



Hercules battle with the amazons
Κωνσταντίνος Παρθένης, 1927



Map 1: Lemnos in relation to the Dardanelles and Gallipoli peninsula
Source: Google Maps

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Addressing the Lemnos Heritage of Gallipoli and its Forgotten Foundations

Abstract

Despite the Greek island of Lemnos being just 100 kilometres from the Gallipoli peninsula and having played a crucial role in the eight month Dardanelles campaign, the island is virtually unknown to most Australians. While there is much written about Gallipoli, Lemnos is not usually included in this discourse. Though the popularity of pilgrimages to Anzac Cove continues to grow, Lemnos remains a neglected corner of the physical site and of the historical accounts of Gallipoli. It has been marginalised over time and is not conceptualised as part of the Gallipoli campaign. Yet, it was vital to the military encounter.

Much of what has been recorded and written about Lemnos deals with the establishment and operation of hospitals on the island for the wounded from Gallipoli. The medical facilities on the island are a relatively well-known element of the Gallipoli narrative. Less known are the recuperative, recreational, entertainment and other activities that took place on the island. Also overlooked by much of the existing scholarship is the fact that activities on Lemnos both preceded and succeeded the landings and evacuation of the peninsula. Mudros Harbour was the point at which the various Allied forces began to assemble some months prior to the 25 April landings and Lemnos was also the place where many of those evacuated from Gallipoli were taken. Furthermore, according to various writers



Figure 1: Mudros harbour today looking east to the town site, May 2011. Courtesy: John Yiannakis

including the Head of the Centre for Historical Research at the National Museum of Australia, Peter Stanley, another Gallipoli legend began on Lemnos: John Kirkpatrick Simpson's donkey Murphy was acquired on the island (Cochrane 1992). Lemnos can therefore claim to have a significant place in the foundational events of the Anzac mythology. It was also the location where the war with the Ottoman Empire ended in October 1918, aboard the *HMS Agamemnon* in Mudros Harbour. Yet, its importance is not known or understood by much of the Australian population. While the military and civilian links between Australia and Greece, particularly Crete, during World War Two are recognized and publically highlighted, for example, the 70th Anniversary Commemorative celebrations of the Battle of Crete in May 2011, the ties between the two countries during World War One are not.

Many questions therefore arise about the Allied presence on Lemnos, including what official knowledge existed about the island and its people before the occupation took place. How was the Allied presence on Lemnos viewed, officially and unofficially, by the Greek government of the day? Also requiring further investigation is what sort of relationships developed between the locals and the foreigners, notably the Anzacs. Did their presence disrupt or interfere with Lemnian society? What has been passed on to the local inhabitants of Lemnos about the Allied, and particularly Austral-

