



C I T I Z E N S A N D S O L D I E R S

T H E D E F E N C E O F S O U T H A U S T R A L I A 1 8 3 6 - 1 9 0 1

by

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CONTENTS OF PART II

APPENDICES

		Page
A	The Adelaide "Tambourgi"	1
	The Army	3
	One More Melody	5
B	Imperial Troops in South Australia	6 - 9
	(a) Arrivals and Departures	6
	(b) List of Equipment shipped from Hobart 1840	7
	(c) List of Military Prisoners - 11th Regt.	8
	(d) Strength Returns	9
B 1	Comparative Expenditure - Police/Army 1838-52	10
C	Sappers and Miners in South Australia	13
D	Colonial Pay and Lodging Allowances	22
E	Military Mortality Rates 1863	23
F	Military Barracks in South Australia	24
G	Resume of Press Articles during 1885 Crisis	33
H	Schedule of Naval Training in South Australia	39
H I	Naval Rates of Pay in 1885	40
I	Returns of Arms and Ammunition 1854	41
J	South Australian Contingents to South Africa	43
J I	Rates of Pay of S.A. Contingents to Boer War	44
J 2	Equipment issued to S.A. Contingents for Boer War	45
J 3	Organisation of S.A. Contingents to South Africa	46
J 4	Baggage Train of 1st S.A. Contingent to Boer War	47
K	Cost Estimate of Telegraphic Communications between Adelaide and its Approaches 1865	48
L	Principal Events in Pacific, 1853 - 1901 onwards	49
L1	South Australia and the Pacific, 1853 - 1901	50
M	South Australian Army Uniforms	69
M 1	Selected References to S.A. Uniforms from 1854 onwards	74
M 2	References to Photographs of S.A. Army Uniforms, held in S.A. Archives	76

		Page
N	Small Arms, Ordnance and Military Inventions	78
N 1	Selected References to Small Arms, Ordnance, Ammunition and Fortifications in South Australia	90
O	Selected References to Military Camps	93
P	Selected References to Firing Practices and Field Exercises	95
Q	Gun Salutes	97
R	Programme of Volunteer Movements ... 17. 5.1863	98
S	Bibliography of Military Ceremonial Reviews and Parades (Selected References Only)	101
T	British Military War Establishments 1880	103
U	List of Military Publications issued in South Australia between 1859 and 1900	104
W	South Australian Orders of Battle 1858 - 1900	105
W 1	Organisation and Order of Battle as proposed in 1865/6	113
W 2	South Australian Military Staff Organisation	115
X	Peace and War Establishments as of 31.12.1896	116
X 1	Strength Returns as on 31.12.1900	117
Y	Summary of Strength Returns 1885 - 1900	118
Z	Military Expenditure 1854 - 1900	119
Z 1	Cost of Imperial Troops stationed in South Australia	120

THE ADELAIDE "TAMBOURGI"A War Song After Byron

1

Gazette, O ! Gazette O ! Thy 'Larom afar
 Gives hope to the valiant and promise of war;
 Lo the sons of the City arise at the note
 From Rundle Street, Hindley Street, Grenfell and Grote!

2

Oh who are so gay as our own bold Dragoons,
 With their "forage caps, jackets," and cheap "Pantaloons."
 To the flies and the dust they leave storehouse and shop
 To frighten the parrots with clatter and pop.

3

Will Adelaide men like tame citizens live ?
 To their sons an example so dastardly give ?
 No ! forth as a torrent of valour they go,
 To annihilate (when they can find one) the foe.

4

Woe, woe to the Emu and tall Kangaroo !
 Woe, woe, to the native, now we've spear men too !
 Tough, fierce, and as black as black-berry he be,
 Our Berry's a far fiercer lancer than he !

5

Go, savage, and seek they last bed in the waves !
 Or hide they dusk form in interior caves !
 For thine "Olivers" now (howe'er ample the store)
 We have "Rowlands" - and 50 good cavalry more !

6

There are Berkeley, and Hardy, McPherson, and Holmes,
 Who on horseback are nimble as fairies or gnomes !
 Our Wigley, too, rules on both saddle and bench,
 Now facing a felon - now leaping a trench.

7

O ! who is so brave as the Colonial Hussar !
 That is - who so fearless of bullets and scar !
 What thought (as his ranks such like saves of the sea)
 What thought of defeat, or of dying has he?

8

O ! think, and with awe, of the first Grand Review !
The drum's rub-adub, and the fife's tu-tu-tu !
The artillery's thunder, and clatter, and flash !
And the War, Timors prancing and plunging slap-dash !

9

O think of our phalanx of grim grenadiers,
Nobly charged by light-horsemen with pennons and spears!
While, advancing, retiring, and dodging between,
Lo ! the greenest sharp-shooters that ever were seen !

10

Hurra ! To the field - fear not shot - would scar !
And we, the unmar
And beholding your feats betwixt mountains and shore,
Should we quite due with laughter - we'll see you no more !

3.

T H E A R M Y

-- --
To The
Commandant,
the
OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS
AND PRIVATES,
of our
COLONIAL ARMY.

The following pieces are most respectfully INSCRIBED by one who
aspires to render to the force his service as DRUMMER.

- - - - -
A SOLILOQUY

(and Hamlet's)

-- --

To be, or not to be, that is the question :-
Whether 'tis wiser for a cit, to travel
Uneasingly the road that leads to fortune;
Or to take arms in our bran-new Militia,
And, by enlarging, aid it ? - To serve; - to march ; -
Ay more;- and by a smart dress fitted well
Display those charms of symmetry and form
Some flesh is heir to, - 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd to serve; - to march; -
To march ! perchance to fight; - ay, there's the rub;
For in that unknown fight what wounds may come,
Cold steel between the ribs, or musket ball,
Must give us pause: In that respect,
Howe'er, we have good promise of long life :
Then who would wear the brown or blue surtout
The fustian coat, the horseman's corduroys,
The hat of ample brim, the airy blouse,
The winterleather leggings, or the pumps
Which from his feet at night the dandy takes
When he himself might an Adonis make
With a red jacket ? Who would follow stock
Or toil and bargain amid casks and bales,
But that the natural fondness for good living, -
That universal feeling, from whose power
No mortal is exempt, - puzzles the will; -
And makes us rather bear those ills we have,

Than have our platters bare at dinner-time ?
Thus appetite makes drudges of us all ;
And thus the martial throb of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the strong love of cash ;
And enterprises of great pith and moment
Yield to the vulgar business of life,
Which keeps us out of action.

ONE MORE MELODY

Oh, the sight entrancing,
 When morning's beam is glancing
 O'er our Brigade,
 Of Adelaide,
 And Steeds on the green sward prancing !
 When hearts are bumping, beating,
 And the trumpet's voice repeating
 That song, whose breath
 Leads not to death,
 And cannot to retreating !
 Oh the sight entrancing,
 When morning's beam is glancing
 O'er our Brigade,
 Of Adelaide,
 All slashing, firing, lancing !
 They wear not the white feather,
 For ask their capting, whether
 The older lands
 Could bring such bands
 Of gallant lads together ?
 Leave stores to those who need 'em,
 And cows to those who breed 'em,
 Lease such to slaves -
 These rich where waves
 Our glorious flag to lead 'em.
 A shuttle suits the Weaver,
 The Butcher wields a cleaver
 The sword alone
 Suits " _____ "s own
 The sword, and cap, or beaver.
 Oh that sight entrancing,
 When morning's beam is glancing
 O'er our Brigade
 Of Adelaide,
 'Gainst, who knows what ? advancing !

APPENDIX B

IMPERIAL TROOPS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIAMovements

t	Senior Officer	Ship & date Arrival	Ship & date Departure	Reference
h Regt. of Foot Manchester"	Capt. G.V. Butler	<u>Eudora</u> 16.10.1841	<u>Brankenmoor</u> 16.5.1846	R.10.9.1870 R.20.5.1846
h Regt. of Foot North Devon"	Capt. R. Webster	<u>Brankenmoor</u> 25.4.1846	<u>Freak</u> 13.10.1848	R. 2.5.1846 R.14.10.1848
h Regt. of Foot arkshire"	Maj. G.M. Reeves	<u>Freak</u> 12.10.1848	? January 1849	R.14.10.1848 PP48/1855/6
1 Regt. of Foot orth Devon"	Capt. E. Moore	? February 1849	<u>Sir John Harvey</u> 2.8.1859	PP48/1855/6 R. 3.8.1854
1 Regt. of Foot Somersetshire"	Capt. F. Blythe	<u>Sir John Harvey</u> 28.7.1854	<u>White Swan</u> 8.11.1855	R.31.7.1854 R.5.11.1855
1 Regt. of Foot t Suffolk"	Lt. G. Sanders Capt. R. Vereker	<u>White Swan</u> 4th or 5th 11,55	<u>Havila</u> 13.4.1858	R.5.11.1855
1 Regt. of Foot Somersetshire"	Capt. F. Blythe	<u>Havila</u> 10.4.1858	<u>Nightingale</u> 10.10.1863	Adel. Tim. 10.4.58 R.10.10.63
1 Regt. of Foot kshire"	Capt. R.H. Vivian	<u>Novelty</u> 5.11.1866	<u>Heversham</u> 13.8.1867	S.A. Spec. Coll. A423 R.14.8.1867
1 Regt. of Foot ens O.Roy West nt"	Lt. Co. S. Hamley	<u>Heversham</u> 9.8.1867	<u>Himalaya</u> 1.4.1869	R.10.8.1867 R.2.4.1869
1 Regt. of Foot tshire"	Maj. R.H. Vivian	<u>Racer</u> 23.3.1869	<u>Cloud Hamilton</u> 31.1.1870	R.30.3.1869 R.1.2.1870
th Regt. of Foot al Irish"	Lt. Col. J.H. Rocke	<u>Cloud Hamilton</u> 30.1.1870	<u>Aldinga</u> 17.8.1870 <u>Orona</u> 20.8.1870 ex Melbourne	R.31.1.1870 R.18.8.1870 R.14.9.1917

(b) LIST OF EQUIPMENT SHIPPED ON "EMMA"
FROM HOBART TO ADELAIDE ON 25.5.1846
 (CSC/I/801/1846)

Blacking, Tin, Box	72
Braces, Pairs	12
Brushes, Cloth	12
" Shoe and Boot	36
Brushes, Shaving	12
" Button	24
Button Sticks	24
Caps, Forage	50
Chin Straps	100
Holdalls	12
Combs	12
Mess Tins	12
Mess Tin Covers	6
Mess Tin Straps	6
Knee Caps	6
Knives and Forks	24
Spoons	48
Razors	24
Shell Jackets (Privates)	70
Shirts, cotton	100
Socks, pairs, woollen	300
Sponges	24
Towels	48
Trousers, cloth (Sergeants)	48
" " (Privates)	48
Duck Trousers	50

(c) LIST OF MILITARY PRISONERS, 11th REGT. OF FOOT (NORTH DEVON)

7/6/49	-	Two	prisoners	lodged	(not named)
14/12/49	-	One	prisoner	lodged	(not named)
19/12/49	-	Two	prisoners	lodged	{ Pte. W.J. Sadwell } { and Pte. J. Petrie }
22/12/49	-	One	prisoner	lodged	(Pte. T. Kneale)
3/1/50	-	"	"	"	(Pte. J. Davey)
9/1/50	-	"	"	"	(Pte. Th. Reynolds)
14/1/50	-	"	"	"	(Pte. M. Walsh)
23/1/50	-	"	"	"	(Pte. A. O'Neill)
25/1/50	-	"	"	"	(Pte. Th. Hand)
4/3/50	-	"	"	"	(Pte. J. MacDonald)
21/3/50	-	Two	"	"	(not named)
5/8/50	-	One	"	"	(Pte. J. Harvey)
27/2/52	-	One	"	"	(Pte. R. Evans)

(d) STRENGTH RETURNS AS AT 31st DECEMBER

Unit	Officer Commanding	Year	Maj.	Capt.	Lt.	Ensg.	Sgt.	Cpl.	Drum	Pte.	Total	All Rks
96	Capt.G.V.Butler	1842	-	1	2	-	4	3	1	75	3/83	86
96	" " "	1843	-	1	2	-	4	3	1	74	3/82	85
96	" " "	1844	-	1	3	-	6	2	1	82	4/91	95
96	" " "	1845 (1)	-	1	2	(T)	6	2	1	73	3/83	86
11	Capt.R.Webster	1846	-	1	2	-	4	4	1	77	3/86	89
11	" " "	1847	-	1	2	-	3	5	1	71	3/80	83
11	" " "	1848	-	1	1	-	3	5	1	70	2/79	81
99	Capt.G.M.Reeves	1848	-	1	1	1	3	3	1	72	3/79	82
99	" " "	1849	-	1	1	1	3	3	1	70	3/77	80
11	Capt.E. Moore	1849	-	1	1	1	3	3	1	56	3/63	63
11	" " "	1850	-	1	1	-	3	2	1	39	2/45	47
11	" " "	1851	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
11	Maj.E.Moore	1852	1	-	1	(T)	2	-	-	56	3/53	61
11	" " "	1853	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	50	2/52	54
11	" " "	1854	1	1	1	-	3	-	-	65	3/68	71
12	" " "	1855	1	1	1	-	5	4	1	51	3/66	69

(1) In that particular year, there was an Assistant Surveyor attached to the force.

(3) As at 2nd March, 1849.

(4) No data available for 1851.

APPENDIX B 1

(1) COMPARATIVE EXPENDITURES - POLICE FORCE - MILITARY
1838-1855

YEAR	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842
Population (2)	6,000	-	14,630	14,884	15,118
Tot. Expenditure £ (3)(8)	-	-	174,093	92,297	79,559
<u>Police</u> Strength (1)(6)	3/27	4/35	6/99	7/107	6/105
" Expendit. £ (6)	2,307	3,405	17,272	12,519	8,358
% of Total	-	-	10.0	13.4	10.5
Cost per man £	77	88	164	110	75
<u>Military</u> Unit	R.M.	-	R.S.A.V.	96th	96th
" Strength	-/17	-	16/59	3/79	3/83
" Expendit. £(4)(7)	330	-	316	-	4,064
% of Total	-	-	-	-	5.1
Cost per man £	19.10	-	-	-	47

YEAR	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
Population (2)	17,196	20,802	22,930	25,893	31,153
Tot. Expenditure £ (3)(8)	29,842	32,083	48,651	49,389	66,799
<u>Police</u> Strength (1)(6)	6/55 ⁽⁵⁾	4/58	4/67	5/72	7/94
" Expendit. £ (6)	5,657	5,397	5,901	7,059	9,026
% of Total	19.0	16.8	12.2	14.2	13.2
Cost per man £	93	87	83	92	89
<u>Military</u> Unit	96th	96th	96th	11th	11th
" Strength	3/81	4/91	3/83	3/86	3/80
" Expendit. £(4)(7)	3,499	3,522	3,595	3,986	4,251
% of Total	16.6	11.0	7.5	8.1	6.4
Cost per man £	43	37	42	45	51

(1) COMPARATIVE EXPENDITURES - POLICE FORCE - MILITARY : Cont.

YEAR	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853
Population (2)	38,666	52,904	63,700	66,538	68,663	78,944
Tot. Expenditure £ (3)(8)	80,129	82,638	114,467	143,982	88,238	153,272
Police Strength (1)(6)	7/95	8/105	7/112 (9)	-	8/138 (10)	9/158 (10)
" Expendit. £ (6)	9,668	9,761	2,792	9,878	7,723	12,526
% of Total	12.0	11.9	2.5	6.9	8.7	8.3
Cost per man £	93	87	24	-	53	75
Military unit	11th	99th	11th	11th	11th	11th
" Strength	99th 2/79	11th 3/77	2/45	-	3/58	2/52
" Expendit. £(4)(7)	2/79 4,224	3/63 4,392	2,405	-	3,348	5,180
% of Total	5.2	5.3	2.1	-	3.9	3.4
Cost per man £	51	60	51	-	55	91

NOTES :

- (1) Native policemen not listed.
- (2) Natives not included
- (3) Final figures as per comp. statements.
- (4) Includes sappers and miners pay in one year only but not pensions and half pays.
- (5) As at 31st December, 1843.
- (6) From 1846 or so, police expenditure includes about £500 for salary of city rate collector, inspector of weights-measures and others.
- (7) Certain naval advances included from 1846 - 1849.
- (8) From 1854 exclusive of gold department expenditure.
- (9) Salaries only.
- (10) Includes gold escort expenses.

(2) MILITARY EXPENDITURE - Cont.

- (1) Barrack Rent also contains rent for Commissariat H.Q. Office.
- (2) Regimental pay and pay for sappers and miners, only charged in 1842 to the military budget.
- (3) From 1852 this contained an element of lodging allowance.
- (4) All charged to barracks rent account.

NOTE - All cost data, taken from the Blue Books, are adjusted to the nearest £.

APPENDIX CTHE SAPPERS AND MINERS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

It was hoped that these men, being subject to military control would not throw up their appointments at a whim and that... they would keep surveys ahead of the demand for land.

With these words, Ronald Hill, the Secretary of the Colonisation Commission, advised Governor Gawler of the dispatch of the Sappers and Miners to undertake the survey work in South Australia. (1) The Corps of Royal Sappers and Miners was originally formed in 1788 by putting civilian artificers under the Mutiny Acts and enlisting them as soldiers. (2) The Corps was an off-shoot of the Ordnance Department and originally had no officers except a brigade major. The corps worked in conjunction with the Royal Engineers, a corps which consisted of commissioned officers only. The two corps were amalgamated into the Corps of Royal Engineers in 1856. (3)

Surveying the land in South Australia was important, because otherwise it could not be sold. The civilian Survey Department was an expensive item in the expenditure returns of the province. The annual cost per civilian employee was in the vicinity of £95.16. 4, made up of rations £43.15. 0, and wages £51.11. 4 and did not include accommodation, working stores and additional stores. (4) Despite these rather favourable conditions, the Survey Department did not function at all well.

