

THE DEFENSE OF GALLIPOLI

A GENERAL STAFF STUDY

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Prepared pursuant to instructions from
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THE PROBLEM

To examine the methods used in defense against landing operations
as illustrated by the Turkish defense of GALLIPOLI.

FIRST PHASE

ALLIED ACTS TO INCLUDE MARCH 19, 1915

The circumstances which finally induced the Allies to embark on the tragic, bloody, and futile campaign for the opening of the Dardanelles were as follows:

The crying need of aiding Russia with a supply of arms and ammunition.

The desirability of procuring for the Western Allies the vast supplies of grain impounded in Russia.

The need of securing a tangible success to offset the bloody wastage of the deadlock already supervening on the western front.

The desire of England to safeguard her interests in the Suez Canal and to prevent the declaration of a Holy War among her numerous Mohammedan subjects.

England felt that both of these purposes could be secured by the destruction of Constantinople and the forces there, for, not only was this the capital of Turkey, it was also the official head of the Mohammedan religion.

The initial bombardment of the Dardanelles by the combined French and British Mediterranean squadrons took place on November 3rd, some two or three days after Turkey had entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. While this bombardment was of short duration, it was fought with grave consequences, for, due to a fortuitous shot, a magazine was exploded with the result that the navy attained an undue idea of power of their guns against land forts.

The actual genesis of the campaign can be dated from January 2, 1915 when the British War Office was asked by Russia to make a demonstration of some kind against Turkey so as to relieve the very serious pressure on the Russian forces in Trans-Caucasia by the Turkish Army. Kitchener replied the same day, stating that he would do something and also expressing doubt as to how much effect the demonstration would have. It is noteworthy in this connection that Russia may have been asking for more than mere help. On October 1, 1914 a Russian high official stated as follows, "This war can be of no use to us if it does not bring us Constantinople and the Narrows. Constantinople must belong to us and to us alone." (Page 34, German Account.)

On January 3rd, the Admiralty telegraphed Admiral Carden, commanding the British fleet in the Mediterranean, asking him for an estimate of whether or not the Straits could be forced and if so, for his plan for forcing them. This prompt action on the part of the Admiralty was probably due, first to the inadequacy of any other means available to the Allies, and second to the fact that as early as November 24, 1914 Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, had pointed out in a meeting of the war council that the ideal way of protecting British interests was to capture the Dardanelles. At that time Lord Kitchener concurred but he stated that he did not believe the time for the operation had arrived.

Admiral Carden's plan contemplated four successive operations. First, the destruction of the outer forts at Helles and Kum Kale; second and third, two operations consisting in removing the mine fields and destroying the forts between the entrance and the narrows; and the fourth phase, the passage of the narrows. He judged that he could afford to lose twelve capital ships in this operation and still have enough on hand to defeat the Turkish fleet at the Golden Horn, reinforced as it was by the German warships GÖBEN and BRESLAU.

After digesting this plan for some days, the war council, on January 13th, came to a decision as follows, "The Admiralty should prepare a naval expedition in February to bombard and take the Gallipoli peninsula with Constantinople as its objective. (Callwell, Page 11.)

Before the 15th of February, a powerful allied fleet had been assembled in the Aegean Sea and the neutral Greek islands of Tenedos, Imroz, and Lemnos had been occupied as a naval advance base. Note here the sanctity of treaties depends upon whose treaties are violated. Apparently, the Allies, while much upset over the violation of Belgium, had very little hesitation in violating Greek territorial domains.

The first of Carden's four operations started on February 15th and had for its purpose the destruction of the forts at the entrance. This task was accomplished by the navy without any trouble as they remained at a range of 12,000 meters, which was beyond the limit of the Turkish guns. Bad weather between February 16th and 25th prevented any further bombardment. On the 26th of February, a detachment of marines was landed at the mouth of the strait and used dynamite on the old forts to effect further destruction. Phases 2 and 3 consisted in mine sweeping and in destroying the forts of Dardanus and Ehrenkieuy.

Mine sweepers protected by battleships entered the straits daily, the sweepers removing the mines and the battle ships bombarding the forts. By March 4th, the outer forts were considered neutralized. On this same day, a detachment of marines was again landed at the entrance but they were repulsed by Turkish infantry with a loss of fifty men. This was an indication that the Turks were repairing the fort. On the same day, naval aviation reported that Turks were placing new guns along the shore line between the entrance and the narrows.

Despite this setback, the operations continued and by March 17th, phases 1, 2, and 3 were considered completed and the stage was set for phase 4 which was supposed to consist of the reduction of the works at Kilid Bahr and Chanak and a subsequent advance through the straits straight on Constantinople. On this date, Admiral Carden, who was ill, turned over the command of the allied fleet to Admiral de Robeck.

While these methodical operations were in progress, a trend toward combined operations started. On February 15th, the Admiralty suggested that, if the straits were to be of any use, the Gallipoli peninsula and the Asiatic shore would both have to be occupied by the army. On the 15th of February, a cabinet meeting was held and a decision was arrived at to send a considerable force to the Dardanelles to aid the navy and its operation.

On March 11th, General Sir Ian Hamilton was designated to command the expeditionary force and started for the straits on the 13th, arriving at Lemnos on the 17th in time to be present for the battle of the 18th which was to culminate the fourth phase of the operations.

In this battle the Allies engaged eighteen battleships and at the end of the day, were repulsed with a loss of seven. The majority of these losses were due to mines. The British at the time thought the mines were drifters; this was not the case. Two of the ships at least had run onto a new mine field which the sweepers had failed to locate.

As indicative of the poor effect of navel fire against fixed defenses, it is noteworthy that one fort received over a thousand direct hits and had no gun put out of action. Another fort was hit four thousand times and none of its guns were placed out of action. The total Turkish losses for the entire operation were 40 killed and 72 wounded. Eight guns of the 176 engaged were temporarily or permanently put out of action. The Turks, on their part, fired 1,935 rounds.

All the accounts except the French indicate that at the close of this battle, March 18th, the Turkish ammunition had reached such a low state that a continuation of the fight the next day would have resulted in their defeat. However, the French state that at the close of the fighting on March 18th, the Turks still had some 22,600 rounds of ammunition available in the defenses. But, some of the larger calibers such as the 210s and 280s were low, only amounting to 30 or 40 round per gun.

As a result of this action, Admiral de Robeck became convinced that a combined operation was the only means of forcing the straits and had a consultation approving his idea with the British and French Generals.

On March 19th, General Hamilton wired Lord Kitchener, as a result of this conference, that the operation was to be a major one. Kitchener's reply was as follows, "You know my views that the passage of the Dardanelles must be forced, and that if large military operations on the Gallipoli peninsula are necessary, to clear the way, those operations must be undertaken after careful consideration of the local defenses and must be carried through." So it was that a conflict, begun as a naval target practice on November 3rd, 1914 evolved into a major combined operation by March 19th, 1915.

EVENTS IN TURKEY TO INCLUDE MARCH 19TH, 1915

On August 2, 1914, Turkey proclaimed neutrality. On August 4th and 5th, she laid mines with the purpose of maintaining this neutrality. However, it was not until December, 1914, that even 145 mines had been collected. The mining operations were not very serious. By the 10th of August, the Ninth Division was moved to the mouth of the strait on the peninsula side. Out of the 20 guns in the four batteries at the mouth of the strait, only four guns were at this time in a condition to be fired.

On August 18th, the British squadron, pursuing the *Geben* and *Breslau*, arrived off the strait and were denied entrance. In September the Allies blockaded the strait although war had not been declared. The pretext for this blockage was to prevent some Austrian ships, which were supposed to be at large in the Mediterranean, from seeking shelter at Constantinople. To show the great destitution of the Turks in defensive means, it is stated in the German Account, page 56, that the submarine nets were constructed from old hoisting wires used on former mines.

The initial defenses of the strait consisted of old stone works built largely by British and French engineers in 1877. These antiquated batteries mounted 100 seacoast guns of ancient pattern with ranges varying from 7,000 to 9,000 meters and only capable of a very low rate of fire. For example, the best works called Fort Hamizie could only fire one round for each six broadsides which the *Queen Elizabeth* was capable of delivering.

Between the November bombardment and the first of January, Lieutenant Colonel Wehrle of the German army, with his regiment of eight 150 howitzer batteries (presumably 32 pieces), was placed at the disposal of the First Army, at that time defending the straits, and was put into position defending the Asiatic shore. In addition certain light batteries were brought from Germany to fire on the mine sweepers. Torpedo tubes were placed along the shore and searchlights were installed. Four hundred additional mines were also imported and placed in various positions.

The central narrows at Kilid Bahr were chosen as the main defensive zone and ten lines of mines were planted. Some accounts make mention of the removal of naval guns from obsolete Turkish war vessels and their emplacement in the straits. All this work was at the instance of the German mission. In the beginning its efforts were met with considerable opposition, owing to the natural lethargy of the Turks, but eventually, they were materially aided in their efforts to defend the straits by the repeated naval attacks, each of which frightened the Turks a little more.

To sum up, the total additions made to the defenses of the Dardanelles against naval attacks consisted of 78 pieces of medium and light artillery and 400 submarine mines. In placing their guns, the Germans only made use of earth works. In addition they built a number of dummy trenches and, during the fleet bombardments, caused charges of black powder to be exploded at various points in these trenches to deceive the naval gunners. The slow development of these defensive measures is shown by the assertions of the Turkish official account that up until

February 25, 1915, a landing operation on any part of the peninsula would have been crowned with success.

LESSONS

The disadvantage of slow operations which only served to warn the enemy.

The tendency of the British, which will be frequently noted in subsequent paragraphs, not to push on after an initial success.

The total inability of ships to destroy land forts.

The vital importance of an advance base without which no landing operation can ever be successful.

SECOND PHASE

TURKISH RESOURCES

The most important result of the battle of March 18, 1915, was the order issued on March 21st, creating the Fifth Turkish Army, and appointing General of Cavalry Liman von Sanders its commander with rank of Marshall.

So far as the history of the defense of the peninsula is concerned, it may be said to start with this order. Beyond question it was the personality of von Sanders more than anything else which defeated the Allies.

At this time the Fifth Army contained the following units:

The 15th Corps, consisting of the 3rd and 11th Infantry Divisions.

The 3rd Corps, consisting of the 9th and 19th Infantry Divisions.

The 16th Corps, consisting of the 7th and 5th Divisions.

One Cavalry Brigade.

A Turkish Infantry division was made up of three infantry regiments of three battalions each and one machine gun company; a field artillery regiment consisting of two batteries (Colonel Myles states that in addition, there were two mountain batteries. Possibly the facts lie between; some divisions had two field batteries and two mountain batteries while others only had two field batteries.), and a squadron of cavalry (about 150 men) equivalent to our troops; a pioneer company and a sanitary company. The average strength varied from 10,000 to 12,000 men. Probably the total strength of the Fifth Army at this time was very close to British estimates of 62,000.

The supply problem which confronted von Sanders was difficult in the extreme. On the European side, the nearest railhead was 75 miles from Bulair. On the Asiatic shore, there was a gap of 30 miles between the end of the line and Chanak, on the straits, over which the only means of transportation was by pack train. On reaching Chanak, the stores had to be shipped to boats for the passage of the straits. Finally, there was an all water route from the Sea of Marmara, down the straits which could be used when and if enemy submarines permitted.

The roads, both on the Asiatic side and on the peninsula, hardly justified the name, being mere trails of cart tracks with bridges either non-existent or else too fragile for the movement of military vehicles.

Entrenching tools, barbed wire, and sand bags were almost unobtainable; in fact, most of the wire and revetting material used in the defenses were taken from the enclosures of the farms and villages on the peninsula.

INITIAL DISPOSITIONS

Immediately upon receiving his orders, General von Sanders, with a small staff, proceeded by boat to the town of Gallipoli and established his headquarters there early on the morning of March 26th. His keen realization of the value of time and the urgent necessities of his case are clearly demonstrated by the remarks he made on the morning of the 27th, to one of his German aides, "If the English will only leave me alone for eight days, all will be well." Due to the inconceivable stupidity of the British embarkation authorities, he was actually to have more than four weeks. (German Account, Page 95.)

von Sanders made a careful personal inspection of the peninsula immediately upon landing and discovered that the entire coastline of some 80 miles from the Gulf of Saros to "S" Beach was defended with a thin cordon of troops, reminiscent of "the good old days of the frontier guard," composed of the Ninth Division. Since these troops had been sitting in their isolated detachments since the 9th of the preceding August, they had become perfectly worthless. Realizing that such a situation spelled inevitable disaster, von Sanders' first order was for a regrouping of the Ninth Division, so that, instead of a formation which would produce a mediocre defense at all points with no reserve to check an energetic advance, the enemy would be resisted slightly on landing, and subsequently expelled by vigorous counter-attacks. To this end, he directed that the Ninth Division concentrate in the vicinity of Serafim Farm, three and one half miles west of Kilid Bahr.

The deployment of the Ninth Division to carry out von Sanders' orders were arrived at with considerable facility due to the fact that, even at this time, von Sanders could judge quite accurately the number of men available to the British (about 67,000), while, from the topography of the peninsula, he could decide the most likely point of landing; rather, at what point a landing by the British would be most undesirable to him. From this viewpoint, he considered the toe of the peninsula from "W" Beach to Sedd el Bahr as a highly probable landing place, one which, due to the fact that it could be supported by naval fire on three sides, would be disadvantageous to him. His attention was drawn still more to this locality by the fact that the Allied fleet paid it so much attention, firing whole salvos at any small group appearing there by day. The other critical point in the zone of the Ninth Division was on the west coast just south of Gaba Tepe from which a wide valley only four and a half miles long spanned the peninsula, reaching the eastern shore just north of the town of Maidos.

North of the zone of the Ninth Division, the Isthmus of Bulair, scarcely five miles wide, without any hills, was the next point considered dangerous by von Sanders. He disregarded the valley leading between big and little Anafarta villages from Suvla Bay due to the fact that the landing was commanded by encircling hills. His judgment in this respect was amply justified in the August 7th battle. On the other hand, the superior strategic mobility which command of the sea gave the Allies, made it certain that, until a landing was completed, they retained a choice of objectives. His estimate made with this fact, von Sanders had not only to determine what was the most likely enemy plan, but further, what grouping of the forces at his disposal should be made to counter it. At this point it is well to call attention to the fact that, throughout the operation, the German command fully realized the importance of TIME and the equally vital necessity for immediate counter-attacks, to evict the enemy before he had recovered from the disorganization inevitable to the actual change from the water to the land. Or, as von Sanders puts it, "Whatever may be in store, in view of our weak forces, our success depends not on sticking tight, but on the mobility of our three battle groups."

On the other hand, the British seem to have been so bemused with the minute details of landing and supply that, having reached the beach, they let golden moments, and even days, slip by before they moved out, and so failed to glean "from the unforgiving minutes sixty seconds

worth of distance ran." Colonel Kannengiesser, I think, puts his finger on the chief trouble of the British when he says, "The English lacked the ability to extract the utmost from their successes. Their Dardanelles campaign failed because of this. Their methods were responsible for it; during the course of tactical fighting, the right moment was often missed and the lucky opportunities afforded during battle not seized by the forelock. Their methods were responsible for this.

The English orders which we saw went exceptionally far into the smallest detail. Everything was carefully thought out ahead, allowed for in advance, shortly controlled right into the enemy lines. In the conduct of fighting, the subordinate leaders hung resolutely to their orders. This was just their method and the English held stubbornly to it. Thus, however, they often missed the moment which an instinctive knowledge of the position affords, provided all methods, orders, and rules of war were consciously thrown on one side, and the victory achieved by energetically driving forward." (German Account, Page 266.)

Coupled with the facts just cited, the British were blessed with an amazing lack of forceful leadership, while on the other hand, the Turks in all moments of crisis, possessed leaders of admirable force.

VON SANDERS' ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION

MISSIONS

The obvious purpose of the Allied campaign is to secure the sea route between the Aegean and the Black Seas with the capture and occupation of Constantinople as a necessary corollary. To accomplish this, the seacoast forts and their adjacent mine fields must be destroyed. In view of the presence of a large expeditionary and a powerful fleet, this task is to be accomplished by a joint operation.

The mission of my command is to prevent the successful accomplishment of the above by prohibiting enemy land operations.

INFORMATION OF THE ENEMY

The expeditionary force under General Hamilton consists of the following:

- The Royal Naval Divisions – 11,000 men.
- The Anzac Corps and Cavalry – 35,000 men (Entirely inexperienced unit.)
- The 29th British Division, a strong unit numbering 18,000 men.
- The French Division, a good unit numbering 18,000 men.
- Total Force: 81,000 men and 178 guns.

Against this force von Sanders was able to dispose about 62,000 men and a smaller number of guns.

PLANS OPEN TO THE ENEMY

To land in the vicinity of Bulair and drive right across the isthmus which at this point is only four and one half miles wide. Since 500 B.C., this particular point has been considered the key to Constantinople and the line of an ancient wall now actually follows the entrenchments built there during the Balkan War in 1915. If successful, such an operation would completely isolate and eventually starve out the Turkish garrison on the peninsula and so insure the capture of the forts.

ADVANTAGES

To make one bite of the cherry.

DISADVANTAGES

The isthmus is defended by lines of works erected during the Balkan War. The Turkish troops in Thrace, consisting of the First and Second Armies could attack a landing force in flank and rear. The fleet could give only limited support and only by direct fire. Owing to the low profile of the terrain, the flat trajectory, the naval guns would be particularly ineffective. The landing is between 65 and 70 miles from the nearest advance base on the island of Lemnos.

To land on the Asiatic side in the vicinity of Kum Kale where there are two excellent harbors and where the island of Tenedos is immediately available as a very close advance base.

ADVANTAGES

Excellent landing facilities, both in the vicinity of Kum Kale and at Besika Bay, slightly to the south. Warships lying just inside the entrance to the straits could aid by enfilade fire against attacks from across the river Mendere, or could prevent by this fire the movement of Turkish reinforcements across the same river. The river having been crossed, no natural obstacle exists to prevent the movement of troops further up the straits to the vicinity of the forts covering the waterway. The forts themselves are not capable of firing towards land.

DISADVANTAGES

A landing in the vicinity of the town of Kum Kale necessitates a land march of 35 miles in order to get near the forts which are to be neutralized. The country to the south is open and would permit a large Turkish army to operate against the right flank of an invading force. This fact, together with the distance necessary to march, would require the employment of a large force, probably larger than General Hamilton has at his disposal, and would require this force to have adequate means of transportation. (Note: This last consideration was the one which actually made the British rule out a landing in Asia, although the French always thought that it would be good.)

To land on the peninsula in the vicinity of Gaba Tepe and Cape Helles, and by Converging attack, pinch off the high ground in the neighborhood of Achi Baba.

ADVANTAGES

The ability to utilize the supposedly overwhelming effect of naval fire on three sides of the theater of operations. A short advance of less than 11,000 yards to the objective. The fact that in the restricted area of the peninsula, forces could be smaller, and less transport would be necessary. The nearness of the advance base at Lemnos.

DISADVANTAGES

The limited number and extent of the possible landing beaches. The numerous defensive positions offered by the terrain after a landing had been effected.

DECISIONS

While the evidence certainly indicated that von Sanders believed that the landing would take place at Bulair, he could not afford to gamble on it, and so decided to take up a position in readiness. With his troops so disposed, he could develop immediate and secondary counter-attacks in ever increasing strength, no matter where the enemy landed.

TURKISH DEPLOYMENT

To carry out this plan, he disposed his divisions as follows:

On the Asiatic side, the Third Division in the vicinity of Kum Kale. The Eleventh Division slightly further south in the neighborhood of Besika Bay. On the peninsula, the Ninth Division occupied the whole of the toe from Cape Helles to just south of Suvla Bay. The Nineteenth Division in the central part of the southern end of the peninsula concentrated at the town of Bigali. To the north, the Seventh Division just south of the town of Gallipoli and in the vicinity of Bulair. The Fifth Division just north of the Seventh Division around the head of the Gulf of Saros. The Cavalry Brigade on the north shore of the Gulf of Saros.

Having settled his deployment for the occupation of a position of readiness, von Sanders issued an order for the defense and fortification of the several division zones in effect as follows:

"1st, to fortify the points on the coast which clearly lend themselves to an enemy landing and to accumulate and install there material obstacles such as wire, etc. 2nd, have these points held by companies of the main guard, connected by patrols and small posts, and hold the battalions of the advance posts assembled near the center of their sectors. 3rd, in case of an enemy landing, the advance posts being too weak to prevent it, will delay it. This will give time for the main body of the division to advance to the threatened points and throw the enemy back into the sea." (French Account, Page 121.)

"In a word, the weakness of his forces and the uncertainty of the objective and intentions of the enemy compelled General von Sanders to wait until the enemy landing had been effected, then to organize a counter-offensive." (French Account, Page 121.)

Or to quote von Sanders' own words on the same subject, "I ordered the division to hold their troops together and to send only the most indispensable security detachments to the coast within their sectors."

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Having completed his estimate and dispositions, the next chore of the Marshall was to arrange his means of transportation and of intelligence so that, when the enemy eventually committed himself to some point or points, the troops not engaged could be moved with the minimum of delay to the scene of danger, there to execute a counter-offensive for the eviction of the enemy. This was the crux of the whole plan.

In consonance with this theory, his first step was to construct a military road – a covered way—along the straits side of the peninsula from the town of Gallipoli to the vicinity of the village of Midos. From this route, branch roads lead to the several points on the West Coast where the landings seemed most likely. This project was not actually the construction of a new road, but rather the widening and metalling of existing tracks and the erection of substantial bridges.

At the same time he constructed docks at various places on both coasts of the straits to facilitate the movement of troops by boat across the water for the reinforcement of whichever wing of his command was threatened. One of these crossings was from the town of Magora at which point the famed Leander, and later, Lord Byron, swam the Hellespont, and where for many centuries troops have crossed, notably Xerxes in 480 B.C.; Alexander the Great in 334 B.C.; the Kaiser, Frederick Barbarossa in 1190 A.D.; and in 1354 A.D., the Sultan Orchan. Here in 1915 was not only a crossing; it was also the site for the net which was to close the Dardanelles against British submarines, truly an historic spot.

