exceptionally dry, except only in Beersheba itself, where, thanks to the patriarch Abraham, there is still an abundance of water.

Troops were brought up by night from all directions. The cavalry came from 25 miles and from 35 miles away, and on the night of October 30th-31st the place was

surrounded. During the following day (a very hot and dusty one) the outer line of hills and fortresses were captured after a very hard fight. Then the place itself was finally taken by the splendid charge of Grant's Australian Horse, who galloped over the trenches, which were four feet wide and seven feet deep, and captured the water supply.

During August and September the Battalion was stationed at Sheikh Abbas, Wadi Nukabir, and Sheikh Nahrur, and on the 22nd October returned to the neighbourhood of Ajlin.

An important affair happened on the 8th August near the Mansura Ridge.

The Turks in this neighbourhood were getting a little bit above themselves, and their night patrols occasionally came right up to our wire entanglement.

This part of the line was held by the 6th H.L.I., and the 1/5th K.O.S.B. were only in support.

Col. Kearsey, however, offered to send out a party of our men under Lieut. M'George, who were attached to an H.L.I. patrol under Lieut. Dick. A second H.L.I. patrol under Lieut. Fingland followed in support and to the left.

The objective was the Wadi "Endless," an extremely difficult stretch of ground full of nullahs and hollows.

After the M'George patrol had got well out to the front, they suddenly found that a much larger Turkish patrol had formed a semi-circle round their front, overlapping them both on the right and left flank. The enemy opened fire on them, and also attacked with bombs.

Although they were greatly outnumbered, the party held on for a time, and then steadily withdrew for some fifty yards. Lieut. Fingland had, however, realised the danger of the situation, and skilfully reinforced them.

Unfortunately Lieut. Dick seems to have been wounded just after they withdrew the fifty yards. As soon as his absence was discovered, the ground where he had last been seen was searched as thoroughly as possible and every effort made to discover him.

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But it seems that he had been wounded and taken prisoner by the Turks.

Sergt. R. Henderson (Dumfries) had been very badly wounded in the beginning of the scrap, but he and other wounded were all brought back safely.

The Battalion was soon in the middle of the preparations for the third battle of Gaza.

The very night (23rd October) after their return to Ajlin, Capt. Gibson with C Company rushed the important post called "Sugar Loaf," which was captured. He returned at 1.30 a.m. without a single casualty.

Another night patrol on the 25th was not so fortunate, for there were four casualties. During the following days other patrols were sent out at night.

Thus the Turks were led to suspect that this part of the line was going to be attacked in force.

During the daytime the battalion area was severely shelled.

During the day of November 1st those troops (5th, 6th, and 9th Essex) who were to make the attack in front of our sector came up, along with six Tanks. At zero hour (3 a.m.) our barrage came down with a crash which made the previous seven days' fire seem as nothing. Under cover of this the attackers went over the top and got out to their final jumping-off positions in No Man's Land. In fifteen minutes the barrage lifted to the enemy's support and reserve trenches, and our men went forward. (*See page 157.*)

Then the Turkish artillery got to work, and we of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. were until daylight subjected to a very severe bombardment not only of the front line trenches but of the whole battalion area. Every calibre of shell was employed by them, but by some remarkable chance we did not suffer a single casualty.

In order to divert the attention of the Turks, the trench systems round Gaza itself had been regularly bombarded by day and night. Every evening creeping barrages had moved with a devastating, methodical regularity over Umbrella Hill and El Arish Redoubt.

The artillery for once had an adequate supply of ammunition.

On the night of 30th-31st October a raid had been made upon Outpost Hill by the 74th Division.

Now, on the 1st November, just when all possible Turkish reserves were hurrying away to the east, Umbrella Hill and El Arish Redoubt were suddenly rushed and seized by the 156th Brigade and the 54th Division.

The whole assault had been most carefully and thoroughly rehearsed beforehand, as in the case of Sea Post.

To the 155th Brigade in this, the third battle of Gaza, was assigned the dangerous task of cutting gaps in the barbed wire during the day. At 11 p.m. a furious rush of 8th Cameronians and 4th Royal Scots overwhelmed the Turks on Umbrella Hill, and by 11.28 it was captured. Then at 3 a.m. the 4th R.S. and 8th Cameronians carried the El Arish Redoubt and the well-named "Little Devil" trench. At the same time the 45th Division stormed other Turkish trenches nearer the seashore. Thus, with the aid of six Tanks, the whole front line trenches up to Sheikh Hassan were taken by 6.30 a.m. on the 2nd November.

The Turkish Commander was perplexed and distracted by this successful breach in the western trench system, which had been the very strongest part of his defences.

But on the same day his extreme eastern or left flank was obviously in great danger. From the 3rd to 6th November cavalry and infantry were steadily penetrating his lines in this direction. Thus the Turks were driven back to a line ten miles north of Beersheba.

Then on the night of November 6-7th another determined attack on the western side carried not only Outpost and Middlesex Hills but Ali Muntar itself. The Turks were already shaken in spirit. Even by 6 p.m. on the 7th our cavalry patrols were pushing up along the coast road, and the 52nd Division had started upon that long, weary march for Jaffa and the river Auja, which

was to be marked by victory after victory, and eventually to lead to the complete success of Armageddon.

Thus after four long months of boresome toil and incessant preparatory work, Lord Allenby had in one week driven the Turks out of strong natural positions selected and fortified after the very latest German science.¹ The Turks had still plenty of fight in them, but they were now to be scientifically hunted out of Judea by horse, foot, artillery, and aeroplanes.

Their right flank was to be continually turned. The Wadi Hesi, Askalon, Ashdod, the Sukereir Valley, the famous Geser, El Mughar, all fell one after another. At 6 p.m. on the 16th November Jaffa itself was occupied.

The operations which followed resembled in many respects Wellington's famous advance from Salamanca to the Bidassoa.

Our Battalion with the rest of the 52nd Division formed the spearhead of the whole campaign. Always well forward and on the extreme left, they were to hustle and harry the Turks out of every position which they tried to occupy before they even had time to entrench.

At 11.30 a.m. of the 6th November the Turks were still firing heavily upon El Arish Redoubt. An attack had been planned for the 75th Division at 11 p.m. that night.

But patrols sent out at 10 p.m. found these trenches empty. General Allenby's strategy had succeeded—they had been manœuvred out of the whole line of defence.

Moreover, the General had exactly divined what the German Commander-in-Chief would attempt to do.

The Turkish right would retreat by the road to Beit Hanum, and by the Deir Sineid and Burberah Railway, where there were enormous dumps of ammunition and other stores.

If they could hold us at the Wadi Hesi for even

(1) It is interesting to compare these rapid blows, first on the Turkish left, then on the right, then on the left and centre, followed by a general advance, with the final battle on the Marne.

Turkish Headquarters were distracted, puzzled, and bewildered by reports, all bad, rapidly coming in from every direction.

three days, it would be possible for them to prepare, entrench, and occupy a series of positions further to the north, even more formidable than the Gaza-Beersheba lines. This would be easy in the intricate entanglement of deep and narrow ravines and sharp-edged ridges which form the mountains of Judea.

At 9.45 a.m. on the 7th November the 157th Brigade of the 52nd Division was already on the road. Marching along the beach, they were across the Wadi and, on part of the high ground beyond it, had put out before darkness fell an outpost line facing north and east.

The 155th Brigade followed them, starting just after mid-day.

It was excessively hot. The Khamsin wind, scorching and dry, from the great desert, where every particle of water had been drained out of it, was in full blast. The men wore their "tin" helmets and heavy packs, in addition to 200 rounds of ammunition. The going was for the most part six inches of yielding, soft sand. But they were in splendid fettle; they had for months past been dreaming of this advance to the north.

Moreover, the 5th K.O.S.B. had the responsible and dangerous charge of right flank guard.

Yet at 6 p.m., when darkness fell, they had covered about fifteen miles, and had reached their bivouac 1200 yards south of the Wadi Hesi. Not one single man had fallen out. All that they had had to eat was what is officially described as "the unexpired portion of the day's rations."

Next morning at 4 a.m. the men were able to get a breakfast of bully beef and biscuit, and at 4.30 a.m. were again upon the move.

The first necessity was to get on to the high ground about Ras Abu Ameirah. This was occupied by the Turks, but was very soon captured by the 5th H.L.I. with the assistance of the 5th K.O.S.B.

As soon as the sun had arisen it was possible to obtain a clear view of the battlefield.

The maps available were those prepared by Capt.

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Conder and Lieut. Kitchener (the first notable achievement of "K. of K."), and were made in 1878.

It was at once obvious that these maps were not correct in detail. They could not possibly have been so, considering the purpose of their survey and such opportunities as could be obtained nearly forty years ago.

Nor can the sketch which is here introduced be considered as strictly accurate, but it is hoped that it may give an approximate idea of the ground upon which was decided one of the most important battles in the whole campaign.

It will be observed that there were two ridges running northward and parallel to the seashore. The eastern one (Sausage Ridge) protected the railway and road by which the Turks were retreating, and just as rapidly as the officers could drive on their discouraged men. It was about 4500 yards long, and in the north trended back so that the right was refused.

This ridge, which consists of rock and sandy clay, was held by them in force. There were batteries of artillery posted at the southern end. There were also machine gun posts and entrenchments designed to meet an attack from the south.

At the northern end, near Burberah, was another battery of artillery, and behind it were more heavy guns.

Between the Sausage and the Ameirah Ridge was a space of some 4000 yards. In the southern part this flat valley was green, fertile, and broken up by gardens with cactus hedges and orange groves. But in the northern part, over which we advanced, it was open, bare sand, a perfect field of fire.

The ridge of Ras Abu Ameirah was a sandy promontory, a sort of tongue pushed out southward from the wilderness of sandhills in the north, which are three miles or thereabouts from Askalon.

This, the Ameirah Ridge, rose in height towards the north. There was also another sloping and smaller tongue of sand which came down into the valley nearer to Sausage

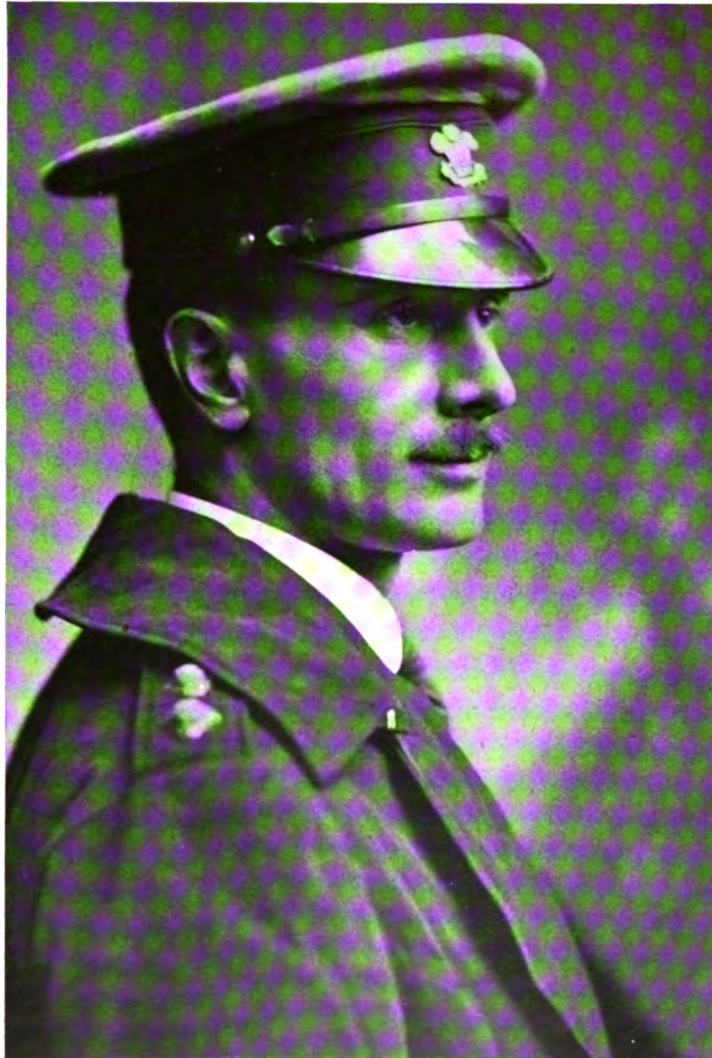
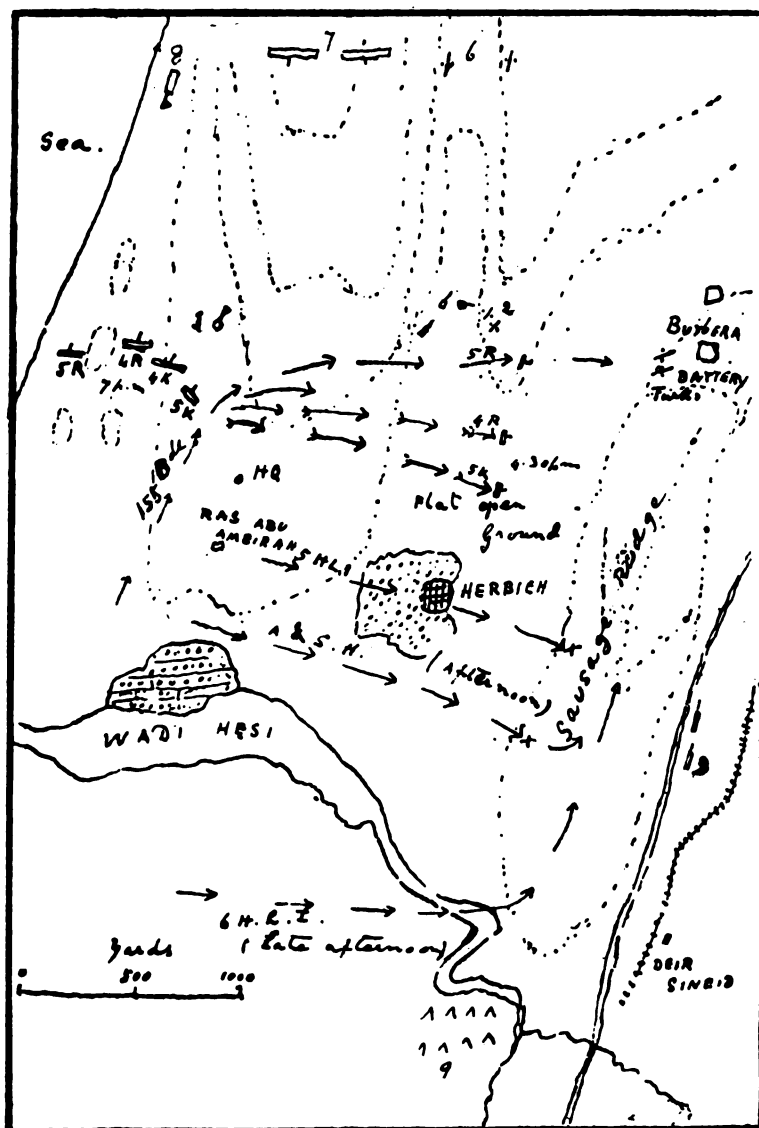


Photo by

Debenham & Gould, Bournemouth.

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. H. C. KEARSEY, D.S.O.



WADI HESI.

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Ridge than Ameirah, and which proved to be an important feature in the battle.

The village of Herbieh was occupied by the Turks in force, while in the northern sandhills there were Turkish batteries of 5·9 guns ; a considerable force of cavalry and infantry were also in position and engaged in entrenching themselves.

A ridge of sand west of Ras Abu Ameirah was occupied by the enemy in the morning, who were busily firing at the crowd of men and animals gathering near the mouth of the Wadi Hesi and were preventing the advance of our artillery.

This ridge was, however, carried by one company of the 7th H.L.I. in a beautifully managed, orderly advance over bare dunes and under very heavy fire.

Some other Turks on a smaller sand-ridge to the north were industriously sniping at Brig.-Gen. Pollok M'Call and his Staff as they rode forward to reconnoitre the ground.

Before any attempt could be made to attack Sausage Ridge these snipers to the north of Ameirah had to be driven off.

This was promptly effected by the 5th K.O.S.B., who were first on the spot, and they cleared the ground, though they had nineteen casualties in doing so.

Then began the real battle of Wadi Hesi. A detachment of Lancaster Yeomanry (50 rifles strong!) was sent forward to protect the extreme left of the advance.

At 12.30 p.m. three battalions began the assault of Sausage Ridge. They were the 5th R.S.F., who were to protect the extreme left during the forward movement, the 4th R.S.F., and the 5th K.O.S.B. The whole line was to make a wheel or swing forward, pivoting on the right battalion (5th K.O.S.B.), so as to come down upon Sausage Ridge from the north-west. The objective was the central point of Sausage Ridge.

Two sections of the Brigade Machine Gun Company were detailed under the Divisional machine gun officer

to fire on the Herbieh Gardens. Two others as well as two Stokes guns advanced with the 5th K.O.S.B.

Our guns could not be brought forward in time; the advance was practically without artillery support.

The three battalions moved out "in artillery formation," first to the north, then north-east, and then south-east, so executing the wheel in perfect order.

Thus they cleared, after a fashion, the rear and left rear of the advance till they reached the place where they deployed for attack.

When, at 2.30 p.m., the line advanced to the south-east, they moved over the eastward slope of the ridge.

As they descended this slope to the east they had to pass through a carefully-arranged barrage of the enemy's artillery. We had 200 casualties in 400 yards. Here Lieut. M'Kinnon was killed and 14 of his men killed or wounded by a single shell.

Indeed the 5.9 guns to the north and other guns at Burberah and elsewhere continued to fire regularly upon the advancing troops until 4 p.m.

Fortunately, after passing the barrage, a ridge running north and south gave a certain amount of cover, at least from view.

The line, however, continued its steady, orderly advance until a sand dune was approached which was held by 100 Turks with a machine gun. This was well to the north, and in such a position that it would have taken the whole line in enfilade if the advance had continued.

Col. Cook (5th R.S.F.) therefore diverged to the north, so turning this dangerous spot, and forced the enemy out of it. The advance then continued steadily forward.

The 5th R.S.F. reached their objective; they got right into the gardens of Burberah, that is, they nearly outflanked the extreme north of the Sausage Ridge. The Turkish gunners had abandoned one of their batteries, and the Fusiliers were hurrying forward to capture it. But they were still being shelled by another Turkish battery, and also, unfortunately, by our own guns, which at this time were firing on Burberah.

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So the gallant 5th R.S.F. had to fall back! In doing so a dangerous gap began to develop between them and the 4th R.S.F.

The telephone wire to Brigade Headquarters had been long ago cut by shell-fire.

Then Brig.-Gen. Pollok M'Call himself proceeded to the firing-line and ordered all units to close in towards the right, which was the directing flank.

Col. Kearsey (O/C 5th K.O.S.B.) was informed that supports from the 4th K.O.S.B. would be sent forward as soon as the line was again closed up. The advance was to be continued. The 4th K.O.S.B., less six platoons, were then sent forward. But as soon as the General had reached his Brigade Headquarters, which was about 5 p.m., an unexpected and very heavy fire suddenly opened upon them. The moment was dangerous in the extreme, for it was soon discovered that the Turks were only 700 yards away, and advancing from the north.

At once the Staff, every man available with Headquarters, and six platoons of the 4th K.O.S.B. rushed to take up a position lining a ridge which commanded this dangerous counter-attack. Our guns, only 200 yards behind, had to be limbered up ready to withdraw.

A few minutes later very bad news arrived by telephone from the firing-line.

Just as the three and a half battalions had closed up and were about to advance again upon Sausage Ridge, Col. Cook on the extreme left observed a considerable force of the enemy, estimated at two battalions, hurrying over the sandhills from the direction of Askalon to take our firing-line in the rear.

Moreover, Turkish cavalry were seen galloping along the seashore towards Wadi Hesi.

A glance at the map will enable the reader to realise this dangerous crisis. Our firing-line was extended in a south-west to north-east direction.

Between the Wadi Hesi, where there was only an extremely thin drawn-out line of men, and the Turks who were advancing from the north and pushing towards

the rear of the firing-line, there were as defenders 50 Yeomanry, one company of the 5th R.S.F., the Brigade Staff, and six platoons of the 4th K.O.S.B.

The complete destruction of the 155th Brigade, indeed of the whole 52nd Division, seemed almost inevitable.

Fortunately there were men on the spot who were cool-headed and adequate to the situation.

Col. Cook immediately sent off his flank company to face them, prepared to withdraw, and ordered the O/C 4th R.S.F. and O/C 5th K.O.S.B. to conform.

Disputing every ridge, the single company (5th R.S.F., under Major Paton) with obstinate determination and great skill managed to keep off the enemy until the firing-line had been drawn back to a position facing north and north-east.

The Turks pressed forward courageously, putting up flares and searching for our left flank. They got to within 200 yards of our line, and kept up a heavy fire until 7 p.m.

By that time our immediate enemy had had as much fighting as he wanted, and retreated.

It had been a trying day both for officers and men. Marching over sand is always exhausting; the day had been hot, and the men were suffering from thirst and want of food; they had been under fire almost the whole time. Our losses were severe. Lieut. M'Kinnon and 12 men had been killed; Capt. W. Oliver, 2nd-Lieut. E. P. Dickie, and 87 other ranks were wounded or missing.

The total casualties of the 155th Brigade were no less than 268.

On the same afternoon the 157th Brigade attacked Sausage Ridge at its southern extremity.

They (the 5th H.L.I. and 5th A. & S. Highlanders) went forward at 4 p.m., and after marching through the orange and olive groves of Herbieh, charged across the open ground, and fought a stubbornly-contested battle along the steep westward-facing slope of the Sausage Ridge.

This side of the ridge was taken at least four times,

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and again retaken by the Turks, who were vastly superior in numbers. Major Findlay and Capt. Townsend were killed on the top of the ridge. The foot of the ridge was, however, still held in places, though with difficulty, until the next development. The struggle was for the most part in darkness, and over ground which was quite unknown.

After dark the 6th H.L.I., who had been pushing forward from the south side of the Wadi Hesi over a series of ridges of soft sand, came upon the scene. Guided by the enemy's bivouac fires, they made a magnificent bayonet charge right along the Sausage Ridge, taking several thousand yards of it, and the whole Turkish resistance collapsed. Next morning they had fled from Deir Sineid and Burberah.

They left behind immense dumps of ammunition, grain, and other stores, which were seized next day.

The Wadi Hesi was one of the decisive battles of the campaign. The Turkish right flank was demoralised. A very strong position, carefully entrenched and held with obstinate determination, had fallen in a single day.

REFERENCES.

I have specially to thank Capt. Craig, Capt. M'George, and Col. James Anderson, D.S.O. ; also the *War Diary*, *Divisional History*, Sorley Brown, l.c., Findlay, l.c., Anderson (6th H.L.I.), l.c., etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

EL MUGHAR AND KATRAH.

NEXT day (the 9th November) the Battalion marched off at 10 a.m. It was on the right flank of the Brigade, and officers' patrols were sent out to search Jerjan and Burberah.

The Turks had, however, as has already been mentioned, departed. The villages were in confusion. Broken rifles, dismantled guns, carts and waggons were lying about. Antique inlaid flint-lock pistols, unwieldy curved swords, and other "souvenirs" were exhibited, but these were not carried for more than a very short distance! We camped on the 9th and 10th at Herbieh.

On the 8th the Turks had not only held Askalon and the country round, but they had shown themselves to be both vicious and enterprising.

It was now of the utmost importance to know whether they were still entrenched to the north of us.

Reconnaissance was difficult. None of the available cavalry had any horses fit for such duty. In the sandhills infantry can cover with difficulty one and a half miles per hour, but hardly more.

So a "Troop of Horse" was fitted out; it consisted of Major Tyndall M'Lelland, an orderly, two signallers, and five grooms (a total of nine men), and they rode forth to capture the famous Askalon, the "Bride of Syria," which lay eight miles to the north.

This was a pure adventure. A Turkish sniper, armed with a very fine automatic rifle, tried to stop them, but him they rode down.

Askalon was not, as it turned out, held by the Turks, "so M'Lelland decided to push on four miles north-east to Mejdal, to see what he could find there. On reaching the village, he left two of his men as a rearguard and rode boldly up the little street."

Few people were to be seen, but he did notice two armed Turkish soldiers disappearing through a gateway.

Perhaps they had hurried off to arouse the garrison ! But running the risk, he immediately followed them ; there was no garrison inside the fort !

He found, however, a large store of ammunition and other valuable material which the enemy had left behind.

Was he to remain and take charge of his loot ? This was a difficult problem.

Fortunately, however, a squadron of Australian cavalry turned up unexpectedly. (This was one of the peculiar habits of these invaluable troops.)

Major M'Lelland formally handed over the captured dump, and obtained a receipt from the officer in command.¹

The fact that Mejdél was abandoned made it possible for the 157th Brigade to advance. They marched (on half rations) thirteen miles. After their arrival they had to take, in the dark, two parallel ridges strongly held by the enemy, which protected the valuable wells of Kumman. Strange to say, this battle of Beit Duras, fought in the night over quite unknown and difficult ground, ended at last in a complete victory ! The enemy numbered at least 1000 men.

On the 11th November the 5th K.O.S.B. furnished the advance guard (one company and two platoons). The main road to the north was no longer over sand, but on good hard ground.

En route we passed through occasional Arab villages, where the "inhabitants took but scanty interest in us, and regarded us with sullen disfavour."

About 3 p.m. we marched through Mejdél, which was the first town of any size which we had seen. The market place was full of life, and indeed congested with all sorts of troops, mounted and otherwise. "The impression that clings is of a square filled with waggons which insisted on 'backing' at awkward moments ; of foam-covered plunging horses ; plodding, tired infantrymen with streams of sweat trickling under their tin hats through the dust on their faces ; frantic mounted police ; whilst

(1) See *A Yarn of War*, by E. A. Boyd.



IN THE JUDEAN HILLS: CAMEL TRANSPORT RETURNING FROM THE HILLS

After bringing supplies to the Front Line

By permission, Col. Coulson, Col. Findlay, and Messrs W. Blackie & Son.

all the time impassive vendors of merchandise sat cross-legged in their little open shops, rolling or smoking their cigarettes, with absolutely expressionless faces."¹

We eventually won our way through Mejdal and its tortuous cactus-lined byways, and found ourselves in the open country "about a mile from the town, and there we bivouacked for the night." Our camp was infested with hawkers selling oranges and a particularly poisonous kind of tobacco.

There was a good water supply ; *it was even possible to get a bath.* Moreover, we discovered a meal mill worked by machinery, and some of us next morning had porridge for breakfast !

The 156th Brigade had left Mejdal at 11 a.m. on that morning (11th November), and after a very trying march had reached Esdud (Ashdod) by 3 p.m.

Next day (12th) they captured the strong entrenchments prepared by the Turks on Burkah and Brown Hill. This affair was a hardly-contested battle, in which the brigade had over 400 casualties. But it was this victory at Burkah that made it possible for the 155th Brigade to push forward next day and turn the right of the Turkish forces.

In the taking of Brown Hill they were helped by the 2/3rd Ghurkas of the 95th Division, who appeared upon our right flank. They and the Scots of the 52nd Division were always the best of friends. On the same day the Australian Light Horse forced the Wadi Nahr Sukerier near its mouth, and so made it possible to use trawlers in bringing up our ammunition.

On the 12th we had arrived at Esdud, and from the artillery bombardment which was going on some 2000 yards in front of us, we knew that we had caught up and were again in touch with the Turks.

We fed at Esdud, rested for four hours, and when darkness fell received our marching orders and were "standing-to" ready for the road.

We were to pass round the left of the other two

(1) Capt. J. B. Penman, M.C.

brigades, march some eight miles further on and dig in for the night.

An advance guard was sent forward 1000 yards, and halted whilst the rest of the brigade closed on it. Then the advance guard went on another 1000 yards, and so on.

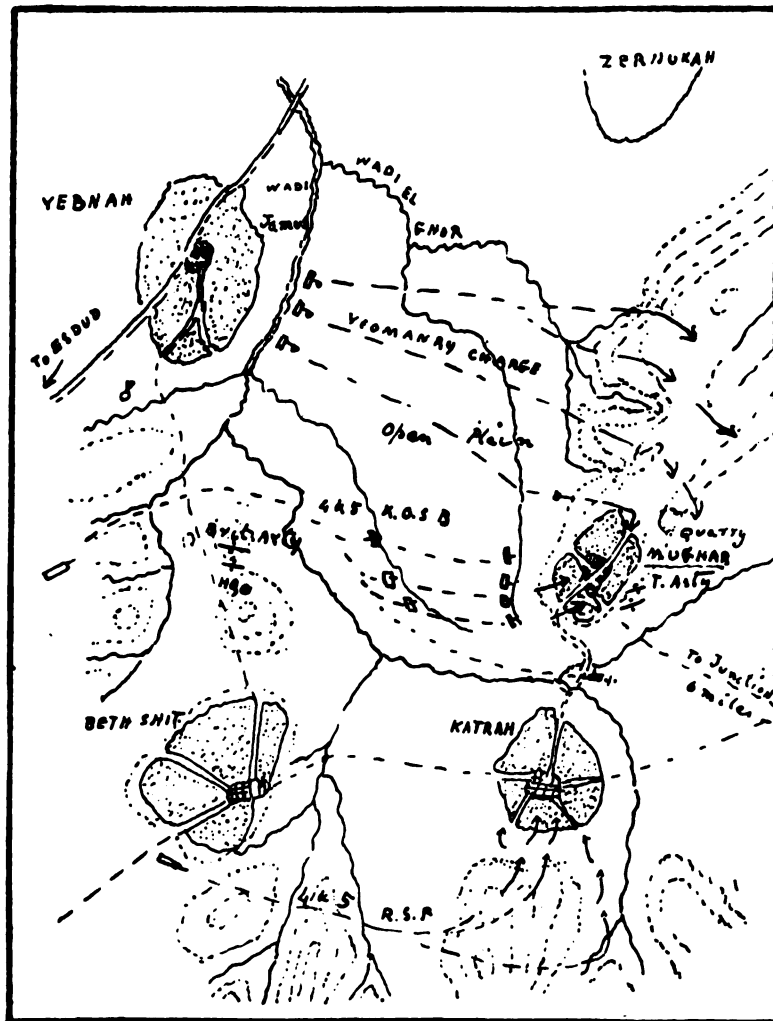
"So we started out in the cool of the evening, and notwithstanding the heavy day behind us the column went well. As the night wore on, the cold became intense. Those of us who had congratulated ourselves on having horses were glad to slip off them and walk, not only to keep ourselves warm but to keep ourselves awake. Many a plodding figure was seen draped in his blanket unbuckled from the saddle.

On this occasion men were actually walking in their sleep. Their eyes were shut; they staggered along, yet somehow kept their places in the ranks. No sooner did the whispered 'Halt for ten minutes' go back along the column than the said column simply flopped down and was straightway asleep! At the end of each of these halts it was no light task for the platoon commanders and sergeants to get the platoons on their feet. By 2 a.m. on November 13th the Brigade Commander reckoned we had 'arrived,' and we halted, but not this time to 'flop.' We had to prepare a defensive position; we reverted to the circular trench for each battalion, with transport and baggage in the centre, such as was used in Roman and mediæval warfare.

As soon as these defences were sufficiently strong to resist any attack at dawn, we posted our sentries and —slept." We had arrived at 1.35 a.m. (13th).

Next morning we found that after this eight-mile march in total darkness we were within 460 yards of our objective, which was just a point on the map. The credit for this remarkable feat belongs at least in part to Lieut. Ramsey, 5th R.S.F., who had paced the whole distance.

When the sun began to rise, it was clear that we were on the very edge of the monotonous, dreary sand dunes. We moved off to a place of assembly, and, as



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the morning haze cleared away, the enemy position was revealed.

The country consisted of dry, hard ground; stretches of flat land were interrupted by mounds or low hills and ridges. These last for the most part trended more or less north and south. Far away to the north-east and east were the real mountains of Judah, formidable, bleak, and barren, with jagged serrations clear cut against the morning light.

Yebnah (Jamnia of the Bible) and Bethshit, from which the whole battlefield could be observed, were small hills upon a low interrupted ridge running approximately north and south.

Straight in front of us was the village of Katrah, which consisted of neat red-roofed houses on a small hill which rose straight out of the low ground. It was surrounded by a broad zone of green gardens or plantations, each with its strong cactus hedge. These were broken up by irregular narrow paths and irrigation channels. This border of cactus gardens was a mile and a quarter from north to south, and a full mile from east to west.¹

South of Katrah the country rose into a mass of bare, broken, rolling hills, which rose to a height of 1500 feet.

North of Katrah was another village, El Mughar, also perched on the summit of a rock, or rather at the end of a high ridge which trended north-east, and which may have been about 200 feet in height.

El Mughar also had its fringe of cactus gardens, groves of cypress, etc.

Amongst the objects of interest were Turks who were extremely busy all day digging entrenchments and rifle pits, or preparing nests of machine guns in the cactus gardens.

In fact the three villages, Katrah, El Mughar, and Zernukah (away to the north), as well as the ridge beyond Mughar, formed already a most formidable line of strongly fortified posts. If the Turks had had three

(1) These enclosures are the dotted areas on the sketch.

more days to work on it, it would have been another Gaza, and might have delayed the whole force for weeks.

The railway and junction station were only six miles to the east of Mughar. Supplies could have been easily brought up either by road from Jerusalem, or from the north by railway. General Kress von Kressenstein was himself in Katrah, though we did not know it at the time.

The line which we attacked was 4700 yards in length. It was well-adapted for defence by machine guns, of which there were at least fifty; all were manned by German or Austrian companies. There was also a Turkish battery nicely placed close behind the Mughar Ridge. The exact number of Turkish troops cannot be given, but there were certainly 6000 (mostly sturdy Anatolians) present on the field.

The 155th Brigade moved out to the attack at 7.45 a.m.

Yeomanry were to guard the extreme left, but these consisted of not more than thirty sabres! Further away to the north another brigade of Yeomanry was in being, but nobody knew exactly where they were.

The 4th K.O.S.B. were to attack Mughar; the 5th K.O.S.B. were to follow up in echelon, by the left, to protect the flank and reinforce when necessary.¹ The 5th R.S.F. were to seize Katrah and, if possible, from the south; whilst the 4th R.S.F. were in Brigade Reserve at Bethshit. But as the attack on Katrah developed, these last were very soon sent forward to reinforce. If I have not misunderstood the authorities, every single company in the Brigade was drawn into the fight before 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

It was a bright, sunny morning; birds were singing, and goats and sheep could be seen grazing on the hills.

The Borderers moved forward at 7.45 a.m. in extended lines of platoons in file. At first they marched over undulating ground, and it was possible to get a certain

(1) One section of the 155th Machine Gun Company and two Stokes guns were with the 4th K.O.S.B. and two machine guns with the 5th K.O.S.B. Two machine guns and two Stokes guns were with the 5th R.S.F.

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amount of cover. All through the forenoon they worked slowly forward ; when they came under fire (at 8.30 a.m.) each company extended to three paces intervals and formed a wave of attack. But within 4000 yards of Mughar they found themselves in open, flat ground. It stretched dead level, very hard, and destitute of any sort or kind of cover, up to the very garden walls of Mughar. Fortunately there were two Wadis (the Wadi Jamus and Shellah El Ghor) which meandered across the most perfect field of fire that ever a machine gunner had dreamed of.¹

Still the eight waves of Borderers pushed steadily forward. After 2 p.m. the Turkish machine guns opened a terrific fire, and the vicious spattering of the bullets raised clouds of dust. Some cover could be got in the Wadis, but their cliffs did not end steeply, but were so broken away at the top that no supporting fire could be arranged to cover a rush forward.

At 3.30 p.m. all the artillery support available concentrated upon Katrah, and lifted from El Mughar. When they had got to within 2500 yards they found that the ridge to the left of Mughar was also entrenched and full of machine guns. Three companies of the 5th K.O.S.B. went forward to reinforce the left flank of the 4th.

They were still some 2000 yards from the village when a battery of our artillery (Berkshire R.H.A.) "galloped into action in the open and, in the good old style, unlimbered and got to business." This was a magnificent spectacle, and greatly encouraged the men. They still continued to advance in short rushes under a hail of machine gun bullets. The dressing-stations were filling up rapidly, and the stretcher-bearers were doing great work.

At last they reached two nullahs, one 800 yards and the other about 1000 yards from Mughar, and there waited. The continuous shower of lead was chipping the edge of the Wadi above us and kicking up dust spots all over the ground to be traversed.

(1) Capt. T. D. Craig, M.C.

Capt. Penman and another 5th K.O.S.B. Company with machine guns had made their way up the Wadi Jamus, and were lying "doggo" in a branch nullah near the bridge to the south of Mughar.

The men were nearly played out for want of food, water, and sleep, and it seemed as if we should have to wait until dark before rushing the place.

General Pollok M'Call hurried forward to the firing-line. With him were the whole of his staff (all armed to the teeth).

Almost at the same time (3 p.m.), and quite suddenly, the missing Yeomanry (Berks, Dorset, and Bucks Hussars) appeared; they were scrambling out of the deep Wadi near Yebnah. They formed up quickly into columns of squadrons at four yards interval. They trotted forward. When 1000 yards from the hills they drew their swords and charged at the gallop.

The Turkish machine gunners were for the moment distracted. Then the King's Own Scottish Borderers stormed the place. With a terrific yell they sprinted forward. It was a wild charge, though in some strange way they kept their formation.

Every man was going at his very best pace and shouting at the top of his voice.

The General himself, well up amongst the foremost, had his helmet knocked off by a machine gun bullet.

In a moment they seemed to be across the flat ground, in and out of cactus gardens, through the lanes, alleys, and houses. Bayonet, rifle, and bomb were doing great work.

After five "rather blurred" minutes the 4th and 5th Borderers were in complete possession of Mughar! Also of 20 machine guns, of 2 field guns, of the remainder of the enemy battery which had been utterly smashed by the fire of the Berks R.H.A., of 2000 rifles, of a dressing station, of equipment and signal instruments, etc.

Perhaps the most gratifying spectacle of all was a column of 728 Turkish prisoners personally conducted

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back to camp by Lieut. Woodhead¹ on a not too well nourished Turkish pony.

The cavalry attack from the rear had upset the minds of the Turks.² Even before the charge they seem to have been hesitating, but now they surrendered freely. Many other prisoners were rounded up in a camp behind the village.

The right flank of the attack, that is, the 4th and 5th Fusiliers, taking advantage of the ridges and folds of the ground, had at first advanced rapidly, but it was obvious from Bethshit that they were far too few in number to carry the enormous area of cactus liberally sprinkled with nests of machine guns.

At 10.30 a.m. the enemy moved out to counter-attack, but Major Paton, pushing well out to the right, enfiladed them. The Turkish survivors hurried back into shelter. At 11.30 a.m. the Fusiliers were still 800 yards from the main Turkish position. Two companies 4th R.S.F. were then sent forward, and eventually reinforced the firing-line. About 11 a.m. thick columns of Turkish reinforcements could be seen arriving, but though the Fusiliers could not get forward, the deadly fire, especially of the 5th R.S.F., broke up (as at Dueidar) any attempt of the enemy to advance against us.

This was the situation until about 3.30 p.m. Then Katrah was heavily bombarded by our guns (261st and 264th Brigades); its cactus gardens were systematically searched and scourged by the machine guns of the 155th Brigade. Moreover, Capt. H. E. Sutherland brought out the fourth and last company of the 4th R.S.F. "He led the way a considerable distance ahead of his men." A Lewis gunner and a grenadier carrying bombs were with him. He got right round the flank of a Turkish trench. The Lewis gunner fired his only magazine, and the grenadier threw his two bombs. Nine Turkish officers and 64 men then surrendered to these three Fusiliers!

(1) He was the foremost 5th K.O.S.B. officer in the place. A few yeomen were just entering the village from the north.

(2) *Records of Dorset Yeomanry*, Gen. C. W. Thompson, D.S.O.

At 3.45 p.m. Lieut.-Col. J. B. Cook rose up, and the men went forward steadily and boldly to storm Katrah. The rest of the companies followed him. The sight of their advancing bayonets proved sufficient; the spirit of the Turkish soldiers was broken. Yet much hand-to-hand fighting with bayonet and bombs was still necessary, for many of the machine gunners resisted to the last.

But at 4.48 p.m. all Katrah was in the hands of the Fusiliers, and such of its garrison as had not been killed, wounded, or captured was in full flight for Junction Station.

They were preceded by General Kress von Kressenstein and his artillery. After leaving orders that Katrah was to be held at all costs, he had left at full gallop for Junction Station, just about half-an-hour before the Fusiliers entered the place.

Thus in one day the northern wing of the Turkish army had been overthrown, smashed, and pulverised; only disorganised fragments remained. Their extreme right further north at Zernuka also retired in confusion, and it was impossible for the enemy to save Junction Station, which was taken next day.

Moreover, the Turkish Army was "broken into two separate parts, which retired north and east respectively, and were reported to consist of small scattered groups rather than formed bodies of any size."¹

On the 17th November General Pollok M'Call issued the following message :—

"The Brigade Commander thanks all ranks for their exertions on the 13th November. Without assistance from any other body of troops except a cavalry demonstration on the left flank they, by their determined heroism, captured the entire position, extending to a frontage of 4700 yards.

The position was one of great natural strength. The defending force had an abundant supply of machine guns and some artillery; and had been ordered to hold out to the last by Kress von Kressenstein, the

(1) Allenby's Dispatches.

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German Army Commander, who had himself chosen the position.

The Brigade captured 1200 prisoners, 2 field guns, 24 Maxims, 2 Lewis guns,¹ hundreds of rifles, thousands of rounds of ammunition, and an immense quantity of war booty of all kinds.

The Brigade went in under 2000 strong, and had 462 casualties.

It is doubtful if the record of civilised war can supply any instance of such complete success against a position of such strength when the attack was weaker than the defence. The victory is worthy of the distinguished record of the 155th Brigade."

The following message received from Divisional Headquarters speaks of "the strenuous times you have gone through, and the fine way the officers and men under your command have fought.