After Kingston's resignation as surveyor-general shortly after Governor Gawler's arrival, the Colonisation Commissioners appointed on 24th August, 1839, Lieutenant E.C. Frome, R.E., Superintendent of Instruction of Junior Royal Engineer Officers at Chatham, for a term of 10 years. He arrived in the Recovery late

in October, 1839, and brought with him 15 sappers and miners. They were inexperienced in survey work but could not down tools at a time when they were most needed. Lieutenant B.T. Finnis, already in the Colony, was appointed by the Commissioners as Frome's deputy. Frome, a first lieutenant, was doing very well financially. His annual salary was £600 and, in addition, he received a commission of £200 to £400 depending on the amount of land he surveyed. (3)

It was suggested, at one stage, to arm the detachment and form it into light infantry so as to have a military nucleus in remote areas, but this was never implemented. The work of the sappers was unspectacular but, nevertheless, very important for the Colony. While the detachment and its activities were rarely mentioned in the press of the day, the colonial secretary's correspondence shows the problems of their maintenance. Some of them were encountered when fitting the sappers into the general administrative pattern of the colony. The penny-pinching attitude of Governor Grey in relation to this detachment was part of his brief to restore the colonial finances, come what may. In 1844, the detachment consisted of an acting sergeant and 8 other ranks. Also included, for ration purposes, were four wives and five children (boys) who, at about ten years of age, were classed as adult males. The detachment changed ever so often in strength with relief sappers coming out from England and others going home. (7) In 1844, Grey looked very closely at the expenditure incurred on behalf of the detachment. In the first instance, he thought of dispensing with part of this detachment. (8) One of his main contentions was that the colonial work-pay of 1½d per day was too high and Frome was asked what arrangements had been made in England prior to their departure. The question was brought to his notice when Frome requested the governor to consider the free

issue of blankets as a justifiable allowance, because the work-pay in the Colony was less than that paid to sappers in England for similar sort of work. (9) In 1847 a new scale of rations was drawn up and it was suggested at the same time that the ration allowance should be paid in money rather than in actual supplies.

(10) The ration scale was as follows -

10 lbs. Flour	per	man	per	week
10 lbs. Meat	"	"	"	"
2 lbs. Sugar	"	"	"	"
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Tea	"	"	"	"
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Tobacco	"	"	"	"
2 ozs. Salt	"	"	"	"

The official cost of these rations in 1847 amounted to $2/6\frac{1}{4}$ per man per week, exclusive of fresh meat which was costed separately at $2/1d$. Thus the total cost of the rations supplied to the detachment of 15 men was £180. 1. 0 or £12 per man when on survey duties as compared with £43.15. 0 per civilian survey employee in 1839. When in quarters, the ration scale was reduced, considerably, to

7 lbs. Bread	$10\frac{1}{2}d$
7 lbs. Fresh Meat	$1/3\frac{3}{4}d$
Liquor Money	7d

(or $3/9\frac{1}{4}d$ per man per week)

Thus, under barrack conditions, the yearly expenditure came to £102.13. $1\frac{1}{2}d$. In addition, the government was entitled to an Imperial stoppage of £136.17.6. Therefore, when engaged on survey work, the actual expenditure to South Australia was £43. 3. 6 and, when the troops were in barracks, the government saved £34. 4. $4\frac{1}{2}$. After April, 1844, rations were no longer issued because the prices were such that the detachment procured their victuals at a price below that of the stoppage. The sappers were on higher ration

allowance than their comrades in the infantry. After completing 21 years of service, they could elect to be discharged in the Colony and, generally, they preferred to do this rather than return to England. Whenever a discharge was effected, replacements were applied for and usually supplied by the brigade major of the corps in England. (11)

The military surveyors had arrived in the colony in October, 1839, and, by the end of Gawler's term of office, had been responsible for an expenditure of £40,000 on survey. (12) This expenditure is quoted as exclusive of stores and equipment. Since the annual cost of the detachment, inclusive of the pay-stoppage was only about £180, one wonders where the rest of the money went. Actually, after 1843 or so, the survey expenditure dropped to amounts of £3,000 - £4,000 and less; perhaps, the discrepancy for the first few years can be attributed to faulty book-keeping. There had been, from time to time, financial adjustments, particularly regarding the question to what account the survey costs should be charged. The costs were originally borne by the land fund but, in 1848, it was suggested to charge this expenditure against general revenue. (13) A return in 1849 shows that the detachment was not exclusively employed on survey work; the detachment was, in fact, a pool of cheap tradesmen employed wherever such people were needed. (14)

The reckoning came in 1850. Earl Grey, in a dispatch of 30th September, 1850, on behalf of the Board of Ordnance, claimed from South Australia an amount of £2,207.10.10 being the expenses incurred by the British Government on account of the sapper detachment from 1839 to 31st March, 1848, and which Earl Grey directed to be paid from colonial funds into the Commissariat Chest. The Governor, Sir Henry Young, was reluctant to do this but was advised by the auditor-general that £931. 9.10 must be admitted. It appears that

this amount accounted for just under eight years of standard pay. The remainder of £1,276 was connected with Frome's emoluments. The auditor-general's comments explain the peculiar way in which fiscal funds were handled in those days. The detachment was paid by the **Military Chest**, whereas Frome was paid out of colonial funds. At times, this salary was of the order of £900 per annum, plus a rent-free house which raised his income above that of the governor. If there were private arrangements with Frome - and in the light of Earl Grey's claims this would appear to have been the case - the colonial administration was not aware of it. In fact, strictly military allowances had been disallowed by the colonial administration since December, 1843. Young finally authorised the payment of the detachment expenses but would not entertain the thought of any other remittances. (15) The amount in dispute is very close to the military half-pay for a lieutenant or a captain. Since other military officers, such as Gawler or Robe, did not receive any half-pay while employed in the **Colony**, the claim on behalf of Frome was soon dropped, at least nothing further is heard about it. (At the time, half-pay was actually suspended, unless specifically authorised by the Lords of the Treasury.) (16)

The Sappers' and Miners' detachment was too important to the **Colony** to be in any way neglected. Conditions of pay and quarters and other "amenities" were well maintained, largely due to the efforts of the surveyor-general who was also their officer commanding. In 1852, the gratuity, a South Australian bonus, was increased to 1/6d per day. (17) One year later a flat 50% was paid on each military pay in lieu of the 1/6d per day. (18) The estimates for 1856 provided for the 1855 pay to be increased by 50%. (19) The instance of sickness in the family of a Corporal Crocker established the precedent whereby the survey personnel and their families were entitled to the

free services of the colonial surgeon at the Adelaide Hospital. (20)

The detachment, which never exceeded 15 other ranks, had to be housed. We hear of barracks in 1841 in connection with a somewhat hotly debated claim for £381.16.8½ spent by Captain E.C. Frome (he was promoted by then) on the eastern wing of the barracks which he had converted as his own living quarters. The whole transaction fitted into the pattern of this very astute gentleman. Frome had apparently received the governor's sanction to a rebate once he vacated the quarters. All this took place just two months prior to the arrival of Captain G. Grey. Strangely enough, Frome let the matter rest until July, 1842, when he renewed his claim, but this time glossing over his own accommodation and quarters. (21) Governor Grey realised that unless Frome was paid, the government would not be the sole proprietor of the barracks. Captain Frome was asked to substantiate his claims by receipts which were to be scrutinised by the auditor-general. Frome claimed that he had furnished Gawler with this information, but no such documents could be found. Finally, the clerk of works was instructed to inspect the place and advise whether or not Frome's claims were justified. This was done and Frome's claims were agreed to in August, 1842. (22) Considering Grey's general unwillingness to spend public funds unless absolutely forced to do so, the untouchable position of the surveyor-general is well illustrated.

In 1845 moves were made to move the native children to the North Terrace barracks and the sappers to the location vacated by the natives. Morphett's house at Walkerville was sold in 1843 and the new owner was prepared to let the government have the quarters at a rent of £12 per annum. However, this accommodation was considered unsuitable by the protector of aborigines and he suggested an exchange with the sapper barracks on North Terrace which would be a more convenient location on account of the abundance of

firewood available in the park lands. (23) This was agreed to, provided an amount of £577 was first spent on additions to the old sapper barracks to bring them up to standard which was about £400 more than first estimated. (24)

Obviously, the government would not have been very popular had it spent this money officially on the native location. The change-over was effected in July, 1845. Soon afterwards, an amount of £72.10. 0 was approved to renovate the Walkerville accommodation now occupied by the sappers. (25) The accommodation of the sappers and miners received fresh attention in the early fifties when Captain Freeling complained about the dilapidated buildings which provided only 13 quarters instead of the 15 required and which, in turn, made supervision too difficult. He suggested that the existing stables be changed into two additional quarters and recommended an expenditure of £1,033. He was granted £400 of which he spent £131. 9. 0 on two new quarters and £268.11. 0 on general repairs. The final picture, then, was that each sapper and family (irrespective of size) had two rooms, a front room 12' x 12' which was plastered and a smaller back room 10' x 10' white-washed with a lean-to shingle-covered roof, which was much superior to the accommodation provided for the infantry. (26) By 1851 the alterations to the sapper barracks were well under way. On completion of the alterations, the barracks must have been quite imposing for those days, because the rent value of the property had increased to £350 as compared with £48 in 1843. The key was officially handed to Captain Freeling in November, 1853. (27)

The question of the employment of the sappers and miners was raised again in 1854. (28) There was a scarcity of labour due to the gold rushes. Wages were high and public works - such as the building of the colonial parliament and other undertakings - required more labour than was available. Consequently, the governor asked for

additional sappers and miners in order to have the building projects maintained at a reasonable cost. The government was prepared to pay ordinary expenses (regimental pay, rations and allowances) and, in addition, a colonial pay equal to 50% of the regimental pay. Sir Henry Young mentioned that there was opposition to the policy of using the sappers for public works. However, he considered it justified because it kept the price of labour down. On the other hand, if the sappers and miners were not employed on public works, the pressure on the labour market would increase and labour might be attracted to South Australia. On balance, he preferred the sappers and miners to proceed with his public works programme without entering the labour market as a competitor. As an after-thought, he suggested that, in view of the unsettled political conditions in Europe, the sappers and miners could be used to construct defence works. It appears that his suggestion was ignored by London.

The exact date of the withdrawal of the sappers and miners is difficult to determine but it was probably in 1859. In March, Freeling reported to the **g**overnment that he had been instructed to return to England the arms with which the sappers had been issued and which had been deposited for safe custody in the colonial armoury. The original equipment could not be found and, since he held the store-keeper's receipt, he was authorised to draw other equipment in lieu. (29) Also, the corps had been supplied from England with additional clothing worth £413, charged to the colony in 1859. This could imply that the corps **was** withdrawn shortly afterwards, because if it had not been, the clothing would eventually have been treated as a normal replacement issue, chargeable to the **M**military Chest rather than to colonial funds. (30)

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APPENDIX D

COLONIAL PAY AND LODGING ALLOWANCES

	Colonial Allowance per Day					Lodging Allowance per Annum	
	1852	1857	1858	1860	1862	1858	1868
Field Officer Commanding			15/-	11/3	6/9	£100. 0. 0.	£92.15. 5.
Field Officer not commanding)		9/-	-	-	-		£69.19. 2.
Captains			7/6	5/8	3/5	£ 75. 0. 0.	£53. 4. 7.
Lieutenant	5/-		6/-	5/-	1/3	£ 55. 0. 0.	£39. 0.10.
Ensign			5/-	4/-	1/3	£ 55. 0. 0.	£39. 0.10.
D.A.C.G.			7/6	5/8	3/5	£ 9. 3. 4.	£74.10. 5.
Barrack Sergeant			2/6	-	1/3	£ 11.12. 2.	£18. 5. 0.
Commissariat Clerk			5/-	-	-	£ 6. 6. 8.	-
Non-Commissioned Officer			2/6	-	-/6	In Barracks	
Private	-/3½	-/6	1/-		-/3		

DAILY RATION ALLOWANCES IN LIEU OF COLONIAL PAY

	1852	1862
Bread	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb.	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
Salt	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz.	
Pepper	$\frac{1}{3}$ oz.	
Sugar	2 oz.	2 oz.
Tea	$\frac{1}{6}$ oz.	
Coffee	$\frac{1}{3}$ oz.	$\frac{1}{8}$ oz.

MILITARY MORTALITY RATES 1863

Years of Service	U.K.	Mediterranean, British America	West Indies, St. Helena Cape	Australian Colonies	Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, China	Average per age group
Less than 5	4.60	4.21	5.90	18.00	13.45	9.23
5 to 10	8.71	9.61	15.36	18.00	23.89	15.13
10 to 15	12.50	7.63	12.35	24.21	21.00	15.54
15 to 20	19.75	25.95	19.23	29.80	40.84	27.11
More than 20	14.81	28.20	52.63	36.77	30.30	36.54
Average per Station	15.10	18.90	26.37	31.72	32.37	

The above table shows that Australia had the second highest average mortality rate for all categories of years of service and the Australian mortality rate for each year exceeded the average for each category of years of service. (U.S. Mag. 20 (1866) pp.41 - 49)

Mortality rates were the lowest in the cavalry because riding exercised the whole body much better than the restricted movements of foot drill. (U.S. Mag. 19, 1866, pp.47 - 57)

APPENDIX FMILITARY BARRACKS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The problem of accommodating the Imperial troops in South Australia was beset with difficulties right from the beginning. In anticipation of the arrival of a company of the 96th Regiment, Captain E. Frome was instructed to survey the various possibilities. He surveyed the existing government buildings. (1) The huts occupied by the marines would only accommodate just on 40 men and the government stables, partly used by the sappers for their horses, were obviously unsuitable. An iron store, including one or two adjoining stone cottages used as an armoury and for Captain Frome's own equipment, were also discounted, mainly on account of the very drastic changes in temperature and the resulting discomfort to the personnel. But he warmly recommended two buildings, each capable of accommodating 100 to 200 men, at Willunga and Encounter Bay respectively. Frome, at the time the ranking Imperial officer, appeared to be so well organised that he thought the last two mentioned localities the best place for the newcomers to go. Obviously, this did not meet with His Excellency's approval. Frome then submitted a second report (27th July, 1841) and suggested a stone house, known as Beck's Store, located in Flinders Street. It belonged to the South Australia Company and was for sale for £3,500 or could be leased for £500 annually. Everything was wrong with this location; it was damp, not readily accessible in wet weather and would require a large expenditure for fitting out as a barracks. Similarly, another house, owned by the Company on North Terrace, was not quite finished, but could be leased for £300 per annum or for £360 after flooring and doors were put in. The third suggestion, and this was the one finally

chosen, was Flaxman's Store in Grenfell Street. This two-storied building contained two large rooms, 70' x 30', could accommodate about a full company (as could the other two) and was for sale for £5,000 or an annual rental of £600 or £500 if a long tenancy was guaranteed. Kitchen facilities and officers' quarters were subsequently added on to the site. (2)

The first instalment of the annual rent was duly paid by the colonial government. Early in 1842 a bill for £150 was received, which the governor promptly passed on to Captain Butler, ^{Officer-Commanding 96th detachment} explaining that, while he had rented the building for one year and had it ready for the arrival of the troops, he now had no more funds to continue paying the rent. The expenditure had been incurred for the "military branch of the Public Service" and the cost should now be borne by the ~~Military~~ Chest. (3) The governor took a poor view of the military's reluctance to pay for something which, after all, was clearly his responsibility. His letter to Butler makes it appear as if the military was brought to South Australia for any reason whatsoever other than by request of the local administration. Governor Grey suggested that he had rented the Grenfell Street building expressly for the military and had it altered and fitted out for use by the troops. If the rent was considered excessive, he could not compel the troops to live there, but regretted that Captain Butler should disapprove of the arrangements which had been made. He felt that the military could hardly refuse to pay the rent since the troops had, in fact, occupied the building. In any case, he had no funds and even if he did, payment of rent by the government would cause confusion in the public accounts; however, the colonial government would eventually reimburse the ~~Military~~ Chest with the initial £150. (4) Captain Butler finally advanced the £150, subject to the approval of his senior officer. (5) The governor appreciated his co-operation and

regretted, rather paternally, that the military had not been advised beforehand that such demands would be made on the ~~Military~~ Chest. (6) The bickering over the £150 continued with instructions to Butler from Brigade Major Ainsworth (Hobart) to recoup the money. (7) And here the story ends, because, in October 1842, the lease expired and the government advised Butler that it had no intention of renewing the lease, nor was it any of their business to arrange for new accommodation. (8) Butler vacated the premises on 14th October, 1840.[?] (9)

The foregoing shows how strange, to say the least, the South Australian official attitude was. The troops were brought to South Australia for Imperial purposes by request of the governor, yet he treated them as uninvited guests.

In all, the whole business certainly did not bring any credit to the local administration. Butler called tenders for new accommodation (10) and moved to the North side of Flinders Street, Town Acre 231 or, more probably, Town Acre 233. (11) By May, 1845, the Flinders Street barracks were up for auction. The barracks were described as "Lot 11, formerly occupied by Messrs. Gorton and Andrews as a store, then fitted out as a barracks with elegant offices and an inexhaustible supply of purest water from a well. Let at present for £250, payable half-yearly by Treasury bills." (12) We do not know whether the barracks were sold over the military's head, but the troops were removed in April, 1851, to a new site in Topham Street. Perhaps, because the detention cells in the "elegant" Flinders Street barracks were considered unfit to hold prisoners, (13) or perhaps because the lease, already extended, expired in April, 1851. The government sanctioned the erection of a new barracks by a Mr. R.G. Bowen and the lease of it to the government. (14) The Flinders Street building was

subsequently converted into a destitute asylum and orphanage for a rental of £150 per annum, with an additional expenditure of £50 to repair windows, doors, fireplaces, a charge which should have been borne by the Military Chest. A "special accommodation for unprotected pregnant females" was, however, deferred although the latter "category" constituted a large proportion of the seventy destitutes and orphans which were to be housed in the "late barracks". (15)

The new barrack building in Topham Street found favour with the press. It described the location as a masterpiece of private enterprise and far superior to anything the government could ever build. The building was about 20' high, 80' long, made of stone and had an enclosed square with married quarters at the back. (16) The financial arrangements, at this stage, had become more settled. The secretary of the Ordnance Board had made it quite clear to the local administration that the expense for barrack accommodation was a charge to South Australia as was the upkeep of the troops generally, and in May, 1851, the acting barracks master furnished the following estimate (17) -

Barracks Rent	£350
Office Rent	50
Lodging Allowances	300
Cleaning	<u>15</u>
	£725

Affairs regarding the Topham Street barracks were not all plain sailing. Mr. Bowen had a lot of trouble with the barracks he built. There was the question of water supply; nobody quite knew whose responsibility it was to arrange for tanks to be provided. (18) Arrangements about the lease of the premises and certain alterations dragged on from 1851 to 1853. (19) One of the alterations which

appeared to cause most of the trouble was the change from wood grates to coal grates, because coal was cheaper than firewood. Then Captain Blyth complained repeatedly about rainwater filling his cellars. The cost for pumping it out was estimated at £25 - £50 per annum and the only alternative the Captain saw was to fill in the cellar or, of course, to catch the rainwater. At this stage (1853) Mr. Bowen had become so disgusted that he would have nothing more to do with the colonial government. (20) The city commissioners also took an 'interest' in the Topham Street barracks because the soldiery had begun to cut up the street and the repairs were estimated at £180, half of the money to be paid by the city commission, £40 by private subscription and the remainder by the colonial government.