The actual work of construction of both roads and defenses was carried out by labor battalions composed of Armenians, Greeks, and Jews. This work was done at night with a view not only of deceiving the enemy but also of preventing casualties to the workers from the fire of the ships and from aerial bombs. Apparently the ships were very broadminded in what they fire at; any group of two or three was sufficient to draw a broadside.

So successful was the work of constructing trenches that the British were not aware of their existence in the vicinity of the toe of the peninsula and based their estimates of the defensive works on old formation. This lack of adequate knowledge was to cost them dearly later on. But, it may be said in passing that the British failure to use the excellent landing site of Gaba Tepe was caused by the visible presence there of wired trenches, though as a matter of fact, these trenches were far less formidable than the ones at "X" and "V" Beaches, of whose existence they were ignorant. Mention of the actual defenses of the beaches will be given later.

Finally, all the troops were drilled in answering night alarms and simulated attacks over open country, in addition to training in small arms fire and in the use of grenades. The excellent showing made by the Turks, both in attack and defense, was due to this careful training plan. Their fighting power was a great surprise to the British who were convinced that, once a landing had been effected and the beach trenches were captured, the Turks would run. The British based this opinion on the fact that one time before, a whole Turkish army had surrendered to the Russians, with limited resistance.

LESSONS

The limitations placed on the defender by the strategic mobility and freedom of choice of an objective possessed by the fleet with complete command of the sea.

The vital importance of signal communications and of adequate roads for strategical movements.

The necessity for assuming a position in readiness rather than prepared defensive position as a preliminary to a defense against landings.

The value of time.

The value to the defense of careful training in open warfare.

THIRD PHASE

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE LANDING OF APRIL 25, 1915

BRITISH PLAN

General Hamilton's plan for the landing on April 25th was briefly as follows:

The Anzac Corps was to land in the vicinity of the Gaga Tepe and, having secured their left flank by the capture of Hill 971, were to advance rapidly on Maidos with the object of severing the Turkish communications. (In the light of present knowledge it seems that the employment of nearly half his force on an independent operation of dubious feasibility was dictated as much by politics as by strategy – Australia wanted a lone hand.)

The 29th Division was to land at five beaches at the toe of the peninsula and, supported by the converging fire of the fleet, was to advance and capture the commanding height of Achi Baba.

The landings at "Y" and "S" beaches were primarily for flank protection while the main force was to get ashore at "X," "W," and "V" beaches.

The French were to land in Asia at Kum Kale with the object of holding down Turkish reserves and of preventing the guns there from firing on the southern beaches of the peninsula.

The naval division, less detachments, was to form a floating reserve.

TURKISH REACTION

Before 5 a.m. the troops in the vicinity of Helles could see the flotilla numbering more than 200 vessels nearing the shore and, by the way the elements grouped themselves and the direction of their movements, they were able to predict the probable points of landing. When this occurred, the patrols and observation posts along the coast were reinforced from the reserve battalions in each sector and the higher command notified.

This information reached General von Sanders at the town of Gallipoli shortly after 5 a.m. and is described by him in the following terms, "From the many pale faces among the officers reporting in the early morning, it became apparent that, although a hostile landing had been expected with certainty, a landing in so many places surprised many and filled them with apprehension. My first feeling was that our arrangement needed no change; that was a great satisfaction." (von Sanders, Page 63.) Surely the term "happy warrior" may justly be applied to any general who, under like circumstances can with equal equanimity and self-confidence say the same of his initial disposition.

Despite the prompt arrival of this initial intelligence, complete reports of the several landings did not reach army headquarters until 10:00 p.m., April 25th. Towards 8:00 a.m., a report from the vicinity of Bulair arrived stating that a considerable number of transports and war vessels were approaching and shelling the shore in the upper part of the Gulf of Saros. Von Sanders personally inspected the transports making this demonstration and decided, owing to the fact that they rode very high in the water, that they contained no troops and were simply engaged in a feint. His actions, however, seemed to indicate that he was not perfectly convinced that no landing would be made at Bulair as he only moved a few battalions from the 5th and 7th Divisions, then in that vicinity, until noon on the 27th.

Later the same morning, Kasad Pasha, commanding the troops in the southern end of the Gallipoli Peninsula, reported that the British landing had been successfully checked by the 9th Division but that the enemy was holding the beaches he had taken and was landing more troops. He also reported that, in the vicinity of Anzac (Gaba Tepe), the British were doing fairly well and

that the 19th Division had been ordered to march there and drive them out. As a result of this information, von Sanders directed Kasad Pasha to move at once to the south end of the peninsula and take command of all troops there. Von Sanders himself remained in the vicinity of Bulair which, as already indicated, he still considered to be the vital point.

By the late afternoon of the 25th, the 9th Division, defending the Helles region, had used its last reserve and was in urgent need of support. Von Sanders then directed the 7th Division south of Bulair, which he had alerted, to embark two battalions that evening at the harbor of Gallipoli and send them to Kasad Pasha. He further directed the 5th Division to send three battalions to the town of Maidos during the night of the 25th – 26th. During the morning of the 26th, additional battalions of the 5th and 7th Divisions were sent to Maidos or, rather, were embarked for transportation to Maidos.

Von Sanders also directed the commanding officer of the 18th Corps to start the embarkation of the remainder of the 5th and 7th Divisions for Maidos if no landing had been attempted in the Bulair by noon, April 27th. When this movement was effected, the only troops left in the vicinity of Bulair consisted of a company of pioneers and a few labor battalions. In order to deceive the enemy, these troops pitched their tents on the skyline.

The first reinforcements of five battalions, two from the 7th and three from the 5th Division, reached Maidos early on the morning of the 26th and Kasad Pasha sent all of them except one battalion to the vicinity of Sedd el Bahr because in his opinion the most critical fighting was taking place there. One battalion of the 5th Division was sent to the vicinity of Anzac to reinforce the 19th Division. When the reserve had finally arrived, von Sanders relieved Kasad Pasha from command of the Helles sector and replaced him with a German colonel, commanding the 5th Division.

When the French division withdrew from Kum Kale (early morning, April 28th), the troops of the 11th Division were transferred across the straits to reinforce the Helles front. Due to lack of transports and fear of interference from French and British submarines in the straits, this transfer was very slow, it being impossible to move more than two or three battalions each night and none during the day.

During the early stages of the fighting at the south end of the peninsula, the shortage of ammunition among the Turkish seacoast batteries on the Asiatic side prevented them from materially assisting the troops holding the peninsula. The shortage of artillery ammunition among the Turks is further exemplified by the fact that, during many of their counter-attacks, the Turkish artillery fired blank cartridges in order to give the infantry the idea that they were being supported when in fact there was no ammunition available. Strange to say, the British account of this same period states that the Turks had ample artillery ammunition. The Turks themselves admit that they had a very ample supply of small arms ammunition.

Speaking of the initial British attacks, von Sanders states, "The failure of the enemy was due to the fact that their attacks were made on an old reconnaissance and that they did not appreciate the resisting quality of the Turkish soldier. Hence, they failed to bring about in the first stages, decisive results which would have turned this operation into a great military achievement." (von Sanders, Page 64.)

In summarizing the effects of the first day's fighting on the peninsula, the British official account has this to say, "In most of the southern zones, as in the Anzac area, the morning promise of victory had not been fulfilled. The actual coup of the landing had come off. Three of the five selected beaches had been conquered soon after daylight; a fourth had been taken without opposition. Throughout the day the Turks had not been able to array more than two battalions against the twelve and a half battalions of British troops already ashore, though at nightfall the 29th Division had only the fringe of the peninsula."

Beginning May 5th, additional reinforcements arrived in the form of the 4th Division and the 5th Army Corps, consisting of the 13th, 15th, and 18th Divisions. With the arrivals of the various

reinforcements, the Turks commenced a number of large counter-attacks while the British, in order to extend their grip on the peninsula, did likewise. There is this peculiarity about the two attacks:

The Turks, in order to avoid the demoralizing effect of British naval fire, always counter-attacked at night, when this fire was ineffective; on the other hand, the British, in order to profit by the fire of the supporting naval artillery conducted their attacks by day. On May 2nd, the Turks collected some twenty-six battalions with which they attacked the Allied right, directing their attack against the French. In this attack they were repulsed with heavy casualties. On May 10th in the Anzac sector, the Turkish 2nd Division, which was an especially well trained unit, led the spearhead of an attack against the Anzacs which also resulted in failure with a loss of 9,000 men. On May 8th and 9th, the British made two vigorous attacks in the southern sector, both of which were unsuccessful. On May 9th, General Hamilton telegraphed the War Department that without material reinforcements, he could make no further offensive operations.

The date of May 10th marks the beginning of stabilization which was not to end in the southern sector during the campaign and which prevailed in the northern sector until August.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE OPERATIONS AT THE SEVERAL BEACHES.

ANZAC COVE

TERRAIN

General Hamilton's selection of the Anzac landing in the vicinity of Gaba Tepe was predicted in the fact that, from a point just south of this promontory, a broad valley cut the line of hills forming the backbone of the peninsula from the west coast to the town of Maidos on the straits. Unquestionably a landing south of Gaba Tepe gave the most immediate access to this valley but, owing to the fact that air and sea reconnaissance had shown wired trenches on Gaba Tepe and to the south, Hamilton elected to land a thousand yards north of the point. In order to reach the valley from this landing, it was necessary for the troops to land on the apparently undefended beach and then cross over three small ridges which formed the southern end of the hill mass called Sari Bair (Hill 971).

In the actual landing, due to a set of the currents, the Australians struck the beach 2,700 yards north of Gaba Tepe at a very much more undesirable place of landing and astride a lesser promontory called Ari Burnu. Along this stretch of coast the beach is from thirty to forty feet wide with a steep, almost cliff-like ridge rising from the edge of the beach to a height of some two hundred feet. This ridge forms the western boundary of the main hill mass. Immediately behind it is a deep valley known to history as Shrapnel Gully which separates the seacoast ridge from the main ridge (971-Battleship Hill-Baby 700-400 Plateau).

This brief description is wholly inadequate to give an idea of the tremendously jumbled nature of the country which seems to follow no geological formula in its construction but has valleys and spurs running all directions.

DEFENSES

Between Gaba Tepe and Ari Burnu there was no wire except at the crest of the Ari Burnu where there was a section of trench 200 yards long and five feet deep, very narrow, without parapet or berm, the dirt having been removed. At or near this trench, there were, according to the Australians' account, two machine guns.

In the same vicinity but some 1,500 yards further inland on Battleship Hill was a second section of trench of about the same proportions; this trench, however, had no effect on the actual landing but had considerable effect in preventing the final advance of the Australians.

Along the crest of the cliff south of Ari Burnu there were some other short unwired sections of trench but it has been impossible to locate these accurately on any map.

TROOPS

The boundary between northern and southern zones of the 9th Division ran from Maidos on the straits to a point on the west coast one mile south of Gaba Tepe. The defenses of the west coast in the northern zone were allotted to the second battalion, 27th Infantry (700 men, MYLES), supported by one mountain battery, two 120 mm. guns, and four 150 mm. guns, total 10 guns; also the two machine guns, if they existed. A rough estimate gives a density of one man for seventeen yards on this front. Actually it was thinner than this as there were only three companies on the beach while the fourth was in support one mile in rear of the interval between the left and center companies.

The sector reserve consisted of the 1st and 3rd Battalions, 27th Infantry, and one mountain battery which were encamped one mile northwest of Maidos and four miles from the scene of the landing.

COMBAT

The landing boats struck the beach at exactly 4:30 a.m. They were unobserved by the Turkish sentinels until they were within fifty yards of the beach at which time one shot was fired and signal fire lighted near Ari Burnu for the dual purpose of giving the alarm and illuminating the water.

The first wave of Australians numbered 2,500 men, which by 5:30 a.m. had been increased to 4,000. They simply ran over the single company opposed to it. That this initial success was not better exploited is due to the fact that the Australians were not where they thought they were but a thousand yards further to the north where an additional spur intervened, completely confusing the officers and men who vainly tried to accommodate their over-meticulous orders to terrain which did not exist. The lack of training was very evident also. Undisciplined valor accomplishes little but to insure losses. Due to these causes the landing waves of Australians were rapidly lost in the bushes and accomplished nothing, except to bayonet five Turks, which apparently accounted for the Turkish casualties in the initial landing. On the British side, six or seven Australians were shot by their own men who mistook them for Turks when they appeared on the crest of the hill against the morning sky.

With commendable energy, the Australians at once began pushing out and for a while encountered no resistance from the Turks except for scattering shots by men in very hasty retreat.

About 6:00 a.m., Khalil Sami Bey, commanding the 9th Division got news that a force of Australians had landed in the vicinity of Gaba Tepe. Being ignorant of the landings at the toe of the peninsula, he directed his northern sector reserves, which consisted of the 1st and 3rd Battalions, 27th Infantry, reinforced by the machine gun company of the 9th division, to move from the village of Maidos to the scene of the landing and drive the English into the sea. This force started

on its four mile march at 7:30 a.m. At 9:00 a.m., it was seen by the Australians coming over Gun Ridge. Here the war vessels took it under fire and the Turks suffered considerable losses.

After dispatching the 27th Infantry, Khalil Sami Bey got information that a battalion of Australians had landed further to the north near Ari Burnu and were moving in the vicinity of Hill 971 which was the crest of the mountain ridge Sari Bair. As the situation at the toe of the peninsula was then becoming critical and as he had no more reserves to spare for his north sector, he notified Mustafa Kemal Bey, commanding the 19th Division in general reserve at Bigali, of the situation and asked for his help. However, as early as 5:30 a.m., Mustafa Kemal had received information of the landings and appraised it at its true value, that it was not a feint but a major operation. He also realized that any force taking Hill 971 had the key of the peninsula in its possession.

It so happened that on the morning of the 25th of April, the 57th Regiment, 19th Division, was scheduled for a field exercise in the vicinity of Hill 971. On reading the report of the landing, Mustafa Kemal turned to his chief of staff and asked, "Have the men ammunition?" On an affirmative reply, he ordered the regiment reinforced by one mountain battery to move at once and, map in hand, personally led it along a route to place it between the advancing British on Battleship Hill and the crest. At 9:30 a.m., this force made contact with the enemy and attacked at once. Kemal personally issued the order at the distance of 500 yards from the enemy which, according to the French account, ran in part as follows; "I do not order you to attack, but to die. If you have no more cartridges, you have your bayonets."

The march had been so rapid that the leading battalion, the second, had only fifteen men in line when it went into action. The attack was in the following order:

The 2nd Battalion on the right on the seacoast slope of Baby 700, 1st Battalion on the left on the land slop of Baby 700, 3rd Battalion in reserve. At the same time the mountain battery near Ari Burn shifted its fire from the beach to the Australians opposing the Turkish advance and made excellent practice.

While this was going on, the 27th Infantry, 9th Division, which was attacking the Australian right in the general vicinity of Lone Pine, was so hard pressed that Kemal sent in his second regiment, the 77th. This attack took place about noon in order from right to left, 57th, 77th, 27th. The attack was not coordinated but was piecemeal, starting with the 27th on the Turkish left, then the 57th on the right, and finally the 77th in the center. However, it was successful in stopping any further advance on the part of the Australians and, indeed, drove them back.

About dark, the 72nd Regiment, last reserve of the 19th Division, came into action and another attack was made in the following order from right to left:

The 57th, with the 72nd behind it.

The 77th, and the 27th.

However, the 72nd Turkish Regiment behaved badly and, aside from shooting into the backs of some of its comrades in the 57th, did nothing.

As a result of this operation, the one great chance the British had of taking Hill 971, and so winning the campaign, was stopped and the landing forces were confined to a semi-circular zone three-quarters of a mile deep and a mile and a half long.

The effects of the experience during the day on the Australians is of interest. Between 1:00 p.m. and 4:00 p.m., there was a great deal of straggling from the front line and these stragglers and wounded men brought to headquarters wild rumors of 20,000 Turks and masses of artillery. About 7:00 p.m., General Bridges, commanding the Australian division, asked one of his brigade commanders, who had been fighting all day, what he thought of the situation. He replied, "It is touch and go. If the Turks come on in mass formation like the Germans, I don't think anything can stop them." Commenting on this remark, the Australian account states, "An invariable experience

throughout the was that, after an unsuccessful attack the minds of those who have failed were obsessed with the apprehension of an immediate counter-attack. Even though the attacking troops had withdrawn to some formidable defensive line which the enemy was not in the least likely to assail without long preparations, their expectation was that he would at once follow in force and assault it." The author goes on to state that this frame of mind is so common in battle that it should be considered in future operations.

During the night nearly all the Anzac generals, except General Walker, believed that a strong attack at dawn would drive them into the sea. General Bridges, therefore, recommended that the expedition be withdrawn at night and landed to reinforce the troops at Helles. This was opposed by General Birdwood, the corps commander, and by General Hamilton, and so the Australians remained. These fears came more from listening to reports than from personal observation. As the author states, "It was only on that day that officers and men began to learn what remained true in every action of the war that the attitude of stragglers and the reports of men recently wounded supply no criterion to the state of mind of the men still holding the front line." When the morning of the 26th broke, there was no counter-attack. There were two reasons for this; the Turks had no reserves and they were as badly disorganized as were the Australians.

COMPARISON OF FORCES

Without considering losses on either side and taking the British figures as given in their official history and the Turkish figures on the assumption that there were 700 men to a battalion, which Colonel Miles states was an average, we have the following situation:

04:30 a.m.;	1,500 British opposed to 700 Turks.
05:30 a.m.;	4,000 British opposed to 700 Turks.
10:00 a.m.;	8,000 British opposed to 4,200 Turks.
02:00 p.m.;	12,000 British with two mountain batteries opposed to 6,300 Turks with 14 guns.
04:00 p.m.;	16,000 British opposed to 8,400 Turks.
At dark;	22,000 British opposed to 8,400 Turks.

The Australian figure is slightly more favorable to the British at the end of the day when it presumes that there were 16,000 British on shore opposed to 11,000 Turks.

LESSONS

The certainty that, in spite of a wholly unopposed landing, great mix-ups will occur among the troops landing.

The value of darkness to cover a landing. Notice the Turks did not see the British until they were fifty yards from shore.

The folly of sending partially trained troops, no matter how brave, on an operation of this character or any other operation.

The folly of writing minute orders which, in this case, caused the Australians to assume situations which did not exist and try to conduct themselves accordingly.

The facts that the power of a force is not measured by its number. Witness the attack of fifteen Turks against the Australian brigade.

The failure of the British to realize the value of time and push on. In spite of much talk to the contrary, they did not push on except at the very beginning. The French account excuses this partly on the ground that they were waiting for more artillery to be landed.

The outstanding losses of the whole operation is that, LEADERS STILL MUST LEAD IN PERSON TO WIN. On the Turkish side, we see Kemal Pasha, map in hand, leading his first regiment into action, launching it into an attack with less than a hundred men and winning, while on the other side we have a picture of General Bridges, commanding the Australian division, pushing his men into action from a seat on the beach and losing. In making this statement, I do not wish to disparage the courage of General Bridges who, on the 26th, died a soldier's death. I do, however, wish to emphasize what appears to me the most pernicious teaching of the World War, namely, that a commander should be a pusher rather than a leader. Later on, we will see another example of this identical difference with this same Turk, Kemal Pasha, still leading, and other Englishmen, Generals Stopford, Sitwell, et al., still sitting.

"Y" BEACH

TERRAIN

General Hamilton personally selected the site for this landing, basing his choice on the desirability of getting troops ashore where they could either protect the left flank of his main attack or cut the hostile communications.

The spot selected was a secluded gully three and one quarter miles northeast of Tekke Burnu. Deep water came close into the land so that cruisers could lay within 400 yards of the beach. The beach was narrow and from it, rose steep slopes to a height of about 250 feet. The ascent of these slopes was made up the gully.

DEFENSES

Because the Turks felt that the spot selected was wholly unsuitable for a landing, they not only failed to erect defenses but even to have sentinels in the vicinity.

TROOPS

TURKISH

"Y" Beach lay within the center sector of the southern zone. This sector covered the entire width of the peninsula from the straits to the west coast and was garrisoned by the 2nd Battalion, 26th Infantry, 9th Division, posted as follows:

Along the west coast, a distance of three and one half miles from Gully Beach to Suri Tepe, was one company, with two platoons at Gully Beach one mile south of "Y" and one platoon two and three quarters miles north of "Y" at Sari Tepe. The second company, split into three platoon groups in the vicinity of Norte Bay and "S" Beach, was fully occupied with its own troubles while the sector reserve, the remaining two companies of the Battalion was at Krithia village. The 25th Infantry, in division reserve, was at Serafim Farm five miles to the east.

THE COMBAT

The British forces executing the landing consisted of the 1st Battalion, King's Own Scottish Border Regiment and the Plymouth Battalion, Royal Naval Division. They reached the shore at dawn and landed without the slightest opposition. Until 5:30 p.m., or for a period of about twelve and a half hours, nothing happened to destroy the utter serenity of the British who seemed to be so nervously exhausted from their trying experiences in the boats that they made no move except to occupy a line along the bluff covering the beach.

While this was going on, Colonel Matthews of the Royal Marines, accompanied by his adjutant, walked to within five hundred yards of the village of Krithia which was unoccupied at that time, owing to the fact that its garrison of two companies of the 2nd Battalion, 26th Infantry, had gone to the south end of the peninsula when the bombardment started. Having completed his constitutional, Colonel Matthews returned to his lines and rested.

The excuse for this inaction is placed on the order under which the force operated which directed the troops at "Y" Beach to capture some nonexistent guns and then to join in on the left of the British forces landing at "X," "W," and "V" Beaches when the line advanced.

In any event the fact remains that for eleven hours there were more British resting at "Y" Beach than there were Turks opposing the landing of the rest of the 29th Division at the south end of the peninsula. Any time during this period, a converging attack from "Y" Beach and from "S" Beach where, on the other flank, another British battalion was engaged in restful exercise, could have taken the Turks defending "X," "W," and "Y" Beaches in the rear and possibly, Hamilton's grandiloquent design of capturing Achi Baba on the first day might have been realized. Even an occupation of this undefended Krithia would have been a blow to the Turks as it would have cut their line of supply.

