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HAZING

Mindful of the experience of overseas military colleges, particularly that of the United States Military Academy, West Point, in relation to the bullying of junior cadets, Bridges was adamant that such practices would not become established at Duntroon. Accordingly, the college standing orders stated:

> Fagging or bullying by cadets is strictly prohibited, and will be severely dealt with. Cadets will treat each other on terms of equality. No cadet is allowed to perform any menial service for another cadet.[1]

Any breach of the above regulation, however minor,[i] was severely dealt with.[2] Thus it was clearly established from the college's inception that no junior cadet was to clean a senior cadet's room or equipment (known as 'fagging' in boarding schools). Any senior cadet found tasking a junior cadet in this manner was punished.[3]

Despite this aversion to fagging, no doubt underpinned by Australia's egalitarian nature, a socialisation process based on humiliating experiences, later known as 'bastardisation', became firmly entrenched at the college. The prime cause of the institutionalised harassment of the junior cadets was the college's class system, which equated seniority with rank. Under this system, senior cadets were excused from communal cleaning tasks and also had the power to punish junior cadets. This power to punish took two forms. Senior cadets were officially sanctioned by the staff to award extra training. The extent of the cadet powers in this instance were clearly defined. For example, cadet NCOs (generally the senior class) could award up to two extra drills to junior cadets for minor infringements of standing orders, usually for their room or uniform not being up to the specified standard. Senior cadets also had unofficial, though

i For example, Corporal (staff cadet rank) A.J. Boase was reduced to the rank of lance corporal, forfeited thirty marks and was awarded a period of stoppage of leave for 'Improper conduct on parade' (using abusive language to another staff cadet).

institutionalised, powers of punishment, the exercise of which was only possible with the acquiescence of their fellow senior cadets. The interpretation and execution of these unofficial powers of punishment was directly responsible for the worst excesses of hazing.

The origins of the hazing practices at the college can be traced back to the college's very beginnings. As in many other similar organisations of young men – whether the basis of their formation was to seek an academic qualification, as in a university, or, as in the case of a military college, the desire for a career in the military – rites of passage were demanded. The purpose of these rites was to reinforce the distinction between the newly arrived and those that went before them. The rites usually consisted of the new entrants proving their right of admittance to the organisation by undergoing a ritualised test, which generally involved their humiliation and the reinforcement of the social hierarchy of the organisation.

The fundamental basis of all rites of passage is that there must be two distinct groups: those that have gone before, and those seeking entry. However, the first initiation ceremony was performed in the very first year of the college's existence, when there was only one class in residence. The somewhat dubious honour of being the first cadet to undergo an initiation ceremony at the college belonged to N.E. Biden.[ii] Although selected for entry with the initial intake, Biden was in London when the college opened in June 1911, as part of a contingent of New South Wales cadets attending the coronation of King George V. He eventually arrived at the college in late October. His fellow cadets decided that sufficient time had elapsed for Biden to be required to undergo an initiation ceremony before being admitted into the class. No details survive of the actual ceremony, except a comment by one of his fellow cadets that it was a 'terrible ordeal'.[4]

When the second intake arrived in February 1912, a little strategy was needed to conduct the initiation, as the two classes were roughly equal, both numerically and physically. Therefore, if the new intake decided as a whole that it was not going to be initiated, then there was probably little that the original intake could do about it. On the first Saturday evening after their arrival, members of the new intake were informed that the cadet bathrooms were in a deplorable condition and that they were to clean them. As the juniors entered the bathrooms, the doors were slammed and blocked by the senior cadets to prevent escape. Having seized the tactical advantage, the senior class then commenced the initiation ceremony. The members of the junior class, let out of the bathrooms one at a time, were stripped naked and told to tell a story or sing a song to the assembled senior class. The initiation ceremony culminated with the cadets being baptised in a mixture of cold water, treacle and axle grease, which was mixed together in a bath. They were then informed that they were admitted to the Corps of Staff Cadets (CSC). The initiation was strictly a one-night affair, conducted with the full knowledge of the staff, who observed the ceremony from a discreet distance. The tolerance of the staff for such practices was probably due to their having undergone a similar 'ordeal' when they commenced their own officer training and therefore they understood its role in the building of the *esprit de corps* of the new institution.[5]