You started with a long march of eleven miles over very heavy sand, on an abnormally hot day. The following day you were in action all day, and fought a hard fight at nightfall. This was followed by two more days of long marches, and culminated in the attack of two extremely strong Turkish positions at Mughar and Katrah.

As a result of the final charge you were enabled to surprise and capture 1200 prisoners, 1 field gun, and some 20 machine guns, a truly magnificent and gallant achievement illustrating what Scottish determination and grit can do.

I hope you will convey to all ranks of the 155th Brigade how I appreciate and admire their work, and how proud I am of commanding a Division of which they form a part.—Yours sincerely,

J. HILL, Major-General,
Commanding 52nd Division."

Our casualties were extremely severe. Half of the officers in the 4th and 5th K.O.S.B. were killed or wounded, and of other ranks thirty-three per cent.

(1) Later it was reported that 38 machine guns were taken in the place.

In the 5th K.O.S.B. 2nd-Lieut. J. Kerr was killed; 2nd-Lieuts. S. Robertson and G. N. Dickie were wounded; of other ranks, 20 were killed and 110 wounded—total, 133. The 4th K.O.S.B. had a total of 169 casualties, including the Adjutant (Capt. J. M. Watson), Capt. A. P. Nimmo, 2nd-Lieuts. L. D. Robertson and J. Wood.

The Brigade had no less than 458 casualties, and the Yeomanry lost 129.

"That night we put outposts round the north end of the camp and held it, but were unmolested." It was not until after dark that the transport arrived, and we had tea, with bully and biscuits.

"Daybreak found us 'standing-to,' but the enemy had learned too severe a lesson to attempt to dislodge us."

They had, as a matter of fact, retreated to the north-east. There appear to have been some 6000 or more Turks engaged at Mughar and Katrah; of these some 1500 were taken prisoners and at least 600 were killed.

The Battalion Diary continues as follows:—

"But early astir as we were, our friends the Bedouin of Mughar were even earlier, and as the light grew better and we looked back over the battlefield of yesterday, we saw many a cloaked figure moving about the khaki-dotted plain. Too well we knew that their object was loot, and that it was being taken off the dead bodies of the men who lay where they had fallen the day before.

Realising this, we sent out parties to cope with it, and also stationed groups at all the entrances to the village to intercept the looters.

Soon those who had eluded our men in the field began to come in, most of them literally staggering under loads of khaki uniforms, boots, socks, and even shirts.

Every one as he came along was suddenly confronted with an armed patrol, and to his obvious indignation, and whilst all the while protesting innocence, was made to disgorge.

Every rolled-out bundle revealed the same contents. The amazed and angry would-be looter was politely given back his own blanket, his face was set in the direction

of his own home, and in his first step towards it he was materially assisted by a hefty clout with a rifle-butt or a marching boot. War had made our boys indifferent to most things, but natives tampering with our dead comrades was not to be suffered."

On the whole the natives of the land of the Philistines did not leave a good impression. They are a queer mixture, for the most part, perhaps, descendants of the slaves and camp followers of all the armies that have for at least 3000 years passed up and down this famous road. Then they have been for centuries under the cruel tyranny of Turkish officials, which destroys the body and corrupts the spirit. They were incapable of gratitude, were suspected of knifing stragglers, and charged their deliverers exorbitant prices for everything. They were furtive, sullen-looking, and dirty. They were "a mean crowd," or as an English sergeant put it, "Manners they ain't got, and their customs are beastly." In Mughar the only clean spot was where the German machine gunners had been billeted.

Katrah, to which we moved on the morning of the 14th, was a recently established settlement of French Jews; they were hospitable, and the village was comparatively tidy and well-built.

The bivouac area was just west of the village, and we spent the rest of the day making "bivvies" and "overhauling our wardrobes."

"We also had the sorrowful task of collecting and burying our dead."

"During the next three days we rested as much as possible. One good night's sleep dispelled our fatigue, and we began to look about us. Those who were permitted went into Katrah, foraged about, and managed to procure something in the way of a change of diet.

Needless to say, we had to pay for anything we bought in that colony! One enterprising gentleman was very anxious to sell us a quarter of beef from an ox, which he said had just been killed. We did entertain his proposal until we found that his ox had been a ploughing ox, and saw a gaping shell-hole in the outer

wall of its particular stall, testifying as to the manner of its untimely death."

Some very good coarse bread was, however, distributed throughout the Battalion.

This rest after the arduous labour and strain of the past week was thoroughly appreciated. But there was hardly one cigarette in the camp! Cigarette smokers were desolate and destitute. The native tobacco was unspeakable, and "only put us in the notion of a smoke."

"At the end of the second 'smokeless' day two of us sadly but hopefully saddled our ponies, and set out for Divisional Headquarters (at all other times sedulously avoided)! En route we encountered the Divisional Burial Officer, and him we stopped and greeted with honeyed phrases, whereupon he presented us each with one cigarette from his case. . . .

At Divisional Headquarters we were still further in luck, and after an hour spent in a shady Mess departed, greatly refreshed, to wend our homeward way in black darkness across unknown Wadis and other pitfalls. Our ponies had had too much of this sort of thing to make mistakes, and—we reached our lines in half-an-hour. We lit our cigarette and passed it round twice—the last officer finished it impaled upon a pin."

Next morning came a telegram from O/C XXI. Corps:—

"Corps Commander congratulates all ranks 52nd Division on fine feat of arms, which resulted in capture of Katrah and Mughar, both naturally strong positions and defended stubbornly by the enemy. 155th Brigade report 1200 prisoners, 4 guns, 12 machine guns, and much war material. Understood 156th Brigade has also 200 prisoners."

NOTE.—For almost the whole of this chapter I am indebted to the Battalion War Diary, Capt. T. D. Craig, and Capt. J. B. Penman.

CHAPTER IX.

EL JIB AND THE MOUNTAINS OF JUDAH.

THE next three days (15th, 16th, and 17th November) were remarkable in that they were, more or less, days of rest, with nothing particular to record.

The inhabitants (mostly French) were returning to their homes; views were exchanged in Galloway-French-Arabic, and much to the satisfaction of all parties.

On the 18th, however, the Battalion was again upon the move, not, as we had expected, northwards towards Jaffa, but, turning to the north-east, we left the sand-hills of the coast, and began to climb steadily up into the stony hills of Judea.

Starting at 2 p.m., we marched thirteen miles to Ramleh. On the outskirts of this town we suddenly found ourselves in the midst of a multitude of donkeys belonging to an Australian Army Medical Corps. These were apparently led in packs by a full-blown stretcher-bearer, or whatever the lowest rank in that worthy corps may be. The way into Ramleh is straight and narrow; unfortunately the arrival of our Brigade Headquarters coincided with that of the aforesaid stretcher-bearers; a peremptory order to make way only elicited from the seething mob the question, "Who are you to order the Donks about?"

At last, about 11 p.m., we lay down after a tiring march of thirteen miles and slept!

We were now to take part in an entirely new series of operations. Up to this time the 155th Brigade had, with the rest of the 52nd Division, been marching north and continually engaged in turning the Turkish right flank, and also in smashing, disorganising, and demoralising every enemy division that tried to stop and fortify a new line of defence.

Now that good work was to be carried on by mounted troops, supported by other infantry which were pressing up along the coast line from Gaza. Even by this date

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the line of the river Auja had been more or less occupied.

Now, however, it was intended to strike a great blow. We were to capture Jerusalem, the "Joy of the whole Earth." Such a victory would be understood by and would hearten up every soldier who was fighting anywhere in the whole Allied Forces from the east of Mesopotamia to the coast of Belgium.

It was impossible to turn the Turkish left flank because of the dry and waterless country from Beersheba northwards. So arid was that district that no fewer than 6000 camels and 73 motor lorries were required to carry the necessary water for the XXth Corps. The road was bad, and the Hejaz railway was inconveniently close to our right flank.

I do not think that Jerusalem has ever been taken by the Beersheba-Hebron road. Our attack was to be made from the west by those famous passes up which Syrian, Crusader, and Roman had endeavoured, often without any success, to take Jerusalem.

By the capture of Junction Station and by our hold of the Hebron-Beersheba road we had isolated the city from the south and west. The only communication between the Turks' right flank north of the Auja and the Holy City was by Nablus (Shechem), several miles to the north.

To the west and north-west of Jerusalem the mountains of Judah consist of rough, rugged, and confused masses of limestone.

These are cut up by narrow, deep, and winding ravines which end in numerous intricate, irregularly-branching side nullahs. These ravines or gorges are often very deep; it may be 1200 feet to the bottom, where there is often a quagmire of mud.

The ridges which separate them are usually narrow; on those that are wide enough for a road, one finds a series of steep little terraces, so that when going towards Jerusalem the track is every now and then broken by an abrupt cliff, up which one has to scramble somehow.

"One could see to a great distance, but often the

country quite close to you was out of sight in the valleys. This is awkward when you do not know who is in the next valley, and these are so deep and steep that there is no getting across except on foot."¹

Thus wheel traffic was out of the question; from this direction horses could not be brought even to within ten miles of Jerusalem. The surface is to a large extent bare rock; scattered all over it are innumerable loose boulders from one to ten feet in diameter. Vegetation is scanty, though here and there are scattered woods of oak and olive.

Thus, except along the one macadamised road which passes by Saris, Kuryet El Enab, and Kulonieh, traffic was in the highest degree difficult. South of this road lies the railway from Junction to Jerusalem.

There are, however, two other ways of penetrating this formidable mountain-complex. North of the macadamised road there is, or used to be, a Roman road made during an unsuccessful attempt to take the city. This passes by Berfiliya, and less than a mile before Beit Likia divides into two branches. The southerly one goes by Beit Anan, Kubeibeh, to Biddu and Beit Ikssa; the other branch passes north of Beit Dukka, and leads eventually to El Jib. Part of it lies in the famous valley of Ajalon.

El Jib (2578 feet), the ancient Gibeon, has been a fortress from time immemorial; so also has Neby Samwil (formerly Mizpeh), which was the watch-tower of the tribe of Benjamin.

These two strong mountain-fortresses effectually block both the Roman roads. Still further north are the celebrated ravines of the lower Bethhoron (Beit Ur El Tahta) and upper Bethhoron (Beit Ur El Foka), through which runs another (alleged) Roman road.

These roads, with the exception of the modern one by Kuryet El Enab, must be understood rather as memories or traditions than as real roads; sometimes they were indistinguishable from goat-paths. After heavy rain, any flat ground became mud sometimes a

(1) Capt. J. B. Penman.



Photo by

Messrs Lafayette. Glasgow.

LIEUT.-COLONEL R. N. COULSON, D.S.O., T.D.

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foot deep, on which the wretched camels, benumbed with the cold and wet, slipped and slithered about, sometimes falling into the ravines, where they often split themselves in trying to rise.

On the exposed mountain ridges, at altitudes exceeding that of Queensberry and The Merrick, the sufferings of our soldiers were beyond description. Often there was not one blanket among four men; their clothing (what little there was of it) consisted of light summer drill; tunics, shirts, and shorts were not only thin but ragged.

After they had left the sandhills and entered the rocky, stony hills their boots had gone to bits. Some tied up their feet with cloths or puttees; most of them were footsore.

Moreover, the weather was abominable. The nights were bitterly cold, and the men, shivering and drenched to the skin, suffered horribly. Often on these bleak, forbidding ridges there was no shelter of any sort or kind.

They had been for some two years marching and fighting in the fierce heat of the desert sun.

One wonders how any, even of these hardy Lowlanders, survived such experiences. Yet, as a matter of fact, exceedingly few were returned to hospital.

As we have already mentioned, the country steadily rises from the west towards the east until within four or five miles west of the Nablus-Jerusalem road. So when one village or ridge had been captured, it was at once deluged with shell and rifle fire from the nearest ridge to the east. Every one of the rivers flowing west branched towards its source more and more abundantly into side streams and nullahs, so that the country became increasingly difficult the further one advanced eastwards.

The general idea of the operations was to penetrate this highland country from the west and seize the Nablus-Jerusalem road.

Three columns were engaged. The 75th Division were to attack by the macadamised Jaffa-Jerusalem road. The 52nd were to move by the Roman road, which traverses the Valley of Ajalon and leads straight

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against El Jib and Neby Samwil, whilst further north the Yeomanry were to go up the Nether and Upper Beth-horons.

Turning to the fortunes of the 5th K.O.S.B., they had passed the night at Ramleh, in drenching rain, and "at 6 a.m. on November 19th were moving towards the hills, with scanty instructions as to the clearing of certain villages through which we had to pass! . . . where our own troops were to the east of us we knew not, and by the end of the day we cared not. . . . Now we were on a *Roman road*. A goat-track would have described it more accurately, and its surface was composed wholly of loose boulders. We wound on and upwards into the hills; no wheel transport could accompany us, so our old friends the camels were on the job again, and slipped about in a ludicrous way. Dusk came on when we were at a village called Berfiliya, and here we put out a picket line and made preparations for feeding. Water had to be obtained, and it was raised, a bucketful at a time, from a deep well in the village. The only other well had been made the last resting-place for a donkey, so we left it alone. Very few people are reputed to have seen a dead donkey, but those who saw this particular one will not forget it readily.

We were now in the midst of the hills, and they reminded us irresistibly of Scotland. North-east of us solitary rifle shots echoed away in the distance. The Yeomanry were moving forward in that direction."¹

On that night (1 a.m., 19-20th November) the 157th Brigade from Ludd, marching during the last six hours in "the Stygian gloom of a dark and rainy night," had finally arrived at Beit Likia. The head of the 156th Brigade reached the same spot at 4 p.m. (20th).

This night was one of bitter cold and pouring rain. The troops had also to make two days' rations last for three days.

The 155th Brigade had started from Berfiliya at 8 a.m. on this morning (20th November) for the same place.

(1) Capt. T. D. Craig.

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"During the forenoon as the dejected column struggled on, always climbing, a warning shout to 'make way' made us turn our heads. We saw a band of yelling maniacs of the Divisional Signal Company assisting in the progress of their waggons laden with the stock-in-trade of their calling, and drawn by eight horses. Up it lumbered with the Herculean efforts of the sweating horses, and accompanied by a wonderful flow of invective profanity from their riders and those on foot.

It crashed over boulders two feet high, and swayed perilously near the brink of the track ; sometimes a horse would stumble and recover with a struggle and a groan, but it went up all the time."

It was on this occasion that we first saw Jaffa. It was a wonderful sight, "lying there by the sea, with its mosque standing majestically out of the haze."

"Dusk found us under the olive trees at Beit Likia, where we lost no time in looking for sheltered corners in which to pass the night. Those of us who did find them were fortunate, for there was a strong and bitter-cold wind, with showers of hail and drenching rain.

On the 20th the 157th Brigade had left Beit Likia at 4.30 a.m., and in spite of every conceivable difficulty, useless native guides, imperfect maps, unknown country, and an atmosphere so thick with mist and rain that it was very difficult to locate the Turkish riflemen and gunners who were hidden among the grey rocks, they had managed to seize Beit Anan by 8.15 a.m. The 6th H.L.I. had also captured Beit Dukka by a frontal and flank attack.

On the 21st and 22nd the 155th Brigade remained at Beit Likia. Only emergency rations were available, as the camel transport did not arrive until the 22nd. When it did arrive, we "heard the joyful news that there was a ration of cigarettes."

We also received a splendid present of five sheep from the Brigade ! During the 21st the 5th H.L.I. had occupied Kubeibeh, a Franciscan monastery which used

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to be a peaceful and beautiful place with its trees and gardens tended by long-robed monks.¹

Here a patrol of the Hyderabad Lancers brought news of the 75th Division, which had carried Kuryet El Enab, on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road.

Although the 155th Brigade had no fighting to do from the 20th to the 23rd, they were by no means resting.

They and the other brigades who were not actually in action were hard at work at a most difficult task. They had to make a road fit for heavy artillery from Berfliya to Biddu. The distance is about fourteen miles. "The construction of this road within four days by men who were hungry, cold, and at the end of a tremendous advance, is one of the achievements of which the Division can be very proud. As an engineering feat alone it was wonderful."

On the 23rd the Battalion again marched forward, following the Roman road amongst rocks and twisting steep ascents. It was a very slow march and continually interrupted, but skirting the village of Anan they eventually reached El Kubeibeh (nine miles). This was a homely-looking little place. (It is said to be the ancient Emmaus.) "Just as we entered it, we heard the chimes of the clock on the tower of the modern Franciscan Latin Hospital. It was a most unexpected sound in these wild solitudes, and 'the men's hearts burned within them.'"²

"We passed through the town, and the column halted on the road just outside it. Here for the first time for some days we knew where the enemy was, or at least he knew where we were, for not more than a few minutes elapsed before his shells were falling in the middle of our column.

We wound down into the valley and, taking advantage of the natural cover, approached the village of Beit Izza. This village was about 2500 feet above sea level, and the view from it was extremely beautiful."

We encamped on the tops of the hills about it,

(1) 52nd Division.

(2) Capt. T. D. Craig.

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and put out outposts for protection. There was, however, no protection against the piercing wind which swept over the hills. It was the most bitterly cold night that we had yet experienced. "We were fairly chilled as darkness fell, and soon all ranks were busy digging holes in which to try to shelter themselves."

During our three days' stay at Beit Likia severe fighting had been in progress both to the north and south of us. The Yeomanry had, by some miraculous combination of cool daring and skilful leadership, advanced as far east as Beitunia. On the 21st they tried to reach the Nablus-Jerusalem road. As the Turks were three times their number and in strong mountain positions, and as they also had a good road only four or five miles behind them, the Yeomanry naturally failed, and under heavy shell-fire were forced back to Upper Beth-horon (El Foka). On the same day the 75th Division had left the macadamised road and pushed the 234th Brigade through Biddu. They had even captured Neby Samwil by a surprise attack. The 6th H.L.I. had also cleared the village of Beit Izza.

During the 22nd the enemy turned a tremendous and increasing shell-fire upon Neby Samwil. Nevertheless the village was held, and the 156th Brigade, leaving Beit Likia at 5.30 a.m., pushed on and relieved the 75th Division both at Biddu and at Neby Samwil.

The heroic struggle to retain this most important fortress is fully described in the *Divisional History*. The 7th and 8th Cameronians and the 234th Brigade of the 75th Division especially distinguished themselves.

The Cameronians and Ghurkas did, however, manage to hold on to Neby Samwil in spite of artillery fire from the north, from the east, and from the south. Our artillery consisted only of four howitzers and the ubiquitous mountain guns of the Hong Kong and Singapore Battery.

On the morning of the 24th November new orders were received. The 155th Brigade was to attack and capture El Jib; afterwards pushing on and seizing Jedireh and Kulundiah further to the east.

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The attack was to begin at 12.5 p.m. The sketch here given cannot be taken as accurate, but it may perhaps enable the reader to follow the story of this remarkable day.

The starting point, Beit Izza, stands at an altitude of some 2500 feet above the sea. It was not possible from this place to see Beit Ur El Foka (Upper Bethhoron), where the Yeomanry were. They were as a matter of fact holding a firing-line some three miles in length with a total strength of 800 men !

Theoretically, they were a sort of left flank guard. In reality, they were not only out of sight, but it was quite impossible to communicate with them in any way whatever.

Below the ridge on which Beit Izza stands there lay, to the north and east, a nearly flat plain.

Beyond this flat ground rose a crescent of formidable and forbidding ridges of craggy limestone. This crescent stretches from north-east by east to south-east, and is some 2400 to 2500 feet high.

Every commanding summit had its entrenchments, which were provided with heavy artillery ; every vantage point had been planted with machine guns carefully concealed.

There were strong garrisons with heavy artillery at Beitunia, Rafat, El Jib itself, and on the northern part of the plateau of Neby Samwil.

Between El Jib and this plateau there is a Wadi flowing eastward and joining a deep ravine flowing from the north.

It was the steep, rocky cliffs on the south and south-east sides of El Jib that had been attacked by the 75th Division on the 22nd and 23rd. They did not, and could not possibly have, succeeded in taking it from that direction.

The wide plain before El Jib consists of more or less flat, level, open ground fully exposed to shell-fire or machine guns from any part of the crescent ridge.

There were, however, stones or boulders scattered over the plain, and these were the only possible cover

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that could be used in assaulting the towering mass of El Jib, which rose to a height of 2578 feet.

Clustering round the foot of this formidable fortress was the usual network of walled gardens and cactus-hedged enclosures with irregular winding paths.

Each compartment was a death-trap. The Turks had quantities of machine guns, and well they knew how to conceal and use them.

The highest point of the Neby Samwil ridge, that is, the Mosque itself, was in our possession, but a similar mess of elaborately fortified enclosures beyond the Mosque was still in the hands of the enemy.¹

The British artillery consisted of four 4·5 howitzers, six 18-pounders, and the mountain guns of the Hong Kong and Singapore battery.

The Turks had many batteries of heavy guns, which had registered every yard of the battlefield !

At five minutes past noon the 155th Brigade, at this time reduced by casualties to about 1200 men, advanced to the attack.

The starting point was just under Beit Izza ; the right of the 5th R.S.F. was directed upon a point 800 yards west-south-west of El Jib. The 5th K.O.S.B. were on their left. The general idea was to wheel round after they had extended so as to attack from the north and west. The 4th K.O.S.B. were behind in support, whilst the 4th R.S.F. were in reserve.

Thus the left flank of the 5th K.O.S.B. was exposed and entirely in the air² except for one squadron of the

(1) The whole of this countryside is celebrated in history. Surely the spirits of Joshua, who drove the armies of the Five Kings like a flock of sheep over this very battlefield ; of Judas Maccabaeus, who had hunted an enormous host of Syrians down the Bethhorons ; of many a brutal but singularly successful Roman General ; of Saladin the Sultan and of Richard Coeur de Lion, who had here struggled with each other—surely they were watching in admiration and astonishment this deadly struggle, waged with weapons more destructive than any they had ever dreamed of.

(2) A sub-section of the Brigade machine guns with a platoon went out to cover the left flank as far as possible. Others were placed on the high ground 1500 yards north of Brigade Headquarters, another section came up at 3 p.m. and was posted 500 yards in front of Brigade Headquarters.



From Col. Coulson.

1/5TH K.O.S.B. BIVOUAC, BURNS' COTTAGE.

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Mysore Lancers, which had moved out to cover this flank and to get in touch with the Yeomanry at El Foka.

It was quite impossible for the Lancers to carry out either of these objects. The country proved inaccessible, and they were held up by the enemy, who were everywhere in greatly superior strength.

So long as the 5th K.O.S.B. and 5th R.S.F. were covered by the lower ridges of Beit Izza the battalions advanced rapidly. But when they entered the broad grassy plain they were fully exposed to frontal and enfilade fire, and suffered severely.

At 12.15 p.m. (only ten minutes afterwards) the C.O. (Col. Kearsey) was severely wounded; Capt. Craig sent an orderly to bring up Capt. Matheson (the Adjutant). No sooner had the latter arrived than he was badly wounded in the heel, and fell upon Craig.

Then Craig managed to drag the C.O. and Adjutant into a sort of cover given by the wall (four or five feet high) of a cultivation terrace.

Yet, though with extreme difficulty, the 5th K.O.S.B. carried on steadily. Sections were extended, and kept their places; the men were dribbled forward in quick rushes, taking all possible advantage of such little cover as the boulders afforded. The 5th R.S.F. were slightly favoured by the ground, and at 12.40 p.m. some of them had got through the wall of a garden, which is some 700 yards from El Jib.

The 5th K.O.S.B., with their left flank entirely in the air, and exposed to a merciless enfilade fire from the left as well as from the right, and from El Jib in front, did not reach the orchard and gardens until 1.30 p.m.

This place was now shelled by the Turkish artillery. "In front of it, beyond an open zone swept by fire, rose up tier upon tier of rock crowned by the hill fortress of El Jib."

The 4th K.O.S.B. were then sent up to assist the 5th K.O.S.B., who had been most exposed and had had many casualties. The battalion was still being mercilessly shelled, and men were falling fast. Half of the

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4th R.S.F. also went forward to reinforce their sister battalion.

The gallant Col. J. B. Cook, D.S.O. (O/C 5th R.S.F.), was killed close to the orchard.

But even then the advance continued! The howitzer battery at Biddu shelled El Jib with every available gun, and by 4 p.m. the men were in the garden and within 400 yards of the outskirts of El Jib.

At this moment it was quite obvious that in daylight any further advance was impossible. The intention of the Brigadier was to hold on until dark, and then to rush the hill with the bayonet.

It had been intended that the 156th Brigade, who had held the Mosque on Neby Samwil with heroic tenacity throughout a hectic night of obstinate counter-attacks, should advance with and so assist the right of the 155th Brigade.

But they had in front of them a maze of stone-walled gardens and buildings. Every enclosure was full of hidden trench and machine guns, and the Turks fought with dogged determination. In consequence this Brigade could not get forward more than 200 yards beyond the Mosque. Gen. A. H. Leggett (the Brigadier) was, however, preparing to rush the plateau of Neby Samwil, and had ordered up two battalions of the 75th Division to hold the line whilst he did so.

The 157th Brigade was also coming up; Lieut.-Col. James Anderson with the 6th H.L.I. had actually moved forward to the right flank of the 155th Brigade, and at 4 p.m. was beginning an advance with the bayonet to storm El Jib.

But at 4 p.m. orders were received from the Division to break off and discontinue the attack.¹

At 9 p.m. the Brigade was relieved by the 157th Brigade, and went back into bivouac at Kubeibeh; *all the wounded, almost all the dead, as well as all stores and equipment, were brought back!*

“Most of us dropped where we stopped that night,

(1) The attack might have succeeded, but there were no reinforcements available to hold the fortress.

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but we were soon dressed again, and at 2 a.m. on November 25th we were on the move back through El Kubeibeh. By daybreak we had reached our resting-place in the valley south of the road; boots and socks were quickly off, and the men were resting tired limbs."

We had lost 7 men killed; 7 officers were wounded, as well as 64 other ranks. Nine men missing were also killed.

The officers wounded were Lieut.-Col. A. H. C. Kearsy, D.S.O., Captain and Adjutant R. Matheson, Capt. J. M'George, Capt. E. N. Gibson, Capt. J. B. Penman, 2nd-Lieut. W. S. Miller, and 2nd-Lieut. A. Kay.

These wounded officers and men were sent back to the railway by "cacolets," that is, network stretchers, of which two were carried by a camel (one on each side); thence in the comparative luxury of a Red Cross train they travelled to Egypt. Major Crombie was now in command of the Battalion.

On the 26th November, at 9 a.m., the whole 155th Brigade started for the Auja, and marched eight miles to Beit Sira.

"That evening we sat round the fire with our letters in our hands, rum ration inside us, half-cigarettes going round, and a night's sleep in front of us, and we were satisfied. Our mail from home with all that it meant had arrived, and (for the first time) we got a ration of rum.

Our joy was short-lived, as it so often was, for by midnight we had orders to move at 1 p.m.

Bivouacs were uprooted and kits packed. Then the orders were cancelled, and our Adjutant, at the gallop, was making for Brigade Headquarters."¹

The fact was that not only our Brigade and Division, but the whole of the troops which had been diverted eastward for the attack on Jerusalem, were threatened with a disaster of the first magnitude. We had left the Mosque (though not the plateau) of Neby Samwil, Biddu, and Beit Izza, in charge of the 60th Division. Our line, such as it was, stretched from the north of Beit Dukka,

(1) Capt. T. D. Craig.

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around Beit Ur El Foka (Upper Bethhoron), to Beit Ur El Tahta (Lower Bethhoron). The last part of the line, "about four miles long," was held by 800 dismounted Yeomanry, *i.e.*, 1 yeoman to every 88 yards in a specially trappy and difficult country.

The 54th Division was holding the line from south and east of the Auja to Shilta. But between Shilta and Tahta there was a gap of five miles in length, in which there were no British troops of any sort or kind.

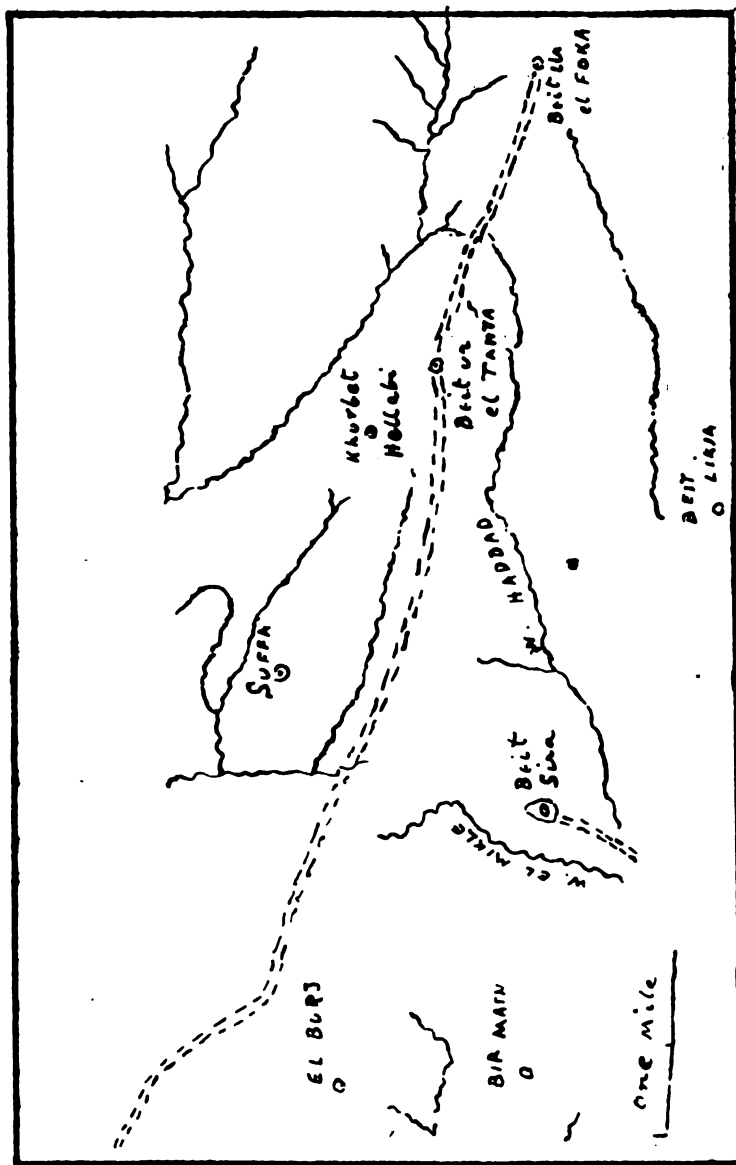
I understand that in business circles in the U.S. there is a recognised maxim that "you cannot fool all the people all the time."

Our thrust at Jerusalem from the west was a magnificent gesture. But the Turkish Higher Command had at last grasped the fact that they had only to march through this five-mile-wide unoccupied space and after another two miles seize and block the Ludd to Samwil road, or, if they could penetrate a little further south, the Jaffa-Jerusalem road; then all our divisions about Samwil would be entirely cut off, and a very serious check, if not a disaster, would have been inevitable.

Fortunately the 155th Brigade just happened to be at Beit Sirā on the evening of the 27th November. During that evening all the telephone wires were broken. It also so happened that a despatch rider trying to find Divisional Headquarters landed in those of the 155th Brigade.

Gen. Pollok M'Call thus heard about this dangerous gap, and got ready to move the 155th Brigade to the front.

About midnight he had orders to send a battalion to hold the interval between Shilta and El Tahta, and at the hour named the 4th R.S.F. had marched for it. At 8 a.m. he proceeded, as ordered, with another battalion. But on the road he met one of the armoured cars which had been hurriedly sent off from Divisional Headquarters. The information so obtained revealed a very dangerous situation. The enemy were attacking the whole line from El Foka to Shilta with 3000 storm-troops and four batteries of .77 guns.



UPPER AND LOWER BETHHORONS.

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Before our arrival they had actually seized some high ground overlooking the Berfliya road, and had already wiped out a section of the Yeomanry Divisional Ammunition Column. Moreover, their cavalry were actually in the village of Suffa, which is about half-way between Shilta and El Tahta.

Fortunately there were men on the spot who understood and could deal vigorously with any crisis.

It was no time to stand on the order of their going. Col. Dashwood Tandy, with the 4th K.O.S.B. and one company of the 5th R.S.F., at once made a frontal attack on Suffa. Major Paton, with the other three companies of the 5th R.S.F. and two of the 5th K.O.S.B., went off on a wide detour through the defiles in order to attack Suffa from the south-west.

Col. Stewart Richardson, with the 4th R.S.F. and one section of the 155th Brigade machine-gunners, departed to help the Yeomanry, and was soon north-west of El Burj.

All were in a very short time hotly engaged with the Turks, who, in a coming-on mood, were obstinate and determined to advance.

Here the History must be divided into two separate accounts. A and B Companies went off under Major Paton, and did not rejoin the Battalion until December 1st.

"The enemy were holding a line amongst the rocks parallel to the Wadi Mikle, and a few hundred yards from it A and B Companies at once went into action; they and the three companies of the 5th R.S.F. proceeded in the direction of Suffa."

There they joined the 4th R.S.F., who had been despatched early in the morning. They now endeavoured to turn the right flank of the Turks. This was found to be impossible, as they would have had to cross an open valley which was swept by machine gun fire from the west, that is, from the neighbourhood of Shilta. "In the evening they were withdrawn, and took up a line of defence on a ridge south-east of El Burj towards Bir

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Main." At 10 a.m. on November 29th the enemy advanced against them.

As a rule the Turks attacked only at night, and in overwhelming numbers.

The Turkish troops engaged in this affair consisted of specially trained Yilderim or "storm troops," and they attacked at 10 a.m. in broad daylight, and continued fighting, though with continually waning enthusiasm, until four in the afternoon.

The accurate rifle fire of the Fusiliers and Borderers and the skilful use of Lewis and Stokes guns enabled our men to hold the ridge without difficulty. "It was a depleted and disorganised force that left us in possession."

Our losses consisted of 1 officer and 3 other ranks wounded.

Capt. A. B. M'Creath (the officer in question) reached Alexandria and seemed to be recovering, but died a few days later.

On the night 29-30th A and B Companies were relieved by the Australian Light Horse, and withdrew to the old bivouac area at Beit Sira.

It is now necessary to return to the adventures of D Company and one half of C Company.

On the 28th November they had been despatched to the assistance of the Yeomanry, who were engaged in a desperate struggle at Tahta some two miles off.

Battalion Headquarters and half C Company, with the new Commanding Officer (Col. R. N. Coulson, D.S.O.), now arrived, and were withdrawn to Khurbet Daria, about 1000 yards behind the front. At 3.30 p.m. the other Company (D) was at once sent forward into the thin and not very clearly defined firing-line about Hellabi, and was placed at a specially exposed spot called Two Tree Post. They relieved the South Notts Hussars, who were withdrawn.

On their right were the East Riding and to the left the Lincolnshire Yeomanry.

At 7 p.m. a Turkish patrol (some twelve men) crawled through our line and began firing on D Company from the rear. They, however, were very soon disposed of.

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About midnight the first reinforcements (consisting of Australian Light Horse) came up.

November 29th. At 3 a.m. there was another determined attack by the enemy in great strength. A platoon of C Company was sent up to assist our hardly-pressed firing-line.

After some very hard fighting the Turks had had enough of it, and retired.

It was not until 11.30 p.m. that night that D Company and half C Company were relieved by the 5th H.L.I., being put under Col. Morrison's orders and brought back to his headquarters at Tahta. The Australians were also relieved.

They were hardly there for more than half-an-hour! Soon after midnight D Company and half C Company were back again in the firing-line and relieved the Lincolnshire Yeomanry a little to the left of their former position.

The worst crisis of that eventful night occurred at 6 a.m. (30th November).

The Turks in force tried to rush Two Tree Post, then held by the 5th H.L.I. The Platoon Commander had already been killed, and at this critical moment the Company Commander was seriously wounded and one of the Lewis guns was knocked out of action. The situation was saved by the prompt and gallant action of Lieut. T. W. Woodhead (D Company), who with some of his company sprinted over the open ground with a Lewis gun. He got his gun into action, repaired the damaged H.L.I. gun, and drove out the Turks. At 6.30 a.m. the enemy was thoroughly dispersed and driven back in disorder.

For this well-timed and gallant action Lieut. Woodhead received the Military Cross.

On November 30th Lieut.-Col. R. N. Coulson took over command of the Battalion. He arrived with Headquarters and half C Company at Khurbet Hellabi in the afternoon.

New dispositions were made, and both companies (D and C) took over a line of 250 yards from Two Tree Post (inclusive) to the left.

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The local reserve consisted of Battalion Headquarters, which had been organised in platoons, and of nothing else!

However, the dangerous gap in our line had been, after a fashion, occupied, but so far as can be ascertained, the only Brigade reserve consisted of A and B Companies near Beit Sira, one Company 5th R.S.F. at El Burj, and Headquarters of 5th K.O.S.B. at El Tahta!

The left of the line held by D and C Companies was in touch across a Wadi with the 7th H.L.I.

"These two companies had been continuously in action for two days, during which time they had been unable to obtain a single hot meal. Both officers and men were on the point of exhaustion."

About dusk, however, tea and a hot stew were carried up to the line and infused new life into the men.

In the morning, just before daylight, another hot meal was sent to them.

The position was exceedingly uncomfortable. "The whole terrain was a jumble of limestone hills covered with boulders and loose stones, and with little or no vegetation except in the hollows, where a few olive trees struggled for existence. Between these hills ran deep valleys cut out by the winter rains."

From the village of Beit Ur El Foka the Turks looked right down the valley to the Battalion Headquarters Camp, which they were able to shell whenever they chose to do so.

It was difficult to arrange the cooks' fires so that no tell-tale smoke should give our position away. However, it was managed by building walls of loose stones round a hollow and covering them with bivouac sheets. So the cooks were able to light small fires and boil dixies in spite of the Turkish observers.

The firing-line was both difficult and uncomfortable to hold. It could be enfiladed by machine gun fire.

"The limestone strata dipped towards our side, and their outcrops formed rows of terraces on the Turkish side. These caused much dead ground, which the enemy skilfully used, and he was able to creep up and assemble within bombing distance without being observed.

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Our side of the hills had no ledges, and afforded very little cover. Owing to the absence of soil we were unable to dig trenches, and had to rely on stone 'sangars' (dry-stone dykes) for protection. These were most unsatisfactory substitutes, as not only did enemy bullets find their way between the stones, but artillery fire raised clouds of rock splinters which wounded many of our men. The Turkish machine gun fire was so active that no one could leave the close proximity of the sangars for any purpose. Communication therefore was extremely difficult, and it was only the self-sacrificing bravery of runners and signallers that kept Headquarters in touch. The signallers laid telephone lines up to the two Company Headquarters, but they were cut many times, and several lives were lost in repairing the breaks. By day it was almost impossible to reach the left of the Battalion, and even at night visiting it was an unpleasant experience."¹

"The Turks had machine guns trained on certain spots, and anyone visiting the front line had to hurry past them. The carrying of rations was no sinecure, but in spite of the machine gun fire this duty was performed. All ranks behaved in a manner beyond praise, and much impressed the new Commanding Officer by their gallant conduct."

The remains of dozens of Yeomanry horses were lying in the valley to the south of our position.

December 1st. However, the Turks had begun to understand the consequences of attacking the 155th Brigade. Our alert and skilled machine gunners found out and severely punished some of their parties.

Stokes mortars came up during the afternoon, and drove them out of the terraces in which they were still lurking unseen. Certain field guns also arrived, and the position was now secure.

At about 8 p.m. the Munster battalion of the 10th Division marched up. They looked very spruce and fresh after being made up to strength and refitted with winter clothing.

(1) *War Diary*, Capt. R. Matheson, Capt. Craig, and Col. R. N. Coulson.

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At 11 p.m. the Battalion (C and D Companies) marched by the Wadi El Haddad to a point about a mile north of Amwas. They arrived at 2.30 a.m. on the 2nd, and found Major Crombie with the two other Companies, and also an issue of hot tea, which was most thoroughly appreciated.

Starting early on the same morning, the Battalion marched between twelve and thirteen miles to a camp near Surafend.

This march was a great strain upon the men. They had had no proper sleep, and had been tried almost beyond endurance by the fighting and anxiety of the last few days; it was very hot and dusty; there was hardly one boot fit for service in the whole Battalion; indeed two men marched the whole way in their stocking soles.

But not one single man fell out!

December 3rd and 4th. During these two days the Battalion was at last allowed to rest. They were also supplied with winter clothing, and two limbers came up from Deir El Belah ("Dear Old Bella") with canteen stores and cigarettes.

For ten days there had not been a cigarette in the whole Battalion, and only those who have undergone similar experiences can realise what this means. There was also an issue of oranges. For weeks the Battalion had lived on bully beef and biscuits, and "all ranks had an intense craving for vegetable food." Moreover, 26 men of those who had been wounded at Herbieh rejoined.

The following messages from the Higher Command also heartened up the men:—

From the Commander-in-Chief: "On St. Andrew's Day I take this opportunity of thanking you for the great spirit you have shown both on the battlefield and on the march during the past month."

From Gen. Chetwode, O/C XXth Corps, to the G.O.C. 52nd Division: "Will you tell your Division how much the XXth Corps have admired their gallant and successful work since the commencement of

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operations. They have been highly tried, and have answered every call splendidly."

Moreover, their Brigadier-General, J. B. Pollok M'Call, C.M.G., issued the following message:—

"At the close of a period the Brigadier wishes to express to all units and all ranks his admiration of all they have done.

In heat, cold, during toilsome marches, in stiff fights (sometimes owing to hard necessity with very limited artillery support) they have fought and died and conquered and never been defeated.

No single prisoner from the Brigade has fallen into the hands of the enemy; not one single Lewis gun has been lost. The officers have led dauntlessly, the men have followed with a determination, a stubbornness and contempt for danger which has earned the respect of all who have witnessed it, not excluding the enemy.