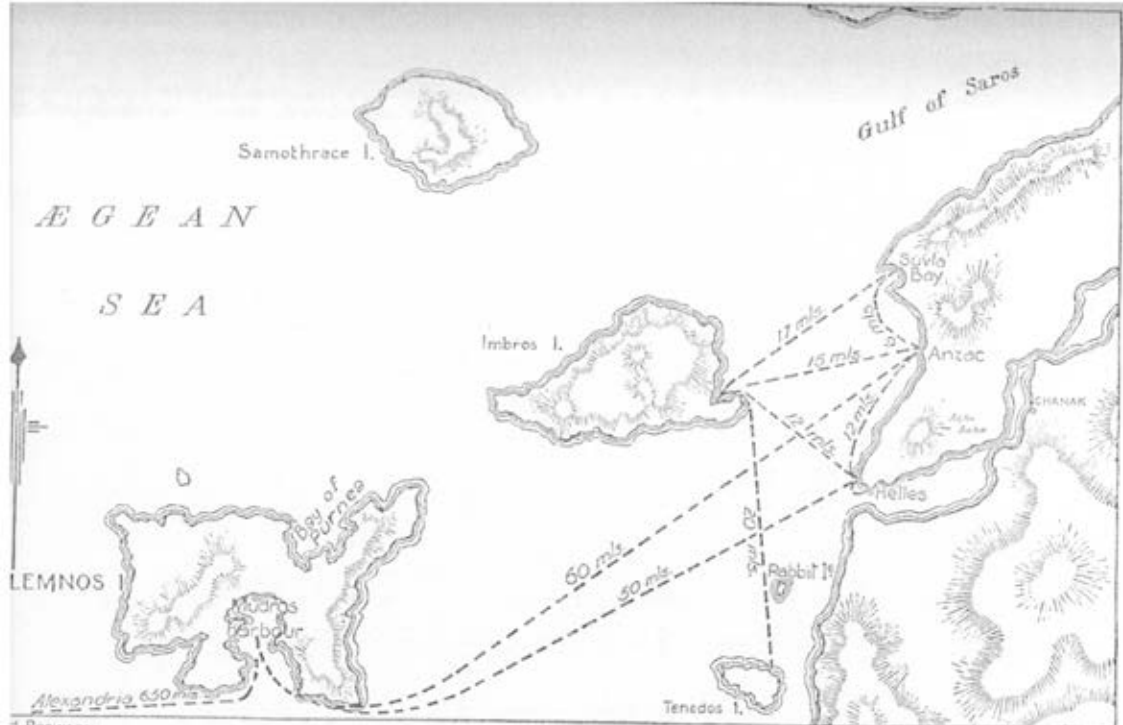
ian, presence? Was there any opposition to the Allied presence on the island? There is also no consideration given to the social, political, economic and perfunctory effects the arrival of 20th century technologies had on the people and structures of this remote Greek island that still functioned as a rural subsistence community. This paper aims to help with the process of re-animating the vital heritage of Lemnos by exploring areas of neglect and suggesting new research so as to help re-dress the island's marginalisation in the history of Gallipoli and World War One.

The Literature

Australia's first military engagement in World War One at Gallipoli has provided the nation with a day of remembrance and reflection. The Australian War Memorial notes that this day of remembrance, Anzac Day, is 'probably Australia's most important national occasion'. Hence, for nearly 100 years, the Gallipoli campaign and the First World War in general have attracted considerable historical and sociological interest for Australia.

However, the neglect, oversight or minimisation of the part played by Lemnos and its people is found in many works. For example, Bill Gammage's *The Broken Years*, published in 1974 and re-printed several times, describes the experience of Australian soldiers of the time based on their letters and diaries. This social history of the war and not just the Gallipoli campaign does not, however, provide insight in to Greek-Australian relations on Lemnos. While the book 'remains one of the finest books about Australians at war' (Hodges 2009), it highlights a gap in the historical record that needs to be addressed. Gammage was later employed as the military advisor on Peter Weir's 1981 film *Gallipoli* and he also worked on the screen play of the film: a film from which many Australians gained their strongest impressions about the Gallipoli campaign. There is no reference to Lemnos in this popular visual account.

The work of Australia's official historian of the First World War, Charles Bean, cannot be ignored when considering what has been said about the Gallipoli campaign. In his first two volumes of the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, he provides the most comprehensive chronicling of the campaign. But when it comes to Lemnos, even Bean limits his discussion to military matters and physical landscape. His chapter, 'The Dardanelles Expedition', makes considerable reference to Lemnos.



LEMNOS, IMBROS, TENEDOS AND THE DARDANELLES

Map 2: The east Mediterranean showing Lemnos' proximity to the Gallipoli peninsula. Source: Charles E W Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol 2, Melbourne, Australian War Memorial, 1924

Bean discusses the British fleet's need of a suitable harbour, and the various alternative islands, but concludes that 'Lemnos possesse[d] the finest haven of all in Mudros Bay' (p. 185). The subsequent preparations for the landing of Allied forces and the sending of an Australian brigade to the island are also discussed.