In 1913, as a consequence of the cadets having had some eighteen months of

ii Biden was a brilliant cadet and graduated fifth in his class, in spite of the work he missed in Fourth Class, and for which he was not given any special consideration. Biden's total mark for Fourth Class was the lowest of all the graduating members of his class (1223 marks lower than the next lowest cadet). However, if Biden's marks for the final three years only are considered (23 538) he was 2260 marks in front of R. Miles, the cadet who finished first overall in the class. As it was a special honour for Biden to attend the coronation ceremonies, then perhaps he can be considered to have been a little hard done by for not being given any special consideration for the work he missed in Fourth Class.

confinement at the college to dwell upon such matters, the initiation was a much more elaborate affair. At dinner on their first Saturday at the college, the Fourth Class (junior class) were told that there would be a parade at 7.30 p.m. This parade was to be held between the cadet blocks and was thus hidden from view from the rest of the college. The pretext for the parade was given as 'A particularly rotten thing had come to the Sergeants' notice, and as they did not want the Officers to hear about it, the Sergeants would like to have a talk to the cadets'. At this time, knowledge of initiation ceremonies was confined to the college, so the new intake probably expected nothing out of the ordinary as they formed up with the rest of the cadets. The cadet NCOs then marched the Fourth Class cadets into the bathrooms. As they reached the bathrooms, they suspected that they were to be the victim of a practical joke and some endeavoured to escape; however, the superior numbers of the seniors prevailed. As in the previous ceremony, they were individually brought out of the bathrooms and stripped.[iii] Those who refused to come out were simply fire-hosed until they relented.[6]

Upon emerging from the bathroom, the Fourth Class cadets had to climb a greasy rope, while the senior cadets flicked them with wet knotted towels. They were then frog-marched along the verandah of the block to where some tables had been set up. Here they were tried and found guilty of being 'newcomers'. A quick haircut by an unskilled cadet barber followed, a graduate later recalling: 'One chap in my year had a central part ... they ran a farrow right down the middle, if a fellow had a moustache, they took half the moustache off, or they took half the bush [pubic hair] off'.[7] They then had SC (for staff cadet) written on their back in tar before being knocked off the table by a fire hose. Next they were seated on a block of ice and forced to sing a song, or if they did not know any songs, they were to perform a dance or conduct drill with a toy gun. The next phase consisted of running a gauntlet of senior cadets armed with belts and knotted towels, following which the Fourth Class had to climb up and over a ladder while being fire-hosed. The initiation culminated with the cadets being dunked three times in a bath filled with icy water and numerous other ingredients selected for their pungent aroma. They were then released to go off and clean up. After all the Fourth Class cadets had been through the initiation activities, they were reassembled. The senior cadets then gave a cheer for the Fourth Class, with the Fourth Class replying with a cheer for the senior classes.[8]

An account of the initiation appeared in a Sydney newspaper in May 1913. The college journal noted that:

> A Sydney paper somehow contrived to get the details of the affair correctly enough, and gave them to the world under startling headlines. The conclusions this paper drew from the initiation were entirely wrong. They regarded a happening which arose from a spirit of pure frolic and was carried out in all good feeling, and which, moreover, was thoroughly enjoyed by all concerned, as a biased act of direct malevolence. Needless to say, everyone at the College was very indignant at the point of view taken by this paper.[9]

The resultant media interest saw correspondents dispatched to Duntroon to investigate. Events were sufficiently serious for the Minister for Defence, Senator the Hon.

[iii] A later refinement saw senior cadets, who were perched on the roof, toss down buckets of cold water mixed with gravel and grit onto the Fourth Class while they were huddled in the bathrooms waiting to be initiated.

G.F. Pearce, to ask Bridges for a full report. Bridges replied that he had not received any complaints concerning any discomfort or ill-treatment arising out of the initiation ceremony. He concluded his remarks by stating that he was aware that an initiation ceremony had occurred, but that sort of thing was expected and was common with similar institutions such as universities. Furthermore, as far as he was concerned, it was perfectly harmless and was taken in good spirit by the so-called victims.[10]

The 1914 initiation ceremony was similar to that of 1913. The college journal commented that the Fourth Class 'were all sworn-in from 12 March, but of course were not recognised as Staff Cadets until they had been duly initiated as such'. A member of the 1914 intake later described the initiation as 'very good fun and nothing severe whatever ... It may sound pretty severe, but it was all done in a friendly manner and no one flicked very hard'. The journal noted that the proceedings 'as usual, were marked by good feeling and amusement on both sides'.[11]