Let us all pay a tribute to the memory of our brave comrades who have given their lives and limbs in the country's cause. Let us realise the great part that has been played by those who, foremost in the fighting, have fallen in the great work accomplished, which enables us who are left to say with humility but also with a just pride, 'I belong to the 155th Brigade.'"

The casualties amongst senior officers had been terribly severe. The Colonel, Adjutant, and all four Company Commanders had been either killed or wounded. Capt. W. A. Muir (4th R.S.F.) took over B Company, and Lieut. J. Elder (4th K.O.S.B.) became transport officer in place of 2nd Lieut.-G. Dunn, who was attached to the Brigade as intelligence officer.

December 5th. The Battalion marched 8 or 9 miles to Ibn Ibrak, where they arrived "about dark just as the rain was coming down in sheets, and before any shelters could be erected, everyone was soaked to the skin." The camp was in gardens enclosed by cactus hedges.

December 6th and 7th. Next evening the camp was moved two miles to the north in support to the 4th K.O.S.B., who were holding the left of the Brigade line.

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				Officers.	Other ranks.
On the 31st October the strength of the					
5th K.O.S.B. was	25	914
Increase in November	...	...	...	3	5

Casualties during November—

				Officers.	Other ranks.
Killed	...	...	...	2	51
Wounded	...	...	...	13	264
Missing (all killed or					
wounded)	...	...	...	0	12
				—	—
				15	327
Strength on 1st December	...	...	...	13	582

NOTE.—For this chapter I am indebted to the Battalion War Diary and to Col. Coulson.

In the sketch of the action at El Jib the altitude of this place is incorrect (*see text*).

CHAPTER X.

THE PASSAGE OF THE AUJA.

IN the early part of December the heavy falls of rain continued ; the men had not yet been issued with great-coats ; the ground was sodden and saturated with water ; at times the black cotton soil was just mud, into which everyone sank above the ankles. Moreover, it was bitterly cold at night, and in the early morning the thermometer was below 40° Fahr. On the 7th, fires could not be lighted for the men's breakfast, so drenched was everything.

For some reason the use of shipping to bring up supplies seems to have been unsatisfactory. Everything had to come by road from Junction Station. Rations were not always on hand, and on at least two occasions the men had only their iron rations.¹

Thus all ranks were miserable, and there was little comfort for anyone.

They were, however, in a country of orange groves ; millions of oranges were available, and the men thoroughly appreciated the thoughtfulness of those German colonists who had irrigated and managed the Jaffa plantations for their benefit.

On the 9th December all ranks were greatly cheered by the news that Jerusalem had fallen. Though very few of them had even seen the City of David, everyone realised that this magnificent achievement was very largely due to the stern and strenuous work that had been done by the 52nd Division.

The weather became a little less unpleasant during the following week.

At this time A and B Companies (Capt. Muir) had taken over the line from a hill (230) 1300 yards south-east of the Hadrah Mill Bridge ; all ranks were also encouraged by a whisper that went round to the effect

(1) The transport, considering the difficulty of the roads, the distance, and other drawbacks, was all through this campaign wonderfully efficient.

that the Auja was to be crossed and the Turks driven still farther to the north. The enemy were so near that their shells were becoming a nuisance even in the streets of Jaffa. It was said that even the gardens occupied by G.H.Q. had been bombarded !

We were still on the main road that had been followed by all the armies that had ever fought for Egypt or for Mesopotamia. Across the Auja was the plain of Sharon, separated by a narrow belt of sand dunes from the waters of the Mediterranean. Just in front of us were two ridges, both running north and south and ending before the river in steep slopes. On that to the westward was the town of Sheikh Muannis. The next ridge ended in a steep conical hill called Khurbet Hadrah.

The valley-flat of the meandering Auja consisted chiefly of black cotton soil, fertile if properly drained and irrigated, but liable after heavy rain to become a quagmire of mud, through which men could hardly struggle, and which was impassable for camel or other transport. The enemy farther back was on higher ground, and enjoyed an excellent view of all our proceedings. He had an abundance of guns and ammunition, and used them freely. A single helmet rising above the parapet would frequently result in a shell landing somewhere near the owner.

At this time our line ran along the southern bank of the Auja from the sea, then on our right it turned off to the south-east, leaving the town of Mullebis, Bald Hill, as well as all the fords of the river above the Hadrah bridge, still in the hands of the Turks.

We had to thank German enterprise for one very great advantage. A large proportion of the slopes behind us and about Saronia were covered with magnificent cover, that is, by large plantations of orange groves, in which guns could be concealed, and in which all necessary preparations could be carried on in perfect security.

The original intention had been to carry the Auja in a joint two-days' attack by all the Divisions and in broad daylight. No doubt this would have succeeded,

The Passage of the Auja.

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but there would certainly have been hundreds or thousands of casualties.

The daring scheme of operations which was ultimately adopted by Major-General J. Hill, D.S.O., A.D.C., is said by some authorities to have been designed by Brig.-Gen. A. H. Leggett, D.S.O.

It was to be a night attack by only three brigades. The special idiosyncrasies of the Auja should be realised if the reader is to form an idea of the audacity of this enterprise.

It is a permanent river, and "normally is about forty yards wide and ten feet deep, with a current of three miles an hour." But "it had rained continuously for some weeks, and the thunderstorm of the 19th had almost put the finishing touch to the scheme."

It was now in spate, and flowing at fully six miles an hour, with dark, swirling flood water." In addition to this, the heavy cotton soil on both banks was sodden with water, and one's feet went in well over the ankle at each step." The conditions were truly "appalling."

The determination of "John Auja" (as he was always afterwards described) to persist in this attack was, it is said, not favourably received by some of his staff.

But he believed in the Scottish Territorials, and had his way.

Elaborate preparations were being made from the 13th to the 20th December, which last was to be the "day," or rather the "night," of the great enterprise.

Night patrols were undertaken by the 1/5th K.O.S.B. The information obtained was of enormous help to Brig.-Gen. Pollok M'Call.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty was the impossibility of examining the ground in daylight.

In the sandhills the Turkish trenches, as seen by aeroplane, were numerous and elaborate. Both Muannis and Khurbet Hadrah were fortresses, well entrenched and strongly manned. So also were the various houses and farms near them. There were trenches on the south side of the river at Hadrah Bridge, as well as on the

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northern bank. The only ford was at the mouth of the river, and this as well as all other conceivable crossing-places could be swept by Turkish machine guns, and had been carefully ranged for the Turkish artillery.

In order to clear up these questions Capt. Stanley Smith, on a very dark night, was noiselessly ferried across in a flat-bottomed boat at a point near one of the proposed crossings. He lay there for some hours listening intently for the sound of a Turkish patrol searching the bank. There were none, however. This information was of the highest possible value.

It was also essential to know something about the ford.

On the evening of the 15th December Lieut.-Col. James Anderson and Lieut. C. H. Hills made their way towards the seashore, "300 yards from the mouth of the Auja and the same distance from the edge of the surf."

It was not a very dark night, for there was a bright planet in the west.

They stripped, and made for the sea; Col. Anderson took with him a long sounding pole. The water was warmer than the night air, and they were both good swimmers. They swam right across the river mouth, and for a time remained "lying in the water close to the beach on the other side to see if any of the enemy were about."

As a matter of fact a Turkish sentry, afterwards taken prisoner, said that he thought he *had* seen heads moving in the water, but was not sure enough about it to raise the alarm.

The Turkish trenches were within eighty yards of the ford, on which several machine guns had been trained.

The two officers ran across the open beach and tried to find the ford. The river was very cold and the current strong, but after groping about in the darkness, and in imminent danger of being carried away by the current, they made out that it was a sand and gravel bed about twenty-four yards wide and in the middle two and a half to three feet deep. A peg was driven

into the bed on the south side of the ford to mark the place.

Other daring reconnaissances were made. Thus Sapper Paton swam across the river at the appointed crossing-place of the 155th Brigade to discover its exact width.

In the orange groves about Sarona the engineers were busy making pontoons (coracles or rafts), for there was, of course, no bridging material.

These consisted of canvas tanks (2300 gallons) stretched over a specially-designed frame of wood.

They were so arranged that a bridge could be made out of a row of them. Road-bearers were to be fixed from pontoon to pontoon, and planks laid crossways to form the road. These last were covered with blankets and carpets from the houses in Sarona so that the feet of marching men would make no sound.

These pontoons were tested on a pond near Sarona, where also the men were practised in handling them.

They were constructed in safe places near Sarona, and had to be carried down as close as possible to the river bank. Those of which the 155th Brigade had charge were, in fact, brought to a small grove of orange and eucalyptus close to the river side.

This was done in almost total darkness during a thunder-storm, and in driving wind and pouring rain. The twenty men required to carry each pontoon (which turned out to be excessively heavy and most unhandy) staggered along some sort of path made of brushwood. The men often stumbled as they staggered along the tracks, slippery with mud, and manœuvred the clumsy thing through cactus gardens and orange trees. Everything had been prepared: a labour battalion had done their very best, though always at night, to prepare these tracks.

Yet this almost impossible task had been successfully accomplished. All roads were marked and every preparation made for taking the pontoons down from the orange grove another hundred yards or so to the bank,

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and for launching them on the night of the 20th-21st December.

For several days beforehand our artillery had been endeavouring to educate the Turks.

A terrific bombardment would open on the Turkish lines near the seashore, and then slowly and methodically travel eastwards. The strong points about Muannis and Khurbet Hadrah and all known Turkish trenches were also carefully bespattered with shrapnel.

Thus the Turks were trained to take refuge in their dugouts and shelters from 8 to 10 p.m. every evening.

On the night of the 20th the conditions were about as bad as they could possibly be.

The heavy rain and raging torrent had washed out the track and launching-places, and had carried away the posts and pegs which marked them. The flat land by the river was a morass of tenacious mud.

At 5 p.m. Headquarters of the 5th K.O.S.B. was established about one hundred yards from the river, near the point where one of the two pontoon bridges was to be arranged.

2nd-Lieut. Richardson was despatched with a platoon of C Company and three Lewis guns towards the hill Tel Abu Zeitun. His orders were to dig himself in there, and to make as much noise with his guns as he possibly could. The rest of this company was in reserve. Capt. Muir, with B and D Companies, were at Headquarters, ready to cross the river.

At 7 p.m. Capt. Muir despatched two parties (one N.C.O. and six men each) to the right and left of our crossing point. Placed on our side just where the curve begins, they were to make sure that the enemy did not interfere.

At 10 p.m. the discovery was made that the track was lost and the launching-place invisible. Nevertheless, by unheard of exertions, in the dark, in rain, and in silence, a pontoon was taken down and got into the river. At 11.30 2nd-Lieut. Blyth with sixteen men crossed the river successfully, paddling with extreme precaution.

The remainder of the Company were then ferried

across. B and D Companies were then divided into groups, which were placed in a chain across the bend of the river. They were thus in a position to cover the advance of the other battalions. D Company were in the front line. Half of B Company were in support at a mud hut, and the other half under 2nd-Lieut. Scott moved out about half-a-mile and dug in at two little huts which were christened "Mother and Son." Later on Lieut. Scott sent out a patrol and captured a farm ("Feathers") about half-a-mile to the north.

"Capt. Muir and his two companies were right out in the 'blue' from 11 p.m. on the 20th until the attack of the Fusiliers about 4 a.m. Nervy work! It was the 5th K.O.S.B. who by pluck and steadiness enabled the Fusiliers to form behind them."—Col. R. N. Coulson.

Scott's advance to "Mother and Son" was a fine performance.

It was not until 1 a.m. (21st) that the 4th and 5th R.S.F. began to cross the river. They also had to cross in pontoons, for it was very soon obvious that under the circumstances it was impossible to think of making a bridge. It was decided to carry a rope across the river, along which the pontoons could be man-handled. Some of the Turks appear to have awakened at this time. An engineer who was driving in a stake for the rope was shot through the head and fell upon Sergt. Wardhaugh, who was holding it in position for him. Although the other parties were assisted by our men, crossing was slow, difficult, and tedious. Yet at 3 a.m. they were all over the river and had, with the bayonet, captured all their objectives, that is, Fresh Earth, Khurbet Hadrah, White Hill, Woodside Farm, and Rabbit Ridge.

By this time the Turks were thoroughly awake, and heavily shelled all the places where we might have been. With few exceptions we were somewhere else, and our losses were very small.

At the same hour (3 a.m.) Lieut. MacBryde went off to Red-roofed House with a company so as to be ready

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to attack the stone bridge at Hadrah. In the attics he mounted two machine guns, and placed two Stokes trench-mortars behind it.

The advancing Fusiliers had made no sound whatever, for they rushed every enemy position with the bayonet. The wretched Turks, confused, bewildered, and demoralised by this sudden fury of assault in dense darkness and driving rain, were thankful to surrender, except in a few instances.

Thus Lieut. MacBryde did not know that our people had succeeded, nor did the Turks at the stone bridge. He was impatiently awaiting the order to advance, which did not arrive until 5 a.m.

There was a little wood west of the bridge in which he suspected the defending force were concealed. Upon this copse he opened rapid fire for five minutes from his machine guns and Stokes mortars. He knew the position of the enemy trenches, for on the 16th MacBryde himself, with forty men from A and C Companies, had raided Borderers Hut and fixed the position of the trenches. Unfortunately a faithful dog belonging to someone in the garrison began to bark furiously; but they had found out the number of the garrison.

There were three trenches on our side of the river. That nearest to them was now rushed from the western end and easily taken.

Then Sergt. Seaton with No 2 Platoon advanced under cover of the barrage of our machine guns and trench-mortars. He crept up the river to the trench just opposite the stone bridge. It was full of water, but looking over the parapet, he saw a red flare go up not two yards away. By its light he saw the machine guns. Calling up his men he rushed the trench, bayoneting the officer and taking seven or eight prisoners. They then quickly captured the island, and passed across to the other side of the river.

Though the fight was short it was strenuous, for the resistance was stubborn enough.

Some thirty Turks who could not get across the causeway were driven back until they jumped into the

water. Each of them was carrying a load of bombs, and every man was drowned.

As soon as our men had got over they went on to a small hill close by, and dug in so as to hold it as a bridgehead.

Meantime Lieut. Walker had cleared the further trench running east towards Borderers Hut, and his men (3 and 4 Platoons) then reinforced those at the new bridgehead.

The signallers were efficient, and MacBryde was immediately connected up with Battalion Headquarters, which at the moment consisted of a hole in the mudbank of the river.

The Adjutant asked anxiously, "Have you got the position?" "Yes." "Got any prisoners?" "Lots of prisoners."

The replies were in a sobbing, husky tone, for he and all his men had rushed the whole affair at the very best speed they could manage.

For this fine performance Lieut. MacBryde received the Military Cross and Sergt. Seaton the D.C.M. A Company's strength at the time was 60 all told!

The Turkish garrison had been 100 men, of which 15 had been killed, 30 drowned, and 20 taken prisoners. Neither the Turks nor A Company knew that the R.S.F. had taken Khurbet Hadrah until it was all over.

The signalling arrangements (under Lieut. Lindsay Carruthers) were unusually good.¹

A cable was laid across the river, and Muir, Scott, and MacBryde were all in touch with Battalion Headquarters throughout the whole affair.

Whilst the 5th K.O.S.B. were distinguishing themselves, the rest of the Division were also having astonishing success in a very difficult and dangerous attack.

On their left Brig.-Gen. Leggett (156th Brigade) had got four pontoons afloat, and two companies of the 7th R.S. (the covering party) had within thirty-five minutes established themselves. They were soon followed by

(1) The cable was the ordinary one in use by the Battalion. A steel cable supplied by the engineers proved a failure.

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the 7th H.L.I., 4th R.S., 8th S.R., and 7th R.S. Each of these battalions carried their objectives with a rush. They managed in the end to construct a bridge at this place. The men, marching noiselessly over the carpeted surface, ought to have been grateful to the rich Germans who had provided them.

At the ford towards the mouth of the river, where the 157th Brigade was to advance, the difficulties were serious.

Three companies of the 7th H.L.I. had captured the trenches on the sandhills; the Turks here were taken by surprise, and 4 officers and 62 men were taken prisoners.

Then the light of an electric torch from the sandhills gave the signal for the rest of the 157th Brigade to cross the ford.

But the river had risen, the guiding stake had been washed away, and at last the Turkish gunners were awake. The ford was being shelled, and a long-range fire of machine guns was also opened upon it.

However, Col. James Anderson again stripped, and after swimming about for some time rediscovered the ford.

The men, in fours, linked their arms and staggered across. Those who were little in stature were up to their necks in water. But the 6th H.L.I. and 5th Argyll and Sutherlands eventually struggled over to the sandhills.

"Every now and then the dark waters were lit up by the bursts of Turkish shells," but skilful leading and dour determination prevailed in the end.

By 1.50 a.m. they had advanced, and had finished off the Turkish trenches about 2.30 a.m.

By 6 a.m. the whole Division was across the river; every difficulty had been surmounted.

Moreover, the loss had been astonishingly small. The 5th K.O.S.B. had 1 man killed and 5 wounded. The total losses of the 155th Brigade were 9. Eleven Turkish officers and 256 men were taken prisoners without one single shot being fired by us until after daylight.

At home the public were distracted and disturbed by the terrible life-and-death struggle going on in France at this period, and owing to the somewhat grandmotherly censorship then in force they never realised either the hardships so cheerfully endured by the men, the extraordinary daring as well as consummate skill shown by the whole Division, nor indeed the significance of this complete victory.

Major-Gen. John Hill, D.S.O., afterwards called "John Auja," did, however, tell them plainly what he thought of their achievement in a New Year's message to the troops :—

"At the end of the year it is generally the custom to look back. The year 1917 is the fourth year of the great war and a great year for the allies in Europe, a greater year for the British in every part of the world, and the greatest year for the 52nd Lowland Division in Palestine.

In the attack on Gaza on the 1st November the 156th Brigade, representing the Division, was the only Brigade who took all its objectives.

During the whole of our long advance through Palestine you have never failed me; you went from Trench Warfare to Open Warfare and again to Hill Warfare, always cheerful, always victorious; no matter how difficult was the operation I called upon you to carry out, you carried it out with your usual dash and Scottish determination.

The whole of these operations ended in the forcing of the passage of the Auja, which was the hardest operation I have called upon you to undertake. The difficulties were enormous—first getting down to the river itself, over waterlogged and boggy country; then the crossing of the river—a river thirty-five yards in breadth and varying between twelve and fourteen feet in depth.

In order to make matters as difficult as possible for us, it rained hard for the three days previous to THE NIGHT—the boggy country got boggier—the river got broader and deeper. In order to make the enterprise a surprise to the Turk, we all prayed for a wet night.

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What did it matter if we were wetter than we had been for the past three days ? But what happened ? After raining all the night before and up to mid-day, it began to clear up, and when the time came you were going to attempt your crossing arrived there was hardly a cloud in the sky and a half-moon.

It looked almost impossible that the operation could be a success. However, I had every confidence in you, and I ordered the crossing to be carried out. The result now everyone knows, including the Turk, who had the greatest surprise of his life. By good discipline there was not a sound ; eight battalions of stout-hearted Scots crossed, and an attack on an extremely strong fortified position covering a front of 7000 yards was commenced under the best barrage that Scottish artillery have ever put up.

Even then the attack was not bound to succeed—by no means. In order for that attack to succeed it meant that every officer, every N.C.O., and every man meant to win through ; and that is why the Lowland Division that night won through. Scottish endurance, determination, and pluck carried THE NIGHT. By dawn I was able to report that we had taken every objective—a magnificent performance—a fitting ending to our triumphal progress through Palestine.

This applies not only to the Infantry who have borne the burden of the fight, but to the Artillery, without whom the Infantry could have done nothing ; and to the R.E. (think of the river Auja) ; the Divisional Train, without whom we would have starved ; and our Lowland Ambulances, who have worked day and night in looking after our wounded.

Our Signal Company, who have on every occasion been instrumental in keeping up communication, which means everything in success.

You can all be proud of what you have done—I can assure you that I am.

I said that at the end of a year it is generally the custom to look back. Now I am beginning to look forward. A company, a battalion, a brigade, a division

wins a great name for itself by what it does in war, but it can lose it very easily by what it does while there is no fighting going on. Don't forget that all men, whether they are commanders-in-chief or private soldiers, have very short memories. Every one now is talking of the 52nd Division—what a splendid division they are, etc.

I hate to look into the FUTURE, but I do so with a great purpose, a purpose over which I have no power—neither I as Divisional Commander, nor your Brigadiers, nor your Commanding Officers, nor your Company Commanders—in short, no one except yourselves.

By real hard fighting, determination, and Scottish pluck during two months you have won yourselves a great name. By drunkenness and insubordination you can lose that fine name in as many hours! You have clenched your teeth and fought. I ask you now to clench your teeth and observe discipline—if you will, I know you can. I thank you all, and I wish you one and all a Happy New Year and the very best of luck in 1918.

'Here's tee us, wha's like us.'

JOHN HILL, Major-General,
Commanding 52nd Lowland Division.

1st January, 1918."

There are two other victories of British troops which can be compared to the crossing of the Auja. Lord Wellington, both on the Douro and at the Bidassoa, did cross a broad and flowing river in the very face of an enemy superior in strength and posted in formidable positions.

But any unprejudiced person who compares the difficulties encountered in Portugal with those successfully overcome in Palestine will find it difficult to resist the conclusion that the crossing of the Auja was an even more splendid achievement than these classical instances in military history.

In two respects the 5th K.O.S.B. and other battalions of the 52nd Division were exceedingly unlucky.

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They never marched through Jerusalem ; very few even saw the Holy City.

Nor did they remain for the Battle of Armageddon, which was the final chapter of the great campaign in which they, with a few others, had borne the burden and heat of the day.

Had it not been for the Battle of the Auja, with the resulting demoralisation of the Turks, Lord Allenby could hardly have succeeded in breaking through the enemy lines at this very point.

It will be remembered how the attention of the Turks was continually drawn to Jericho and across the Jordan, not only by continual raids and threats, but by all sorts of ingenious devices.¹

Then having with consummate skill used the genius of Lawrence of Arabia and his restless and volatile Bedouin to cut the Hejaz railway and to keep the attention of the Turks always upon their left flank and towards the Jordan, our infantry, hitherto carefully concealed in the Sarona orange groves, burst through the Turkish lines.

Then the cavalry and yeomen (Australian and Indian), after a ride of seventy miles (in itself a record unparalleled in history), isolated the whole Turkish army.

As a fighting force it was eliminated from the World War. One thinks of Cannæ, Zama, and Sedan, but there is really no parallel to Armageddon. Though the 52nd Division were to leave for France before the final act of the drama, it is impossible to deny them their share in the final victory of Christianity and Civilisation over the unspeakable Turk.

The story of the 5th K.O.S.B. from 21st December until they left for France is not nearly so interesting.

On what was left of the night of the 20th-21st December the Battalion concentrated in the orange grove whence they had started, and where they had rested—in the rain.

(1) Troops in numbers marched out to the east by day, and were brought back again the same night !

At 10 a.m. on the 21st December they relieved the 5th R.S.F. at Fresh Earth and Khurbet Hadrah.

The men were in magnificent form after their night's work, but the advance under shell-fire across the boggy land was indeed trying. Even then it was not a quiet and peaceful night. They were digging in and expecting a counter-attack.

Next day (22nd December) the whole Division advanced northwards on a broad front. A and B Companies were right flank guard to the Brigade, and D Company supplied two platoons as left flank and rearguards.

A and B Companies, after leaving Woodside Farm, discovered that certain mud-huts were still held by the enemy. These Turks were easily driven out without any casualties on our side. Our own objective west of Sheikh Ballutah was soon reached.

Thus was established the line of posts which were held by the Division until they left for France in April.

On our left the 156th Brigade was advancing north-east, and the 157th Brigade north-north-east.

"The whole divisional infantry was moving forward over the open, grassy swells of ground in lines of skirmishers and innumerable small columns of men. Behind followed the strings of pack animals with spare ammunition, and the machine guns, the teams, gunners, and limbers of the artillery, the ambulance waggons, and other details.

Overhead, British aeroplanes bombed and machine-gunned the Turks as they withdrew." The Navy also assisted in the advance.

The new line extended from Arsuf to Ferrikhyeh on the Auja, and thence north-west to Sheikh Ballutah.

The Turks were now seven miles north of the Auja, and from one to two miles distant from our firing-line. This was a chain of platoon posts, all of which had to be dug and entrenched with sandbag revetments. In this hard labour the Battalion had its full share.

Barbed wire entanglements had to be set up round each post and also right across the whole front, and almost all of this work had to be done at night.

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"The country we were now in was undulating barley land, and from the ridge we had a magnificent view of the plain of Sharon, and in the distance the snowclad summit of Carmel."

There was, however, a reaction after the severe strain of Tahta, El Jib, and the Auja. Very few of the comforts sent out to us ever came to our hands owing to transport difficulties. Moreover, the Turkish artillery had a longer range than that of our own guns.

"It was curious to see the enemy digging like beavers, and yet beyond the range of our own field guns." Their artillery could, however, reach our lines. A single officer or man who showed himself at our trenches was sure to draw fire from their guns and render himself thoroughly unpopular with the company who had to hold them."

It rained also day after day until the 28th December, when the men were at last able to dry their clothes and make themselves reasonably comfortable.

During the month of December our total casualties were two men killed and fourteen wounded.

But many officers and men had been posted to or rejoined the Battalion. The strength increased from 13 officers and 534 men to 24 officers and 620 other ranks.

On the 9th January we left the front line and went into "Brigade Reserve at a place named 'Burns' Cottage.' It really did not require such a great stretch of imagination to recall the house at Alloway, and the Ayr battalion of the R.S.F. had appropriately given it that name.

It was used as an orderly room and as an office for the signallers, but no one was anxious to sleep in it, for the obvious reason that it was inhabited by the tiny but athletic natives of the country."

The weather was perfect and the men were able to rest, though strong working platoons had to go out every night to work at the trenches.

On the 19th January we relieved the 4th R.S.F. in a different part of the line, namely, from Tel El Mukmar to a part north of Sheikh Ballutah.

There we had a wonderful view of the Judean

Mountains, rising from the foothills across the plain of Sharon, which at this part is about five miles wide. In early spring these rolling downs are a perfect garden of iris, dark red anemones, poppies, tulips, cyclamen, and cistus, etc.¹

Here someone spotted the flash of a Turkish gun from near Jiljulieh (Gilgal), and the map reference was "phoned" to a 60-pounder battery.

The first shot went too far, but the gunner, in response to our telephone message, corrected the range. The second shell seemed to land exactly on the mark. They gave the Turks about a dozen, and that battery never fired again.

Millions of oranges were distributed to the men, for there were large, well-kept orange groves "of many acres in extent. A vast amount of German capital must have been sunk in this irrigation. Water from the Auja was pumped by an oil engine up to a tank, and thence led by gravity through 6-inch and 3-inch cast-iron pipes which ran in parallel lines between the trees.

Hard work was done on the trenches in the new line and in digging drains to run off the rain-water, which on the clay soil threatened to engulf them.

On the 26th January most of the bivouacs were flooded, for it was a miserable wet day.

On the 29th January the Battalion went into Divisional Reserve at the town of Sarona. The 4th R.S. relieved us at 10 p.m., and the relief was completed at midnight, 29th to 30th January.

We had to march seven miles over roads which had been made almost impassable with mud.

This was especially bad after we had passed the new bridge over the Auja beside the stone weir at Hadrah, which we had captured six weeks before.

However, it was a dry night, with a brilliant moon to light us on the way. Billets were reached at 3.30 a.m., and after a drink of hot tea the men *got down to it like logs*.

Sarona was a settlement of German Jews. The houses were built of thin concrete blocks and wood, and

(1) Col. Coulson.

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were sufficiently substantial to keep out the wet. Each had its little garden, and in peace-time the town must have been quite beautiful." It was surrounded by orange groves, and the roads were bordered by eucalyptus trees.

Here we had a real rest.

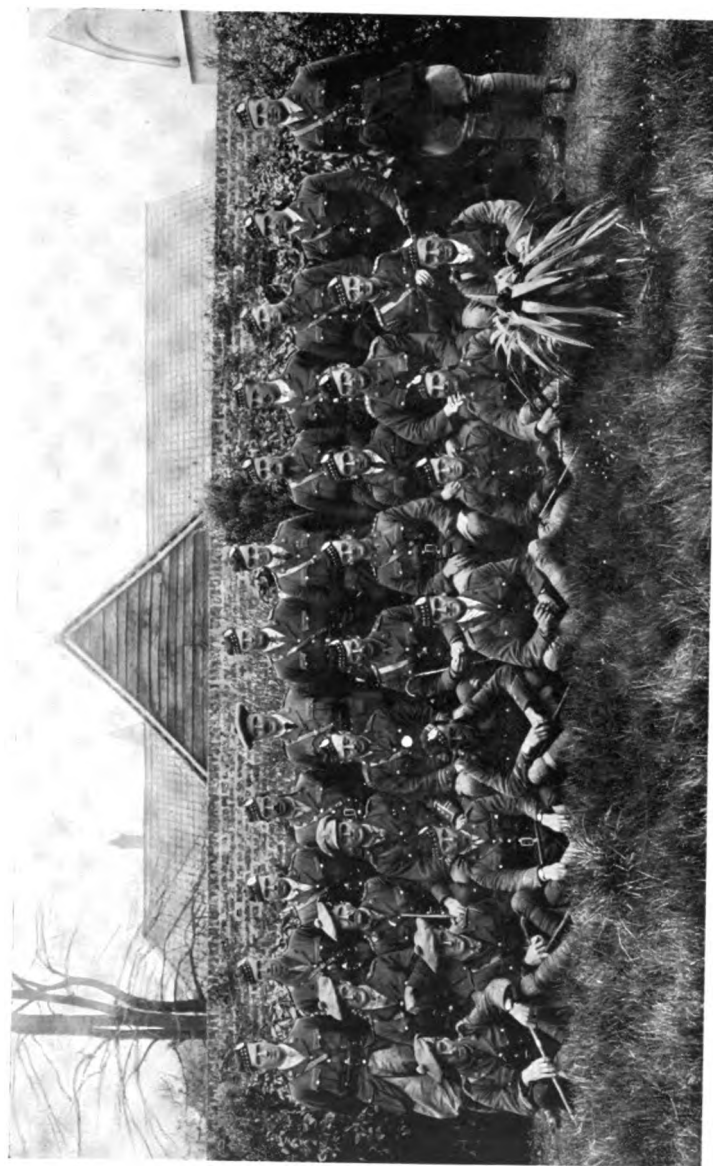
"German ideas of sanitation were appalling. The custom had been to place latrines in balconies and allow the refuse to accumulate in pits below them. Several of the billets were over disused cowsheds, and the recent rains had made the ground extraordinarily foul. During our stay at Sarona we were hard at work—draining and cleaning up—and by the end of our period in *rest* we had the billets and surroundings reasonably clean."

A fortnight's rest from routine of trench work, with steady drill and musketry, had greatly improved the spirits and health of the men. They had regained their "snap."

REFERENCES.

I have specially to thank Col. Coulson, Capt. T. D. Craig, Lieut. R. Lindsay Carruthers, Sergt. Seaton, and the *Divisional History* for the material in this chapter. Also Col. James Anderson (6th H.L.I.) and Col. Findlay (8th S.R.)

The anxiety at G.H.Q. before Armageddon is beautifully described in Lawrence's work.



From Col. Coulson.

OFFICERS OF THE 1/5TH BATTALION KING'S OWN SCOTTISH BORDERERS (T.F.), FRANCE.

Top Row (Left to Right): Lieut. R. J. Richardson, Lieut. J. Boyes, Capt. R. R. French, M.C., Lieut. J. Nivison, Rev. H. Watt, C.E., Capt. J. Hood, M.C., Capt. A. MacBryde, M.C., Lieut. O. W. F. Richardson, Capt. W. Macdonald, Lieut. J. Knowles, Lieut. W. N. Robertson, Lieut. J. B. Pringle.

Second Row (Left to Right): Lieut. G. G. Hogarth, Capt. J. W. T. Dickie, M.C., Capt. A. J. Gordon Hunter, M.C., R.A.M.C., Capt. J. M. George, Lieut.-Col. R. N. Coulson, D.S.O., Capt. and Adjut. T. D. Craig, M.C., Capt. W. H. Turner, M.C., Capt. J. McN. Gilmour, M.C., Capt. T. W. Woodhead, M.C.

Third Row (Left to Right): Lieut. S. Robertson, Capt. E. F. Dickie, M.C., Lieut. G. G. Carmichael, Lieut. J. Robinson, Lieut. D. D. Little, Lieut. G. W. Jenkins, Lieut. A. B. Johnstone, Capt. A. Kay, M.C.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST DAYS IN FRANCE.

LEAVING Ludd at 6 p.m. on the 4th April, in a train of thirty-seven trucks, the Battalion arrived at Kantara at 10 a.m. on the following morning.

Except for the issue of serge clothing for the men, that day was a real holiday, full of diversion and well-earned relaxation.

But it was a very short one, for at 11 p.m. the whole Battalion was again packed into carriages and cattle trucks and hauled off to Alexandria. By this time they knew that they were bound for France. A report which I personally cannot trace declares that Gen. Allenby received an urgent request for reinforcements. Calling his Staff, he explained : " This is a critical time in France. We must give them our best ; send the 52nd Division."¹

On arrival (10 a.m.) they embarked on the P. & O. transport, *Kaisar-i-Hind*, where they remained for four days, so it was not until the 10th April at 2 p.m. that they sailed for Marseilles.

No leave was given to the men ; they remained on board for these four days. That is to say, no official leave was granted except to officers.

Certain N.C.O.'s, however, showed both initiative and resource. A party was ordered to fall in on the deck ; they marched down the gangway and out of the dock gates, saying that they were a picket. Here they dismissed, and after some hours in Alexandria fell in and marched back.

No one in authority knew anything about it !

There was another but an unsuccessful attempt to visit Alexandria. A cargo port had been opened to allow loading from a harbour float, which had been moored alongside. A certain enterprising individual had watched the chief officer when he had this port closed and screwed up.

So when things were quite quiet again the intending

(1) *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*.—Lieut. E. P. Dickie.

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visitor unscrewed the cargo port and dropped noiselessly overboard, but, alas, not on to the float, as he had expected, but into the muddy water of the harbour! The careful chief officer had had the float removed.

"There were no other ill-effects than a ducking and general chaff from his pals."

The imposing convoy of seven large transports went off at 2 p.m. A submarine, soon after we left Alexandria, just failed to hit the S.S. *Caledonia* with a torpedo. Our escorting destroyers proceeded to drop depth charges, etc., so there was "quite sufficient excitement."

Gen. P. S. Allan, our new Brigadier, was O/C troops on board. With us were the 1/4th R.S.F. and 1/5th A. & S.H.

Major P. S. L. Beaver had joined the Battalion as Second in Command. Major Campbell, who joined in January, 1918, left us to take over the command of another battalion.

It was a calm and pleasant non-stop voyage, and we tied up at Marseilles harbour at 8 a.m. on the 17th.

The Battalion did not get on shore until 1.30 p.m., and the men were kept standing in the rain—and coal dust—until 3 p.m., when some sort of guide was obtained. Then they had a very trying march of eight miles over cobble stones, and carrying blankets as well as full equipment.

They got to Mosso Camp, at the end of the Corniche Road, at 6 p.m. After their tea the men were as fit as possible, and passed a fairly comfortable night in huts and tents.

Next day the men were confined to camp, and only officers were allowed into Marseilles. "We felt this pretty keenly."

At 3.15 a.m. on the 19th April the Battalion marched off again to the Docks Railway Station quite close to where the *Kaiser-i-Hind* was lying!

Our train had arrived before we reached the station (6.30 a.m.), but it was not until 9 a.m. that we got on board. However, breakfast had arrived, and we started off on our journey of three days and three nights in third-class carriages with wooden seats (eight to a

compartment), and in trucks, each of which held thirty-seven men.

The journey was tedious and in the highest degree uncomfortable. At Mira Mar, the first "Halte Repas," the train before us had used up all the boiling water. The tea made with half-warm water was bad. Then it began to snow heavily, and the men (after long months in Palestine) were bitterly cold and miserable. The issue of rations was at one o'clock in the morning on the 20th.

They travelled up the valley of the Rhone through beautiful scenery, and with the return of sunshine everyone became "more pleased with the world."

Eventually, at 8 a.m. on the 21st, the Battalion finished its journey from the Mediterranean, and detrained at Noyelles-sur-mer, on the Somme.

After a short march to the Rest Camp they had at last, at 9 a.m., their first good breakfast since leaving Marseilles.

At 11 a.m. another march of six miles took them to Forest Montier, where good billets were provided.

The 5th K.O.S.B. arrived at the most dangerous crisis in the Great War. It will be remembered that Ludendorff, after a whole winter's training of his "storm troops," had attacked on the 21st March, by surprise and without any previous bombardment, our Third and Fifth Armies (some thirty-two divisions) with sixty-four fresh and specially trained divisions. He had been helped by a dense fog, which made our elaborate system of small machine gun posts quite useless. Also he had been assisted by the weather, which had dried up the roads and had made the marshes of the Oise easy to cross. The Somme had been forced, Amiens was in grave peril; on the 11th April, Merville and Kemmel had fallen; Hazebrouck and the channel ports were endangered.

It was a real miracle that the 52nd Division found any front line to join!¹

The Battalion found itself confronted with the task

(1) Maurice, *The Last Four Months*.—According to all the laws of probability, Ludendorff should not only have captured Amiens but Calais.

of thoroughly mastering all the details of an entirely new method of warfare, with different transport and ration arrangements and new weapons of war.

"Every specialist in France seems to have been ordered to teach his tricks to us at the same time. Each officer was issued with a bundle of pamphlets standing from nine to ten inches high, and was expected to master their contents forthwith."

"Consequently no regular training could be carried through."

However, on the 25th April, the men marched to Rue and "enjoyed a much-needed bath to wash off the effects of the voyage and the long railway journey."

On the 27th, during a nine-mile expedition to the Foret de Crecy, Sir Douglas Haig stopped his car to watch the Battalion march past. "He was much impressed by the fine physique of the men," and wished them good luck. "I have heard of your deeds, and I hope for great things from you here."

On April 29th we marched to the station at Rue, where we breakfasted (7 a.m.) and entrained for Aire. This journey was made in particularly filthy horse-trucks, which we had to clean up before entraining. On arrival we marched to Witte.

The strength of the Battalion at the end of April was 34 officers and 870 other ranks.

Here, in good billets, selected by Lieut. Richardson, we stayed until the 7th May. The Battalion spent their time at Witte in drill (especially in gas drill) and in training.

On this last date there was another move by train to Maroeuil (5 p.m.), and after tea, by road to Neuville St. Vaast, where we arrived at 8 p.m.

This place was a typical example of the appalling destructiveness of modern artillery fire. Throughout the whole town only the gable wall of one single house was left standing; a few of the cellars of the houses still existed, but the houses themselves were just heaps of broken stones and bricks. Yet on the roads which

ran through this desolation the tram-lines were still in position.

This was the first town that the men had seen in the area devastated by the full fury of German artillery fire.

The Brigadier took commanding officers up to the crest of Vimy Ridge, and showed them the position. Next day company commanders went forward to their particular sectors. They were to hold the right subsection of the Division opposite Arleux.

Before the March attack this section of the line had been a back area. "The actual front line had only just been dug, and in many places was half-flooded with mud and water." The other trenches also required an enormous amount of labour.

We were warned of a probable German attack on the 9th, but the men were quite cool and ready for anything, and as a matter of fact this attack was never attempted.

These trenches were about a mile and a half in front of Vimy Ridge, and on a lower level than those held by the Germans on the rising ground further to the front.

From Vimy Ridge there was a magnificent view of the enemy country. The ridge drops steeply down into the plain of the Lens district, in which are many coal-pits. The slope on the other side is gradual.

It took the Battalion, in this land of mud and water, some little time to learn the ways of the trolley railway, on which were brought rations and water, which last was carried in petrol tins.

We had mastered the camel and fantassi, but this system was new and disconcerting. Rations had to be carried long distances by hand, and the railroad had a habit of being continually broken up by shell-fire.

"Very soon, however, officers and N.C.O.'s picked up the new methods, and wondered why we had been so much worried about them on our first arrival."

Many of the officers and men had had no home leave since they started for Gallipoli in 1915, and now, at long last, leave was being granted in the Division.

There is very little to record in this the first tour of front line service in Europe. The Battalion captured

a member of a Hun patrol¹ which approached our lines, and he was the first prisoner made by the Division.

The Bosche party of fifteen to twenty men had entered one of our detached posts two hundred yards outside our wire. They crept up under cover of a pitch-black night, and were repulsed, leaving one man badly wounded. "One-nil for the home team."²

On the night of the 9th May a projector gas attack was made upon the enemy in Arleux, and 656 shells were discharged simultaneously from our sector upon the enemy.

On the 15th our relief by the 7th S.R. was at length (and not until 11 p.m.) completed, and we started on a long, wearying trudge by Thelus, the Canadian Monument, and Neuville St. Vaast, to our billets at St. Eloy. Here we had a real rest, for it was an extremely good camp, with huts both for officers and men, and also with gravitation water laid on!

Programmes of intensive company training were carried through, and efficient arrangements were worked out for the supply of rations to the Battalion when in the trenches. During the night the Hun bombarded our camp with a long-range high velocity gun. Two shells landed near the men's huts, which were packed with sleeping men. We had several casualties, but remarkably few considering the circumstances.

On the evening of the 24th May the Battalion moved to a new sector in front of Acheville, relieving the 5th H.L.I. This was effected as early as 12.30 a.m. Each company held a strong point in the third and fourth lines of trenches. Headquarters with a company were in Vimy.

Then happened one of the severest trials which the Battalion ever had to endure.

It must be remembered that in Palestine the Turks had not used gas.

At one o'clock in the morning the Huns began to

(1) The German word for a raid is said to be "Patrouillen unter nehmigen." They were always a little bit sticky about them.

(2) *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*.—Lieut. E. P. Dickie.

bombard our Headquarters in the Vimy town area with a type of shell quite new in the Battalion's experience.

