CHAPTER XXI

THE WAR ENDS

Two days after the capture of Montbrehain British soldiers in France buying the Paris edition of the Daily Mail learnt that the German Government had asked for an armistice. Actually this had been asked for on the night of October 3rd as a result of the urgent anxieties set up by Foch's combined offensive in the mind of Ludendorff, to whose reactions this narrative must now turn.

It has been stated here that the Franco-American offensive on July 18th was the turning point of the war. Ludendorff could, or would, not see it; he still hoped to "discover a strategical remedy." While he was engaged in this gambler's speculation "the blow of the 8th of August fell on me." Nearly every German regimental history repeats his dictum: "August 8th was the black day of the German army in the history of this war." Actually it was the day whose events convinced him that Germany was beaten. After admitting that "the morale of the German army was no longer what it had been," and blaming part of the troops—but not the policy that for five months had set them at tasks beyond their strength—Ludendorff himself says:

The 8th of August put the decline of that fighting power beyond all doubt, and in such a condition as regards reserves I had no hope of finding a strategic expedient whereby to turn the situation to our advantage.

He decided that "the war must be ended," and arranged the famous conferences with the Chancellor (von Hertling) and Foreign Minister (von Hintze) and the Kaiser, at Spa on August 13th and 14th. It was agreed that peace negotiations must be initiated; but the generals—especially Hindenburg—could not bring themselves to paint the military situation in colours that would force immediate action, and the statesmen

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1 The quotations are from My War Memories, p. 678 et seq.
2 The Emperor of Austria also conferred with the Kaiser.
received the impression that the approach to their enemies for peace negotiations should not be made until the German armies had re-established a stable front, or even hit back, thus giving the statesman favourable position for the proposal of terms.

But instead of being re-established the German Western Front progressively crumbled, and Germany’s allies in the east gave way. As by September 26th the German Government had not approached its enemies, Ludendorff summoned the Foreign Secretary again to Spa. Hintze came on the 29th. Hindenburg and Ludendorff insisted that an armistice must immediately be asked for. Hintze pointed out that the creation of a popular government in Germany was now inevitable. Hertling would resign and the request for an armistice must be made by a new Chancellor—who would probably be Prince Max of Baden, a liberal leader. Ludendorff was assured that the new government would be formed in time to despatch the note on October 1st. It would be sent to President Woodrow Wilson of the United States and would offer to accept as the basis for the peace negotiations the President’s “Fourteen Points.”

Difficulties however immediately arose. The German people had so often been assured by its military leaders of the invincible prowess of the German Army that neither they nor Prince Max would now believe that complete disaster threatened it. Max refused to take the Chancellorship if his first act must be to ask for an armistice without preparing either the outside world or the German people. At this stage Ludendorff and Hindenburg feared that their front might break at any moment, and, sending a representative, Maj. von der Bussche, to Berlin, they constantly insisted that no time must be lost in breaking off the fight; the politicians on the other hand urged a policy less akin to complete surrender.

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4 The explanation of Maj. von der Bussche on Oct. 1 (says Prince Max) “completely crushed” the political leaders. He said that Hindenburg, Ludendorff and the Kaiser had decided “to give up the war as hopeless. Every twenty-four hours might make matters worse . . .” He told Prince Max that the situation had been changed in the last few days by the Bulgarian collapse, the strain created by tanks on the nerves of the troops, and the shortage of reserves. Hindenburg telephoned that the note should go “to-night” unless it was certain that the new government would be formed in time to send it next morning. Hindenburg’s phrases constantly implied that the German Army was unbeaten and might protect Germany till the spring; but when forced to a decision his attitude was the same as Ludendorff’s: “The situation is daily growing more critical and may force the Supreme Command to take momentous decisions.” (From Col. Haeften’s report quoted in Prince Max’s Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 21.)
Prince Max accepted the Chancellorship, signed the note to President Wilson, and sent it on the night of October 3rd, his view being that if he did not do so the military leaders would, either directly or through Herr von Payer, a step that would have proclaimed to the world that the German commanders believed the position of their army to be hopeless.

By October 9th Ludendorff's anxiety had diminished, but he told Prince Max that the danger still existed: "The English could have broken through our lines with their first tank attack," he said. An attack by Rawlinson's, Byng's and Debeney's armies on October 8th (in which the Australian field artillery supported the II American Corps in the capture of Brancourt and Prémont) brought about the retirement—previously foreshadowed—to the Hermann Line.

As it happened Gen. von Boehn's Group of Armies was to be dissolved at noon that day, the Second Germany Army going back to Crown Prince Rupprecht. On the previous day von Boehn had reported that the British on his front were not capable of a big attack. "Only the Australian divisions," he said, "had a high fighting value and they had already been twice used." Von Kuhl, chief of Rupprecht's staff, differing from Boehn and Ludendorff, expected the attack.

The German Army wanted time to rest and reorganise, and could almost certainly have obtained it had Ludendorff been willing to withdraw straight to the Antwerp-Meuse Line. But Ludendorff desired a stand to be made in order to influence the Armistice negotiations by a show of resistance. That would have been well, says Kuhl, if the Hermann and Antwerp-Meuse Lines had been ready and the army able to stand there; but the conditions were otherwise. Rawlinson's army struck again on

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*The Australian artillery was under the C.R.A. 2nd Aust Div. (Br.-Gen. O. F. Phillips) acting as artillery commander for the 30th American Div., which made the attack for its Corps. He had the guns of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Aust. Div., and the 6th and 12th Army Bdes. A.F.A. Several Australian officers were still with the American Infantry. German air bombing was severe, causing some loss to the 29th Bty. At this stage of the war, after each pitched battle the enemy was followed by lighter forces to his next main position; so the 5th and 3rd Div.'s artillery was now withdrawn for a day or two while those of the 4th and 2nd supported the 30th Div. in its effort to seize the crossings of the Selle River. Quick communication was very difficult and the artillery scouted with mounted patrols, one of which, under Lt. C. C. Bush (North Sydney) 11th Bty., even entered a village before the infantry. Sections of batteries also advanced with the infantry, two guns of the 43rd Bty. engaging in a duel with two German field-guns. Lt. A. J. Bussell (Wonnerup, W.A.) 37th Bty. was killed on Oct. 13.

* From a summary supplied from the Reicharchiv.

* Der Weltkrieg, p. 477.
October 17th,8 drove the Germans across the Selle River, and took le Cateau. At the same time the British and French in Flanders, having on October 14th renewed their attack, forced the Germans to abandon Lille. On the 23rd Third and Fourth Armies struck again. The II American Corps had been withdrawn to rest, but the artillery of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Australian Divisions went on under the 6th British Division (IX Corps).9

The Germans had now retreated to the Sambre-Oise Canal, where it became evident they would try again to stand. Haig was determined to go on hitting them, and German histories show beyond question that he was right. On October 21st, far back in the rest area, General Hobbs, who in Monash’s absence commanded the Australian Corps, was warned that it would shortly be required again. Most of it had then barely settled to rest. The seven battalions10 to be disbanded had, on October 12th, quietly accepted their eclipse, but General Hobbs, who understood that Mr. Hughes had promised the divisions a long rest, urged on Rawlinson that none of them would be fit for the line for three weeks, and that, if those recently relieved were now suddenly recalled, trouble might occur. Rawlinson agreed to a fortnight’s delay. Monash in England wrote to Hughes, who summoned him to an interview, directing that meanwhile he should do nothing inconsistent with the policy I laid down and which you

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8 The II American Corps still formed the centre, and this time attacked with both divisions. The artillery of the 3rd and 5th Aust. Divs. had been brought back to the line on Oct. 13; the 30th American Div. was supported by the 8th, 10th, 11th and 13th Bdes., and 6th (Army) Bde. A.F.A. under Br.-Gen. Bessell-Browne, and the 27th by the 5th, 4th, 7th, and 14th Bdes. and 12th (Army) Bde. A.F.A. under Br.-Gen. Burgess. Australian medium trench-mortars helped to cut the wire, and for the first time moved with and supported the infantry. The 13th A.F.A. Bde. was to cross the Selle after the infantry, but in that part the advance received a temporary check, and sections of the 42nd and 111th Bdes. had to be withdrawn after crossing. The 113th suffered severely. Lt. N. C. Taylor (Brisbane), 38th Bry. was killed.