A new element introduced in the 1915 initiation ceremony was the so-called 'pain test'. This 'test' commenced with the Fourth Class cadet standing in front of a glowing brazier that had a branding iron resting within it. He would then be asked if he could stand pain, because he was about to be branded with the insignia of the CSC, though scant regard was paid to his answer if it was in the negative. A blindfold was then applied and he was held down by the senior cadets. The branding iron was brought close to him so that he could feel its heat and then plunged into a piece of meat. At the same time that he heard the sizzling of the meat, he was touched on the chest with a block of ice: the premise being that the burning sensation from the ice would be mistaken for that of the branding iron.[12] A later addition to the psychological torment that was inflicted on the cadets during the initiation ceremony was the 'anti-morale' squad. This squad consisted of a couple of cadets who vigorously cracked stock whips while others howled loudly at each crack of the whip, thus contributing to the atmosphere of terror for the Fourth Class cadets held within the bathrooms.[13]

The initiation ceremony marked the end of the unofficial 'Fourth Class Training' and so was eagerly awaited by the new cadets. A member of the 1915 intake commented, 'The great event arrived, the initiation. We welcomed this as an Aboriginal boy would welcome the "man" ritual',[14] while a classmate commented:

> Then it was over ... Around us were the exalted ones, shaking hands, telling us we were now of the order, assuring us that was the end of the funny business; we were now, each one of us, one of them. And so it was.[15]

This 'funny business' included a number of pranks that had developed during the college's short existence. These pranks ranged from bastardised military drills, such as the Fourth Class performing cavalry drill on the barracks' verandahs using broomsticks for horses (hence the broom cupboard was known as the Remount Depot), to taking advantage of the Fourth Class' ignorance of military jargon. An example of the latter was sending cadets to 'whitewash the Last Post': an impossible task as the 'Last Post' referred to the sombre tune played at military funerals.[16]

Sometimes these pranks could get out of hand. A member of the 1913 intake recalled one occasion when some new cadets had been tasked with 'whitewashing the last post'. They were brought down to the college entrance and, paint tin in hand, pointed in the direction of the 'Last Post' by the senior cadets and sent off. The plan was to wait until they had gone a short distance, then take off after them and explain to them that they had been the victims of a practical joke. However, before the senior cadets could do so, some members of the military staff, who were enjoying an afternoon walk, happened along,

causing the cadet perpetrators to flee the scene, only returning when the officers had departed. Meanwhile the Fourth Class cadets were still marching off towards Queanbeyan and the 'Last Post'. By this time, it was necessary for the senior cadets to chase after them on a bicycle to bring them back.[17]

Another such incident occurred in 1915. A member of the 1915 intake had arrived at the college three days after the rest of his colleagues, owing to the late withdrawal of another candidate. While he was unpacking, it was noticed by some of the senior cadets that he had brought with him a tuxedo. That evening, the cadet orderly officer took aside the new cadet and informed him that the cadets always got dressed up for the evening meal. The new cadet replied that he had brought with him a tuxedo; he was told that it would suffice. When the bugler announced the dinner parade, the cadet emerged dressed in his tuxedo. Though he quickly realised that he had been the victim of a prank, he did not have enough time to change, so he formed up with the rest of the cadets. Therefore the scene that the Officer of the Day (a staff member) encountered was several ranks of cadets correctly attired in their blues uniform and one bewildered cadet dressed in a tuxedo. The officer, whose training had not encompassed dealing with such matters, put his head in his hands and walked away.[18] Another prank involved the Fourth Class cadets being required to drop off a card of introduction to Miss Parnell, the commandant's infant daughter.[19]

Yet another prank involved telling the Fourth Class cadets to report for a lecture by the DME. While familiar with the title of the DMA (the Director of Military Art), they did not know who the DME was. They soon discovered that it was the Director of Military Etiquette, described as 'a slim built and very young-looking officer, wearing an enormous black moustache and a great array of ribbons across his chest'. Among the information passed on by the DME, and duly recorded in their notebooks by the Fourth Class, was that it was the duty of every cadet to take his bed to pieces on rising each morning and place it on top of his wardrobe, an instruction that was carried out by a cadet the next morning, much to the surprise of the duty officer as he conducted his rounds. Upon entering the cadet's room, the duty officer stared at the space where the cadet's bed should have been and finally asked him, 'where the deuce' was his bed. The cadet then directed the duty officer's attention to the top of his wardrobe.[20]