In 1854, the colonial government became interested in erecting a barracks in Alberton. Certain requirements were to be met, but the surveyor-general only found one suitable site (Section 130) back some distance from the Old Port Road. Although the records suggest that there were other areas almost as readily available, the original site was finally purchased. (21)

For a long time the number of immigrant women had been in excess of the colony's requirements, but by September, 1856, most of the immigrant women had been absorbed and the female immigrant depot was on the verge of being closed. It was thought that this would enable the government to make better arrangements for the accommodation of the 40th Regiment than the Topham Street quarters afforded. In 1859, the female destitutes quarters were converted as a barracks at the cost of £940 and the troops moved into Section D. (22) The building is now no longer in existence, having given place, in part, to the Teachers' College and some of the University of Adelaide schools. (There is a discrepancy in the records regarding the move to the

Kintore Avenue barracks. The document disclosing the move (22) is a secondary source, referring to a number of primary sources. According to this document the move of the 40th took place in 1857, but the unit did not arrive until 1858. What is more likely is that the 12th Regiment (Suffolk) occupied the new barracks for a year prior to their departure.)

Captain F. Blyth has left us with a vivid description of the barracks as they were in February, 1862. (23) The barracks were comprised of 'the Commandant's office, barracks office, orderly room, five barracks rooms, six rooms for married soldiers, staff sergeant's quarters, hospital, school room, cook-house, wash-house, bathroom, cleaning shed, barrack stores, ash pits, fuel shed, guard-room and four cells and privies'. The detention cells were referred to by some droll draftsman as 'cells for refractory lobsters'.

The barracks were considered capable of accommodating 120 men but 'could easily be made available for 160'. The armoury was said to be capable of holding 3,500 stands of arms and the gun sheds capable of holding four batteries of four guns each. Captain F. Blyth also mentions the four powder magazines, (non-bomb proof) in the colony -

Adelaide - brick	:	capacity 2,000	quarter	barrels
Adelaide - (Police)	:	"	"	"
Port Adelaide - brick	:	"	"	"
North Arm - wood	:	"	12,000	"

(NOTE - A quarter barrel contained 25 lbs. of powder).

The North Arm magazine was considered somewhat vulnerable 'as a single boat might land sufficient men to destroy it'.

The good Captain Blyth, I think, overstated the "roominess" of his barracks. Perhaps, since they were all government owned, it

may have been diplomatic to do so, but an inspection of the plan shows that it must have been very difficult to accommodate all of his one hundred or so men and some of the wives and children, despite the fact that the scale of barrack accommodation in the British army at that time was very small indeed.

The sixties witnessed a continuous see-saw between the government and the military over the question of the barracks. In 1860, the military was asked to make other arrangements because the accommodation was wanted for the destitutes. (24) Five years later the military made a deal with the government by handing over one ward and getting, in return, the stables for the use of the senior officer. (25) With the large influx of troops in 1866, namely the return of the 2/14 and 50th Regiments, difficulties were foreseen, because the existing accommodation was sufficient for one company only. Lieutenant Colonel F.S. Hamley convened an inspection board in accordance with Horse Guards instruction No.164 of 28th August, 1865, and the inspection, which took place on 30th September, 1866, found the barrack situation quite inadequate, particularly as far as hygiene, drainage, hospital and ventilation requirements were concerned. The military headquarters in Melbourne pointed these short-comings out to South Australia. (26) As a result, despite an initial reluctance to do anything, the government spent £3,300 on the barracks site. It made the old sapper and miner cottages available and the commissariat rented three rooms in the Register offices. The destitute school-rooms were vacated for the use of the volunteers as an armoury and transferred to a new locality with the original volunteer force armoury handed over to the Imperials. (27) The government erected a military hospital which, in fact, was really only a ward 20' x 15' 'with latrines added to it'. This accommodation was expected to house 10 patients. (28)

The whole of section D reverted back to the destitute asylum when Lieutenant Colonel J.H. Roche left on 17th August, 1870, for Melbourne to embark on the Orona on 20th August, 1870, bound for England. (29)

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APPENDIX G

RESUME OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES
DURING THE
ANGLO - RUSSIAN CRISIS OF 1885

The first significant leader was entitled 'The Threatened War'. (1) After reporting the failure of negotiations between Russia and England on the Afghanistan frontier, the paper suggested that it would be sheer madness to delay preparations for defence until war had actually been declared. Short-comings in preparations were pointed out - mainly the Military Road, which was in a state of near uselessness. The commissioner of public works and the engineer-in-chief were going to have a look to see whether it was better to make it a road or a railway. A letter by "Artillery Man" on 9th April, 1884, suggested that two companies of volunteers would be given good training and good experience if they were put to do some road building.

Next leader (2) - 'Russia and Afghanistan at War'. Hostilities had commenced in Afghanistan on 30th March and it was felt that England had to make a stand sooner or later. The paper kept harping about the Military Road, 'are we going to wait until the war has actually broken out?' At the moment the road could not even have a field battery drawn over it. It was full of sand and the guns would be bogged.

'The Impending War' was the leader on the following day. (3) The crisis in England's relations with Russia now seemed to have arrived. The attack on the Afghan forces on the banks of the Kooschk River was regarded as a distinct violation of the terms to which both England and Russia had agreed. People in London believed that war was almost inevitable, borne out by the sudden decline in the price of consols, and such a decline had not been known since the time of the

Franco-Prussian war. Prospect of war with England opened the prospect of raids on British commerce and the colonies. The St. Petersburg Journals had the effrontery to advocate the revival of privateering and had suggested that Russia might renounce the declaration of Paris, an international treaty by which all great powers, except the United States, had agreed in 1856 to renounce privateering.

As regards the immediate danger to Australia, Russian war vessels were at the present moment coming towards this quarter of the world.

From a London correspondent we learn that a Russian iron-clad frigate had left Colombo, and from Sydney we learn that the master of vessel bound for Newcastle sighted a Russian ship of war off Cape Hope under sail and steaming in the direction of Bass Strait. These things may not be sufficient cause for alarm, but it adds an additional reason for the necessity of immediate preparation .

'The Anglo-Russian Difficulty' was the title of the leader two days later. (4) It showed a 'toning down' of the alarms felt in the Colony. Immediate declaration of war was improbable. The passing of every day's delay afforded better prospects for negotiations which would lead to the maintenance of peace. However, the general opinion of England was reported to have felt that the crisis had not yet passed and that, so far as Russia's intentions were concerned, indications were by no means favourable. The paper then envisaged the possibility of a general European war. The Russians probably realised that England was a very strong nation and would, no doubt, remember that Germany was not on her side. Yet, a war between England and Russia could involve Germany and then France might take sides against the invaders of 1871. Based on the conviction that, if there was to be war, it would not be confined to Afghanistan, the paper attacked the government over lack of defence preparedness.

The government at length condescended to give a few moments attention to the subject of our defences. That they should have remained inactive speaks well for the placidity of their temperaments, but ill for their sense of responsibility. There is no real cause of alarm, if only those at the head of affairs do what is required of them.

The paper then proceeded with clamouring for a strict lookout to be kept, for putting Protector and other vessels on war footing, for patrols in the Gulf, for securing the coal storage at Wallaroo and for preparations to have the military force effective at a moment's notice. It pointed out that the Queensland defence force had been called out and were to be stationed at the Lytton Defence Fortifications; why was not the same done here?

At the same time a sub-leader informed the public about what had been done in the Colony: defence preparations at Glenelg, the torpedo defence (the firm of Simpson & Son were to make the cases for the torpedoes to be connected to a boom), the white light on the top of the Post Office tower, preparation of coaling facilities for the Imperial fleet, signalling arrangements along the coast, patrolling of the coast, augmentation of the cavalry by mounted police troopers.

The following leader was headed 'Extensive War Preparations'. (5) Russia was massing 70,000 in addition to the 30,000 forming General Kormaroff's army at Pendjeh. Britain was ready to occupy the passes with 25,000 troops. The navy of Russia was comparatively strong and in one respect superior to the British: there were no less than 117 Russian torpedo boats on the stations in the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea and in Siberian waters.

On 17. 4.1885 the Register's leader (6) was headed, 'Prospects of Peace' and the Observer's leader on 20. 5.86 was, 'War Prospects and Defences'. (7) After discussing the alarm practices of that week, the papers spoke of the way the Russian attack would take

place. 'Who imagines that the Russians... would choose some fine bright day when they may be seen 20 miles off... The Russians will come at midnight in a stormy dark night and there will be a midnight alarm'. On 21. 4.85 the 'Register' asked, 'Is War inevitable?' (8) On the next day the headline was, 'The Approaching War with Russia'. Negotiations with Britain had broken down for the third time. Britain was said to have voted £11,000,000 war credits and was nearly ready for war and Russia was completely ready. The captions of the leading articles in the 'Register' for the following few days were, 'The Prospect of War', (9) 'Peace Prospects Dwindling Daily', (10) 'A Forlorn Hope of Peace' (11) and the very important leader, 'The Approaching Declaration of War'. (12) This particular leader in the 'Register' is historically significant because it contained perhaps the first clear-cut identification of South Australian with English interests. "... the Russians must not, in any case, be allowed to occupy the mountains contiguous to our Indian frontier^{*}". The gravity of the situation was felt by the South Australians as acutely as by the citizens in Great Britain.

"We, at this remote part of the Queen's dominions, are moved by the same hopes and fears and respond to the same incitements to patriotism as influence our fellow subjects in Great Britain."

The tone of the press had undergone a subtle change over the course of a fortnight. What had begun with acute fears for the safety of the colonies - they were actually somewhat discounted by one very sober appreciation (13) - and with very practical suggestions to improve defence preparations, now became a British family affair. The press made the point quite clear. In the past, the only experience of Empire were the advantages attached to the association with England, but "... we shall swallow the bitter pill... and prove ourselves ready to take part in the perils as well as the privileges of our position as

* Author's Italics

an integral part of the Empire'.

The peak of the scare was reached early in May. (14)

'Preparing to Strike' was the heading of the leader in the 'Register'. The British Channel fleet was reported to have sailed with firing orders. The next day 'Painful Suspense' allowed for the possibility that there might not be war after all. 'Can it be that the attitude of the British people is causing Russia to hesitate before taking the final plunge into war?'

From 4th May peace prospects became brighter and brighter and with the leader on 13th May, 'Two Wars abandoned', the war scare of 1885 had come to an end. (15)

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8. R.21. 4.1885
9. R.25. 4.1885
10. R.27. 4.1885
11. R.28. 4.1885
12. R.29. 4.1885
13. R.17. 4.1885
14. R. 2. 5; 3. 5.1885
15. R. 4. 5.1885

APPENDIX HSCHEDULE OF NAVAL TRAINING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

1888.
(CSC/I/1052/1888)

<u>A.M.</u>	05.00	Hammocks stowed, breakfast	
	06.00 -08.00	Cleaning decks, woodwork and brass	
	08.00 -08.45	Cleaning guns and arms	
	09.00 -09.15	Clear decks for inspection	
	09.15 -12.00	Inspection followed by naval drill	
	12.00	Dinner	
<u>P.M.</u>	1.15	Hands fall in, drill	
	4.00	Supper	
	4.30	Clear up decks	
	4.45	Evening quarters, boats hoisted up	
	5.00	Leave to "one" watch	
	8.00	Hammocks piped down	
	9.00	Rounds	
Monday	1, 2, 3 <u>A.M.</u>	gun crews, gun drill boys, drill (seamanship)	<u>P.M.</u> 4, 5, 6 gun crews, small arms drill and cutlass instruction
Tuesday		Reserved	
Wednesday		Magazine and shell room men drill boys, gun drill	Boat drill
Thursday		Rifle company landing drill	General leave for ship's company
Friday		General quarters (active) drill	Field guns landed for drill
Saturday		Ships cleaning throughout	
Sunday		General leave for ship's company	

APPENDIX H

NAVAL
RATES OF PAY
(0. 28.3.1885)

Permanent Force

Commandant	£600 per annum	Engine Room Artificer	9/- per day
S/Lieutenant	£350	Chief Petty Officer	7/-
Lieutenant	£280	Petty Officer, Instructor,	
C/Engineer	£350	Leading Stoker	6/-
Second Engineer	£250	Stoker, Able Seaman	5/-
Warrant Officer	£225	Ordinary Seaman	3/-
Accounting Officer	£180	Boys	1/-
		Cook's Mate	8/-
		Cook, Steward, Servant	6/-

Naval Reserve

Lieutenant	£1 per daily drill
Warrant Officer	12/-
Petty Officer	6/-
Efficient Man	5/-
Recruit till passed efficient	4/-

APPENDIX IL. C. P. No. 12 of 2nd August, 1854

Returns of Arms, Ammunition, etc.

Proceedings of a Board specially assembled to ascertain
the State of Ordnance in South Australia.President : Capt. (Bt. Maj.) E. Moore, 11th Regt.
T. Gilbert, Esq., Colonial Storekeeper
Capt. E. Warburton, Commissioner of Police(1) Accoutrements

Items	Service- able	Repair- able	U/S	Remarks
Belts, Bayonet	644			500 ex Sydney 1847 144 ex U.K.
Belts, Drummer	4			
Belts, Pouch	569			500 ex Sydney 1847 69 ex U.K.
Belts, Waist	500			500 ex Sydney 1847
Slings, Musket	569			500 ex Sydney 1847 69 ex U.K.
Drums, brass & sticks	2	2		Require new heads
Plates, Breast	501			
Prickers and Brushes	72			
Pouches, Musket	500			
Scabbards, sword			59	Recommend for sale
" bayonet, musket	548			500 ex Sydney 1847 14 Sappers & Miners 34 ex U.K.
" " carbine	90			
" " fusee	1			Sgt. Sappers

(2) Arms

Items	Service-able	Repair-able	U/S	Remarks
Barrels, gun	5			No stocks
Bayonets, musket, flint	579			500 ex Sydney 1847 14 Sappers 65 ex U.K.
Bayonets, carbine, percussion	260			
Bayonets, fusee	1			Sgt. Sappers
Carbines, percussion	24	31	39	Use to repair 31 rep.
" flint	1			
Fusee, flint (Light Flintlock)	1			
Flints, musket, boxes	4			
Muskets, flint	514			500 ex Sydney 1847 14 Sappers & Miners
Moulds, bullet, carbine	42			
" " " , large	3			
Pistol, percussion		1		
Ramrods, spare	10			
Screws, nipple and turn	45			
Swords		34	17	17 to be sold
Sticks, rocket 1 lb.	25			
" " ½ lb.	25			
Ammunition for above	nil.	-	-	

(3) Ordnance (This was in charge of the Police Commissioner)

Guns, 2 x 6 pdr., limber, ammunition waggon
 Howitzer 2 x 12 pdr. " " "
 Mortars 2 x 4 2/5", beds and quoins
 Round shot, strapped, 6 pdr. 480 rds.
 Case shot, , 6 pdr. 120 rds.
 Cannon shot, strapped, 12 pdr. 480 rds.
 Case shot, , 12 pdr. 120 rds.
 Shells, mortar 579

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENTS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Designation	Strength			Departure	Return	Casualties		Uniforms & Remarks
	Off	Ors.	Horses			Dead	Wounded	
1st Contingent Mounted Rifles	5	121	12	2.10.1899 <u>Medic</u>	30.11.1900 <u>Harlech Castle</u>	2/7	-/26	Raised as infantry but later mounted Brown fd. service. Hat, Kh-furfelt Shoulder Title: S.A.
2nd Contingent Mounted Rifles	6	112	120	26.1.1900 <u>Survey</u>	12.5.1901 15.5.1901 (Disbanded)	-/4	-/13	Uniforms as above, Shoulder Title: SAMR.
3rd Contingent "South Australian Bushmen"	6	93	100	27.1.1900 <u>Maplemore</u>	25.6.1901 <u>Morayshire</u>	1/4	4/25	Uniform similar to above. Shoulder Title: SAB/AUSTRALIA. (vide App. K1).
4th Contingent "Imperial Bushmen Corps"	12	222	240	1.5.1900 <u>Manhattan</u>	27.7.1901 <u>Britanic</u> 30.7.1901 (Disbanded)	-/13	3/65	Uniforms as for 1st & 2nd Contingent. Shoulder Title: I.B.C. Two officers struck off the role.

NOTE: The first and second contingents wore a Kangaroo's head on the side of the hats and the 3rd contingent a Lion's head.

Sources: (1) R. Gray, Glengowrie, South Australia.
(2) E.G. Blackmore, The Story of the South Australian Bushmen's Corps 1900, Adelaide, 1900.

RATES OF PAY OF S.A. CONTINGENTS TO THE BOER WAR

Contgt.	Rank	S.A. Ship	Africa Foot	* Mounted	Gratuity	
1st	Major Captain Lieutenant Sgt/Major Sergeant Corporal L/Corporal Trooper	25/- 20/- 16/- 9/- 8/- 7/- 5/- 5/-	- 8/5 9/6 6/- 5/8 5/- 3/9 3/10	- 7/- 8/4 4/8 5/4 5/4 3/10 4/-		* Balance made up by Imp. Government also called colonial allowance
2nd	Major Captain Lieutenant Sgt/Maj. Sergeant Corporal L/Corporal Trooper	25/- 20/- 16/- 9/- 8/- 7/- 5/- 5/-		11/5 7/- 4/8 5/4 5/- 3/10 3/10	£80 £60 £37.10.0 £12.10.0 £10. 0.0 £ 7.10.0 £ 6. 5.0 £ 5. 0.0	+ 3/6 Field Allowance + 3/- " " Each rank received 25/- civilian clothing allowance on discharge
3rd	Captain Lieutenant Sgt/Major Sergeant Corporal Trooper	13/- 7/8 4/- 2/8 2/- 1/2		10/6 11/4 5/- 5/4 5/- 3/4		Each rank was issued for £250 on death
4th	It. Col. Major Captain Lieutenant Sgt/Major Sergeant Corporal L/Corporal Trooper	23/- 21/- 19/- 9/10 6/4 6/- 5/- 2/6 2/6		25/- 23/- 21/- 15/- 7/- 6/- 5/- 3/6 3/6		+ 4/- Field Allowance + 4/- Field Allowance + 3/- " " + 3/- " " + 1/- " " <u>Note</u> : There was also a separation allowance

APPENDIX J2EQUIPMENT ISSUED TO SOUTH AUSTRALIANCONTINGENTS TO BOER WAR

Uniform :	1 Loose jacket. Khaki.	2 Pairs pants. Strapped
	1 Tunic. Khaki	at knees with chamois.
	2 Pairs Boots	1 Field Service Cap
	1 Greatcoat	1 Pair putties
	1 Felt hat	2 Pairs socks
	1 Pair of leather leggings	1 Pair braces
	1 Dungaree suit	1 Towel
	2 Cholera belts	1 Pair sandshoes
	2 Pairs underpants	2 Shirts
	1 Pair blankets	Razor, strop, soap,
	1 Knife and sheath	brush and comb
	1 Waterproof sheet	1 Knife, fork & spoon.
	1 Wire cutting plyers.	
<u>Horse furniture</u> :	1 Riding saddle	1 Headstall bridle
	1 Kitbag	1 Neck waterbag
	1 Nosebag	1 Surcingle
	1 Mess tin & straps	1 Head rope
	2 Heel ropes	1 Canvas horse sheet
	1 Rug	2 Rack chains
	1 Currycomb	1 Pair spurs & straps.
	1 Girth (wide) Kangaroo hide.	