The following incidents are of interest as showing to what an extent the dice of Fate were loaded against the British.

Before dull daylight, General Hamilton, passing down the coast, on board the Queen Elizabeth, received a signal from Anzac Cove that a successful landing had taken place at "Y" Beach. He then considered seriously the landing of additional troops of the Marine Division at "Y" Beach, finally abstaining in order to hold a floating reserve for eventualities.

About 9:30 a.m., April 25th, General Hamilton signaled General Hunter-Weston, commanding the 29th Division, "Would you like to get some more men ashore at "Y" Beach?" At 10:30 a.m., General Hunter-Weston declined the offer on the ground that it would conflict with the Navy plan.

Another source of trouble arose from the fact that as late as 11:30 a.m., Colonel Kee, commanding the infantry, though that he ranked Colonel Matthews of the marines. Under this assumption, he heliographed "X" Beach about noon to ask if he should come down there or wait for them to advance to him. Receiving no reply, he waited.

At 3:00 p.m., it was apparent that the British at "X," "W," and "Y" Beaches were not going to advance, so the British at "Y" Beach drew in close to the top of the bluffs on an over-extended line and began to entrench. Note that as yet, they had not even been fired at, still they took up a defensive attitude.

However, the Turks had already started to move at 1:00 p.m., for Colonel Sami Bey, commanding the 9th Turkish Division, had sent a battalion of the 25th Infantry, a section of machine guns, and a battery of field artillery from his reserve at Serafin Baru, to attack "Y" Beach so as to remove the threat to his communications with Helles.

The first attack started at 5:30 p.m., preceded by a little shelling, and thereafter, other attacks were repeated with great vigor. Two more companies of Turks, also from the 25th Infantry, arrived at 11:00 p.m. to bring the attacking Turks to almost half the strength of the defending

British. At dawn the Turks withdrew for a while but at 7:00 a.m. on the 26th, they made a final attack which broke the center of the British line but which was finally stopped. On this the Turks withdrew for the rest of the day, not another shot was fired.

The British, however, were completely panic-stricken and began to send the most disjointed messages, asking for assistance, the final straw being the bursting in their ranks of some Navy *overs* about the time of the last Turkish attack.

One nameless lieutenant signaled a ship to send boats to take off his detachment. This the Navy obligingly did but the rest of the men on the beach took this as an indication that a withdrawal was ordered and so scrambled into every boat which arrived to take off wounded and NO ONE STOPPED THEM.

In the meantime, Colonel Matthews was ignorant that his men were leaving and was doing what he could on the bluffs to restore a line. But, as the Division had not replied to any of his nine messages asking for help, he was not cheerful and, when at 11:00 a.m. he found that nearly all his men had left, he too, gave in and evacuated the position although there was not a live Turk in sight. This is probably the most futile (and possibly the most disgraceful) 31 hours in the history of the British Army.

True, the losses had been over 600 on the part of the British and about fifty percent on the side of the Turks but, when it is realized that the total number of Turks hardly equaled the British losses, we have to admit that they shot well.

LESSONS

The second illustration of that fatal inertia which always assailed the British when the uncertainty and fear of being taken under fire in small boats gave place to the fact of having actually landed.

The powerful effect of vigorous local counter-attacks, even when executed with reduced forces.

The ample time which exists between the time the boats hit shore and the time the line moves out, if it does, during which counter-attacks can be prepared and launched.

As a corollary to sub-paragraph above, it seems desirable to designate groups composed of a machine gun and a few rifles under officers to move out at least a measured mile the instant the boats land. Later this line of groups could be reinforced and properly posted but the principle thing is to gain ground before it is defended.

The fact that the lack of leadership and of ordinary courage among the junior officers can make even regulars panicky.

The rigidity of mind which made General Hunter-Weston decline to use "Y" Beach as a landing place because it would disarrange the Navy's plan for debarkation. In other words, the sanctity of a plan was greater than human life.

Most important of all, the failure of General Hamilton to use his floating reserve when he found a weak place. This, in my opinion, was due to lack of force of character, to the fear of the unknown, to the feeling that by holding out his reserve, he was playing safe.

"X" BEACH.

TERRAIN

"X" Beach was the westernmost of the three sites for the principle efforts of the 28th Division. It is situated on the west coast of the peninsula one mile northeast of Cape Tekke Burnu. The beach

itself is some two hundred yards long and is overlooked by sandy bluffs from 80 to 150 feet high. From the center of the beach a gully runs practically south. From the top of the cliffs an excellent view is afforded of the whole southern slop of the peninsula, including "S" Beach at Norte Bay as well as the redoubt on Hill 139 and the reverse slop of Hill 141. The importance of this circumstance was not appreciated at the time and with the press of action, its tactical significance was not understood. Indeed, the British account hints that probably none of the officers at "X" Beach knew that there was a British force at "S" Beach.

DEFENSES

BRITISH

The British troops designated for the landing at "X" Beach consisted of the 2nd Battalion, Royal Fusiliers with some added naval and military beach personnel. The Battalion landed in two waves, the first wave reaching the shore at 6:20 a.m. and the crest of the bluff at 6:20 a.m. The second wave completed its landing at 7:30 a.m.

TURKISH

At the beach itself there were only twelve Turks. The nearest support consisted of two companies of the 3rd Battalion, 26th Infantry, located in the third sector (Sedd el Bahr) as local reserve. At Gully Beach one mile to the north were two platoons of the 2nd Battalion, 26th Infantry. While these platoons were in another sector, it none the less seems certain that it was they who attacked the British left at "X" Beach about 8:00 a.m. because, as far as I can see, they were the only Turks available; further more, they were not in their original post at Gully Beach at 7:30 a.m. when some marines from "Y" Beach examined it; finally, it would be the natural thing to do.

COMBAT

The battleship *IMPLACABLE*, the immediate supporting vessel, came in to a range of under five hundred yards from the shore and covered the landing by point blank fire from its 12-inch guns and all its secondary batteries. In view of the fact that there were only twelve Turks present, this powerful fire was hardly justified. It produced, however, a perfectly bloodless landing which was completed by 6:30 a.m. for the first wave and an hour later for the rest of the Battalion.

At 8:00 a.m., one and a half hours after landing, the British began to move out. One company went northeast and after an advance of eight hundred yards, was stopped by the two platoons from Gully Beach. A second group of two platoons advanced due east five hundred yards and dug in. The company remained on the seashore in reserve while the rest of the battalion, one and a half companies, attacked the Turks on Hill 141. Probably these Turks were in the neighborhood of Deep Gully and consisted of either the right of the company defending "W" Beach or else one of the two local reserve companies which were thrown into the fight about 7:15 a.m., one going to Sedd el Bahr and the other to the vicinity of "W" and "X" Beaches. In any event, the attack on Hill 141 was a success.

By 11:30 a.m. the Hill had been carried and communication established with the British ashore at "W" Beach. Note, however, that this advance did not exceed five hundred yards and had taken three and one half hours; also that the original force of one and a half companies of British had been reinforced at 10:30 a.m. by a company of the 1st Battalion, King's Own Scottish Border Regiment, which battalion, forming part of the Division reserve, had landed on "X" Beach at 9:00 a.m.

While this was going on, the British left, consisting of the one company eight hundred yards northeast of the landing, had been driven in, presumably by the two platoons of Turks opposing it and the reserve company of the Fusiliers had been used to restore the situation.

Again at 10:30 a.m., the Turks attacked the left, now two companies strong, and drove it in, badly disorganized, so that two more companies of the Border Regiment had to be used to restore the position, which they did by a bayonet charge and the loss of forty men.

Note that by 11:30 a.m., seven British companies were engaged against a force of Turks who could not possibly have exceeded one and a half companies. Possibly the eighty pound packs carried by the British on April 25th sapped their strength; certainly no violent offensive spirit was demonstrated.

At 1:00 p.m. the second battalion of the Division reserve, the 87th Brigade, namely the Inniskilling Fusiliers, began to land. From 11:30 a.m. on, the troops at "X" Beach, which by 1:00 p.m. had been increased to three battalions, remained idle. This inertia is probably accounted for as follows:

Heavy losses in commanding officers

The fact that General Marshall, commanding the Division reserve, was not in command of the battalion of Royal Fusiliers already there and further, that he had definite orders not to employ his two battalions until directed by the Division commander.

The fact that the British at all the beaches were obsessed with the belief that they were opposed by at least a division of Turks.

In any event, although they were not attacked or even fired on, the British at "X" Beach did nothing after 11:00 a.m. At 6:00 p.m., General Marshall, becoming convinced that no forward advance from "W" or "V" Beaches on his right would take place, telegraphed for instructions. Two hours later at 8:00 p.m., he received a reply directing him to remain at "X" Beach for the night. On receipt of this he dug in on a semi-circle eight hundred yards from the shore.

LESSONS

The third instance of inertia on the successful completion of the act of landing.

Notice that losses prior to landing seem to have no material effect on the actions subsequent to landing. In the three cases so far recounted, namely, Anzac, "Y," and "X" Beaches, the landing was unopposed. In the next two cases, it was heavily opposed but none the less, the real defense was affected by counter-attacks after the landing.

The McClellan-like belief that the enemy was always very numerous.

The blind and literal observance of the letter rather than of the spirit of orders on the part of the British and the spontaneous manner in which the Turks carried out the spirit of their instructions – immediate counter-attacks – for, so far as I can find out, they received no orders at all on April 25th.

Again, the powerful and paralyzing effect of immediate counter-attacks is demonstrated.

"W" BEACH

TERRAIN

"W" Beach is situated just east of Cape Tekke and consists of a strip of sand three hundred yards long dominated on either side by high, rocky cliffs. Back from the beach extends a gully

with gradual slope. Due to the result of the water coming down this gully and the waves beating on the shore, the beach is piled up higher than the floor of the gully so that back of the beach is a distinct depression.

Due to a misplaced confidence in the efficacy of the Naval supporting fire, the British chose "W" and "V" Beaches as the locations of their principle landings for the 29th Division. On the other hand, the critical attention given by the British Navy to all Turkish working parties at these two beaches caused the defenders to come to the correct conclusion that the beaches were designated as the principle objective and therefore, utilized all of their meager defensive material in fortifying them. It should be noted that a majority of the wire used came not from military stores but from the wire fences of the peninsula itself. In many cases the wire was not even barbed.

DEFENSES

As has already been stated under Terrain, the land back of the sand beach was a depression about 250 yards long and something less than a hundred yards wide. In this hollow the Turks erected a double line of wire connected by four oblique lines. Due to its defiladed position, the preparatory fire from the warships had no effect whatever on it and in fact, the wire seems to have been invisible until the troops had actually landed.

To the northwest of the beach is a line of trenches seven hundred yards long, following the military crest of Hill 114 from Cape Tekke to the east end of the hill.

To the south of the beach there was a somewhat more complicated trench system which finally terminated in a line of trenches, running in a northerly direction and almost meeting the defenses of Hill 114.

Seven hundred yards due east from the south end of the beach was a redoubt on Hill 138, and three hundred yards southeast of this redoubt, and connected with it by a line of trenches, was a second and larger redoubt on a hill called Guezji Baba. From this second redoubt two bands of wire ran down to the precipitous cliffs east of the ruined lighthouse at Cape Helles.

As a finishing touch to the above enumerated defenses, trip wires were laid under water and the beach itself was generously strewn, above high-water mark, with contact mines.

TROOPS

TURKISH

All the foregoing defenses, including the two redoubts, were manned by one company of the 3rd Battalion, 26th Infantry, possibly 250 men strong. It will be recalled that part of this company occupied trenches near the entrenched gully on Hill 114 and were engaged during the British landing at "W" Beach in repulsing the British attacks at "X" Beach. The only support available consisted of the two remaining companies of the 3rd Battalion, 26th Infantry, who were initially posted in the low ground west of Morto Bay. As we have already noted in describing the fight at "X" Beach, one of these companies got into the action at "X" Beach, and also into the action at "W" Beach sometime between 7:30 and 8:30 a.m. (Colonel MILES seems to favor the later hour.) A battalion of the 25th Regiment (3rd Battalion) also arrived in the vicinity towards dark but at the time the actual fighting had ceased.

BRITISH

The troops designated to form the landing consisted of the 1st Battalion, Lancastershire Fusiliers. In the plan these were the only infantry to be used at this beach because it was better

protected from fire from the Asiatic coast than was "V" Beach and also, because the slope leading up from it was not so precipitous. It was intended as the landing place for the heavy equipment and guns. In addition to the five battalions making the initial landing at "Y," "X," and "W" Beaches, the attack was supported by the fire from 345 naval guns, some of which were of very large caliber.

THE COMBAT

When, about 5:30 a.m., the British preparatory bombardment landed, the whole plain of the peninsula in the vicinity of Helles was churned into a frothing cauldron of flying earth, rocks, and pieces of steel while a red cloud of dust rose up and hung like a bloody pall over the scene.

As a matter of fact, the bloodiness only applied to the color of the cloud because the Turks, defending this part of the peninsula, suffered few, if any, losses from the naval bombardment and, after a short experience of it, even the moral effect was materially reduced. Another factor added to the futility of the bombardment for, owing to the flat trajectory of the naval guns, these had to lift their fire a full ten minutes before the landing troops struck the beach so that the defenders had ample time and perfect tranquillity for the manning of their fire steps.

Meanwhile, the 32 pulling boats carrying the First Battalion, Lancastershire Fusiliers, neared the apparently deserted beach but just as the boats grounded, the Turks awoke and deluged the invaders with rifle fire from the front and both flanks. On the British right, two Turkish machine guns also enfiladed the unscathed wire through which the British, with super-human gallantry, tore and clawed. (N.B. The presence of these two machine guns is not universally admitted but I believe that the predominance of evidence points to their existence.) The four machine guns accompanying the British, all in one boat, grounded into such deep water that three of the guns were lost in attempting to land them.

But for the fortunate circumstance that General Hare, commanding the 88th Brigade, to which the Lancastershire Fusiliers belonged, happened to notice an opening between the north end of the wire and the cliffs at Cape Tekke through which he led the two left platoons of the battalions and succeeded in occupying the undefended trenches at the west end of Hill 114, it seems probable that the valor of the British would have been as futile as it proved to be at "V" Beach. From these trenches the British found themselves close to and behind the Turks firing on their comrades below. Apparently there were not very many Turks at this point for, reading from page 228, British Official Account, we find, "Using an orderly's rifle, Major Frankland shot two of them and the remainder took flight."

At the same time a company on the British right found that the wire did not reach entirely to the cliffs and, moving through the gap, were enabled to take the Turkish left in flank and rear. These two flank attacks permitted the advance of the troops in the center so that by 7:15 a.m., enough ground had been gained to prevent any direct fire landing on the beaches themselves. As if the Turks were not doing enough to discourage them, the British on the right were also demoralized for a few moments by the fact that just as they reached the top of the cliffs, they were thrown down by a violent explosion which they considered to be a land mine until they found that it was one of their very own navy shells falling short.

A tragic incident of poor staff work is evinced by the fact that on April 23rd, the navy had reported that the wire at "W" Beach could be rounded on both flanks, but on one had told the troops who had to do the fighting. The file which holds this valuable information holds also the death warrant of many gallant infantrymen. About this time, between 7:00 and 7:30 a.m., General Hare, commanding the Brigade and the covering force, and Colonel Newenham, commanding the troops at "X" Beach, were both wounded.

The brigade major, Major Frankland, still carried on and now started to the right to organized an attack against the redoubt on Hill 138, taking with him for this purpose what was left of "B" Company. "A" Company, now reduced to fifty men, was already attacking Hill 138 and when Major Frankland, with his group, emerged at the top of the cliff near the lighthouse, he saw a redoubt at Guezji Baba just in front of him and attacked it instead of the redoubt he was aiming at on Hill 138.

This mistake points to the fact that, in writing orders and solving map problems, one never becomes lost; but when converting badly delineated features from the map to the ground, one often becomes lost. In this case also, the compasses and field glasses of the British had been rendered useless by being soaked in salt water and sand as they waded ashore. The dispersion of effort caused by these mistakes rendered the attack on the two redoubts abortive. On the left the two other companies, "C" and "D," aided by some beach personnel from the naval division, finally united at the top of Hill 114 with the troops from "X" Beach. This occurred about 11:00 o'clock.

While this was going on, General Hunter-Weston decided that more infantry was needed at "W" Beach, so at 8:30 p.m., he directed the 1st Battalion, Essex Regiment, a main body unit originally intended for "V" Beach, to land at "W." The first two companies got ashore at 9:00 a.m., and were used to fill the gap between the left and right groups of the Lancastershires with the result that, as already noted, "W" and "X" Beaches were linked up and Hill 114 was in British hands by 11:30 a.m.

At 10:00 a.m., the remainder of the Essex landed, one company going to the center, and the other being sent to help in the attack on Hill 138, in which attempt it was stopped.

At 10:21 a.m., General Hamilton signaled General Hunter-Weston to send the remaining main body units intended for "V" Beach to "W." As a result of this order, the 4th Battalion, Worcestershire Regiment, less two platoons already at "V," landed at "W" at 1:10 p.m.

It is unfortunate that a telegram, started from the ruined lighthouse at 12:25 p.m., asking that the Worcestershires be landed there instead of at "W" Beach, did not arrive in time, for, had it done so and been heeded, it is highly probable that the debacle at "V" Beach might have been cleared up by dark, but, as is the way with messages, it arrived too late.

After some delay due to the absence of any senior officer to take charge, the Worcestershires were put into the attack on Hill 138 in conjunction with one company of the Essex and what was left of the two right companies of the Leicestershires. With the aid of a twenty minute artillery preparation by the Navy, this hill with its redoubt was captured at three o'clock. These troops then attacked the redoubt on Guezji Baba and drove off the tiny Turkish garrison with little loss. Next, some of the Worcestershires and Leicestershires attacked the belt of wire east of the lighthouse and after a prolonged combat, succeeded in getting through it, but were checked just beyond. At 5:00 p.m., these same troops made a final attempt to reach "V" Beach by an attack on Fort No. 1, but were repulsed and dug in for the night.

This may appear to make an excellent example of the tremendous effect of rifle fire on the defensive but a candid examination of the losses actually sustained shows that this power is more moral than physical for, with the exception of the Leicestershires who lost heavily at the beach, the losses in the two other battalions only amounted to 110 men all told.

Truly, the more one studies this landing, the more one is impressed with the amazing lack of initiative displayed by the British. Fatigue and lack of sleep may account for some of this, but not for all. The British Official Account has this to offer, "Faced with a definite task – the capture of the beaches – the 29th Division put an indelible mark on history. But once this task was done, platoon, company, and even battalion commanders, each in their own sphere, were awaiting fresh and definite orders, and on their own initiative did little to exploit the morning's success or to keep in touch with the enemy by means of fighting patrols."

On the other hand, the valor and persistence of the Turkish infantry has never been justly evaluated, but actions speak louder than words. Surely, seldom in history have five companies stopped a division and stopped it so forcibly that by night, the British were no longer the aggressors, but had assumed a supine attitude, and spent the hours of darkness in momentary expectation of a counter attack by twenty thousand men.

LESSONS

The costly results of slow staff work as shown by the failure of the staff to inform the landing troops that the fire could be turned on both flanks.

The high cost and consequent confusion incident to daylight landings in the face of resistance.

The uselessness of naval supporting fire against land defenses.

The fact that troops show more energy when faced with definite, known resistance than, after an unopposed landing, when they are hypnotized into inaction by fear of the unknown.

Rifles in many cases failed to function due to sand in the mechanism, another point not brought in the account.

The necessity of putting rations in water-tight containers. At "W" and "V" Beaches the reserve rations carried on the person of the soldiers were made useless largely by having been soaked in salt water.

It is not believed that water and sand would affect our compasses and field glasses, although they are said to have rendered useless those carried by the British.

"V" BEACH

TERRAIN

"V" Beach is situated 550 yards southeast of Cape Helles. The ruined fort and stone village of Sedd el Bahr dominates it on the right while its left abuts on the precipitous cliffs east of Cape Helles. This position is dominated by the ruins of Fort Number Finally, the entire length of the beach was enfiladed at a range of four to five thousand yards by Turkish heavy and medium artillery posted on the Asiatic shore.

The beach spanning the gap between these obstructions is 300 yards long and 10 feet wide. At the inland edge of the sand a low bank 5 feet high runs practically the full length of the beach. From this shore a semi-circular valley rises to a height of 100 feet over a distance of 500 yards, and, in the words of several writers, "Overlooks the beach like the seats of a theater do its stage." Truly a more unpromising site for a landing could scarcely be imagined.

The selection of such a place for one of the principle landings can only be explained by the fatuous belief then current in British minds that naval fire was tremendously effective, especially as in this case due to the rising nature of the ground, such fire would be supplied with an excellent target.

DEFENSES

Twenty yards from the beach, a double line of wire ran from the "old fort" (Sedd el Bahr) to Fort Number About 150 yards further up the slope a second continuous line of wire ran from Fort Number 1 to the east slope of Hill 141 and was backed along its entire length by an unbroken trench. From approximately the center of this second obstacle, a third line of wire ran southeast to the old fort.

Near the intersection of these two lines of wire were two pompoms (one pounder automatic cannon), while in prolongation of the first belt of wire were four machine guns, two at each end, which completely enfiladed the apron (One Turkish account states that during the bombardment two of these guns were put out of action). Finally, on the crest of Hill 141 was a strong redoubt with a line of trenches running southwest to the ruined barracks.

Not only were there ample trenches so well hidden that it was not until late afternoon that the British located them, but also equally significant was the fact that the ruins of the two forts, the barracks, and the edges of the adjacent village afforded excellent shelter for infantry. At no point was the beach over 250 yards from some protected firing position. Further, it may be stated that as far as can be ascertained, there were no land mines or trip wires at this beach.