A member of the 1918 intake recalled a prank that involved sending several cadets down to the house of the Director of Drill (a lieutenant colonel). They were told that his wife wanted three fowls beheaded and plucked. They duly went down, and before inquiring at the house, carried out the task. They then turned up at the back door and presented the poultry to the Director of Drill's wife. Her reaction upon being presented with three dead fowls by some cadets covered in blood and feathers – fowls whose execution she had not ordered – has unfortunately not survived the passage of time. Another popular prank of the college's early years was telling the Fourth Class cadets to ask the riding instructor for 'the key to the half passage' and some 'swingletree seeds', the half passage being a manoeuvre performed on horseback, while the swingletree referred to a section of a horse-drawn wagon.[21]

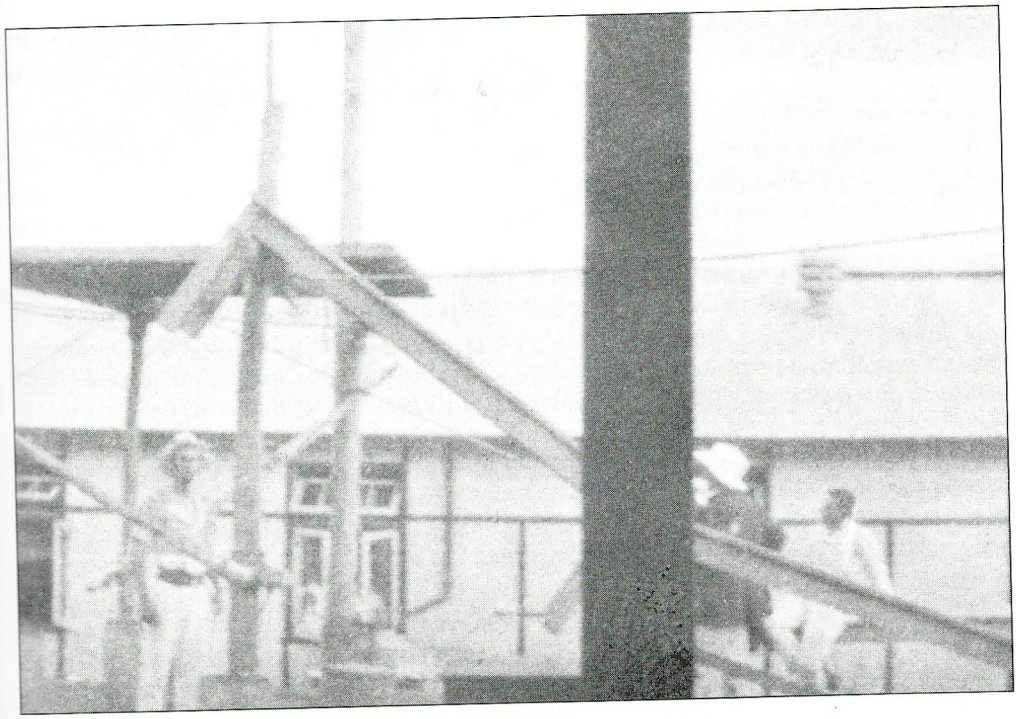
1917 saw the introduction of the 'Queanbeyan Roughs/Toughs' prank. In the period leading up to this prank, the Fourth Class cadets were told to be wary of a local juvenile gang known as the 'Queanbeyan Roughs/Toughs', who harboured an intense dislike of cadets. The Fourth Class cadets were warned that, for their own safety, they were never to go out by themselves at night. On the night of the prank, the Fourth Class cadets were first tired out by being taken for a forced march around the surrounding hills in full marching order, often with slabs of concrete and bricks put in their packs for extra weight by the seniors. When they got into the gullies in the vicinity of where the Russell Offices

are now located, they were ambushed by the rest of the corps, who, dressed in old clothes and balaclavas, were disguised as the 'Queanbeyan Roughs'. Usually the Fourth Class were too exhausted to put up much of a fight and the attack generally consisted of their being thrown to the ground, having their water bottles tipped over them and then being rolled in the mud. The seniors then disappeared into the night, adding to the charade by badmouthing the college and the cadets as they left, and returned to the college. The return of the Fourth Class was delayed by a further forced march, allowing the senior cadets time to get cleaned up. The Fourth Class were met on their return by the orderly cadet, who demanded to know where they had been, threatening disciplinary action and feigning surprise at their appearance. It was generally some weeks before the Fourth Class wised up to the prank.[22]