9 After this battle the artillery of the 2nd Div. and 6th and 12th A.F.A. Bdes. were pulled out. Next day the advanced artillery crossed the Selle. The resistance now came chiefly from machine-gunners in hedges and woods, with which this country abounded. The Americans quickly repaired the Selle bridges and grappled gallantly with the machine-gunners, but could make little headway. The artillery found four-horse teams too weak for the active work at this time.

10 The 6th Div.'s left group—7th, 10th, and 11th A.F.A. and 14th (Army) R.F.A. Bdes.—was under Br.-Gen. Burgess, and its right group—8th, 13th, and 14th Bdes. A.F.A.—under Br.-Gen. Bessell-Browne. The attack was made at 1.20 a.m. and involved, for part of the artillery, a difficult advance through a barrage of gas and high-explosive. After this fight the 7th, 8th and 10th Bdes. were temporarily withdrawn, the 11th being left in the line.
11 19th, 21st, 25th, 29th, 37th, 42nd and 54th.
approved—i.e. that the troops should have a long and unbroken rest before being called upon to go into the line.

Hughes ultimately decided that, provided the divisions were first given a fair rest, he would not oppose this call upon them. Rawlinson told Hobbs that after the coming battle on the Sambre they might be put in, two at a time, for short tours, but that the fighting would be much less arduous than hitherto.

No one acquainted with their work grudged the Australian infantry their rest, though G.H.Q. resented Hughes's action and the implication behind it.11

On November 4th the Fourth, Third and First Armies with Debeney's on their right drove the Germans from their line between Sambre and Scheldt. The artilleries of the 3rd and 4th Australian Divisions were employed with the 1st and 32nd British Divisions respectively of the IX Corps. The 32nd crossed the Sambre canal after great difficulty, but the 1st and 25th on its right and left made swift progress and that evening aeroplanes reported that all roads ahead were crowded with retiring Germans. Next day the Australian artillery was withdrawn.

Only the cavalry could now keep up with the Germans in their retreat. So effectively had the enemy demolished railway and road junctions and bridges that food and munitions could barely be supplied to the pursuing troops, and delayed-action mines constantly wrecked other key points in areas now behind the British front. After the 1st and 4th Australian Divisions on November 10th began to move up to relieve the 32nd and 66th beyond le Cateau, both were delayed by such explosions.

They were not destined to fight again. In an interchange of notes, following Prince Max's appeal for an armistice, President Woodrow Wilson had insisted that he could not treat with the German Government unless it withdrew from the invaded territories, and also represented a people controlling the policy

11 Two sets of statistics were produced by G.H.Q. One, towards the end of the Australians' rest-period, showed that they had received more rest than other divisions. Had it been drawn up at the beginning it would have shown that they had received less—in any case they had been far more active than the average. The other showed that the casualties per battalion since Mar. 21 were: British—43 officers, 1,082 others; Canadian—42 officers, 956 others; Australian—36 officers, 704 others. Apart from the probability that the Australian battalions were much weaker than the others, and the fact that very few prisoners were included in the Australian figure, such a statement is almost worthless as a criterion of the effort or activity of troops.
and armed forces of its country. If the American Government "must deal with the military masters and monarchical autocrats of Germany . . . it must demand not peace negotiations but surrender." This obvious sign to the German people and soldiers, thirsting for immediate peace, that the rule of the Kaiser and of Ludendorff stood between them and their desire, was followed by the dismissal of Ludendorff. Changes to the constitution, making Germany a limited monarchy but preserving the army's allegiance to the Kaiser, were rushed through in three days. But on October 28th Austria, against whom an Italian offensive had at last begun, asked for a separate peace and armistice. Till then German leaders had hoped, if the terms of their opponents were too severe, to rally the army and people to continue resistance, hoping that discontent would then break out in France and England. But now the German people was turned against its leaders. Its demand for the Kaiser's abdication became outspoken. On October 29th and 30th the crews of German warships in Kiel, which without the knowledge of the Government were ordered by their commander to put to sea in order to fight the British, mutinied. Revolt quickly spread to the land. Moreover on the 30th the Turks signed the terms of a separate armistice. On November 3rd the Austrians did the same.

On November 5th while two reliable divisions (the first of them being the 2nd Guard Division) were being rushed from the front to stem the spreading revolt, there arrived Wilson’s note saying that the Allied governments declared their willingness to make peace with Germany on the basis of the Fourteen Points with two modifications, and intimating that Marshal Foch had been authorised to communicate to German representatives the terms of an armistice. The representatives crossed the lines on November 7th, and were handed the terms by Foch (with whom were General Weygand and Admiral Wemyss) in his train at Compiègne on the morning of the 8th. The terms were such that the Germans would not be able to fight again if they accepted them. In addition to evacuating

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12 He was succeeded by Gen. Groener. Hindenburg remained.
13 The end of hostilities was ordered on the previous night, but (says the German General von Kuhl with bitter contempt) the Italians continued to cut off masses of retiring troops and claim them as "prisoners of war" until the afternoon of the 4th.
within fourteen days all invaded territories they were to withdraw within another sixteen days ten kilometres beyond the Rhine, the Allies and Americans following and occupying the left bank and three main bridgeheads (Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz); Germany must hand over in good condition, without removing them, 5,000 guns, 25,000 machine-guns, 3,000 trench-mortars, 1,700 fighting and bombing aircraft, 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 railway waggons, 5,000 motor lorries; she must also send to an Allied harbour 6 battle-cruisers, 10 battleships, 8 light cruisers and 50 modern destroyers. All prisoners of war must be returned by her, but her own would not yet be returned nor would the blockade be lifted.

As, since Foch launched his offensive in July, the Germans had already lost 6,615 guns, these terms meant their disarming. They were the kind of terms that the German Government and military leaders had hoped their people would rally to resist. The army was beaten and demoralised, but had Ludendorff withdrawn it soon enough and far enough it would have recovered and could certainly have held on behind the Rhine until the spring.

But on November 9th some of the British airmen flying over French or Belgian towns behind the German lines could not find an enemy to shoot at. The streets were thronged with people; German soldiers were among them. A revolution, though almost a bloodless one, had happened in Germany. The Social Democrats had insisted that the Kaiser and Crown Prince must go. The workers in Berlin rose and the troops there would not fire on them. The Kaiser at Spa wavered, but Prince Max, receiving a message that he intended to abdicate, authorised the announcement of abdication and added that he

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16 These are the terms actually laid down by Foch. They differ slightly from those previously discussed with some of the Allied leaders.