Note : 1. Contractors for Horse Equipment

Holden and Frost,

John Colton & Co.,

Contractors for Uniforms and Personal Kit

Shierlaw & Co.

2. Sources : As in Appendix J.

ORGANISATION OF SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Cont.	Sqd. Coy	L/Col.	Maj.	Capt.	MO Capt	Lt	VO Lt	WO	Sgt	Sgt Fr	Sgt C	Sgt B	Cpl	Cpl Fr	L/Cpl	Trp	B	Fr	Sad	Total
1	Coy	-	-	1	1	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	5	-	6	105	1	-	-	5/121
2	Sqd	-	-	1	-	4	1	1	7	-	-	-	6	-	6	89	1	1	1	6/112
3	Sqd	-	-	1	1*	3	1	1	4	1	1*	1*	3	-	-	82	-	-	-	6/93
4	A Sq	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	7	-	-	-	6	-	6	80	3	3	3	4/109
	B Sq	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	7	-	-	-	6	-	6	80	3	3	3	4/109
	Rgt Stf	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	4/8

Notes : (1) Abbreviations : SGD - Squadron, L/Col - Lieutenant Colonel
 COY - Company, Maj - Major, Lt. - Lieutenant
 MO - Medical Officer, VO - Veterinary Officer
 Capt - Captain, WO - Sergeant Major
 Sgt - Sergeant, Fr - Farrier, C - Cook, B - Bugler
 Cpl - Corporal, L/Cpl - Lance Corporal, Trp - Troops
 Sad - Saddler, Rgt. Stf - Regimental Staff

(2) * These appointments were at a lower rank.

(3) Formations : 1st Contingent became part of 1st Australian Regiment
 commanded by Colonel J.C. Hoad
 2nd Contingent formed part of First Mounted Infantry
 Brigade commanded by Maj. Gen. E.T.H. Hutton.
 3rd Contingent formed part of a complete regiment
 together with NSW and Tasmanian Squadrons and served
 in Rhodesia with Lord Methuen's Division.
 4th Contingent, the two S.A. squadrons together with one
 each from W.A. and Tasmania formed an Australian
 Regiment commanded by Lt. Col. Rowell.

APPENDIX J4BAGGAGE TRAIN OF 1ST SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENTTO BOER WAR

<u>Transport Waggon No. 1</u>	11' x 6'	with or without wheels
	5' high	with wheels
	3'9" high	without wheels
	1 ton	unloaded
	2½ tons	loaded
	380 cu. ft.	without wheels
No. 2	9½' x 6'	with wheels
	8' x 6'	without wheels
	5' high	with wheels
	3' high	without wheels
	8 cwt.	unloaded
	1¼ to	loaded
	300 cu. ft.	without wheels
<u>Water cart</u>	6' x 6'	with or without wheels
	6' high	with wheels
	3'6" high	without wheels
	12 cwt.	loaded ?
	140 cu. ft.	without wheels

Source : Telegram from C.C. Kingston to Premier of Victoria,
18.10.1899.

COST ESTIMATE OF TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATIONSBETWEEN ADELAIDE AND ITS APPROACHES

(Charles Todd, CSC/I/230/65)

Two plans were suggested for connecting Normanville with the Approaches (Part A) and one for Glenelg with Troubridge Shoal (Part B)

PART A Plan 1

Line from Normanville to Backstairs Passage	£	880
13 miles submarine cable at £145/mile		1885
Landline from Auto-Chamber Bay Cape Willoughby		250
" " Cape Willoughby to Cape Borda		5600
Spare lightwire, switches etc.		130
		<hr/>
	£	8745
	say £	<u>9000</u>

Plan 2

The connection to proceed via Rapid Bay, Kingscote to Cape Borda with a separate line to Cape Willoughby.

Land Sections

Line from Normanville to Backstairs Passage (2 wires as far as Rapid Bay)	£	950
Kingscote to Cape Borda		3500
Ante-Chamber Bay to Cape Willoughby		250
		<hr/>
	£	4700

Submarine Section

Rapid Bay to Kingscote, 35 miles at £145/mile	£	5075
Across Backstairs Passage to Ante-Chamber Bay 13 miles at £145 mile (including slack)		1885
		<hr/>
		6960
	£	13660
	say £	<u>14000</u>

PART B

Glenelg to Troubridge Shoal, 38 miles at £145/mile plus batteries and switches at £290	£	5800
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TOTAL	Plan 1 of Part A + Part B	£14800
	Plan 2 of Part A + Part B	£19800
		<hr/>

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN PACIFIC FROM 1853 ONWARDS

The tabulation shown below lists the principal events in the Pacific commencing with the French annexation of Tahiti in 1841.

1853	France occupies New Caledonia
1863	France declares New Caledonia a colony
1874	Fiji annexed by Great Britain
1875	Carolines annexed by Spain
1876	Germany gains exclusive rights in Tonga
1878	United States of America establishes a base on Pago Pago
1879	Germany and Great Britain acquire special rights in Samoa
1880	France established on Tahiti
1881	Rotuma becomes British
1882	Raiatea becomes French
1883	Great Britain and France reach an understanding in the New Hebrides
1884	Germany annexes Bismarck Archipelago and Northern part of New Guinea
1884	Great Britain annexes Southern New Guinea
1885	Germany established on Uap and Marshalls
1886	France gains military bases in New Hebrides
1887	France gains Wallis Island
	Great Britain occupies Christmas Islands
1892	Great Britain occupies Gilberts and Ellice Islands
1893	Great Britain established on Solomons
1898	United States of America annexes Guam, Phillipines, Wake Island
1899	Britain withdraws from Samoa, leaving United States of America and Germany in sole possession
1900	Tonga becomes British

SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

'It must come one day no matter how tightly we close our eyes that Australians united in one firmly compacted yet elastic Federation become members of a free country owing allegiance to no one...

Then it will be well for them to be surrounded by people allied to them by the ties of kinship and brotherhoos' .

Observer, 24th January, 1885 (1)

Fiji is again for sale or to let... and if there was any trace of Imperialism left in the creed of Downing Street, Fiji would certainly be treated as an Imperial question .

Observer, 2nd July, 1870 (2)

This event (annexation of Fiji) was an early indication that small as the influence of the Australian colonies might be, Australian opinion could not be ignored by those with interests in the Pacific' .

W.I. Levi, 1958 (3)

The colonies were reminded that... the British authorities would have nothing to do with an Australian Monroe doctrine .

Cambridge History of the British Empire (4)

The agitation in 1867 for the annexation of Fiji, rather more active in New South Wales and Victoria than in South Australia, was perhaps the first occasion on which some public opinion was expressed in the Colony towards some form of combined colonial effort outside the territorial waters of the continent. Fiji was on the key route of American commercial advance. France was less of a commercial rival but was politically in the ascendancy. The North German Federation had to be reckoned with. 'Now is the time for the British Government to redeem former blunders in the Pacific' was the cry that went up in the colonies. (5)

However, South Australians were not particularly concerned about Fiji and barely reported the lobbying activities of the Reverends Dr. Langham and William Moore of the Wesleyan Mission, who

in the late sixties were very anxious to have British sovereignty extended. (6) The South Australian press was quite adamant that the Colony had no business to get herself mixed up in such 'questionable colonial adventures'. (7) A year later, however, the tune began to change. If Fiji was worth coveting by the Americans, who were prepared to secure a foothold by means of large mortgages, (8) then it would be equally tempting for Australia to do the same. The press appeared to surround itself with a cloak of self-righteousness by advancing the idea that, because the missionaries had laid the foundations for civilisation and 'had won the affection of the natives for the English Crown', these 'valuable' islands should not be allowed to fall into non-British hands. The whole blame was, naturally, put onto the Colonial Office. "If Downing Street knows no better, the Australian colonies ought to enlighten it or to take action on their own account". South Australians saw the whole affair as a commercial proposition and blamed Britain for letting American competition getting a foothold in what they felt was an Australian sphere of influence. After it had become known that the German residents in the Pacific area had petitioned Bismark to annex the islands, the Australians felt something should be done to prevent the area from becoming some non-British power's territory. A resolution to that effect was passed at the 1870 Inter-Colonial Conference. (9) It was, probably, on this occasion that the first stirrings in South Australia, however faint, of an Australian Monroe Doctrine became evident, directed exclusively against Germany: the naval increase of her China station was thought to be significant, while France was discounted as a rival, particularly a commercial one. (10)

When the Americans secured a foothold in the Samoa and Navigator Islands, the Observer sounded a warning that this step might entice other nations to do the same. (11) In 1873 the whole

question of British annexation in the Pacific was re-opened in connection with the proceedings of the 1873 Inter-Colonial Conference. The Conference itself did not pay overmuch attention to the annexation of Fiji (12) but the South Australian Observer devoted two leading articles to the question. It was the old theme: Britain had lost the opportunity of securing the area. (12) The Earl of Kimberley had flatly refused to commit British forces to maintain law and order (13) but apparently suggested that Britain would not oppose an annexation of the islands by New South Wales, provided, of course, that this Colony would bear all expenses. (14) The Observer thought this a niggardly and parsimonious attitude on the part of Britain, because 'the case of Fiji [was] not a Colonial but an Imperial question'. In other words, South Australians were all for Empire, provided no expense was involved. The press kept on reporting the continued disturbances in Fiji (15) but after the very Imperialistic outburst in 1873, seemed to revert to an attitude of disinterest in matters Imperial, particularly after Fiji had become a Crown Colony in 1874. (16)

If South Australia was completely disinterested in the annexation of Fiji, the story was somewhat different in the case of New Guinea. The explorers Yule and Moresby had, at different times (1845 and 1873), taken possession of parts of the East coast of the island, but this action had never been ratified. In 1867 a private organisation, the New Guinea Company, had been formed. In 1874 a New Guinea Colonising Association of London saw the light of day. (17) Following representations made by an Australian-born barrister, F.P. Labilliere, the Earl of Carnarvon, then Colonial Secretary, took the unusual step of circulating Labilliere's correspondence to the Australian governors requesting their views on the matter. The governors themselves were somewhat sceptical about the strength of Australian feeling about annexation, although their premiers appeared

to be quite interested in the idea. The premier of New South Wales, for instance, wanted New Britain, New Ireland, the New Hebrides, the Marshall, Gilbert and Ellice Islands annexed as well, but thought that it was probably 'too large a portion of the Pacific for the British lion to digest at a single meal'. (18)

The opinion in South Australia differed. The Observer objected to annexation after agreeing that '... it would be much better, wiser and more dignified for the British Government to forestall rather than to lag behind British immigrants...' and that Britain ought to maintain control of the Torres Straits. It was, nevertheless, made quite clear that, owing to the little commercial value to be gained from the venture, annexation was really quite unnecessary. 'We deprecate the idea of simply taking possession of it [New Guinea] to keep off other claimants'. (19)

The Legislative Council saw the matter in a different light. The Chief-Secretary, William Morgan, ^{later Sir William Morgan} was all for annexation, pointing out that South Australian commerce to the East may be impaired if a hostile power was in possession of New Guinea. Sir Henry Ayers agreed, with a sly dig at Morgan's interests in New Caledonia. The Council finally consented to participate together with Victoria, Queensland and New South Wales in an address to the Queen, petitioning her to annexe the island. (20)

The question was given only little attention in the House of Assembly where the matter was seen not so much as a commercial proposition, but rather as an Imperial and even a radical problem; South Australians did not want to have a power in New Guinea whose way of life was diametrically opposed to their own. (21) The Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, advised Carnarvon of the outcome of the debate adding on the rider 'I have no reason to suppose the desire of the Legislature ... to be sufficiently strong to induce them to provide

for any portion of the expense of such a course'. (22)

The British Government took notice and in reply to further representations from New South Wales referred to the precedent of Fiji. In that instance, the Australian colonies, except for New South Wales, had been unwilling to make a financial contribution. Would they, as a general principle, do so in the case of New Guinea and other Pacific territories? (23) The answers were either evasive or negative and Carnarvon then closed the matter by pointing out that the annexation is primarily of interest to the Australians - the Australians, of course, saw it the other way around - and that therefore, English people could not be persuaded to sanction annexation, unless a foreign power contemplated such a move. 'This it would not do without notifying Great Britain and in any case such an action was inconceivable because British and Australian long range intentions in the area were well known'. (24)

The English view was fully supported by the South Australian press. (25) The Observer also very piously suggested that trade and colonisation should follow the flag, that is, after an efficient administration had been established. Only under such conditions, 'a good impression could be made on the natives and their total destruction be prevented'. (26) In other words, South Australians felt no danger from that quarter and secondly, did not show any frontier spirit as far as the big island to the North was concerned.

In 1880 the South Australian press began to change its tune. The French attempted a settlement at Port Praslin on the Southern tip of New Ireland. The Observer quoting this incident and also pointing to German activities in the area, suggested that the Australian colonies should bear some proportion of the expenditure which might be incurred should Britain decide to annex New Guinea. (27) The question of who ruled the Pacific had become vital to Australians. (28)

Foreign powers, while far away, did not cause a great deal of concern except for the odd panics. As soon as they became persistently present, Australians began to feel uncomfortable and appeared to have some doubts about the omnipotence of the British navy to protect them. In addition, having a power like Germany on their doorsteps was a military rather than a naval problem and it is perhaps not surprising that Australians, probably quite unconsciously began to appreciate that they were living in the age of Bismarck. Some Australians such as Labilliere or Sir Thomas McIlwraith and the members of the Royal Colonial Institute certainly were conscious of it, but the English Government was not. McIlwraith offered to bear the expense of annexation of New Guinea, but before a reply was received, he acted; possibly he had become alarmed at the news of the departure for the islands of the German corvette Carola. (29) On his instructions the Queensland Government Resident Magistrate on Thursday Island, one H.M. Chester, proceeded to Port Moresby where he hoisted the Union Flag on 4th April, 1883, (30) an action which was promptly repudiated by Great Britain. (31)

Before the whole question of the sovereignty of the islands to the north of Australia was discussed at the Inter-Colonial Conference in December 1883, the Australians agreed to a joint colonial memorandum to be submitted by the agents-general to the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Colonies, (32) demanding that both New Guinea and the New Hebrides become part of the British Empire. Just before the memorandum was submitted, the South Australian agent, Sir Arthur Blythe, was instructed, contrary to earlier orders to dissociate South Australia from the joint memorandum. (33)

While this dissociation was quietly ignored at the Conference except for a brief reference in one of the exhibits, (34) South Australia's position was hotly debated in the Colony and treated with

some contempt in Britain. The official explanation was that the dissociation referred to the New Hebrides only, and that South Australia would stand by the 1875 resolution regarding the desirability of New Guinea being British. (35) But then the Register reported from the Melbourne "Argus" the allegation that the South Australian Government was influenced in its decision to dissociate from the protest memorandum, by Sir William Morgan, a partner of the firms Morgan and Nephew and Morgan Brothers. (36) The "Argus" report was written under the pseudonym "Vagabond", and asserted that the two firms were interested in land speculations - this is also suggested by W.P. Morrell - and in all sorts of other ventures. The speculators 'did not care who owns it [the land] ... any flag serves for money-making purposes in these seas ...'

"Vagabond" then suggested that French annexation would not only provide cheap labour for New Caledonia but would also take care of the French habitual criminals, the recidivistes: 25% would die of fever, 25% be killed by the natives, 25% escape to Australia and the remainder would clear the land. (37)

If the "Argus" report created a furore in the South Australian legislature, an article in the "Australasian" helped to stoke the political flames to white heat. (38)

The Australasian drew the attention of its readers to the difficulty of persuading South Australia to participate in joint colonial actions. While this had always been the case, it was far more obvious on this occasion. Particular pressure had been exerted. Mr. Service, the Premier of Victoria, made the point that the 1847 agreement with France was not only obsolete but had in fact been repudiated by France when she had annexed some of the islands. It was for this reason that the colonies wanted to exert pressure on England and not to embarrass her politically, as South Australia

appeared to interpret the joint action. The paper felt that C.J. Bray, the Premier of South Australia, could safely leave Imperial political questions to the British Government just as the other colonies had done and that under these circumstances Mr. Bray might perhaps join the other colonies after all in urging Great Britain to annex; but, the Australasian suggested rather whimsically 'to this the answer is that the other premiers had not a Mr. Tomkinson to deal with, who has made this question his own, has appealed to local feelings and provincial narrowness and has by so doing terrorised the premier into helplessly following his lead'. (39)

In England, where Morgan, now Sir William, was resident at that time, the change in the South Australian attitude was also attributed to him. Naturally, any influence by Sir William was hotly denied by the South Australian politicians and in the absence of any direct evidence, the allegation of improper influence on the government must be dismissed as unfounded. In the South Australian legislature one member, Ward, led an attack on the government over this matter. (40) He may have known by that time that the British Government had already declined to take any action (41) and he may also have known, although this is improbable, that the Colonial Office was wondering just how genuine the original South Australian protest was. 'South Australia is rather ambiguous and probably wish for Imperial and Queensland role in New Guinea ... possibly they mean joint control'. (42) The Premier, C.J. Bray, refuted in very strong terms Ward's assertion; in particular, he objected strongly to the lobbying by Service, the premier of Victoria, with Ward and presumably other members of the legislature. His points were that if the agents-general protest led to joint control, South Australia could not participate, because of cost, and in any case the benefits would mainly flow to New South Wales, which had at that time had built up a

2½ million pound trade with the islands. Playford tried to inject a tone of moderation into the debate by suggesting that the government did not want to embarrass England by forcing her to break the 1847 treaty with France. The validity of the argument was a few days later queried by Ward when he referred to the recent annexation moves by France. Tomkinson, the radical, saw the whole matter as a rivalry between McIlwraith and Service, the former having a K.C.M.G. and the latter wanting one. (43)

One gains the impression that the somewhat sanctimonious reliance on the British to do what is right and that, consequently, it would be improper for South Australia to do anything which might embarrass the Imperial Government was used as an excuse to stand aloof from something which smacked of a federal action. Bray's words, in fact, suggest just this. After saying that 'the colonies as a whole were going too far too fast' he alleged that they were 'subordinating Imperial to Colonial interests and assuming an incapacity or an unwillingness on the part of Great Britain to defend us from the evils we dread'. (44)

The Colonial Office did not award any marks for the support they so unexpectedly received from South Australia. It was kept informed of the debate by the governor who appeared to have championed Bray's stand to his own detriment. (45) In a letter to the Earl of Derby, Sir William Robinson claimed that he was able to exercise a moderating influence on C.J. Bray at a time 'when other colonies were acting under excitement and sending home telegrams of an embarrassing nature'. (46) Robinson continued to exercise the same influence on Colton, Bray's successor, particularly shortly before the German annexation of New Guinea. This sort of political activity incurred some form of censure on the part of Sir Robert Herbert, the Permanent Under-Secretary, because the governor's actions were seen as somewhat

unconstitutional and could be interpreted as interference in the internal politics of a self-governing colony.