TROOPS

BRITISH

The troops designated for the initial landing consisted of the 1st Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers in pulling boats. Of this force three and one half companies landed at "V" Beach and one half a company at the Camber, east of the old fort. They were to be followed immediately by the RIVER CLYDE with the 1st Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers and two companies of the 2nd Battalion, Hampshire Regiment. However, due to a faulty estimate of the strength of the current, the RIVER CLYDE actually hit the shore at the right (southeast end of the beach) at 6:22 a.m., three minutes before the boats landed.

TURKISH

Initially, the Turkish garrison at "V" Beach consisted of one company of the 3rd Battalion 26th Infantry. Sometime between 7:00 and 7:30, it was reinforced by a second company of the same battalion, from the support of two companies stationed in the low ground west of Morto Bay (It will be remembered that the other company of this support had gone to "W" Beach). Later in the day, a third company from the 2nd Battalion, 26th Infantry arrived from the village of Krithia. There was also one battery of Field Artillery somewhere in the vicinity of "V" Beach.

THE COMBAT

For an hour preceding the landing, the same appalling bombardment, as described in the case of "W" Beach, tore the fort, village, and entire countryside into ribbons but in actuality, succeeded in killing very few Turks. As was the case at "W" Beach, this preparation was lifted ten minutes before the boats struck ashore, and the Turks again had opportunity to occupy their firing positions undisturbed.

Until the RIVER CLYDE grounded, not one shot had been fired. Suddenly, "Hell was let loose." In many of the boats every man was killed or wounded before he had a chance to debark. Of those hit while yet in the water, the wounded were quickly drowned, weighted as they were, with more than 80 pounds of equipment. The Turks claim that not a single boat of the first wave was able to return to the vessels for its second load.

During this carnival of death, in which heavy shells from the Asiatic shore added their bass notes to the high, staccato cackle of the rifles and machine guns, the heroism of the infantry was well equaled by the valor of the sailors, who, manning the boats and deprived of the thrill of combat, stayed by their oars until death relieved them.

The two platoons which landed east of the point at the Camber were less severely handled in the actual landing, and, despite the death of all their officers, some of the men fought their way to the village. Later, their bodies bore grim evidence of the stark heroism of their efforts.

The landing of the RIVER CLYDE was fraught with even greater difficulties. The lighters which were to bridge the gap between the ship and shore, at first went adrift. Due to the efficient heroism of Commander Unwin (VC) and some of his officers and men, a bridge was finally arranged, to prove a death trap for the gallant Irish who valorously essayed to use it. In one company, the Captain and the first 48 men to leave the ship, all became casualties. Again the lighters went adrift and those men aboard were given the ironic choice of a death by bullets or by drowning. Of the total number of men participating in the first wave, 70 percent were hit.

Undeterred by this carnage, the men on shore made a valorous attempt to get footing in the old fort. Their efforts were doomed to failure. During this time, the navy was making a heroic effort to re-establish the bridge, which, at 9:00 a.m. was again made passable. A third company now rushed over it to death. The few successful survivors of the initial attempts to land were now strung along the beach, below the five foot bank; safe, but impotent.

In the British official history are some very interesting notes on the landing, taken at the time, by one of the division staff who was aboard the RIVER CLYDE. Under "9:00 a.m.," he makes this brief remark, "Fear we will not land today." It is also noted that he gives high praise to the Turkish small arms fire, both as to its accuracy and its fire discipline. Von Sanders' insistence on target practice was proving its worth.

General Hunter-Weston, commanding the 29th Division, was still unaware that a success at "V" Beach was impossible. Consequently, at 9:00 a.m., from his command post on a battleship (and without at least one message of explanation) he signaled the troops on the RIVER CLYDE. His signal urged them to land and try maneuvering to their left, thus linking up with "W" Beach. Again, at 9:30 a.m., another effort was made from the COLLIER, which accomplished similar results – namely, a bloody failure.

At 8:30 a.m., under the erroneous impression that the landings at "X," "W," and "V" Beaches had proven successful, the orders for the landing of the main body were issued. Pursuant to this order, General Napier of the 88th Brigade with two and one half companies approached the shore. After some delay, he was met by a few boats loaded full with dead and wounded. The sailors who brought these boats to the mine sweepers were perfectly aware that the return trip meant death, yet, they did not hesitate. As the troops neared the shore, they were hailed from the RIVER CLYDE and warned not to land. To this General Napier replied, "I'll have a damn good try." A few minutes later he was dead.

At 10:21 a.m., General Hamilton signaled to the boats originally scheduled to land at "V" Beach to proceed in the direction of "W" Beach. This was in consequence of a message received from the lighthouse at Cape Helles. The same message was repeated at 12:15 p.m., but succeeded in reaching only the Commanding Officer at "W" Beach at 1:30 p.m. In this message a suggestion was made that instead of landing the main body battalions at "W" Beach, they be landed just below the lighthouse. This plan was feasible and from this position an attack could readily be made against Hill 138. Due to the length of time taken for the message to arrive, the troops were already ashore before it reached the Commanding Officer (It is worthy of note that messages are slower in wars than in maneuvers).

Despite all that had happened, General Hunter-Weston was still unaware of the situation at "V" Beach, and continued to signal the men on the COLLIER to land and move to their left. Finally, at 2:30 p.m., it had become vitally necessary for Lieutenant Morse, Royal Navy, who had already won his DSO for his work with the lighters, to take a message to him explaining the situation.

At 4:00 p.m., possibly having been deceived by the cessation of Turkish fire, the British made one last attempt to land and attack toward their left. This was also repulsed with great loss. Two

battleships bombarded the village and Fort Sedd el Bahr at approximately 6:00 p.m., setting the village on fire. Encouraged by this incident, the indomitable British collected 120 men and attacked the fort at 7:00 p.m. Again they were repulsed by equally indomitable Turks.

After dark the remaining troops on the RIVER CLYDE, number about 1,000 men, disembarked without loss. Preparations were immediately made for a night attack, but this plan was abandoned in view of the darkness and confusion. When it is considered that all this destruction of life was caused by the dogged resistance of two companies of the 3rd Battalion, 26th Infantry, reinforced later in the day by one, or possibly two, companies of the 2nd Battalion, same regiment, it is necessary to admit that the valor was not all on the side of the British.

At about 2:00 a.m. on the morning of the 26th, two additional companies of the 1st Battalion, 25th Turkish Infantry, arrived from the division reserve. It is probable that it was in reference to this reinforcement that the Commanding General of the Turkish 9th Division wrote this order to the commander of the 26th Infantry, " I am sending you a battalion. It is quite clear that the enemy is weak; drive him into the sea, and do not let me find an Englishman on shore when I arrive."

LESSONS

It should be noted that the violent resistance encountered here and at "W" Beach seems to have had the effect of stimulating the troops to more activity after landing, than was the case at those beaches where resistance was absent or weak. This is probably due to the fact that in face of certain death in the boats, the men preferred the dubious safety of attacking on land.

The bloodless landing effected by the survivors of the RIVER CLYDE after dark emphasizes the efficacy of night as a cloak for landing operations. It is believed that the confusion incident to darkness is less than that incident to bullets by day.

The Turkish resistance again emphasizes the effect of small arms fire, mostly rifle, at short range. At "V" Beach the Turks had lines of stakes set up showing the exact range to all points at their front.

From a Naval standpoint, the ground at "V" Beach presented the best target in the entire operation, yet, even here the results were practically zero.

The landing of the RIVER CLYDE suggests the desirability of utilizing such means in the future; but under cover of darkness.

"S" BEACH

TERRAIN

"S" Beach consists of a short strip of sand, situated at the foot of a break in the cliff in the northern arm or Morto Bay, two and one half miles east of "V" Beach. At the right of the beach, the cliffs rise to a height of about 200 feet and are crowned by an unused sea-coast fortification called De Totts Battery. The chief difficulty of a landing at this point resulted from a strong current in the Dardanelles and theoretically, at least, the beach was susceptible to fire from the Asiatic shore at a range of 5,000 yards.

The choice of the spot was dictated, as in the case of "Y" Beach, by the desire to give immediate flank protection to the principle landings which were taking place at "X," "W," and "V" Beaches.

DEFENSES

With the exception of the unoccupied battery on the cliff, the only other defense was a trench for a platoon of Infantry, half-way up the cliff. There was no wire or mines of any kind.

TROOPS

TURKISH

The trench above the beach was occupied by one platoon of the Second Battalion, 26th Infantry, with the second platoon of the same battalion in support one-half mile south. (Note: The third platoon of this company was on the beach in the center of Morto Bay, one mile to the west, but took no part in the action against the landing at "S" Beach.)

BRITISH

The force detailed for this landing consisted of three companies of the 2nd Battalion, South Wales Borderers. The British came in on four trawlers which were under the escort of a battleship. When the trawlers struck into the mud, the troops debarked into 24 pulling boats and rowed themselves ashore, which objective they reached at 7:30 a.m. Two companies went straight for the beach while the right company, landing without packs at the foot of the cliff, scaled it, and either killed or captured all of the Turks in the trench. These Turks were firing on the two companies assaulting the beach from the flank and rear. Thanks to this turning movement, the entire position was in British hands at 08:00 a.m. During the remainder of their stay they were not molested except by the fire of a battery of German 150's from across the straits. That this shelling was not violent is shown by the fact that at 12:00 noon, the battery ran out of ammunition and the regimental commander gave them half his remaining 130 rounds with which to continue the action during that day.

From the high ground at the De Totts Battery, the situation at "V" Beach was plainly evident and the forces on the cliffs above "X" Beach could be seen. Yet, with their fatal ability to stop, just short of complete success, the British at "S" Beach, did nothing. Here, as at "Y" Beach, the inaction may be explained in part by the order which directed them to remain in position and join up on the right flank of the British troops advancing from the south. Too, there appeared the usual bogey in the form of a story told by a prisoner to the effect that 2,000 Turks were in the immediate vicinity. As a result of these circumstances, the British at "S" Beach dug in and remained there until relieved by the French on the morning of the 27th. During their entire stay, including the landing, the casualties of the British amounted to 63.

LESSONS

Again we have an example of complete inertia resulting chiefly from rigid orders, strictly complied with. The British through-out these operations seemed wholly incapable of initiative.

The landing of the right company at the base of the cliff and their effective flank attack are of interest because it seems that their success was due largely to the fact that this was the only unit which went into action in light order, wearing shirts, shorts, and cartridge belts only, thereby retaining their mobility.

GENERAL

While it has been desirable to consider the action in these landings separately, those at the five lettered beaches (S,V,W,X,Y) actually form one operation which occurred on a perimeter of slightly more than five miles.

In regard to the event of April 25th, the British Official Account, Vol. I, page 250, states, "Thus in the southern zone, as at Anzac, the morning's promise of victory had not been fulfilled. The actual coup of the landing had come off. Three of the five selected beaches had been captured soon after daybreak. The fourth had been taken without opposition. Throughout the day, the Turks had been unable to array more than two battalions against twelve and one-half battalions of British troops ashore, yet at nightfall the 29th Division held only the fringe of the peninsula." Nonetheless, it is believed that with powerful leadership and luck, the objectives indicated could have been taken on the 25th. Among the various more or less valid excuses advanced for the failure are the following:

High casualties among the officers, especially in the upper grades; yet, these casualties are necessary or landings will not succeed.

Lack of mobile reserve to be thrust in at a soft spot; nevertheless, at "Y" Beach, Hamilton had such a reserve and considered using it but failed to do so.

Rigid orders executed by brave officers of average intelligence and below average initiative.

The failure of the naval fire to accomplish results can be accounted for by the type of shell, flat projectory of the guns, and lack of shore observers. In one case, which was not an exceptional one, it required one and one-half hours to get on a target after the target had been reported, because of the lack of efficient communication between ship and shore. This was due, partly, to the failure of instruments on shore, and largely to the fact that the ships occupied by the admirals and generals had their signal systems overworked. I have quoted numerous examples of the length of time required to get signals across. As a solution, one writer suggests placing the admiral and general responsible in the operations, on one ship that is not a combat vessel, moving wherever its presence is required; and which, unlike a battleship, would not be restricted by the necessity of maintaining fire.

Another important item which tended to inhibit the British success was the apparent lethargy in landing artillery. By the night of the 25th, there were only four field guns, four ten-pounders,(mountain guns), and two Howitzers on the beach. On the other hand, the Turks in that part of the peninsula had only one battery of field guns. In my opinion, all the reasons so far adduced are partial ones only. The principle reason for the failure was the terrific power of rifle fire in the hands of men who had their hearts in their work and who were led by officers of initiative and military education.

Without decrying in any way the high valor of the gallant soldiers who stormed wire and waded through mines, it is nevertheless pertinent to remark that in at least four of the British battalions, which were ashore by 2 o'clock on the 25th, the casualties in no one of them exceeded 70.

The solitary battery of Turkish Artillery, which from a position somewhere just north of Sedd el Bahr, aided in the defense and acted as "attached" not "supporting" artillery.

After careful research, Colonel Miles estimates the varying strength of the two forces during the day as follows:

from 6:00 to 8:30, 725 Turks were opposed to 6,500 British.

from 8:30 to 9:30, between 725 and 1,800 Turks were opposed to 7,600 British.

from 9:30 to 4:30, a number, varying from 1,800 to 3,600 Turks, was opposed to a number increasing from 9,500 British.

At 4:00 p.m. on the 25th, there were 4,500 Turks present.

By dawn on the 26th, 21,000 British are estimated to have landed in the vicinity of Helles.

KUM KALE

TERRAIN

Kum Kale, the scene of the French landing on April 25th, is two and one-half miles due south of Sedd El Bahr on the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Dardanelles. The village is situated on a peninsula two miles long and approximately 500 yards wide, which runs in a general northeasterly direction, and is separated from the rest of the mainland by the Mendere River. It is of historic interest because of the ancient city of Troy, which lies two miles to the southeast.

The north end of the peninsula, next to the strait, is low and in many places, marshy. It rises gradually to a height of 20 feet at the Orkanie Mound and to a height of more than 60 feet at the village of Yeni Shehr.

Immediately adjacent to the village of Kum Kale was an old masonry fort. This fort was completely destroyed by naval gun fire early in the operations. There was a sea-coast battery, in the vicinity of Yeni Shehr, which had been destroyed by gun fire. The road bridge crossing the Mendere River is about half way between Kum Kale and the Orkanie Mound. North of Kum Kale was a rickety wooden pier and just below the fort was a small stone jetty.

DEFENSES

The Turks were very apprehensive of a British landing in the vicinity of Kum Kale and to the south of it, and therefore had ample provisions of troops in this part of the theater of operations. The actual defenses of the peninsula were non-existent save for the presence of one or two companies of Turks in observation. As has been stated, the village and fort at Kum Kale were in ruins and no wire or land mines existed. The main defense was based on holding the crossing over the Mendere River from the fairly elevated sand hills southeast of it.

TROOPS

TURKISH

The defenses of the peninsula at Kum Kale were in the zone of the 3rd Turkish Division. One regiment of this division was along the Mendere River with detachments on the peninsula. The two remaining regiments were some three miles east of the river. This was in consonance with universal Turkish tactics of holding with small forces and being prepared for vigorous counter-attacks when the landing had definitely located itself.

FRENCH

The troops designated by the French for the landing operations consisted of the 6th Regiment of Colonial Infantry, which was composed of one white colonial battalion and two Senegalese battalions. These troops were reinforced by one section of machine guns, one battery of French 75

Field Guns, and one section of Engineers. The object of the operations was primarily to deny the vicinity of Kum Kale to the Turkish mobile guns, which, if situated there, could fire on "V" Beach at a range of four to five thousand yards. Necessarily the operations were limited ones. The order given the French stated definitely that they were to only clear the region between Kum Kale and Yeni Shehr, west of the Mendere River. Further, the number of troops was limited to one regiment.

THE COMBAT

The plan of landing contemplated by the French required getting ashore shortly after dawn. To insure this, their fleet, consisting of two battleships and several cruisers, opened an intense bombardment at 4:45 a.m. However, due to the small size of the French steam launches, they were unable to get their tows close to the shore and the actual landing did not take place until between 9:30 and 10:00 o'clock. Because of the small number of Turks present, the naval preparations had done considerable good, and the French landed with very small losses, just under the fort at Kum Kale. There was a gap in the wall of the fort which permitted them to enter, and later, afforded entrance to the village. The bombardment had caused a great deal of damage, particularly to the town of Yeni Shehr, which was in flames. One French cutter was struck by a shell and destroyed with all of its occupants.

The few other casualties suffered in landing were the result of a machine gun somewhere in the vicinity of the old fort of Kum Kale. This gun was put out of action almost immediately after by a shell from the French battleship, HENRY IV. By 11:15 a.m., the town had been captured by the two leading companies with very small losses, and a detachment was pushed to the south toward the cemetery and knoll. In the meantime, the Battleship HENRY IV had gotten inside the straits and by effective fire destroyed the bridge. Two columns of the regiment in support were unable to cross and were obliged to move southward under cover of the sand hills in search of a ford in the vicinity of Yeni Shehr. Subsequent to the capture of the village, no further attempts to move south were made by the French until the completion of their extremely slow landing operations.

The guns did not get ashore until 4:00 p.m., and the final battalion completed its disembarkation at 5:30 p.m. To cover this operation, trenches were dug to the east of the village. At 5:30 p.m. the French started an attack consisting of two companies against the cemetery, and three companies against the Orkanie Mound, with a view to the capture of the southern portion of the peninsula. These movements were checked by the heavy fire of one battery of German 150's, which, from a position east of the Mendere River, made excellent practice with the 200 rounds of ammunition available.

On receiving a report at 6:00 o'clock that hostile columns were advancing to Yeni Shehr (they were unquestionably the columns which first attempted to cross the bridge and then moved south), the French gave over the attack. Their right or southern flank rested on the coast, half-way between the town and the mound. It is interesting to note in this attack that (as far as has been ascertained) it is the only place where naval fire had a decisive effect on preventing the arrival of reinforcements; and secondly, that it is the only place where Turkish artillery seems to have been the predominant factor in stopping the attack.

In spite of the fact that the ground in front of the French position was illuminated by searchlights, the Turks succeeded in assembling there, and between 8:30 p.m. and daylight, had made four attacks against the eastern side of the village of Kum Kale. All of these attacks were repulsed. In each case, hand-to-hand fighting occurred, in which the French colonial troops and the Senegalese Infantry were most gallant. On the morning of the 26th, an incident occurred which is reported differently by the two sides. The French and English account states that Turkish soldiers

approached the town of Kum Kale under a flag of truce, but carrying arms. Upon being admitted, they began fighting.

In the course of this fighting, the Turks entered the town in considerable numbers and stole two French machine guns. They continued to hold possession of part of the town until late in the afternoon when, finally, they were driven out. Sixty of them were captured; and the officer in command and eight of his men were shot, subsequent to the fight, as punishment for violating a flag of truce. The Turks state that this was an attack which was successful, and that no flag of truce was involved. The losses in the entire affair seemed to favor the French, who lost only 758, as compared to 2,300 by the Turks.

Their mission completed, the French withdrew, completing their evacuation at an early hour on the morning of April 27th. Although it requires considerable research to elucidate this fact from any British source, they were then landed at "V" and "S" Beaches; and during the remainder of the operation, held the right of the line.

SUVLA BAY OPERATIONS

GENERAL

This operation which should be called, more appropriately, the August offensive, deserves special notice because it was the largest action of the campaign; because in it the dearly-bought knowledge of the April landings was utilized; and finally, because it is a monumental example of the pre-eminence of leadership over planning.

From the viewpoint of the British, the sequence of events was as follows:

After the Allied failure at Helles on May 8th, it became very evident that success could be achieved only, if at all, by a large increase of forces. The question of where to apply these forces therefore became vital.

Since the British believed erroneously that the defenses at Helles were in the nature of semi-permanent works, further assault at that place was not favorably considered. (Note: In this connection the statement on page 350 of the British Official Account is of interest, "... But sir Ian Hamilton's impression of the enemy's defense was not in accordance with the facts. It is now known that the Turkish position at that time could in no sense be described as semi-permanent works. Their defenses consisted of not even a connect line of trenches. They were nowhere protected by wire; and, excepting the French front, the attacking units had as yet been engaged against only advanced troops that lay out behind natural cover. The attack had failed, but the principal reason for its failure was the fact – not at that time fully realized, either in Gallipoli or in France – that an advance by daylight, without adequate artillery support, against unlocated machine gun positions, is, in nine cases out of ten, a sheer impossibility.")

The French still, and I think rightly, favored a landing on the Asiatic Coast, but due to the larger commitments necessary for a campaign in this region, it was not approved. Plans for a landing at Bulair were considered but ruled out, due to the insistence of the Navy that the distance of 83 miles from the advance base at Lemnos to the Isthmus was excessive. This statement is of momentous interest in connection with the defenses of the Island of Oahu because it would appear to limit strictly the selection of a hostile advance base.

The foregoing considerations combine in giving added interest to a scheme for an operation at Anzac, initiated on May 30th by General Birdwood. The increased number of troops, five divisions made available by Lord Kitchener, appeared to make the proposed operation even more favorable.

It is important to note that the Anzac operation was intended for the main blow, and that the Suvla Bay landing was wholly an ancillary to it and not the reverse as is too often believed.

Briefly, General Birdwood's plan, approved by General Hamilton on June 13th, was as follows:

A limited attack on the Helles front with the dual purpose of holding the Turkish troops there, and using up their reserve.

A main attack on the hill mass called Sari Bair by the Anzac Corps, reinforced by the 13th Division, 29th Indian Brigade, and one Brigade of the 10th Division. The purpose of this attack was to capture Hill No. 971, the key to the peninsula.

Here, as in the case of the first landing, it is worth remarking that time favored the Turks. The plans, as originally conceived, were intended to be put into operation about the third week in June. However, due to a Cabinet crisis in London, the assault was delayed six weeks. At the end of this period the new ministers learned the details of the operations and finally arrived at a decision. Fate and politics were truly in league against General Hamilton.

The sequence of events from the Turkish viewpoint was as follows:

On the 22nd of July, the Turks had reliable information, telegraphed from Germ GHQ, that a British reinforcement of between fifty and sixty thousand men, was arriving in the islands. This report was slightly premature, since those reinforcements did not arrive until after the first of August.

The receipt of this information made it imperative that Marshall von Sanders make a new estimate of the situation and arrange his forces in preparedness to meet the impending attack, when and where it might develop.