The sound of the explosion was feeble, the shell cases were never found, but a faint smell of garlic, that is, of phosgene gas, revealed the danger. Every one at once put on gas masks. There was a light breeze from the north-west, and the shells kept on coming over, first at the rate of five shells a minute, then of ten per minute, then of five per minute again, until 4.30 a.m.

During this period some 1500 shells fell around Battalion Headquarters. Consequently an invisible vapour of poisonous mustard or "yellow cross" gas floated slowly over the whole area for three and a half hours.

At 6 a.m. the air appeared to be free of it; not the faintest smell could be perceived even in the dugouts. So by order of the gas officer the masks were removed.

But our knowledge of gas had been "got up" hurriedly from pamphlets or remembered (more or less) from lectures!¹

Every single shell left where it exploded a small quantity of liquid matter. The ground was covered with broken masonry and coarse grass growing amongst the stones. This poisonous stuff percolated into the crevices and crannies.

A hot sun had risen at 9 a.m.

As soon as its rays had penetrated down into the recesses in which this foul liquid was lying, vapour began to rise, always invisible and with no perceptible smell. At 9 a.m. three signallers began to show the effects of it; violent vomiting was usually the first symptom, then the eyes began to smart and run.

The runners who had taken active exercise after being in the gassed area were amongst the worst cases. As the morning wore on, more and more men became casualties; in two dugouts every single man was attacked (eleven and six respectively). By the evening thirty-six

(1) No lecturer at any school or university would expect that exact knowledge of any sort can be carried away if the class do not take notes at the time.

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cases had been sent to hospital, and many other men were still suffering from the effects. One of the worst cases was the Gas Corporal himself, who had been filling in shell-holes without his gas helmet.

There were more cases next day, and Battalion Headquarters was removed to the railway embankment.

During this tour of duty the lines were shelled every day with 5·9 and 8-inch guns.

During May the casualties were :—One man killed, and 3 officers and 131 other ranks wounded or sent to hospital. Effective strength at the end of the month :—Officers, 37 ; other ranks, 831.

Major Beaver had been for a time C.O. of the 4th R.S.F., and now rejoined the Battalion.

On the 2nd June we moved up into the front line trenches, relieving the 5th R.S.F. Heavy fatigues were necessary, for these trenches, owing to severe shelling, had begun to crumble away.

During this tour there was one very dangerous moment. A bomb from a Bosche trench-mortar alighted right on the top of one of our dumps of Stokes gun ammunition, and set fire not only to the dump itself but to ballastite rings fitted to the base of the shells.

However, two N.C.O.'s gallantly rushed forward, removed the burning material, hastily wrapped their hands in sandbags (for the shells were far too hot to be touched with the bare hand) and threw the shells one by one over the parapet.

Lance-Sergt. D. Clark and Lance-Corpl. T. Griffen received the D.C.M. for this prompt and daring action.

At this time Battalion Headquarters was situated in a quarry. The Huns sometimes managed to drop shells into it. However, the shells struck the back wall of the quarry and did little or no damage.

From this quarry there was a tunnel lit with electric light to the support lines.

The Germans were also using at this period Blue Cross shells charged with high explosive, which often brought on a fit of violent sneezing.

On June 11th the Battalion was relieved by the 7th S.B., and proceeded to the rest camp at St. Eloy.

It was in this camp that an epidemic of influenza set in. Col. Coulson was on leave, and Major Beaver (temporarily in command) was one of the victims. Major A. Crawford (Gordon Highlanders) took over the command until 23rd June, when Col. Coulson returned.

Even in the rest camp there were casualties, for in the early part of the night of the 17th a shell struck one of the huts, killing three men and wounding ten others.

On the 20th June the Battalion relieved the 7th H.L.I. in reserve to the right sub-sector, which was just behind the trenches occupied in our first tour of duty.

Battalion Headquarters were in the Thelus caves; these had been converted by the Germans into excellent dugouts. Although they were lit by electric light, candles had to be used at night, for the dynamo could not be kept running continuously.

At this time the scarcity of men in France made it necessary to reduce all the Divisions in France by cutting down the number of battalions in every Brigade from four to three.

The junior battalion in every Brigade was to be the Ishmael.

So the famous 52nd Division lost the 1/5th K.O.S.B., the 1/8th Scottish Rifles, and the 1/5th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

"None of us ever forgot the old Division, with which we had been through so much."

Thus a new Scottish Brigade (103rd) of the 34th Division was formed.

On June 27th the Battalion marched back to Le Pendu Camp, St. Eloy, where in the evening it was inspected by Gen. Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston, who had been their Corps Commander in Gallipoli, and who was keen to shake hands with all who had served with him there.

The G.O.C., Gen. Hill ("John Auja"), himself came to see us off next morning (June 28th).

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It was not long before the Battalion was to find itself again engaged in one of the greatest of its victories.

REFERENCES.

War Diary; Col. B. N. Coulson; also *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*—Lieut. (now Capt.) E. P. Dickie.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

ON the morning of the 28th June they, with the other two outcast battalions, embussed. They started at 11 a.m., and ran through Aire, St. Omer, Momelin, arriving at Bambecque at 10.30 p.m., after a long and tedious day.

Then followed a three miles' march to Oost Capel, on the Belgian frontier. It was not until two in the morning that billets were found for everybody and the men could indulge in a thoroughly well-earned sleep. They were now in the Second Army under the command of that famous veteran, Gen. Plumer. They were in the 2nd Corps (Gen. Jacob) and in the 34th Division (Gen. C. L. Nicholson). The Brigadier was a Cameronian (Gen. Chaplin).

On 30th June they marched to Janster Beizen, where the men were accommodated in Nissen Huts. This camp was exceedingly dirty, and a great deal of cleaning up was required.

The casualties in the month had been severe.

The losses from gas and from the influenza epidemic amounted to 9 officers and 206 other ranks sent to hospital. Three other ranks had been killed and 14 wounded. However, there had been many reinforcements, and the effective strength now stood at 39 officers and 826 other ranks.

Some of those who joined the Battalion at this period were quite young boys, but it was noticed that all of them very soon picked up the old fighting spirit of the 5th K.O.S.B. The character of the Battalion remained the same, although very few of the original Gallipoli veterans remained.

I do not think that anyone has ever denied the strange fact that every Battalion has a character of its own.

This, its own special spirit, persists in spite of the

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losses, and in spite of reinforcements of new officers and men.¹ Why it should be so, I cannot say.

Though every commanding officer, and indeed every officer and every man, has his own influence upon the battalion, yet this strange fact is not affected. The same character or soul or spirit remains unchanged throughout all its experiences.²

However, the first experience of the Battalion in its new setting was a series of three inspections on three successive days by its Brigadier, by the Corps Commander, and by the Army Commander.

Until 9th July the time was spent in training and inspections. Then followed a week's musketry practice at Cormette. Four hours' work on the range and two hours' drill per day greatly improved the Battalion. They also received 167 men in drafts from home; the last draft of 72 was exceptionally good. The time until July 16th was spent at Cormette and Proven.

By this time, thanks to Ludendorf, there was at last one Generalissimo in command of all the troops in France. After the miracle by which we had just managed to stop the German invasion in April, and after the failure of the "Peace Battle" which was to finish the war with a German victory, Marshal Foch was ready to attack and so begin the second battle of the Marne.

About this time one of the allied Statemen had asked him :

" But, General, if the Germans do make their great attack, what is your plan ? "

" Foch answered by striking out three rapid blows, first with his right, then with his left, and again with his right, following these by a vigorous kick."³

At this time the German line had been held up at Rheims. From this town it stretched forward in a

(1) These later reinforcements came from almost every district in the United Kingdom, for the Territorialist system had, of course, broken down.

(2) I have heard it said that in seven years every particle of our own bodies is renewed, and yet we remain ourselves.

(3) Maurice, *Last Four Months*.—The final stroke to the right was, of course, the attack by the American Army.

deep bulge, perilously near Paris, before turning up from near Chateau Thierry to Soissons.

The 5th K.O.S.B. had the honour of assisting in the first blow to the right, which was intended to abolish this German salient. Later on (as we shall see) they took part in the final kick, which drove the Bosche so far and so fast that he hurriedly surrendered.

On 16th July the Battalion was to entrain at 6 p.m. at Wayenberg for the southern area. Owing to a railway accident they did not get away until 4.15 a.m. on the 17th, and arrived at Senlis, near Paris, at 10 a.m. on the 18th. After breakfast they marched to Chamant, which is a beautiful spot with shady trees, fine houses, and racing stables; for it is, in fact, a sort of Parisian Newmarket.

The morning of July 19th was wonderful with "a bright sun shining on the beauties of France at mid-summer." But at 4.30 a.m. a telephone message arrived ordering the Battalion to embus at 7 a.m., "in marching order, carrying by hand Lewis guns and ammunition, not to speak of cooking utensils."

When a division is moved by 'bus, it is necessary to find a point at the end of the journey where units can be debussed on a side road, so as to keep the main road free. Thus, after a dusty ride of nineteen miles, we debussed, cooked our mid-day meal, and then had to march another three or four miles to Feigneux.

The Battalion did not arrive at Feigneux until six in the evening, after an excessively trying march of three and a half hours.

July 20th was fortunately a day of cleaning up of equipment, and of rest in fairly good, though crowded, billets. Headquarters was in a farm-house, with the usual dungheap in its courtyard.

But the night was very different.

In the evening orders were received. The Battalion was to start on a night march at 8.30 p.m. The men paraded with their carriages, that is, with everything they had disposed about their persons, and waited for the order to start. Rain began to fall. At first it was slight, but afterwards it became steady, heavy, and

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drenching. For hours the start was delayed whilst the Battalion was soaked through and through to its very bones. At last at 11.30 p.m. they got away, and as soon as they were well on the road the men cheered up and marched briskly enough.

But when the head of the Brigade arrived at a cross-road (Pont Drou), they found that a column of artillery was passing at right-angles to the line of march. So the Battalion had to sit down in the mud whilst the rain continued even on. Everyone was half-asleep.

Then, after half an hour, they started on again over roads which, with the wet and heavy traffic, were in an appalling state. During the last seven or eight miles through the Forêt Domaniale de Retz "the surface was spongy mud" and "the ruts fully a foot deep."

At 8 a.m. (21st), after a march of sixteen miles, they reached Soucy. This march in the rain over roads of this character was excessively trying to the men.

It was the first time that the Battalion was marching in "battle order" as worn in France. The great-coat was carried *en banderole* round the haversack on the back. Thus there was tremendous leverage on the men's shoulders, which tired them out.

Moreover, when they arrived at Soucy there were no billets available, and the men had to bivouac in the woods.

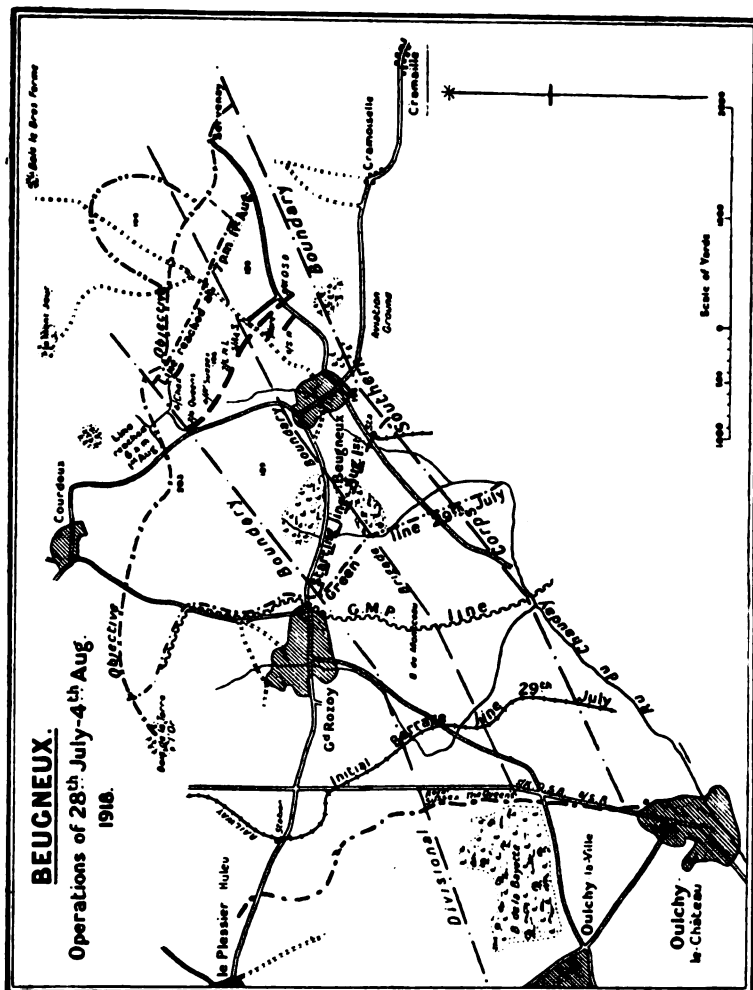
But the rain cleared off. The sun came out, and the men had a sound, refreshing sleep.

"Soucy stands on the side of a deep valley, and in July is very beautiful, lying as it does amidst the verdant green of the woods."

There was but little time to appreciate it, for the Battalion started at 8 a.m. on the 22nd July to take part in one of the most important crises of the Great War.

The Germans in their last "push" had been held at Rheims by the skill of Gen. Gouraud and the stubborn fighting of his men. To the west of this town they had, however, succeeded in crossing the Marne, and had got as far south as Château Thierry and Epernay.

This was the moment for the "first stroke to the



BEUGNEUX.

By permission of Col. Findlay, I.O., and Messrs W. Blackie & Son.

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right." On July 27th Gen. Mangin, one of those military geniuses which only a great war reveals, made his famous attack from the west.

The front extended from Fontenoy to Belleau. At first the 10th French Army carried everything before it, but they were held up at Oulchy le Chateau and the Butte de Chalmont. No less than forty German divisions were thrown in to defend this single sector of the front, and in their counter-attack they had seized Le Plessier Huleu.

So it was that both the 15th and 34th Divisions were sent to the south and at this most dangerous crisis placed under Gen. Mangin's orders. Gen. Mangin had brought them forward at night, concealing all movements with great skill in the immense forests which are characteristic of that district.

The C.O. and three company commanders had gone on ahead to reconnoitre; the Battalion, under Capt. Craig (the Adjutant), went forward and arrived at Chavigny Farm at 7.30 p.m. They avoided the main roads, and kept under cover of the woods. Here they rested until 10 p.m., for there was a stretch of open ground through Longpont in front of them.

This last place had been reached in the recent German counter-attack; the town had been badly smashed by shell-fire, and was still uninhabited. But the German advance had been finally held up in the wood to the west of Longpont.

At 10 p.m., under cover of the darkness, the Battalion went forward, and eventually at half-past one in the morning found shelter in a vast cave near Villers Helon.

During the greater part of the time that they were in the cave our heavy guns, placed in the neighbouring ravine, made "the night hideous with their noise."

Before we arrived upon the scene the French attack upon this sector had been held up. They had reached the ridge of comparatively high ground from Coutremain to Tigny. But much of the country is covered with dense forest, in which were the usual multitudes of

machine guns, and the intense fire from the strong points well concealed in the woods both on the right and left flank had compelled the French to withdraw.

On the 23rd July the 34th Division (101st, 102nd, and 103rd Brigades) were to make another attempt upon this most difficult position.

In this attack the 101st Brigade on the right and the 102nd Brigade on the left were to relieve the line held by the French at 4 a.m., and proceed to attack the German entrenchments.

Our 103rd Brigade was in reserve. The 5th K.O.S.B. and Somerset Light Infantry were on the left flank.

The Battalion went forward at 6.40 a.m. in fighting order, that is, carrying all bombs, S.A.A., and Lewis guns by hand. They bivouacked at cross-roads one and a half miles west of Parcy Tigny. Here they were eventually instructed to settle down for the night.

During this day the 101st and 102nd Brigades attacked the ridge. Unfortunately, they had been late in starting, and in crossing the open ground to reach the French line they were heavily shelled by the German artillery. Only a few hundred yards of ground were taken.

The 5th K.O.S.B. were intermittently shelled both by day and by night, but their casualties were comparatively few. Quantities of gas shells had been sent over this area. The poisonous vapour was not blown away by the wind, but remained hanging about the dense woods.

At 2 a.m. (24th July) a great misfortune happened. "Some gas shells and high explosive landed at Battalion Headquarters. A small fragment of one of these shells struck the Adjutant (Capt. T. D. Craig) in the calf of his leg. At the time little was thought of his wound, but eventually his leg had to be amputated. His loss was a severe one to the Battalion. He knew it as few others could, and his cheery manner had many a time smoothed over the difficulties of officers and men."

The Battalion remained for four days at this place; they were engaged in digging reserve trenches. Fortunately the weather was warm; they could not make

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bivouacs, for they had neither blankets nor waterproof sheets.

Gen. Mangin's attack had been (as above mentioned) at first successful; the Germans had had to retreat from Soissons, and were forced so far to the east that their troops to the south were in danger of being cut off. But the French had been checked by the high ground about the Butte de Chalmont, Servenay, and Hills 189 and 203.

The French had not captured the Butte de Chalmont, and it was this commanding ground that now had to be taken.

This part of France is extremely beautiful. The marshy valley of the Ourcq, away to our right, was not included in the operations. The country through which we had to advance consisted of low hills and irregular ridges which rose to heights of 150 to 190 metres. Beautiful forests intersected by muddy and bad tracks covered a large part of it; elsewhere there were magnificent fields of wheat standing four feet high.

The trend of the valleys was quite irregular and their tracks so confused that it was very difficult indeed to find one's way.

The Germans holding the higher ground to the east could observe every part of it, and their artillerymen knew the exact ranges, to a yard, of every wood, track, or path, and especially the valley of the little tributary of the Ru de Chauday, which crossed our front.

Though the country is particularly beautiful, perhaps one of the loveliest to be found in La Belle France, there were drawbacks.

Starting in the dark, and marching through the dripping woods, amongst which the poisonous vapour of "tear" gas was still clinging, our men had to find their way over unknown country and under intermittent shell-fire.

Two patches of high ground (Hills 203 and 189, north by west of Beugneux) dominated the country. The high road leading from a point on the Chateau Thierry Road, a little north of Oulchy le Chateau, entered Beugneux just where it joined the direct easterly road

from Grand Rozoy. Beugneux itself, below Hill 189, is some way up the slope of the next ridge. This village was a perfect nest of machine guns, covering every line of approach. So strong was it, that the orders were to out-flank it both on the north and on the south, and not to attack in front.

Just south of Beugneux there is a small detached hill (158) which was covered by wood. Here also were quantities of machine guns.

At 9 p.m. on the 27th July the Battalion marched by Bois de Molloy and Blanzky to the Bois de Boeuf, where it arrived at 11.45 p.m. They had to bivouac that night in the wood, "where Scotch firs and tussocky heather recalled many parts of Lochan Moss." As it was very cold, the men suffered severely.

The Colonel, Adjutant, and the three Company Commanders walked to the Bois de Bailleterie and reconnoitred the ground, at least so far as this was possible. It was, however, impossible to see Beugneux itself, which was hidden by the high ground in front then held by the French troops. These last were posted along a road protected on the enemy side by a raised bank.

At 10.45 p.m. the Battalion and first line transport marched from the Bois de Boeuf by Billy sur Ourcq and Oulchy la Ville. They were to pass through a most unpleasant and distracted night!

In passing the Bois de Bailleterie they were heavily shelled by the German 5.9 guns, and suffered severe casualties.

The pace was increased in order to get as quickly as possible through the shelled area, but although Headquarters and all the companies had French guides, touch seems to have been lost. At any rate the leading company became divided in the wood.

Headquarters were in front. When on clearing the wood a halt was called, only Headquarters and half the leading company could be found. Where was the rest of the Battalion?

Believing that their own guides would bring them

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in, Battalion Headquarters and the half company went on to the position of assault. The three and a half companies were not there!

Col. Coulson at once returned to the Bois de la Baillette, but his companies were nowhere visible. It was now three in the morning, and the advance was timed for 4.10 a.m.

By some mistake the company commanders had thought that orders had been given for the men to lie down. They continued doing so for over an hour, though they were under severe shell-fire during the whole time.

But Lieut. Dunn, a good officer, was in charge of the transport in rear. During his advance many men and mules had been killed, two limbers had been blown to pieces by shell-fire, and yet he succeeded in bringing up practically all the Lewis guns and magazines. Lieut. Dunn at this crisis saw that something was wrong somewhere. He at once rode off to Brigade Headquarters, and, through his initiative, the companies were discovered. They then hurried up to the front, where they were in position only ten minutes before zero hour!

The Battalion went forward at 4.10 a.m. and began fighting its way to the front through fields of wheat standing breast high,¹ and through the woods to the south-west of Beugneux. They got on well.

D Company even reached the north-west of the village and the foot of the slope beyond it, and there they managed to maintain themselves.

I have to thank Capt. (then Lieut.) R. R. French for the following description of what happened:—

“At dawn, whilst we were on the march, the barrage burst in great fury.

Here Col. Coulson was coolness personified, and, sizing up the position immediately, gave the order, ‘Left incline, companies artillery formation, platoons artillery formation, and eventually advance in extended order.’

We were right on the correct position, and made an advance of well over a mile through intense artillery fire.

(1) *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*.—Lieut. E. P. Dickie.

Then we were confronted with the village of Beugneux.

There were woods both on the right and left of the village, and the ground rose steeply in rear of it.

The heavy machine gun fire from both the woods and from the village stopped our advance.

French ordered the company to take shelter in the shell-holes, and reported the position to Battalion Headquarters."

A Company was holding a line facing the village near two black huts; B and C were at the south end of the wood between A and D Company.

On our right was the 8th Scottish Rifles, who were at this moment in touch with A Company. The 101st Brigade was on the left, and the nearest battalion (Loyal North Lancers.) had come up and was also in touch. Beyond them was the 25th French Division.

On the other side, that is, to the right of the 8th Scottish Rifles, were the 11th French Army Corps.

According to the accounts which I have seen, it would appear that at about 6 a.m. the prospects were decidedly promising, although there had already been heavy losses. It was very misty, and in parts of the battlefield when the day dawned "tear" gas was still drifting about the woods.

The leading companies were also within range of the German machine guns.

But then all along the line things began to go wrong.

The Battalion Headquarters of the 8th S.R. could only communicate by runner with Brigade Headquarters. These last had been ordered to remain at Oulchy la Ville until Beugneux was taken.

Our own artillery barrage had to cover the attack, and was to lift at specified time-intervals as we proceeded.

But, possibly because the troops had got forward too quickly, or perhaps because the gunners thought that, as Beugneux had not been taken, the troops had not got so far as that village, whereas really some of them had passed it, our men were now to have an excellent

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opportunity of learning the deadly efficiency of both British and French artillery.

D Company was driven out of its position by our own magnificent barrage at 8 a.m. Col. Findlay (8th S.R.) states that "several times I got messages that my front line was being shelled by our own guns, and that on one occasion our barrage had come down between my front and support line."

The 5th K.O.S.B. Diary says :—" At one o'clock a heavy barrage was put down by the French, but unfortunately behind our front line."

Moreover, the French away on our left had been forced to retire.

Then the Loyal North Lincs., on our immediate left, were unable to hold out any longer. " A Major of theirs gave an order to our left Company Commander to withdraw to the Paris Defences."¹ This order was obeyed, and all our four companies came back in perfect order, and then reorganised in the trenches referred to, which had been dug quite early in the war. The Scottish Rifles also retired.

The French attack on our right had never materialised, though they had been in touch with the Scottish Rifles at the beginning of the advance.

Thus for the third time Beugneux had resisted the Allies' attack.

Our casualties had been very heavy. Two officers had been killed and 17 other ranks. Five officers and 241 men were wounded and missing. All the missing were either killed or wounded.

We had withdrawn to the line of the old Paris defences, which had been dug in 1914 ; the entanglements were constructed of plain fencing wire ! During the night the Battalion was severely shelled, but most of the projectiles went over us and casualties were not severe. On the 30th and 31st July much work in the way of consolidating and improving these trenches was carried out by the Battalion.

But on the 31st orders to again attack Beugneux

(1) Six hundred yards in rear (R. R. French).

on the 1st August were received.¹ The 102nd Brigade was to be in reserve. Our 103rd Brigade was to turn the village from the south, whilst the 101st Brigade was to outflank it from the north.

The 5th K.O.S.B. were to turn the wooded knoll (Hill 158) from the south. The A. & S. Highlanders were to attack it from the north, whilst the Scottish Rifles were in support. Two companies of this last battalion were to "mop up" Beugneux afterwards.

The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders were already holding the line of the light railway, which was some two hundred yards' distance from the Hun trenches.

This railway was to be the position of assembly.

The officers by this time knew the ground over which we were to attack. The orders, "cleverly conceived," were gone through in detail, and diagrams of the positions of assembly and deployment were given out.

At 9.30 p.m. the companies (now reduced to two platoons each) moved out from the Paris defence trenches to a clear space immediately in front of the wire. The frontage occupied was one hundred yards, with one hundred and fifty yards' distance between companies. A screen of scouts covered the advance, then came B and C Companies, each with its platoons one behind the other. Sections were extended in a diamond formation. The second line (A and D Companies) were arranged in a similar manner.

Battalion Headquarters, organised in four sections, made up a third line.

At 10 p.m. a draft of 120 men, composed for the most part of men who were returning to the Battalion, arrived at the front. Within half-an-hour, and in complete darkness, they had all joined their companies, and the whole Battalion was advancing to the light railway, where they were to deploy for the attack. During all this time the Germans had been industriously bombarding the Battalion, but by great good-fortune nobody was hit, for they were firing not on us but on the trenches which we had just left.

(1) This was the anniversary of the Battle of Minden.

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The Battalion moved with its left on the track leading into the Oulchy le Chateau-Beugneux road ; then, crossing the road, though keeping its left upon it, advanced towards Beugneux (bearing 51° true).

On reaching the rear of the 5th A. & S. Highlanders, who were holding the railway line, the Battalion halted and were then led into position from left to right. D, C, and B Companies, each in two lines, formed the first wave. A Company was in support in rear of B.

Battalion Headquarters was in a clearing in the corn about two hundred yards in rear of A Company. It was now 12.30 a.m. ; in this position, in total darkness, everybody dug in, and most of them slept peacefully !

Our artillery had been bombarding the Bosche trenches and the village of Beugneux with methodical deliberation all night long. Perhaps this was why we saw nothing of any Bosche patrol.

Our real barrage began at 4.45 a.m., and the German machine guns at once opened fire. It was of the creeping variety, and was to move forward with jumps of a hundred metres every three minutes. It was a magnificent barrage carried out by the French 77.5 guns. Behind was drum fire ; in front a solid blaze of bursting shells.

At 4.49 a.m. the three companies were up and out of their scrapes, and towards that blaze we moved. We were followed by A Company, and later by Battalion Headquarters.

The morning mist and the smoke from bursting shells made it quite impossible to see more than fifteen yards in any direction ; so that the way had to be found by compass.

On this day Lieut. R. R. French, with a section of twelve men, was detailed as liaison officer to meet a French officer and his section, and to go forward when the action commenced into the front line.

"Whether I got lost or he did I shall never know, but while looking for him we landed in the midst of one of the fiercest whizz-bang barrages I ever experienced. Not one of the twelve of us was hit, and why is one of the miracles of war."



L' EGLISÉ DE BEUGNEUX.



From M. le Maire de Beugneux.

BEUGNEUX VILLAGE AND CHURCH.

The left (directing) flank was aimed at a point on the south-east of the wooded knoll (Hill 158).

Suddenly A Company, who were in the second line and a little out on the right, stumbled upon a German trench so arranged that it enfiladed the whole of our advancing line. The Company rapidly cleared it, and made twenty prisoners.

If these Germans had heard us during the night "a surprise attack at dawn would have been impossible, and our casualties would have been even more serious than they were."

As soon as the front line had reached Hill 158 they swung to the left; they then went through the whole eastern side of it, driving out the Germans and hunting for machine guns. After this they thoroughly swept out the Aerodrome Wood to the north-east. Then, entering the village at its east end, they went up and captured the high ground behind it.

The details of this magnificent achievement in war must be left to the imagination of the reader.

Let him imagine the officers working by compass, stumbling and struggling through undergrowth in the smoke and mist often befouled with "tear" gas; the suspicion of, the discovery, and the fierce plunge with the bayonet into a nest of machine guns.

The men were determined to get some of their own back, and carried on with a determination which overwhelmed all resistance. Many were killed or wounded; some of them were not found until a few days afterwards.

The Battalion Headquarters were following on, and had reached the south-east corner of Hill 158, just behind the companies, when a heavy fire was opened upon them from two machine guns which the troops in front had not discovered.

Fortunately this was but for a moment. Lieut. Graham with a platoon of A Company captured the guns from the rear, and Battalion Headquarters went on. They had reached a clearing on the east side when a

hundred men of the Argyll and Sutherlands came out of the wood. They had lost every one of their officers.

They were pleased to see us, shouting "Good old K.O.S.B." and "Scotland for Ever."

Col. R. N. Coulson sent Lieut. French and Lieut. Gillespie to take charge of them.

Lieut. French thus describes his experiences:—

"Our scheme was to carry on to the right of a wood full of machine guns. The Argylls were attacking in front of the village and on the left of this wood.

As we were advancing we met with very heavy shell-fire of all descriptions, and a rain of machine gun bullets was being poured into us.

Our advance took us through fields of green corn, and the German bullets were whacking into this corn—a most disturbing sound.

At one point we were held up by a nest of machine guns close at hand. Lieut. Gillespie made reply with his Lewis guns, but Lieut. Graham must have cleared it, as he appeared from the wood chasing the Germans at the point of the bayonet. When they saw us they at once 'Kamaraded.'

We raced through the village, and, clearing it, ran into heavy machine gun fire from a wood on our right.

Towards this we swung, and going among the trees found that the machine guns were both to the right, in front, and to the left, and only seventy or eighty yards away.

I ordered the men to get down to cover behind the trees. The Germans were firing wildly at us, and our men poured rapid fire into them.

At this point Corpl. Kevan showed us all a brilliant example. Scorning to get down, he stood quite in the open, his Lewis gun on his shoulder, and played on the Germans. The gun on the right which Lieut. Gillespie spotted was silenced first, and then the gunners in front were riddled with bullets.

That gun silenced, we went forward at a bound, but the Germans ran to earth, and only a bomb brought them from the depths."

Two officers and some sixty prisoners were sent to the rear under escort.

They then carried on right up the slope of the hill and reached nearly to the crest, where they connected up the K.O.S.B. with the Herefords and Loyal North Lancs.

The French on our right then came up and occupied and consolidated the Aerodrome Wood. It was a thrilling moment. These dominating heights, fortified after the very best German science and held with determination, had at last been captured.

The formidable entrenchments upon them and Beugneux village had resisted three resolute attacks, that is to say, by the French, by the 34th Division, and by ourselves, but now the skill and the stubborn valour of the Borderers had pierced these defences just at the very spot where they seemed invulnerable.

The victory was not as yet quite complete.

By this time our barrage had passed on far in front, and it was not possible to advance further without reorganising the troops.

The crest of the ridge which had been won had now to be rendered secure. Two lines of trenches were dug, and Lewis guns pushed out on the forward slope in case of a counter-attack.

Kevan again distinguished himself, going forward under a nasty sniping fire to choose the Lewis gun posts.

Col. Coulson was calmly walking behind the trenches, with words of encouragement to the men, and sizing up the position, whilst the German snipers did their very best to get him.

There was still heavy machine gun fire from the north and north-east, and a company of the 8th S.R. was sent out to subdue it.

"But in the early morning the eastern horizon was aglow with burning ammunition dumps. The Bosche was in full retreat."¹

About 7.30 a.m. the enemy commenced to shell the area occupied, but did not do much damage.

Hill 199 was in the enemy's hands, so that our line

(1) *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*.—Lieut. E. P. Dickie. (See note p. 256)

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was still being enfiladed. A general advance of the division protected by an artillery barrage began at 7 p.m., and the whole crest of the ridge was then occupied.

Just as the Battalion was settling down for the night our own artillery again shelled our new front, and "caused much sulphurous language."

Nevertheless we passed a quiet night.

Next morning it was discovered that we were not precisely on the exact objective in which we were to be relieved by the French. But as the enemy had departed, and had not stayed upon the order of his going, the few hundred yards of advance were soon covered.

The French carried on with the pursuit of the retreating Huns.

From this vantage ground on the hill above Beugneux we could see for miles the French advancing under shell-fire upon the high ground at Servenay. "It was a magnificent sight, and we were much impressed by the wonderful order they preserved." The French had also advanced on our left as far as Cordeux and the Bois de Beher.

"French troops continued to pass through us, and we were again impressed by the wonderful marching powers of the 'Poilu.' He is loaded up with all kinds of gear, and no two of them are dressed alike, but he gets there in a wonderful way."

The French drove the Germans before them to the Vesle. This was the successful termination of Marshal Foch's first "stroke to the right."

The Battalion's experiences were not exhilarating. Rain fell during the day, and the men had no great-coats (except such as had been collected from Germans).

But at 6.30 p.m. the Brigade at last concentrated at the Black Huts of Beugneux, where cooking facilities were available, and the transport came up.

The 3rd August was a day of rest and cleaning up. At 5.30 p.m. a special parade was held. The following French decorations were presented on the Field:—

Medaille Militaire and Croix de Guerre with Palms
—No. 241198 Pte. J. J. O'Haire.

Croix de Guerre with Palms—Lieut.-Col. R. N. Coulson.

Croix de Guerre with Palms—Acting-Corpl. J. Kevan.

“The Battalion had done extraordinarily well, and with so many officers casualties it was extremely difficult to say who had done the best work. The subsequent list of awards was a full one, but it did scant justice to the wonderful way in which all ranks had performed their duties.

2nd-Lieut. O. W. F. Richardson deserves special mention as, notwithstanding his wounds, he carried on and had finally to be ordered to the dressing-station.”

The following order from Major-Gen. C. L. Nicholson, C.B., was read out to all ranks on parade :—

“Gen. Mangin, the Army Commander, has instructed me to convey to you his personal thanks for the magnificent results achieved by the Division yesterday.

The General says that yesterday's battle worked out absolutely according to orders and times, and says that the general retreat taking place to-day is entirely due to the success of yesterday.

The General has instructed me to tell you of his gratitude and appreciation for the splendid success achieved by the 34th Division yesterday.”

A further special order of the day was issued by Gen. Mangin :—

“You came into the battle at its fiercest moment. The enemy, defeated the first time, brought up against us his best divisions in numbers superior to our own.

You continued to advance, foot by foot, in spite of his bitter resistance, and you held on to the conquered ground notwithstanding the violence of his counter-attack.

Then on 1st August, side by side with our French colleagues, you carried the height dominating the country between the Aisne and the Ourcq, which the defenders had been ordered to hold at all costs.

Having failed in his attempt to retake the height

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with his last reserve, the enemy was compelled to retreat, pursued and harassed, for a distance of seven miles.

All you English and Scottish troops, both young soldiers and victors of Flanders and Palestine, have shown the magnificent qualities of your race, namely, indomitable courage and tenacity.

You have won the admiration of your brothers in arms.

Your country will be proud of you, for to you and your commanders is due in a large measure the victory which we have just gained against the barbarous enemies of all free peoples. I am happy to have you under my command, and I thank you."

Gen. Penet, O/C the 30th French Corps, also congratulated the Division :—

" Au moment ou la 34 Div. Britannique quitte le 30^e C.A. Francaise, le General Commandant le C.A. est heureux d'exprimer toute sa satisfaction, tout son admiration aux Etat Majors, Officiers, Sous-Officiers et Hommes-de-troupe qui au cours de la periode du 21 juillet au 2 aout on fait preuve d'une energie, d'une bravoure et d'une ardeur combattive veritablement remarquable.

Tous ont repondu pleinement aux appels du commandement qui a exigé d'eux un effort considerable aussi bien dans l'execution de mouvements rapides de jour comme de nuit, que dans l'attaque et la defense des positions conquises.

Le succès a couronné cet effort des Divisions alliés et le General commandant le 30 C.A. est heureux de pouvoir affirmer que la 34 Division Britannique y a pris une tres grande part.

(Signed) A. PENET."

The losses of the Battalion during this period from 22nd July to the 3rd August amounted to 46 killed and 343 wounded.

In the period, 22nd to 28th July, 1 officer and 14 other ranks were wounded.

The Turn of the Tide.

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July 28th-31st—					Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	2	5
Other ranks	17	21
July 31st-August 5th—						
Officers	...	...	...	...	2	2
Other ranks	...	...	...	...	25	136

The officers killed were 2nd-Lieut. A. S. Johnstone, 2nd-Lieut. S. Robertson, 2nd-Lieut. W. Robinson, and 2nd-Lieut. Carmichael.

The following officers were wounded :—Capt. T. D. Craig, Lieut. H. M'M. Blyth, T. M'K. Flint, Capt. J. M'George, Lieut. O. W. F. Richardson, 2nd-Lieut. J. Weir, and 2nd-Lieut. Prior.

The following decorations were also granted after these operations :—

Croix de Guerre with Palms—2nd-Lieut. Dunn and Sergt. Cain.

Croix de Guerre with Star—Capt. M'Lay, 2nd-Lieut. Graham, 2nd-Lieut. French, Sergt. Strange, and Corpl. Grant.

At 7.15 a.m. on August 4th the Battalion left Beugneux, and marched to the cross-roads at the Oulchy le Chateau-Soissons road (*see* p. 241).

"Less than the regulation transport was available, and yet we were supposed to carry an extra day's rations on the G.S. waggons, including those indented for the casualties.

The result was that a considerable quantity had to be abandoned. It was amusing to see the rush the 'Poilus' made for the rations—very short work was made of the tins of bully beef and the cheese which we perforce left behind us."

This was a wonderful summer morning; all of us were feeling at the very top of our form with the promise of going back to rest after our victory.

"A convoy of French busses was waiting for us, and we were motored back through the Foret Domanial de Retz to Villers Cotteret, and on through Vez and Crepy to Dammartin, just north of Paris.

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Here we enjoyed a real good wash and clean-up after all these strenuous days."

The losses of the Battalion were indeed severe. It was reduced to 330 of all ranks. Thus Beugneux is one of the three worst battles ever experienced by the Battalion. On the 12th July at Gallipoli, and before Gaza, complete victory could not possibly have been obtained.

At Beugneux, however, a magnificent victory was gained, and their services were handsomely acknowledged.

REFERENCES.

War Diary; Col. R. N. Coulson; Findlay, l.c.; *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*—Lieut. (now Capt.) E. P. Dickie.

I have also to thank Col. R. N. Coulson, Lieut. (later Capt.) French, Capt. M'George, and many others for information and assistance with the proofs.

Note on p. 251.—Lieut. Dickie's note is misplaced. The Bosche did not retreat until the following morning.



By permission of the Director of Imperial War Museum.

MENIN ROAD.



By permission of the Director of Imperial War Museum.

BATTLEFIELD LEADING UP TO PAESCHENDAEL.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PURSUIT OF THE HUN.

It was not until the 5th of August that our transport rejoined the Battalion.

The period of "rest" at Dammartin was brief, for on the 6th they entrained at St. Maard, and did not arrive at Wormhoudt until 2 p.m. on the 7th. The 8th August was, however, a day of rest!

Then followed a few days of intensive training, especially of the Lewis gunners. Two drafts had now joined the Battalion, the first of 62 and the second (on 11th August) of 247 other ranks. The last were almost all boys of eighteen years of age, but they were very keen, and settled down into good soldiers in record time.

On the 13th August the Battalion moved to the front, first to Janster Beizen, then to Dirty Bucket area, near Poperinghe. They arrived (20th-21st August) in the trenches at Potijze, in front of Ypres. They were on the left centre of the Brigade, with the 5th A. & S. Highlanders on the right and the 2nd Belgian Grenade Regiment on the left.

At this period Ypres was a comparatively quiet sector, and but little is recorded of this tour of service.

The German Staff believed that it was an American division that faced them, and decided to send out a patrol at night to get definite information.

A strong German raiding party assembled in No Man's Land, and a covering barrage had been arranged to assist them. Unfortunately (for them) the raiding party was caught by its own barrage and scattered in panic, every man finding his own way back to his own line and at his very best speed. One German, however, after spending the whole day cowering in a shell-hole, deserted, and came into our front line trenches, where every one, and especially the boys who had just joined up, were eagerly waiting for Germans.

On the night of the 25-26th August the Battalion

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was relieved, and went into Brigade Reserve on the eastern ramparts of Ypres.

The quarters were good. Commodious dugouts, lit by electric light and filled with wire beds, were discovered, and hot water could be got.

"The town of Ypres was put out of bounds. This was a precaution which seemed superfluous when 8-inch shells were continually trying to make the ruins still more desolate."

Bosche planes used to come over at night, dropping bombs upon our working-parties, but there were few casualties.

At 10 p.m. on the 28th August they were relieved, and next morning at 8 a.m. went off to the Scherpenberg reserve area. On the 30th August preparations had just been made to move forward into the trenches on the Scherpenberg, when news of the first importance came to hand.

The "inglorious 8th of August," as the Germans described it, was Marshal Foch's "stroke to the left." On that day Lord Haig broke through the German lines at their very strongest point, and the Bosche became demoralised.

The Germans were at last in retreat.