The marginal notes on the correspondence (47) show that the Colonial Office did not altogether accept Bray's protestations that Morgan had no longer any connection whatsoever with the South Australian Government, and that the government opposed Morgan's schemes for employment of French convicts in the New Hebrides.

Sir John Bramston (Assistant Under-Secretary)

'The South Australian Government have been charged with declining to co-operate with other Government, in consequence of the persuasions of Sir William Morgan .

Sir Robert Meade (Under-Secretary)

'Sir William Morgan, if this is true, prefers his pocket to his Country. I conclude he has no intention of becoming Premier again in South Australia .

Sir Robert Herbert (Permanent Under-Secretary)

South Australia is apparently uneasy. It is freely stated that the action to withdraw the Agent-General from joining the other Colonies was entirely due to Mr. Morgan's influence. He is said to have large speculations in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides and to be employing French convicts assigned to him by the French Government at a penny per day, a rate for which there is a precedent in the New Testament, but which does not prevail under the British Flag .

It must not be imagined that the somewhat "fishy" episode had any serious repercussions during the Inter-Colonial Conference in December 1883. South Australia had officially endorsed McIlwraith's action and on 5th December, 1883, joined the other colonies in a resolution that all of New Guinea not under Dutch Administration should be incorporated in the Empire (Resolution No. 3) and that sharing the cost of maintaining British sovereignty would be recommended to the respective legislatures (Resolution No. 5). (48)

Britain heeded the pressure from Australia but at the same time had to make some concessions to Germany. The outcome was that

both the German and British protectorates were proclaimed on 3rd and 6th November, 1884, respectively. (49)

If South Australia was somewhat indifferent to the question of annexing New Guinea in 1883/4, she dissociated itself even further from the Australian support for the British administration of New Guinea as time went by. In 1885 the legislative council debated hotly whether or not the South Australian contribution of £1560 towards the Australian share of £15,000 in the New Guinea administration costs should be paid. This amount was only provisionally placed on the estimates; in fact, Major-General Sir Peter Scratchley, the Imperial Administrator, had been warned not to expect this money, leave alone any more from South Australia without supplying more information on how the funds were spent. (50)

(Actually, South Australia did pay one contribution of £1525. (51)) Tomkinson, the radical, used the occasion to stress the "foolishness" of the colonial venture which was only of benefit to McIlwraith, now in the position of importing cheap labour. (52) The motion to delete the amount from the estimates was withdrawn because it would have appeared as an act of bad faith; however, this did not deter the South Australian Government from withdrawing its support completely in 1886. (53)

South Australia's attitude to British sovereignty in New Guinea was probably due to a failure to appreciate the strategic significance of the island and the commercial society only saw the disadvantages which would accrue from sharing in the expenses of maintaining the British administration because only Queensland was likely to derive any direct benefits.

Similarly, when the New Hebrides question came up, South Australia dissociated herself almost completely from the early federal moves. In some respects, the New Hebrides question was more

meaningful to South Australians than the New Guinea problem: the French were close and considerable pressure was brought to bear by religious organisations, mainly the Presbyterian Church. In addition, quite a few South Australians saw in the New Hebrides an area of economical advantages, which the British did not. Imperial interests in the Pacific were seen in Australia as something affecting the Australian mainland, the British took the global view. Deakin stated the Australian viewpoint most vehemently in 1887 by urging the Imperial Conference to accept the fact that it was the colonial view which should define Imperial interests in the Pacific. The British did not agree and as in the case of New Caledonia, were not prepared to let the New Hebrides question further aggravate the already disturbed state of Anglo-French relations. Albinski claims that there were, at the time, indignant Australians who suggested that if Australia made war on France over the New Hebrides, the peace of Europe might be disturbed. If Britain did not help Australia, the colonies would throw themselves into the arms of the United States of America, and this move would turn the Pacific into a United States lake. (53) Britain, however, was not unduly worried. 'Lord Derby secure in his bed ... was not easily disturbed ... by ... the telegraphic groans from his antipodes.' (55)

Australia's interest in the New Hebrides was stimulated by the activities of the religious pressure groups, supporting the British missionaries in the New Hebrides. These missionaries had been very active in the area practically right through the century, supported by the Presbyterian Churches in Canada, Victoria, Tasmania and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. (56) Enough spade work had been done in the islands to prepare the area for British sovereignty. But this was not to be; instead, a power struggle developed, not so much between states, but rather in the form of a contest between

pressure groups and private interests.

The principal players in this drama which had strange links with South Australia were a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Dr. J.G. Paton, the former South Australian politician Sir William Morgan, one time chief-secretary and premier, and, finally, the Anglo-Frenchman, John Higginson.

The Reverend Dr. J.G. Paton was a missionary. Born on 24th May, 1824 at Kirkmahoe, Dumfries, Scotland, he was ordained in the Reformed Church of Scotland in 1857 and sailed for the New Hebrides in 1858 where he established a mission on Tanna. In 1863 he returned to Scotland, where he was appointed Moderator of the Church, but after two years came out again to start a mission on Aniwa. He travelled extensively in Australia and New Zealand to raise funds for replacing the wrecked mission ship Dayspring. His last years were spent in Melbourne where he died on 28th January, 1907. (57)

Sir William Morgan was born in Bedfordshire about 1829 and came to South Australia in 1849. He worked in a grocery firm, spent some time, unsuccessfully at the Victorian gold diggings and entered politics through the Legislative Council in 1867. He was chief-secretary in the second and fourth Boucaut ministries and in 1878 became premier and chief-secretary. He resigned in 1881 to devote himself to his private business interests, mainly his partnerships in the New Caledonian mining ventures. He died in England on 2nd November, 1883. (58)

John Higginson was born at Hitchin, Hertfordshire, in 1838 and settled in Noumea. In 1871 he was approached by a Melbourne syndicate in the matter of land purchases in the New Hebrides to force the British Government's hand on the question of annexation. This he refused to do because he considered the islands to be a natural annex

of New Caledonia, and as an outlet for convicts who might take up land there. In 1876 he became a French subject. This did not deter Higginson, an almost professional business promoter, to form a partnership with the Morgan brothers - one of them was Sir William - for the exploration of New Caledonian mineral wealth, mainly nickel. (59) Politically, however, Higginson never deviated from the view that the New Hebrides should be a French protectorate, which became a temporary reality in November 1882 over some of the islands.

Dr. Paton had long before begun a protest movement. He raised his objections to French sovereignty over the islands on political, economic and religious grounds. (60) The details do not concern us here, except perhaps, for the highly efficient way this classical Imperialist rallied public opinion to support his cause. In the first place, he organised an appeal for protection from the natives of some of the islands to the Great Chief in Sydney. (61) Secondly, he organised his co-religionists in Victoria and in South Australia to submit petitions for British annexation. In South Australia, the Reverend James Lyall of the Foreign Mission Committee, Presbyterian Church of South Australia, asked the governor to forward a petition '... praying Her Majesty to take order that British protection and British Justice be permanently established in the New Hebrides and ... that these islands may be annexed to the British Crown.' The petition pointed to the economic prospects the islands offered, the mission's investment of £170,000 and the hope 'that these islands be spared the fate of a convict station'; (62) not unexpectedly, the Earl of Kimberly rejected the petition. (63)

When the French Government in October 1885, suggested that Britain might consider leaving them 'full liberty of action with New Hebrides in return for an engagement to send no more relegates to these waters and a guarantee to allow British missionaries and traders

full freedom of all activities connected with their callings', (64) the British Government put the French offer to the Australian colonies. Except for New South Wales where the Legislative Council supported the French move, the colonies rejected the suggestion. This time South Australia did not stand aloof, public opinion proved too strong. Dr. Paton and his South Australian colleagues had again been very active in lobbying, mainly with members of the legislature and the ministry. (65) A number of public meetings were held supporting the government's attitude. The speakers made the point that the whole problem was not one of hostility to the French or to the Germans, many of their compatriots living in South Australia as well respected citizens. ^{Rather,} It was a question of seeing the Pacific territories 'in the hands of Lord Derby, incapable as he [was], than of Prince Bismarck', the greatest of modern statesmen'. (66)

The agent-general was instructed to join a deputation by all the other [except New South Wales] representatives demanding that Britain rejected the French proposal. (67) The Observer was jubilant when Britain acquiesced to the Australian demands. The paper called the negotiations in London and Paris 'a Franco-Victorian passage at Diplomatic Arms' giving Victoria full credit for having brought about the 'victorious' result. (68)

The English government was by no means too pleased at the outcome. The English had little interest in the area and were far more concerned with the Suez Canal negotiations and French co-operation in the Middle East and New Foundland. This ~~was~~ born out by Salisbury's attempt to recommend at the Colonial Conference of 1887 that the New Hebrides might advantageously be ceded to France after all, a suggestion promptly nipped in the bud by the Victorian delegates and supported by the other colonies. (69)

The French, by this time had given up any hope of annexing

the New Hebrides. They finally agreed to a mixed naval officers' commission for maintaining law and order and in this manner what might be called an Anglo-French condominium came into existence in January 1886. (70)

The agreement was the first Australian victory in the Pacific and did contribute more towards establishing the principle of national co-operation as far as South Australia was concerned than any other event. From that time onwards the Colony never failed to associate herself in Federal moves. For instance, in 1894 she did not hesitate to join Australia-wide protests against the annexation of Necker Islands (Samoa) by the Republic of Sandwich Islands, because it threatened the security of the proposed Pacific cable. (71) In 1896 South Australia joined the other colonies in their protest against the treaty with Japan. (72)

National co-operation had become a reality through the development of national consciousness and it was this climate which made the purely military co-operation between the colonies more meaningful. The military co-operation was brought about by the conferences of the military and later the naval commandants resulting in the formulations of Federal defence schemes and co-operation with Britain in the establishment of the Federal forts at King George Sound and Thursday Island.

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APPENDIX MUNIFORMS

Scarlet or drab bumper (Norfolk pattern with pockets) with drab pantaloons ... drab felt hat with loop for fastening up on one side ... (1)

The uniform is an integral part of a soldier, without it, he is not a soldier or recognised as such. The South Australian volunteers had quite a number of uniforms during the 19th century, but a detailed discussion of their uniforms is a special study and not within the scope of this work. The reader is referred to a selected bibliography* following this appendix, and it is only proposed to present a short summary of the change in the uniforms from the original stone grey through the period of Imperial scarlet to the utilitarian khaki.

It was always a source of irritation to the serving members and a deterrent to prospective recruits that the government could rarely provide uniforms, particularly as a replacement for worn out clothing. But the government encouraged the members to look after their uniforms by making an ex gratia payment of 30/- to anybody re-engaging provided they brought their uniforms back in good order and condition. (2)

The shape and colour of the uniforms was rarely considered from a utility point of view, but rather, whether the soldiers looked well on parade. So it is not surprising that in 1860 a lengthy debate ensued in South Australia whether the uniform should be stone grey, rather than cinnamon with red piping, cut in the same fashion as that of the British volunteers and with a cap with a leather peak, front and back, and whether the officers' extra uniform should include white trousers and white cap covers. (3) The question was settled in favour of a stone grey colour and the caps were ornamented with a bugle. (4)

* Vide Appendices M1 and M2

It seemed that once a uniform was decided upon within a short span of time, a new pattern was suggested, as was the case, for instance, in 1864 when a new 'garribaldi' scarlet serge shirt (trimmed) was suggested with blue woollen trousers and a scarlet stripe. (5) The new outfit cost £1.17.6 and was purchased in 1865 from the Melbourne firm of Stanley and Nichols (6), a contractor who was not only slow in his deliveries, but also supplied inferior goods. (7) As a result, tenders were called from South Australian firms. Messrs. Birtwhistle and Threllfall, T.G. Brown, Ballentyne and Walker, all quoted within 2/- of each other for captain's, lieutenant's and other ranks' uniforms. The average prices were £6.16.0, £6.11.6, and £3.12.6 respectively. (8) It is strange that there should have been such a difference between the officers and other ranks uniforms, in an almost egalitarian army, where wealth alone was not a prerequisite for soldiers aspiring to a commission.

In the eighties, the government tried to obtain the uniforms on the basis of three year contracts, provided the deliveries in the first year were up to specification, and the material was made of Lobethal tweed. However, some of the South Australian suppliers must have been unsatisfactory. After Shierlaw and Co. had the contract for a year or so (9) Messrs. Bertram and Cornish became the successful tenderers, (10) only to lose the contract due to faulty workmanship to Marshall & Co. (11) By 1890 the cloth supplied from Lobethal had left much to be desired (12) and the price had increased. As a result, the South Australian Woollen Mills were asked in 1891 to supply Messrs. Marshall & Co. with khaki material (13) and no more scarlet uniforms were issued in South Australia, despite the fact that the government had prepared the way for purchasing scarlet uniforms from English suppliers. (14)

The unpaid component of the force always had the more colourful uniforms; the members had the right to make their own selection because they paid for them themselves. The Scottish company naturally wanted the government to provide highland dress and on their first parade exhibited a mixture of Royal Stuart, Hunting Stuart and Black Watch tartans. (15)

In the late seventies the type of uniform best suited for the National Rifle Association companies raised under the Rifle Company Act of 1878 was debated at length. The members from Mt. Gambier and Wallaroo wanted a serge grey. Colonel Downes commented that while he thought the grey colour would be very useful because it would not show stains, blue was a more distinctive colour. He quoted the example of the officers who accompanied Sir Garnet Wolseley. They had been allowed to choose their own dress and they unanimously selected the neat blue Norfolk blouse which ensured freedom of movement of arms and body. There was the problem, however, whether or not they would be allowed to wear dark blue with red facings which were the Royal colours. Distinctive marks for officers were suggested. The captains were to have an Austrian knot with braid and the star and crown on the collar. The first lieutenant, an Austrian knot and the crown and the second lieutenants the Austrian knot and the star. Officers also would have as instripe the colour of the facings on the sides of the trousers. The sword belt would be of brown leather. (16) These uniforms were in fact introduced, but they did not quite come up to expectations because the blue was too light, and the blouse too long. (17)

The bandsmen of the Rifle Volunteer Force had their own distinctive uniforms. They were similar in texture and colour to that worn by the rifle men, but their tunic was ornamental across the chest with bars of black mohair braid and the cuffs were faced with a

narrow white braid, not too sensible, one would think. The leggings were 8 inches high and made of brown leather, and strapped on by means of buckles. (18)

In the late seventies, or early eighties, the infantry chacko gave way to the spiked helmets, (19) first worn by the more glamorous unpaid component and a few years later, by the militia (paid component), also. (20) The helmet was replaced by the familiar slouch hat in 1891. (21)

It is not surprising that the mounted infantry had adopted tactically more suitable uniforms quite some years before the infantry when they introduced the khaki cloth and the slouch hat in 1887: (22) the mounted troops were a new concept while the dismounted infantry may have still been imbued with the tradition of the thin red line, the emphasis being on red.* The transition from scarlet was via brown in 1891 (23) to khaki for the Defence Rifle Clubs in 1891. (29) It was left to the Commonwealth of Australia to introduce khaki for the infantry also.

* The question of sensible uniforms was discussed in New South Wales in 1889 in a lecture by W.D.C. Williams. The weight of the traditional infantry uniform (14 lbs.) was considered far too heavy under Australia's climatic conditions, compared with the weight of 16 lbs. in the continental armies. The red uniform was thought to be unsuitable except for ceremonial parades, but doubts were expressed on the practicability of the slouch hat, because troops might sleep in them, something they could not do when wearing a spiked helmet. (25)

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Uniform regulations	1862/6	GG 27.3.1862 22.10.1862 3.5.1866 31.5.1866
Suggestion of a "garribaldi" type uniform		CSC/I/1285/64
Purchase of uniforms from Stanley & Nichols, Melb.		CSC/0/270/65
Scottish Rifle Company uniforms	1866.67	S.A. Arch.. Cuttings File. Vol. 1, p.255
Tenders for uniforms from South Australian suppliers	1866	R 30.8.1866
Uniform regulations	1877/9	GG 24.5.1877 11.7.1877 8.5.1879
Uniform of Rifle Volunteer Force Band	1885	0 1.8.1885
Uniforms of Mounted Infantry Corps.	1887	29.1.1887
Uniforms of City Battalions, Volunteer force	1887	28.5.1887
Battalion uniforms after 1887 reorganisation	1887	13.8.1887

APPENDIX M1

Summer uniform for 1 battalion	1887	19.11.1887
Uniforms for Adelaide Lancers	1890	15.11.1890
Uniforms for infantry	1891	18.6.1891
Introduction of khaki	1891	16.9.1891
Purchase of uniforms from U.K. and corresponding legislation	1891	GD/I/arc. 11.1.1890 GD/I/ 33/95
Uniform for Defence Rifle Clubs	1898	0 6.8.1898

APPENDIX M2UNIFORMS-SELECTED PHOTOGRAPHS HELD IN S.A. ARCHIVES

<u>Cavalry</u>	Trooper	?	B 3775
	Trooper of the Reedheds	1860	7525
	Goolwa Cavalry	?	6150
	Jubilee Contingent	1897	5873
<u>Artillery</u>	Chacko Badge	1868	7527
	Battery	1877	292
	Officer	1877	7211
	March through Rundle Str. Adelaide	1889	6588
	Garrison and other artillery	1880 ties	9046/7
			9094
			9203/5
			10041
			10045
			10047/51
			11168
<u>Infantry</u>	Adelaide Rifles	1858	3781
	" " - Eastern suburbs	1860	29
			675
	Adelaide Rifles	1861	921
	" "	1868	7526
	Strathalbyn Rifles	1860-64	8250
	City Rifles Group Photo	1864	6670
	Lt. Col. T.W. Higgins	1866/8	6150
	Adelaide Rifles Band	1860 ties	9877/8
	Adelaide Rifles group photo	1877/82	7221

APPENDIX M2

<u>Infantry</u>	Adelaide Rifles group photo	1878	B 11738
	" " " "	1879/81	10833
	" " " "	1885	7613
	Officer in undress uniform	1885	7804
	Williamstown Rifles	1886	1511/13
	Review in Nth. Parklands	1888	7664
	" " " " & sham fight?	?	3740
	Guard of honour at Railway Station	1899	8810/11
	Adelaide Rifles	1900	4697
	Scottish Company	1900/4	6332
			7268
	" " - Mt. Gambier	"	7269
	South African Contingents	1899/1902	4698/9
			2549/51
			2592
			7573
			7630
			8822/3
			8829
			9183
			9839
			11091
			13458/9

SMALL ARMS, ORDNANCE AND MILITARY INVENTIONS *

With the volunteer movement shooting had again become a pass time and the volunteers wanted an accurate weapon ... There were among the volunteers many who could help produce one and the thousand who would appreciate it when it came . (1)

Apart from the few pieces of small arms and the two carronades landed from "H.M.S. Buffalo" in 1830 (2) the province had no armoury. In May, 1839, Governor Gawler sought to remedy this. He advised a Mr. John Walker that he intended to buy certain arms from him. The quantity of arms concerned in this purchase suggested that he envisaged them to be used by a military force. (3) The contractor was a former R.N. Lieutenant, who had to 'occupy himself with mercantile pursuits' trading between India, Mauritius and Australia. (4) Quite obviously he traded in government disposals and seemed to have had a quantity of muskets on his hands, which at that time were rapidly becoming outdated. However, from 1844 onwards the purchases were made from a "respectable" source, the Admiralty. (5)

A stock-take conducted in 1854 showed that the colony could equip five hundred infantry with muskets, ramrods, bayonets, pouches, pouch and bayonet belts, bayonet slings and breast plates. ** It meant that a requirement for equipping a reasonably sized force could have well been met. The ammunition supply position was not quite as good. In September, 1849, 2,340 lbs. of gunpowder and 97,000 ball cartridges had been sold by auction, to be replaced if and when required. This in itself was, of course, quite sound, because gun powder deteriorates, but there was apparently no plan to have a certain minimum amount of ammunition readily available, except for 3,000 ball cartridges. There is a curious note in the inventory, namely, that

* Vide Appendix N1 for selected references to Small Arms, Ordnance.