As in the preceding April, Marshall von Sanders again had considerable qualms concerning an attack at Kum Kale, or possibly, further to the south. He thought, however, that an attack at Anzac was hardly probable, which view was not shared by the Commanding Officer there, Essad Pasha. He considered an attack in the vicinity of Suvla Bay more probable. Von Sanders was extremely worried about the coast south of Gaba Tepe. Here, an undefended space of fifteen miles separated his northern group at Anzac from his southern group at Helles. He felt that the British might well attempt a landing here, which, if successful, would take in reverse all the troops holding the Helles sector. Commenting on this belief, so important to Marshall von Sanders, General Hamilton in a letter to Colonel Miles, states, "You see, there we did not reckon on swift and complete victory. Failing that, how could the troops which landed on this open space be supplied? For many miles on this coastline there was not enough harbor for a steam launch."

Essad Pasha based his belief in the probability of a landing at Suvla Bay in the fact that from this point a penetration might be effected easterly, up the valley between the two Anafarta towns.

Marshall von Sanders, as in April, was greatly disturbed, and I believe rightly so, about the possibility of an attack at Bulair. His solution was to occupy a "position of readiness," arranged on lines analogous to those of April. He stationed his troops as follows:

At Bulair, the 16th Corps, consisting of the 7th and 12th Divisions, with the 6th Division further to the north on the Gulf of Saros.

At Kum Kale, the 2nd and 3rd Divisions, in line with the 11th Division in reserve,
At Helles, the 1st, 10th, 13th, and 14th Divisions, in line with the 4th and 8th Divisions in reserve.

The 8th Division subsequently moved to the west coast.

Excluding the 4th Division, the force at Helles consisted of 72 battalions, 162 guns and 45 machine guns.

Opposing this force were 6 Allied divisions, 2 French and 4 English, mustering approximately the same force. At Anzac, the 19th and 16th Divisions were in line in that order from north to south, with the 5th Division in reserve at the rear center.

South of Gaba Tepe, in the space between Helles and Anzac, was the 9th Division, later reinforced by the 8th Division. In the Suvla Bay area was placed a detachment consisting of two battalions of gendarmes, one battalion of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and four batteries (two field and two mountain), under Major Willmer.

THE BRITISH PLAN

It is necessary to describe both plans since that at Anzac is inseparably connected with the one at Suvla Bay. The British plan proposed the gaining of three successive objectives.

The first, to be accomplished within three days, contemplated the seizure of the main ridge to include a point adjacent Hill No. 971, from which position, a line running generally north indicates the objective desired.

The second objective, to be attained by use of additional troops landed at Anzac after sufficient area had been captured, included the main ridge of the peninsula. This position was to be extended in a general northerly line from a point called Mal Tepe, through two Anafarta villages and the ridge Tekke Tepe, to the coast near Ejelmer Bay.

The final objective contemplated reaching the shores of the Dardanelles in the vicinity of Ak Baahi Liman. Had this plan succeeded, the troops at the toe of the peninsula would have been cut off, and the defenses there could easily have been taken in the flank and rear. Owing, however, to the unfortunate fact that no part of this plan was ever realized, it is one of academic interest only.

THE DETAILS OF THE OPERATIONS AT ANZAC

TERRAIN

After the failure of the April offensive to overrun the meager Turkish defenses at Anzac, the British troops clung tenaciously to a very limited area on the flank of the massive Sari Bair. The rugged nature of the British perch, the total perimeter of whose front line was scarcely more than a mile and one half, with a maximum depth of somewhat half a mile. Beyond the left extremity of the line, which terminated on the beach just north of the Sphinx, the British had three small detached posts near Ocean Beach.

The principal feature of the terrain is Hill No. 971, or Koja Chemen Tepe. From this eminence a continuous hog-back defined by Hill Q – Chunuk Bair – Battleship Hill – Baby 700 – Brussels Top – Hill over Anzac Cove runs in a generally south-western direction. From this main ridge, five lesser ridges run in a north-westerly direction, terminating either on Ocean Beach or on the

Suvla Bay plain. From the photograph and descriptions, it appears that the Waianae Mountains, in the vicinity of Kole Kole Pass, fairly well exemplify the type of terrain which the British encountered. (For a specific comparison of the two pieces of terrain, see the description of Suvla Bay, to follow.)

DETAILED PLANS OF THE BRITISH FOR THE ANZAC OPERATION

As I have stated, the principle objective of the initial attack (this is the only attack with which we are concerned) was the capture of Hill No. 971, and of the other and lower Hill of Chunuk Bair with the subsequent occupation of the whole hog-back. To attain this objective, it was necessary to reduce the garrisons of the Turkish right, in the vicinity of Hill No. 971, and to prevent the arrival in this vicinity of additional troops.

With this end in view, at 5:30 p.m. on the 6th of August, the British initiated an attack on their right, that is, against the Turkish left, in the vicinity of Lone Pine. After dark, they proposed to send the major portion of their forces along the beach, beyond the three detached post positions, and to have them advance up the gullies with the purpose of gaining the crest at 971 and further down the hog-back, including Hill Q and Chunuk Bair.

In order to maintain the secrecy of the initial move, it was necessary to send a detachment ahead of the main columns to capture, by stealth, Turkish outposts stationed at the foot of the several valleys.

The timing of the attack, taken in connection with the landing at Suvla Bay has been criticized on the ground that the Anzac operations started too early (some five hours prior to the initial landing at Suvla). This, I think, is incorrect and results from the assumption, present in all the earlier articles on the campaign, that Suvla was the main effort. Had the Anzac attack synchronized with that at Suvla, it would have defeated its purpose of catching the Turkish short of reinforcements at the vital point of Hill No. 971, for, it is evident that the landing at Suvla Bay would have immediately induced a movement of Turkish reserves to the very part of the line which the British hoped to find unoccupied, or at least, weakly held. In my opinion, the timing was not only correct but the bold attempt at a turning movement stands out in pleasant contrast when compared with the usual head-on assaults of the World War. It was an excellent conception, and failed because of bad leadership.

TURKISH PLANS

The Turks were on the defensive, had no plans, and were ignorant of the fact that additional troops had landed at Anzac.

TROOPS

BRITISH

The British forces allotted to this operation was, in round numbers, 37,000 men and 72 guns. These troops consisted of the Anzac Corps, the 29th Indian Brigade, the 13th New Army Division, and one Brigade of the 10th New Army Division.

TURKISH

The Turkish troops, in actual contact with the British at Anzac, consisted of the 16th Division on the Turkish left, opposed to the British right at Lone Pine and thereabouts. The 19th Division

extended the Turkish line to include Hill No. 971. Beyond the Turkish right, in the valley of the Anza Dere, was the 14th Regiment of the 5th Division, less one battalion. The remainder of the 5th Division was in reserve one and three fourth miles east of the junction of the 16th and 19th Divisions. South of Baba Tepe was the 9th Turkish Division, guarding the 15 kilometers of coast between the Turkish north and south sector. While this division was not in actual contact with the British, it was utilized almost at once, and on the morning of the 7th, in the vicinity of Chunuk Bair, probably exercised a paramount influence on the checking of the British advance. Excluding the 9th Division, the above enumeration of forces gives to the Turks 27 battalions of approximately six hundred men each, or a total of 16,200 men. Including the 9th Division, their forces reached 21,000.

DEFENSES

Along the perimeter of the actual front of the Anzac positions, both sides had erected trenches of a semi-permanent character, at least as that word was understood in 1915. For the entire length of the hog-back, where the flanking columns were supposed to strike, there were practically no trenches, and those that did exist were of extremely temporary nature.

LONE PINE

At 4:30 p.m., August 6th, 28 guns opened fire on the Turkish position, some 220 yards long, in the vicinity of Lone Pine. One of these guns was actually fired at a range of 220 yards. From the sea, a cruiser enfiladed the reverse slopes where the Turkish reserves were assembled. At 5:30 p.m., three battalions of the 1st Australian Brigade assaulted, and with remarkably small casualties, crossed no-man's land to the Turkish trenches. Here, in the semi-darkness, a tremendous combat of bombs and bayonets occurred between the Australians and the men of the 47th and 48th Regiments of the 16th Turkish Division.

The fighting was extremely bloody, with an estimated casualty list for the first two days of 1,700 Australians and 5,000 Turks (This is a British estimate). Possibly a Turkish estimate would have reversed the figures. In either event, a great number of men were killed. While the Turks were driven from the first line trenches, they were not at all discouraged and immediately began a series of vigorous counter-attacks, lasting for the next six days. However, the British attack had the effect intended, in that it drew in all the reserves of the north sector, namely, the two remaining regiments of the 5th Division.

In addition, Essad Pasha directed the 9th Division at the south of Baba Tepe to come to the assistance of the 16th. The 9th Division started in the direction of the 16th, but before its troops got into action it was discovered that the situation was safe, and the order was recalled. The vigor of the British attack really frustrated its own ends, because, by calling the 9th Division from the sea coast to aid at Lone Pine, this division was moved to the north. Here, it was available next day to stem the British attack at Chunuk Bair, at probably the most critical moment of the whole campaign.

To sum up, this attack immobilized five Turkish regiments by the use of six Australian battalions.

THE ATTACK ON SARI BAIR

The British believed that two Turkish battalions occupied the foothills from the Sphinx to Hill No. 971, and that two more battalions were in reserve at the Farm. In this estimate they were only half right for there were no battalions at the Farm.

Against this force, General Birdwood hoped to engage some 20,000 rifles, consisting of the following units:

The New Zealand–Australian Division
3rd Australian Light Horse Brigade, 13th Division
29th Indian Brigade.

The attacks were executed in two columns. Each column was preceded by a covering fire.

The right column: The right covering force moved out just after dark and by a display of truly remarkable dash and courage, although at the expense of considerable casualties, captured its objectives and cleared the way for the advance of the right assaulting columns. In this operation they killed some 200 Turks and captured a like number. However, the operation which was planned to terminate at 10:45 p.m., August 6th, was not completed until 1:15 a.m., August 7th.

Following the route already traversed by its covering force the right assault column moved out at 10:45 p.m. for the capture of its objective, Chunuk Bair (Hill No. 850). Hardly had it started before a resumption of firing at its front caused it to halt. After a wait of 45 minutes, during which time the firing gave no sign of stopping, it was finally decided to push on, regardless of the consequences.

Except for this unfortunate and unnecessary delay, nothing of moment occurred until the head of the column reached Table Top at 1:00 a.m., August 7th. From this point to its final objective, Chunuk Bair, it was only 1500 yards, and had the column pushed directly on, it is probable that the heights would have been in its possession by 2:00 a.m., the hour specified in the time table for the operation. At any rate, even a moderate delay would have been immaterial, for until 6:30 or 7:00 a.m., the only Turks available to resist its advance were twenty infantrymen and a platoon of mountain guns. Again, the Nemesis of Gallipoli intervened, for having reached Table Top, it was discovered that one of the battalions composing the column had gone astray.

After having learned this, the fatal decision was made to await the arrival of this lost battalion. With victory in its grasp, the force did nothing until well after sunrise. A further tragic consequence of this spineless decision will be apparent later when we come to describe the attack on the Neck. The plan specified that once Chunuk Bair was taken, part of the force was to move down the ridge and by a rear attack aid in the latter action.

After waiting three and one-half hours, or until 6:00 a.m., on Rhododendron Spur for his lost battalion (which was still missing) the commander of the right column made the belated decision to continue his attack, but only with two battalions. By 7:30 a.m., an advance, apparently unopposed, of 500 yards had been made. The two battalions halted here for breakfast while the colonel commanding the assault battalions made a reconnaissance, preparatory to attacking. He was fired upon and reported that an advance without artillery preparations was out of the question. (Note: This fire was from the 20 Turks referred to above.)

At 8:00 a.m., the column commander informed the division that he could do nothing further, and recommended that he wait where he was until the left column appeared.

In speaking of this incident the British official Account States that owing to the fact that in April, many Australians who had pushed on without linking up were lost. Consequently, the Australians were fearful of attacking without being linked up. General Birdwood had specifically ordered that attacks should not wait, but should push on, regardless of what happened on their

flank. Nevertheless, this order was not carried out. With four battalions available and the objective only 500 yards away, the attack stopped. Criticism after the event is always dangerous, but it appears that the only thing lacking to make this attack a success was the complete absence of the essential qualities of leadership and initiative.

General Godley, commanding the Australian-New Zealand Division, did not accept this defeatist attitude. He ordered that the attack take place at 10:30 a.m., and that he would precede it by an artillery preparation of 15 minutes, participated in by land and sea guns. The brigade commander was against the attack and the brigade adjutant felt so strongly that he recommended the order be disobeyed. The brigade commander did not concur in this, and finally directed that three companies of the New Zealanders and two companies of the 10th Battalion, 2nd Gurkas, who had wandered in from the left, execute the attack. This is rather weak when one considers that four and one-half battalions, or 18 companies were present.

The attack proceeded about 100 yards with a loss of two hundred men in the three New Zealand companies and then stopped for good. As will be seen when describing the Turkish movements, the attack could not have succeeded at this time since two regiments, less stragglers, from the 9th Division were in position. In closing, it should be pointed out that this is a very sad commentary on British leadership, when, after a wait of seven hours, such a feeble effort was made. One looks in vain for the presence of a man like General Napier, who, when warned at "V" Beach that he could not land, shouted in reply that he would have, "A damned good try, anyway!"

The left column: The left covering force moved out at 9:30 p.m., and thanks again to dashing leadership, cleared up the ground for the assaulting column by 12:30 a.m.

The task before the left assaulting column was truly appalling, but its difficulties lay in the distance and the nature of the terrain, and not in the resistance of the enemy. Post-war investigations and reflections show clearly that even by daylight, seasoned troops with good guides would have discovered it was all they could do to cover the distance in the time allotted, and at the same time to carry the weight of 200 rounds of ammunition and one day's rations. The troops assigned to this column were not in good condition. The veterans of the April landing were debilitated by hardships and dysentery, while the numerous replacements, though full of spirit, were not fit. Finally, the Indian troops, who had landed only five days previously, were totally ignorant of the ground and conditions of warfare. Much of the ground had never been reconnoitered, and such maps as existed were inaccurate.

It is one thing, from the quiet of an office, to specify a route as shown on a map; and it is quite another thing to follow that route in intense darkness, over country which had never been seen. The left assaulting column not only had a difficult route, but, two objectives, namely Hill No. 971 and Hill Q. It was further handicapped by the fact that the General in command had but recently landed. Under these conditions, the three and one-half hours allotted in which to cover three miles was not sufficient.

The column started at 11:00 p.m., one half-hour late, and had gone only a little way before the mistake was made of taking a short cut through a place later called Taylor's Gap. Here, a few Turks fired upon the column, and a halt was made while two companies were sent out to clear up the situation. The brush was so thick that it was necessary to send for engineers from the rear of the column to come forward and cut the trail. Finally, after three hours, the gap, only 600 yards long, was traversed. It was then 2:00 a.m., and with the rising of the moon the column received some fire. (Note: The fixing of the attack for the night of August 6th had depended largely upon moonlight, as the general desired that the first part of the operations, to be a surprise, should be undertaken in the dark; the final assault, taking place until 4:30 a.m., would then have the advantage of moonlight.)

Some firing was now heard at the front, and troops were again sent out to clear it up. By 3:00 a.m., the scattering fire had all but ceased, but the men were exhausted. The everlasting waiting

during the march, the steep climb, and the poor condition of the troops had done their work. Without any show of resistance, the men halted, and two battalions, with a total loss of less than 100 men, asked permission to fortify a line and hold it. The request was granted. The Indian brigade lost direction, and the only man who knew even a little about the country, Major Overton, was killed. The surprise attack of the left column was a failure.

At 6:30 a.m., a further and most belated attempt was made to continue the mission of capturing Hill No. 971, by attaching the 14th Sikhs to the Australian Brigade, but when this order was received the Australians stated that their men could do no more, and consequently, at 8:00 a.m., the attack was canceled. By 9:37 a.m., G.H.Q. had been informed of this failure.

Next, the left column commander decided to attempt, at least, the capture of Hill Q, one of his original objectives; and of Chunuk Bair, formerly the objective of the right column, by the use of the 39th Brigade, 13th Division, which was until that time held in reserve. He asked for, and was granted, permission to use these troops. However, due to sundry mistakes, this brigade had gotten completely lost. Though the order for the attack was issued at 11:00 a.m., only two companies from the four battalions were in position at 4:00 p.m. This attack was also canceled.

To sum up, it was not the enemy which caused the failure of the left column; but poor conditions, heat, lack of water, and the absence of vigorous leadership.

THE ATTACK ON THE NECK

In order to enhance the chances for a successful attack, General Birdwood planned that, in conjunction with the attack of the right column (after taking Chunuk Bair at 4:30 a.m.) which was to move downhill and strike Battleship Hill from the rear, a supporting attack from the main Australian position was to be delivered against the Neck. As planned, this latter attack was predicated on the Turks at the Neck being taken in rear by elements of the right column while the troops in the main position assaulted them in front. On this supposition, the attack would have probably succeeded. But, owing to the failure of the right column to arrive, it was suicidal. Nonetheless, the units destined for the effort assaulted as ordered and after a loss of over fifty percent were repulsed. It is too bad that such gallantry should have been wasted. However, the affair is a good example of over-complicated plans made abortive by the failure of communications. The Turks state that in this fight, they sustained no casualties.

TURKISH MOVEMENTS ON AUGUST 6TH AND 7TH

When the attack on Lone Pine started, Essad Pasha, commanding the northern sector, at once sent in his reserves consisting of the 5th Division less one infantry regiment.

At 5:00 p.m., the 16th Division asked that the 64th Infantry of the 9th Division, in position east of Gaba Tepe, should come to its assistance. Then, an hour later, it asked that the 25th Infantry of the same division should also come. Both of these regiments started leaving the coast defended only by the 27th Regiment, 9th Division. While this movement was in progress, but before the troops of the 9th Division were actually committed, Essad Pasha got information at 9:00 p.m. that strong British columns were moving north along the beach with the apparent intention of turning his right flank. (Note: If the hour stated, 9:00 o'clock, is correct it speaks well for the Turkish system of information, because the covering force for this column did not move out until about 7:30 p.m.)

Shortly after 9:00 p.m., further information began coming in of the landing at Suvla Bay. On the receipt of this information, and in view of the fact that British progress at Lone Pine was not amounting to much, Essad Pasha ordered the 9th Division, less one regiment, but with its artillery,

to move along the rear of the Turkish front and come into line on the right between Chunuk Bair and Battleship Hill. This order was received by the 9th Division at 4:30 a.m. Notice the time it took to transmit an order.

Prior to all this, von Sanders, on hearing of the attack at Lone Pine alerted the 16th Corps at Bulair. At 6:00 p.m., he ordered Major Willmer, commanding a skeleton force in Suvla Valley, to send his one reserve battalion, 1st Battalion, 32nd Infantry, to the vicinity of Demakjelki Spur to assist in covering the then position of the Turkish right. This unit reached the designated place early on the 7th and must have been the troops who gave whatever resistance the British left column received.

At 1:30 a.m., on August 7th, von Sanders ordered the 16th Corps to send three battalions, out of its available 24, to the critical area. He also ordered the 4th Turkish division from reserve at Serafim Farm in the Helles Sector to march north. While von Sanders deserves unlimited credit for his prompt decision, it must nevertheless be apparent that the reinforcements he ordered were of no immediate importance to the battle for, except in the case of the battalion of the 32nd Infantry, all the others could not, owing to the distance they had to march, have arrived at the critical point until many hours after daylight. Had the British plan been as bold in execution as it was in conception, such an arrival of reinforcements would have been hours too late.

At 5:30 a.m., Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who on the 25th of April had sent in the 19th Division without orders and thereby prevented the initial capture of Hill 971, again intervened by sending, once more on his own initiative, his only two remaining reserve companies from the 2nd Battalion, 72nd Infantry, to cover the main ridge in the vicinity of Hill Q – Chunuk Bair. At this moment, Colonel Kannengiesser, commanding the 9th Turkish division, arrived on the scene.

His arrival is another example of that leadership, which throughout the campaign helped the Turks and the utter lack of which frustrated British gallantry and intelligence. Colonel Kannengiesser was far ahead of his men and in order to climb the steep ridge back of Chunuk Bair, had to get off his horse and come up on all fours. He reached the top just before 7:00 a.m. and found a Turkish battery (probably two mountain guns) in position with the men and battery commander all asleep and utterly oblivious to the fact that less than 3,500 yards to the north, troops were landing at Suvla Bay.

The Colonel woke up the battery and directed it to fire on the British, in the vicinity of Salt Lake. When he had completed this, he looked down the hill in front of him and, at a range of 500 yards, saw several British columns of file advancing. He had nothing to oppose them except a platoon of 20 Turkish infantry he found (probably the support for the two mountain guns mentioned earlier). After some difficulty, he persuaded these men to shoot at the British. As soon as they fired, the British lay down and showed no further desire to advance. At this moment, the two companies of the 2nd Battalion, 72nd Infantry arrived, and shortly afterwards the 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry. (I know of no other authority stating the arrival of this battalion and give it on the statement of the British official.)

While conducting these operations and personally forming the lines, Colonel Kannengiesser was wounded but had he been killed he would nevertheless justified his existence because it was his personal efforts which prevented the capture of the Hill by being the right man at the right place at the right time, whereas the opposing Britisher, General Johnston, was the wrong man at the right place and had been for the last 7 hours.

In order to complete the picture, the salient events of August 8th and 9th will be briefly summarized.

AUGUST 8TH

The British plan for the 8th was a dawn repetition of the identical plan which failed on the 7th with the addition of a 45 minute artillery preparation ending at 4:15 a.m. The left column was again to attack Hill 971 and Hill Q. The right Column was to attack Chunuk Bair. Five additional battalions of the 7 New Army units in corps reserve were added to the fight.

The orders issued by the commander of the left column are very reminiscent of those General Joseph E. Johnston gave the Confederate Army at the battle of Fair Oaks and the results were as disastrous. His force was separated into four groups and their commanders were told to collect the units assigned to them and be at the assault position at 4:15 a.m. The exact location of the assault positions were left to the unit commanders.