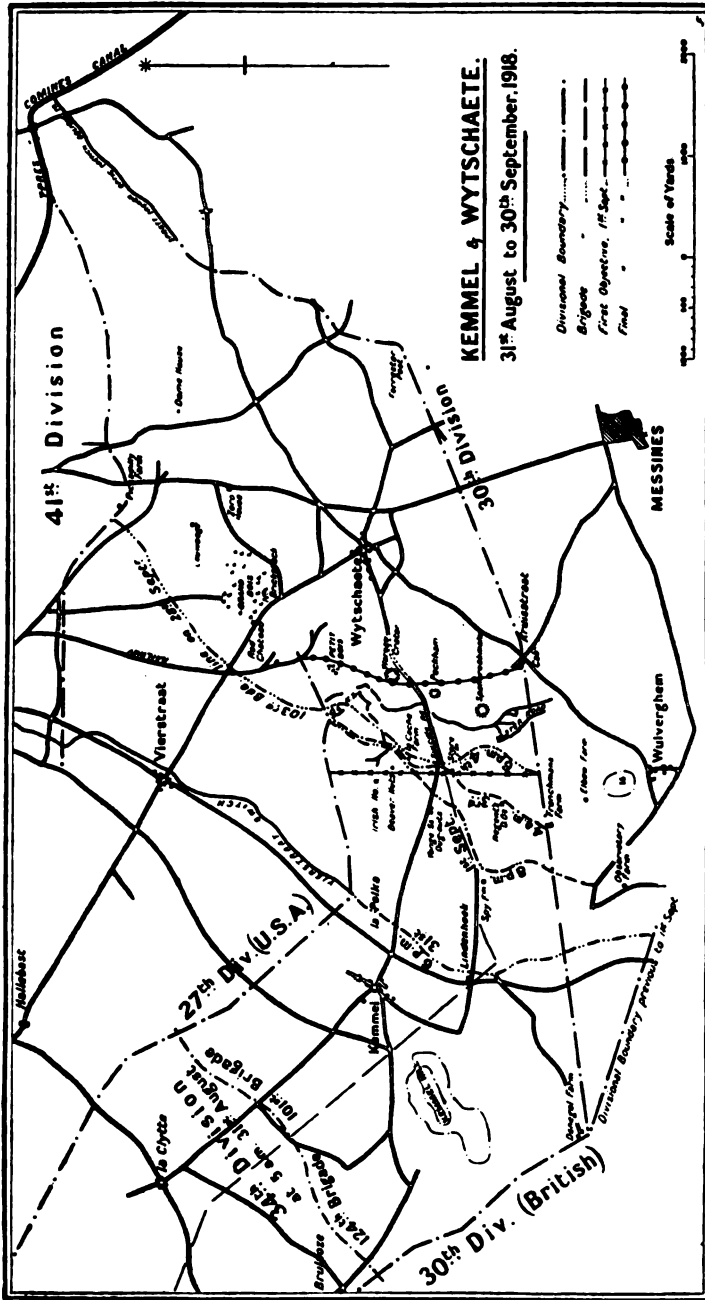
Now was the moment for the "vigorous kick." Bailleul was evacuated, and next day the famous Kemmel Hill was abandoned by the enemy.

The Battalion was ordered to be ready to march at a moment's notice, and at 8.45 a.m. on the 31st August they went forward. It was a "pitilessly wet night," which soaked every one to the skin, but they occupied Gordon Road, on the north-western slope of Mont Kemmel.

From this curious precipitous hill it is possible to see as far north as Ypres, and as far west as Poperinghe.

The Germans had captured Kemmel on April 25th, which had been one of the most serious disasters that befell the Allies in that disastrous month, for it gave the enemy an excellent observation post.

When, through the morning mist and heavy rain,



KEMMEL AND WYTSCHAETE.

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Gordon Road became visible, its condition was beyond description.

It was a typical picture of "the ruin and carnage of war." Hardly a square yard of surface could be found that did not touch a shell crater. "Month after month shells of all calibres from British, French, and German guns had been tearing up the smiling land, and making it a desolate waste." The favourite rose-garden of the Belgian proprietor had become nothing but the crater of a 15-inch shell.

Gordon Road itself was so churned up that it could hardly be distinguished at all. Fallen trees, barbed wire entanglements, and broken gun limbers lay across it.

On the reverse slope were hundreds of unburied dead. Indeed, the bodies of two entire French companies who, though surrounded, would not surrender, lay there amongst the Germans whom they had killed.

On that night the 8th Scottish Rifles, who were in front, and two companies of the 5th K.O.S.B. were to move forward to the south-east of Kemmel. The rest of the Battalion and the 5th A. & S. Highlanders remained on the north-west slope.

Unfortunately the enemy were still in possession of Neuve Eglise, and so heavy a machine gun fire was coming from this place that the 8th Scottish Rifles could not get further forward than the Vierstraat switch line. Thus, on the night of 1st-2nd September the Battalion had to remain where it was.

On the 2nd it was reported that Store Farm had been occupied by the 2/4th Queens. A barrage was to be put down on the line Peckham-Strand-broek-molen from 3 to 3.15 p.m. ; C and D Companies of the 5th K.O.S.B. were then ordered to deploy, under cover of the ridge, and on the northern side of the Spy Farm-Store Farm road, and to attack the strong point known as "Regent Street Dugouts" from the north.

As soon as the barrage had begun and our two companies had gone over the top the Germans put down a counter-barrage upon this very road, and they also opened a heavy machine gun fire from Store Farm itself.

Thus our advance was held up. The situation was reported to the Brigade, and eventually, at 8.15 p.m., a fresh barrage was put down on the Regent Street craters. In the dusk the companies advanced and consolidated a line, not on but to the east of Regent Dugouts. The 2/4th Queens also came up on our left and the 8th Scottish Rifles on our right.

During that night the Battalion was relieved and moved back to the Scherpenberg reserve area, where they arrived at 2 a.m. on September 3rd.

On the next night they were moved to the Brulooze-Kemmel area.

"The next few days were very wet, and conditions were very bad for all troops. Hard work was put in, both in consolidating the new front line and in improving our water-logged shelters."

However, on 10th September, the Battalion went off for a thoroughly well-earned spell of peace and quiet amidst beautiful country. They marched to Steenvoorde Station, entrained for St. Momelin, and marched to Hellebroucq.

Battalion Headquarters were in a chateau, and the companies were billeted in farm houses. Moreover, the weather improved, and all ranks began to take "a new outlook on life."

On the 20th the Battalion again started for the front, and eventually arrived opposite Wytschaete. A and B Companies were in the firing-line, which in this place was only a series of shell-holes not joined up. The supports were in what had been trenches, but which were now so crumbled up that they only afforded cover from view.

Their impression of Belgium at this time was a vast expanse of mud, covered with dank grass in places, and pitted with shell-holes brimful of noisome water.

The Battalion was on the forward side of a ridge in front of Dickebusch Lake, some two thousand yards north of Wytschaete village, and facing the famous ridge of that name.

Our firing-line was at the bottom of a very open

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valley, whilst the enemy held the rising ground on the further side. The German trenches were cleverly concealed in the Bois Quarante.

So exposed was the ground that "by day it was almost impossible to visit the companies, and all communication was by Fullerphones. Runners were not employed except in cases of emergency, as they were fully exposed to the enemy and drew his fire on our trenches."

As cooking could not be done in the front line, "food containers on the principle of a thermos flask had been invented; they held three gallons, and were fitted with straps so that they could be carried on a man's shoulder right up to the front. In these wonderful inventions tea or soup could be kept boiling hot for several hours.

On the night of September 23rd-24th our line was advanced to a more favourable position for the projected attack."

The night was "inky black."

In order to cover the advance, 2nd-Lieut. Cairns with his platoon of D Company crept out towards a small ridge which was about three hundred yards to the left front. Suddenly he was attacked by a fighting patrol of forty Germans, who had advanced under cover of a barrage of rifle, grenade, and machine gun fire.

But though Cairns had only a small platoon, he repulsed them. Three times the Germans tried to annihilate his party, but he held on stoutly to his ridge, driving back greatly superior numbers of the enemy with well-directed Lewis gun and rifle fire. He thus covered the advance of the Battalion to the new position.

"His conduct on this occasion was worthy of the highest praise, and he richly deserved the Military Cross which was subsequently awarded to him.

By morning our new line was consolidated, and we felt much more comfortable. The next few days were spent in comparative peace, though with interludes of shelling, both high explosive and gas."

The great attack (J day) was to be at dawn of 25th September.

On this occasion the King of the Belgians was in supreme command. The troops consisted of the Belgian Army, of the Third French Army, and of the XIX. and II. Corps of Gen. Plumer's Army.

Our General Staff had discovered that Ludendorff had been compelled to diminish his garrison in this part of the German line. It was necessary for him to send reinforcements to more critical points further to the south, where the Allies were pressing hard upon the Hun entrenchments.

Our attack was on an elaborate scale.

It extended from south of Dixmude to Ploegsteert Wood. A terrific preliminary bombardment was first opened upon the German trenches in front of the Belgian and French Armies. In front of our 2nd Army, however, the Germans had no warning of our intentions until zero hour when the storm of heavy and field artillery co-operating with machine guns broke upon them.

Then upon the four and a half miles south of the Ypres-Sonnebeke road a "continuous rain of our shells passed over our heads and fell upon the enemy.

Strong points were drenched with high explosive and with incendiary shells," and our patrols pushed eagerly and quickly forward on a very wide front.

At 5.25 a.m. the barrage came down, and five minutes later lifted in jumps of one hundred yards every three minutes.

2nd-Lieut. Cairns and his platoon, with 2nd-Lieut. Hislop's platoon in support, following close on the barrage, rushed the strong fortress of Piccadilly Farm before the dazed Germans could recover their nerve. Here he captured an officer and 38 other ranks, as well as two machine guns.

During the storming of this place Sergt. M'Guffie distinguished himself. His platoon commander was killed; he then took command, stormed several dugouts, and captured fully a dozen German prisoners, including two officers.

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To the right of Cairns, 2nd-Lieut. Wallbank, advancing up the light railway, captured 9 prisoners. He then took up a position at the north-east end of the Bois Quarante. Cairns and Hislop had now reached the St. Eloi Road, and were on their first objective.

At 5.40 a.m. Capt. Gilmour sent a patrol of C Company to occupy the north-east corner of the Bois Quarante; at 7.30 a.m. another of his patrols went through it. Nearly at the same time Battalion Headquarters was established at the north-west corner.

After Cairns had arrived at the St. Eloi Road, Sergt. M'Guffie saw a party of British prisoners being led off by a Bosche guard. Disregarding the possible consequences he dashed out, disarmed the Bosche escort single-handed, and released all the prisoners, who belonged to another battalion.

Later in the day, when the Germans were holding up our advance by machine gun fire from a pillbox, he again ran forward and fired several rifle grenades through the loopholes. Thus the pillbox and its garrison were captured.

For his magnificent gallantry on this day he was subsequently awarded the Victoria Cross.

About 7.30 a.m. information was received that the 5th A. & S.H., who were on our right, had pushed forward through the Grand Bois, but had been driven back.

Capt. Gilmour was then ordered "to push on, which he did, as far as Lowage Farm." D Company had also reached its objective at "Porridge," with B Company in close support.

By 3 p.m. Gilmour had reached a position with C Company north of Catteau Farm; B Company was at the railway crossing, and D Company to the north of them. These two companies were now facing east along the St. Eloi-Onraet road. The A. & S. Highlanders were in the Grand Bois near Renty Farm.

Capt. Gilmour reported that heavy machine gun fire was coming from Dome House and the ridge of



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SERGT. L. M'GUFFIE, V.C.

Marten's Farm. He asked for an artillery bombardment upon this ridge.

Then happened another of those most unfortunate incidents which so often occurred in the Battalion's history.

Capt. Gilmour's message, though sent off at 3 p.m., was not received at Battalion Headquarters till 4 p.m. Our barrage came down heavily upon the ridge at 4.45 p.m.

But before it came on four machine guns which had been sent up to Gilmour had already subdued the enemy's fire from the ridge. D Company had gone forward and taken Dome House, whilst the A. & S.H. had stormed Zero Farm.

So heavy was our own artillery fire that our troops had to be withdrawn!

The Brigade then occupied the line Piccadilly-Zero House and Brickstacks. The Battalion advanced during the night to Dome House. On the 29th September they again went forward and consolidated on the third objective. It was on this day that the 8th S.R. reached the line of the Comines Canal.

The advance met with no opposition except from occasional machine guns.

During these days of strenuous fighting the 5th K.O.S.B. were thoroughly enjoying a new method of warfare. Company and platoon commanders were very much on their own. Each 2nd-Lieutenant had to deal with a pillbox or machine gun according to his own ideas of the science of war. Our company officers proved entirely adequate on each and every occasion.

But they did not realise how difficult it would be for a historian to do them justice! Few details of these actions were ever written down, and by this time they are probably clouded over by post-war anxieties, or deliberately and intentionally blotted from the memory.

The success of the attack considered as a whole was astonishing. It encouraged and heartened up every allied soldier in Europe. Their "people" at home

also realised that at last the sun was breaking through the clouds and the foul miasma of war was vanishing away.

Germany was beaten !

On this date the Belgians had won Dixmude, Paeschendaele, and reached the Roulers-Menin road. Our Second Army had taken Messine, Ploegsteert Wood, and the left bank of the Lys from Comines westward.

Wytschaete Ridge had been overrun almost without opposition. Those were the places where thousands of brave men had perished in a vain attempt to hold back the overwhelming hordes of German invaders.

The casualties of the 5th K.O.S.B. were severe. One officer (Lieut. J. Alston) was killed and 3 wounded ; 12 other ranks were killed and 96 wounded.

Unfortunately at this moment a pause in our pursuit was inevitable.

The country was a desolate waste of mud ; roads were impassable ; bridges blown up and railways destroyed.

The destruction of roads was scientific and thorough ; it was intended to delay the pursuit, and it certainly did so. We had to wait until it was possible to supply our advancing front with ammunition and rations.

A great part of the roadway was formed of railway sleepers spiked to baulks of timber, but with the weight of guns passing over, the timber sank in the mud, and frequently the road gave way beneath them.

At 6 p.m. on the 25th September the Battalion was withdrawn to a place near Dome House.

" This was a patch of ground on a hillside consisting of long grass and clay. In dry weather it might have been a pleasant spot, but under present conditions it was a sea of mud and rain, and if it had not been for our success we should all have been pretty miserable. Next day ' we managed to find ' a fair quantity of corrugated iron, and sixteen large tarpaulins appeared from Brigade."

Thus the men were able to erect some sort of shelter. The deluge of rain still continued. Lieut. Wynne, the Quarter-Master, provided four hot meals during the

day. This hot food, dry socks, and a rum ration "worked wonders on the Battalion."

At 6 a.m. on the 1st October the Battalion again moved forward by St. Eloi and Lock No. 5 on the Ypres-Comines Canal to just north of San Voorde. The sun was shining during the day, and they bivouacked on the reverse slope of a hill which was comparatively dry.

On the morning of the 2nd there was another advance to a wood just south of Kruiseik. The Battalion was in reserve to the 8th S.R. and 5th A. & S.H.

Here they remained until the 6th. The bivouac area was severely shelled, and there were several casualties.

It was here that Sergt. Louis M'Guffie was killed, and this intrepid fighter never knew that he had won the most coveted honour that a soldier can possess.¹

By this time the devastated area had been passed. "Directly in front of us lay the town of Wervicq, on the Lys, looking apparently undamaged, and wonderful to relate, a tall church spire was still standing. To our right front lay Comines, while to the left were the factory chimneys of Menin and Halluin." The ground all about our present position had been severely shelled, but trees were still green, and we began to realise that the whole of Belgium was not a morass of mud and shell-holes. "Towards the enemy the country looked fair and smiling in the sun, and if it had not been for the shell-bursts it had the appearance of knowing nothing of the horrors of war."

On October 6th the Battalion went into Divisional Reserve. The men were in old trenches, which they improved sufficiently to at least keep out the worst of the rain.

Lieut. Gillespie, a most zealous Lewis gunner, had now an opportunity to train new teams on an intensive system, "for by this time most of the highly-trained

(1) A memorial tablet to Sergt. Louis M'Guffie was placed in the County Buildings, Wigtown. It was unveiled on the 4th December, 1920, by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, Bart., Lord-Lieutenant of the County.

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gunners which we had brought from Palestine had become casualties.

Great praise is due to him for the way these men a few days later performed their task."

On the 11th October the whole Battalion received a change of clothing and also—bathed!

Our losses in officers had been severe during this period. 2nd-Lieut. Kirk was killed, and Lieuts. Bairnsfather and Corrie were wounded.

On the 30th September the Battalion had consisted of 41 officers and 750 other ranks.

On the evening of the 13th Col. R. N. Coulson, D.S.O., went home on long leave, and Major G. R. S. Patterson, D.S.O., M.C., took over the command.

Col. Coulson had commanded the Battalion during some of its most desperate struggles (Bethhoron, Auja, Beugneux), and was a favourite with all ranks.

On the 12th the 5th K.O.S.B. had moved into the front line trenches astride the Ypres-Menin road and opposite the village of Gheluwe, ready for the attack, which was now fixed for the 14th. The 8th S.R. were to the south of us.

The Germans were holding a strong line of defence along the high ground on the northern bank of the river Lys.

At nightfall on the 13th positions of assembly "for the four companies were marked out by tapes in parallel lines at such short distances as to bring the whole Battalion within an area which was not included in the normal zone of heavy enemy barrage."

The objective was, so far as the 5th K.O.S.B. were concerned, the village of Gheluwe and Uniform Farm. They, with the 8th S.R. on the right, were to advance on either side of the village; they were not to attack it directly in front, for it was very strongly held. The reserve companies of the two battalions were afterwards to "mop up" the village.

For several nights before the attack the area had been heavily shelled.

On the evening of the 13th "heavy explosive was

freely mixed with smoke and gas shells, and at zero hour (5.32 a.m.) so thick was the air that for the first two and a half hours it was never possible to see more than five yards ahead."

This bombardment had continued from 3 a.m. till zero hour.

The Battalion had suffered severely.

I have been fortunate in obtaining the following account of C Company's exploits from an officer who was actively engaged in this affair.

Unhappily, just immediately before zero hour, a shell found C Company Headquarters and severely wounded the Officer Commanding (Capt. Gilmour, M.C.). The same shell killed Pte. J. J. O'Haire, a company runner who had won the M.M., and wounded Acting-Sergt.-Major Welsh and several other men. The command devolved upon Capt. J. W. T. Dickie.

The advance had begun at 5.32 a.m. C Company formed the second line, and it was time to move off.

"The mist had become very dense, and we could only see a few yards ahead. Our company's first objective was the village of Gheluwe, which ought to have been visible enough but was completely hidden in the mist. We had great difficulty in keeping in touch with each other and in maintaining direction.

However, as it proved, the mist, which seemed at first to be increasing our difficulties, really was of great use to us. After our company—by this time out of touch with any other troops—had advanced as far as the point where I judged the village to be, I found that, as a matter of fact, we were on a roadway running approximately east and west.

This I judged rightly to be the Ypres-Menin road, at a point some few hundreds yards west of Gheluwe. This gave us our bearings, and we turned eastward along the road, knowing that it would lead us to the village. As the road was raked with machine gun fire we divided into two sections, one creeping along the hedge bottom and ditch on each side of the road.

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We came suddenly and unexpectedly on the village. It simply loomed all in a moment out of the mist.

It was now that the mist proved our friend, for we took the Germans by surprise, and were upon them before they realised that we were there. The struggle was short, though intense enough while it lasted. In some cases it came to 'fist' work. But the enemy realised that they were beaten, and no doubt were demoralised by the intense artillery fire to which they had been subjected earlier in the morning and prior to the attack.

We captured more machine guns than we had time to count. We marked all the guns we could see 'C Company, 5th K.O.S.B,' and left them to be gathered up later. The prisoners, who were docile enough, were sent down with a runner and some slightly-wounded men.

It is pleasant to be able to record that a number of German Red Cross men who were amongst our prisoners gave willing aid in helping our wounded as well as their own.

We had suffered a good deal in the attack, and the company was considerably reduced in numbers when we mustered in the village square.

We were now entirely isolated; nothing but mist all round, which appeared to be growing even thicker. We ought to have met and joined up with the company of the battalion on our right. But there was no trace of anyone but ourselves. We had no idea how the battle was proceeding. After consultation with Lieut. Munro and Acting-Sergt.-Major Gallagher, Capt. Dickie decided to follow a path leading due west from the village, feeling that it ought to lead in the direction of the rest of the Battalion.

This view was confirmed very soon when we heard sporadic bursts of machine gun and rifle fire in front, showing that there was 'something doing.'

We moved along, slowly groping our way more or less in the fog. We passed several pillboxes which evidently had been abandoned very hurriedly. In



UNIFORM FARM.

some our men found food which was still hot. This they ate readily, for their last meal had been hours ago.

Just as we were beginning to wonder if we were in the right track the mist lifted with startling suddenness, and the sun shone out brightly. The momentary relief that we felt was soon destroyed by the fact that we were now terribly exposed to the enemy's fire. We found ourselves as a company a very little to the left of where we ought by strict programme to have been, but little enough to be negligible. We were indeed fortunate to have maintained our direction so well.

We were now in the middle of a wide field with very little cover. The rest of the Battalion appeared to be some distance to our left.

Half-a-mile or thereby and right ahead of us was a fortified farm (Uniform) occupied by a German field battery with trench-mortars and machine guns.

As soon as we were exposed by the lifting mist, all these directed their fire upon us, and the first necessity was to find cover of some kind. There were signs of an old trench some fifty to one hundred yards ahead, and this we succeeded in reaching in a series of rushes, but not without severe loss. On reaching the trench or ditch we crawled along it to the farm (Q 6, Central) on our left, where we found the rest of our companies.

All had suffered considerably, and as the fog had rather upset calculations, we held a hurried consultation as to our next move. It was obvious that the advance was being held up by the fortified (Uniform) farm already mentioned.

While we were discussing our plans we were joined by Major Patterson, commanding the Battalion, and the Lewis gun officer."

At this moment the right flank of the 5th K.O.S.B. was entirely unprotected.

The nearest company of the Scottish Rifles, who were the battalion next to us, had had very severe losses. All their officers except one very young subaltern had become casualties, and they were not nearly up to our line.



MAJOR G. R. S. PATERSON, D.S.O.

Major Patterson therefore went back to find and encourage this company. He instructed their officer to bring on the company to attack another farm to the right of Uniform, so as to give some protection to C Company's right flank during their advance.

After Major Patterson had got in touch with the Commanding Officer of the 8th Scottish Rifles, the latter was able to strengthen his own right flank, and after Uniform Farm was captured the position was practically secure.

In fact on this day the 5th K.O.S.B., so far as I can discover, just saved the situation. A disaster might easily have occurred.

We must now return to the adventures of C Company.

"It now became plain that the duty of capturing the farm was ours, and C Company was appointed to the task.

The company therefore, greatly diminished in numbers, mustered behind the shelter of a concrete wall in the buildings where we were.

It was obvious that our job was not going to be an easy one. There was a group of outhouse ruins fifty yards or more half-right of our present position. With one or two rushes we reached this, suffering from machine gun fire during our advance. Here Capt. Dickie divided the company, leaving a half with Lieut. Munro, who was to cover our advance as far as possible. Another series of rushes took us to another outhouse. Here we halted and took stock of the position. We were now only about a dozen all told. There was no further cover in the way of buildings that we could utilise, and when we left our present shelter we had several hundred yards of open ground to cross.

This, in view of the cross and frontal fire from German machine guns and point-blank fire from their battery, was not a very comfortable prospect. However, we set out, crawling flat on the ground for the most part, and taking advantage of a slight depression in the ground. At this point we were reinforced by Sergt. Rogerson and two privates of the Scottish Rifles with their Lewis gun.

They in the mist had got detached from the battalion on our right. Their aid proved invaluable, and they plied their gun with effect. In spite of this, however, it became apparent that further advance would mean annihilation. We now numbered only some half-dozen, and we were in an exposed position.

It was very difficult to decide what was best to do, but to proceed seemed like useless sacrifice; while to retire from where we were seemed only a small degree less dangerous than advancing. It was a tight corner.

But at this critical juncture Acting-Serjt.-Major Gallagher crawled along to say that he had discovered a drain or ditch on the left which seemed to flow from the farm. He and Corpl. M'Neillie offered to creep along this ditch and to attack the battery on its left, relying upon the element of surprise if we would keep them engaged in front. After some hesitation, for it seemed a somewhat desperate venture on their part, Capt. Dickie consented. It seemed the only thing to be done. Accordingly the Lewis gun was set a-going furiously, and we gave it as hot as possible to the enemy.

The next few minutes were rather tense, as we wondered if the two bold adventurers would pull off their bluff or be wiped out.

Meanwhile things were pretty hot for us, as we were suffering from concentrated machine gun fire and point-blank fire from the field guns. It was an extremely disconcerting experience.

Suddenly the machine gun and gun fire ceased; we looked up, and, to our delight and relief, saw our bold ditch-crawlers darting out of cover at close quarters, whilst the Germans deserted their guns and fled. The bluff had been successful!

The rest was easy. We occupied Uniform Farm, and took possession of four field guns, several trench-mortars and machine guns, and a large amount of signalling and medical equipment. We were, of course, not 'out of the wood' yet. There were but half-a-dozen of us, and a counter-attack would have been a serious

matter. It was difficult to get reinforcements up, as the ground we had crossed was still under heavy fire.

There was nothing to do but to sit tight and keep on the alert. After what seemed a very long time we saw a company of Argylls approaching, and they at length and with some difficulty reached us. Our anxieties were now at an end, and when darkness fell we received the welcome order to return to a comfortable billet in the farm from which we had set out on our attack."

Before C Company had arrived on the scene, D Company had, at the moment when the mist cleared away, found themselves right in front of Uniform Farm. They consisted at the time of two officers and ten men. They pushed on boldly. Capt. Brown (O/C Company) and several men were killed, but 2nd-Lieut. Hood and the others drove out the garrison of thirty-six men. Then, finding himself entirely isolated and unable to hold it, Hood withdrew to the group of pillboxes and buildings known as Q 6 Central.

The dense fog, and the sudden outbreak of sunshine, placed a very heavy responsibility upon the officers.

Major Patterson and Lieut. Johnston (artillery officer) reconnoitred towards the front. They discovered several men wandering about who had lost their companies, and these eventually joined up at the same place.

The 15th and 16th October were spent in consolidating the line and gathering in the spoil, which included such trifles as five 77mm guns and three howitzers.

The Battalion, now in Brigade Reserve, advanced to Wervicq. The general direction was east-north-east. The Germans were in full retreat, though they occasionally shelled us.

On the evening of the 18th they again advanced. It was a horrible march; it was pitch dark, and the men were tired out. The railway line was full of shell-holes, and the rails were twisted and often vertical. Sleepers were tilted at all angles. However, they reached Menin and placed a guard in charge of the construction of a bridge over the Lys.

On that evening Col. F. T. C. Courtenay Hood,

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D.S.O. (York and Lancaster Regiment), took over the command of the Battalion.

On the 15th they crossed the Lys and marched to Lauwe, where they found good billets, with plenty of fresh straw, in the tile-works.

On the 20th (Sunday) Divine Service was held, and the day was spent in rest and cleaning up. The next day was memorable. The men were paid, and the canteen sergeant succeeded in bringing up supplies of beer. On the 23rd a very successful Battalion concert was held.

24th October. The Battalion paraded at 8 a.m., and marched off at 9 a.m. to the area south-east of Belleghem.

On the 25th they moved on to the Courtrai-Bossuyt Canal, and on the 26th they again marched to St. Anne *via* Belleghem.

On the 27th the weather was fine ; the men were in great spirits, and they made a fine march to Spriete.

On October 28th, at 3.30 p.m., the Battalion again went to the front, and at 11 p.m. had relieved the 101st Brigade near Vossenhoek. During the night some of the front line posts were advanced to conform with the position taken up by the Scottish Rifles on our left.

On the 30th preparations were made for another advance arranged for next day.

During this their very last experience of war the country was open, untouched, permitting even 2nd-Lieutenants to show extraordinary resource and initiative.

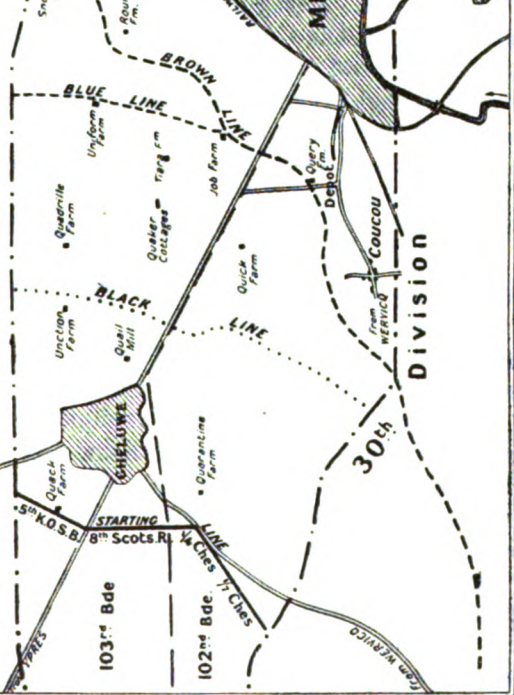
It was full of farms, enclosures, and buildings. The line of advance was nearly due east, and south of the railway. To the front, about three miles away, was a prominent hill or ridge lying north of the line and called Boschkant. This high land was held by the Germans with a strong force of artillery and machine guns.

The attack began at 5.45 a.m. on the 31st October. Our artillery put down a barrage three hundred yards in front of the jumping-off line, which was to move forward one hundred yards every three minutes.

Scale of Yards.



41st Division



MENIN.

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The enemy then concentrated a heavy fire upon our jumping-off line, and at Battalion Headquarters there were a few casualties.

The men, more or less concealed by the thick fog and mist, pressed on eagerly. C Company, when it arrived at the railway junction just short of Anseghem, came under a heavy fire from our own artillery. Lieut. Munro, who was in command, was killed, and 2nd-Lieut. Macdonald was wounded. Consequently, 2nd-Lieut. Prior and Capt. J. W. T. Dickie, with C and D Companies, carried on.

As they advanced, pushing rapidly to the front, laughing and excited Belgian girls came out of the farms with their laps full of apples. All were delighted that the Bosche was on the run.

These incidents rather hindered the advance, but they were quickly getting forward. They soon reached the station of Anseghem, outflanking the farms and hamlets, which the Germans hurriedly abandoned as soon as they appeared.

At Anseghem station, which was the objective, the officers collected in a large room in the house of a leading inhabitant, and everybody in the place had assembled to welcome them.

But the Bosche was still mischievous. The guns on the high ground at Boschkant opened on them, and a shell burst in the very room in which they had gathered just a few minutes before. At this moment C and D Companies were joined by A Company, and some French whippet tanks also came up.

After a consultation they decided to try and capture the battery on the hill above them, *i.e.*, Boschkant. A Company advanced up the long western spur; C and D Companies attacked by the eastern flanks, with the French whippets between.

But, unfortunately, they did not manage to take it. All the tanks were put out of action, and the French officer in charge of them was severely wounded.

However, a very dangerous attempt to rescue him succeeded, and he was brought back to the station.

By this time Battalion Headquarters had arrived upon the scene. As they had neither artillery nor machine guns with them, they could only watch, without being able in any way to prevent, the German gunners bringing their teams up the hill and going off with the guns at the trot.

At 8.20 a.m. the companies, accompanied by eight tanks, again went forward. They were now in touch with the 31st Division on the right and the Scottish Rifles on the west.

Our artillery barrage then opened on Belgie Cabaret. When it had lifted the infantry pushed forward, and by 10.45 a.m. were holding positions near this place and also the road-cutting west of Langestraat.

During the rest of the day the Germans bombarded our positions heavily with machine guns, trench-mortars, etc.

“One 77mm gun near the church of Gyselblechteghem was especially active.”

In the late afternoon patrols of A and B Companies moved forward. They found that the enemy had evacuated the high ground north of the railway. One patrol had reached a point a quarter of a mile east of Gyselblechteghem without encountering the enemy. The casualties on this the last day of war were 15 killed and 48 wounded.

The work of the whippet tanks was admirable.

“These are pretty little machines, comparatively light and mobile, armed with machine guns and pompoms. At zero hour the barrage began to creep forward and the tanks got under way, each with its quota of infantry, the remainder following in successive waves. The whippets did magnificent work, and wrought indescribable havoc with their one-pound shells in farmhouses held by the Germans. These were found by our troops to be crowded with enemy dead and wounded. The Frenchmen, who were truly a *corps d'élite*, gave invaluable assistance in destroying nests of machine guns, thus saving many casualties. Their Commandant paid a great

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tribute after the battle to our Territorials who fought, he said, "with the invincible dash and gallantry of the finest infantry of France."

During the whole of this day signallers and runners kept the companies in touch with one another and with Headquarters, and this although there was heavy fog in the morning and the wires were always being cut by shell-fire.

On the 1st November the Battalion left the front line and went back to comfortable billets in Halluin.

On the 10th November an interrupted wireless message reported that the Germans were going to sign the Armistice.

The first indication of anything unusual was a brilliant display of fireworks from the adjacent aerodrome, where news from all quarters was picked up by wireless. "Official" confirmation soon arrived from Brigade. At 11 p.m., on that evening, the band led the Battalion in a triumphant march round the town of Halluin, closely followed by the whole of Brigade Headquarters and several well-known regimental officers carrying Chinese lanterns. Even the Padre had forgotten the Sabbath!

The Battalion "stood-to" in record time, formed up behind the pipers, and followed through the town to the tune, not of "Blue Bonnets," the regimental march past, but the old melody of home, "Bonnie Gallowa'." On the ground of the aerodrome, officers and batmen, cooks and sergeant-majors, red tabs and cap comforters, all joined in a wild reel under bursting flares, Verey lights, and S.O.S. rockets.

As one fellow confided to a group of Belgians, "Guerre no bon; apres la guerre finie bon tout sweet!"

After the signature of the Armistice a great ceremonial parade was held on the Brigade ground. There was an advance of the Battalions in Review Order, a Royal Salute, and cheers for His Majesty the King.

The war record of the Fifth Battalion King's Own Scottish Borderers may be ended here.

Self-sacrifice, endurance, courage, and skilful leadership are plainly revealed in every chapter—almost on every page.

I hope that every young man and young woman in Dumfries and Galloway will read it, so that they may understand the sort of men that their countryside produced in those four years when utter destruction seemed inevitable.

REFERENCES.

I have again to thank Col. R. N. Coulson for the main part of this chapter. Also Capt. J. W. T. Dickie, Major Patterson, Mr Ovens, and others engaged.

I much regret that I have not succeeded in getting in touch with other officers mentioned in this chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BATTALION IN GERMANY.

By a Company Commander.

AT the cessation of hostilities on November 11th, the Battalion was in rest billets at Halluin. The announcement that the Battalion had been selected to form part of the Army of Occupation was received at first with somewhat mixed feelings. Most of us were war-weary, and many had anticipated an early demobilisation after the Armistice. However, after a few days' rest, it began to be appreciated that it was an honour to be chosen as part of the army that was to proceed to Germany, and the thought of seeing new and strange countries appealed to the interest and the spirit of adventure in all ranks; so that it was in good heart and full of enthusiasm that we set out on our long march.

In spite of long distances and often unfavourable weather the march was enjoyed by all of us. The fertile Belgian country, untouched by the ravages of war, was full of interest, and a great change from the desolation of the war-scarred country to which we had been used so long. At the end of each stage, evening brought us as a rule to comfortable billets in some kindly village or old-world town.

Our route was as follows:—From Halluin by way of Mouscron to Dottignies; thence to Molembaix (a small village which had suffered from our shells; this was the last we saw of war havoc); thence to Renaix (a good-sized market town, with welcome hot baths); next to Ogy (a village near Lessines). Here we were destined to remain some time—about three weeks. Sports were organized; there was a review by the General of the Division, and also a presentation of Belgian Croix de Guerre to certain members of the Battalion who, along with comrades from other battalions in the Division, had earned them. St. Andrew's Day was celebrated with sports and a torch-light procession.

On resuming our march, after our long rest at Ogy, we came to Fouleng. This was a wet and unpleasant march, and billets seemed poor after our comfortable quarters at Ogy. Next day, however, was fine, and we reached the interesting old town of Soignies late in the afternoon. Here we spent a day or two. The men were billeted in a large convent, the officers in private houses. The following day brought us, after a march through an industrial area, to Chapelle-lez-Herliamont. There the inhabitants seemed particularly hospitable, quarrelling indeed for the privilege of housing us. A weeping child in the street being asked the cause of her woe, said it was because no "soldats" had come to her house!

The next stop was at Charleroi. Here we enjoyed for a day or so the delights of town life—good shops, restaurants, and a theatre. The troops were housed in barracks.

Leaving Charleroi, we came through hilly country to Aisemont, and then to Wepion (a residential town in the beautiful Meuse Valley). Here we learned that plans were changed, and we were not to go into Germany in the meantime. It was while the Battalion lay at Wepion that a reception was given by the famous Burgomaster Max in the historic Hotel-de-Ville of Brussels to representatives from all the battalions of the Allied Armies then in Belgium. The writer had the honour of representing his Battalion at this reception. Afterwards we moved into winter quarters at Auvelais.

Quarters in Auvelais were comfortable, and we quite enjoyed our stay there, though it was rather a dull town, at least in winter weather. While we lay at Auvelais the Army Education Scheme, which had been "in the air" for some time, was inaugurated on a proper basis. Though it did not perhaps accomplish all that was hoped for it, nevertheless lectures and classes did much to interest the men and relieve the tedium of billet life in a small town.

Christmas and New Year were duly celebrated, and then early in January our "marching orders" came.

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Only they were not *marching* orders, but entraining ones, for the rest of our Rhineward journey was to be done by rail.

So it came that our entrance into Germany and our crossing of the famous Rhine took place without that thrill and pomp which an entrance by road would have had. Yet it was not without a thrill after all that we crossed late at night the great "Hohenzollern" Bridge at Cologne and saw shining beneath us the sombre waters of the German Rhine.

We detrained at Menden, a pleasant village, and the men quickly made themselves at home. There was perfect good feeling between villagers and troops, and this was characteristic of all our stay in Germany. The Rhinelanders seemed relieved to find we were not the barbarians they had been led to expect, and we, on our part, found them a kindly folk.

After brief sojourns at Wahn (in barracks) and at Seelscheid, a remote village on the edge of the occupied territory, we were sent to the large town of Solingen, famous for its steel. Here we settled down for a stay of several months. The men were billeted in a large school, the officers in private houses. The usual parades, marches, educational classes, sports in the afternoons, and varied entertainments in the evenings, made the time pass agreeably enough. A great change took place in the personnel of the Battalion here, many of the "old hands" being "demobbed," their places being taken by younger men, often mere lads, fresh from home. We also received a quota of officers and men from the 1st Battalion.

Three companies of the Battalion were in Solingen itself, and one at a paper mill a mile or two away on the "frontier," that is, on the boundary between the occupied and neutral areas. It was this "outpost" company's duty to see that no person without a pass crossed the boundary, and that no smuggling took place. There were one or two exciting occasions when unauthorised Germans tried to cross. Our life at this time, however, was a very peaceful one, until the refusal of the Germans

to sign the peace treaty threatened the possibility of our having to occupy further territory and a return to almost war conditions. In preparation we were moved out to a position at Ketzburg, on the Wupper, and were all prepared for an advance. Happily the Germans were wise enough to see that they would have to sign, and did so. We then resumed our peaceful conditions. The town authorities were very glad of our presence at this period, for there was serious danger of a Communist outbreak, such as did actually occur in many German towns at this time. But Solingen remained quiet, though there was a strong Communist (or "Spartacist") Party.

While we were at Solingen preparations were being made for a great Victory Celebration in Paris, when troops representing all the Allied Armies were to march through the city. From our Battalion a colour party was sent under Capt. D. Sloan and Capt. J. W. T. Dickie. The troops taking part in the march were encamped in the Bois de Boulogne, and ample opportunity was given of seeing the city, which was *en fete* for the occasion.

The glamour of the Victory March will not soon be forgotten by those who took part in it. The martial display, the gorgeous uniforms of the French Cavalry, the thrilling music, the splendid streets lined with dense cheering crowds, the solemn dipping of the colours in salute to the memory of the Glorious Dead at the Cenotaph—all these made an ineffaceable impression.

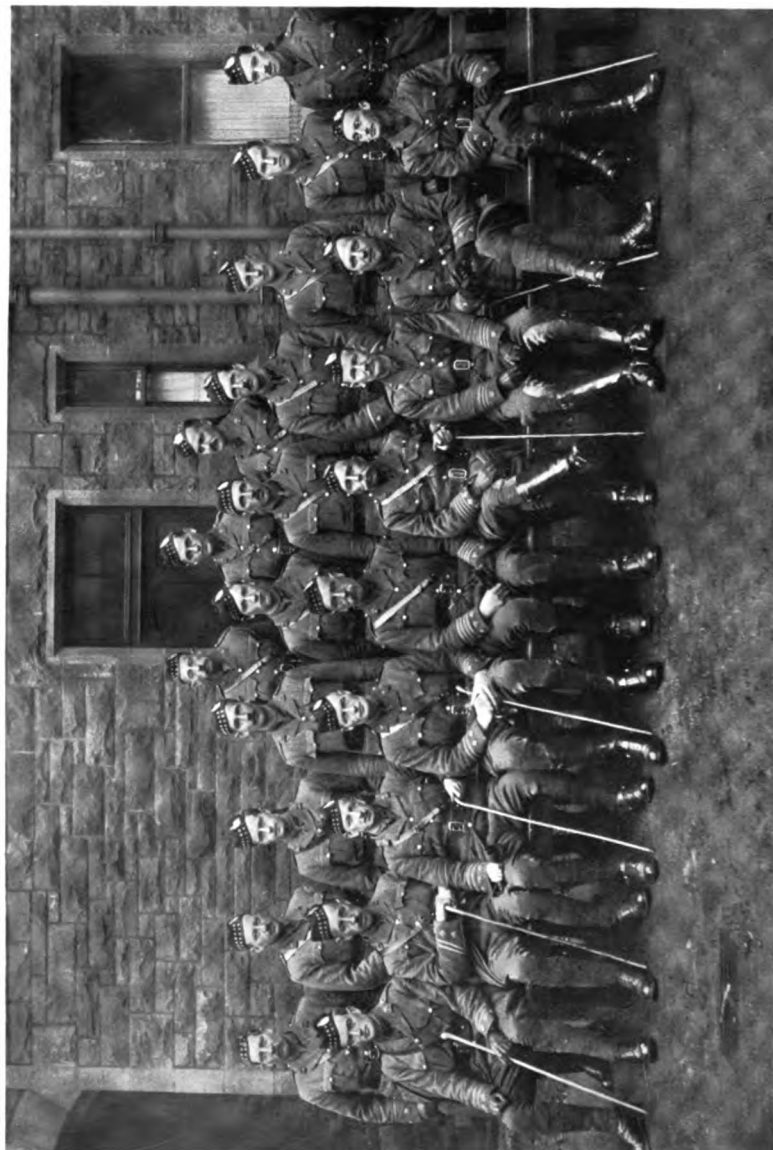
Meanwhile the Battalion in the Rhineland was on the move again. Hitherto it had always been on the right bank of the river. Now it was quartered in Zons, some fifteen miles or so down the river from Cologne on the left bank. Zons was a very picturesque village, retaining its mediæval aspect, four square, and strongly walled all round, with towers and gates at each corner. It had been a fortress of the Prince-Bishops of Cologne in olden times. The country around was pleasant, and the meadows by the Rhine afforded ample room alike for parades and sports. Bathing could also be had, and there was abundant opportunity to visit the city, whose

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mighty " Dom " could be seen towering above the plains in the distance.