** Vide Appendix I.

184 barrels of ball cartridges and 26 boxes of coarse powder had to be placed in the Port Adelaide powder magazine for subsequent disposal by the harbour master, Captain Lipson, R.N. Nothing further is known of this rather substantial quantity of ammunition; no receipts or disposal returns of any kind can be found in the records.

The frequent changes in the patterns of the small arms on issue meant that Imperial relief units arriving in the colonies found that there was no ammunition available suitable for the weapons they carried. Consequently, the Imperial officers tried to dispose of their equipment, frequently also quite obsolete, to the colonial governments. Thus in 1858 Major Nelson attempted, unsuccessfully, to unload his small arms which had already been condemned by his own armourer : (6) South Australia refused to become the dumping ground for out-of-date Imperial small arms and declined to pay for the re-equipping of the Imperial army. (7)

The great variety of types and calibres of small arms evident from the returns was due to the small arms development in the 18th and 19th centuries. The first generation of British fire-arms was the Matchlock Musket used by Marlborough at Blenheim, the second was the Snaphane (flintlock) or Army Musket introduced towards the end of the 17th century. The Brown Bess had been issued from about 1730 onwards and was the infantry weapon that won the battle of Waterloo, a very accurate weapon at ranges of less than 200 yards. Yet, the Americans had little difficulty in picking off the Red Coats at distances just in excess of 200 yards by using a sporting type muzzle loader.

Experimentation with new models brought about the variety of small arms patterns on issue to the services. In 1841 the following percussion weapons were on issue.

Musket, Rank and File, for Fort Guards, Lovell's pattern of 1838

Musket, Rank and File, for Regiments of the Line, pattern of 1839

Musket, Sergeants, rifled, for Foot Guards, (Two-grooved barrel)

Musket, Sergeants, plain, for Regiments of the Line

Rifle, Lovell's improved Brunswick pattern, (two-grooved barrel) with sword bayonet

Carbine, light, for Royal Sappers and Miners, with sword bayonet

Carbine, Victoria pattern, with swivel rammer for heavy and light Cavalry (Lovell)

Carbine, double-barrelled (smooth bore) with swivel rammer for the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps.

In addition, there were three other patterns again in service with the navy.

The service requirements were fulfilled by private firms which did not necessarily have to conform to laid-down specifications, and had little difficulty in introducing into the service a number of variations with either smooth or rifled bores and with either flintlock or percussion ignition. 'To say that between 1840 and the outbreak of the Crimean war about 25 to 30 different models were used by the Imperial troops is no exaggeration'. (8)

One of the 19th^{century} small arms, the French Minié rifle, quite novel in many ways was never adopted for general issue; when the South Australian Government indented for an issue in 1857 (9), the Minié was already superseded by the first generation of Enfield rifles, which was, incidentally, the last of the muzzle loaders.

The development of the breach loader was the direct result of the volunteer movement, which exerted public pressure for a new fire arm. The first of the English breach loader was the Snyder-Enfield, on general issue from 1865 onwards. (South Australia ordered its first consignment in 1866 embossed with serial numbers commencing with

1001). (10) The public clamour for improved small arms also led to the evolution of a number of types outside the Enfield-Martini Henry - Lee-Metford patterns. One such model was the Terry breach loader, a very superior weapon, offered to the South Australian Government by a private contractor for £7. 0. 0. each.

The main developments of military significance were the changes from the Snyder-Enfield to the Martini-Henry in 1871, authorised for South Australia in 1872. (11) The latter was superseded by the Lee-Metford in 1888, which in turn gave way to the Lee-Enfield 0.303 inch in 1896. The change of pattern did not necessarily mean the disposal of existing equipment, because most of the intermediate patterns were capable of conversion. Private firms as well as the English arsenals offered this facility. A Melbourne firm tendered for the conversion of the Snyder-Enfield breach loading mechanism for £2. 2. 0. (12) The Colonial Ammunition Company Ltd. in 1897 offered to convert the Martini-Henry and the Lee-Metford patterns into the currently adopted Martini-Enfield or Martini-Metford models for £2. 7. 0. (13) The South Australian Government, however, preferred to have its Martini-Henry rifles fitted with the new Lee-Metford barrels in England. (14)

The frequent changes in small arms pattern also made it difficult to have sufficient stocks of ammunition on hand. By the time stocks were accumulated for a certain pattern, the model was superseded, and the correct ammunition was no longer manufactured. In 1880 South Australia had 400,000 rds. for its 2,700 Martini-Henry rifles, 60,000 for its 300 Martini-Henry carbines, 22,700 rounds for its 180 breach loading revolvers and 17,500 for the 295 Brandeis-Albini rifles made by Snyder; (15) all this ammunition was far in excess of requirements.

At the same time there were still 785 Enfield rifles in

the Colony for which hardly any ammunition was left. It is not surprising, therefore, that General Downes wanted them sold, preferably, elsewhere, so as to prevent them from falling locally into wrong hands. (16)

Field Ordnance

The early artillery pieces in the Colony had ceased to be militarily useful by the time the Crimean war had finished. For instance, there was 'a brass 6 pdr field piece used as a 12 o'clock gun...' (17)

The story of this twelve o'clock gun might have been the subject of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera. The use of the gun as a time signal was inaugurated in 1853. The axle broke in 1854, so, no time signals during the period of repair. Voluminous correspondence ensued over the 12 o'clock gun in 1854 when those citizens in proud possession of a clock or watch were able to point to the inaccuracy of the time signal. In 1855, instructions were issued to bring up one of the carronades from the coal shed at Port Adelaide, because the 6 pdr. had become unserviceable. The barrel had been stuffed with rubbish so it could not be fired on 6th September, 1855. To prevent interference with the time piece, it was suggested to run the gun in and out of the barracks but that was considered too costly. The alternative to the latter suggestion was for the carronade to be padlocked in situ.

Other than that the guns were used for saluting purposes and were apparently fired by sappers; two of whom received injuries in 1842 when firing a salute in honour of the birth of the Prince of Wales.

The first defence commission recommended a company of Royal Artillery to be brought out from England at a cost of £7,421. 4.11. (18) A company Royal Artillery at that time manned and operated a battery consisting of six pdr. guns. In addition it had two trumpeters, two wheel-wrights, two horse-collar workers and four shoeing smiths on

strength. Each horse, and there were 170 at peace time establishments, had to have 12 sets of iron. Each officer had two horses and each horse had to be capable of carrying 240 pounds. The horses were given a 'wine glass of spirits to every half pint of water with a knob of clay to soften it'. The Peninsular war ration was 7 pounds of sugar and 8 pounds of hay per day. (19) In other words, the maintenance of such a force would have been quite a costly business.

The field artillery in the first half of the nineteenth century consisted of four types, all smooth bore muzzle loaders: the cannon proper with a large charge; the carronade (called after the Carron iron works in Scotland) first introduced in 1779 was a short cast iron piece with a comparatively low muzzle velocity; the howitzer for high elevation and small charge; the mortar with a range depending on the size of the charge. During the period known as the casting era, most of the ordnance was cast bronze except the large calibre mortars which were cast iron, and it was only in 1850 that wrought iron was again introduced. (20)

The ordnance in South Australia in 1854 consisted of four 6 pdr. guns, two 9 pdr. guns and four howitzers with limbers and ammunition wagon. In addition, there were two 4-2/5 inch mortars (bronze) with beds and quoins (a wedge-shaped raising and lowering device. (21) The ammunition holdings were quite impressive, except that the holdings in round shot were excessive, and round shot was not very effective (aerodynamically), because of the high wind resistance; as a result the fire was erratic. Carronades were not listed in the 1854 returns, but by 1858 the Colony had twelve ship carronades in her possession.

The ordnance belonged to the Colony and was not part of the equipment of the Imperial troops. The official who was responsible for its safe custody was the commissioner of police; apparently it was

too risky leaving the ordnance for somebody else to look after. (22)

By 1860 South Australia realised that the range of the smooth bore guns in South Australia had become too short in the face of the rifled-bore ordnance. (23) As a result 12 pdr. Whitworth guns were imported. (24) They were rifled muzzle loaders, one made in 1857 and the other in 1867. (25) They added little to the military strength of the Colony because the ammunition was found to be defective. (26) By 1878 the Colony had a battery of three 16 pdr. Whitworth rifled field guns, (27) in addition to two 24 pdrs, two 9 pdrs, four 6 pdrs, and two 6 pdr. mortars and one 2 pdr. mortar. (28) The range of the new armament had extended to 3,000 yards.

Generally, however, the field artillery remained in a depressed state in South Australia possibly due to the comparatively high cost of maintenance and horsing. Horsing an eight gun battery in 1888 would have required 48 draught horses for the guns and another 16 for the transport waggons. An additional 10 riding horses for the ^{officers} and warrant officers, trumpeter and "number 4", making in all 74 horses. On the basis of a troop (4 guns), 32 horses would have cost £800. Distributed over the useful life of a horse, this amounted to £120 per annum, whereas the hire cost at 15/- per week plus the wages of the drivers implied an annual expenditure of £2500. (29) It was, of course, a fictitious analysis because the guns were not used every day. During the nineties South Australia offered most of its artillery ammunition to Victoria at prices half that of the original purchase price (30) and it was not until 1900 that the purchase of a battery of 16 or 15 pdr. breach loader Whitworth guns was put in hand. (31)

All of the field ordnance was imported from England, notwithstanding the fact that the Gruson works (Germany) from time to time offered their products at very attractive prices. (32)

Military Inventions

'The idea of using a poison gas is decidedly ingenious ... but would be prohibited by International law'.

General M.F. Downes, 1893. (33)

When defence is organised in a country, when lengthy public debates take place discussing questions of equipment, ordnance and fortifications, there are invariably members of the public who suggest all sorts of mechanical devices in aid of the defence effort. South Australia had its fair share of military inventions, some of them obviously crackpot schemes, others worthy of consideration, particularly in the light of later historical developments.

The former category included a suggestion for the erection of 'disc round houses with obtruse corners placed near the shore ... with a keeper to give the alarm'. (34) One gentleman, with an eye to profit, offered for the price of £2000 a device for destroying troops on roads from a distance of 200 yards to 100 miles, a form of anti-personnel mine arrangement, in which the first detonation would set off a string of other devices priced at £1000 and also proposed a new type of submarine shell for £2000. (35)

A naval minded citizen suggested a steam driven drill for piercing the armour plating of warships (36) and a Victorian tried to interest the South Australian Government in a gun carriage with improved recoil characteristics because 'it was made of sturdy timber'. (37) The inventor, a Mr. Menere, had already contacted the Victorian Defence Invention Board, whose members were favourably inclined towards the scheme, as distinct from government, charged by The Herald with "Anglomania" because they preferred the as yet untried Moncrief carriage to the Australian invention. (38) A seafaring man from Goolwa proposed to use crossbows for firing cylindrical shells filled with dynamite and detonated by a time fuse (39) and one H. Buttery proposed a mobile

bullet proof iron shield. (40)

On the other hand, there were a number of worthwhile proposals and inventions. One was a new type of range finder designed by Captain A. Ringwood of the volunteer artillery, based on measuring the distance of objects by comparing them with objects of known height. (41) The invention impressed the government and the device was eventually submitted to the War Office, where it was rejected. (42) Another suggestion was to use dynamite as a shell and torpedo filling because, so the inventor claimed, the shells would be lighter than ordinary cannon shells and could be made locally. (43) He did not explain how these shells could be produced more cheaply in Australia, nor did he elaborate on the method of firing.

One of the most interesting suggestions put forward in the nineties, was 'a new type of explosive bomb or bullet capable of annihilating a troop of two thousand men standing 3 ft. apart by such a shell fired from a 12 pdr. field piece'. The shell was to be filled with a liquid and when the shell broke up, the liquid on contact with soil, iron, wood etc., would generate a poison gas with the same specific gravity as that of air, a property which would facilitate ready mixing with air. It would appear that a South Australian might have been the inventor of mustard gas as a weapon of war. Perhaps the inventor had gleaned the idea from General Dundonald who suggested during the Crimean war to 'smoke out' Fort Malakoff with sulphur fumes. (44)

One James Healy who called himself an "Inventor and State School Teacher", submitted claims in 1899 for compensation for an invention which he called a "Telemeter"; Colonel Gordon had allegedly tried it out and sent to England where it was supposed to have been finally issued as the Watkins Range Finder. If the man's claim was true then he would have made a worthwhile contribution, which was more

than could have been said of his propelling torpedoes, flying war machines and perpetual motion machines, which he claimed to have invented. (45)

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3. CSC/O/96/1839
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9. R. 8.6.1857
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17. R. 8.3.1855
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19. R. 6.3.1855
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22. Ibid.
23. O. 4.8.1860
24. F. Adlam, Pt. Wakefield, Private Communication
25. CSC/I/1376/1868
26. O. 8.8.1864 (?) or 1868 (?)
27. CSC/I/223, 391/1878
28. O. 12.5.1877

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31. O. 21.7.1900
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33. CSC/I/323/1892
34. O. 25.11.1865
35. CSC/GRG/23/1851
36. CSC/I/1318/1871
37. CSC/I/248/1871
38. Herald 16.2.1871
39. CSC/I/1577/1891
40. CSC/I/1449/1899
41. CSC/I/2662/1881
42. GD/O/3/1883; CO 13/141(2) - MF 1790
43. CSC/I/999/1888
44. CSC/I/323/1892
45. CSC/I/1449/1899

APPENDIX N1SELECTED REFERENCES TO SMALL ARMS, ORDNANCE, AMMUNITION
AND FORTIFICATIONSSmall Arms

Returns of small arms & ordnance	1854	PP 12/1854
	1858	" 35/1858
	1866	" 34/1866
	1871	CSC/I/429/71
	1877	O. 12.5.1877
	1878/9	CO 13/137-MF 1768
	1880	CO 13/139-MF 1788
	1884	O. 20.2.1884
Introduction of Martini-Henry rifle	1872	GD/I/arc 9.8.1872
Rifle conversion & small arms production	1870	CSC/I/1594/70
	1871	C&C/I/194/71
	1897	C&C/I/602/97
		C&C/I/1421/97

Ordnance

12 o'clock gun & saluting gun	1842-1855	CSC/O/776/42
		CSC/I/2972/3196,
		3282/53
		CSC/O/843, 909,
		955/53
		CSC/I/381, 1662,
		2530/54
		CSC/O/157, 532,
		762/54
		CSC/I/2929, 2941
		2946/55

APPENDIX N1 contd.

		CSC/O/(F) 100, 101 464/55 CSC/O/696, 776/55.
Rifled guns and modern tactics	1859	<u>Edinb. Rev.</u> , April 1859, p.514-595
Characteristics of 9-in. Whitworth guns	1867	O 21.6.1867
Practice with Whitworth fieldguns	1868	O 22.4.1871
Gun carriage for 9-in. guns (Glanville)	1871	O 22.4.1871
Controversy about Moncrief system	1871	CSC/I/220/71
	1877	O 15.12.1877
Field artillery training	1885	O 10.4.1885
Re-equipment of artillery	1900	O 21.7.1900
Description of field & garrison artillery (Private communication)	1800-1900	A.B. Hastings, Adelaide F.R. Adlam, Pt. Wakefield
Gun emplacements and characteristics of various types and calibres (See footnote in section 9.8)		<u>Jnl. & Proc. U.S.I.</u> <u>of New South</u> <u>Wales</u> I (1889) p.45-58 II (1890) p.1-16
Torpedo experiments at Glenelg	1873	O. 25.1.1873
Disposal of torpedo gear and garrison ordnance	1888-1915	H.A. 27.6; 3,1-,18, 24,7; 15.8; 24.10.1888 CSC/G/446/92 H.A. 20.7; 21.9.1892 H.A. 27.6.1893 CSC/I/449/94 CSC/I/272/95 CSC/O/17/95 CSC/I/294/96

APPENDIX N1 contd.

CSC/O/14, 346/97

C'wealth Arch.

612/365- MP/367-814

Ammunition

Problems with ammunition and
negotiations with Colonial
Ammunition Co. Ltd.

1885-1900

R 30.3.185

CSC/G/234/91

CSC/G/93, 393/94

CSC/I/173, 203, 95

CSC/I/1472/95

Smokeless powder offer from
G.C. Craig

Disposal of 80 pdr. ammunition

CSC/G/17/95

Ammunition defects

H.A. 2.8; 10.10;

21, 28.11.1900

Maintenance of stock of Mk.V
expanding bullets

GD/I/Conf.14.9.1900

GD/O/Conf.7.11.1900

Fortifications

Parliamentary papers on fortifications

1855/90

S.A. Arch. Res.
Note 234

The Biggs Schemes

H.A. 24.11.1864

R 24.11.1864

Naming of Fort Glanville

1879

CSC/I/2313/79

Description of Fort Glanville

1879

PP 29/1880

Opening and First firing of Fort Glanville
guns

1880

O. 9.10.1880

Gun explosion - injury to personnel

1887

O. 29.10.1887

List of Fort Glanville records

1881-1944

C'wealth Arch.(?)

Plans & designs for Glanville and Largs

1867-1937

S.A. Archives

Description of Fort Glanville and Largs
(Private Communications)

A.B. Hastings,

Adelaide.