Numerous articles, papers and texts examine particular facets of the campaign.¹ Many medical and military accounts and archives can be found referring to conditions, preparations, manoeuvres and casualties. Some reference to the islanders is made, but not in any great depth or with any particular understanding of the local inhabitants. The transportation of the wounded, the unhygienic conditions of the hospitals, water shortages, sickness and disease, lack of dental care, the different provisions supplied to the various Allied hospitals and relations between the different national medical services tend to be discussed.²

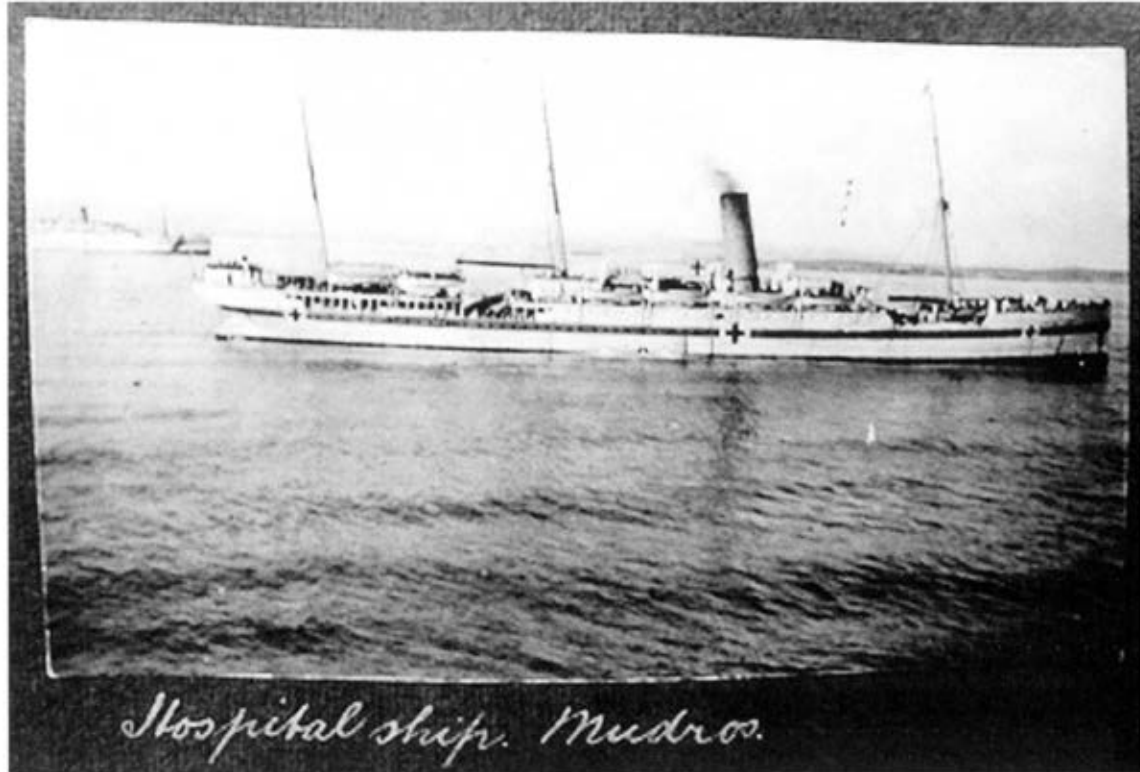


Figure 2: Hospital Ship at Mudros Harbour, mid 1915.

Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/thrutheselines/sets/72157626733027352/?page=2> accessed 11 June 2012

Numerous photos, personal accounts such as soldier and nurses' diaries, official reports, correspondence and dispatches by various governments, assist in uncovering aspects of the nature and effects of Allied and Greek interaction. The comments in the many nurses' diaries also provide insight into the war experience. As Katrina Hedditch, notes: 'Their stories are a priceless and detailed first-hand record of the Gallipoli campaign's medical history...' (Hedditch 2011, 19).³ In the meantime, Australian newspapers remain an untapped source of information about conditions and experiences on Lemnos during 1915.