- Group 1 was to attack the south end of Hill Q.
- Group 2, Hill Q.
- Group 3, the north end of Hill Q.
- Group 4, Hill 971.

Due to fatigue, poor marching and poor staff work, groups 1 and 3 never got into the fight at all. Group 4 started a half-hour late, was caught by daylight, was counter-attacked, and after heavy losses retired to its starting position. Group 2 made a poor start and two of its three battalions failed to arrive. The 3rd Battalion, 1st Battalion 6th Gurkas, under Major Allanson – a real leader – waited until 8:00 a.m. for the rest of the force and then attacked. During the day he was joined by two new army companies and finally fought his way to within 100 feet of the crest and there dug in. Unfortunately, no one in the rear knew where he was or what he had done.

In the right column, the start was again late, but in spite of being caught by daylight the troops were not fired on because the Turks on Chunuk Bair (two companies of the 72nd Regiment, 19th Division, and one or two battalions of the 9th Division) had left in a panic, and the ridge was unoccupied except for a machine gun crew which was found asleep (this speaks poorly for the efficiency of the British artillery preparation). Two companies of the Wellington Battalion, under Colonel Malone, got to the ridge and dug in, being joined later by two platoons of the 7th Battalion Gloucestershire Regiment.

Success seemed certain, but there were still Turks on Hill Q and on Battleship Hill, being undisturbed owing to the failure of the other attacks, concentrated on the British under Malone. After a magnificent fight in which the Wellington Battalion was reduced by 47 men and Colonel Malone was killed, the Turks were stopped, but the British were forced to the northern edge of the Hill where they held on by the use of counter attacks. So the operations of the 8th ended in failure.

AUGUST 9TH

On the 9th, the plan of attack was briefly as follows:

The left column under General Cox was to assault Hill Q. A new center column consisting of four battalions from the 39th and 40th brigades, New Army, under General Baldwin, was to attack the north shoulder of Chunuk Bair. The right column under General Johnston was to attack the southern shoulder of Chunuk Bair and, on the success of this operation, was to turn to the right and move down the spur towards Battleship Hill. The attack was to be preceded by a 45 minute bombardment from all land and naval artillery, starting at 4:30 a.m. When it lifted at 5:15, the assaulting lines were to attack. (Note: General Johnston of the right column still had about 3

companies on the crest of Chunuk Bair on the afternoon of the 8th. He succeeded in relieving them about dark by a battalion and a half. Why his whole force did not go up at this time is beyond me.)

The failure of the attack was due to the fact that General Godley, commanding the division, was so occupied with various duties at the rear (probably administrative) he failed to keep an appointment with General Baldwin (the commander of the center column, who was at the front) to explain his route. Baldwin, therefore, took the advice of the uniformly unsuccessful General Johnston and went the wrong way, with the result that he got lost and his column was not in position to start an attack.

All the other units, that is the right and left columns, had been ordered to conform to Baldwin's movements, so when he failed to appear, the others simply sat still. The exception was Major Allanson with the 1st Battalion, 6th Gurkas, who again demonstrated his high courage and leadership by attacking alone with his battalion and a few men of the 6th Battalion, South Lancastershire Regiment. He was with the left column and gained the top of Hill Q without loss. On reaching the crest, he engaged in a bayonet fight with a Turkish company in which he was wounded and many of his men were killed.

Driving this company before him, he attacked a second Turkish company and routed it. Thus for a moment, the British actually held the top of the famous ridge from which the straits were plainly visible.

At this moment, when victory at last seemed certain, a salvo of six-inch naval shells landed among the Gurkas, killing and disorganizing them to such a degree that they had to fall back. After the war, the Navy disavowed having fired this salvo, but since the Turks had no Naval vessels which could reach the point and since the shells were clearly naval shells, it is certain that the British Navy fired at them.

The only other bright spot on this day, so far as the British were concerned, was that on the extreme left of the left column, the British stopped a counter-attack by the 7th Turkish Division at about 4:30.

Several accounts state that the whole attack on the 9th was really a gesture, and that the higher command had little confidence in the outcome. This seems a reasonable statement because fewer troops participated in the attack on the 9th than had been in on the 7th or 8th and it was unquestionably apparent to the British that the Turks had been materially reinforced. The British official account sums up the situation very concisely, when on page 222, vol. 2, it states, "... The New Zealand and Australian units were physically unfit at that time for any prolonged strain. The new army troops, though well trained, were lacking in necessary experience, and the steep and confusing hillsides, the unaccustomed heat, and the torture of thirst had combined to form a greater obstacle than the opposition of the enemy."

TURKISH MOVEMENTS ON AUGUST 8TH AND 9TH

We have seen that during the fighting on the morning of August 7th, the Turkish troops, opposing the British attack from Hill 971 to the southern end of Chunuk Bair, both inclusive, consisted of two mountain guns and twenty riflemen, reinforced about 7:00 a.m. by 2 companies of the 72nd Infantry, 19th Division, and by the leading battalions of the 25th and 64th Regiments, 9th Division.

Colonel Miles states that in addition to these troops, there was a Field Artillery Battery near Hill Q. Towards evening, the remaining battalions of the 9th Division, two from the 25th Infantry and one from the 64th Infantry, came into line between Hill Q and Chunuk Bair. While at Hill 971, the 11th Infantry and one Field Artillery Battery, both of the 4th Division from the southern sector, arrived accompanied by 12 naval machine guns.

Thus, a force consisting of 8-1/2 battalions, possibly 5,000 men, and from 6 to 10 guns, met the British attack on the morning of the 8th. The British had 15 battalions available (possible 12,000 men) and were supported by most of the Anzac Corps artillery and by the ships guns. However, it is only fair to state that due to the British errors previously described, very few of these battalions got into the fight.

On the afternoon of the 8th, after the fight had stopped, the 10th Infantry, 4th Division, came into line on the left of the 11th Infantry. Shortly after this, one battalion of the 32nd, one battalion of the 33rd Infantry, and all 3 battalions of the 24th Infantry (all of the 8th Division) arrived and constituted the force which was available to defend the ridge on the morning of the 9th. (Note: The 8th Division was in sector reserve in the south sector along the west coast.)

On the morning of the 9th, the 7th and 12th Turkish Divisions of the 16th Corps from the Bulair had come up. Under the able leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, they attacked astride the Avanak Bere stream at 4:00 a.m. on the 9th. The 7th Division, on the left, came into contact with the left of the British left column (as had already been described).

The story of the arrival of these two divisions is worth recounting. By 10:00 p.m. on the 6th of August, General von Sanders became convinced that all the British reinforcements were engaged either at Anzac or at Suvla, and he immediately ordered the 7th and 12th Divisions, 16th Corps (from Bulair) to march south on Anafarta Sagir. On the afternoon of the 7th, the Corps commander reported to von Sanders that his troops had arrived. Von Sanders ordered him to attack at daylight on the 8th and went out in person to witness the attack, but no troops were visible and the Marshall learned that they had not arrived. He then ordered the Corps commander to attack at dusk on the 8th, with an idea of avoiding the British naval fire, and again, went out himself to be on hand when the attack started, but once more, no troops were available. The Corps commander stated that they were too tired to attack. Von Sanders then relieved the Corps commander and put Mustafa Kemal Pasha in command, directing him to attack at daylight on the 9th. This is the attack which eventually came off.

Here we have an army commander on the job, not sitting miles away on an island as was General Hamilton. As a result we see vigorous action on one side and utter impotence on the other. Unquestionably, had Hamilton relieved Godley on the 7th, or Godley relieved Johnston on the 7th or 8th, the story would have been different.

Colonel Miles sums up the magnificent use the Turks made of their available forces as follows, "The Turkish force of slightly more than three divisions at Anzac and Suvla on the evening of the 6th was increased to five divisions on the 7th, six divisions on the 8th, and nine divisions on the 9th."

SUVLA BAY PROPER

GENERAL

The plan for the landing at Suvla Bay was not conceived in its entirety, but was the result of successive additions. General Birdwood first started the plan by proposing to land two battalions there for the purpose of taking "W" Hills from the north in conjunction with the Anzac attack. Later, he raised his estimate to the landing of one division, with the object of aiding in the capture of Hill 971 by attacking it from the north. As more troops became available, the idea of the commanders increased in scope.

The orders given General Stopford, commanding the 9th Corps, were not too clear and, in a measure, conflicting. In the first instructions, dated 22 July 1915, we find in paragraph 4, the following:

"... the success of the plan outlined in paragraph 2 will depend on two main factors:

The capture of Hill 971 by the Anzacs.

The capture and retention of Suvla Bay as a base of operation for the northern army" (by the IXth Corps)."

(Note: The parenthesis here and later are mine.)

In paragraph 6 (corresponding to our paragraph 3), we find:

"The disembarkation of your command which may be expected to be opposed, though not at any great strength, will be after dark your first objective will be high ground at Lala Baba and Gazi Baba (Suvla Point) and the hills, Chocolate and "W." It will also be necessary to send a small force to secure a footing on the hills east of Suvla Bay (Tekke Tepe Ridge). (Note: Really this last was the vital objective.) It is of the first importance that Chocolate Hill and "W" Hill should be captured by a 'coup de main' before daylight in order to prevent the guns which they contain being used against our troops (the Anzacs) on Hill 971 and to safeguard our holding on Suvla Bay. It is hoped that one division will be sufficient to attain these objectives."

Attention is now called to the difference in emphasis found on these subjects in the final instructions to Stopford issued on 29 July 1915. In paragraph 3 of this order, we find:

"Your landing will begin on the night 6-7 August. Your primary objective will be to secure Suvla Bay as a base for all the forces operating in the northern zone. Owing to the difficult nature of the terrain, it is possible that the attainment of this objective will, in the first instance, require the use of the whole of the troops at your disposal. Should, however, you find it possible to achieve this objective with only a portion of your force, your next step will be to give such direct assistance, as is in your power, to the general officer commanding at Anzac in his attack on Hill 971 by an advance on Biyuk Anafarta with the objective of moving up the eastern spur of this hill."

Under paragraph 4:

"He however directs your special attention to the fact that Chocolate, Green, and "W" Hills are known to contain guns which can bring fire to bear on the flank and rear of the attack on Hill 971, and that on this account, they assume an even greater importance in the first instance than if they were considered merely part of a position covering Suvla Bay. If, therefore, it is possible, without prejudice to the attainment of your primary objective, to gain possession of these hills at an early period of your attack, it will greatly facilitate the capture of Hill 971."

In studying these two orders, it seems clear that the first order placed particular stress on the capture of Chocolate and "W" Hills and the hills to the east, that is the Tekke Tepe Ridge, whereas the second order placed more emphasis on securing the Bay, then on attacking the northwest slope of Hill 971 and then of securing Chocolate and "W" Hills, making no reference at all to the Tekke Tepe ridge.

In addition to these none too clear orders, General Stopford was also personally of a defeatist nature and just before the attack stated to General Hamilton's staff officer, "Tell General Hamilton I am going to do my best and that I hope to be successful, but he must realize that if the enemy proves to be holding a strong line of continuous entrenchments, I shall be unable to dislodge him

until more guns are landed. All the teachings of the campaign in France proves that continuous lanes of trenches can not be attacked without the assistance of a large number of howitzers."

His gloom was aided by his friend General Mahon, commanding the 10th Division, who, on being told of the plan by General Stopford, told Stopford that it was far too intricate and complicated to have any reasonable chance of success. With these gloomy foreboding this pair of ancient gentlemen proceeded to an attack.

TERRAIN

Suvla Bay is a semi-circular area one and three-quarters miles in diameter, bounded on the north by Suvla Point and on the south by Nibrunesi Point. The foreshore surrounding this bay is a flat plain a mile wide to the north and three miles wide to the east and south. However, a considerable portion of this plain is taken up by the Salt Lake which is approximately one mile square. There were some cultivated fields on the flats, but there is also much brush rising to a height of from 6 to 10 feet.

This plain is surrounded on three sides by formidable ridges. On the north, beginning at Suvla Point, we have the Kiretch Tepe Sirt Ridge, with an average height of 500 feet running in a northeasterly direction for four miles, where it joins the Tekke Tepe Ridge which attains a height of 2,700 feet and runs south for three and a half miles to terminate at Anafarta Sagir. From this village a "nose" measuring a mile and a half long, with an average height of 400 feet runs southwest to end in "W" Hills. While generally west of this eminence on a radius of about a mile are three other distinct hills called respectively Scimitar – Chocolate – and Green Hills. In order to bring the terrain home to us on Oahu, it is of interest to note the striking similarity between Suvla Bay and its hills and the Waianae Pocket and its hills.

If we liken the point Mauna Lahilahi to Suvla Point and Nanakuli to Nibrunesi Point, we have the following comparison:

From Mauna Lahilahi we have a ridge running generally east to Puu Kalena, a distance of four and a half miles with an average height around 1,500 feet, to where it joins the main Waianae Ridge. This latter ridge attaining a height of 2,000 feet runs southwest with an average height of 1,200 feet to terminate at Nanakuli. Puu o Hulu may be likened to "W" Hills, while to carry the comparison further, Puu Mailiilii corresponds very exactly, in position at least, to Lala Baba.

The low ground included between these ridges, while less flat than at Suvla Bay, is sufficiently similar to make the comparison quite convincing. In view of this fact, and of the historical importance which foreign nations attach to the Suvla Bay operations, it seems fair to believe that no foreign troops would be so foolish as to stick their nose into a pocket which so closely resembles Suvla Bay and is even more difficult of capture due to the height of the ridges.

PLANS FOR LANDING

The British plan for the landing at the IXth Corps deserves special study for two reasons; 1st, it was a very complete plan based on the costly lessons learned during April; 2nd, it is a striking example of splendid staff work which was wholly nullified by faulty coordination and atrocious leadership.

The idea was to insure the landing of three brigades of the 11th Division, under General Hammersley, numbering with attached troops 13,700 men and 12 guns, in a simultaneous operation starting at 10:00 p.m. and to be completed one hour before dawn. After dawn these troops were to be reinforced by an additional 7,000 men and 40 guns.

For this landing, three beaches, "A," "B," and "C," were to be used.

BEETLE BOATS

Eleven self-propelled, bullet-proof, steel lighters with landing ramps at the bow, capable of making 5 knots, were available for the operation. Each boat could carry 350 to 500 men.

Much pathos has been wasted on the fact that at the time of the April landing these boats existed but were not supplied to General Hamilton, because at that time, Lord Fisher (their inventor) was holding them for an operation against the coast near Ostend. Due, however, to the fact that in using Beetles the number of targets is reduced about forty times, it is questionable if in a daylight landing they are as useful as are a much larger number of small crafts which cause more dispersion of fire.

Each Beetle was lashed to a destroyer which carried 500 more men of the same unit. In addition, each destroyer was provided with a Pickett Boat (launch). These Pickett Boats being armed with machine guns were intended for assistance in case anything went wrong and for firing on beach defense guns.

One thousand marines from the Anson Battalion accompanied the landing to act as assistants to the beach party in the unloading of the animals, stores, and water.

HORSE BOATS

The landing of horses, vehicles, and guns was provided by the use of twenty-four horse boats towed by trawlers.

AMMUNITION AND PACKS

Packs and overcoats were left at Imbros. Each man carried 200 rounds of small arms ammunition and each machine gun 3,500 rounds. In addition, the Beetles each carried 40 boxes of small arms ammunition, to form a corps reserve on landing of 4,000,000 rounds.

BEACH PARTIES

In addition to the Anson Battalion, there was a principal beach master, Captain Royal Navy, with details supplied by battleships, who were responsible for the unloading; and a principal Military Landing Officer, Colonel Army, who was responsible for forwarding the men and supplies after they were unloaded.

SUBMARINE NETS

As soon as the immediate foreshore had been captured, a submarine net was to be put across the mouth of the bay and under its protection the transports carrying the 10th Division, less one brigade, were to lie inside the bay.

WATER

In spite of the fact that water was supposed to be abundant on shore, four water barges, each carrying 50 tons of water, and a water ship, carrying two hundred tons, were provided. Each barge had water troughs, pumps, and 150 feet of hose. In order to move the water from the shore to the firing line, hundreds of cans already filled with Nile water were provided and pack animals or carts were allotted to move these stores to the firing line. Finally, each Beetle and destroyer had additional water available so that just before landing the men could fill their canteens.

COMMUNICATIONS

Two cruisers were available with radios, and a cable ship was provided to lay a cable from Imbros to Suvla.

IDENTIFICATIONS

Each soldier had a white brassard on his left arm and a white patch on his back.

HOW IT WORKED

Thus far everything appears to be, and indeed, was well planned.

BUT !!

Many of the men had been inoculated for cholera the day before, and hence were feeling very badly on August 6th. To maintain secrecy, the 11th Division was not warned until nearly noon on the 6th. Brigade orders and maps were issued at noon, but since the men had to fall in at 3:00 p.m., there was no time to examine maps or orders, so that it was not until the troops were on the crowded beetle boats that the company officers found out, if at all, what they were supposed to do.

Further, the men had been paraded for drill at 6:00 a.m., so when they arrived at Suvla Bay, they had been on their feet for something like 17 hours. Finally, due to crowding, excitement, and inexperience of junior officers, the men were not required to fill their canteens on the beetles or destroyers and they landed with little or no water. These errors, the greatest of which was the use of green troops and ignorant officers, negated all of the excellent logistical plans heretofore described.

In this connection, a letter written by Colonel Miles to General Hamilton, suggesting that it would have been better if he had employed the 11th Division at Helles and used the veteran 29th Division at Suvla, was replied to as follows, "Just about all they were fit for. But how could I know it? The 29th Division had been twice virtually killed off and reconstituted. The other troops were all worn, ill, territorials. The new Kitchener Army Corps was the pick of England's youth and there was no reason, barring bad commanders, why they should not have covered themselves with as much glory as the troops of the first landing. They had little against them and what they had was not entrenched or wired as it was at the 1st Helles. The Suvla troops were alright. They only wanted to be commanded and, beyond the rank of brigadiers, they were not commanded." (Personally, I would exempt at least three brigadiers.)

TURKISH DEFENSES AND DEFENDING TROOPS

In spite of the fear of a landing at Suvla Bay, expressed by General Essad Pasha, commanding the northern group, von Sanders took practically no steps to defend the area, which on the night of August 6-7th was only occupied by a reconnoitering and delaying detachment, commanded by Major Willmer, consisting of the battalion of Gallipoli Gendarmes, the battalion of Brusa Gendarmes, the second battalion 33rd Infantry (according to some accounts this last battalion was the 1st Battalion, 34th Infantry. At any rate, it was a detached battalion from the 8th Division). A squadron (troop) of cavalry and 4 batteries of artillery, two field and two mountain, probably 1,000 infantry and 12 guns. For details of the deployment.

With the exception of the unwired trenches at Lala Baba and Hill 10, and a few land mines near Gazi Baba, there were no defensive works covering the beach, while the majority of the guns were in position at a range of approximately 6,000 yards. However, it should be noted that more men and guns defended the Suvla Bay area than defended all of the Helles area in April. Owing, however, to the more ample terrain, the defenses at Suvla Bay were in much greater depth than they had been at Helles.

THE COMBAT

The chapter of accidents, or better of inexcusable failures, which marked the British landing and subsequent attack at Suvla Bay, is one of the most depressing and yet instructive in military history.

Compared to Suvla Bay, the first battle of Bull Run was a masterpiece of effective leadership.

The following quotation from General Wolfe, with which the British history prefaces the chapter on this operation, is too apposite to be omitted, "Experience shows me that, in an affair depending upon vigor and dispatch, the Generals should settle their plan of operations so that no time may be lost in idle debate and consultations when the sword is drawn; that pushing on smartly is the road to success, and more particularly so in an affair of this nature; that nothing is to be reckoned an obstacle to your undertaking which is not found really so upon trial; that in war something must be allowed to chance and fortune, seeing it is in its nature hazardous and an option of difficulties." – Wolfe.

The 32nd Brigade (General Haggard) and the 33rd Brigade (General Maxwell), together with division headquarters, less divisional troops, started to disembark at 9:30 p.m., August 6th and had landed four battalions at "C" Beach by 10:00 p.m., with only one casualty resulting from the single rifle shot fire by the Turks.

While these battalions were forming up, preparatory to attacking, they received some fire from the Turkish platoon east of Nibrunesi Point, which then fell back on Lala Baba, while continuing a desultory fire. As the two companies who attacked Lala Baba neared a hill, a red flare went up from its summit and a heavy fire met the British who, nonetheless, stormed it with bayonets and completed its capture by midnight. A report of this act went to 32nd Brigade Headquarters shortly after midnight, but due to the death of the runner, was not received until after daylight and then could not be deciphered.

The capture of Lala Baba marked the beginning of the end of British successes. The next objective was Hill 10, which was to be taken by a combined attack participated in by the 32nd Brigade, two battalions of the 33rd Brigade, and by three battalions of the 34th Brigade (General Sitwell) which was supposed to be landing at "A" Beach. However, before the 34th Brigade started to land, the flare went up from Lala Baba and a beacon was lighted by the Turks on the north end of the bay – the Turks were alerted. Due to darkness, and a tie-up by the Navy, the

landing took place not at "A" Beach as scheduled, but at a place just south of the cut. Further, the battalions landed in an inverted order from north to south.

One battalion got ashore by 11:30 p.m., but, due to the grounding of the Beetle Boats on reefs, the others were delayed until after 3:00 a.m. Owing to the fact that the landing was not at the place it was supposed to be and because the order of the Beetle Boats was reversed, the troops who did get ashore got lost. However, one battalion (the 11th Manchesters) designated to attack Gazi Baba was more fortunate and by 3:00 a.m. had advanced against stiffening resistance along Kiretech Tepe Ridge to a point two miles east of Suvla Point where it was stopped by a company of the Gallipoli Gendarmes. This ended the only success of the 34th Brigade under General Sitwell.

All during these operations, and until well after daylight, the only resistance offered by the Turks in the vicinity of "A" Beach consisted of small arms fire. But, this fire was quite accurate and accounted for many of the officers and non-commissioned officers.