APPENDIX OSELECTED REFERENCES TO MILITARY CAMPSCAMPS

Proposed rations	CSC/I/1210/61
Easter Camp 1881	O. 23.4.1882
R.V.F. Camp 1882	O. 30.4.1882
	O. 25.3.1882
	O. 8.4.1882
	O. 15.4.1882
V.M.F. Easter Camp 1885	O. 7.3.1885
	O. 21.3.1885
	O. 28.3.1885
	O. 11.4.1885
	O. 28.8.1885
Mobilisation Camp 1885	R. 4.5.1885
	O. 16.5.1885
V.M.F. Easter Camp 1886 Largs. 1886	O. 24.4.1886
V.M.F. Easter Camp 1887 Belair 1887	O. 16.4.1887
	O. 23.4.1887
R.V.F. Camp at Bruce September, 1888	O. 22.9.1888
Combined V.M.F. & R.V.F. Easter camp at Keswick. 1889	O. 13.4.1889
	O. 27.4.1889
Combined V.M.F. & R.V.F. Easter camp at Keswick. 1890	O. 12.4.1890
Combined Cavalry Camp - Exhibition grounds 1890	O. 28.6.1890
Combined Easter Camp 1891	O. 14.2.1891
	O. 23.3.1891
	O. 4.4.1891
Cavalry Camp in Showgrounds	O. 18.6.1892

Individual Camps 1894	O.	20.1.1894
	O.	24.3.1894
	O.	31.3.1894
	O.	7.4.1894
	O.	14.4.1894
<u>Border Watch</u>	O.	7.2.1894
	R.	19.3.1894
	R.	27.3.1894
Individual Camps, 1895	O.	27.4.1895
<u>York Peninsula Advertiser</u>		19.4.1895
Victor Harbour Camp, 1896	O.	4.1.1896
Easter Camp, Cheltenham, 1897	O.	20.3.1897
	O.	3.4.1897
	O.	10.4.1897
	O.	17.4.1897
	O.	24.4.1897
Victor Harbour Camp, 1898	O.	8.1.1898
	O.	26.3.1898
	O.	2.4.1898
	O.	9.4.1898
	O.	16.4.1898
Easter Camp 1899	O.	18.3.1899
	O.	25.3.1899
	O.	1.4.1899
	O.	8.4.1899
	O.	15.4.1899

SELECTED REFERENCES TO FIRING PRACTICES AND
FIELD EXERCISES

Small Arms

Rifle practice in South Parklands	<u>Observer</u>	30.7.1859
		6.8.1859
Rifle practice at Nairne		23.7.1859
Rifle match between volunteers and Imperial troops		15.1.1861
Rifle matches & prize presentations		2, 9.11.1861
Rifle matches		8.4.1865
Firing practice at Dry Creek		23, 30.6.1883
Field firing practice with vanishing targets		10.1.1885
V.M.F. Annual prize firing		20.3.1886
"Percentage" classifications		2.8.1887
		4.5.1889
Wallaroo class firing		10.4.1897

Artillery

First artillery practice		7.12.1861
Artillery practice at the beach		25.11.1865
		23.7.1881
Advance to contact through hostile country		23.4.1881
		30.4.1881
Garrison artillery practice at Glanville		22.4.1882
Gun practice with moving targets		21.6.1884
Field firing exercise near Glanville		27.2.1886
Field artillery practices at Dry Creek		13.2.1886
Gun drill		7.5.1898
Target practice (field arty.) out to sea		20.5.1899

Field Exercises

Trenching exercise	9.8.1879
Night attack on Fort Glanville	17.5.1884
Sham fight near old racecourse	14.6.1884
Cavalry/infantry skirmishing	28.6.1884
Day attack on Fort Glanville	7.3.1885
Reconnaissance exercise	8.8.1885
Combined army/navy exercise near Marino	14.11.1885
Attack exercise on Adelaide from Mt. Lofty	9.11.1889
Special field day in Woodville area	12.11.1892
Field firing exercise	11.9.1893
Field day at Wingfield	13.10.1894
Night exercise between Glanville and Henly Beach	29.10.1898
Day " " " " "	12.11.1898
	14.11.1898

APPENDIX QGUN SALUTES

On Her Majesty's Birthday, 24 May - 21 guns

Commemoration Day, Founding of Colony, 28th December - 21 guns

Opening of House of Assembly on the day - 19 guns

Foreign Vessels of War - return salute in the normal manner, that is, the same number of salutes as were given.

Governor of the Colony, first arrival and final departure - 17 guns

Imperial Admiral, C.C. Australia Station according to rank - 13 to 17 guns

Commandant of Local Forces, first arrival and final departure, according to rank - 11 to 13 guns.

Sources (1) Col. Office Circular 9.9.1886

(2) GD/O/127, 128/1887.

PROGRAMMEOFVOLUNTEER MOVEMENTSWednesday, 17th May, 1863

1. The Battalion in line, at open order, will fire a feu-de-joie; Artillery, a Royal Salute.
2. The Brigade, in line, will receive the Governor in Chief, with a general salute.
3. The Brigade will march past, the Battalion in quick time; Cavalry and Artillery, at a walk.
4. The Brigade will march past; Battalion in column, at quarter distance; Cavalry and Artillery at a trot.
5. The line will be formed to the original front, close to the river, and advance to attack, covered by Flank Companies skirmishing.
6. Line will halt, and fire a volley over the Skirmishers, who will lie down; Skirmishers will close on the outward flanks, and take post in line; Battalion will commence file firing by Companies in succession, each Captain reserving the fire of his Company until its front is clear of Skirmishers; Artillery will take post in rear of the line, preparatory to a retreat of the whole, whilst Cavalry forms on the right of the Battalion, preparatory to a charge along the front.
7. The line will retire; Cavalry will wheel to the left, and charge from right to left; the line will move by Companies, in fours, to the rear, from the proper right of Companies, passing through the intervals of the guns, which then cover the retreat.
8. The column will halt; close to quarter distance and wheel to the left, whilst Cavalry will take post on the left front to cover advance, supported by the Rear Company in echelon on the extreme left rear; guns on the reverse flank of the main body.

9. General advance; Cavalry will extend, and skirmish - the Company in support extending in rear of the Cavalry.
10. The Battalion will halt and deploy into line, whilst the Cavalry moves off to a distance on the left, and the Infantry Skirmishers cover the front of the column.
11. Line will fire a volley, Skirmishers having previously closed to the left; line will then retire by wings, assisted by guns on both flanks.
12. When arrived at the river, echelon will halt, re-form line, and take ground to the right in open column, and again wheel into line.
13. General advance in column of Companies from the right in direct echelon at wheeling distance. During this advance the echelon will change front to the left, and form line on the leading Company, covered by the two left Companies skirmishing to the new front.
14. Alarm of Cavalry; on which the two Companies skirmishing will close independently, and in echelon of company squares, prepare for Cavalry. The Battalion will form quarter distance column in rear of the right Company in double time, and form square ready to receive Cavalry. The Battery of Artillery will take post in echelon between the main body and the squares of Skirmishers.
15. Cavalry will attack, and afterwards move to the rear of the formation, without breaking through the position.
16. Column will take ground to the left, covered by two Companies skirmishing, with two in support. When this movement is completed, Skirmishers and Supports will close independently on the reserve.
17. The column will wheel to the right and advance, two Companies skirmishing, two in support. Skirmishers will be relieved, advancing.

18. The column will retire. Skirmishers will be relieved, retiring.
19. The column will halt, deploy into line, and commence file firing; cease firing. The ranks will be opened; present arms.

B.T. FINNISS,

Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding Adelaide Volunteer Regiment

Adelaide, 28th May, 1863.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILITARY CEREMONIAL REVIEWS & PARADES
(Selected References Only)

Occasion	Date	Reference
Return of Lady McDonnell	?	O 31.3.1860
Prince of Wales Birthday	9.11.1860	O 3.11.1860 10.11., 26.11.1860 R 10.11.1860
Anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession	Mt. Baker. 25.5.1861	O 25.5.1861
Anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession	Adelaide 20.6.1861	O 8.6; 29.6.1861
?	Adelaide 27.5.1863	S.A. State Library Z 355.5
Queen's Birthday	Adelaide 24.5.1864	O 28.5.1864
Four-Companies Parade	Adelaide 3.5.1865	O 6.5.1865
" "	Adelaide 19.6.1867	O 26.1.1867
Visit of Duke of Edinburgh	Adelaide 2.11.1867	O 28.9; 9.11.1867 R 4.11.1867
Funeral of Sir Dominic Daly	Adelaide 22.2.1868	O 22.2.1866
2nd Visit of Duke of Edinburgh	Adelaide 15-20.2.1869	O 20.2.1869
Queen's 60th Birthday	Adelaide May 1868	O 24.5; 31.5.1879
Colony Presentation	Adelaide 21.6.1879	R 20.6; 23.6; 3.9.1879
Military Funeral of Pte. F.J. Durbridge	Walkerville 6.4.1880	O 10.4.1880
Church parade in St. Peters Cathedral	Adelaide 11.4.1880	O 7.4.1880
Queen's Birthday	Adelaide 23.5.1880	?
Annual Inspection V.M.F.	Adelaide Oct. 1886	O 9.10.1880
Review by General Edwards	Adelaide 26.8.1889	O 31.8.1889
Funeral of Stoker W. Franks	Adelaide 15.10.1891	O 17.10.1891
Funeral of S/Sgt. D. Fitzgerald	Adelaide Jan. 1891	O 30.1.1892

Occasion	Date	Reference
Funeral of Lt. W. Henam	Adelaide May 1892	O 11.5.1892
Annual Inspection Infantry	Adelaide Aug/Oct. 1892	O 22.8; 22.10.1892
" " Artillery	Adelaide 5.11.1892	O 12.11.1892
Queens Accession	Adelaide 20.6.1893	O 24.6.1893
Annual Review	Adelaide 10.4.1897	O 17.4.1897
Queen's Birthday	Adelaide 20.6.1898	O 25.6.1898
Annual Inspection 1st Regt.	Adelaide 30.9.1900	O 6.10.1900

APPENDIX TBRITISH MILITARY WAR ESTABLISHMENTS 1880Infantry

	Officers	ORs.	Saddle Horses	Draft Horses	Tpt. Drivers
Battalion	31	1066	12	56	22
Company	129				

No. Companies per battalion : 8.

Infantry Speed

Ordinary time	3 miles, 520 yards per hour
Quick time	120 paces, or 300 ft/minute
Double time	165 paces per minute or 5 miles/hour

Cavalry Speed

Pacing	117 yards/minute or 4 miles/hour
Trotting	235 yards/minute or 8 miles/hour
Gallop	352 yards/minute or 12 miles/hour

ArtilleryField Battery 16 pdr.

Guns	6
Officers	7
O.R.s	193
Saddle Horses	30
Draught Horses	120
Ammunition Wagon	1
Forage Wagon	1
Spare Carriages	3

Note (1) A "battery of position" consisted of 4 guns,

(2) Source : Public Lecture given Major Ferguson, D.A.A.G.,

South Australia, on 24.6.1881 (0 2.7.1881)

APPENDIX ULIST OF MILITARY PUBLICATIONSISSUED IN SOUTH AUSTRALIABETWEEN 1859 AND 1900

1. Revised Infantry Manual, 1859
2. Extracts from Regulations ... for Musketry Instructions ..., 1859
3. General Rules and Regulations ... Reserve and Volunteer Forces ...
1866, 1869
4. Notes on Routine of Daily Camp Life ... 1883
5. Standing Orders for Volunteer Military Force ... 1884
6. General Rules and Regulations ... Reserve and Volunteer Military Force 1885
7. Regulations under Defence Forces Act 1885, 1886, 1887
8. Military Forces of South Australia, 1885, 1890, 1892, 1897, 1899
9. Revised Standing Order for Militia Reserve, 1891
10. Manual for South Australian Artillery Brigade, 1892
11. Regulations under Defences Act, 1895, 1896

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ORDERS OF BATTLE1858 - 1900

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
<u>PHASE I</u>					
1858	Cavalry	Reedbeds	25	-	troop
PP 35/58		Goolwa/Pt. Elliott	25		"
		Robe	25		"
	Artillery	?	65		battery
	Infantry	Adelaide	200	-	2 coys
		Norwood/Kensington	50	-	1 coy
		Hindmarsh/Bowden	50	-	1 coy
		Pt. Adelaide	100	-	1 coy
		Glenelg	100	-	1 coy
		Brighton	50	-	1 coy
				690	
1860	Cavalry	Reed Beds	40		troop
GG	Artillery	Adelaide	38		"
26.4.1860		Pt. Adelaide	78		"
31.10.1861	Infantry	Adelaide Rgt	930	Bn	10 coys
2.10.1862		"	Adelaide Rgt	736	Bn
PP 4/61		Nairne	38	-	coy
		Noarlunga	24	-	"
		Milang	43	-	"
		Mt. Barker	53	-	"
		McLaren Vale	31	-	"
		Willunga	41	-	"
		Finniss Vale	63	-	"
	Strathalbyn	43	-	"	

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
1861 PP 4/61	Infantry	Robe	33	-	coy
		Goolwa	28	-	"
		Pt. Elliott	30	-	"
		Gummareka Gummareka	35	-	"
		Lyndock	22	-	"
		Kapunda	94	-	"
		Angaston	26	-	"
		Nuirootpa	41	-	"
		Virginia	29	-	"
		Woodside	46	-	"
		Balhannah	440	-	"
		Macclesfield	38	-	"
		Yankallilla	43	-	"
		Meadows	30	-	"
		Tea Tree Gully	37	-	"
		Gawler	36	-	"
		Munno Para	25	-	"
Kapunda Mine	97	-	"		
Williamstown	36	-	"		
Laughorne's Crk.	20	-	"		
			2010		
<u>PHASE II</u>					
CSC/I/596/66	All	District Organ. See/Appendix W1.			
	Staff		3		
1878	Cavalry	Adelaide	8/43		2 tps
Co 13/136/1	Artillery	Adelaide	6/68		1 tps
		Pt. Adelaide	3/59		1 tp

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
	Infantry	Adelaide	18/356	Bn	4 coys
		Glenelg	3/44		1 coy
		Hindmarsh	2/78		1 coy
		Gawler	4/58		1 coy
		Kapunda	3/47		1 coy
		Clare	2/53		1 coy
					32/636
	Total All corps		52/738		
<u>PHASE III</u>					
1885	Staff				
	Cavalry	Adelaide			2 tps
	Artillery	Adelaide			1 bty.
		Pt. Adelaide			1 bty.
	Infantry	Adelaide A,B,C		Bn	3 coys
		Nth. Adelaide D			1 coy
		Glenelg E			1 coy
		Norwood F			1 coy
		Hindmarsh G			1 coy
		Gawler H			1 coy
		Kapunda I			1 coy
		Clare K			1 coy
1885					
0 27.6.1885	Staff & Gar.		8/47		
Staff Reg.	Cavalry	Adelaide			1 tps
	Sarlet Yellow F				
Army List	Artillery F	Adelaide A			1 bty.

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
1885	Artillery G	Pt. Adelaide B.			1 bty
	Blue/scarlet -E-				
	Infantry	East Adelaide A		1 Bn	1 coy
	(VMF)	West Adelaide B			1 coy
	Scarlet/ green F.	Glenelg D			1 "
		Hindmarsh G			1 "
		Kapunda I			1 "
		Pt. Adelaide L			1 "
		Sth. Adelaide C		2 bn	1 coy
		Nth. Adelaide E			1 coy
		Norwood F.			1 "
		Gawler H			1 "
		Parkside K			1 "
		N/Kensington M			1 "
		Brassband			
		Ambulance		1438	
	(RVF)	37 centres		1740	22 coys
blue/ scarlet F					
Total			3223		
<u>PHASE IV</u>	Staff	Adelaide			
1886/1890/ onwards	Garrison	Pt. Adelaide			1 bty
	blue/scarlet for F.				
	Active F				
	Cavalry	Adelaide		coy	2 tps
	scarlet/ yellow F.				

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
1886/1890 contin. 1887	Artillery blue/ scarlet F Infantry scarlet/ green F.	Adelaide	13/		1 bty fd.
		Pt. Adelaide			2 garr.
		Adelaide		1 Bn	4 coys
		(A,B,C,D).			
		Moonta A		2 Bn	
		Gladstone/C/Bank B			
		Riverton/Peterb. C			
		Mt. Gambier D			
		Adelaide		3 Bn	
		(A,B,C,D.)			
	Medical	Adelaide			
	VMRF				
	(Reserve)				
	Cavalry	Gallington			1 coy
		Craddock			1 "
	Eurelia		1 "		
	Gordon		1 "		
	Hammond		1 "		
	Pamatta		1 "		
	Booleroo		1 "		
	Melrose		1 "		
	Pt. Augusta		1 "		
	Wilmington		1 "		
	Blyth		1 "		
	Mid Areas		1 "		
	Moonta		1 "		
	Yorktown		1 "		
	Mt. Gambier		1 "		

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
1890		Yankallila			1 coy
		Moonta/Yorktown			A coy
		Eurelia/Hammond			B coy
		Wilmington/Melrose			C coy
		Yankallila/Mt. Gambier			D coy
		Quorn/Pt. Augusta			E coy
		Mid areas			F coy
1887 0 13.8.1887	Infantry	Adelaide Vols			
	dark blue	Pt. Adelaide			1 coy
	light blue F	City & Woodville			1 coy
	scarlet E	Southern Subs.			1 coy
		Eastern subs.			1 coy
		Willunga			1 coy
	grey/	Sand S.E.		2D Bn	
	green F	Mt. Gambier			1 coy
		Millicent			1 coy
		Encounter Bay			1 coy
		Mt. Barker			1 coy
		Central		3D Bn	
	grey/	Riverton			1 coy
	light blue F	Midland			1 coy
		Kadina			1 coy
		Burra			1 coy
		Williamstown			1 coy
	Wallaroo			1 coy	
	Northern		4D Bn		

APPENDIX W contd.