Some writers, including Jonathon King in the *Gallipoli Diaries* (2003) and Patsy Adam-Smith's *The ANZACS* (1978), have utilised soldier diaries to tell the Gallipoli story, but their accounts remain fundamentally a story about the day to day experiences of Australian soldiers, particularly the deprivations endured, on the peninsula.



Figure 3: Scene from a Greek village on Lemnos, 1915. Source: <http://www.anzacsite.gov.au/5environment/nurses/barwick-diary.html> accessed 11 June 2012

Literature about the 1915 campaign continues to be published.⁴ While some authors, including Graham Seal and Jim Claven, make mention of Australian personnel interacting with Lemnians, most work does not give much consideration, if any, to the inhabitants of the island from where the campaign was launched. Les Carlyon's popular 2001 publication, *Gallipoli*, for instance, includes only two references to Lemnos/Mudros in its 569 pages. Garrie Hutchinson's *An Australian Odyssey from Giza to Gallipoli* (1997) makes no reference to Lemnos, nor does his *Gallipoli: The Pilgrimage Guide* (2007). Bruce Scates' *Return to Gallipoli* (2006) also neglects to mention Lemnos or Mudros. More recently, Peter Stanley's *Simpson's Donkey* (2011) opens on Lemnos.⁵ The Gallipoli campaign has, over time, narrowed to exclude any location other than the peninsula, even though sites, such as Lemnos, were integral to the expedition.



A Greek Padre & his flock

Figure 4: Greek priest and some of his congregation, Lemnos 1915.

Source: http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/eserv/UQ:706/web_F831_21_21012u.jpg accessed 26 March 2010

The Narrative

Before landing at Gallipoli, and then again during the eight month campaign, Lemnos played an important role in the unfolding catastrophe. Lemnos was the base from where the Entente/Allied forces launched the Gallipoli campaign. Liberated from Ottoman rule during the first Balkan War of 1912, the island became the base for the fight against the Ottoman Empire. In February 1915, the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos granted the British access to the island with its large natural harbour at Mudros.⁶ Soon after, Anglo-French forces massed a large armada and infantry forces. It was here that the Australians practised beach landings in preparation for the assault on Gallipoli.

Accordingly, the Australians departed by ship from Egypt for the Gallipoli peninsula, after several months of training near Cairo. They then landed at what became known as ANZAC Cove on 25 April 1915 and established a tenuous foothold on the steep slopes above the beach. During

the early days of the campaign, the Allies attempted to break through Turkish lines, while the Turks tried to drive the Allied troops off the peninsula. Efforts on both sides ended in failure and the ensuing stalemate continued for the remainder of 1915. The most successful operation of the campaign was the evacuation of troops on 19 and 20 December. This brief and typical re-telling of the campaign neglects the important role played by Lemnos and its people.



Figure 5: Australian troops practising in Mudros Harbour for Gallipoli landing, April 1915.

Source: <http://cas.awm.gov.au/item/C01422>
accessed 11 June 2012



Balkan Wars expert Dr Helen Gardikas-Katsiadakis (interview, 12 May 2011), notes how Lemnos and neighbouring islands reverted to Greece in 1912 after centuries of Ottoman rule, but the specific detail of the arrangements that followed which resulted in these islands being controlled by the British are not well understood. While local attitudes to the new ‘occupiers’ appear to have been positive, the degree of suspicion or animosity towards

the British or any collaboration with the Turks has not been investigated.

Greece would eventually enter the war in July 1917, with the King under such intense Allied pressure that he departed the country. Prime Minister Venizelos returned to Athens assuming control of the government. The Greek army, however, would not be ready for any serious action until early 1918. Thus the role of Lemnos in the earlier events on Gallipoli has not been thoroughly examined from the Greek perspective. Indeed, there is even less Greek historiography about the island during the World War One period than English language histories. Hence the proposed research hopes to uncover the other side of the Lemnos story as well as unearth more information about Anzac circumstances and activities on the island. Various Greek scholars, including Katsiadakis, and government officials are keen to see what new insights into the Australia-Hellenic Republic's relations such research would uncover.