18 See The Last Four Months by Maj.-Gen. Sir F. Maurice. The British took 188,700 prisoners and 2,840 guns; the French 139,000 prisoners and 1,880 guns; the Americans 44,000 and 1,421, and the Belgians 14,500 and 474—total 385,000 prisoners, 6,615 guns.

17 Foch had intended to attack in Lorraine on Nov. 14. mainly with the First and Second American Armies. He would have taken Metz but would have been stopped on the Rhine. In the spring, even if the German people had held out, which is unlikely, the blockade and attacks in south-east and west would have forced capitulation. When first asking for the Armistice Ludendorff had looked to it as a means to give his troops the rest necessary for renewing the fight.

18 Actually he had only agreed to abdicate as Emperor of Germany but not as KIng of Prussia.
himself was handing over the Chancellorship to the Social Democrat leader, Ebert. The German Republic was proclaimed from the steps of the Reichstag. At the front German soldiers mingled with the villagers, believing—so says an Australian prisoner of war—that they would now be treated as brothers by the enemies who had been exhorting them to fling off their militarist leaders. There could now be no question of opposing Foch’s terms. Ebert, as his first action, had to hasten to Foch with his country’s acceptance. On the night of the 10th Foch ordered all operations to cease at 11 o’clock next day.

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19 A leaflet dropped from aeroplanes, as well as Wilson’s and Lloyd George’s speeches, probably encouraged this belief.
The 1st and 4th Australian Divisions were then arriving in the region about le Cateau. Neither there nor at the front was there any general demonstration—the sound of guns ceased; the gates of the future silently opened. Wonder, hope, grief, too deep and uncertain for speech, revolved for days in almost every man's mind while, in the British zone at least, army life went on as usual pending the next decisions. These were that Second and Fourth Armies, each covered by a cavalry division, should march to the German frontier in three stages, following the German retirement.

But it immediately became clear that neither these armies nor the French on their right could carry out the programme. Food—for them and for the flood of returning prisoners and civilians—could not be kept up to them, not to mention ammunition. In Fourth Army the Australian Corps was farthest from the front, yet long after the Armistice trouble occurred in the 4th Infantry Brigade to which the staff could not push forward the full rations. By November 20th Foch decided that the force to enter Germany must be cut down by half. Fourth Army was to stop at the frontier. Australian Corps, whose other divisions would be brought up, was to hold the rear area of its army, between the rivers Meuse and Sambre and the towns of Dinant, Charleroi and Avesnes. Some of its divisions were to go to Germany later.

The end of the war had come almost as suddenly as its beginning. On August 21st the Allies were still planning for the next summer's campaign. In less than three months fighting had ended and the British oversea dominions were faced with the urgent problem
of getting their forces home. In the A.I.F. General White had this under consideration in December 1916 when the British Government also enquired as to the wishes of the dominions and itself took steps to begin the planning. It was recognised that the process involved several stages—the bringing home of the troops—"Repatriation"; the reduction of the army from its war footing—Demobilisation; and the reinstating of the soldiers in civil life, which the War Office called Rehabilitation or Reconstruction and Canadians Civil Re-establishment or Re-instatement. In Australia this phase was mistitled "Repatriation." On the 2nd of January 1917 the Australian Government cabled that the whole question of "repatriation" was being considered. On the 13th of November 1917 Birdwood asked it for the repatriation proposals and was told they would be sent him as early as possible. In February 1918 at A.I.F. Headquarters in London Maj. Sherington, who four months earlier had pointed out the need for a small staff to think out the requirements for all three stages, was appointed to organise a "Demobilisation and Repatriation Section" for this purpose. Keeping touch with a Committee formed by the War Office to advise on the whole matter, on August 9th he presented a report on the problem, and in this and subsequent papers many of the methods eventually adopted were suggested. One anxiety—due to the fact that the A.I.F. had been enlisted for service only during the war "and six months thereafter"—had been allayed in June 1918 by the Australian Parliament's altering the soldiers' contract and enacting that the period of service should be determined by proclamation by the Governor-General. In August an Empire Demobilisation Committee was formed by a decision of the Imperial War Cabinet; but the A.I.F. scheme was held up by the failure of the Australian Government to send the promised particulars as to its policy of rehabilitation: until it was known in what order Australia desired the troops to be sent back—by units, length of service, trade, or family responsibility—no plan of repatriation could

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33 See Shorter Oxford English Dictionary: "Return or restoration to one's own country."

34 For example those of unit cadres, quotas for embarkation, method of drawing new equipment to go back with the force, discharge of some soldiers abroad, early clearing of camps and their allocation, early return of convalescents, disposal of military prisoners, education and recreation on voyage.
be formulated by General Birdwood. The same lack of information was holding up the plan of the Education Scheme on which the A.I.F. leaders were relying as the chief means for employing their troops during the long wait—estimated at a year or more—before the last Australian soldier could be sent home. Many soldiers, before deciding on an educational course, wanted to know what occupations were likely to be open to them on their return. The education officers, then being selected, were by far the best agents for spreading accurate knowledge of whatever scheme the Australian Government had. The A.I.F. leaders also wished to issue a questionnaire, approved by other governments in the Empire, to ascertain the wishes of the troops concerning their future occupations. But though A.I.F. Headquarters asked the Australian Government again, in April, June and August 1918, the promised information was not sent, and the questionnaire could not be issued. Instead on August 14th came a sharp reply stating that the information asked for was a matter for the Repatriation Department.

No action is to be taken in connection with this matter other than to comply with requests of the Repatriation Department, which will be forwarded to you through this Department (Defence) from time to time. Regarding demobilisation and return of troops to Australia, policy of Government will be communicated to you when arrived at.

As precious months were slipping by, on September 10th General Griffiths turned to Mr. Hughes, who though, like others, he had no notion that the war would end in 1918, cabled to Australia his and Mr. Cook's strong approval of the questionnaire. On the 30th General Dodds25 cabled:

A definite policy is needed at once; otherwise we shall be faced with the task of having to repatriate the A.I.F. without a policy or the preparation and organisation essential to success.

This, and other very strong protests brought permission (awaited for six months) to issue the questionnaire; but the

25 Gen. Griffiths had gone back to Australia on leave. The Ministry of Shipping had now undertaken to return 200,000 Australians in 9 months, but could not find out whether Australia would absorb them. Mr. Hughes provisionally agreed that it should be done in 18 months.
other requests were still unanswered when on November 5th Dodds telegraphed:

I really must press you for replies to my previous demobilisation cables. You must realise matter is very urgent.

On the day of the Armistice, November 11th, a year after it was promised, the information came. The Government sent a summary of its rehabilitation scheme and added:

Now decided demobilisation should be directed from London by Mr. Hughes, and you should take his direction on main principles.

This wise but exceedingly belated decision resolved a most unfortunate deadlock.26 Later, after Mr. Hughes had gone to Versailles, Senator Pearce took his place, assuring continuity—a step more helpful than many Australians realised.