After the success of the Manchester Battalion on the left, things happened in a most amazing way; companies got lost and immediately laid down and waited. For just what they waited is not apparent. Those detailed to attack Hill 10 could not even find it. The same moonlight which helped the Turks in the vicinity of Sari Bair also helped them here and, according to their own account, they were further aided in delivering effective fire by the white brassards worn by the British.

All this time, six battalions reposed quietly at Lala Baba. At 3:30 a.m., some of the British of the 34th Infantry Brigade, north of the Salt Lake, got panicky and came rushing back, followed by a few Turks. These Turks were stopped, but the incident had its effect on the none too brilliant courage of General Sitwell.

At about 3:00 a.m., four companies of the 32nd Brigade at Lala Baba were sent to help the 34th Brigade who, as we have seen, was not at "A" Beach, but at a point south of the cut. When these four companies got to the cut they found so much confusion that they too laid down to wait for things to clear up.

At 4:00 a.m., General Sitwell showed his one burst of fire by sending six platoons of his brigade to attack Hill 10 which the gathering daylight had apparently revealed. Unfortunately, this attack was sent against the wrong hill and the error was not discovered until the hill was taken and the real Hill 10 came into view 400 Yards to the north. The attacking troops kept on 200 yards when the major in command was hit and the attack stopped.

At daylight, or say about 4:30 to 4:45 a.m., August 7th, the following wonderful mix-up existed among the troops of the 11th Division:

On the extreme right two battalions of the 33rd Brigade were dug in from "B" Beach to the southeast corner of the Salt Lake, opposed by nothing except some fire from the Infantry Battalion on Chocolate and Green Hills at a range of 1,700 yards.

The other two battalions of the 33rd Brigade and the division troops were located near Lala Baba where was also half of the 32nd Brigade and 12 guns (8 mountain and 4 field).

Just south of the cut were two battalions of the 34th Brigade.

In the general vicinity of Hill 10 was one battalion of the 34th and four companies of the 32nd. At Kiretech Tepe Ridge was a fourth battalion of the 34th Brigade.

As a result of this masterly deployment, the beach was under shell and rifle fire and only three of the twelve battalions ashore had been seriously engaged.

If we now note what the landing orders prescribed, we will see how really bad the situation was. In paragraph 3 of the IXth Corps order for the landing, we find this, "The troops will secure Suvla Bay as a base of supply; having accomplished this primary objective, the commanding General IXth Corps will endeavor to give direct assistance to the Commanding General, Australian

and New Zealand Corps in his attack on Hill 971 by an advance on Anafarta Byiuk with the object of moving up the east to the spur of that hill (Hill 971)."

"The Corps Commander considers that the security of Suvla Bay will not be assured until he is in position to deny the enemy the heights which connect (refers here to Teke Tepe Ridge)." Further along in the same order, under paragraph 6, we find this, "With a view to the successful accomplishment of the task allotted to the IXth Corps, the force under Major General Hammersley (11th Division) having taken steps to safeguard the landing beaches "A," "B," and "C" will:

"Secure the enemy posts at Lala Baba and Gazi Baba and establish a footing on the ridge running northeastwards along the coast (Kiretch Tepe Ridge).

Occupy the positions Chocolate Hill and "W" Hill.

Seize the road junction at Backa Baba and establish connection northward between this point and such troops as had been detailed under above." (Note: this last sub-paragraph could under a very broad interpretation be assumed to demand the occupation of the Teke Tepe Ridge but the wording is not explicit.)

Subsequent action of the whole force will be governed by correct appreciation of the situation which is dependent on accurate information of the strength and disposition of the enemy. This can only be obtained by full reconnaissance pushed forward by all bodies of troops."

(Note: There was throughout the whole operation an utter disregard for this last injunction.)

Turning now to the 11th Division Landing Order, under paragraph 5, we find:

Task allotted to 11th Division:

To secure the landings on "A," "B," and "C" Beaches.

To secure Suvla Bay for the disembarkation of the 10th Division and its stores.

With these objects the general officer commanding intends:

- a. To secure his right flank with the 33rd Infantry Brigade less two battalions.
- b. To seize Lala Baba with the 32nd Infantry Brigade.
- c. To seize Gazi Baba and the heights in the vicinity with the 34th Infantry Brigade which will subsequently attack Chocolate and "W" Hills."

If we turn now to the last sentence from the original instructions to the IXth Corps, we find what very weak soup the order had become as a result of being repeated by the corps and division. This paragraph, written by GHQ states, "It is of first importance that Chocolate Hill and "W" Hill should be captured by a 'coup de main' before daylight in order to prevent the guns which they contain being used against our troops on Hill 971 and to safeguard our hold of Suvla Bay." Certainly nothing in either the Corps or Division orders indicates any appreciation of time or makes any mention of the fact that Chocolate and "W" Hills were to be taken before dawn.

TURKISH DISPOSITIONS

Turning now to the Turkish dispositions and actions, we are forcefully reminded of Napoleon's saying that, "In war men are nothing, a man is everything." Here Major Willmer is the man. He deployed his meager forces as follows:

The Gallipoli Gendarme battalion held the north half of his sector to a line from "The Cut" to Hill 10 exclusive, with detachments at Suvla Point and Gazi Baba and a company at Karakal Gagh.

Two companies supported by a platoon of mountain guns were at the entrenched strong point on Green Knoll and one company was in the brush about a mile southeast of Green Knoll.

Hill 10, in the center, was held by the Brusa Gendarme Battalion while Lala Baba, Chocolate, and Green Hills were held by the 1st Battalion, 31st Infantry. One company was at Lala Baba and the rest at Chocolate and Green Hills supported by a battery of mountain guns. The two remaining batteries of field guns were deployed along the west slope of the Tekke Tepe Ridge. The troop of cavalry was in the plains of Suvla acting as connecting groups between the infantry units.

When Lala Baba was attacked and taken by the British, the company of infantry holding it (called the outpost company) fell back and rallied at Chocolate Hill. Meanwhile, the company of the Gallipoli Battalion had delayed the attack of the British and finally stopped it along the Kiretch Tepe Ridge without permitting the British to locate the strong point at Green Knoll.

At 6:00 a.m., on August 7th, Major Willmer sent General von Sanders the following message, which is a model of concise brevity:

"The enemy landed at Nibrunesi Point about 9:30 p.m. last night. Outpost companies evacuated Lala Baba in the face of superior enemy force and joined 1st Battalion, 31st Infantry on Chocolate Hill. The Kiretch Tepe - Chocolate Hill position is firmly in our hands.

Covered by numerous men of war, the disembarkation of hostile forces continued.

Am holding the position as ordered but urgently request reinforcements.

(Signed) Willmer."

By way of contrast we will now return to the British. General Hammersley, commanding the 11th Division, landed at 12:45 a.m., but owing to the climate was quite exhausted and did nothing. General Stopford, the corps commander, on the cruiser JONQUIL, sat up until midnight and then went to bed. No one from his staff was sent ashore to find out what was going on and it was not until 4:00 a.m. that a naval officer, Commander Keyes, came on board to report the utter confusion ashore and to ask what was to be done with the 30th and 31st Brigades, 10th Division, which were to arrive at dawn.

As "A" Beach was out of the question, a conference was held and it was decided to search for another beach. In the meantime General Stopford returned to bed.

At GHQ in Lemnos at 2:00 a.m., the first and only message received over a period of many hours came in as follows, "A little shelling at "A" has now ceased. All quiet at "B."" This was not from General Stopford, but from one telegraph operator to his friend. At 5:00 a.m., the six battalions of the 10th Division, four from the 31st and two from the 30th Brigade arrived (all under General Hill, 31st Brigade). They were intended to land at "A" Beach, but as that was impossible they were directed to land at "C" Beach and were placed under the command of General Hammersley. Before they had effected a landing at "C" Beach, Commander Keyes had found another landing at Gazi Baba and suggested that the 10th Division be sent there.

This was opposed by General Stopford on the grounds that as orders had already been issued for them to go to "C" Beach, a change would cause confusion. As if that could happen? Hill's command, the six battalions of the 10th Division, were sent to Hammersley with the direction that he should place them on his left, from where they could later rejoin the rest of their division at Gazi Baba. Disobeying this order, he put five of them in on the right. The 6th Battalion from the 31st Brigade was not landed at "C" Beach, because when its turn came to land some shelling occurred and the battalion was sent to Gazi Baba.

At 7:30 a.m., the remaining two battalions of the 30th Brigade, 10th Division, and the divisional engineers and all other divisional troops, except the artillery (which were still in Egypt) arrived and were landed at Gazi Baba. Here additional delay was caused by the first troops ashore stepping on some land mines. When everyone was finally ashore, the 10th Division was split up as follows:

On the left, near Gazi Baba, were two battalions of the 30th Brigade, one battalion of the 31st Brigade, and the divisional engineers, while one battalion of the 34th Brigade from the 11th Division was also present.

Of the remaining nine battalions of the division, five were on the extreme right, while the 29th Brigade was at Anzac.

In the meantime, General Haggard (32nd Brigade), had collected a mixed group from the 32nd and 34th Brigades to the number of about 10 companies and between 6:00 and 7:00 a.m. attacked the now visible Hill 10 and took it from a party of 100 of the Brusa Gendarmes which still remained there, the rest of the battalion having left at 6:00 a.m. and their departure having been reported at that hour although the report was not received until noon. (The Turks who left Hill 10 went to Backa Baba.) The troops who eventually took Hill 10, increased by two more companies, now moved off to the northeast to a point 1,600 yards from the shore where their commander reported that he was not being opposed. He suggested that he move on and take Tekke Tepe Ridge.

But, General Sitwell, who was in actual command, decided on a defensive attitude even after he found out that he was being reinforced by five additional battalions of the 10th Division. This particular decision was probably the most disastrous event in the whole operation for, at that time, Tekke Tepe Ridge was to be had for the asking and with it in British hands even General Stopford might have won a victory.

The succeeding British operations on August 7th are even less excusable than those so far described.

General Hammersley, commanding the troops ashore, resting at the foot of Lala Baba one mile from the scene of action, received no information with respect to operations of the two attacking brigades (the 32nd and 34th) from 5:30 a.m. until 9:20 a.m., when a message arrived from General Sitwell, above referred to, recommending the occupation of a defensive position. But, during this time General Hammersley had not been idle, since in the space of four hours he had issued three orders, each countermanding its predecessor.

Order No. 1, issued at 8:00 a.m., directed the 32nd and 34th Brigades, along with the 31st Brigade, 10th Division, on the left to push on vigorously and attack Chocolate Hill from the north.

Since this order was predicated on the arrival of the 31st Brigade, which had just started to land, it insured that an attack could not be initiated before 11:00 a.m. at the earliest.

Order No. 2, issued at 8:35 a.m., reads as follows:

"Reference my G. 98, Reserve Troops, 32nd Brigade and 31st Brigade, will push vigorously on to Chocolate and "W" Hills. Understand situation has changed since my G. 98. What news have you of 34th Brigade?"

This order No. 2 is a gem for several reasons. It failed to allot zones of action and since at this time the 31st Brigade was on the right of the 32nd, it seemed to reverse the order as given in No. 1, in which the 31st was to be on the left of the 32nd. Further, it was only sent to the Commanding General of the 32nd and 31st Brigades, although order No. 1 had been sent to General Sitwell (34th Brigade) who was in command of the attack.

Order No. 3, issued at 9:05 a.m., went only to the Commanding General of the 31st Brigade. However, it should be stated that the Commanding General of the 31st Brigade had also been given an oral version of it considerably different from the written one. The order reads as follows:

"31st Brigade, of 6 battalions, now on way to Hill On its arrival 32nd and 34th Brigades will move on to Chocolate Hill. 31st Brigade proceeding with the right on "W" Hill, protecting the left

of the 32nd and 34th Brigades from direction of Backa Baba You will cover north flank of advance."

As an outcome of the three orders, above referred to, General Hill (31st Brigade) issued an attack order at 10:30 a.m. for his brigade to attack Chocolate Hill. He then went to see General Haggard (32nd Brigade) who was to attack covering his left, and heading on "W" Hill. General Haggard told him that General Sitwell was in charge, and on seeing Sitwell, Hill was told that the 34th Brigade was needed to insure the safety of the beach and so could not cooperate.

General Hill then halted his troops and went to Division Commander General Hammersley with his troubles. General Hammersley told him to go on with his attack and that Sitwell would support him. Due to the lack of horses for Generals, Staff Officers, and messengers to move about on (and the fact that no telephones were laid at this time), it was now 2:30 p.m. and it was half an hour later before Hill's 31st Brigade started its attack.

At this time, Hill sent the division the following message, which shows that even then Sitwell had failed to obey orders; "Have just seen General Sitwell. No battalions of 32nd or 34th Brigades are operating on my left flank. Sitwell tells me he will send two battalions forward. There is a good deal of opposition on my left flank and am sending the 6th Battalion, Irish Fusiliers, to strengthen my line and have one battalion in reserve." The resistance he refers to on the left flank of the 31st was being caused by the battalion of Brusa Gendarmes from Backa Baba at a range of approximately 2,500 yards and apparently was sufficient to stop the advance of the 31st Brigade.

As a result of this message and of some shelling which struck near him, killing two of his force, General Hammersley issued his fourth order, again changing his scheme and omitting the attack on "W" Hill. This order reads as follows, "G. 123 The advance will be suspended for the present. It will be resumed at 5:30 p.m. 33rd Brigade, less two battalions, will leave its present position and move with its right north of the Salt Lake so as to come on the right of the 31st Brigade. General direction, Chocolate Hill. This advance will be supported by all troops of the 32nd and 34th Brigades, which have not suffered heavy casualties. General Sitwell to command the attack. 31st, 32nd, and 34th Brigades will report to General Sitwell for orders. Artillery has been ordered to cover attack beginning at 5:15 p.m."

It is important to notice that the division commander, although less than one mile away, turned over the direction of this attack to that fiery soldier General Sitwell whose courage, together with that of Hill and Maxwell (Haggard had been wounded), is commented on in the final report of the Dardanelles commission, as follows, "None of the three Brigadier Generals concerned in the attack on Chocolate Hill accompanied the troops, they established their report centers about two miles distance from Chocolate Hill and remained there.

In the absence of military control and guidance on the spot, a force of inexperienced troops, unacquainted with local conditions, and consisting of a number of battalions, drawn from five different brigades, must have been lacking in cohesion and cooperation, and the evidence discloses confusion and delay which resulted from this cause." The confusion and delay referred to delayed the attack until just before dark, or at least some 15 hours too late, and Green Hill and Chocolate Hill were not in British hands until after darkness had fallen.

From the time the attack was initiated, about 2:30, until just before it arrived, the Turks contented themselves with artillery fire from non-quick firing mountain guns and with harassing attacks by small squads of riflemen. They had no machine guns and at no time during the day did they have over 500 men in line. Just before the attack, the commanding officer of the 1st Battalion, 31st Turkish Infantry, holding Chocolate Hill, retired to "W" Hill without loss, leaving only a small rear guard of probably a hundred men which fought to the last. In spite of the small number engaged, the Turks caused the British to lose 210 officers and 626 men during the attack.

Major Willmer's report of the day's operations sent at 7:00 p.m., just before the attack arrived, is clear and specific:

"The landing of hostile forces has continued all day. Estimate their present strength as at least one and a half divisions. No energetic attacks on the enemy's part have taken place. On the contrary, the enemy is advancing timidly. His skirmishers were fired on by our artillery with good effect.

Hill 10 had to be evacuated in the face of superior force. Kiretch Tepe and Chocolate Hill still in our hands. Am expecting a powerful attack against the latter tonight.

Hostile artillery fire until now only from men of war. Our artillery has suffered no damage.

4th Cavalry Regiment arrived two miles southeast of Anafarta Sagir at 5:00 p.m. and has been brought up to "W" Hill position under all circumstances. Beg you hasten arrival of 16th Corps."

The utter lethargy of the British and lack of energy and leadership is well illustrated by their action after the capture of Chocolate and Green Hills.

First they made no effort to pursue or even to keep contact with the Turks. Next the 32nd and 34th Brigades were withdrawn and returned to the beach to protect it and the two battalions of the 33rd Brigade were sent to the foot of the hill, leaving only the 31st Brigade on the hill.

Turning now to the northern flank, we find that, due to poor landing beaches and general inefficiency, the two battalions of the 30th Brigade, 10th Division, which disembarked near Gazi Baba, did not leave the beach until 2:40 p.m., while the last of the units of one battalion of the 31st Brigade did not all get ashore until the morning of the 8th. The units of the 10th Division did not relieve the 2nd Manchester Battalion of the 34th Brigade until 9:00 p.m. When they did, they still took up a position 800 yards from the Turkish strong-point on Green Knoll which was defended by three companies of the Gallipoli Gendarme Battalion and a platoon of mountain guns.

To sum up, August 7th was a complete failure for the British, resulting from only rifle fire and the shells of two batteries of mountain guns. The Turks field guns had been withdrawn at noon in order to avoid the danger of capture in the event of a successful British offense, which did not occur. However, the passive resistance of the Turks had cost the British a casualty list of 1,700 which was in excess of the total number of Turks present.

In order to complete the gloomy picture, it is necessary to add that the Navy fell down as badly as the Army. However, this was in a measure due to the failure of the Army to take sufficiently energetic action to relieve the beach from artillery and rifle fire. Also, the very slow debarking, particularly in the case of the 10th Division, prevented the Navy from securing lighters and Beetle Boats with which to continue the landing.

Further, the plan was too meticulous and too much in detail so that when it became necessary to change it, it was impossible to do so. As a result of these circumstances, only 150 mules reached shore out of the 960 that were supposed to be landed. The water scheduled to arrive at dawn did not become available at the beach until late afternoon. Finally, the whole responsibility for the tremendous failure seems to me to rest squarely on the shoulders of General Hamilton.

In spite of the fact that he received no information from Stopford until noon of the 7th, and then only covering the situation at 7:30 a.m. and ending with the statement, "You see we have been able to advance little beyond the edge of the beach," he did not intervene and replied to Stopford's message with one almost as weak, "Have only received one telegram from you. Glad to hear enemy opposition weakening and know you will take advantage of this to push on rapidly. Prisoners state landing a surprise so take every advantage before you are forced off." This telegram was not sent until 4:20 p.m.

SUMMARY OF TURKISH MOVEMENTS, AUGUST 7TH

At 7:30 a.m., three battalions of the 16th Corps from Bulair, ordered to move on the night of the 6th, were marching, but owing to the distance, were not apt to arrive at Suvla Bay for at least 30 hours. This means that at this hour (5:30 a.m. August 7th), Willmer's three battalions of Turks and 12 guns were resisting 22 battalions of British on shore or about to land.

At 7:00 a.m., August 7th, von Sanders ordered the 7th and 12th Divisions to march to Suvla and ordered the 8th Division from Helles and the 11th from Asia to start for the same place. However, due to the distance it would be at least 36 hours before any of these reinforcing units would arrive. In addition to these larger units, von Sanders also ordered three squadrons of cavalry and a detachment of machine guns from the fleet to report to Major Willmer.

Meanwhile, Major Willmer was very much reassured by the British action and, during the day, reported as follows, "Early in the afternoon the British advancing eastward from the cut moved bolt upright as if on parade and made no use of the available cover. On reaching the northeast corner of the lake they suffered a number of casualties and their advance came to an end." This was about 2:30 p.m. At midnight, August 7-8th, the commanding officer of the 1st Battalion, 31st Turkish Infantry, reported to Major Willmer that he had withdrawn successfully from Chocolate Hill and was holding "W" Hill.

By comparison, it is of interest to note that the capture of Chocolate Hill, which occurred around 7:30 p.m., was not reported to the 11th Division until midnight, and the fact that Green Hill was taken was not definitely known until 8:00 a.m. on the 8th. Finally, 24 of the 36 hours necessary for Turkish reinforcement to arrive had been frittered away.

The general positions of the Turks and the jumbled arrangement of the British IXth Corps as of 1:00 a.m., August 8th, is a striking example of the fact that in war it is not numbers but leadership which counts, for here we have three battalions and four batteries checking one and a half divisions and a majority of the Corps troops.

AUGUST 8TH

The failure of the Suvla Bay operations can be briefly and adequately summed up in the following quotation from the British official history, Volume 2, page 268, "Lack of leadership on the 7th of August had jeopardized the whole plan. An now, on the 8th, it brought the operations to ruin." However, the fantastic inefficiency of all higher ranks, especially Generals Stopford, Hammersley, and Sitwell, merits examination as a lesson on how not to act.

At dawn on the 8th, General Stopford and his staff were still on the cruiser JONQUIL and had not visited the shore.

General Hammersley, commanding all the troops ashore with the exception of three battalions, 10th Division, was at last rested from his exhaustion and set out to visit his brigades for the first time. He found Generals Sitwell and Hill opposed to an advance. This was enough to quench any fire that the night's rest had started in Hammersley, so he contented himself with issuing an order to Sitwell at 6:10 a.m. Sitwell, who was still charged with the handling of the troops, was to occupy the village of Sulajik with parts of the 32nd and 34th Brigades as a means of forming a connecting link between Chocolate Hill and Kiretch Tepe Ridge.

The Chief of Staff of the 11th Division, impressed with the idea that something should be done and was not being done, "suggested" to the junior officers that they had better hurry up and take "W" Hill.

General Mahon on the left reported that all was quiet there, but that the enemy position, "... was stronger than at first expected and could not be taken without the help of artillery." Actually his three battalions were opposed to three companies with two mountain guns.

At 9:30 a.m., General Stopford on the Jonquil, hearing what Hammersley had done and having received Mahon's report, congratulated the troops on their brave operations and ORDERED THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRENCHES TO DEFEND THE BEACHES.

General Hamilton at Imbros finally made up his mind to act and sent a staff officer to Suvla. (Note: The destroyer detailed to carry him had engine trouble and did not get Colonel Aspinall to Suvla until 11:30 a.m.)

In passing it should be noted that General Sitwell, even by 9:30 a.m., had not complied with the order issued at 6:10 p.m.