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
1890	grey/	Pt. Augusta			1 coy
	scarlet F	Gladstone			1 coy
	white E	Laura			1 coy
		Caltowie			1 coy
		Terrowie			1 "
		Quorn			1 "
	as for	City/Willunga		A Bn	1 coy
	1 D Bn.				
	2 D Bn	Mt. Gambier		B Bn	1 coy
	3 D Bn	Riverton		C Bn	1 coy
		Midlands			1 coy
		Burra			1 coy
		York Peninsula			1 coy
		Blyth			1 coy
	4 D Bn	Pt. Augusta		D Bn	1 coy
		Gladstone			1 coy
	Laura			1 coy	
	Terrowie			1 coy	
	Quorn			1 C	
1897	Staff	Adelaide	10/-		
Army Lists	Garr. Arty.	Pt. Adelaide	3/31		
1897/					
1900					
		<u>Active Force</u>			
	Artillery	Adelaide Fd. Arty			A bty
	blue/	Glanville Garr.			B "
	scarlet F.	Largs "			C "
	Machine Gun	Adelaide			?
	blue/				
	scarlet F				

Year & Ref.	Corps Ref.	Locality	Strength	Establishment	
				Unit	Sub-Unit
	Active				
	Cavalry	Adelaide		1 sqd	1 & 2 Tp
		Gumeracha			3 & 4 Tp
	Reserve				
	Cavalry	Yankallila		2 Sqd	1 Tp
		Inman Valley			2 Tp
		Second Valley			3 "
		Victor Hbr.			4 "
		Jamestown		3 Sqd	1 & 2 Tp.
		Pt. Germain			3 Tp
		Spalding			4 Tp
		Mt. Gambier		4 Sqd	1 & 2 Tp
		Wallaroo			3 & 4 Tp
	Active				
	Infantry	Adelaide A,B,C,D.		1 Bn	4 coys
		<u>Reserve Force</u>		2 Bn	4 coys
		Moonta			A coy
		Gladstone/C/Brook			B coy
		Riverton/Perterborough			C coy
		Mt. Gambier			D coy
	Medical	<u>Active</u>			
		<u>Reserve</u>			

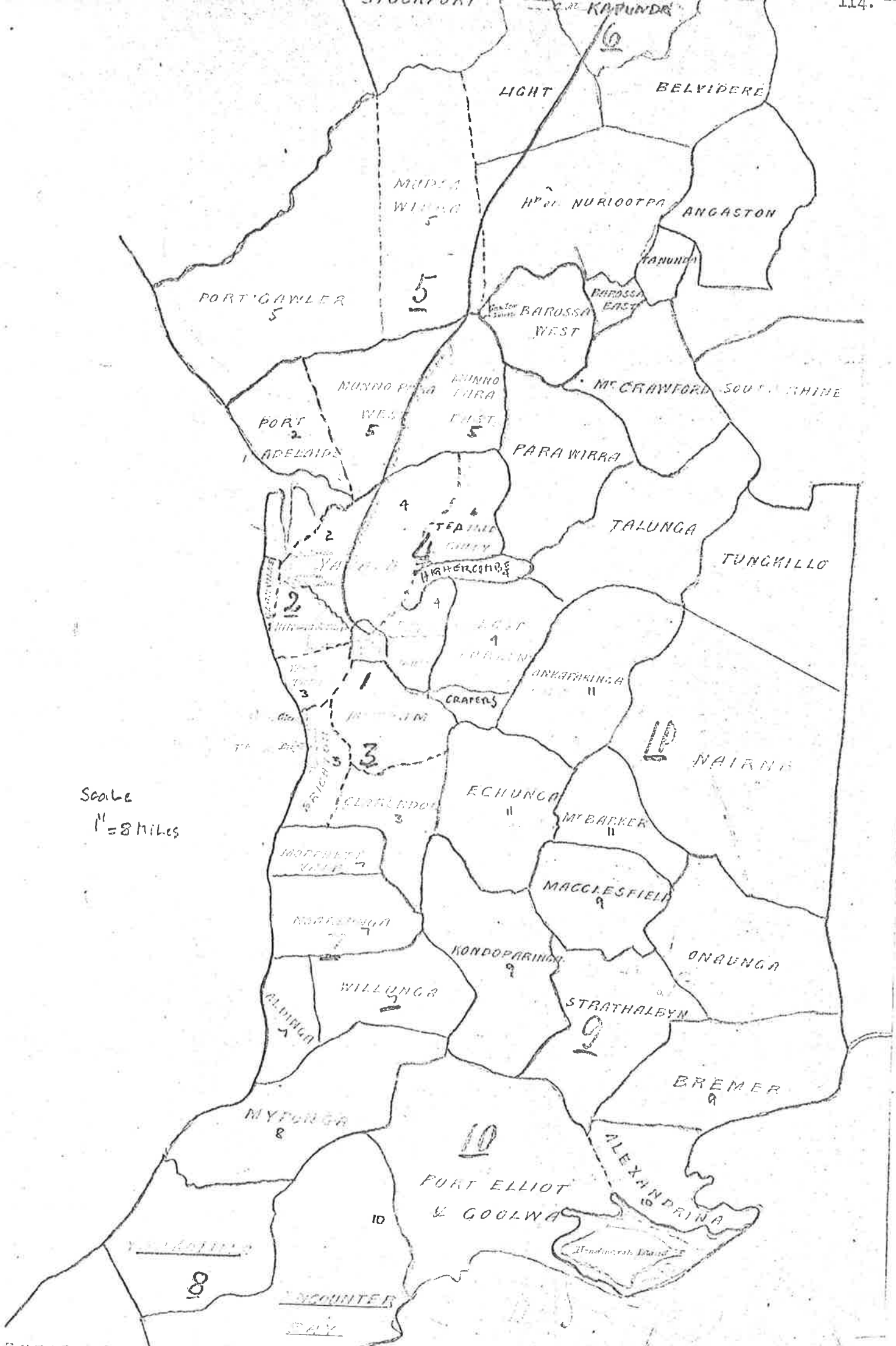
* Note: Infantry Company 1 Capt 2 subalterns

" Bn 1 Capt. BM, 1 Capt. Adj:

ORGANISATION ORDER OF BATTLE

Volunteer district structure as submitted
by Col. J.H. Biggs, in pursuance of
section 6, of the Volunteer Act, 1865/6.

District No.	Districts	Areas (District Councils)	Active Force			
			Cav.	Arm	Inf.	Reserve
1	Adelaide	City and suburbs within 4 miles radius from G.P.O.	20	60	180	100
2	Pt. Adelaide	Pt. Adelaide, Distr. Councils of Queenstown & Alberton. Portion of Hindmarsh already in vol district of Adelaide, portion of Yatala North of Railway.	-	40 } 1 coy }	60	-
3	Sea Coast	Glenelg, Brighton, Clarendon portions of Mitchan & West Torrens not in Adelaide distr.	-	20	60	60
4	Eastern	Remaining portions Yatala and East Torrens, Highercombe portion of Burnside not in Adelaide district, Tea Tree Gully.	-	-	60	-
5	Gawler	Gawler, East and West Munno - Para, Burra West, Muddla-Wirra, Pt. Gawler, Nuriootpa	-	-	120	60
6	Kapunda	Kapunda, Kapunda Mines. All of County of Light within 6 miles of Kapunda Courthouse	-	-	60	60
7	Willunga	Morphetvale, Willunga, Noarlunga, Aldinga	-	-	-	60
8	Yankalilla	Yankalilla & Rapid Bay	-	-	-	60
9	Strathalbyn	Strathalbyn, Brewer, Macclesfield, Kondoparinga	20	-	-	60
10	Encounter Bay.	Alexandrina, Encounter Bay, Pt. Elliott, Goolwa	20	-	-	-
11	Mt. Barker	Mt. Barker, Nairne, Onkaparinga and Echunga	-	-	-	60
	Robe Peninsula	Robe County Yorke's Peninsula	20 -	- -	- 60	- -
			80	120	600	600



Scale
1" = 8 miles

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN MILITARY STAFF ORGANISATION

Designation

	1860	1885	1890	1892	1897
Commandant	1	1	1		1
D.A.A.G.		1	-		1
Brigade Major		-	1		1
Staff Adjutant & QM	1	1	4		
A.D.C.		1	2		2
Riding Master		1	-		-
Pay Master		-	1		1
Medical Officer		1	1		1
Veterinary Officer		-	1		1
Chief Instructor	1	1	-		-
Store Keeper		1	1		
Clerk		-	1		1
Messenger	1	-	-		-
Transport Officer		-	-	-	1
					10

PEACE AND WAR ESTABLISHMENTS AS OF 31.12.1896

Corps	Troop Battery Co.		Present Peace Establishment				Proposed Peace Establishment				War Establishment			
	P	W	Offrs.	O.Rs.	Hors	F/G	Offrs.	O.Rs.	Hors	F/G	Offs.	O.Rs.	Hors.	F/G
HQ			3	6	4	-	3	6	4	-	3	6	4	-
Garrison Arty	1	1	-	25	-	3	-	25	-	3	-	25	-	3
Total			3	31	4	3	3	31	4	3	3	31	4	3
<u>ACTIVE FORCE</u>														
HQ Staff			7	-	7	-	7	-	7	-	7	-	7	-
Mtd. Rifles	4	8	4	56	54	-	24	426	450	-	30	581	611	-
Field Arty	2	2	4	68	36	8	8	136	72	16	14	300	212	16
Garrison Arty	2	2	13	134	-	-	13	134	-	-	18	258	3	-
Mach/Gun	2	3	8	50	27	10	8	50	27	10	10	93	52	10
Infantry	12	12	15	270	12	-	40	750	18	-	50	1326	30	-
Signals	1	1	1	12	-	-	1	12	-	-	1	24	-	-
Medical	1	1	6	16	8	-	6	16	8	-	6	33	10	-
Sup. Num.			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	-	-	-
Total			58	606	144	18	107	1524	582	26	180	2615	925	26
<u>RESERVE FORCE</u>														
Mtd. Rifles	4	4	22	326	348	-	22	326	348	-	30	581	611	-
Infantry	4	4	12	240	3	-	12	240	3	-	12	400	4	-
Medical			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-
Sup. Num.			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-
Total			34	566	351		34	566	351	-	78	981	615	-
GRAND TOTAL			95	1203	499	21	144	2121	937	29	261	3627	1544	29

APPENDIX X1STRENGTH RETURN AS ON 31.12.1900

Corps	Officers	Other Ranks	Horses	Field Guns
Headquarters	6	7	2	-
Garrison Artillery	1	30	-	3
<u>ACTIVE FORCES</u>				
H.Q. Staff Attachments	8	-	8	-
Mounted Rifles	7	112	119	-
Field Artillery	4	101	48	8
Garrison Artillery	9	165	-	-
Machine Guns	4	57	25	8
Infantry	28	893	5	-
Signals	-	20	-	-
Medical	4	39	8	-
Supernumeraries	44	-	-	-
Total	108	1,387	213	16
<u>RESERVE FORCE</u>				
Mounted Rifles	26	509	535	-
Infantry	30	893	5	-
Medical	6	-	6	-
Supernumeraries	18	-	-	-
Total	80	1,402	546	-
GRAND TOTAL	195	2,826	761	19

Corps	1885			1886			1887			1888		
	Offr.	Crs.	Total	Offr.	O.R.s	Total	Offr.	O.R.s	Total	Offr.	O.R.s.	Total.
Perm. & Garr.	8	47	55	10	49	59	10	48	58	9	48	57
Active F	91	1347	1438	66	826	892	64	958	1022	100	984	1084
Reserve F	99	1641	1740	84	1255	1339	88	1701	1785	89	1505	1594
Total	198	3075	3233	160	2130	2290	162	2707	2869	198	2537	2735
		1889			1890			1891			1892	
Perm. & Garr.	7	50	57	9	55	64	7	49	56	7	72	79
Active F.	110	1463	1573	133	1292	1425	128	1434	1562	138	1542	1680
Reserve F.	56	935	1041	41	736	777	39	768	807	43	773	816
Total	173	1498	2671	183	2083	2266	174	2211	2425	188	2387	2575
		1893			1894			1895			1896	
Perm. & Garr.	3	40	43	3	19	22	3	19	22	3	31	34
Active F.	113	1233	1346	112	1097	1209	110	1036	1146	78	458	536
Reserve F.	48	806	854	50	774	824	49	873	822	16	191	207
Total	164	2079	2243	165	1890	2055	162	1928	2090	97	680	777
		1897			1898			1899			1900*	
Perm. & Garr.	3	31	34	3	33	36	4	26	30	7	31	44
Active F.	82	589	671	82	627	709	81	619	700	108	1387	1495
Reserve F.	34	547	581	41	540	581	49	612	661	80	1402	1482
Total	119	1167	1286	126	1200	1326	134	1257	1391	195	2826	3021

HORSE & FIELD GUN RETURNS 1897 - 1900

Year	1897		1898		1899		1900*	
	H	Guns	H.	Guns	H.	Guns	H.	Guns
Perm. & Garr.	4	3	4	3	4	3	2	3
Active F.	133	18	124	18	157	18	213	16
Reserve F.	325	-	312	-	280	-	546	-
Total	461	21	440	21	441	21	761	19

* 1. The returns for 1900 also indicate that the Defence Rifle Clubs had a reserve force potential of about 1000.

2. In addition the Police was considered to have a reserve potential

In 1900, the strength return was as follows :

Corps	Off.	Ors	Horses	Camels
Mounted	6	166	351	5
Foot	2	179	-	-
Total	8	345	351	5

MILITARY EXPENDITURE

1854-1900

Ref.	Year	Nominal Strength	Military	Cost per Man	Ref.	Year	Nominal Strength	Military Expend.	Cost per Man
Pp 37/65	1854	840	248	0.3	Stat Ref.	1885*	3233	56590	17.3
"	55	840	4792	5.7	"	86*	2290	40996	18.0
"	56	848	96	0.1	"	87*	2797	41013	15.2
"	57	-	-	-	"	88*	2735	41122	15.6
"	58	-	-	-	"	89	2671	31602	18.5
"	59	567	-	-	"	90	2266	36617	16.2
PP 199/68/9	60	1526	6419	4.2	"	91	2425	38338	15.6
"	61	2049	6336	3.3	"	92	2575	39818	15.2
"	62	2002	11597	5.7	"	93	2245	25566	11.5
"	63	1664	3821	2.3	"	94	2055	21433	10.2
"	64	1464	1658	1.1	"	95	2090	14795	7.2
"	65	1345	6897	5.1	"	96	777	7652	10.0
"	66	768	6777	8.7	"	97	1286	20566	16.0
"	67	831	11448	13.8	"	98	1326	15413	11.6
"	68	751	8149	10.8	"	99	1391	15110	10.8
"	69	-	-	-	"	1900	3021	28419	9.5
Stat. Reg.	70	267	5926	28.5	* Includes naval expenditure				
"	71	(?)	927	4.5	Averages : (1) Cost per soldier £11.4.0. (2) Cost per soldier from 1885 onwards £10.16.0.				
"	72	Returns listed at that strength for six years	682	3.1					
"	73		738	3.6					
"	74		833	4.0					
"	75		883	-					
"	76		1015	-					
"	77		10530	-					
"	78		14517	18.1					
"	79		24910	-					
"	80		18994	-					
"	81		23452	-					
"	82		21937	-					
"	83		27557	-					
"	*84	2230	28330	12.0					

Year	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851 ⁽¹⁾	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	
Unit or Units	96th	96th	96th	96th	11th	11th	11th	99th	11th	11th	11th	11th	11th	11th	12th	40th	40th	40th	40th	40th	40th	40th	
Strength	3/83	3/81	4/91	3/83	3/86	3/80	2/79	3/63	2/45	-	3/58	2/52	3/68	2/66	1/-	3/80	1/-	4/99	4/82	3/68	3/64	1/1	3/57
Lodging Allowance	-	-	-	-	271	267	299	283	487	-	238	202	116	(4)	(4)	(4)	246	332	298	189	174	254	
Barracks Account ⁽²⁾	587	430	292	278	280	288	280	280	280	-	518	530	522	927	1158	1019	535 ⁽⁵⁾	752	124	753	18	73	
Rations (Additional)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54 ⁽¹²⁾	90	
Colonial Allowance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	420	443	1389	1570	1803	1980	1892	1317 ⁽¹⁰⁾	1261	867 ⁽¹¹⁾	515	
Total Col. Expend.	587	430	292	178	551	555	579	563	767	-	830	1152	1381	2316	2728	2822	2761	2976	1739	2303	1113	932	
Staff Pay ⁽⁷⁾	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105	140	171	161	196	179	164	159	179	
Regimental Pay	1258 ⁽⁸⁾	1250	1932	2489	3035	2799	4932 ⁽⁹⁾	3251	2182	-	2001	1899	1775	1884	2191	2334	2936	2612	1956	1495	1443	1541	
Commissariat Hq ⁽³⁾	388	486	494	376	425	601	541	538	945 ⁽⁹⁾	-	503	610	550	499	519	654	499	489	376	337	496	518 ⁽¹⁴⁾	
Rations less stoppage	971	960	530	-	22	372	287	345	325	-	441	666	1208	986	995	712	1036	1071	815	691	454	629	
Fuel, Fire, Light ⁽⁶⁾	222	175	150	122	192	-	-	-	-	-	22	175	120	59	206	88	92	349	166	128	174	807	
Transport	636	47	94	46	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	111	111	131	139	128	130	111	174	93	
Comm. Lodging Allow.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	30	30	30	30	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Comm. Office Rent.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	112	117	111	125	172	126	130	146	217	119	64	112 ⁽¹⁵⁾	
Miscellaneous	-	151	-	49	202	134	199	191	127	-	112	117	111	125	172	126	130	146	217	119	64	112 ⁽¹⁵⁾	
Total Imp. Expend.	3475	3069	3200	3082	3920	3906	5959	4325	3579	-	3109	3497	3794	3798	4364	4228	4993	4990	3839	3045	3064	3879	
Grand Total	4062	3499	3492	3360	4471	4461	6538	4888	4346	-	3939	4649	5175	6115	7092	7050	7754	7966	5579	5348	4177	4811	
% page by COL.	14%	12%	8%	9%	12%	12%	9%	11%	18%	-	21%	25%	27%	38%	38%	40%	35%	37%	33%	43%	27%	19%	
COL. COST/MAN	7	5	3	3	6	7	7	7	16	-	12	21	19	34	32	26	27	34	25	34	18	16	
IMP. COST/MAN	27	37	34	36	45	47	74	60	76	-	52	59	54	55	53	39	48	49	54	46	50	64	
TOTAL COST/MAN	34	42	37	39	51	54	81	67	92	-	64	80	73	89	85	65	75	83	79	80	68	80	

GENERAL NOTE: From the return of Imperial troops later in 1865 to their departure in 1870 detailed strength and cost returns are very difficult to establish and are therefore omitted from this table, except for the brief listing below :

Year	Unit	Strength
1865	2/14th	
1866	2/14th	
1867	2/14th) 50th)	9/241
1868	50th	
1869	50th) 2/14th)	
1870	2/14) 2/118)	2/92

FOOTNOTES

- No data available
- Includes water supply, furniture, rent and building maintenance
- Includes advertising, printing and stationary.
- Included barracks account
- Barracks now fully occupied, i.e. no rent.
- From 1847 onwards included in ration account.
- Includes forage allowance and was up to 1888 included in regimental pay account.
- Includes the pay for sappers and miners in that year.
- Figures are high and not included in average calculations.
- Change in colonial pay rates.
- Daily ration allowance was : 1/2 pd bread, 1/8 oz coffee & tea, 2 oz sugar, 1/3 oz pepper.
- Imperial troops departed in October for New Zealand.
- Includes dependence allowance for 3 women & 4 children left behind at a daily rate 1 pd bread, 1 pd meat; children half rations.

Averages: Imperial cost per man/ per year £49
Colonial cost per man/ per year £17
Overall average per man/ per year £71.