The first signs of what would later become the systematic harassment of the Fourth Class appeared during the First World War. By 1917, the practice of locking cadets in cupboards had began. Used for the storage of brooms, these cupboards were located at the end of each corridor in the cadet barracks. For petty crimes the Fourth Class would be awarded sentences of varying length to be locked in the cupboard. If a cadet so confined made any noise, he would be removed and given some impromptu physical training, such as push-ups, by the senior cadets. The incarceration in the cupboard, while usually not physically stressful (though this could also be the case if the cadet shared the cupboard with a number of his classmates) was still loathed, as it wasted valuable time that could better be spent preparing uniforms or on some other task. Open dissent among the junior cadets to this treatment was minimised by specifically targeting for special attention any cadets who refused to 'play the game'. Such cadets would often find their rooms rearranged with all their belongings thrown on the floor.[23]

The institutionalisation of the class system was further reinforced by a series of restrictions placed on the junior classes. These restrictions were generally of the nature of excluding them from the use of some facility, such as the billiard room. Additionally, the cadet latrine blocks were also segregated. Two such blocks were provided: the one nearest the cadet barracks was known as the 'House of Lords', while the more distant block was known as the 'House of Commons'. Naturally, the junior cadets were relegated to the 'House of Commons'. As it was the practice among the cadets never to close the latrine door, it was a relatively simple affair to ascertain the identity of the occupants of the various stalls. Any junior cadet found in the 'House of Lords' was suitably punished. Fourth Class cadets were also responsible for performing any odd jobs around the cadet barracks. Should a senior cadet require a task to be undertaken, he would yell 'Fourth Class'. Every member of the Fourth Class within the vicinity would be required to respond, with the last to arrive being given the task.[24]

The initiation ceremony continued to evolve during the college's first decade, and with new elements being added, by 1918 was quite an elaborate affair. One such new element was that blindfolded cadets were placed in a wheelbarrow and wheeled up and down the verandah of the barracks at great speed. While this was occurring, they were informed of the horrific injuries that the previous occupant of the wheelbarrow had suffered when it overturned. Additionally, the apparatus for the initiation was now more substantial, consisting of an elevated platform connected to a chute. At the top of the platform was a block of ice, on which the cadets would have to sit and recount the oath of loyalty to the corps. At the conclusion of the oath, they would be dubbed with a bayonet and informed that they were now a member of the corps. The bayonet, however, was electrified by being connected to a magneto, and gave the cadets such a shock that they invariably jumped off the ice and into the chute. The chute deposited them into a horse trough filled with pungent liquids, in which they received numerous dunkings. Upon release from the



The platform used in the climax of the 1918 initiation ceremony.
(RMC Archives)

trough, they were covered in soot and ran a gauntlet of cadets who flicked them with knotted towels, thus concluding the initiation.[25]

Occasionally the initiation ceremony would get a 'bit out of hand' and serious injuries would occur. In the 1917 ceremony, a cadet landed on a broken bottle that had been thrown into the dunking trough. He received serious cuts to his buttocks from the broken glass, resulting in lifelong scars.[26] Of even greater concern, however, was an incident that occurred during the 'Queanbeyan Roughs' prank of 1918, when a Fourth Class cadet, C.B. Dawkins, was thrown into a gully and dislocated his knee. He spent an extended period in hospital and was forced to repeat Fourth Class, as he had missed so many classes. This incident resulted in the commandant, Major General J.W. Parnell, banning all initiation ceremonies. The June 1919 college journal somewhat cynically noted:

> I would like here to sympathise with the IV class on the comparative coldness of their reception this year. There was certainly only about twenty of them, but that is no reason why they should be ignored. Alas the spirit of 'hail fellow well met' is dead among us. No longer does the young aspirant receive the hearty slap on the back, both friendly and reassuring, which tells him that he has at last found a haven of rest.[27]