In 1915, Lemnos was undeveloped, with few roads, major buildings and limited infrastructure. Its villagers led what can only be described as a simple life, scratching a living from the land and trading their surpluses of food and produce with outsiders. However, during their eight months on Lemnos, the soldiers, nurses and engineers would transform the island. Roads and piers would be built, bridges repaired, water sources improved and the villagers would find a new source of income in supplying the thousands of new visitors to the island. The locals would benefit from access to new medical services built on the island for the wounded from Gallipoli. As they toured across the island enjoying some free time, the soldiers and nurses inter-acted socially with their Lemnian neighbours. This meeting of peoples and cultures is communicated in some of their writings and photographs.

By the time Captain (later Lieutenant Colonel) Frederick E Forrest of the 3rd Field Artillery Brigade landed at Lemnos on 10 April 1915, there were already some 3,200 Australians on the island (Gilchrist 1996, 39).⁷ Captain Forrest described the island as 'pretty'. 'Greek farms studded the foreshore and hills. [Mudros was] an ideal harbour, well protected [and] full of ships, transports, warships and hospital ships. Warships of all nations ...' His diary entry for 16 April notes that the Greek inhabitants were 'all very friendly disposed to us' (Forrest 2012).

Soon after, Lance Corporal Archibald Barwick made his own observations about Lemnos.

Lemnos is a one horsed place. The people are practically all Greek and they are 100 years behind the times. They do all their own spinning from the raw wool and make their own clothes from it. There are some very pretty girls; they are snow white and very shy. The Greek children would stand with their mouth wide open and gaze at the gramophone while it was playing as if it were some marvellous thing (Barwick 2010).

Meanwhile, the Australian infantry began its strenuous training program on the shores of the harbour carrying heavy back-packs while scurrying up into the nearby hills. 'The men were to be practised at communicating information in battle, and at carrying a very full load. There were constant landing and rushes up the foothills' (Bean 1939, 210).

Captain Forrest recorded that even horses were sent ashore for exercise. He undertook landing practice on 19 April and by then many more 'troopers' had entered the Bay. These soldiers included British, French, Senegalese and Indian personnel.

For a few days after the Anzac landing (25 April 1915), a number of Greeks and their donkeys served on the beaches as water-carriers. They were soon evacuated as was the Greek who operated a canteen on the landing beach. Nevertheless, Greeks ferried in supplies by small craft and in several places they were employed building jetties. In May, at Cape Hellas, Greek porters were unloading stores from pontoons on the beach while under fire (Gilchrist 1996, 39). Michael Tyquin comments on Greek traders benefitting from the sale of foodstuffs to 'diggers', but beyond these monetary transactions and hardships created from the scarcity of water, how these two different peoples interacted he does not say.

As a medical facility Lemnos was intended at first to deal with less severe cases only, that is, those likely to be well within 28 days. There were soon, however, over 30 Allied hospital ships at the island to help tackle the large number of cases. As the campaign intensified, Lemnos began to play an even more significant role in the treatment of the ill and seriously wounded. Convalescence emerged as major problem compounded by the



Figure 6: Arrival of the first detachment of Australian nurses being led by a piper.

Source: A W Savage, photo album, PXE 698, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

lack of preparatory engineering development at Lemnos. With the increase in casualties from offensives in August and the abundance of sick that followed in late August, September and October it became necessary to develop Lemnos as an intermediate military base (Lemnos Island 2011).⁸

Approximately 130 Australian nurses served at the hospitals on the island and many more on the hospital ships (Lemnos Island 2011). One of those who arrived as part of the 3rd Australian General Hospital staff was Sister Rachel Pratt. She was immediately taken aback by the conditions she found at Lemnos. Not only was the island barren, but the basics were still to be established. There were no marquees for the wounded, or accommodation for the staff and no hospital equipment. 'Things were therefore in rather a state of chaos when the wounded began to arrive' (West Mudros 2011). Equipment turned up three weeks later and the situation seemed 'less hopeless', though the number of wounded and sick remained pressing. 'Dysentery was the scourge of the island', she wrote. These cases placed an extra burden on the hospitals and the nurses.