Sometime before 11:00 a.m., GHQ at Imbros received an air report that there were no Turks in the Suvla Plains and so, at 11:00 a.m., sent General Stopford this inspiring message, " Hope this indicates you will be able to gain a footing early on Tekke Tepe Ridge, importance of which you will realize."

This message aroused General Stopford into sending the following fiery order, dated 11:30 a.m. August 8th, "Message to both division commanders. It is of the greatest importance to forestall the enemy on the high ground north of Anafarta Sagir (south end of Tekke Tepe Ridge) and on the spur thence to "W" Hill. If you find the ground lightly held by the enemy push on. But in view of want of adequate artillery support, I do not want you to attack an entrenched position held in strength." General Stopford was continually impressed with the enemy's non-existent entrenchment and with the need of artillery – too much France.

Following the issuance of this order, he sent GHQ the following message, "Heavy fighting yesterday and unavoidable delay in landing artillery makes me consider it inadvisable to call on troops to attack a strongly entrenched position without adequate support." This last message decided General Hamilton to go to Suvla Bay in person, but owing to the lack of any means of transportation, he did not arrive until 6:00 p.m., August 8th.

In the meantime, General Sitwell, in order to keep his record clean in the way of doing the wrong thing at the right time, had stopped a battery of mountain guns destined for General Mahon and had held them to defend his own beach.

When Colonel Aspinall reached General Stopford at 3:00 p.m., August 8th, and implored Stopford to do something, that General replied, "That he fully realized the importance of losing no time, but that it was impossible to move until the men had rested and until more guns were ashore. He intended to order a fresh attack the next day."

The following quotation from a letter written at Suvla Bay on the 9th Describing the visit of Colonel Aspinall and Colonel Hankey is of interest:

"The staffs of the 10th Division and IXth Corps are settling themselves in dugouts. The pioneers who should have been making roads for the advance of the artillery and supply wagons, soon to land, are engaged on a great entrenchment from the head of they bay northward to the hills to protect headquarters. It looks as though this accursed trench warfare in France has sunk so deep into our military system that all idea of the offensive has been killed.

'You seem to be making yourselves snug,' I said to a staff officer. He answered We expect to be here a long time." (Letter to Secretary of War by Colonel Hankey.)

However, the visit of the two GHQ staff officers finally induced General Stopford to go ashore for the first time and he inspected the headquarters of the 11th Division at 4:00 p.m., August 8th, to urge an immediate attack, but his ardor was soon cooled and he acquiesced to an order, then being prepared there, directing an attack at 8:00 a.m. the next day, August 9th. Then, exhausted by

this visit, he returned to his ship to rest. There he found a message from General Hamilton which caused him to issue an order, dated 5:30 p.m., directing a general advance in the morning with "W" Hill and Ejelmer Bay as objectives. The order wholly omitted any mention of attacking the Tekke Tepe Ridge.

General Hamilton reached the JONQUIL, with Stopford on board, at 6:30 p.m., August 8th, and asked that an immediate attack be made that night. Stopford agreed to Hamilton's going ashore to try to get it started, but he asked to be excused from going ashore himself because of his hurt knee. Jackson and Grant both fought in campaigns and battles with broken bones, while in the Sharpsburgh campaign, General Lee could use only one of his arms.

When General Hamilton got ashore, General Hammersley had, as usual, many good reasons for delay, so Hamilton finally compromised with him on sending one battalion to the top of the Tekke Tepe Ridge that night.

This acquiescence in so supine a policy is at strange variance with the sentiments expressed in 1906 by Lt. Colonel Sir Ian Hamilton who, in writing of the failure of the Japanese to exploit their initial success at the battle of the Yalu, wrote, "... the somewhat unconvincing explanation that the Guards and the Second Division were so very tired and hungry and needed rest and refreshment. If this is to be taken literally, as meaning that these troops were so exhausted that they could not march a mile or two further to keep at close grips with the enemy, then the statement is nothing less than a libel on the sturdy Japanese infantry; but if it means that the minds and energies of the Generals and Staff were fairly used up, then, I believe, we have here the secret not only of this, but of many other, strangely inconclusive ending to a very decisive initial success." (Staff Officers Scrap Book, Vol. I, Page 116.)

And, again on page 119 of the same volume he writes, "There are not many commanders who have resolution enough at the end of a terribly anxious night and morning to reject a series of plausible arguments for leaving well alone. I have heard Lord Kitchener remark under similar circumstances, 'Your reasons for not doing what you were told to do are the best I have ever heard; no go and do it' ".

It is a sad commentary on human frailty that in his own hour of trial General Hamilton forgot the ideas he had once possessed.

The 32nd Brigade, ordered to send out this detachment, bungled things so badly that it was 3:30 a.m. before the start was made. This was exactly two hours too late for, at that time, the leading units of the 12th Turkish Division were already reaching the top of Tekke Tepe Ridge, which was two hours march from the position of the 32nd Brigade.

In speaking of the operations of August 8th, General von Sanders says, "There can be no doubt that in view of the great British superiority complete success would have been possible for them. We all had a feeling that the British leaders had delayed too long on the shore instead of advancing from the landing place at any cost."

The determination and effectiveness of General von Sanders and Major Willmer on the 8th are in striking contrast to those of the British Generals. The Chief of Staff of the Helles Sector urged General von Sanders during this period to withdraw all troops from Helles to Asia to avoid their being cut off by the British. General von Sanders had this man relieved and directed that not a foot of ground be given up.

In the account of the Anzac operations in the same period, I have already mentioned the fact that he relieved the commander of the 16th Corps for failure to attack on the night of the 8th, replacing him with Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Kemal Pasha, undismayed by the disparity of forces between his own and the enemy troops, attacked on the morning of the 9th with three regiments of the 12th Division and Willmer's detachment. This was a total of 6,000 men against the whole British force which then consisted of about 27 battalions.

At 6:00 a.m., on the 8th, Major Willmer reported, "Chocolate Hill was attacked by superior hostile forces and had to be evacuated last night. "W" Hill position is occupied by the 1st Battalion, 31st Infantry, and the Brusa Gendarmes. Machine gun detachment from fleet has arrived and been put into position. Kiretch Tepe is firmly in our hands. Losses of Brusa Gendarmes yesterday about 30%. Very little activity in front."

There is no point in a further examination of the Suvla operations insofar as they refer to this study. Midnight, August 8th, put a period to the last hope of success. The British, in face of a much inferior force, not only failed to advance, but actually lost ground. The following comments taken from Turkish account of the Anzac-Suvla Bay operations are of interest:

"The British plan for the Suvla landing, and the operations leading up to it, were well suited to the requirements of the situation. It was sound to base this plan on a preliminary attack on the units in the Kanli Sirt (Lone Pine) section with a view to engaging and pinning down the defense and forcing it to expend its reserves. This operation was calculated not only to facilitate the landing at Suvla, but also to cover the turning movement round the right flank of the Turkish force opposite Anzac.

Had this sound plan been executed with resolution and energy, it would have effected very far-reaching results. From the Suvla sector, which was for the most part undefended, and only watched by a very weak detachment, it would have been possible to capture Anafarta Sagir and Bigali. This objective once attained, the mastery of the Straits would have been definitely won, and the land communication of the greater part of the Fifth Army would have been cut."

The reasons why the attack failed may be summarized thus:

"The offensive was not synchronized or coordinated. The force which landed at Suvla did not attack vigorously and swiftly the weak force opposed to it." (Page 329, Vol. 2, British Official Report)

LESSONS

The emphasis placed on the use of darkness to cover the landings is of paramount interest as it shows that the men, in both the Army and the Navy, actually faced with the problem, preferred to hazard the imponderable risks and losses of a night landing to the certain losses bound to be encountered by day.

The facts that in this operation packs and overcoats were not taken is illuminating and should be remembered.

The care, at least in the plan, to provide an immediate reserve of ammunition and water is another instance of knowledge gained through former mistakes.

The care given to the establishment of workable communications, including the laying of a submarine cable, is yet another illustration of learning by experience.

The use of white arm bands and white patches on the back is of interest, particularly in view of the Turkish statement that these methods of identification aided them in their sniping. The question of identifications deserves study.

The lack of rapid means of supervision and communication on land, which the presence of horses for officers and mounted messengers would have provided, exemplifies the vital need for landing horses with the first echelon in the future.

The attempt to use command posts, under conditions where personal leadership was vital, illustrates the unfortunate tendency of soldiers to adhere to preconceived notions and teachings and of failing to adopt the means to the end, is a word to lack of imagination.

The fact, exemplified in all the landings, that the moment the troops are ashore, there is a period in which the enemy is quiescent, points out the need of detailing in advance certain combat groups, each with two officers, who will at once move out on a compass bearing and, by rapid advance of a mile or more, establish a temporary line of resistance behind which a more methodical advance can be inaugurated. The officers and men selected for these groups must have prior practice in night movement and must be very hardy individuals.

From the standpoint of the defense, it should be remembered that there is plenty of time in which to collect and arrange reserves for counter-attacks. In every case this period exceeded ninety minutes and was usually of several hours in duration.

The great delaying power inherent in small groups or even snipers was clearly shown. This power results from the fear of the unknown which invariably obsesses men suddenly faced with unknown terrain. It might be well for the defense to plant a few men who, on being captured, could spread rumors of large reserves in the vicinity.

It is of interest to note that the four batteries of Major Willmer's command at Suvla Bay served at "attached" rather than as supporting artillery. Indeed, the two batteries of mountain guns seem to have functioned as Infantry cannon (Page 165, Vol. 2, British Official Report).

Finally, too much stress cannot be placed on the necessity of using selected officers for the critical positions both on the offense and defense. At Suvla Bay, it was not the Turkish Army which defeated the British – it was von Sanders, Kemal Pasha, and Major Willmer who defeated Hamilton, Stopford, Hammersley, and Sitwell.

Had the two sets of commanders changed sides it is believed that the landing would have been as great a success as it was a dismal failure.

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THE DEFENSE OF GALLIPOLI

ANNEX NO. 1

The probable effect of present day Aviation, Mechanization, Chemical Warfare, and Submarines on the Gallipoli Campaign as fought in 1915.

SECTION I

GENERAL

The twenty-one years which have elapsed since 1915 measure the growth from infancy to manhood of three new arms; Offensive and Defensive Aviation, Mechanization, and Chemical Warfare.

This analogy reminds us of the fact that just as fond parents are prone to attribute impossible perfection to the youth just attaining his majority, so are commentators, both military and civilian, liable to assign to these youthful weapons theoretical potentialities far in excess of their actual capacities.

Through the bloody disillusionment of countless wars we know the powers and limitations of the older arms. In their case we adjudge with considerable accuracy the effects of; fear, fatigue, excitement, stupidity, and lack of initiative, and thereby arrive at a just appreciation of what we may expect of them in combat.

In the case of the new arms, however, lack of background, coupled with an enthusiasm for the untried, induces us to attribute to them not their probably, but their maximum potentialities. In this we are wrong, how wrong only the next war between major powers will tell.

Bearing these facts in mind, I shall discuss the probable effect that the above weapons, in their 1935 dress, would have had on the Campaign of Gallipoli.

SECTION II

AVIATION

The generally accepted doctrine of aviation authorities is that the equipment existent at the beginning of a war will be more or less wholly expended during the first six weeks or two months of the struggle and that there will then ensue an hiatus of from nine to fourteen months before production in usable quantities is secured.

Further, it is generally conceded that, due to its importance, the major units of any air force will be used only in the principal theater of operations.

Now, since it was certainly until the end of January 1915 (five months after the opening of the war) that conditions at Gallipoli even remotely foreshadowed the necessity of securing an advanced base for amphibious operations, and since, further, it is well known that during its whole continuance the campaign was considered as very much of a side-show, it is clear that allied aviation available for the operation would have been strictly limited probably to not more than the organic units of the fleet.

When on February 16, 1915, a combined operation was decided on, some additional army units might have been made available.

Turning now to Turkey, it will be remembered that from November until the opening of the Dardanelles Campaign, she had been engaged in serious and successful fighting with the Russians

in a campaign, which so far as Turkey was concerned, was a major operation and hence would have called for the maximum use and consequent serious depletion of her air force.

Of course when the threat at the straits occurred, that at once became her major consideration, but considering her low economic development, it seems reasonable to assume that even her maximum aviation effort in that theater could not have exceeded the probably Allied planes available against her.

Therefore, it is logical to assume that neither party in the Mediterranean Theater could have possessed a very large or competent flying service.

ALLIED TACTICS

Assuming as axiomatic that no landing operation can possibly be successful unless it possesses an advanced base not over five hours steaming time from the selected beaches (for tows or self-propelled landing boats), it is clear that the first concern of the Allies was the seizure of the Greek Islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Tenedos.

It is, I think, equally clear that in order to capture and occupy these islands, the Turkish Air Force, based probably at Constantinople (175 miles distant), would have had to have been destroyed and neutralized.

Owing to the vulnerability of carrier-borne aviation and to the limitations which the use of carriers places on the size of bombers, any attacks on the Turkish airdromes would have to come from land-based aviation. Alexandria, the British base was 640 miles distant, which is possibly too far, so as a preliminary step some intermediate base or bases must have been secured. Possibly the islands of Chios or Lesbos (Mytilene) 200 miles from Constantinople would have been suitable or possibly it would have first have been necessary to secure a base nearer home, such as Cyprus or Rhodes and from there move on to Lesbos.

Since the securing of the advanced base at Lemnos and Imbros was vital to the conducting of landing operations, we must assume that the Allied Air Force would have been successful in these preliminary operations.

Further, such a campaign would have been costly in material and would have further reduced the Allied Air Force so that probably thereafter it would have been required to confine itself to maintaining its superiority by the continued bombing of the Turkish airdromes.

Even had a few planes been available for attacking ground troops, the targets afforded by the relatively small forces of Turks concealed in the rugged hills of the peninsular would not have offered fruitful targets.

On the mornings of the landings there was no wind. This is the normal condition under the situation at Gallipoli where the off-shore wind dies at dawn and the on-shore wind does not generally start until about 9:00 a.m. It therefore seems probable that considerable good effect could be secured by the use of a smoke screen laid by airplanes. However, since the Turks in the actual case did not open fire until the boats landed, the effect of the screen would not have been decisive. It should be noted that where a defense is based on the use of long-range fire at floating targets, smoke may play an important part.

TURKISH TACTICS

Initially, the Turks would have tried to delay or prevent the establishment of the land bases. When defeated in this, they would have used night bombardment against the camps and ships on Lemnos and Imbros. They would have certainly attained some success, but not probably of a decisive character.

On the mornings of the landings, they could have so worried the Allies as to force them to embark initially in small boats rather than to use transports for the major part of the passage from the Islands to a point close to the beaches.

In conclusion, it seems that initially the air corps would have played a decisive role, but that after the advanced bases had been secured their sections would not have materially altered the campaign as actually fought.

SECTION III

MECHANIZATION

The remarks made in Section II concerning the rapid expenditure and the lag in replacing aviation material applies equally to mechanization and the times for the two processes are practically identical for each arm. Consequently, at the end of five months of war, neither side would have had much mechanization available. So far as the Allies are concerned, other factors render the number of tanks they might have been able to employ still fewer. Tanks are not only very heavy, they also take up much deck space, which, in view of the shortage of shipping inevitable to wars, will always reduce to practically zero the number of tanks embarked in overseas operations.

Again, except from Beetle Boats, not used in Gallipoli until August, there is no way of landing tanks. Floating tanks are about the most vulnerable thing imaginable as the metal cylinders which float them are not bullet proof. These considerations render any discussion of the unquestioned value of tanks in landing operations somewhat academic; except under particularly favorable circumstances they will be unable to participate in the initial landings.

On the defensive, however, tanks are of very great value. They can be readily sheltered from the preliminary bombardment while their speed, when operating over known ground, permits them to counter-attack very rapidly. Newly landed infantry without accompanying weapons will have difficulty in stopping them. In my opinion, 15 tanks in the vicinity of the five beaches near Helles would not only have stopped the British, but would have driven them into the sea. For such operations good tanks are not necessary, hence some old types may be expected in all future defense against landing forces.

SECTION IV

CHEMICAL WARFARE

Attention has already been called to the use of smoke laid from planes as an aid to the initial landings.

In consideration of the fact that in landing operations on an open beach the respirators are bound to get water-soaked and hence be useless, it is highly doubtful that any commander of a landing force would countenance the use of gas on the beaches. Under favorable circumstances he might utilize it to harass the enemy artillery and reserves.

On the defensive, particularly under the wind conditions existent at Gallipoli, it seems doubtful that any commander would use gas as an auxiliary to other units for the defense of the principal beaches. The use of gas discharged from controlled land-mines or cylinders may be expected on secondary beaches or on landings where there is much dead space.

If the use of gas by the defense is anticipated some means of keeping the respirators dry must be devised.

SECTION V

SUBMARINES

Since all Turkish submarines would have to traverse the very restricted waters of the straits in order to attack, it is thought that their use would be considerably hampered. The assumed air superiority of the Allies would have further limited their use.

The presence of numerous modern submarines might have embarrassed the Allies, but in view of the development of anti-submarine methods, it is not believed that submarines would have proven a decisive factor.

THE DEFENSE OF GALLIPOLI

ANNEX NO. 2

NOTES ON THE TURKISH ARMY

Since nearly all the books on Gallipoli available to Americans emanate from British or French sources, it is only natural that the valor of the allied troops is stressed somewhat to the disadvantage of the Turks.

A careful study of the operation, however, forces one to two conclusions:

1st, that while there was much valor displayed by the allies, the absence of intelligence and initiative on their part was appalling.

2nd, in view of the mathematical axiom that actions equal reactions, the enemy who evoked such heroism must have pretty valorous himself.

When we think of the mentally appalling effect of the naval bombardment at Helles on April 25th, in the face of which less than 1,000 Turks repulsed a division, or when we recall that local counter-attacks made by single companies (or even by platoons) called for the employment of battalions to stop them, we have to admit that in the Turks the Allies met a foeman worthy of their steel.

Unfortunately, military officers become so engrossed in what they are pleased to refer to as the major aspects of a war that they seldom mention the really vital elements of war – the men who fight. Hence, it has been very difficult to get any accurate picture of the fighting Anitolian. Due to this fact the following data derived from Colonel Hans Kannengiesser's book, "The Campaign in Gallipoli" is of more than passing interest.

THE OFFICERS

The Turkish officers, particularly in the infantry, were, as a class, densely ignorant. Many of the company commanders were wholly illiterate. Nonetheless, the high percent of casualties among the officers proved beyond question their willingness to fight. Due to the demand for technical knowledge, the artillery officers were to a marked degree better educated. However, it should not be forgotten that several of the Turkish high commanders were soldiers who would stand out favorably in any company.

Strange to say, the Quartermaster arrangements seemed to have been well and honestly conducted. One characteristic which was a constant source of trouble to the Germans was the reluctance evinced by the Turks to say "no." Whatever was proposed or ordered, they acquiesced, and then frequently made no attempt to carry out the order.

Again, their natural politeness made them reluctant to report unpleasant things for fear of hurting the feelings of their superiors. This frequently resulted in their failure to mention reverses or even to report a shortage of supplies. Finally, the question of time was a constant source of trouble. To the Germans, for example, 6:00 a.m. meant six hours after midnight; to the Turks, however, 6:00 a.m. meant six hours after sunrise. Also, the dates were different due to the fact that Turks dated everything from the Hegira.

THE MEN

Born to utter poverty and lack of any comfort, even to beds, the rigors of campaign were not noticed by the Turkish soldier who, when he succeeded in getting an occasional meal of rice and a little meat, considered himself pampered. In fact many of the veterans of the Balkan war frequently told the recruits that, "This was not war at all because here we eat every day."

The normal rations consisted of two meals a day composed of vegetable soup cooked with oil and a little bread added. In addition, they sometimes had a highly prized meal composed of a stuff called "boulgre" consisting of rolled barley cooked in rancid oil and served cold.

The reserve rations consisted of some dried olives and a piece of bread wrapped in a dirty cloth and carried in the pocket.

In consideration of the diet described above, it shows that the Turks did not require a great deal of weight to transport their food. Nonetheless, towards the end of the war the average daily consumption of the army reached 400 tons.

Among the sources of trouble experienced by the German commanders, was the poor quality of the cloth in the Turkish uniforms. This resulted in the very limited number of sandbags available, in the majority of cases, being used for the repair of uniforms.

The Turks were opposed to manual labor. Corps and divisional commanders had to carry sticks two meters long with which they could measure the depth of trenches and demonstrate to the individual men the necessity of carrying out the requirements of the trench being two meters deep. While not specifically stated, it appears that the Turks, while great water drinkers, did not use water for any other purpose. This fact, coupled with their diet of rancid oil gave them a wonderful and awful odor.

An example of this was described at the time by the following story. Some Australians who had captured a Turk had an argument as to whether a Turk or a goat smelled the worse. They asked a British Sergeant to umpire and make a decision. First, the goat was brought in and the Sergeant fainted. Next, the Turk was brought in and the goat fainted.

Instanced are recounted where the Turks used carcasses, frequently of their own people, for dining tables, spreading their rations on top of them.

One characteristic of the Turkish soldier, which the author stresses, is his dependence on and prompt response to dominant leadership. Owing to the fact that (except in a few of the higher grades) the quality of leadership was absent there was a grave danger of panics. However, except for the incident already mentioned at Chunuk Bair on August 8th, no such panic ever eventuated.

The Turkish soldier was fanatically religious and the priests had a strong and helpful influence on him, although their lengthy prayers before battle sometimes caused delays in getting into action. The natural fatalism of the east was also helpful to the Turks.

On the other hand, he was prone, particularly at night, to indulge in much futile firing as a means of raising his courage. Since, in most of this firing, the guns were held vertical, the Germans insisted on the construction of overhead cover and loopholes, thereby forcing the Turks to shoot their rifles at least in a horizontal direction.

Accounts of the operations in Palestine and Mesopotamia mention this same characteristic on the part of the Turks and the correction applied by the use of loophole trenches.

Finally, the author attributes much of the success of the defense to two things; the abundance of good drinking water and the ample supply of small arms ammunition.

G.S. Patton, Jr.

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Notes:

Asterisks denotes the best works.
 Parentheses shows how the books are referred to in the text.