On the signing of the Armistice General Birdwood sent General White to London to prepare the scheme for the troops’ return. White had always intended, when this moment arrived, to bring to London leading officers of the Australian Corps Staff to carry out repatriation. They were accordingly sent, and with them on November 16th the Demobilisation and Repatriation Branch was formed, White presiding. Mr. Hughes had decided to consult both him and Monash as to demobilisation, and was also determined to obtain now, if possible, for Australian soldiers the opportunity to work in British factories so as to gain experience of benefit for themselves and their country. White strongly favoured this scheme, whose bigness appealed to him, but he felt its carrying out to be a task separate from repatriation, and that he was not best qualified to deal with it. He advised Hughes to entrust Monash with

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26 The deadlock had been partly due to the Repatriation Department’s fears that the Defence Department was trying to interfere with its work. The fact that the “Demobilisation and Repatriation Section” of A.I.F. Headquarters in London incorporated the Repatriation Department’s name was partly responsible for this; Sherington’s reports forwarded to Melbourne, also included recommendations as to rehabilitation; and the proposed questionnaire concerned that process. The suggestions were probably not of great value, but they were merely suggestions, and, in the interest of the troops, A.I.F. Headquarters had the right to make them. Gen. Birdwood had urged that a representative of the Repatriation Department should be sent to A.I.F. Headquarters—an obviously desirable step which would have enabled any misunderstanding to be quickly cleared up, matters of mutual concern to be discussed, and spheres of work to be defined; but the answer received after long delays was a refusal. Even an early warning that the Repatriation Department considered the questionnaire valueless would have avoided most troublesome delays in planning the return of the troops. A strongly worded Press message sent by the official correspondent on Oct. 14 explaining the matter and urging that political support was required in London, was suppressed in Australia, but influenced the Government’s decision.
the industrial task or, if it was preferred to combine the two, with the whole work. The latter course was adopted and on November 21st Monash was appointed Director-General of Repatriation and Demobilisation. From that moment the energy of the A.I.F. staff and leaders and the minds of its men were directed to repatriation.27 Monash returned to le Cateau and, at his last great conference of divisional and brigade commanders and the higher staff on November 26th in the Brewery Château, launched his scheme.

This work showed him at his best.28 He estimated that he had to repatriate 180,000 men and at least 7,000 dependants. The release of troops from France could not officially begin until Haig could dispense with them, which was unlikely to be before February when the peace negotiations might end. Monash expected that 150,000 Australians would be still oversea at the end of that month and 100,000 at the end of May. To keep them content, not merely must a scheme of priority in demobilisation be settled, but they must thoroughly understand it and the reasons for it. As soon as it was settled each unit commander would be responsible for organising his unit in accordance with whatever categories were adopted.

Repatriation would certainly take a year. During that time he would have to control a force that had combined in most effective discipline when engaged on the tasks it had enlisted for, but whose motive for existence had suddenly vanished, and whose antipathy to control when not engaged on that task had often caused anxiety and trouble to those who did not thoroughly understand it.

Monash decided that the A.I.F. must be given a new motive. He told its assembled leaders that their men, in whom during the war they had successfully implanted and encouraged a “fighting morale,” must now be instilled with a “reconstruction morale.” They must be given a vision of the needs of Australia in the future days of peace, so that each one would be keen to reinstall himself as a useful member of his nation.

27 Blamey wrote to Monash that, though the troops would be disappointed at the postponement of their march into Germany, their main preoccupation was, “When shall we get back to Australia?”
28 For his own opinion see Vol. XI, p. 827, note
29 95,000 in France and Belgium; 60,000 in Great Britain (staffs, reinforcements, sick, wounded and convalescents); and 30,000 in Egypt and Mesopotamia.
As the chief means to this end and to another equally important—to provide useful occupation during the months of waiting—Monash seized on the A.I.F. education scheme which, by the immense effort of its organiser, was then as will shortly be told, coming into operation.

Meanwhile the picked staff that White brought to London—now under Brig.-Genl. Foott as Monash’s Deputy-Director—was itself grappling with the task of repatriation. It was at once clear that some of Sherington’s plans were defective. They had been made in close touch with the War Office Committee, which itself, however, was out of touch with the troops at the front. It proposed, for example, to repatriate the British Army according to the demands of industry, thus averting probable unemployment, and this plan had been recommended to Australia also. The Australian Government, proud of the new tradition of its troops, favoured their return by regiments. But those aware of the soldiers’ feelings realised their passionate longing for home and that the only principle likely to seem fair to all was, “first to come, first to go.” Mr. Hughes insisted that even the criterion whether a man was married or single must be secondary to that of length of service. Again, in order to secure shipping for soldiers’ wives and families, it had been suggested that these should be sent at once, before the troops moved, any remainder having to wait until the troops had gone. Thus young English wives with their babies would have to wait for their husbands in Australia—to them a strange country. But Lieut.-Col. Somerville, then in charge of Movements and Quartering, at once took steps to arrange with the transport branch for “family ships,” to sail at intervals throughout the process, carrying husbands together with their wives and young children.

At the end of November, leaving General Hobbs to command Australian Corps, Monash returned to London and took charge of repatriation.30 He arranged that A.I.F. Headquarters

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in London under Brig.-Genl. Dodds should continue to carry on the records, medical administration, and most of its regular work. Later, as information of the work of each section was too slow in reaching the others and the troops in France, Monash established his own “administrative branch” whose duty was to co-ordinate the work, and to keep all troops fully informed as to the precise progress in repatriation, rendering them content by taking them into their leader’s confidence. The wisdom of this policy was abundantly apparent; the only serious trouble in the shipping of the A.I.F. from England arose in October 1919, through a failure of the naval and military staffs to inform the troops beforehand of a difficulty which it was attempted to solve by compromise.

But the task involved also other staffs. In November the Australian Naval Transport Branch, under Commander Parker, had been informed by A.I.F. Headquarters that plans were to be made for sending home 165,000 troops in nine months. On November 20th at a meeting of the Empire Demobilisation Committee to co-ordinate the demands for this purpose upon shipping, the Australian representatives had to insist that the standard of space allotted by the Admiralty was not accepted by the Australian department, which, supported by a letter from Mr. Hughes, required provision of a hammock-billet for each man. This meant twenty per cent. more space, but it was eventually secured by agreeing to extend the embarkations over \( 1 \frac{1}{2} \) months.

Although Mr. Hughes was now his Government’s sole mouthpiece and all cables to Australia had to go through him, he in turn had naturally to consult his Government, and until December 19th the question of the order of priority for the men’s return was still unsettled. General Monash now strongly

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81 Nominally it remained directly under Birdwood.
82 That of repatriating a number of sergeants and their families for whom no 2nd class ship was available. In order to effect this without longer delay a 3rd class ship, Waimarama, with 2nd class messing had been arranged for; but, through a mistake, the troops had not been informed. They refused to allow their wives to sail in her. The objection was reasonable, and all were re-embarked in a later ship.
84 It was only one of many urgent demands. For example, Americans and prisoners of war had to be repatriated, and food sent to Central Europe as well as to the Allies.
85 The Admiralty adopted messing space as the basis of accommodation for men but gave 1st class accommodation to officers. On the other hand, living standards of the mass of the dominion peoples were higher than the British.
urged his own recommendation on Mr. Hughes—that the criteria should be

1. Length of service.
2. Family responsibilities.
3. Assured employment.

The Prime Minister agreed subject to his Government's concurrence and directed Monash to proceed on that decision. He further insisted that leave should be given to the men before embarkation. Other principles that had then been settled were:

That men might be repatriated early for special reasons, e.g. if they were "pivotal" for Australian industry or commerce.
That applications for discharge outside Australia, though not encouraged, could be granted if sufficient cause was shown.
That extended leave with or without pay could be given on educational or strong personal grounds.
That animals should not be brought back to Australia but sold overseas.
That the authorities of the Red Cross and Comforts Funds should be asked to give generous support during this difficult period.