There was little shade from the fierce summer sun for the nurses, and there were not enough mosquito nets. The flies were particularly bad for all on Lemnos, with the problem compounded by poor sanitation arrangements. The shortage of water on the island, to which many soldiers and nurses referred in letters and diaries, did not help the situation. Sister Nellie Pike (Gallipoli and the Anzacs, Nurses' Stories 2010), described the situation thus:

'Our water came from the warships until a condenser was built on the island to convert salt water into fresh. No bread was available, only tough army biscuit. Later our rations improved, but by the grace of the Red Cross, not through official army issue.'

Soldiers recovering from an injury or on respite from the battlefield found many aspects of Lemnos to their liking.

'In the little villages good meals can be obtained—especially those delicious Continental omelettes ... The quaint old windmills on the hill, and the church in the village square where the gossips gathered together, were reminiscent of the Old World life made familiar to us in our youth by means of books and pictures' (Therma 2012).

'Oranges, tangerines and figs are plentiful and cheap', penned one soldier (Gilchrist 1996, 41). However, what many of them enjoyed most of all were the thermal springs on the island.

'But the excursion most in favour with the Australian was to the hot springs, on the slope of Mt Therma. Round these had been built a rest house ... to the man who had not had a decent wash for nearly four months, the opportunity was revelled in' (Therma 2012).

Another soldier wrote:

'So out to Thermos hurried the men, to whom a hot bath was a boon beyond price. The procedure was to strip off and with a little dipper pour water over oneself. Thermos became the most popular resort on the island'.

The importance of Lemnos as a medical centre became even more apparent during the latter half of the Gallipoli campaign. Between 7 August and 11 November 96,943 sick and wounded arrived at Mudros from the beaches (Butler 2011). With accommodation stretched large numbers of cases had to be evacuated to England and Egypt. An Adelaide newspaper, *The Register*, reported how it was impossible to convey what was happening

at 'that Lemnos hospital, with its two overworked orderlies and its equally overworked doctor; its flies, sand, leait [wild grass, weeds] and rough food'. Patients with all sorts of diseases had been nursed: smallpox, fevers, pleurisy, pneumonia, dysentery, mastoids, and bullet and shrapnel wounds 'galore'.

Lemnos was arguably the essential obverse of Gallipoli. While Gallipoli was the site of conflict, its landscape almost immediately sacralised, the essential role of Lemnos was effectively a secular counter-world of care, respite, entertainment, renewal and normality. As well as being physically removed from the fighting, troops were able to interact with civilians, females (nurses and Lemnians), sleep, eat, be clean and generally participate in the discourses and practices associated with peace rather than war. In relation to his experience of Lemnos with elements of the 4th Infantry Brigade,



Figure 7: An Australian soldier's funeral, with officers and nurses from the 3rd AGH in escort. Source: AW Savage, photo album, PXE 698, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

General John Monash commented on: 'the sudden transference from an environment of strife and clamour and wreckage of war, to this peaceful island with its rolling landscapes' (Elias 2007, 1-13).

A similar sentiment was expressed by the Western Australian Governor Sir William Campion in July 1926 when he opened a veteran's hospice for the 'mentally incapacitated' in Shenton Park called *Lemnos Home*. -*The West Australia* newspaper quoted Governor Campion as saying that 'no more suitable name than Lemnos could have been selected for the home. The soldiers who fought at Gallipoli would remember Lemnos as a peaceful island and an ideal place for resting'. Like the island the hospital was to be a 'haven of rest'. These soldiers' experiences alone make the island important and worthy of greater consideration.