Our stay in Zons was perhaps the most agreeable part of all our experiences abroad, and here we remained until in October, 1919, we were brought home to be demobilised—to our great delight, indeed, and yet not without regret at leaving the pleasant Rhineland where we had spent so many happy days together.

APPENDICES



By kind permission of Messrs Lafayette, Glasgow.

OFFICERS 2/5TH K.O.S.B.

Top Row (Left to Right): Lieut. G. F. Scott Elliot, Lieut. J. S. Millar, Capt. J. M. Glover.
Second Row (Left to Right): Lieut. H. W. B. Crawford, Lieut. J. Nelson, Lieut. J. Moffat, Lieut. H. W. F. Hunter-Arundell, Lieut. A. Scott, Lieut. R. B. Campbell, Lieut. S. P. Crombie.
Third Row (Left to Right): Capt. W. Cuthbertson, Capt. J. M. Riggall, Capt. J. McDonald, Capt. Gray, Col. J. Lennox, V.D., Col. C. V. E. Laurie, C.B., D.S.O., Major W. Thorburn, T.D., Capt. Sir R. Grierson, Bart., Capt. G. D. Dixie.

APPENDICES.

THE 2/5TH BATTALION K.O.S.B.

By Colonel Sir CLAUDE V. E. LAURIE, Bart., C.B., D.S.O. ;
Capt. CUTHBERTSON, M.C. ; and Sergt. O. R. DYKES.

IN the early days of October, 1914, the 5th Reserve Battalion, afterwards entitled the 2/5th K.O.S.B., was formed at Dumfries.

The 2/5th K.O.S.B., though they had, of course, no record of war service as an organised unit, performed a most useful function throughout the four years of its existence, and many hundreds of officers and men acknowledge this battalion as their military "Alma Mater"; many of them achieved distinction while on active service with other units.

Recruiting was commenced in Dumfries in the early days of October, 1914, and a ready response was made by the men of Dumfries and Galloway, who, in the words of the Borderers' Ballad,

" Came from the crag where the hirsels were grazing,
Came from the glen of the buck and the roe."

By December 7th 700 men were in training, being billeted in private houses in Dumfries and Maxwelltown. Strong reinforcements were despatched at intervals to the 1/5th K.O.S.B.

Very shortly afterwards it was brought up to full strength.

Col. C. V. E. Laurie received a telegram from Col. Dudgeon, C.B., in September, 1914, asking if he would take over the command, and he accepted.

The Battalion spent the months of October and November, 1914, in drill on the Kingholm Merse and various fields, in route marches, etc.

Recruits came in very quickly, and there were no less than 160 applications for commissions.

The attesting was in the hands of Major Thorburn.

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During the latter part of 1914 and six months of 1915 they had about sixty men and two or three officers in the New-Galloway district searching for any signs of enemy aircraft, petrol dumps, etc.

There was evidence of an aeroplane or hydroplane having landed in Wigtownshire. At that time German aeroplanes could not reach Ireland in a single flight ; but the only suspicious article ever discovered near New-Galloway was a small tent pole found on the Millfire, between Back Hill of Bush and the Forest. This after some trouble was found to be part of the equipment of certain members of the Scottish Alpine Club, who had lost their tent in a snowstorm.

An important event took place on the 29th of March, 1915, at Dumfries, when the Battalion was inspected by Lieut.-General Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, K.C.B., C.V.O., Inspector-General of the Territorial Force Reserve.

On 28th April, 1915, the Earl of Erroll, K.T., C.B., commanding the 2/1st Lowland Territorial Division, inspected the 2/5th K.O.S.B. at the Kingholm, and intimated that all Second Line battalions were being divided into home and foreign service battalions.

On 19th May, 1915, the 2/5th departed from Dumfries for Rumbling Bridge, Kinross-shire, receiving a civic send-off amid great crowds. The Battalion was addressed in front of the Station Hotel by the late Provost Macaulay, Dumfries ; Provost Arnott, Maxwelltown ; Col. Dudgeon, C.B., Lord Lieutenant of the Stewartry ; Col. Irving of Bonshaw ; Col. J. Maxwell Witham, C.M.G., of Kirkconnell, late Commanding Officer of the 3rd K.O.S.B. ; and many other local notabilities were also present.

During the winter (1915-16) the Battalion was billeted in schools and other buildings in Kinross and Milnathort, and during this period a large draft was despatched to Alexandria, Egypt, to reinforce the 1/5th K.O.S.B. On the 21st May the Battalion was divided into men for home and for foreign service ; 12 officers and 454 men (Home Service) then left for Portobello.

September 15th. The Battalion marched to

Lochgelly in order to dig trenches, and on the 30th they went back to Rumbling Bridge.

On October 13th they went to Kinross, where they were quartered in a disused mill at Milnathort. As it was very cold they had to use coke in pails. When the 2/4th K.O.S.B. came in from Hawick, Col. Laurie was placed in command of the composite battalion formed by the union of the 2/4th and 2/5th K.O.S.B.

February 19th, 1916. The Battalion, now under Col. Gordon, proceeded to Chelmsford, Essex, where they remained during the remainder of that year, being heavily reinforced by large drafts from men in Midland regiments, notably Notts, Derbys, Suffolks, West Kents. Other depôts sent hundreds of Derby recruits, who were rapidly trained and converted into naturalised "Jocks" and loyal Borderers. During this period the Division was inspected in the district by Field-Marshal Sir John French, and later by His Majesty King George.

Large drafts were sent in September, 1916, to the 2nd K.O.S.B. and 6th K.O.S.B. in France.

In January, 1917, the Battalion, owing to the disturbed political atmosphere, was sent to that "distressful" country, Ireland, and were encamped in hutments at Ballykinlar, Co. Down, and later at Curragh Camp. During this period mobile columns were formed, and these organised units were of great service, being sent to various parts of the West and South of Ireland. One column under Capt. Cuthbertson, M.C.,¹ with a similar column of Royal Scots, furnished the garrison at the county town of Ennis, Co. Clare, during the epoch-making election of Mr De Valera, when the Sinn Fein cause became an important factor in the political world of Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1918 the Battalion was broken up, practically all

(1) "For conspicuous gallantry and devotion" (when serving with the 6th K.O.S.B.). He was in command of a company "during lengthy operations. He covered the retreat on three occasions with great ability, and also organised the defences on his front, pushing out advanced posts and skilfully placing his Lewis guns. Throughout the attack he displayed the utmost coolness, and the defence in that part of the line was largely due to his splendid organisation."

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fit men having been sent at various times to the 1st, 2nd, and 6th K.O.S.B. in France, and the remaining 300 men were divided between the Duke of Lancaster's Yeomanry for cyclist duty in France and the West of Ireland; many were later transferred to Murmansk, Russia, and the remainder to join the 4th (Reserve) K.O.S.B. at Dunfermline.

There had been several important changes in the Battalion. The Adjutant, Capt. Gray, left for 12th Provisional Battalion. On the 15th June, 1916, Capt. Neilson left for the Third Line Dépôt; afterwards he was appointed Adjutant to the 4th Reserve Battalion.

THE WORK OF THE RESERVE BATTALIONS.

By Colonel W. J. MILLAR, D.S.O.

IN June, 1915, on the departure of 2/5th K.O.S.B. from Dumfries, the 3/5th was organised. Col. John Lennox, T.D., was placed in command, with Major Wellwood Maxwell of Kirkennan as second. In January, 1916, the new Battalion was ordered to Ripon to join the Lowland Reserve Brigade, moving thence to Catterick in March. Therewith on July 16th I proceeded to Catterick, where I took over the command of 3/5th K.O.S.B. from Lieut.-Col. W. Thorburn, who had been placed in temporary command on the retiral of Col. Lennox. The Battalion formed one unit of the Lowland Reserve Brigade (Brig.-Gen. The Master of Polwarth).

The facilities for training were here ideal. Within its lines each battalion had its own orderly room, parade ground, hutments, officers' and men's messroom, canteens, and recreation rooms.

Bayonet fighting was engaged in. The trenches were of the latest and most up-to-date models, and constantly improved so that the training of reinforcements could be carried out on the most practical and realistic lines.

Miniature ranges ("Solano" and others) were always available, not to speak of the excellent open rifle range on the moors to south-west of camp.

Under the Area Commander (Major-General Rimington) training with such facilities proceeded efficiently and smoothly.

The Battalion strength was on various occasions over 2000.

On 9th July distant explosions could be heard to the east, where Zeppelins were bombing the coast, and on the 10th the Battalion "stood-to" from 10 p.m. to 3 a.m. On the 24th the advance party of the 3/4th K.O.S.B., and on the 25th the rest of this Battalion, arrived under Sir Richard Waldie Griffiths. During the next few days the 3/4th and 3/5th Battalions were amalgamated and reorganised as the 4th Reserve Battalion K.O.S.B. Lieut.-Col. W. J. Millar, D.S.O., was appointed to the command, Major John Sanderson (3/4th) being Second in Command. Col. Sir Richard Waldie Griffiths and Major Wellwood Maxwell retired.

On 6th September two companies were detailed and organised as Emergency Companies and one company as Railway Protection Company in connection with the area defence scheme.

On the 18th Brig.-General M'Clintock took over the command of the Lowland Reserve Brigade from the Master of Polwarth, whose departure was much regretted by all ranks.

31st October. An Emergency Battalion having been formed from units in the Lowland Reserve Brigade, Lieut.-Col. W. J. Millar, D.S.O., was appointed to the command of this battalion, as and when required.

November 26th. A Zeppelin raid on the East Coast took place. The troops stood to arms. One airship was seen in the distance falling in flames.

January 22nd. The Battalion was reorganised. A and B became Advanced Training Companies; D, Recruit Company; and C, Fatigue Company.

On March 30th the Battalion with six other composite battalions, was inspected by Sir John Maxwell,

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G.O.C. Northern Command. On the 12th April the Battalion took part in a Garrison Review by Field-Marshal Viscount French.

May 2nd. The Battalion took part in Garrison Review by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught.

On 24th May two Brigades in the area were inspected by General Pratt, Lieut.-Col. Millar being in command of the Lowland Reserve Brigade.

From this date until the end of September routine training was carried on assiduously. The recreations of the men were not lost sight of. Battalion Sports were held and proved very successful.

The Battalion tug-of-war team under Regt.-Sergt.-Major Adam was very successful at numerous competitions, as was also its bayonet fighting team, which carried off the championship cup for the Northern Command.

This trophy is now available for competition between the 4th and 5th Battalions K.O.S.B.

Much of the success of the bayonet fighting team was due to the Battalion Instructor, Staff-Sergt. Schellenberg (born in England), and the fine trenches evolved by the Battalion, and to which other units were often referred for a model.

On September 3rd, the Lowland Reserve Brigade being ordered back to Scotland, the Battalion moved to Hawick, where it went into quarters in old mills, schools, etc.

Here the Battalion had to prepare trenches for bombing and bayonet fighting instruction as well as a new shooting range. But no sooner was the work completed than the Lowland Reserve Brigade was ordered to proceed north of the Forth. At Dunfermline (3rd October) the task of constructing new training facilities and overhauling old and derelict equipment had to be again undertaken; this involved further interruption in the training of drafts. The civil schooling of some seventy-two boys under age as well as their military training had also to be arranged for. The C.O. and the Battalion's instructional staff of specialists had also to

devote considerable time to the training of various outlying units of the 2/1st Fife Volunteer Regiment.

At this period "absence without leave" became more common; the recruits were coming for the most part from the larger towns, and were not equal to their predecessors.

(I may here observe that the 1/5th Battalion and its reserve battalions during all my service with them held a very high record for good behaviour. In consequence the C.O.'s orderly room was comparatively lightly occupied in dealing with offences.)

On January 9th Brig.-General M'Clintock was succeeded by Brig.-General Higginson in the command of the Lowland Reserve Brigade. The Battalion owed much to Brig.-General M'Clintock's sympathetic and helpful treatment of its many problems.

In common with other battalions several fields were now in process of cultivation by our fatigue parties to aid the problem of food shortage.

Each Sunday the Battalion, thanks to the Abbey authorities, attended divine service in the ancient historical Abbey of Dunfermline.

March 20th. Sir Richard Waldie Griffiths, Hon. Colonel of 4th Battalion, inspected the Battalion, and lunched with the officers, some of whom had served under him; and later Col. R. F. Dudgeon, C.B. (previously commanding 5th K.O.S.B.), paid the Battalion a visit.

April 18th. C and D Companies (300 strong) moved to Ladybank (Annsmuir Camp).

On the 23rd June Lieut.-Col. Murray took over the command of the Battalion on Lieut.-Col. Millar's demobilization.

During my command of the Battalion the following drafts were despatched to Egypt and France:—

October—308 Other ranks for 1/4th and 1/5th K.O.S.B. in Egypt.

December—12 Officers and 120 o.r. for France and 100 for Egypt.

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January—27 Officers and 163 o.r. for France; 180 o.r. for Egypt.

February—66 o.r. to France; 43 o.r. to Egypt; and 96 o.r. to Works Company, Hamilton, etc.

March—34 o.r. to France, and 11 to Machine Gun Corps.

May—156 o.r. for France.

October and November—52 o.r. for France.

January—79 o.r. to France, and 130 to Ireland; 17 to Tank Corps.

March—490 to France and 130 to Berwick.

April, May, and June—479 to France; 20 to Scots Guards; 16 to Scottish Rifles, Motherwell; and 7 to Machine Gun Corps.

On the 6th December, 1918, I received the Battalion Colours from St. Michael's Church, Dumfries, and handed them over to Lieut. Crichton for convoy to the Battalion on the Rhine.

When the cadre of the 1/5th Battalion K.O.S.B. returned to Dumfries these Colours were laureated by Her Grace the Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry. Major Keswick with the 3rd Volunteer Battalion were on the welcome parade.

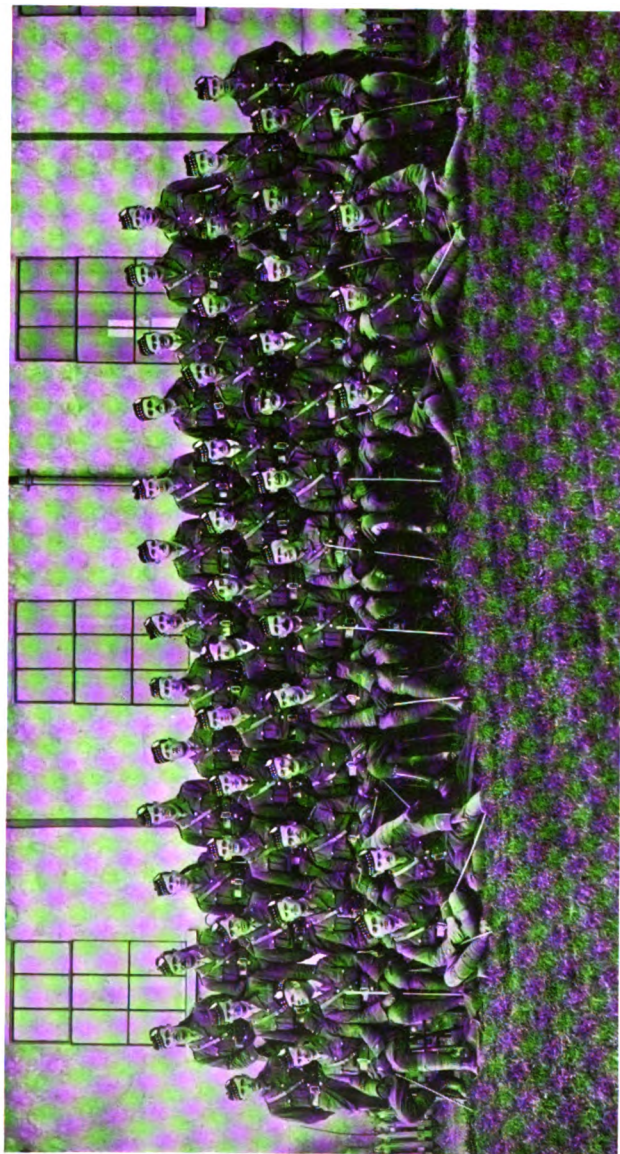
WILL. J. MILLAR.

WAR RECORD OF THE WOMEN OF DUMFRIESSHIRE, THE STEWARTRY, AND THE SHIRE.

WHEN beginning to compile this History it seemed to be my duty to express the gratitude of all serving overseas to those who provided "comforts"—socks, shirts, papers and magazines, tobacco, cigarettes, and all sorts of other things. Especially so perhaps when one found within the sock a kindly greeting from some patriotic lassie.

Unexpected, unheralded, they came to our camp like manna from the skies.

No one, except those who received them, can even



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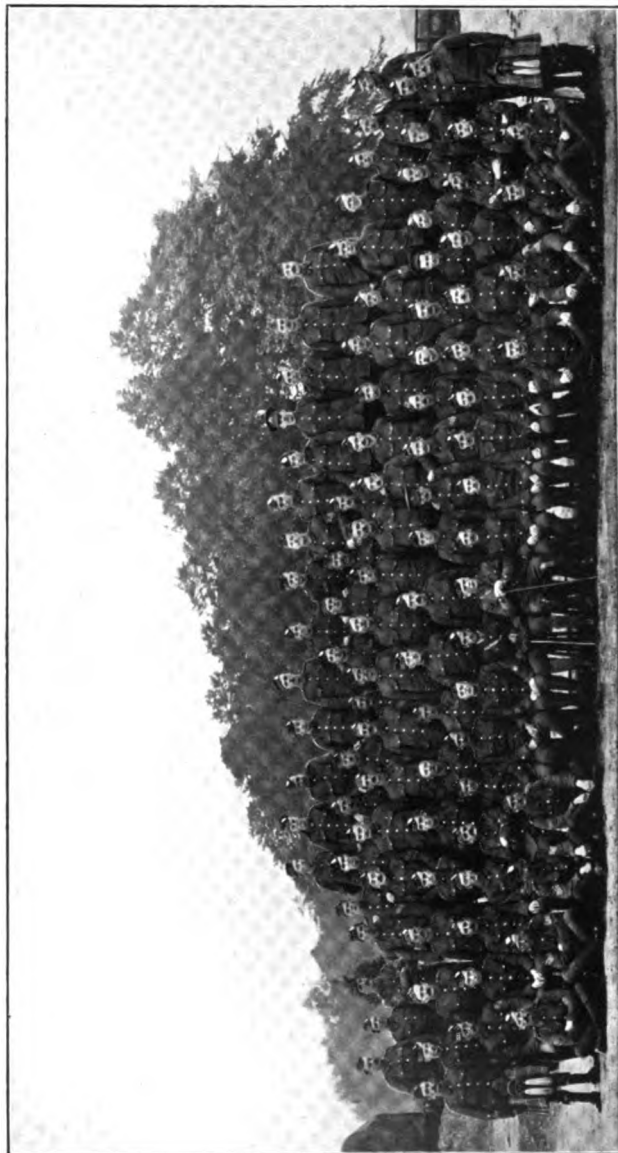
OFFICERS 4TH (RESERVE) BATTALION K.O.S.B.

Back Row (Left to Right) : 2nd Lieut. W. Lambert, 2nd Lieut. J. T. Wilkie, 2nd Lieut. J. C. Moore, 2nd Lieut. R. M. Woodburn, 2nd Lieut. R. G. Taylor, 2nd Lieut. D. M. L. Laing, 2nd Lieut. J. S. Thomson, Lieut. T. T. Lowe, 2nd Lieut. E. Cossar, 2nd Lieut. D. J. Tynms, 2nd Lieut. P. Edington, 2nd Lieut. R. Paterson, 2nd Lieut. J. Weir.

Third Row (Left to Right) : 2nd Lieut. J. Dunn, 2nd Lieut. J. S. Hogarth, 2nd Lieut. E. A. Paterson, 2nd Lieut. A. L. Chapman, 2nd Lieut. A. M. Sanders, 2nd Lieut. R. J. Richardson, 2nd Lieut. J. B. Michie, 2nd Lieut. W. Robertson, 2nd Lieut. D. A. Lowe, 2nd Lieut. J. F. McConchie, 2nd Lieut. J. J. Macmillan, 2nd Lieut. A. G. Semple, 2nd Lieut. A. C. Stevenson, 2nd Lieut. J. W. T. Dickie, 2nd Lieut. G. O. D. Watson.

Second Row (Left to Right) : 2nd Lieut. R. G. M. Matthews, Capt. G. Salmond, Capt. D. Macrae, Capt. R. R. M. Lumgair, Capt. E. Coventon, Capt. D. L. Elder, Major J. Sanderson, Lieut.-Col. W. J. Millar, D.S.O., T.D., Major C. E. Macdonald, Capt. E. S. Hawthorne, Capt. W. K. Innes, Lieut. and Q.M. G. H. Anson, Capt. J. Harrison, 2nd Lieut. W. S. Miller, J. J. Hyslop, 2nd Lieut. C. C. Watt.

Front Row (Seated on Ground) : 2nd Lieut. W. J. S. Robinson, 2nd Lieut. A. Y. P. Johnston, 2nd Lieut. T. Ballantyne, 2nd Lieut.



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WARRANT AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF 4TH (RESERVE) BATTALION K.O.S.B., AT CATTERICK.

Back Row (Left to Right) : Sergeants, Purdie, Telfer, Bell, Veitch, McGowan, Casson, Ferguson, Amos, Blair, Kerr, S.-Sergeant, Schellenberg, Sergeant, Shaw, Alkman, McKie.

Fifth Row (Left to Right) : Sergeants, Murray, Irving, Carruthers, Ewart, Ward, Brown, Reapeth, Carrie.

Fourth Row (Left to Right) : Sergeants, Milligan, M'Allister, Trotter, Batey, Carson, Cameron, Reid, Smith, Beatty, Kerr, Crossan, M'Donald, White, Smith, Haugh, Currie, Thompson, Shankland, Craigie, Brown, Shilling, Stoddart, M'Donald.

Third Row (Left to Right) : Sergeants, Grossart, Bell, Lockerie, Dixon, Hogg, Kirkpatrick, C.Q.M.S. Graham, Sergeant, Palmer, C.Q.M.S. Stewart, C.S.I. of M. Gibbie and Tindall, S.-Sergeant, Glass, Sergeants, Burns, Martin, Donaldson, C.Q.M.S.'s Birrell, McGaw, and Clligan, Sergeants, Pringle, Murchie, Lambert, Pipe-Major Priestley.

Second Row (Left to Right) : Sergeants, Forbes, Redden, C.S.M.'s Hope, Blaen, Foulstone, Huggins, M'Donald, R.S.M. Milne, 2nd Lieutenant, and Adjut. Michie, Lieutenant-Col. W. J. Millar, C.S.M.'s Adam, Cowperthwaite, Mirtle, J. Smith, W. Smith, Strong, R.Q.M.S.'s Smith and Scott, C.Q.M.S. Falconer.

Front Row (Left to Right) : Sergeants, Swanston, Thomson, Dickson, Erskine, Feean, Richardson, Graham, Crawford.

hope to understand our gratitude nor the difference which they made in the life of a war-worn soldier.

So I had hoped to give a short account of the war record of the women at home. But I was disappointed, for it was very soon obvious that to do adequate justice to the subject a large volume and three or four years of hard work would be necessary.

Country houses were turned into hospitals, and as often as not they were run by the lady of the house and her friends. Girls of all classes became V.A.D.'s, and often endured a very hard time; others became W.A.A.C.'s or W.R.E.N.'s, or went to work at munitions. Some went overseas to nurse, or to drive an ambulance or staff car. I think I am right in saying that on every front from Servia to Belgium women from our countryside were driving cars on active service, often under heavy fire.

The women at home were, many of them, carrying on the work of the men or keeping together a husband's business, besides making bandages and doing all sorts of other war work.

Some were collecting sphagnum in peat bogs; others acting as servants in hospitals or keeping hospital accounts; others took charge of the widows and orphans; another took charge of the four or five prisoners of war in Germany, or in one case Constantinople; and so on indefinitely.

All this at a time when everyone was hard up, and also in a constant state of anxiety and nervous strain.

Thus the privilege of producing an adequate record of all these activities must, I felt convinced, be left to others.

The following brief notes may, however, help in the compilation of such a record:—

The 1/5th K.O.S.B. were especially indebted to the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Women's War Relief Committee (Mrs Montgomery Campbell, St. Michael's Manse, Dumfries, Convener; and Miss Young, M.B.E., Lincluden House, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer). In order to form a special fund for the 1/5th King's Own

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Scottish Borderers special collections were made in practically every church in the burghs, and also amongst the employees of almost every workshop and factory. The response was so generous that with the aid of special donations from individuals (proceeds from the sale of rags and wastepaper collected by Boy Scouts, per Mrs Easterbrook and her committee; the sale of a picture by Mrs Turner; results of prize drawings, per Mrs Penman, Mrs Humphreys, and Miss Glover; the *Standard Tobacco Fund*, contributions by Dumfries, Marchmont, and Maxwelltown Bowlers; collections at Intercessory and Memorial Services), a sum of £484 2s 7d was obtained.

In addition, thousands of comforts of every description and hospital dressings were sent to various battalions of the K.O.S.B. and other battalions, sailors, airmen, and hospitals at home and abroad.

"The burghs despatched to the 1/5th K.O.S.B. the following articles:—1556 pairs socks, 931 shirts, 984 woollen pants, 516 calico pants, 25 dozen handkerchiefs, 312 anti-vermin shirts, 168 sweaters, 96 mosquito veils, 100 mufflers, mitts, and helmets; also 83,800 cigarettes, 309 lbs. tobacco, pipes, matches, 40 stone oatmeal, and large quantities of Bovril, Oxo, Ivelcon, French plums, raisins, tinned fruits, tinned meats and fish, oatcakes, rice, chocolate, cafe-au-lait, cocoa, milk, lemonade and lime-juice powders, footballs, mouth organs, playing cards, stationery, notebooks, and pencils."¹

Another Ladies' Committee (Dumfriesshire Soldiers and Sailors Committee), of which Mrs Johnstone Douglas was Convener, and Mrs W. Hyslop Maxwell (Steilston) was Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, arranged for the despatch of all sorts of comforts and cigarettes. These were sent to the 1/5th K.O.S.B. and other battalions and naval stations. Similar work was carried out at Annan by Miss Polly Tweedie, Mrs D. Foster, Mrs J. Nicholson, and Mrs W. J. Millar.

At Newton-Stewart, Provost M'Phater (Convener) and Alex. Finningham, Esq. (Secretary), with the help of

(1) From the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald*, 21st February, 1920.

a strong Ladies' Committee, also collected funds, and sent out comforts of all kinds and Christmas parcels to the men serving overseas.

At Stranraer the Stranraer and District Red Cross and Comforts Association (Provost Dyer, and Miss E. W. MacGibbon (Convener) and Mrs Alec. W. M'Laughlin) also collected funds and sent off parcels to the K.O.S.B. and other battalions.

As regards Red Cross work in the Stewartry, the *Roll of Honour*¹ recently published contains a chapter by Mrs R. F. Dudgeon of Cargen, which gives details of the astonishing amount of work carried on by the Red Cross Society in that county.

Collections were also made in the burghs and Dumfriesshire for the Plum Pudding Fund.

The plum puddings were despatched by the staffs of the *Dumfries Courier* and *Dumfries Standard*. Unfortunately one consignment was only enjoyed by the deep-sea fishes of the Mediterranean, for the transport was torpedoed.

These organisations are only representative. The same sort of work was being carried on in every village and town from Kirkcudbright, Castle-Douglas, and Dalbeattie, to Kirkconnel, Sanquhar, and Wanlockhead; as well as from Langholm and Canonbie to Wigtown, Whithorn, and The Isle.

Moreover, in every parish in the three counties there was the same generosity and the same enthusiasm.

A glance at the map will show the reader how impossible it is for me to give exact and detailed information for the whole area.

(1) *The Stewartry Roll of Honour in the Great War, 1914-1918.*
Published by J. H. Maxwell, Ltd., Castle-Douglas.

LIST OF OFFICERS

Who served Overseas with the 1/5th King's Own Scottish Borderers.

THE compilation of this list has been exceedingly difficult. I have had the invaluable help of Col. W. J. Millar, D.S.O., Capt. T. D. Craig, Capt. W. Dinwiddie, and many others. I have consulted the Official Records known to me, including Part II. Orders.

And yet I cannot hope that in 1928 it is complete and accurate, and I must apologise to any officers incorrectly described or omitted.

The Commanding Officers.

Peninsular. **Col. Peter Murray Kerr, M.B.C.M.,** Edinburgh, 1887, T.D. Queen Victoria Jubilee and Coronation Medals. Served twenty-four years in the 3rd Volunteer Battalion and 5th K.O.S.B. He was in command at the beginning of hostilities, was in charge of the training and equipment for active service, and went out with the Battalion to the Peninsula. There he became dangerously ill, and was ordered home. Born in 1863. In civil life he is a distinguished surgeon in Dumfries.

Peninsular. **Col. William John Millar, D.S.O., T.D.** He joined the Dumfries Rifles as a bugler, and served continuously and in every rank of this unit or its successors. He went out to Gallipoli, and succeeded to the command after the battle of the 12th July. He remained on Gallipoli until the evacuation, and continued with the Battalion until after the Duesidar engagement, when, having reached the age limit, he was transferred home. Subsequently commanded the 4th Reserve Battalion, and after the Armistice was again in command of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. He retired after completion of his term of command, having served continuously with the Battalion and its predecessors for forty years. He is the principal of the well-known engineering works at Annan. Major Millar, the father of Col. W. J. Millar, had thirty-two years' service with the Battalion and its predecessors.

Killed. **Major W. T. Forrest (1/4th K.O.S.B.).** He was killed at Gaza.
Peninsular. He was a well-known international rugby player, and a great favourite with officers and men.

Died of Wounds. **Col. J. R. Simson, D.S.O.** He was a student at Edinburgh University, and enlisted at the outbreak of the Boer War in the 2nd Highland Light Infantry; Adjutant, 5th H.L.I. at Gallipoli, then Brigade Major. He took over command in May, 1916, was wounded before Gaza, and died of his wounds (Guy's Hospital, London).
Peninsular. He was Amateur Army Middleweight Champion (Boxing) a cool, daring soldier, a great sportsman, and popular with all ranks.

Wounded. Major W. F. Crombie, T.D. Wounded on the 12th July, and again at Gaza. He commanded the Battalion for a short time after Gaza, and again after El Jib. A well-known architect in Dumfries.

Wounded. Col. John Campbell Kennedy, M.V.O., of Dalquharran (Ayrshire). Joined Royal Navy, 1887. Retired (Lieutenant) on succession to above estate. Served with Ayrshire Yeomanry on Gallipoli. Invalided (frost bite). He commanded the 5th A. & S.H., and served with the 12th R.S.F. in France, also in Finland (2/1st Ayrshire Yeomanry). Also commanded the Ayrshire Yeomanry, 1923-1925. He was wounded at Gaza, and in command 1/5th K.O.S.B. for a short time.

Wounded. Col. A. H. De C. Kearsey, D.S.O., O.B.E., and Order of the Nile (3rd Class). A regular officer; entered Sandhurst, 1898; Captain and Major, 10th Hussars. Passed Staff College. Served with the 3rd Cavalry Division in France and on Gallipoli. Twice wounded, and four times mentioned in despatches. He was in command at Sea Post, Hesi, Mughar, and El Jib, where he was wounded. Author of "Technical Schemes" (Gale & Polden) and "Notes on Training for War" (Rees). A brilliant, dashing soldier.

Peninsular. Col. R. N. Coulson, D.S.O., Croix de Guerre with Palms, T.D. Twice mentioned in despatches. Joined Cambridge University Rifle Volunteers, 1898; 4th Volunteer Battalion Scottish Rifles, 1914. Mobilised 8th Scottish Rifles, 4th August, 1914. He was in command of the Battalion at the Auja, Beugneux, etc. (see text).

Major P. S. T. Beaver, M.C., Mentioned in Despatches. Joined the Battalion in April, 1918. Occasionally in command until transferred to Royal Scots Fusiliers.

Major W. N. Campbell. Prisoner of war in Germany. He managed to break through the frontier after a severe struggle with the sentries. Joined as Second-in-Command, January, 1918. Occasionally in command of the Battalion. Promoted to command 1/5th Suffolk Battalion, April, 1918.

Lieut.-Col. F. J. de C. Hood, D.S.O. He was in command of the Battalion at Anseghem, and afterwards in Belgium and Germany.

Major G. R. S. Paterson, D.S.O., M.C., and Croix de Guerre with Palms. In 1915 was a subaltern, 17th Battalion Highland Light Infantry. Adjutant, then Major, 31st May, 1917. Somme, 1st July, 1916 (M.C.). Twice mentioned in despatches. Cambrai (Croix de Guerre). In command at Gheluwe. He is now Second-in-Command of the Glasgow Highlanders.

OTHER OFFICERS

Who served Overseas with the 1/5th King's Own Scottish Borderers.

- Killed.** **Lieut. J. Alston.** Joined in France, May, 1918. Wounded at Beugneux, and killed 28th September, 1918. A bank agent.
- Peninsular.** **Capt. and Q.M. G. H. Axson.** Enlisted in 5th Cheshires in 1878; transferred to K.O.S.B. in 1880. Sergeant-Major, 3rd Volunteer Battalion K.O.S.B., 1908; Quartermaster, 5th K.O.S.B., 1912. Lieutenant and Quartermaster on Gallipoli. Invalided (dysentery) in November, 1915. He is still in service with the Territorial Force Association.
- Wounded.** **Lieut. Bairnsfather.** Joined the Battalion in August, 1918. He was severely wounded (both legs broken) in September, 1918.
- Lieut. Thomas Ballantyne, M.C.** He belongs to Newcastle-on-Tyne. (See "London Gazette," 1/1/19).
- Lieut. G. S. Barr.** Joined in France in May, 1918. Transferred to 1/5th H.L.I.
- Lieut. T. Baxter.** Joined in 1918. (No records.)
- Wounded.** **Major Edward John Bell, T.D.** On Gallipoli with the Battalion.
- Peninsular.** Dangerously wounded (lung) on the 12th July, 1915. Seconded for home service. He is partner in the firm of Arthur Bell & Co., manufacturers, Langholm.
- Wounded (twice).** **Lieut. H. M. Blyth.** Joined the Battalion in December, 1917 (Auja). Wounded in March, 1918, and again at Beugneux invalided. Belongs to Edinburgh.
- Lieut. R. D. Boyd.** Joined in 1918. Belongs to Lockerbie.
- Lieut. J. Boyes.** Joined in February, 1918. Invalided. Belongs to Lockerbie.
- Peninsular.** **Capt. A. M. Boyle.** Joined the Battalion on 23rd October, 1915. Subsequently appointed Gas Officer, Divisional Headquarters. He is a native of Dumfries, and a teacher in Edinburgh.
- Killed.** **Capt. W. S. Brown.** Joined the Battalion in April, 1918. He was killed in action on 14th October, 1918.
- Lieut. J. Cairns, M.C. (with Bar).** He distinguished himself at the affair near Kemmel (see "London Gazette," 15/2/19).
- Killed.** **Lieut. William Barton Campbell.** Joined the Battalion in Egypt. He was killed at Gaza (see text). He was an M.A. (Edinburgh University) and a licensed probationer (Church of Scotland). His brother, Lieut. Robert Burns Campbell, who trained in the 2/5th K.O.S.B., was killed in France. His father lives at Lockerbie, and was formerly at Castlemilk.
- Killed.** **Lieut. Robert Carlyle.** He was killed on the 12th July on
- Peninsular.** Gallipoli. The eldest son of T. R. Carlyle, Esq., of Waterbeek.

He was 22 years of age, and was educated at Melrose and Edinburgh Academy. (His brother, Lieut. T. J. Carlyle, was killed in France.)

Killed. **Lieut. G. G. Carmichael.** Joined the Battalion in 1918, and was killed at Beugneux. His father is Provost of Coldstream, Berwick-on-Tweed.

Lieut. Robert Lindsay Carruthers. Mentioned in Lord Allenby's Despatches. Joined on 20th July, 1916. Served all through Egypt and Palestine. Transferred to Indian Signals Division in March, 1918 (see text, Gaza, Auja, etc.). A native of Dumfries (Messrs R. Carruthers, aerated water manufacturers).

Capt. Andrew Laurence Chapman, M.C. and Croix de Guerre. Posted to 1/5th K.O.S.B., but transferred to 6th K.O.S.B. (see "London Gazette," 1/1/19 and 19/6/19). Son of the late Mr Chapman, Dinwoodie Lodge.

Peninsular. **Lieut. G. Christie.** Joined Battalion on 23rd October, 1915. Subsequently transferred to the Indian Army. Now in Australia.

Wounded. **Capt. and Quartermaster W. B. Churchill.** Joined Battalion in July, 1918. Wounded and invalided.

Killed. **Capt. Alexander Kenelm Clark-Kennedy.** Went out with the Battalion. He was killed at Gaza (see text). He was a son of the late Capt. Clark-Kennedy of Knockgray, and had held several important appointments in the Home Office. A brother, Capt. Archibald D. H. Clark-Kennedy, was killed in France. Another brother is Col. W. H. Clark-Kennedy (Canadian Highlanders), V.C.

Peninsular. **Lieut. R. Conchie.** Joined the Battalion on 30th October, 1918.

Wounded. **Lieut. F. R. Corrie.** Joined the Battalion in 1918. Wounded at Beugneux.

Peninsular. **Capt. E. Coventon.** Joined the Battalion in 1915. He was wounded in the charge on the 12th July. Served afterwards in Ireland, at Aldershot, and in Italy (liaison officer). Formerly private secretary to the late Sir Robert Buchanan Jardine, Bart. of Castlemilk.

Wounded **Captain and Adjutant Thomas Dick Craig, M.C.** Joined on 18th February, 1916. Served throughout Egypt, Palestine, and France until wounded before Beugneux. His leg was amputated. Son of the late Rev. A. B. Craig, M.A., minister of the U.F. Church, Laurieston, Balmaghie.

Capt. William Andrew Craig, M.C. (with Bar). Originally in Kirkcudbright Battery. Received a commission in 1/5th K.O.S.B., but transferred to 2nd Battalion. Tank Corps. Captured and towed back an enemy howitzer under heavy fire, etc. (see Stewartry Record). In Culdoch, Kirkcudbrightshire.

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Lieut. J. Crawford. Joined in August, 1918. Son of the late Mr Crawford, formerly in Broughton Mains, Sorbie.

Capt. M. Crichton (H.L.I.). Attached to the Battalion in August, 1918. A chartered accountant in Glasgow.

Killed. **Lieut. Stewart Phyn Crombie.** Joined the Battalion on 19th August, 1915. Killed at Gaza. Brother of Major W. F. Crombie.

Lieut. W. G. Davidson. Joined the Battalion in November, 1917. Invalided. Rejoined in March, 1918, and again invalided. A teacher in Edinburgh.

Peninsular. **Capt. Maurice Davies.** Mentioned in Despatches (Salonica). Joined on 6th November, 1915, and transferred to Salonica Force. An Ulsterman.

Wounded. **Capt. E. P. Dickie, M.C.** Joined the Battalion in 1917. Wounded at Wadi Hesi. Rejoined in January, 1918 (see text), at Gheluwe, where he rushed a machine gun and captured fifteen prisoners. Son of the late Mr Dickie, Editor of the "Dumfries and Galloway Standard." He is now Minister of the U.F. Church, Lockerbie.

Wounded. **Lieut. G. H. Dickie.** Joined the Battalion in 1917. Wounded at El Mughar, and invalided home. A native of Dumfries.

Capt. John William Todd Dickie, M.C., Belgian Croix de Guerre. Joined the Battalion in December, 1917 (see text, Gheluwe, etc.). He is a son of the Rev. M. Dickie, U.F. minister at Sanquhar, and is now U.F. Minister at Laurieston, Balmaghie.

Lieut. Alexander Bruce Dickson, M.C. Mobilised as sergeant; awarded a commission (2/5th K.O.S.B.), and joined the Battalion in Egypt. Transferred.

Wounded. **Capt. William Dinwiddie.** Mentioned in Despatches. He was wounded (in the chest) at Gaza. Served as Adjutant and then in command of the Depot, Cairo. He is a member of the firm of Messrs R. Dinwiddie, printers and publishers, Dumfries.

Died of Wounds. **Lieut. Robert Douglas.** He was severely wounded on the 12th July, and died on board ship; aged 43 years (see text). An architect in practice at Lockerbie.

Peninsular. **Lieut. E. Dunlop.** Joined the Battalion on 9th June, and transferred on 15th August, 1916. He was practising as a solicitor in Lockerbie when war broke out.

Lieut. G. W. Dunn, M.C., and Croix de Guerre (1st Class). Originally attached to the Cameron Highlanders. He was at Brigade Headquarters in Egypt, and joined the Battalion in June, 1918 (see text).