By the efforts of Mr. Hughes ships were provided much more quickly than was expected, and Monash was directed to get the men away as fast as he could. In the early stages, indeed, it was difficult to fill the ships; but the deadly epidemic of pneumonic influenza that followed the milder epidemic of the summer was then at its height and the medical authorities temporarily agreed upon a wider spacing of hammocks. Moreover General Birdwood had actually started repatriation after the Armistice by (1) warning Australia to keep the "Anzac Leave" men who were already arriving there, (2) extending that leave to men who left Australia in the first half of 1915, and (3) clearing Australian convalescents from England.

Meanwhile Monash worked out a most ingenious scheme for the remainder. Each division\(^{36}\) was to classify its members into "quotas" of 1,000 according to their priority—1,000 being a normal trainload, and also shipload. Each 1,000, though drawn from all services, would be organised as a battalion. As ships were found, the quotas would be called to fill them.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{36}\) All troops outside the five divisions would for this purpose count as a sixth division.

\(^{37}\) All Australians from the Western Front sailed from ports in England. The French wanted the use of their own railways; moreover the maintenance of huge depot camps at Marseilles was thus avoided.
Each quota if possible had its brass band, and other organised recreation and its education staff. Each went aboard a transport equipped to the Australian standard and with its complement of nurses, its library, comforts, Red Cross stores and dry canteen. The 40,000 convalescents went separately under medical control. The squadrons of the flying corps were shipped as units, as were the light horse from the Middle East, the process there being controlled by Lieut.-Col. Fulton as Assistant-Director of Demobilisation. In December and January nearly 20,000 men (convalescents and "Anzac Leave") embarked from England. Through various irregularities five per cent. had to be added to each quota to make sure of filling the ships. In February, owing to a shipping strike, only 5,387 sailed. But from then onwards the scheme was in full swing. Evacuation from France proceeded at a steady rate of roughly 5,000 a week from the end of November. On March 23rd the 1st and 4th Divisions were combined as four brigade groups, and on March 29th the 2nd and 5th. The brigade groups shrank to battalions.

In May, the last 10,000 in France were brought to England where the Australian camps on Salisbury Plain now held 70,000 men, the supply of transports not having quite kept pace with the arriving troops. At this stage Australian soldiers in England were marrying at the rate of 150 a week, and the number of wives and children (mostly under 2 years old) and fiancées carried to Australia in 1919 was 15,386. The Ordnance Department arranged with the War Office for the

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38 A board consisting of Maj. W. J. R. Scott (Quartering Branch), Lt.-Commdr. J. K. Davis (Commonwealth Shipping) and Lt.-Col. L. W. Jeffries (Medical) dealt with the equipping of transports. The requirements were largely laid down by Col. K. Smith (Medical) and Maj. H. J. R. Clayton.

39 The light horse regimental commanders had strongly urged this course. The order of priority (roughly by length of service of units) was fair, as these regiments had not been split up and reorganised as much as had the infantry. Also there could be no scheme of industrial employment or training in the Middle East, and the commanders therefore depended more on esprit de corps for the maintenance of discipline.


41 They were now organised into one for each division and one for the A.A.M.C.

42 1,719 dependants of munition workers also were carried; the total, when transport was completed, was about 20,000. The great majority were embarked at the wharfsides in London, Liverpool and Southampton, the ships having been specially fitted and equipped with conveniences, from playgrounds to baby powder. Women officials visited female passengers at their homes and advised them as to the voyage. Some cases were helped from a special fund. Munition workers and their families were repatriated at the same proportional rate as soldiers.
shipment of full new equipment for the force with the exception of aeroplanes. Repatriation from Egypt, though held up by the political disturbances there, was practically finished by September.\textsuperscript{43} In England in the same month General Monash handed over control to Brig.-Genl. Jess.

The godsend of the period of repatriation was the A.I.F. Education Scheme. The A.I.F. was late in the field with it. Canada had its Khaki College established at Witley Camp, England,\textsuperscript{44} eight months before Australia moved. During the winter of 1917-18 the Canadians extended their classes and lectures to France, establishing a temporary organisation, the “University of Vimy Ridge.” In February 1918 a report of this interested General White;\textsuperscript{45} he had in mind the many young Australians who by enlisting had fallen educationally behind those remaining at home, and who in many cases knew no calling except the army. He and General Birdwood saw in this also the ideal occupation for troops awaiting repatriation and one that would provide Australia with citizens in training instead of unskilled men. Unofficial schemes were already working at Southall Hospital and Weymouth Convalescent Depot, where the Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. were training limbless convalescents in a heroic effort to avert the permanent demoralisation of many of them, which otherwise was inevitable. In the anxious month following the great German offensive of March 1918 General White found time to think out the broad essentials.

White abhorred half measures, and the arrival in France of one of the great Australians of his generation, George Merrick Long,\textsuperscript{46} Bishop of Bathurst, gave him the strong, able man for whom he was looking to draw up and launch a

\textsuperscript{43} Col. Fulton’s report says that the outstanding feature was “the wonderful discipline of the troops.”

\textsuperscript{44} This college eventually had a chancellor, senate, 48 lecturers, and 1,400 students, with departments of history, mathematics, English, classics, modern languages, Celtic literature, business and agriculture. Dr. H. M. Tory of Alberta University was director, and a Y.M.C.A. official was secretary.

\textsuperscript{45} Lt. G. L. Mayman (Brunswick, Vic.) of the 3rd Div. Signal Coy. wrote to the Official War Correspondent suggesting that the A.I.F. should have the benefit of such a scheme. The correspondent asked White if he might report to him on it, and did so after visiting the Canadian Corps.

big scheme. Long saw in the proposed task a chance not only of helping the troops, but of making Australian citizens. On May 10th he agreed to undertake it, and immediately grappled with it, his objective being to get the system established before the war ended, and sufficiently tested to render possible a swift and great expansion. He began by visiting Australian leaders and units to ascertain their needs; investigated the British system then being initiated, and the Canadian; visited British universities and technical and other schools, and educational leaders, in particular Albert Mansbridge, founder of the Workers' Educational Association, who volunteered to work under him.

Long was immediately impressed by the fact that, of those who wanted technical training, more than a third wished to follow agriculture; not only men who had been farmers and pastoralists expressed this desire, but many others, who were reluctant to return to city life. About half the remainder wanted commercial and half mechanical training. Everywhere he found intense eagerness to know the details of the Australian Government's rehabilitation scheme. He then returned to London, having chosen Capt. Thomson, a Rhodes scholar, as his main assistant there, and leaving Lieut. Mulholland, a high school master of New South Wales, to organise, under Brig.-Genl Blamey and Maj. Casey, the work in France.