Pilgrimages to Lemnos

Every year tens of thousands of Australians make their way to Gallipoli, the Western Front in France and other sites of the Great War. Some go in search of family memory, seeking the grave of a soldier lost a lifetime ago. For others, an Anzac pilgrimage has become a rite of passage, a statement of what it means to be Australian. This is particularly the case for the many who visit the Gallipoli peninsula. While attending the Anzac Day dawn service is the pinnacle pilgrimage experience for many, there are now numerous tours on offer, virtually all year round, for the visitor to Gallipoli.⁹ However, the island of Lemnos does not feature in any of these pilgrimages.

The space that is visualised as 'Gallipoli' does not include neighbouring Lemnos even though, as discussed, the campaign began and, for many soldiers, ended there. Thus, Lemnos is an under-represented component of not just the Gallipoli campaign, but of Gallipoli tourism.

Contemporary developments

Since 2001, commemorative services have been held on Lemnos in memory of all of those died in the Gallipoli campaign. A service takes place at the larger of the two war cemeteries on the island, near the port town of Mudros, and at the port itself, where a war memorial has been erected. In 2002 the memorial at Mudros Harbour was unveiled as a permanent reminder of the role Lemnos played in the Gallipoli campaign. The Hellenic

Sub-Branch of the RSL (Victoria) and the Greek Medical and Legal Association, which commissioned the project, arranged with local Greek authorities for the funding and construction of the 1.5 square metre memorial and for an annual ceremony to be held on Anzac Day at Mudros.¹⁰ The commemorative memorial with its plaque, labelled in Greek and English, 'Australia and Lemnos 1915-1916', is on local council land near the harbour's edge. An image of a nurse and the official Australian insignia can also be found on the Australian manufactured plaque.



Figures 8a and b: Anzac War Memorial at quayside, Mudros Harbour, May 2011.
Courtesy: John Yiannakis

The Lemnos Municipal Council and the Lemnian Association of Victoria hoped that the memorial would become part of the pilgrimage for Australians who want to pay homage to the deeds of these who risked their lives at Gallipoli. This hasn't happened to date, but locals remain hopeful. The Mayor of Mudros in 2011 expressed the view that he found it strange that so many people visited Gallipoli, the site of much suffering and death, and did not visit the place, the counter-world, where the Anzacs were hosted

The potential to develop Lemnos and Mudros, in particular, as another destination for those visiting sites related to the Gallipoli campaign is evident. Additionally, the inclusion of Lemnos on the Anzac pilgrimage trail



Figures 9a and b Allied war cemeteries at East Mudros and Portianos on Lemnos, 2011.
Courtesy: John Yiannakis

could help reduce the burden of numbers and associated problems, impacting on Gallipoli. There is a growing concern, as expressed by Harvey Broadbent (2011), that some of the sites on the peninsula are being denigrated.

If the geographic and conceptual space of what and where Gallipoli is can be expanded in the minds of Australians and Turks, not only will the local Lemnian economy benefit, but the pressure on the Gallipoli sites may be reduced.

The modern day visitor to Lemnos can find plenty of evidence of the Allied presence of 1915. For example, graves at the two war cemeteries.



Figure 10: The gun firing salute following one of the first burials at Portianos, Lemnos. Source: A W Savage, photo album, PXE 698, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

Of the 1,235 Allied soldiers buried at either the Mudros or Portianos cemetery, there can be found 148 Australians and 76 New Zealanders. The main military cemetery on Lemnos is at east Mudros, about one kilometre from the town and next to the civilian graveyard. The cemetery was begun in April 1915 and contains 885 Commonwealth graves, including 98 Australians, plus 32 burials of other nationalities, mainly Russians.¹¹

The other military cemetery is near the village of Portianos. This cemetery commenced in August 1915 and was used until August 1920. Of the 347 Commonwealth personnel buried here, 50 are Australian.