Killed. **Capt. Thomas Dunn.** Received a commission in the 2/5th **Peninsular.** K.O.S.B., and joined the 1/5th K.O.S.B. on Gallipoli. He was

killed at Gaza. He was a law student at Edinburgh University. His father was in the firm of Messrs Hewats & Dunn, solicitors, Castle-Douglas.

Killed. **Capt. James Johnstone Dykes.** Mentioned in Despatches.
Peninsular. Joined the Volunteers in October, 1906. He was killed on the 12th July, 1915, aged 30 years. He was a well-known dentist at Dumfries, and had won the Macleod-Bowman Bursary at Edinburgh University.

Wounded. **Lieut. J. E. Edzell.** Joined the Battalion in August, 1918, and was wounded on the 28th September, 1918.

Lieut. G. R. Elder. Joined the Battalion on 3rd December, 1917. Transferred to 4th K.O.S.B.

Peninsular. **Lieut. J. W. Fergusson.** Joined the Battalion on 4th December, 1915. Transferred to Royal Flying Corps. A native of Ruthwell. Came over with Canadian Forces, and promoted to a commission with 1/5th K.O.S.B.

Lieut. J. M'K. Flint. Joined the Battalion from the 6th H.L.I. in France. He was wounded at Beugneux. He is the son of the famous comedian of that name ("Frame.")

Peninsular. **Capt. Ernest Switzer Forde.** Landed on Gallipoli, and invalided (dysentery) on the same day. He saw service in the Nile Campaign in 1888, and in South Africa in 1901. After his return home he joined the R.A.M.C., and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Provost of Castle-Douglas, and a well-known physician.

Capt. Robert Russell French, M.C., and Croix de Guerre. Joined the Battalion in January, 1918. (For services see text.) In Edinburgh.

Capt. W. T. Gardner, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S.E. (R.A.M.C.), M.C. A well-known medical specialist; in practice at Edinburgh.

Killed. **Lieut. Robert Andrew Gibb.** Joined the Battalion in 1917, and was killed at Gaza. Son of Mr John Gibb, Nicholson Street, Edinburgh. A journalist (Ayr, Dumfries, Newton-Stewart, London). He enlisted, and served on Gallipoli as Staff Sergeant-Major in the Army Service Corps. A brilliant writer.

Wounded (twice). **Capt. Eric Newall Gibson.** Served on Gallipoli, and was wounded at Gaza and El Jib (see text). Partner in the firm of Messrs J. L. Gibson & Co., hosiery manufacturers, Dumfries.

Peninsular. **Lieut. A. H. Gillespie.** Joined the Battalion in December, 1917. Invalided.

Wounded. **Capt. R. Gillespie.** Joined the Battalion in 1918, and was wounded in July, 1918 (see text). Now in London.

Peninsular. **The Rev. J. Gillies, D.D., Chaplain.** Served on Gallipoli and in Egypt. Transferred to Divisional Headquarters. He was

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twice wrecked (torpedoed) during his service. Dr Gillies is parish minister at Lesmahagow.

Wounded (thrice). **Capt. J. M'M. Gilmour, M.C.** Joined the Battalion in February, 1916, and served in Egypt, Palestine, and France (see text). Dangerously wounded at Gheluwe. The son of W. P. Gilmour, Esq., Balmangan, and himself a farmer and owner of Chapelton of Borgue.

Killed. **Capt. Alexander M. T. Glover.** Mobilized 4th August, 1914. Lanarkshire Imperial Yeomanry. Served with the Battalion in Egypt, and was transferred to R.A.F. Killed on 17th August, 1918 (Stewartry Record). Son of the late Provost Glover.

Peninsular. **Capt. J. M'N. Glover.** Served with the Battalion on the Peninsula. Transferred home in October, 1915. Held staff appointment subsequently in France. Also a son of Provost Glover.

Peninsular. **Capt. A. J. Gordon Hunter, M.D. (R.A.M.C.), M.C.** Awarded M.C. for gallantry in attending to wounded under fire at Gaza and El Jib. In practice at Dumfries.

Wounded. **Lieut. William Graham, Croix de Guerre.** Joined the Battalion on 26th December, 1917. Wounded at Beugneux (see text). Subsequently transferred to 4th K.O.S.B.

Peninsular. **Lieut. J. Leslie Gray.** Joined the Battalion from Inns of Court O.T.C. Invalided from Gallipoli. Rejoined in Egypt, and again invalided. He was in the Meteorological Office, and died in 1926.

Peninsular. **Capt. E. Grierson.** Went out with the Battalion to Gallipoli, and was invalided (dysentery). Subsequently Adjutant, 3rd Volunteer Battalion, K.O.S.B. Now manager of a plantation in Bermuda.

Peninsular. **Lieut. F. V. Grierson.** Joined the Battalion on 6th November, 1915, at Gallipoli. Seconded for service in the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan, and died there. Brother of :

Major Sir Robert G. W. Grierson, Bart. of Lagg and Rockhall. Served in Egypt with the Battalion, and was transferred to a Staff appointment. Formerly in the Royal Scots Regiment.

Capt. R. P. Haddon (R.A.M.C.). Joined the Battalion in 1918.

Lieut. A. W. Harvie. Joined the Battalion on 25th March, 1916, and was transferred to R.F.C.

Died of Wounds. **Lieut. Hewett Walter Lewis Henery.** Joined the Battalion in 1915 from Inns of Court O.T.C. Died of wounds received at Gaza. His father was in business at Iquique, Chili.

Peninsular. **Lieut. J. Henderson.** Joined the Battalion on 28th July, 1915. Transferred to R.F.C. Son of the Principal, Borgue Academy; now settled in Nyasaland.

Lieut. G. G. Hogarth. Joined the Battalion on 28th December, 1917, from Northumberland Fusiliers. A bank agent in Berwick-on-Tweed.

Capt. J. Hood, M.C. Joined the Battalion in December, 1917 (see Anseghem in text). A bank agent.

Lieut. J. Hope. Joined the Battalion in August, and invalided in September, 1918.

Wounded. **Captain and Adjutant J. Howieson.** Joined the Battalion in March, 1916. Wounded at Gaza. Formerly Sergeant-Major, 1/4th Royal Scots.

Capt. J. Hyslop. Joined the Battalion in 1918. Transferred. Belongs to Rosevale Street, Langholm.

Lieut. G. W. Jenkins. Joined the Battalion in April, and was invalided in September, 1918. Signalling officer.

Peninsular. **Captain and Quartermaster Charles Johnson, D.C.M.** Sergeant-Major of the Battalion on the Peninsula. Afterwards Quartermaster in Egypt and Palestine. Award for keeping up supply of bombs, etc., to the firing-line on 12th July.

Lieut. A. B. Johnstone. Joined the Battalion in April, and was invalided in June and again in September, 1918.

Killed. **Lieut. A. R. Johnstone.** Joined the Battalion from H.L.I. He was killed at Beugneux.

Capt. James Ian Johnstone, M.C. Served with the Rifle Brigade, 1913-1915. Received a commission in the 5th K.O.S.B., April, 1918 (see "London Gazette," 16/9/18). He was the son of Dr Johnstone, a native of Lochmaben, and now in practice at Nunhead, London.

Wounded. **Captain and Adjutant Andrew Kay, M.C.** Joined the Battalion in June, 1917, and remained with it till after the Armistice. Wounded on 24th November, 1917. A banker (Union Bank of Scotland).

Killed. **Lieut. James Kerr.** Sergeant at the battle of Gaza, and was awarded a commission for gallantry in repairing telephone wires under fire. He was killed at El Mughar on 13th November, 1917. He belonged to Kirkconnel (blacksmith).

Killed. **Lieut. John Alexander Kirk.** Enlisted 1913. Went out as **Peninsular.** Sergeant to Gallipoli. He was awarded a commission, and was killed on 13th October, 1915, aged 24. His brother, William (aged 19), was killed in France. His father was a tobacconist in Maxwelltown.

Wounded. **Lieut. J. Knowler.** Joined the Battalion in February, 1918. Wounded at Beugneux.

Peninsular. **Lieut. I. A. Laing.** Joined on 19th August, 1915. Transferred to Royal Flying Corps and 87th Brigade. A native of Edinburgh.

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Capt. D. Lamb (R.A.M.C.). Joined and transferred in June, 1916.

Lieut. W. G. Langlands. Joined the Battalion in July, 1918. Invalided.

Killed. **Lieut. Charles John Law.** Joined the Battalion on 18th December, 1916, and was killed at Gaza on 19th April, 1917; aged 20 years and 2 months. The second son of the Prime Minister (the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law). He was educated at Eton College, and at Christmas, 1913, was studying at Weimar, and arrived home thirty-six hours before the declaration of war.

Lieut. A. C. Laxton. Joined the Battalion on 13th May, 1918. (No records.)

Peninsular. **Lieut. R. C. Leslie.** Joined the Battalion on 4th December, 1915. Transferred to Cyclist Company in March, 1916.

Lieut. D. D. Little. Joined the Battalion in February, 1918. He was subsequently transferred to the Indian Army.

Lieut. R. W. Lowe. Joined the Battalion in August, 1918. (No records.)

Peninsular. **Lieut. J. M. P. Macadam.** With the Battalion in August, 1915. Invalided. (No records.)

Capt. Alexander MacBryde, M.C. Joined the Battalion in December, 1917 (see text, Auja). A native of Whithorn.

Lieut. J. M'Call. Joined the Battalion in December, 1917 (from H.L.I.).

Died of Wounds. **Capt. A. B. M'Creath,** Albert Medal. Wounded in the fighting after El Jib, and died in Hospital, Alexandria. He was the son of Mr H. B. M'Creath, Berwick-on-Tweed.

Wounded. **Capt. W. M'Donald.** Joined the Battalion in February, 1918. He was wounded on the 31st October, 1918.

Killed. **Lieut. William Barr Macfarlane.** He was killed on the 12th July at Gallipoli. He was a minister (Church of Scotland).

Wounded (twice). **Capt. J. B. M'George.** Mentioned by Col. W. J. Millar for "constant and untiring energy in pushing up bombs, etc.," on the 12th July. Wounded at El Jib, and again at Beugneux.¹ He was afterwards invalided for trench fever. He is in practice as a solicitor at Langholm.

Wounded. **Lieut. J. M'Hardy.** Joined the Battalion in August, and was wounded on 28th September, 1918.

Killed. **Lieut. G. M. MacKinnon.** Joined the Battalion on 10th April, 1916. He was killed at Wadi Hesi. A native of Glasgow.

(1) A bullet pierced his arm and embedded itself in a metal flask. A narrow escape.

Appendices.

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Capt. MacLay, Croix de Guerre. This officer was present at Beugneux. I have not traced his name in Battalion Orders (Part II.).

Major R. G. MacLaine. Joined the Battalion in 1918.

Killed. **Lieut. G. C. Macleod**. Joined the Battalion on 10th April, 1916, and was killed at Gaza, 19th April, 1917. The only son of Mrs Macleod, The Laurels, Albert Road, Pollokshields.

Peninsular. **Col. Alexander Henry M'Neill**, Serbian Order Kara George with Crossed Swords (4th Class). Went out with the Battalion to Gallipoli, and was invalided after Gaza. He is now (1928) in command of the Battalion. He is the proprietor of Shennanton, Wigtownshire.

Lieut. J. M. Macpherson. Joined the Battalion in France. Transferred to 1/4th K.O.S.B.

Wounded. **Lieut. Donald Macrae**. Went out with the Battalion to Gallipoli. Dangerously wounded on the 12th July (see text). He is now in business in Glasgow. Formerly in Drumlanrig Estate Office.

Wounded. **Captain and Adjutant Robert Mathieson, M.C.¹** Joined the Battalion before August, 1914. He was Adjutant from Gaza until El Jib, where he was wounded. He was a banker (National Bank of Scotland). He died at Fort-William in 1923.

Capt. W. G. Mattingley. Joined the Battalion in August, 1918. Now serving with 2nd K.O.S.B. Native of Berkshire.

Killed. **Lieut. William Francis John Maxwell**. Went to Gallipoli with the Battalion, and was killed on 13th August, 1915. Eton College. He was the only son and heir of Sir W. Maxwell, Bart. of Cardoness.

Wounded. **Capt. J. S. Millar**. Joined the Battalion on Gallipoli, and was transferred to the Cameronians. He is now a captain in that regiment (26th). He is the son of Col. W. J. Millar.

Wounded. **Lieut. William S. Miller**. Served with the Battalion in Palestine. A native of Moffat (Messrs John Miller & Sons, drapers, Moffat).

Killed. **Lieut. J. J. Munro**. Joined the Battalion in August, and was killed on 31st October, 1918.

Capt. W. A. Muir. Joined the Battalion in 1917. Transferred.

Lieut. G. W. Muir. Joined the Battalion in February, 1916, and was transferred to the Machine Gun Company.

Peninsular. **Lieut. A. Murdoch**. Joined on 23rd October, 1915. Transferred to Machine Gun Company in Egypt.

(1) "When an attack was held up by heavy machine gun fire, he dashed forward, calling on the men to follow him. The position was captured."

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Killed. **Lieut. D. M. Nicholson.** Joined the Battalion (from the Scottish Horse) in March, 1917, and was killed at Gaza. Formerly a teacher in China.

Lieut. J. Nivison. Joined the Battalion in March, 1918. Now a minister of the U.F. Church of Scotland (Orkneys). A native of Keir Parish.

Lieut. J. S. G. O'Farrell (R.A.M.C.). Appointed to the Battalion in 1918.

Wounded. **Capt. O. P. Oliver.** Joined the Battalion in 1917. He was severely wounded at Wadi Hesi. Now Sheriff-Clerk at Jedburgh.

Wounded. **Lieut. R. B. Orr.** Joined the Battalion in January, 1918, and wounded on 9th October, 1918. He is a son of the Rev. Mr Orr (U.F. Church), formerly at Langholm, now in Borgue. He is in West Africa.

Wounded. **Capt. James Bruce Penman, M.C.** Went out with the Battalion to Gallipoli. He was wounded at El Jib (see text, Seapost, etc.). Partner in the firm of Messrs A. C. Penman, Ltd. (Motor Engineers), Dumfries.

Killed. **Lieut. H. E. Pollard.** Joined the Battalion on 4th December, 1915. He was signalling officer, and was killed at Romani on 4th August, 1916. A native of Glasgow.

Lieut. J. B. Pringle. Joined the Battalion in February, 1918. Invalided.

Lieut. J. T. Prior. Joined the Battalion in August, 1918 (see text, Anseghem).

Lieut. W. Purves. Joined the Battalion in August, 1918. Invalided.

Captain and Adjutant J. H. Rawlings, King's and Queen's Medal with Six Clasps, Mons Star. Served in May, 1915, in the 2nd K.O.S.B. (Ypres Salient). Joined the Battalion on 25th July, 1916. Transferred to the Manchester Regiment. He enlisted in the 1st Royal Scots in 1895, and served through the South African War. In 1913 he was Sergeant-Instructor at Castle-Douglas. Resigned in 1920. Now living in Maxwelltown.

Lieut. R. P. Reid. Joined the Battalion in 1918. Now serving with the 2nd K.O.S.B.

Wounded. **Lieut. O. W. F. Richardson,** Croix de Guerre. Joined the Battalion in January, and was wounded at Beugneux in August, 1918 (see text).

Capt. R. J. Richardson. Joined the Battalion in 1918. Assistant Adjutant in France. Invalided. At present with a rubber company.

Wounded **Lieut. Sidney Charles Roberts, M.C.** Joined the Battalion
(twice). from Inns of Courts Rifles. Wounded on Gallipoli, and again at
Peninsular. Gaza on 19th April, 1917. A boot manufacturer in Leicester.

- Killed.** **Lieut. S. Robertson.** Joined the Battalion in 1917. He was wounded at El Mughar, and rejoined in December, 1917. He was killed at Beugneux. A native of Edinburgh.
- Lieut. W. N. Robertson.** Joined the Battalion in January, 1918. Transferred to Machine Gun Corps.
- Killed.** **Lieut. W. Robinson.** Joined the Battalion in February, 1916. He was killed at Beugneux.
- Lieut. C. E. Rooke.** Joined the Battalion on 6th February, 1916. Transferred to Machine Gun Corps.
- Peninsular.** **Lieut. Ross Gavin (Scottish Rifles).** Joined the Battalion on Gallipoli. Invalided on 28th December, 1915.
- Wounded.** **Lieut. O. T. Roxburgh.** Joined the Battalion in January, 1918. Wounded on 28th September, 1918.
- Capt. W. H. O. Rutherford.** Joined on 4th October, 1918. Transferred to 2nd K.O.S.B.
- Peninsular.** **Captain and Adjutant G. Salmond.** Held a commission in Battalion before the war. Invalided from Gallipoli. Headmaster, Creetown School.
- Capt. Alexander Walter Scott.** Joined the Battalion in France in 1918.
- Died of Wounds.** **Lieut. Andrew Riddell Scott.** Joined the Battalion on 13th December, 1915. Died of wounds received at Gaza. He was the son of the late Q.M.S. J. Scott, who also served with the Battalion in Gallipoli and Egypt. He was in business in Lockerbie.
- Peninsular.** **Lieut. H. A. Scott.** Joined the Battalion in February, 1918. Transferred to R.F.C. A native of Selkirk
- Peninsular.** **Lieut. W. H. Scott.** Joined the Battalion on 1st December, and was invalided on 8th December, 1915.
- Capt. G. F. Scott Elliot,** Order of the Nile (4th Class), Mentioned in Despatches. Joined the Battalion on 6th February, 1916. Seconded in July, 1917.
- Wounded.** **Major R. W. Sharpe.** Temporarily attached to Battalion. Belonged to 4th K.O.S.B. He was wounded (leg amputated). Son of Mrs Sharpe, Corberry House, Maxwelltown. Now farmer, The Park, Earlstoun.
- Capt. J. W. Simpson (R.A.M.C.).** Joined the Battalion on 28th November, 1917. Transferred.
- Wounded.** **Lieut. Robert John Sinelair, M.B.E.** He went out with the Battalion, and was dangerously wounded on the 12th July, 1915. With the Imperial Tobacco Company.
- Peninsular.** **Lieut. Ernest Smith.** Went out with the Battalion to Gallipoli, and was killed there on 12th July. He belonged to Inverary, and was a teacher at Moffat Academy. A well-known shinty player.

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- Capt. (Rev.) A. J. Stewart, M.C.** Joined the Battalion on 11th February, 1918. He is a minister of the U.F. Church of Scotland. Lately at Waterbeck, Ecclefechan. A famous league football player.
- Peninsular.** **Lieut. R. M. Stewart.** Joined the Battalion on 4th December, 1916. Transferred to Machine Gun Company on 20th March, 1916. A native of Liverpool.
- Lieut. G. D. Thomson, M.C.** Joined the Battalion in August, 1918. Now serving with 1st K.O.S.B. Son of General Thomson, R.A.M.C.
- Lieut. J. S. Thomson.** Served with the Battalion in Palestine. Son of Mr W. Thomson, Drumburn, Newabbey.
- Wounded.** **Capt. J. N. Tomlinson.** Joined the Battalion in March, 1917. Wounded in Palestine.
- Peninsular.** **Capt. William Hyslop Turner, M.C.** Joined the Battalion shortly after mobilization. Served in Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine, and France (see text, Gaza and Sea Post). Invalided in August, 1918. He is a native of Dumfries. On the outbreak of war he sold his ranch in the Argentine in order to join up.
- Killed.** **Lieut. Alexander Tweedie.** Enlisted on the outbreak of war, and was awarded a commission for gallantry on 12th July (Gallipoli). He was killed at Gaza. He was a marine engineer, and belonged to Annan.
- Lieut. A. Velteh.** Joined the Battalion in August, 1918.
- Capt. G. A. Walker.** Joined the Battalion in February, 1918. Transferred to 4th K.O.S.B.
- Lieut. A. J. Wallace.** Joined the Battalion in March, 1918. Native of Glasgow.
- Lieut. R. Wallbank.** Joined the Battalion in August, 1918. Native of Liverpool.
- Killed.** **Capt. William George Douglas Watson.** Mobilized with the
- Peninsular.** Battalion. He was killed at Gaza; aged 25 years. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and University. A solicitor and bank agent (Royal Bank) at Annan.
- Wounded.** **Lieut. James Weir, M.C.** Joined the Battalion in January, 1918, and was wounded at Beugneux. A baker in Glasgow.
- Killed.** **Capt. Tom Welsh.** Went out with the Battalion to Gallipoli,
- Peninsular.** and was killed there on 12th July. He was proprietor of Earls-haugh, and farmed Ericstane and Carterton, Moffat. Member of the County Council, Dumfriesshire (memorial tablet in the County Buildings, Dumfries).
- Lieut. Hugh Hamilton White, M.C.** Joined the Battalion in 1917. Invalided in August, 1918. Originally in Ayrshire Police Force.

Appendices.

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Peninsular. **Capt. T. W. Woodhead, M.C.** Joined the Battalion on 4th December, 1915 (see text, Gallipoli, Bethhoron, and El Mughar). He is now M.R.C.V.S. (Board of Agriculture).

Captain and Quartermaster W. Wynne. Joined the Battalion in France.

Peninsular. **Major (formerly Captain and Adjutant) Thomas William Youngson.** Adjutant of the Battalion before the war. Went out with them to Gallipoli, where he was "recommended for his hard work and his excellent arrangements throughout." Invalided (dysentery). He joined the 1st Battalion K.O.S.B. in 1897. Saw service in South Africa; Queen's Medal (3 Clasps) and King's Medal (2 Clasps). After the war was Brigade-Major in Egypt, and died at Port Said in 1922, aged 46 years. Memorial tablet in the Wish Church, Aberdeen. He was a son of Major Youngson of Southfields, near Cults, Aberdeenshire, and succeeded to this property. His father commanded the City of Aberdeen Artillery for nineteen years.

The following names are cited in "Officers Died in the Great War, 5th K.O.S.B." I cannot trace any record of their serving with the Battalion overseas.

Capt. SIDNEY MACGOWAN, M.C. Killed in Action (25/5/17).

Lieut. ROBERT BURNS CAMPBELL. Killed in Action (3/5/17).

Lieut. THOMAS JOHNSTONE CARLYLE. Killed in Action (5/10/17).

Lieut. DAVID GRAHAM MACDOUGALL. Killed in Action (27/7/17).

Lieut. ALEXANDER BRYSON. Died of Wounds (25/6/17).

Lieut. ARCHIBALD LINDSAY CRANSTON. Died of Wounds (16/8/18).

Lieut. WILLIAM MILLAR DOUGLAS. Killed in Action (19/8/17).

Lieut. ANDREW YUILL POLLOCK JOHNSTONE. Killed in Action (5/10/17). Son of Mr Johnstone, draper, Lochmaben.

Lieut. JOHN MURRAY. Killed in Action (16/8/17).

Lieut. ARCHIBALD MORTON SANDERS. Died of Wounds (9/4/17). Son of Dr Sanders, Lochmaben.

Lieut. JOHN SLOAN. Killed in Action (23/7/18).

Lieut. ALEX. BLAIR WHITE. Killed in Action (23/7/18).

Lieut. ALEX. NEWBIGGING WILSON. Killed in Action (24/11/17).
Son of Mrs Wilson, Loreburn Park, Dumfries.

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Many other officers trained in the 2/5th K.O.S.B. are doubtless recorded under the regiments which they joined for service.

Amongst other officers of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. who did not serve with the Battalion overseas are :—

Capt. NEIL BOYD M'EACHARN of Galloway House, M.B.E. (L.G., 3/6/19.)

Capt. WILLIAM CUTHBERTSON, M.C., Annan. (L.G., 26/7/18.)
(See appendix 2/5th K.O.S.B.)

Capt. JOHN MOFFAT, Croix de Guerre, Eskdalemuir. (L.G., 19/6/19.)

Capt. R. J. CUNNINGHAM, Annan. (See Chap. I.)

AWARDS AND DECORATIONS

Granted to Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and
• Men serving Abroad with the 1/5th King's Own Scottish
Borderers.

I must express my sincere regret if any names have been omitted or decorations wrongly described. Some of those who, after serving with the Battalion, were transferred and obtained distinction with other Battalions have been mentioned, but I cannot expect that all such are included, for there is really no way of tracing them.

Pte. James Laidlaw Armstrong (Thornhill). Military Medal obtained when serving with the H.L.I.

Pte. Richard Borthwick Beattie (Langholm). Military Medal won at Gheluvelde, October, 1918.

C.Q.M.S. George S. Beattie (Dumfries). Mentioned in Despatches and promoted for service in France. Now Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 5th K.O.S.B.

R.Q.M.S. James Bell (Langholm). Military Cross for service in Egypt and Palestine.

Corpl. R. Blacklock (Parton). Distinguished Conduct Medal. Attack on Bergstraat (31st October, 1918). His company officer and N.C.O.'s had become casualties. He took charge of the Company, carried all his objectives, and attacked and captured many machine guns.

C.S.M. John Brown (Kirkconnel). Distinguished Conduct Medal and Mentioned in Despatches. Organising supply of ammunition at Gaza. (L.G., 12/1/18.) During the operations at Anseghem, after the Battalion had reached the final objective, his Company was under severe machine gun fire. He reorganised his Company, got the situation in hand, and bringing all possible rifle and Lewis gun fire to bear on the enemy machine guns, successfully silenced them. Also he crossed an area under heavy machine gun fire, and brought back a severely wounded officer.

Corpl. H. W. Bryson. Distinguished Conduct Medal. Gen. Lord Allenby's Despatches (L.G., 3/4/18).

Pte. J. Buchanan. Distinguished Conduct Medal. (L.G., 24/1/19.)

Sergt. J. A. Cain. Military Medal and Croix de Guerre (1st Class). (L.G., 24/1/19.)

Sergt. H. Cartwright. Received a Commission in Flying Corps.

Sergt. (afterwards Captain) J. A. Caven (R.S.F.). Commissioned. Promoted when serving with 5th K.O.S.B. in Egypt.

Sergt. J. Cowan. Military Medal and received a Commission.

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Lance-Sergt. D. Clarke (Kirkpatrick-Fleming). Distinguished Conduct Medal for great gallantry and promptitude in removing shells from a burning dump (see text).

Corpl. A. D. Cannon (Langholm). Received a Commission (R.F.C.).

C.S.M. S. Cowperthwaite (Maxwelltown). Belgian Croix de Guerre.

Corpl. W. Curran. Military Medal. Action at Romani (see text).

Pte. D. Dalgleish, Stretcher-bearer. Mentioned in Despatches for services as stretcher-bearer. (Despatches, 12/1/18).

Sergt. J. Dalziel. Military Medal. (No records.)

Pte. John Dickson (Holywood). Military Medal for conspicuous success as sniper.

Sergt. O. R. Dykes. Offered a Commission. He had not finished a preparatory course when the Armistice was declared.

Pte. Alexander Erskine (R.A.M.C.), Stretcher-bearer at Gallipoli. Mentioned in Despatches.

Sergt. J. Fallowfield. Distinguished Conduct Medal. (L.G., 16/1/19).

Corpl. W. G. Fergusson (Caerlaverock). Medaille Militaire.

Pte. R. Freeman (Wrightington). Military Medal. (L.G., 17/6/19).

Sergt. F. Gallagher (Stranraer). Distinguished Conduct Medal. "His initiative and fearlessness undoubtedly brought about the capture of Uniform Farm and saved many lives" (see text).

Pte. D. Gordon (Dumfries). Belgian Croix de Guerre.

Pte. A. Graham. Military Medal. (L.G., 18/11/17).

Sergt.-Major T. C. Graham (Dumfries). Distinguished Conduct Medal and Mentioned in Despatches for cool courage and devotion to duty under fire, and especially at Percy Tigny when in charge of a company under heavy shell-fire. Severely wounded at Beugneux.

Sergt. W. Graham. Distinguished Conduct Medal, Military Medal, and Croix de Guerre (15th and 16th April, 1917). Wounded in the foot and suffering from gas, he led his platoon with great dash, and killed a German who was firing at his Sergeant-Major. When the latter was killed he took command of his platoon, and though buried by a shell-burst remained at his post. On 11th April, 1918, he brought back a wounded comrade 200 yards under heavy machine gun fire, and afterwards held a gap between his Battalion and the South Wales Borderers without losing a man. He was himself severely wounded when reorganising for a renewed attack.

Sergt. J. S. Grant (Langholm). Distinguished Conduct Medal and Croix de Guerre (L.G., 22/11/18). Early in the action (Soissons) all his officers and senior N.C.O.'s became casualties. He took command, and

by sheer personality rallied the men and fought his way to the objective, where he consolidated, reorganised, and carried on for eight hours.

Lance-Corpl. T. E. Griffen. Distinguished Conduct Medal and Military Medal for great gallantry and promptitude in removing shells from a burning dump (see text).

Sergt. J. Henderson (Moniaive). Distinguished Conduct Medal. On the 12th July at Gallipoli he continually crossed the open with despatches under very heavy fire.

Lance-Sergt. W. Herd. Military Medal (L.G., 18/11/17).

Sergt. (then Private) T. G. Hogg. Military Medal (January, 1918). (No particulars.)

Sergt.-Major C. Johnson. Distinguished Conduct Medal for gallant behaviour in pushing forward supplies of bombs, water, etc., on the 12th July. He also has the Chitral, Punjab Frontier, and Tirah medals (three Bars). (See p. 315.)

Corpl. T. Isaac (Dumfries). Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/17). For carrying forward water and ammunition at the battle of Gaza.

Pte. A. Kain. Mentioned in Despatches (Despatches, 12/1/18).

Corpl. John Kevan. Military Medal and Croix de Guerre (see text, Beugneux).

Corpl. John Little (Canonbie Moor). Distinguished Conduct Medal. When attached to 155th Trench Mortar Battery he rendered valuable assistance in disposing of two enemy machine guns under heavy rifle and machine gun fire. Wounded at Menin (August, 1918), and again at Bullecourt (September, 1918). Now deceased.

Pte. R. Little (Langholm). Medal of St. George (4th Class), Silver (H.I.M. the Czar of Russia). (No particulars.)

Pte. G. Lounds. Military Medal. (No particulars.)

Lance-Corpl. J. M'Ates (Kirkconnel). Military Medal and Mentioned in Despatches for conspicuous gallantry and fine example during a patrol encounter in Palestine (L.G., 27/3/18). He was killed on 3rd November, 1918.

Sergt. H. A. M'Clelland (Gatehouse-of-Fleet). Military Medal (with H.L.I.).

C.Q.M.S. James H. M'Call (Lockerbie). Distinguished Conduct Medal. At Gallipoli, "very effective sniping whilst wounded and exposed." Under heavy shell-fire, and in spite of heavy casualties in his ration party, he reorganised them and delivered the rations (Menin, 19th August, 1918).

Corpl. Alex. M'Donald (Moffat). Military Medal for conspicuous gallantry at Bullecourt. Died subsequently.

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Lance-Corpl. J. M'Donald. Military Medal (January, 1918). (No particulars known).

Pte. E. M'Ewan. Military Medal. (No particulars known.)

Lance-Corpl. E. M'Gill (New-Galloway). Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/19).

Sergt. L. M'Guffie (Wigtown). **Victoria Cross.** During the attack on Piccadilly Farm (after his platoon commander had been killed), he took command, stormed several dugouts, and captured a dozen German prisoners, including two officers. Disarmed a German escort single-handed, and released the British prisoners. His initiative and fearlessness led to the capture of a German pillbox and its garrison. Killed near Kruiseik, prior to intimation of award of the coveted honour. (See pp. 263, 264, 267.)

Sergt. M'Millan (Newton-Stewart). (Killed.) Distinguished Conduct Medal. He served twenty-seven years in the Galloway Rifles and with the 2nd Volunteer Company (South African War). Queen's Medal (with Five Clasps).

Pte. W. M'Minn (Kelloholm). Military Medal for gallant behaviour at El Jib (L.G., 24/11/17).

Lance-Corpl. J. M'Neille. Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/19). Accompanied Sergt. Gallagher in the capture of Uniform Form (see text).

Lance-Corpl. E. M'Pheat (Airdrie). Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/19).

C.Q.M.S. W. MacRae (Newton-Stewart). Distinguished Conduct Medal (L.G., 1/1/19). *Coolness and devotion to duty in issuing rations under heavy shellfire (Parcy Tigny and Beugneux) and consistent good work (February to September, 1913).

Pte. R. Martin (Whithorn). Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/19).

Corpl. D. Miller (Annan). Promoted. Awarded a Commission.

Pte. Thomas Milligan (Langholm). Mentioned in Despatches.

Pte. P. Milne. Military Medal. (No particulars known.)

Sergt. W. B. Milner. Distinguished Conduct Medal and Military Medal (L.G., 2/11/17 and 18/2/18, 23rd March, 1915). Great coolness and courage. Worked a Lewis gun single-handed until dark, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

Pte. Milroy (Dalbeattie). Military Medal. (No particulars known.)

Pte. L. D. Mitchell. Medaille d'honneur avec Glaives (L.G., 1/1/19).

Corpl. B. Monro (Lauder). Military Medal (L.G., 1/1/19). (No particulars known.)

Pte. R. Morton (Kirkconnel). Distinguished Conduct Medal. During mining operations at Krithia Nullah he went down a counter-mine which had been exploded to find out what had happened to two officers who had

gone down but not returned. He was pulled back to the surface unconscious, but on recovery insisted on going down again. After two hours he and three others were recovered. One of the latter never regained consciousness.

Pte. C. Mundell (Mouswald). Mentioned in Despatches for services as a stretcher-bearer (12/1/18).

Corpl. T. Murdoch. Military Medal and Mentioned in Despatches. Wounded (12th July, 1915) in crossing the open several times with despatches. When attached to 10th Scottish Rifles at Arras (8/3/17) he twice doubled out into No Man's Land, bringing in an officer and a wounded comrade.

Pte. J. J. O'Haire (Castle-Douglas). Military Medal and *Medaille Militaire* for continuous gallantry and devotion to duty at Beugneux. He was afterwards killed.

Sergt. Matthew Parker (Sanquhar). Distinguished Conduct Medal. In mining operations at Krithia (14th September, 1915) the gallery in which he was working broke through into an enemy counter-mine. By accurate fire he held off the Turks, who began firing and throwing bombs into the gallery, until he was driven back by fumes which extinguished all the lights. When the air cleared he returned and plugged up the breach under heavy fire. He thus enabled the charge to be fired which destroyed the enemy's gallery. His bravery and devotion to duty was very marked. He was subsequently killed. Both his father and his brother served in the 5th K.O.S.B.

Pte. A. M. Paul. Military Medal (see text, Action at Seapost).

Corpl. J. W. Pool. Military Medal for leading a section and bombing back the enemy. He was twice wounded, and was killed some time afterwards.

Corpl. H. Preston. Mentioned in Despatches (L.G., 14/6/18).

Sergt. J. Preston (Lockerbie). Military Medal and Mentioned in Despatches.

Sergt. R. Pries. Distinguished Conduct Medal (L.G., 18/2/19).

Sergt. F. Prince (Ludlow). Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/19).

Pte. Samuel Richardson (Lochside, Lochmaben). Military Medal for great work at Moeuvras in the Hindenberg Line. Died subsequently.

Sergt. W. A. Richardson (Moffat). Distinguished Conduct Medal and Military Medal (L.G., 19/6/19), for bombing at Pink House.

Corpl. E. W. Ross. Mentioned in Despatches for careful, efficient, and tireless stretcher-bearing at Gallipoli. He is now Lieutenant in 1/5th K.O.S.B.

Corpl. W. Ross. Distinguished Conduct Medal. Before Gaza (particulars unknown).

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Corpl. Jehn Duncan Scott. Awarded a Commission. He was twice wounded ("Stewartry Record").

Pte. R. Scott (Gastown). Military Medal.

Sergt. Thomas Seaton (New-Galloway). Distinguished Conduct Medal and Croix de Guerre (L.G., 22/1/18). (See text, Gaza and Auja.)

Lance-Corpl. R. Seedhouse (Brownhill). Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/19).

Corpl. R. Shankland (Kirkconnel). Distinguished Conduct Medal (see text).

Pte. Thomas Smith (Dalbeattie), Stretcher-bearer. Military Medal. He was wounded four times.

Pte. A. Sommerville (Galashiels). Military Medal (L.G., 17/6/19). (No records.)

Corpl. T. Stitt (Penpont). Military Medal (see text).

Sergt. P. T. Strange. Military Medal and Croix de Guerre. (No records.)

Sergt. G. Thomson. Distinguished Conduct Medal. (No records.)

C.S.M. R. Townsend (Dumfries). Distinguished Conduct Medal. Took command of B Company at Gaza when all the officers were either killed or wounded. He died of wounds received at Mughar. He was the son of Sergt. C. Townsend (Bandmaster).

Pte. C. Waterson. Military Medal. (No records.)

Pte. H. Wilcox. Military Medal. (No records.)

C.S.M. J. Wilson. Belgian Croix de Guerre. (No records.)

Corpl. Robert Wylie. Distinguished Conduct Medal. On the 12th July, 1915, he volunteered to fetch bombs across the open, and repelled several counter-attacks.

SOLDIERS WHO DIED IN THE WAR.

I have to thank the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office for permission to print the following list taken from "Soldiers Died in the Great War, 1914-1919," Part 30, published by H.M. Stationery Office.

Those of our men who were wounded and sent home were, after recovery, not always sent back to the 1/5th K.O.S.B., but often transferred to some other battalion. Many were killed when in this latter battalion, and will appear under their list of soldiers who died.

I am sorry to say that I could find no way of tracing their names, and much regret that they are not always included here.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS.

"b." ...	"born."	"d. of w." ...	"died of wounds."
"e." ...	"enlisted."	"k. in a." ...	"killed in action."
"d." ...	"died."	"F. & F." ...	"France & Flanders" (including Italy).

1/5th Battalion K.O.S.B.