His scheme provided for three kinds of training—professional, technical, and general—to be provided by two means: first, teaching within the A.I.F., second (when fighting ended) farming men out to universities, commercial or industrial schools, and such industrial works as would accept them. To

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48 Authority was sought from Australia for his employment, but the reply in the files refers to an Australian officer of the same surname.

49 After a fortnight's survey Long discussed his project with a committee on May 27, and on June 10 laid his scheme before a meeting of A.I.F. commanders. He afterwards continued his visits to units, speaking to 10,000 men. Their votes confirmed the result of his first survey.


this end every man would be asked his choice of occupation, the co-operation of British industries and trades unions must be gained, plant, books, stationery, and housing provided, and a staff, teaching and administrative, must be planned, authorised, selected, and instructed for its work. As engineer, motor transport, and workshop and railway operating companies would be used for technical schools, tables had to be drawn authorising the necessary equipment—from dynamos to pieces of chalk; authority had to be obtained for these and all other “establishments,” and then the staff actually appointed, equipment provided, promotions made, and money found; all this at a time when the Allies’ offensive was occupying the strained attention of every commander concerned.

Long, with Thomson as Deputy-Director and Lieut. Rudall (another Rhodes scholar) as Assistant-Director, battled through the problems, only to be held up by the apparent non-co-operation of the Minister for Repatriation, whose own schemes would much have benefited by co-operation. By September officers and men experienced in education had been selected throughout the A.I.F. To fire them with a missionary enthusiasm added to well-planned technique, Long—now Lieut.-Colonel—obtained the use of Cheshunt College, a Methodist institution at Cambridge and assembled them there for a three weeks’ school. He and Mansbridge brought Clutton-Brock and other leaders of thought to challenge discussion and reawaken

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62 In Jan. 1917, the motor transport companies (two for each division) for carrying food and ammunition had become a Corps organisation consisting of (1) headquarters of the motor transport of the Corps; (2) the supply column of the Corps comprising (a) headquarters and (b) a supply column for each division and for the Corps troops; (3) the ammunition park of the Corps, similarly consisting of (a) headquarters and (b) an ammunition sub-park for each division. These units of I Anzac Corps had been given the designation “K” (e.g. K Corps Ammunition Park) and those of II Anzac “Y”.

For a different reason—complaints that they were not properly administered in matters of promotion, etc—six Australian railway operating companies were, in Mar. 1918, placed under an administrative headquarters in charge of Lt.-Col. S. H. Hancox (Ipswich, Q’land), who was attached to the Director-General of Transport at G.H.Q.

63 A cable to Senator Pearce, Minister for Defence, immediately brought an advance of £5,000 for emergencies. A finance committee of Gen. White, Bishop Long, Br-Gen. Dodds and the Chief Paymaster controlled expenditure subject to authorisation from Australia—an excellent method if the work had not been a race against time.


65 Maj. F. A. Wisdom acted as his military secretary and Lt. R J. Bowden (N.S.W. Department of Education) as registrar of students.

independence of thought among his officers, who formed study groups (a system Long intended them to practise), thrashed out their syllabuses, and chose text books.\textsuperscript{57}

The pre-Armistice negotiations were then proceeding, and during the second school the crisis came—the Armistice.\textsuperscript{58} A prospectus outlining the scheme had been issued in October, but the drafted establishments were not yet approved and the questionnaire not yet issued. The demand of the British and oversea forces for text books and scribbling blocks far outran the supply. Books on Australian agriculture being unprocurable even from Australia, Long told Lieut. Kelly, a South Australian sheep breeder of wide education: "A new set will have to be made." Kelly returned to Cambridge and in three weeks wrote a practical handbook, \textit{Beef, Mutton, and Wool}, one of the first and best of fifteen useful "Land Books" written by members of Long's agricultural section under Capt. Birks\textsuperscript{60} (of Roseworthy College, South Australia\textsuperscript{61}).

The most difficult problem now lay in gaining entrance to industrial works. Although the trades union leaders were most anxious to help, British labour was so diluted, and the problem of reinstating British soldiers in their own industries was expected to be so thorny, that the unions were naturally very cautious. Long, therefore, decided to rely mainly on institutions and not attempt to place men in paid employment. Mr. Hughes, however, was determined upon this, and, being outspokenly contemptuous of the education scheme, told Monash that this part of it must be kept out of Long's hands. Monash healed

\textsuperscript{57} Among the members of this and the next school who are not elsewhere mentioned in this chapter were Lt. A. R Chisholm (now Prof. of French, Melbourne), Capt. F. L. McDougall (later Econ. Adviser to Aust. High Commmr. in U.K.), Lts. A. U Tonking (later Chief Secretary, N.S.W.), C. C. Crane (Dept. of Agric., Sydney), J. A. Aird (Closer Settlement Commn., Vic.), K. S. Cunningham (Aust. Council for Educ. Research, Melb.), A. W. Hicks, and J. Gordon McKenzie (both afterwards Directors of Education, N.S.W.).

\textsuperscript{58} Long, in trench coat, on the insistence of his associates led a procession around Cambridge.

\textsuperscript{59} Lt. W. S. Kelly, 48th Bn. Farmer; of Tarlee, S.A.; b. Tarlee, 24 May 1882. (A married man, 35 years old, he had been wounded as a private of the 48th Bn. at Villers-Bretonneux.)


\textsuperscript{61} On Capt. Birks's staff were also Capts. F. A. Chaffey and H. B. D. Barlow. Lt. J. H. Vaughan edited the series. \textit{Beef, Mutton, and Wool} was reprinted in 1920 by an Adelaide publisher.
the misunderstanding by an admirable compromise. Men boarding outside the A.I.F., attending universities, technical schools, industrial works, and farms, would be classified as engaged in "Non-Military Employment." Long would continue to direct both Education and that part of Non-Military Employment which concerned placing out men anywhere as learners; the placing of them simply as employees would be directed by a nominee of Mr. Hughes, Lieut. Burchell, with a special staff. Both sections would come under Col. Bruche of Monash's staff. By undertaking that both the number of men applying and the duration of the scheme would be limited, Hughes and Long finally secured the generous agreement of unions and employers, and on December 19th the scheme for Non-Military Employment was announced and applications called for from the A.I.F. in Europe and the Near East. The scheme, however, required intense organisation—ascertaining each applicant's wishes, finding an opening for him in Britain or elsewhere, settling principles and practice as to his pay, maintenance and allowances, transferring him, keeping his record, maintaining touch with him (in any of 1,000 different places) and checking his progress. The Herculean efforts of Long and his staff with the help of A.I.F. Headquarters had established the machinery without which even the part added by Mr. Hughes to the immense task would have been impossible.

The purely educational effort was farther forward, though the arrangements with Australian universities to credit candidates for matriculation with work done at the A.I.F. schools

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62 Hughes asked Long to lunch next day, Monash having explained that the Educational Service "had already done an enormous amount of good work which I had no intention to scrap." A project of Hughes to secure British Government workshops fell through.


64 Another of Mr Hughes's appointees, Maj. W. L Marfell (Warrnambool, Vic.), was to be placed in charge of work in the wool industry. In practice he and others made sensible arrangements with Long's staff to share the work. Bruche's staff dealt also with all personal applications—for extended leave, discharge in England, and early repatriation.