Less well known examples of the Allied presence on Lemnos are the British SRD rum jars, now used by locals as water containers and vases, or the archaeological finds. Additionally, there are large eucalyptus trees on the island and two streets in Mudros named Anzac. Remnants of the

wooden pier facilities used by the different Allied forces, including Australians, are also visible in the bay at Mudros.

This paper seeks to raise awareness of the need for further research into the importance of Lemnos to the Gallipoli campaign and of the island's contribution to the Anzac legend. Existing literature has tended to understate the significance of Lemnos to the entire Dardanelles venture. While acknowledging that Lemnos is mentioned in various campaign accounts, the intended research aims for a deeper, and less disparate, investigation so as to better explain the nature of spatial and cultural relationships between the islanders and the Anzacs. A better understanding of the complexities of interactions at various levels is being advocated. Research, as proposed in this paper, would help overcome the marginalisation of Lemnos in the history and mythology of Gallipoli.

Notes

- 1 Including work by Les Carlyon, Ken Inglis, Richard Nile, Bruce Scates, Graham Seal and Peter Stanley.
- 2 Medical services units, general and stationary hospitals, and ambulance and medical officers, were all required to complete such diaries. The appendices, which make up the larger part of each diary, may include orders, despatches, instructions, reports, telegrams, and decisions taken; daily situation reports; staff duties; accounts of operations; changes in establishment or strength; and a summary of information received. Archival series AWM4 Class 26 comprises the diaries from Medical, Dental and Nursing Units of the First World War.
- 3 Also see, the recently released *More than Bombs and Bandages - Australian Army nurses at work in World War One* by Kirsty Harris, 2011; Jan Bassett's earlier study *Guns and brooches: Australian Army nursing from the Boer War to the Gulf War*, 1992; and, Susanna de Vries, *Australian Heroines of World War One: Gallipoli, Lemnos and the Western Front*, 2013.
- 4 Titles including Jonathan King's 2004 book *Gallipoli: Our Last Man Standing*, and Harvey Broadbent's 2009, *Gallipoli: The Fatal Shore*, are examples.
- 5 Peter Stanley's recent publication, *Lost Boys of Anzac*, (Coogee, NewSouth Publishing, 2014), includes a section about the last six weeks of its protagonists' lives on Lemnos before the invasion of Gallipoli.
- 6 As well as offering Lemnos to the British as a base for their fleet, Venizelos also promised troops (three divisions) for Gallipoli: probably in the hope of Greece capturing Constantinople. This military assistance was, however, never forthcoming as Venizelos resigned on 6 March 1915, due to objections from the Greek king to the prime minister's policy.
- 7 The 3rd Australian Infantry Brigade, the 1st Field Company of Engineers, the 3rd Field Ambulance and the brigade transport, along with parts of the Australian 1st Field Bakery and the 1st Australian Casualty Clearing Station landed from Egypt a month before and were the first Australian military personnel to set foot on Greek soil.
- 8 The No 1 Australian Stationary Hospital, located at east Mudros, was joined by an expanded

- No 2 Australian Stationary Hospital (from 624 beds to 1,200 beds) and No 3 Australian General Hospital in August 1915, both situated at West Mudros. An Australian rest camp or convalescent depot had already been established at Sarpi across from the hospitals on West Mudros.
- 9 Attendance at the Anzac Day services at Gallipoli has grown steeply—from 4,500 visitors in 1994 to nearly 18,000 in 2004. Approximately 10,000 visitors continue to attend Anzac ceremonies at Gallipoli. A new invasion of sorts has been underway for the last two decades.
 - 10 The bronze plaque was made in Melbourne by Dr Ross Bastiaan, who also composed the memorial's text. Email correspondence from Spiros Hrambanis, 26 April, 2013.
 - 11 These Russians had fled their homeland, being evacuated from Novorossisk in 1921, after the Bolshevik Civil War victory.

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