Abbott, Richard, b. e. Blackburn, 7754, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 8/11/17.
 Adams, Thomas, b. e. Dumfries, 653, Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Adamson, John, b. e. Dumfries, 240605, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 6/6/17.
 Affleck, William, b. Dumfries, 240386, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
 Agar, Frederick Percy, b. e. York, 242661, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 8/8/18, formerly 318, Yorks A.S.C.
 Altheson, John, b. Brydekirk, e. Annan, 1053, Corpl., d. of w., Dardanelles, 14/9/15.
 Allan, Samuel M'Tear, b. e. Dumfries, 34158, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 26074, 78th T.R.
 Alendrovitch, Stanislaw, b. Kovno, Russia, e. Ayr, 32598, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 26/9/18.
 Anderson, Arthur William, b. Elgin, e. Glasgow, 202777, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 28/8/18.
 Anderson, Robert, b. Stockton, e. Glasgow, 18416, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 2/9/18.
 Anderson, Samuel, b. Kirkmahoe, e. Dumfries, 1679, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 20/6/15.
 Anderson, William, b. Kirkconnel, e. Dumfries, 240362, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18.
 Armour, Robert Merry, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 241124, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 10/10/18.
 Auld, James, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 42083, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 27/7/18, formerly 43619, H.L.I.
 Axson, Alfred, b. e. Dumfries, 240022, Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17. Son of Capt. Axson.
 Bain, John, b. W. Hartlepool, e. Berwick, 201604, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Bainbridge, Harold, b. Congleton, e. Atherton, 201642, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Baird, William Adams M'Donald, b. Leith, e. Edinburgh, 42089, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 43629, H.L.I.
 Barbour, Thomas, b. e. Dumfries, 2307, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Barrie, Robert, b. e. Galashiels, 201817, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17.
 Battle, John, b. Batley, 201814, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
 Baxter, Evan M'Donald, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 42091, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 43627, H.L.I.
 Beattie, James, b. Holywood, e. Dumfries, 240116, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 29/11/17.
 Bell, Robert, b. Inverurie, e. Langholm, 834, Corpl., d., at Sea, 23/8/15.
 Bell, Thomas, b. Dalbeattie, e. Dumfries, 241032, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Bell, William John, b. Ecclefechan, e. Annan, 241004, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Bennett, James, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 240445, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 23/4/17.
 Benson, John, b. Colton, e. Gatehouse, 240315, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17.
 Bissett, James, b. Carnwath, e. Dumfries, 240422, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
 Black, Adam, b. e. Dumfries, 240881, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
 Black, David, b. New Abbey, e. Dumfries, 240577, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Black, James, b. Bonhill, 31147, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, formerly 039606, R.A.S.C.
 Black, Robert, b. Sanquhar, e. Thornhill, 240093, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
 Blackley, James, b. e. Dumfries, 839, Bugler, d. of w., Dardanelles, 13/7/15.
 Blacklock, David, b. Hawick, e. Dumfries, 240613, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 24/5/17.
 Borda, Fortunato Felix, b. Malta, e. Edinburgh, 30777, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 28/9/18.
 Boulton, Edward, e. Dumfries, 4227, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 21/11/15.
 Boyes, Robert, b. e. Dumfries, 201791, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
 Boyle, James, b. Greta, e. Dumfries, 240494, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Bradley, James, b. Waterfoot, e. Rawtenstall, 4601, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 4/8/16.
 Brinkworth, Charles F., b. Coventry, e. Glasgow, 201707, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Brodie, George, b. e. Berwick, 201615, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
 Brooke, Joseph, b. Wakefield, e. Dewsbury, 201710, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
 Brown, Fred Wallace, b. Salford, 241222, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 29/7/18.
 Brown, John, b. Stonehouse, e. Larkhall, 17777, Pte., k. in a., 1/8/18.
 Brown, Robert, b. Moston, e. Thornhill, 217, Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Brown, Robert, b. e. Sanquhar, 308, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 13/7/15.
 Brown, Robert, b. e. Dumfries, 240632, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

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Brown, William Calderwood, Barchaln, Pte., k., Gaza.
 Burnett, George, b. e. Aberdeen, 43005, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 6/10/18, formerly 24876, H.L.I.
 Burnett, Herbert Calvert, b. Canonbie, e. Dumfries, 1762, Pte., d., 22/10/15, Malta.
 Cairns, William, b. e. Dumfries, 240205, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Calvert, James, b. e. Canonbie, 1338, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Cameron, George Alex., b. Aberdeen, e. Hamilton, 42008, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 28/9/18, formerly 40405 53rd T.R.
 Campbell, Hugh, b. Maryhill, e. Sanquhar, 1044, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Campbell, James, b. Aberfeldy, e. Edinburgh, 22071, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
 Campbell, John Colin, b. London, e. Lockerbie, 1751, Lance-Corpl., d. of w., Dardanelles, 20/7/15.
 Cannon, Maxwell, b. e. Dumfries, 1960, Pte., d., at Sea, 1/9/15.
 Carlyle, James, e. Dumfries, 240773, Sergt., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18.
 Carmichael, Peter, b. Campbeltown, e. Glasgow, 42093, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, formerly 43679, H.L.I.
 Carruthers, Benjamin, b. Fenwick, e. Ayr, 42081, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 2/8/18, formerly 32557, R.S.F.
 Carruthers, David, b. Dunscore, e. Dumfries, 241085, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 14/11/17.
 Carruthers, John, b. Lockerbie, e. Dumfries, 1736, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 20/6/15.
 Carruthers, Richard, b. Gosforth, e. Annan, 1456, d., Dardanelles, 4/8/15.
 Carson, James, e. Newton-Stewart, 24115, Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 14/1/18.
 Carson, Robert, b. e. Whithorn, 240355, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 18/5/17.
 Carson, William, b. Leslie, e. Edinburgh, 241510, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Carswell, William Jackson, b. Dalbeattie, 806, Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Casldy, John, b. Govan, e. Hamilton, 201773, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 11/5/17.
 Caven, Alex., Dalbeattie, Pte., k. "Stewartry Roll of Honour."
 Chainiers, James, b. Leslie, e. Edinburgh, 241572, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
 Chapman, Charles, b. e. Manchester, 31858, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, formerly 4367, A.S.C.
 Chester, William, b. Whitehaven, e. Sanquhar, 240014, Lance-Corpl., d., F. & F., 14/3/18.
 Chisholm, Alfred, b. Peterhead, e. Ayr, 201728, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 18/12/19.
 Clark, David, b. Morton, e. Thornhill, 1182, Pte., d. of w., at Sea, 22/7/15.
 Clark, Edward, b. Wigtown, e. Dumfries, 240772, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 17/11/17.
 Clark, Hugh, b. Dumfries e. Irvine, 42338, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 10/10/18, formerly 54662, H.L.I.
 Clark, Robert, e. Glasgow, 40817, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 2546, H.L.I.
 Clark, Thomas, b. Crowton, e. Ashton-under-Lyne, 31859, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 7/9/18, formerly 33172, A.S.C.
 Clayton, Maurice, b. E. Ardsley, e. Morley, 241251, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 3/8/18.
 Clement, Alexander, b. Dalry, e. Castle-Douglas, 1823, Pte., d. of w., at Sea, 24/12/15.
 Clement, Thomas, b. Penninghame, e. Newton-Stewart, 903, Pte., d. of w., at Sea, 4/1/16.
 Clingan, Thomas, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 1973, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 29/12/15.
 Cockburn, David, b. e. Galashiels, 201768, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Cockburn, James, b. e. Sanquhar, 240208, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 11/10/18.
 Conibear, James, b. Cardiff, e. Edinburgh, 42379, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 1/11/18, formerly 46287, H.L.I.
 Cook, Alexander, b. Dryfesdale, e. Dumfries, 240583, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 1/12/17.
 Cook, Walter, b. Kirkbean, e. Dumfries, 241011, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 24/11/17.
 Cooper, Duncan, b. Dryfesdale, e. Lockerbie, 240072, Corpl., k. in a., Egypt, 30/12/17.
 Copland, Robert, Dalbeattie, Pte., k. "Stewartry Roll of Honour."
 Cornie, Matthew, b. e. Annan, 1883, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Cornwall, Walter, b. Dalkeith, e. Edinburgh, 42092, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 30/7/18, formerly 43628, H.L.I.
 Corrigan, James, b. e. Wishaw, 201842, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Coltart, James, e. Dumfries, 240934, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Coupland, John, Slogarie, Pte., k., 1/9/18 "Stewartry Roll of Honour."
 Cowan, Thomas, b. e. Kirkconnel, 240017, Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 19/4/17.
 Crinean, John, b. Durisdeer, e. Kirkconnel, 1617, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 20/6/15.
 Croall, Robert, b. Kirkmahoe, e. Dumfries, 240959, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 11/7/17.
 Crossle, Herbert, b. Maxwelltown, e. Thornhill, 240094, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 17/6/18.
 Cummings, Joseph, b. e. Dumfries, 240669, A/Lance-Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
 Cunningham, Alexander, b. Sanquhar, e. Dumfries, 240477, Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Currie, John, b. Irongray, e. Dumfries, 240727, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17.
 Dalrymple, Thomas, b. e. Annan, 240702, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Dalziel, James C., b. Thornhill, e. Glasgow, 241634, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Dalziel, William, b. Tinwald, e. Moniaive, 240201, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Dancer, William, b. West Bromwich, e. Walsall, 32615, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 10/10/18.
 Davers, James, b. Dunscore, e. Kirkconnel, 1261, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Davidson, Nelson, b. Anwoth, e. Dumfries, 240977, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
 Davidson, Robert, b. Wigtown, e. Gatehouse, 240177, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18.
 Davidson, Thomas, b. Gowkshill, e. Edinburgh, 202114, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 20/7/18, formerly 3509, Royal Scots.
 Deaken, John W., b. e. Warrington, 241252, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Devine, Charles, b. Airdrie, e. Glasgow, 201671, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
 Diamond, John, b. Penninghame, e. Newton-Stewart, 240044, Sergt., k. in a., F. & F., 19/4/17.
 Dickson, John, b. Wamphray, e. Dumfries, 1892, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Douglas, Eric, b. e. W. Hartlepool, 201806, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Douglas, Robert, e. Dumfries, 2876, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Douglas, Richard Addison Gillespie Murray, b. Dumfries, e. Galashiels, 42399, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, formerly 46305, H.L.I.

- Dow, Henry, b. Dumbarton, e. Hamilton, 42101, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 40084, 53rd T.R.
- Dowdall, James, b. e. Bray, 31165, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 8/10/18, formerly 3605, R.I. Regt.
- Drousfeld, Edmund, b. Oldham, e. Ashton, 201705, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 14/11/17.
- Drynan, David, e. Newton-Stewart, 4290, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 1/1/16.
- Dunbar, Charles, b. e. Langholm, 1938, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Dunbar, John Stenson, b. e. Glasgow, 42102, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 43638, H.L.I.
- Dunlop, Thomas, b. Leadhills, e. Sanquhar, 1951, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Dunn, George Fortune, b. Foulder, e. Berwick, 301499, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 1/11/17.
- Dunn, Samuel H., b. e. Edinburgh, 28407, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 8/11/17.
- Edgar, James, b. Berwick, e. Gungahedhill, 241597, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
- Edgar, John, b. Sorbie, e. Garlieston, 240281, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
- Edgar, Thomas, b. e. Dumfries, 1441, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 25/12/15.
- Edwards, William, b. Harloes, e. Wigtown, 4003, Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Ellis, Abraham, b. Stanningly, e. Leeds, 16488, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 31/7/18.
- Ellis, James, b. Stockbridge, e. Edinburgh, 201800, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Eddale, William, b. Annan, e. Dumfries, 201792, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 5/11/18.
- Evans, George, b. Bradford, e. Manchester, 201786, Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Falside, John Cuthbert, b. Eskdale, e. Lockerbie, 1460, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 29/6/15.
- Findlay, Thomas, b. Minnigaff, e. Newton-Stewart, 240313, C.S.M., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17.
- Fish, Fred, b. Glossop, e. Huddersfield, 29913, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 5212, N. Fusiliers.
- Foley, James, b. e. Dumfries, 240172, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Forde, William, b. Leith, e. Edinburgh, 28360, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 2/11/17.
- Forster, Ernest Percy, b. Dunkirk, e. Chatham, 41476, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 48246, R.S.F.
- Freer, Cuthbert Harry, b. e. Leicester, 42406, A/Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18, formerly 21550, Leicester Regt.
- Gallacher, Robert, b. e. Dumfries, 241045, d., at Sea, 3/8/18.
- Geddes, George, b. Urr, e. Dalbeattie, 1109, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Gerrard, Stephen, b. e. Warrington, 28860, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 56921, A.S.C.
- Gibson, Robert, b. Symington, e. Hamilton, 42410, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18, formerly 46316 H.L.I.
- Gilbert, Robert Young, b. Glasgow, e. Newton-Stewart, 1675, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Gilbertson, John, b. e. Annan, 240168, Corpl., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Gilchrist, William, b. e. Dumfries, 1718, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Gillespie, John, b. e. Dumfries, 241022, Lance-Corpl., d. of w., Egypt, 25/11/17.
- Gillogly, Alexander, b. e. Glasgow, 43044, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 25597, H.L.I.
- Gilmours, Joseph, b. Maryport, e. Annan, 241151, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
- Gloag, Alexander Hay, b. Granton, e. Edinburgh, 26095, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18.
- Godfrey, William Hogg, b. Hawick, e. Galashiels, 34170, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 26999, 78th T.R.
- Gouldie, Joseph, b. Whitehaven, e. Sanquhar, 240536, A/Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Gorman, James, b. e. Dumfries, 2144, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 9/12/15.
- Gourlay, James, b. Urr, e. Dalbeattie, 1775, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Graham, Arthur, b. Torthorwald, e. Dumfries, 240665, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/15.
- Graham, John, b. Roseburn, e. Dumfries, 23063, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 28/9/18.
- Graham, William, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 240546, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
- Grant, Alexander George Hardie, b. Arthirrell, e. Langholm, 1987, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 24/8/15.
- Greggan, William, b. Auchencairn, e. Dumfries, 240507, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Grierson, Andrew, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 2393, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Groom, Joseph Ernest, b. Sldbury, e. Edinburgh, 42414, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18, formerly 46320, H.L.I.
- Gulline, Peter, b. Sorbie, e. Garlieston, 1474, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Hagan, John, b. Loches, e. Dundee, 241253, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
- Hall, James, b. Hawick, e. Dumfries, 817, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 13/7/15.
- Halliday, James, b. Gatehouse, e. Dalbeattie, 240212, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Hamilton, Alexander, b. Urr, e. Dalbeattie, 240124, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 10/11/17.
- Handley, William, b. Kelton, e. Dumfries, 1900, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Hannah, Robert, b. e. Dumfries, 751, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 23/7/15.
- Harkness, Andrew Findlay, b. e. Kirkconnel, 514, A/Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 29/12/15.
- Hartigan, Alexander, b. Closeburn, e. Dumfries, 1744, Pte., d. of w., at Sea, 26/6/15.
- Hartigan, James, b. Penpont, e. Dumfries, 240841, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Haslam, Arnold, b. Workop, e. Nottingham, 201693, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 3/8/18, formerly 20587, Scottish Rifles.
- Hastie, Charles, b. North Leith, e. Leith, 241244, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 29/7/18.
- Hayes, Cornelius, b. e. Clonakilty, 31175, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 2/11/17, formerly 6654, R.M.F.
- Heggie, Andrew, b. Peebles, e. Hawick, 202756, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
- Henderson, James, b. e. Dumfries, 201602, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Henry, David, b. e. Annan, 240352, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 20/4/17.
- Hiddleston, John, Kirkchrist, Pte., drowned (transport torpedoed).
- Hobbs, Frank, b. Trodsham, e. Inverkeithing, 32603, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

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Hogg, Robert, b. e. Selkirk, 200778, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Hogg, Thomas, b. Ewes, e. Dumfries, 241238, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
Hogg, Walter, b. Canonbie, e. Sanquhar, 240538, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 26/4/17.
Hooker, John Alfred, e. Croydon, 41885, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 48600, R.S.F.
Houston, Robert, b. Newcastle, e. Langholm, 240290, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 17/6/18.
Houston, John, b. Kirkmahoe, e. Dumfries, 241183, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
Huggan, William, b. Hawick, e. Galashiels, 241239, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 5/6/17.
Hughes, Thomas, b. Castle-Douglas, e. St. Andrews, 241256, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Hunter, Thomas George, b. e. Dumfries, 241216, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 20/12/17.
Hunter, Thomas, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 41882, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 19/8/18, formerly 47921, R.S.F.
Hunter, Thomas, b. Edinburgh, e. Glasgow, 201706, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Hunter, Thomas, b. Blantyre, e. Kirkcubright, 240090, Corpl., d. of w., F. & F., 10/11/17.
Hunter, Walter, e. Dumfries, 2964, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/9/15.
Huntley, Albert, b. Hanwell, e. Hounslow, 81103, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18, formerly 2542, R. Fusiliers.
Hutchison, Alex., b. e. Dumfries, 240153, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 23/4/17.
Hutchison, James, b. e. Dumfries, 1885, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 13/7/15.
Huxtable, Alexander, b. e. Dalbeattie, 240119, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/5/17.
Hyslop, Richard, b. Durisdeer, e. Dumfries, 240947, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Irving, James, b. e. Dumfries, 1912, Pte., d. of w., Home, 22/8/15.
Irving, Robert, b. Howlet, e. Dumfries, 854, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Jackson, James, b. Bewcastle, e. Galashiels, 201679, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Jackson, John William, b. e. Canonbie, 83, Sergt., d., Dardanelles, 26/12/15.
James, William, b. Newry, e. Rutherglen, 201752, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17, formerly 934, H.L.I.
Jameson, Daniel, b. Selkirk, e. Galashiels, 200421, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
Jamieson, David, b. Parton, e. Kirkcubright, 241577, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 17/6/18.
Jardine, David, b. Urr, e. Dumfries, 1944, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 13/6/15.
Jardine, William, b. e. Dumfries, 241214, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Jarvis, Norman Iola, b. Birmingham, e. Berwick-on-Tweed, 201738, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
Johanson, Alfred Joseph, b. e. Greenock, 34185, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 25/2/19.
Johnston, John, b. e. Dumfries, 1917, Pte., d., Home, 15/7/16.
Johnstone, Alexander, b. e. Annan, 122, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 3/7/15.
Johnstone, George, b. Maxwelltown, e. Dumfries, 2519, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Johnstone, Simon, b. Lockerbie, e. Dumfries, 240864, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Johnstone, Stewart, b. e. Dumfries, 2403, Pte., d., Gibraltar, 7/11/15.
Jolly, Ernest George, b. St. Martin's, e. Norwich, 201807, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Jones, John William, b. Hulme, e. Manchester, 15580, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 2/9/18.
Kay, William, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 42042, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 2/8/18, formerly 58512, R.S.F.
Keith, James, b. e. Whithorn, 1486, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Keir, John James, b. Cairnbo, e. Macduff, 41889, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 7083, Scottish Horse.
Kelr, William, b. Newton, e. Hamilton, 41973, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 45975, H.L.I.
Kemp, Harry Kinloch, b. e. Edinburgh, 41972, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 45974, H.L.I.
Kempshall, William, b. Maxwelltown, e. Dumfries, 240879, Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Kennan, John, b. Urr, e. Dalbeattie, 1186, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Kennedy, Thomas, b. West Calder, e. Edinburgh, 41971, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 45973, H.L.I.
Kerr, James, b. Lockerbie, e. Dumbarton, 201709, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Kerr, John, b. Urr, e. Dumfries, 1904, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Kerr, Robert, b. e. Dumfries, 240150, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17.
Kilpatrick, Edward, b. Wigtown, e. Dumfries, 2046, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 14/7/15.
Kilpatrick, William, b. Wigtown, e. Dumfries, 240591, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 14/8/17.
King, Alexander, b. Blackwood, e. Glasgow, 7921, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 2/11/17.
Kirk, James, b. Thornhill, e. Kirkcubright, 240098, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Kirkpatrick, James, b. Dunscore, e. Dumfries, 241038, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
Kirkpatrick, William, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 240741, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Knowles, Robert, e. Newton-Stewart, 240912, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Laidlaw, James Douglas, b. e. Edinburgh, 28266, Pte., d., F. & F., 11/11/17.
Laird, Alexander, b. e. Cambuslang, 201647, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Lambie, Hugh Dickie, b. Mauchline, e. Ayr, 42438, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, formerly 46343, H.L.I.
Laurie, Alexander, b. Lockerbie, e. Dumfries, 240515, Lance-Corpl., d. of w., F. & F., 2/8/18.
Leadbetter, John, b. e. Hamilton, 42046, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 53518, R.S.F.
Lee, Charles, b. Glasgow, 9782, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
Lennox, George, b. Annan, e. Dumfries, 1977, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 4/11/16.
Lennox, William, b. e. Kirkcubright, 1254, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Linden, James, b. e. Dumfries, 240743, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Lindsay, Douglas Kidd, b. e. Arbroath, 41915, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 1/9/18, formerly 54430 H.L.I.
Lister, David, b. Annan, e. Dumfries, 1898, Pte., d., Dardanelles, 5/9/15.
Lithgow, David, b. Rutherglen, e. Annan, 2182, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 15/7/15.
Litterick, Robert, b. Sorbie, e. Dumfries, 240562, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Little, Frank, b. Applegarth, e. Dumfries, 241173, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Little, James, b. Durisdeer, e. Carronbridge, 240146, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 2/9/18.

- Locke, William, b. Kirkpatrick-Juxta, e. Dumfries, 201836, Pte., d., Egypt, 3/11/18.
Lockerbie, Fred, b. e. Moniaive, 240287, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 15/11/17.
Logan, Thomas Robertson, b. Ruthwell, e. Dumfries, 241121, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Lorimer, Thomas, b. e. Dumfries, 241270, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Mabon, John, b. Galashiels, e. Selkirk, 200403, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 19/4/17.
Marchbanks, James, b. e. Newton-Stewart, 4383, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 19/12/15.
Marling, Walter, b. Sculcoats, e. Hull, 203272, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
Martin, Thomas, b. Dumfries, e. Annan, 1760, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 13/7/15.
Maxwell, John, b. Sorbie, e. Berwick, 23048, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 13/11/17.
Maxwell, John, b. Borge, e. Dumfries, 241277, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17.
Maxwell, Matthew, b. Maxwelltown, e. Dumfries, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 1917.
Meaney, William, b. Drummelton, e. Dumfries, 1849, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Menary, Andrew, b. Stranraer, e. Dumfries, 1966, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/10/15.
Middleton, James, b. Lockerbie, e. Dumfries, 241203, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18.
Mitchell, Charles Brown, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 28313, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 14/11/17.
Mitchell, David, b. Melrose, e. Edinburgh, 201577, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Mitchell, John, b. London, e. Moffat, 981, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Miller, William A., b. Coldingham, e. Edinburgh, 241576, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 24/4/17.
Miller, Alexander, b. Kilmarnock, e. Kirkcubbin, 1241, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Milligan, Alexander, b. Port-William, e. Dumfries, 1907, Pte., d., Dardanelles, 11/11/15.
Milligan, James, b. Glasgow, e. Hamilton, 42184, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 12353, H.L.I.
Milroy, William, b. Urr, e. Dalbeattie, 240249, A/Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
Moffatt, Thomas William, b. e. Carlisle, 241240, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 26/4/17.
Monaghan, Peter, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 897, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 13/7/15.
Monaghan, William, b. Barrhead, e. Castle-Douglas, 1626, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Morrison, Thomas, b. e. Kirkcubbin, 240300, Sergt., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
Moss, Thomas, b. Brydekirk, e. Annan, 2279, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
Muir, Daniel, b. Hoddam, e. Ecclefechan, 182, Lance-Sergt., d., at Sea, 22/9/15.
Mulcahy, Stephen, b. e. Birr, 31182, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 13/11/17, formerly, 4841, Leinster Regiment.
Mundell, James, b. Penpont, e. Dumfries, 1066, Pte., d., at Sea, 26/7/15.
Murchie, Thomas, b. Penninghame, e. Newton-Stewart, 240390, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Murdoch, Andrew, b. Stranraer, e. Newton-Stewart, 240389, C.Q.M.S., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Murdoch, Peter, b. Newbie, e. Lockerbie, 240224, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
Murdoch, Walter, b. Tundergarth, e. Lockerbie, 240435, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 2/8/18.
Murphy, Arthur, b. Maxwelltown, e. Dumfries, 1446, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 20/12/15.
Murray, John, b. e. Annan, 240892, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
Murray, Robert, b. e. Cumbernauld, e. Glasgow, 201603, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 26/10/17.
Murray, William, b. Gatehouse, e. Dalbeattie, 240324, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
M'Adam, James, e. Dumfries, 2925, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Allister, Thomas, b. Castle-Douglas, e. Berwick, 241656, Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
M'Attee, Patrick, b. Kirkcubbin, e. Dumfries, 240493, Sergt., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18.
M'Bride, George, b. Rerrick, e. Castle-Douglas, 1837, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Call, James, b. Lochbarbriggs, e. Dumfries, 240945, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
M'Cardell, Robert, b. e., Dumfries, 1975, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Cardle, Peter Robson, b. e. Dumfries, 1324, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 7/7/15.
M'Carlie, John, b. Inch, e. Lockerbie, 241573, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 14/8/17.
M'Cartney, John, e. Dumfries, 4323, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 27/11/15.
M'Caskie, Thomas, b. Old Luce, e. Wigtown, 4102, Corpl., d., Home, 7/11/15.
M'Clane, John, b. e. Thornhill, 1205, A/Corpl., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Clelland, James, b. e. Newton-Stewart, 241093, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
M'Clelland, Robert, b. e. Lockerbie, 240195, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 8/11/17.
M'Clounie, James, e. Dumfries, 2536, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Clung, Gilbert, b. Galston, e. Ayr, 34306, Pte., d., F. & F., 7/5/19.
M'Clymont, Francis, Gatehouse, Pte., "Stewartry Roll of Honour."
M'Cormick, Alexander, b. e. Kirkcubbin, 1514, Pte., d. of w., at Sea, 21/7/15.
M'Cormick, Alexander, b. Urr, e. Dumfries, 240715, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
M'Culloch, George, b. Castle-Douglas, e. Annan, 1058, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Culloch, James, b. Kirkmahoe, e. Lockerbie, 201831, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 31/10/17.
M'Donald, John, b. Linbryde, e. Aberdeen, 27594, Lance-Corpl., d. of w., F. & F., 22/10/18.
M'Donald, Robert, b. e. Dalbeattie, 1100, Corpl., d., Home, 24/10/15.
M'Ewan, David Marshall, b. Old Monkland, e. Hamilton, 42465, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/9/18, formerly 46370, H.L.I.
M'Fadzean, Herbert, New-Galloway, Pte., k. in a., Arras. "Stewartry Roll of Honour."
M'Fegan, William, b. Glencairn, e. Moniaive, 1150, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'George, William, b. Chapelknowe, e. Dumfries, 901, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Gill, John Imrie, b. e. Dumfries, 1829, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Glasson, John, b. e. Canonbie, 1566, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 30/12/15.
M'Gowan, William, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 2305, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Gowan, Samuel, b. e. Dumfries, 2287, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
M'Gowan, William, b. Sanquhar, e. Newton-Stewart, 240284, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/5/18.
MacGregor, Kenneth, b. e. Dumfries, 241593, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 18/6/18.
M'Guffie, Lewis, b. e. Wigtown, 240693, A/Sergt., k. in a., 4/10/18, V.C.
M'Henry, Alexander, b. e. Dalbeattie, 1407, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles 9/12/15.
M'Jannet, Alexander, b. Castle-Douglas, Pte., d. of w., Egypt. "Stewartry Roll of Honour."

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M'Kay, Alexander, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 40758, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 23479, H.L.I.

M'Kean, Matthew, b. Urr, e. Dumfries, 240722, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

M'Keachie, Alexander, b. e. Whithorn, 1220, Pte., d. Dardanelles, 4/8/15.

M'Kee, Thomas Scott, Palmackie, Pte., d. of w., France.

M'Kellar, Duncan, b. Cumbræ, e. Dumfries, 1895, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

M'Kenzie, Arthur, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 1910, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

M'Kenzie, David, b. e. Dundee, 201785, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 31/10/17.

M'Kie, James, b. Holywood, e. Dumfries, 1978, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 16/7/15.

M'Kie, John, b. e. Dumfries, 241117, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 3/8/18.

M'Kie, Robert, b. e. Dumfries, 240976, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

M'Kie, William, b. Kirkbean, e. Dumfries, 240800, A/Sergt., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.

M'Kinnell, John, b. e. Dalbeattie, 1598, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

M'Kinnell, William, b. e. Ecclefechan, 1014, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

M'Lachlan, Charles, b. Kilwinning, e. Ayr, 202772, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

M'Lauchlan, Alexander, b. e. Dumfries, 24985, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 2/9/18.

M'Lauchlan, Edward, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 240620, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

Macleod, John, b. Torosay, e. Glasgow, 201726, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 3/8/18.

M'Lean, Hugh, b. Dryfesdale, e. Lockerbie, 240437, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 20/4/17.

M'Leod, Thomas, b. e. Edinburgh, 241228, Pte., d., F. & F., 19/5/17.

M'Millan, James, b. Stranraer, e. Newton-Stewart, 4006, Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 4/8/18.

M'Millan, John, b. Auchterarder, e. Greenock, 241245, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.

M'Morrison, Alexander W., k. in a., Oct., 1917. "Stewartry Roll of Honour."

M'Murdo, Alexander, b. Troqueer, e. Annan, 1869, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

M'Murray, Norman, b. Tongland, e. Castle-Douglas, 1636, A/Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 29/12/15.

M'Nab, Archibald, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 42453, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 1/9/18, formerly 46358, H.L.I.

M'Nae, James, b. e. Dumfries, 240967, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

M'Naught, John, b. Penninghame, e. Newton-Stewart, 240322, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

M'Neil, James, b. Wigtown, 993, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 14/7/15.

M'Phail, George, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 31511, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

M'Rae, Robert, b. Aberchirder, e. Aberdeen, 201776, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 3/8/18.

M'Skimming, Roden, b. Castle-Douglas, e. Dumfries, 2176, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 9/7/15.

M'Taggart, James, b. e. Glasgow, 41991, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 29129, 79/T.R. Battalion.

M'Vee, James, b. Kelton, e. Castle-Douglas, 1821, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

M'Vinnie, John, b. Penpont, e. Thornhill, 240092, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 1/8/18.

M'Vittie, Thomas, b. e. Langholm, 1113, Pte., d. of w., at Sea, 18/7/15.

M'William, James, b. Tongland, e. Castle-Douglas, 240382, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

Nell, Robert, e. Castle-Douglas, 240839, A/Lance-Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

Nelson, John, b. Glencairn, e. Monialve, 1154, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 7/5/17.

Nelson, John Murray, b. e. Glasgow, 201747, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17, formerly 4088, H.L.I.

Nelson, Thomas, b. Glencairn, e. Monialve, 1156, Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 13/7/15.

Nelshman, John, b. e. Dumfries, 1722, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 23/11/15.

Nelson, David Sellers, b. Penninghame, e. Newton-Stewart, 2227, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 4/8/16.

Nelson, James, b. Middlebie, e. Lockerbie, 240025, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

Nicholson, Charles Gillan, b. Dumfries, e. Lockerbie, 1757, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

Nicol, James, b. Loudon, e. Kirkconnel, 240360, A/Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

Notman, Hugh, b. Colinton, e. Edinburgh, 12719, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 23/7/18.

Nugent, Thomas, b. Caher, e. Tipperary, 31164, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 3525 B.I. Regiment.

O'Connell, Daniel, b. e. Dumfries, 1974, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

O'Haire, John Joseph, b. e. Castle-Douglas, 241198, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18, M.M.

O'Neill, Thomas, b. e. Glasgow, 30505, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

Park, Arthur, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 42484, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18, formerly 40481, H.L.I.

Parker, James, e. Castle-Douglas, 2614, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

Parker, John, b. e. Glasgow, 42198, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 3/8/18, formerly 30407, H.L.I.

Parker, Matthew, b. Craigie, e. Kirkconnel, 240100, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

Parker, Robert, b. Kilmarnock, e. Sanquhar, 396, Sergt., d., Home, 11/10/15.

Patterson, David Graham, b. Ecclefechan, e. Dumfries, 240806, Pte., d., Egypt, 8/8/17.

Patterson, Thomas, b. Alloa, e. Dumfries, 1197, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

Paton, William Buchanan, b. e. Glasgow, 42481, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 28/9/18, formerly 40278, H.L.I.

Patterson, Gilmour, b. Ballymoney, e. Glasgow, 28359, Pte., d., Egypt, 12/10/17.

Pear, Edward, b. e. W. Hartlepool, 201649, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

Pertous, Robert, b. Middlebie, e. Dumfries, 201838, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.

Porter, John, b. Largs, e. Dumfries, 2269, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

Porter, John, b. Blackburn, e. Manchester, 201652, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 13/6/17.

Porter, Thomas William, b. Birmingham, e. Glasgow, 42491, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18, formerly 40682, H.L.I.

Provan, James, b. Kilsyth, e. Polmont, 242648, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 171, R.A.M.C.

Rae, William, b. e. Dumfries, 240520, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.

Rafferty, William John, b. e. Dumfries, 241168, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 20/4/17.

Ramage, William, b. e. Langholm, 64, A/Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 21/8/15.

Ramsay, Thomas, b. e. Dumfries, 240414, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.

- Reid, Andrew, b. Coatbridge, e. Hamilton, 42192, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18, formerly 24585, H.L.I.
- Reid, Francis, b. e. Glasgow, 24277, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
- Rennie, James, b. e. Edinburgh, 28789, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 4486, 3/5th Seaforth Highlanders.
- Richardson, Arthur, b. e. Dumfries, 241073, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Richardson, Irving, b. Dryfesdale, e. Dumfries, 240524, Sergt., d. of w., F. & F., 2/8/18.
- Richardson, James, b. Dryfesdale, e. Lockerbie, 240438, Corpl., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Richardson, John, b. Lockerbie, e. Dumfries, 1559, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Richardson, John, b. e. Dumfries, 240844, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Riddick, John, Dalbeattie, Pte., 8/7/15. "Stewartry Roll of Honour."
- Ritchie, John, b. e. Dumfries, 241271, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 29/4/17.
- Robertson, James, b. Dailly, e. Maybole, 201783, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18.
- Robertson, John M'Dougall, b. e. Dumbarton, 41018, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 55012, H.L.I.
- Robson, John Shiel, b. e. Galashiels, 20389, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
- Robson, Samuel, b. Birtley, e. Gosforth, 31211, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, formerly 82512, R.A.M.C.
- Rodgers, Thomas, b. e. Dumfries, 2147, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Rome, Joseph, b. Kirkpatrick-Fleming, e. Galashiels, 45532, Pte., d. Home, 25/4/10.
- Rooney, William, b. e. Carrickfergus, 31176, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 18/6/18, formerly 19404, Royal Irish Rifles.
- Ross, William Hair, b. e. Glasgow, 42495, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 2/9/18, formerly 40475, H.L.I.
- Rothery, Joseph, b. Maryport, e. Dumfries, 241075, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Rowan, James, b. Ayr, e. Gatehouse, 1632, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Scott, James, b. e. Annan, 2023, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Scott, James, Alexander, b. Carsluith, e. Dumfries, 240975, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 30/11/17.
- Scott, John, b. Tundergarth, e. Dumfries, 2600, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Scott, William, b. Castle-Douglas, e. Dumfries, 1162, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 20/6/15.
- Seaton, John, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 241582, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 8/11/17.
- Sharp, Adam, e. Dumfries, 4249, Pte., d., Alexandria, 8/12/15.
- Sharp, Robert Kerr, b. Sanquhar, e. Dumfries, 1819, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Sharpe, Alexander, b. Maxwelltown, e. Dumfries, 998, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Shaw, James, b. Thornhill, e. Berwick-on-Tweed, 16857, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18.
- Shepherd, T., b. Innerleithen, e. Galashiels, 200364, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 13/11/17.
- Shields, Alexander, b. Govan, e. Glasgow, 201641, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 24/11/17.
- Sinclair, Frederick William, b. Penpont, e. Dumfries, 26, C.-S.-M., d., Dardanelles, 11/11/15.
- Sinnitt, Thomas, b. Lockerbie, e. Kirkconnel, 202071, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 4/10/18.
- Skachill, John, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 241064, A/Lance-Corpl., d. of w., F. & F., 4/7/18.
- Smith, George, b. e. Leeds, 201630, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Smith, James, b. Birkdale, e. Dumfries, 240627, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Smith, James, b. e. Annan, 240687, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 20/2/18.
- Smith, John, b. e. Whithorn, 778, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Smith, John, b. Minnigaff, e. Dumfries, 240624, Lance-Sergt., d. o. w., Egypt, 20/4/17.
- Smith, John, e. Dumfries, 240908, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 26/7/18.
- Smith, Robert, b. Annan, e. Dumfries, 241051, Lance-Sergt., d. of w., Egypt, 24/4/17.
- Smith, William, b. Urr, e. Dalbeattie, 240452, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 3/8/18.
- Solley, William, Pte., Castle-Douglas, d. of w., Dardanelles. "Stewartry Roll of Honour."
- Starkey, Thomas, b. Dryfesdale, e. Dumfries, 240596, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Steel, Henry, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 241054, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Steele, James, b. Canonbie, e. Dumfries, 14515, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 13/11/17.
- Stevenson, John James, b. e. Dalbeattie, 1778, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 7/7/15.
- Stewart, Walter, b. e. Dumfries, 240855, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Strachan, Alexander, b. Leith, e. Glasgow, 201734, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 5/6/18.
- Sudron, Albert, b. Hartlepool, e. Sunderland, 201699, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 29/7/18, D.C.M.
- Sutherland, John, b. New Lanark, e. Castle-Douglas, 1637, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Swanston, Robert, b. Bulttle, e. Dalbeattie, 1779, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 7/12/15.
- Taylor, Joseph, b. Galston, e. Kirkconnel, 1301, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Teesdale, Robert, b. Urr, e. Dalbeattie, 1097, Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/6/15.
- Telfer, David, e. Dumfries, 2624, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 21/6/15.
- Telfer, James, b. e. Dumfries, 2646, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 20/12/15.
- Telfer, James, b. Langholm, e. Lockerbie, 240082, Lance-Corpl., d. of w., F. & F., 18/11/17.
- Telfer, Joseph, b. Maryport, e. Dumfries, 241128, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
- Thom, John, b. e. Dumfries, 1727, Pte., d., Abbassia, 14/10/15.
- Thompson, Isaac Walker, b. Pudsey, e. Dewsbury, 201618, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
- Thomson, Frank, b. e. Dumfries, 1087, Lance-Corpl., d. of w., Malta, 23/1/16.
- Thomson, George, b. Caerlaverock, e. Glasgow, 241579, A/Sergt., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, D.C.M.
- Thomson, Henry, b. e. Annan, 240459, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 2/7/17.
- Thomson, James, b. Kirkcinner, e. Dumfries, 201661, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 24/5/17.
- Thomson, John, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 240749, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 20/4/17.
- Thomson, Robert, b. Balmaghie, e. Edinburgh, 30501, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 28/9/18.
- Thomson, Robert Lockhart, b. Riccarton, e. Ayr, 42294, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18.
- Thomson, William John, b. Dumfries, e. Maxwelltown, 2082, Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 21/6/15, formerly 5953, Galloway Rifles.
- Thorburn, James, b. Durisdeer, e. Carronbridge, 240147, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 28/11/17.
- Thorpe, Samuel Swift, b. e. Glasgow, 28294, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 13/11/17.
- Todd, Henry, b. e. Montaive, 1408, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
- Todd, Robert, b. Liberton, e. Galashiels, 201703, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
- Tofern, Herman, b. Bethnal Green, e. Dumfries, 1846, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.

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Townsend, Robert, b. Hawick, e. Dumfries, 240579, C.-S.-M., d. of w., Egypt, 21/11/17, D.C.M.
 Turnbull, Gilbert, b. Belton, e. Galashiels, 42516, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 15/10/18, formerly 40630, H.L.I.
 Turnbull, James, b. Stoneykirk, e. Castle-Douglas, 1647, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Vernon, Joseph, b. Brereton, e. Lichfield, 31805, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 28/8/18, formerly 56943, R.A.M.C.
 Waddie, Adam, b. e. Langholm, 240531, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
 Walker, Albert, b. Tongland, e. Gatehouse, 240317, A/Sergt., k. in a., Egypt, 13/11/17.
 Walker, Alexander, b. e. Glasgow, 42535, Pte., d. of w., F. & F., 5/9/18, formerly 40675, H.L.I.
 Walker, James, b. e. Annan, 1458, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 9/8/15.
 Walker, Nathaniel, b. Carnwath, e. Dumfries, 2427, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 17/7/15.
 Walker, Thomas, b. e. Annan, 848, Pte., d. of w., Home, 5/9/15.
 Walker, Thomas, e. Kilsyth, 201828, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Wallace, George, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 241258, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 19/11/17.
 Wallace, James, b. Kirkbean, e. Dumfries, 240718, k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Ward, John, b. Barton, e. Stalybridge, 241227, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 14/10/18.
 Ward, Robert, b. Preston, e. Manchester, 201793, C.-S.-M., k. in a., Egypt, 24/11/17.
 Warwick, John, b. e. Langholm, 1115, Pte., d. of w., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Watson, Andrew, e. Dumfries, 2662, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 30/12/15.
 Watson, John, b. Carlisle, e. Dumfries, 1831, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Watson, Joseph, b. Lockerbie, e. Kirkcudbright, 2689, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Watson, William, b. e. Leicester, 42216, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, formerly 28054, Leicester Regiment.
 Watt, George, b. e. Stevenson, 42343, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 31/10/18, formerly 54705, H.L.I.
 Watt, Peter, b. Sorbie, e. Garlieston, 1477, Lance-Corpl., d., Egypt, 16/1/17.
 Welsh, Jack, e. Dumfries, 2423, Pte., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Welsh, James, b. Govan, e. Dumfries, 240684, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Wight, Thomas, b. e. Edinburgh, 241501, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 2/5/17, formerly 1985, R.A.M.C.
 Wilkinson, William, b. e. York, 201720, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 30/7/18.
 Wilson, Andrew Todd, b. Kirkmaiden, e. Castle-Douglas, 1652, Sergt., k. in a., Dardanelles, 12/7/15.
 Wilson, Arthur, b. South Lincoln, e. Hull, 201782, Pte., d. of w., Egypt, 29/11/17.
 Wilson, George, b. Leith, e. Edinburgh, 27265, Pte., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.
 Wilson, John, b. Kells, e. Castle-Douglas, 241628, Pte., k. in a., Egypt, 19/4/17.
 Wilson, Thomas, b. Sorbie, e. Dumfries, 241159, Lance-Corpl., k. in a., F. & F., 1/8/18.

5th Battalion.

Allen, John Thomas, b. Darley Dale, e. Derby, 5486, Pte., d., Home, 4/10/16.
 Black, Joseph Alexander, b. Kingston, e. Annan, 2141, Ac/Corpl., d., Home, 1/3/16.
 Carlyle, John, e. Dumfries, 2639, Pte., d., Home, 23/4/15.
 Connell, Daniel, b. Alnwick, e. Dumfries, 2314, Corpl., d., Home, 29/6/15.
 Fitzsimon, John, b. Troqueer, e. Dumfries, 1879, Pte., d., Home, 30/10/14.
 Graham, Robert, b. Moffat, e. Dumfries, 2237, Pte., d., Home, 25/2/15.
 Harper, John Robert, b. Morton, e. Thornhill, 1180, Pte., d., Home, 5/10/14.
 Holden, William, b. e. Dumfries, 3071, Pte., d., Home, 20/5/15.
 Jardine, Robert Johnstone, b. e. Annan, 384, Corpl., d., Home, 17/8/14.
 Kerr, Duncan M'Arthur, b. Bonhill, e. Castle-Douglas, 942, Lance-Corpl., d., Home, 13/2/15.
 Kirby, John, b. Preston, e. Dumfries, 3103, Pte., d., Home, 15/10/15.
 Little, Henry, b. Lochmaben, e. Dumfries, 1856, Pte., d., Home, 19/6/15.
 Martin, William, b. Beattock, e. Dumfries, 4480, Lance-Corpl., d., Home, 27/3/16.
 Merrie, Thomas, b. Sanquhar, e. Dumfries, 2038, Pte., d., Home, 30/6/15.
 Myall, Frank, e. Annan, 3048, Corpl., d., Home, 5/3/15.
 M'Clelland, John Alexander, b. Lockerbie, e. Newton-Stewart, 1353, Pte., d., Home, 21/1/15.
 Teasdale, John, e. Dumfries, 2573, Pte., d., Home, 7/2/15.
 Thomson, Robert, b. e. Dumfries, 20081, Pte., d., Home, 27/3/15.
 Todd, Henry, b. Ecclefechan, e. Lockerbie, 159, Corpl., d., Home, 23/12/14.
 Wilson, William, b. Anwoth, e. Gatehouse, 1543, Pte., d., Home, 28/1/16.
 Woodhouse, Edward, e. Dumfries, 20054, Pte., d., Home, 21/1/16.

2/5th Battalion.

Dunlop, William, b. Gordon, e. Duns, 201003, A/Sergt., d., Home, 2/10/17.
 Gresson, Thomas, b. Stow, e. Melrose, 8083, Pte., d., Home, 12/2/16.
 Jardine, James, b. e. Langholm, 1426, Pte., d., Home, 8/5/15.
 Lomax, Frederick, b. Bury St. Edmunds, e. Sheffield, 5956, Pte., d., Home, 30/1/17, formerly 9253, Suffolk Regiment.
 McMahon, John, b. e. Luton, 31043, A/Drummer, d., Home, 7/7/17.
 Roberts, George Frederick, b. Newark-on-Trent, 241378, Pte., d., Home, 6/12/18.

GALLIPOLI Cape Helles

Showing Main Trench Systems held
by the opposing Forces prior to the
Evacuation on 8/9th January, 1916.