66 They were to avoid areas in which there was unemployment; skilled men must be paid union rates, they must join the union of their trade and be withdrawn immediately in case of industrial trouble, or, on request, if trade was slack. Unskilled or partly trained men were not favoured, skilled labour being already diluted.
were far from complete. Professor Holme\textsuperscript{67} was being sent from Sydney; and, with two university men already on Long's staff,\textsuperscript{68} he would represent the Australian universities in the carrying out of the scheme.\textsuperscript{69} But some 100 education officers had been appointed, allowing one for each division, artillery brigade, and battalion or regiment, besides staff.\textsuperscript{70} Those with the units were to see each man, ascertain his choice of occupation and of training, seek out possible teachers and lecturers, inform their men of the scheme, and arrange for the attendance at divisional or other schools of those whose requirements could not be met in their own unit. In some brigades classes had been going during the October rest;\textsuperscript{71} indeed in a few units they had been started months before on the initiative of keen leaders, notably in the 8th Field Ambulance in France\textsuperscript{72} and at Moascar Camp in Egypt.

But in France the moves in November caused a break in continuity; and even when the Corps settled around Charleroi much keen interest died away through constant interruptions for leave, duty, or repatriation of students or teacher, and through the delay before text books or stationery arrived.\textsuperscript{73} Except where enthusiasm conquered almost impossibilities, most of the regimental classes failed.\textsuperscript{74} Lectures by visitors proved more practicable but in France were not always well

\textsuperscript{67} Capt. E. R. Holme, O B E. Assistant-Director of Education, A.I.F., 1919. Professor of English language, Univ of Sydney, 1920-40; b Footscray, Vic., 18 Mar. 1871. He and Assistant Professor F. A Todd had organised a company of reinforcements from Sydney University. After two months in camp it was about to sail when fighting came to an end.

\textsuperscript{68} Lt. E V. Clark (Lecturer in Electrical Engineering, Univ. of Adelaide) and Lt H. W. Allen (Vice-master, Ormond College, Univ. of Melb.). In London Lt. L. H. R. Gordon (Educ. Dept. of S A.) joined them and dealt with soldiers who desired experience as teachers.

\textsuperscript{69} They formed an "Administrative Committee," originally appointed by Australian universities by arrangement with the Australian Government to negotiate with British universities for the admission of Australian soldier undergraduates. It was afterwards decided, however, to return these undergraduates at once to Australia.

\textsuperscript{70} The divisional officers were: 1st—Capt. M. Aurousseau, 2nd—Capt. N. R. Mearns; 3rd—Capt. I. G. Symonds, 4th—Capt. A L. Rossiter; 5th—Capt. E. W. Frecker. Lt. F. J. E. Gallagher was responsible for education in the Corps units. The depots in England were in charge, first, of Capt. F. W. Robinson, and, later, of Capt. Mearns.

\textsuperscript{71} Especially in the 4th and 13th Bdes., 4th Div., where Capt. Aurousseau, Chaplains F. W. Rolland and F. H. Durnford, and others were keenly active.

\textsuperscript{72} Organised by Sgt. J. Creswell.

\textsuperscript{73} These were obtained through the divisional officer from the library under Lt. (later Mr. Justice) H H. Henchman in London. Books chosen were of convenient size and cheap, and were sold to men at cost, three-quarters of the price being refunded if they were returned in good order.

\textsuperscript{74} "The boys enjoyed them—they were keen, but they never had a chance," writes Capt. W. C. Belford, 11th Bn.
chosen or prepared. Far more successful were the schools organised by the Corps or divisions. The camp of the Australian Corps military school, among the sand-dunes between Rue and the mouth of the Somme, was used for the secondary and commercial school (known as the Corps Central School) under Lieut. R. S. Wallace\textsuperscript{75} to prepare 500 officers and men for the matriculation, accountancy, and civil service examinations in Australia. It opened on January 11th, enthusiasm overcoming the lack of stoves and fuel. In April the examinations were held. It was a matter of national concern that the results, excellent for so short a course, should be recognised in Australia; Long had to give the A.I.F. a virtual pledge on the point, and recognition was ultimately obtained. In May the school, still working, was transferred to Salisbury Plain.

At Jeumont, near Mons, Maj. Greenlees\textsuperscript{76}, an officer of the Australian Corps engineer staff, secured a large, damaged glass factory for the Corps technical school. With the Corps Workshop Company and 1,000 prisoners, he retiled it, fitted it with trainloads of damaged machinery looted by the Germans and then abandoned. Finally, drawing his staff from the Corps, he organised 4-6 weeks' classes in eighteen trades for 500 students. They were billeted around; many extended their attendance, and 2,000 in all passed through. On May 6th this school joined Wallace's at Havre and both went together as "quota 48" to Salisbury Plain where, late in July, they shipped for Australia in the \textit{Anzif}, continuing their studies during the voyage.

The 2nd Division at Charleroi was allowed by the Belgian authorities and the enthusiastic Director of the University of Labour there to use that splendid institution, the Belgian staff helping the Australian instructors. The 5th obtained a large factory, housed 500 students in the upper floor, and carried on elementary, commercial, and secondary classes on the lower floor. The railway operating companies, and other technical

\textsuperscript{75} Sir Robert Wallace, now Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University; of Kew, Vic.; b. Aberdeenshire, Scotland, 1 Aug. 1882. (Then Professor of English Language and Literature, Univ. of Melb. On his staff was Lt. R. P. Franklin, Headmaster of Melbourne Grammar School. The Commandant was Maj. C. R. Lucas, 53rd Bn. The staff comprised 6 officers, 3 warrant officers and 12 sergeants.)

units, dental units, and A. and N.Z. bakeries at Rouen also ran classes attended by students from other units. Students also went to British army schools. In all there were 47,000 enrolments in Australian classes in France, but the greatest number of students seriously attending at one time was probably not over 10,000.\(^7\)

In England the early classes at the depots were interrupted by the rapid embarkation of troops to make room for those from France. It had at one time been intended to run central schools here as in France; but in December Lieut. Kelly discovered that, for students interested in wool, the great British institutions in Yorkshire were empty and—though without authority to do so—he secured from their directors\(^7\) the British Wool Buyers’ Federation most generous offers to take A.I.F. students in special courses and give them experience in factories. Famous breeders also offered to give others experience on their sheep and stock farms. Long at once obtained from Monash authority to move the men.

This decision settled the policy of A.I.F. education in England. Except for a special school of surveyors at Southampton, and an Agricultural Training Depot established by Capt. Birks at Sutton Veny Camp for more general and elementary instruction,\(^7\) the A.I.F. established few schools in England. Here the main effort was to obtain for A.I.F. men in France or elsewhere—including Egypt—whatever opportunities for training or employment outside the A.I.F. they desired. One of the first decisions was to send back to Australia undergraduates of A.I.F. universities in time for the March term. For others the department seized on opportunities ranging from scholarships offered by the Rhodes Trust\(^8\) to a generous invitation to study perfume manufacture by the secret processes of a Riviera factory. Applicants were not asked to surrender their proper priority in repatriation, but

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\(^7\) The army service corps, the medical units, and, till they parted with their horses, the artillery, had many regular duties to carry out although fighting had ceased.

\(^7\) From Professors W. M. Gardner and E Midgley at Bradford and Halifax, Professors A. F. Barker and C. Crowther at Leeds University, and Dr. T. Oliver of Galashiels.

\(^7\) This really began at the end of March with 400 students.

\(^8\) Mainly from funds originally allotted for German students. Australians benefited largely by this.
might state how many months' delay they were prepared, if necessary, to accept. The Government allowed them their pay over and above their wages, if any, and assured them of either wages or living allowance up to a fixed standard. To insure better communication between France and England in this scheme Brig.-Genl. McNicoll was appointed its Inspector General.

The main function of the regimental education officers now was to obtain the men's applications for Non-Military Employment. These were overwhelming: one man wanted experience as a deep sea diver, another in "training wild animals"; but generally Long's forecast was correct, and a great part of the educational staff was concentrated on meeting the demand. Professor Holme's committee became the University Section of Long's staff, and placed 259 students at British universities, 35 at continental ones, 65 at the Inns of Court, 133 in educational training mainly under the London County Council; 18 dentists went to the University of Pennsylvania, and so forth. The agricultural section under Birks arranged the courses and tours already referred to. Experienced sheep and cattle farmers as well as less experienced men leapt at the chance. Of 50 A.I.F. students at Bradford Technical College Professor Midgley wrote, "This is the best team I have ever handled." Parties toured all farming areas in England, and went to Denmark; 100 learnt pig-raising in America; others tomato and flower-growing in the Channel Islands; 500 concentrated at the Royal Cardiff Show as guests of its organisers. In the Technical Section under Maj. Webb over 3,500 were placed in works or institutions—460 studying architecture, town-planning, building and engineering; 571 motor engineering or driving; 661 took commercial courses; 307 studied postal telegraphy in the British Post Office, or wireless telegraphy, 124 tailoring, 100 music, 65 art. Others obtained experience ranging from navigation to nursing and work in natural history museums. Of fifty students in forestry at Edinburgh Univer-

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81 Where institutions required fees, the Australian Government usually paid for privates and nurses three-quarters of the fee, for sisters and sergeants two-thirds. Officers paid their own fees.

82 126 at London, 48 Oxford, 10 Cambridge, others at Leeds, Edinburgh and elsewhere. The medical service at first made its own arrangements, taking 149 post graduate courses and 61 hospital appointments.

83 One led by Col. H. W. Murray, V.C., another by Capt. W. D. Joynt, V.C.
sity Professor Stebbings\textsuperscript{84} wrote, "They are the keenest men that I ever had to deal with". Lieut. Burchell's Industrial Section\textsuperscript{85} placed over 4,700—846 for automobile experience, 764 for general engineering, 398 for building, 414 insurance, 285 shipbuilding, 276 in electrical trades, and others in railways, aeroplane factories, groceries, butchering, baking, printing, cinema, stage and other occupations.

In March, just as the scheme expanded into full operation, Long's health broke under a strain probably heavier than that borne by any other great leader of the A.I.F., and from which, it is said, he never fully recovered. His promotion to brigadier-general on January 1st, though helpful, did not lessen the number of interviews, addresses, appeals, and letters that kept him under continuous tension. He was ordered a fortnight's rest and in April handed over to McNicoll\textsuperscript{86}. With the transfer of troops to Salisbury Plain education at the depots expanded, and then it dwindled as they left.\textsuperscript{87} In England complete courses of training or experience—usually of three or four months—were given to 12,880 soldiers or nurses, apart from lectures and regimental classes at the depots.\textsuperscript{88} In Egypt, where there was no opportunity for Non-Military Employment, a purely educational scheme was carried out by Lieut.-Col. E. M. Williams.

The A.I.F. education scheme did not achieve all that was hoped. Despite the unselfish forethought of White its preparation began too late. To obtain instructors Long had to promise them that their repatriation should not be delayed by joining him, a provision that led to great difficulties. The full machinery was not ready by the Armistice, and after men had been promised Non-Military Employment,\textsuperscript{89} or even books and paper,
months of delay occurred without fulfilment. During the actual war, even if the scheme had been ready earlier, regular teaching would probably have been possible only at the convalescent depots (where it was imperative) and bases, and little more than lectures, debates and the provision of reading matter at the front where, nevertheless, in such episodes as the Somme winter many men hungered for mental occupation. After the Armistice inevitably a proportion of trainees used the system (as they said) for “Non-Military Enjoyment.”

Yet no part of the A.I.F.’s war effort more richly repaid the nation. The mere reading of the prospectus, and the organising of regimental classes, had deep influence, turning men’s thoughts to their own and their nation’s future, and to the problems of peace. Perhaps more influential than anything else was the feeling that the “heads” were thinking for them; even the majority, who did not enrol, probably suffered many doubts whether they should not do so. Some unit commanders noted that the scheme brought marked improvement in discipline. The warm, friendly attitude of the Belgians helped, as did the conducted tours to Brussels, Waterloo, and elsewhere. The schools were especially helpful in such ways as giving farmers instruction in mechanical or business methods useful to them, and both the industrial and the university training brought concrete advantages to students and nation.90 The turning of the A.I.F.’s effort from destruction to construction may well, when finally weighed, be judged Long’s greatest work.

By these wise measures the A.I.F. returned to its homeland with less trouble even than the British Army. Only No. 4 Squadron, Australian Flying Corps, No. 3 Australian Casualty Clearing Station, and some of the railway operating men reached Germany.91 The history of the 40th Battalion says:

90 At least one distinguished scholar and many leaders of business were thus trained, and several industries introduced to Australia.

91 The squadron went to Cologne and the C.C.S. to Euskirchen on the Rhine. Some other Australians reached Cologne “ unofficially” and the local A.P.M. “did not see” them. Mr. Hughes (Reveille, 30 Apr. 1930) has hinted that mistrust of the Australians’ discipline accounted for their divisions not being sent to Germany while Canadian and New Zealand ones and the Newfoundland Regiment were, this may be correct, though G.H.Q. records show that on Nov. 27, when the War Office asked Haig to release two Australian and two Canadian divisions for repatriation, he refused until he knew how many divisions were required in Germany. It is said that the Canadians, when ordered to Germany, complained that the Australians were being favoured by earlier repatriation.
The first draft left [France] on the 17th February 1919, and it was only then that we realised that this brotherhood of men existed no longer as a battalion of infantry. For quite two days before this draft departed there was a feeling of irresponsibility about all of us. We drank in fellowship together, pledged ourselves to meet again in Tasmania and . . . for once felt sorry that the war was over. Those of us who remained stood in the rain and watched the draft move off. Farewells were shouted, mostly facetious, with reference to future meetings in favourite Tasmanian hostellries. But as the column moved beyond us we stood watching them in silence as they plodded away from us through the mud and rain, till they passed out of sight . . .

The greatest strain on the discipline of the force actually came when transports reached Australia and, sometimes through the detection of a single case of influenza, were quarantined although the epidemic was already beginning to spread throughout the country. It is said that by delaying the epidemic the quarantine probably saved Australia a heavy toll of life. The officers, ships' captains and quarantine authorities organised what amusements they could and the trial was generally borne with astonishing good humour.

At the end of September only 10,000 Australian troops remained in England. On December 26th Monash reached Melbourne and almost immediately went into civilian clothes quietly to build up, in face of great difficulties, the huge electricity undertaking of Victoria. On the 1st of April 1921 the First A.I.F. ceased officially to exist, and on July 1st the military hospitals in Australia passed into civilian hands.