Parnell was succeeded in 1920 by Major General J.G. Legge, who rescinded the ban on initiation ceremonies. The importance of the initiation ceremony in the socialisation process of the cadets was so great that the intake of the previous year (now in Third Class) approached the senior classes and stated that they did not want to be the only class to go

through the college that was not initiated. Consequently this class was duly initiated with the 1920 intake (as were the former AIF officers who joined the college in 1920 and who also asked to be initiated).[28]

In the early 1920s, the period between the arrival of the new cadets and their initiation, and thus acceptance into the corps, increased. Originally the initiation was held on the first Saturday evening after the Fourth Class's arrival. By 1923, the initiation ceremony occurred six weeks into the year. It was clear that not all entrants handled the initiation ceremony particularly well. Following the 1923 ceremony, a cadet appeared to have suffered a nervous breakdown and was admitted to hospital. During the night, he ran out of the hospital in his pyjamas and the following day was found wandering in the bushland near Mount Anslie by a mounted search party. Rather than re-examining the validity of the practices that could reduce a new entrant to this emotional state, the cadets made light of this matter by naming the gate through which the cadet left the college as Scooter's Gate (because he had 'scooted' through), the name being in use until at least 1930. By 1925, the initiation ceremony had essentially lost its meaning, in that it could no longer be considered a 'welcoming' ceremony. Unlike earlier ceremonies, there was no longer a friendly get together at the end of the ceremony where the Fourth Class cadets would be welcomed into the corps. The initiation ceremony was merely another night in a year of torment.[29]

The format of the ceremony continued to evolve. By 1925, it had become highly ritualised and, although retaining several past practices, such as the 'pain test', the initiation took on more of a pantomime nature, with the senior cadets attending in costume. The climax of the ceremony consisted of the cadets being cleansed by a dose of 'Creme de Cora' – a mixture of castor oil and other foul-tasting ingredients, such as rifle oil and Worcester sauce – and then appearing before a mock royal court. This court comprised several First Class cadets, dressed as the 'King', 'Queen', 'Princess' and 'Jack', who sat in judgment of the new cadets on a raised platform. When brought before the court, they had to sing a patriotic song for the 'King', a hymn for the 'Queen', a love song for the 'Princess' and a smutty song for 'Jack'.[30] The next stage involved sitting on a block of ice and repeating the oath of allegiance to the corps. While the oath varied from year to year, it generally followed the format reproduced below; which was used in the 1925 initiation ceremony.[iv]

I swear by Hummdummick all tattered and torn,
That this evening I wish that I'd never been born,
I swear by the classrooms, the square and the shouse,
The stables, the gun park and the Commandant's House.
I swear by the nuts on the Hitchcock and Lewis,
By the soup in the Mess that old Edwards pours through us.
By the Marquis de One Nut, the Rigus Superbus
By a DMA rampant, may he never disturb us.
By my pair of quit stirrups, Gallop and Terott,
By Easter, who boulches a lot.

[iv] Hummdummick referred to then commandant, Brigadier E.F. Heritage, so called because he had a habit of preceding most of his remarks with 'hummm'. Hitchcock and Lewis were two light machineguns then in use. Edwards was the chief steward of the cadets' mess. Marquis de One Nut was the RSM, WO H.V. Chumleigh. Easter was the warrant officer in charge of riding instruction. Dad Mayo was a local farmer who owned a large property at Majura. Crosley and the SPA were two of the college cars.

By the tactical schemes we do under arms,
When we chase one another around Dad Mayo's farms.
By the expert on Crosleys and SPA Roarer,
That after tonight I am one of the CORA.[31]

The 'King' then said, 'I dub you a member of the Corps' and touched the Fourth Class cadet on the shoulder with an electrified bayonet, the ceremony concluding as described before.[32]

The initiation ceremony was able to continue only because it had the tacit approval of the college staff. Staff members, joined by their wives, were known to watch the ceremony from the slopes of Mount Pleasant. Additionally, the commandant was rumoured to sit in a room in the barracks (with the light out), watching the ceremony and ready to step in if it got too far out of hand. Also, by the 1920s, many of the junior officers on the staff were graduates and probably supported the continuance of the initiation ceremony, having undergone it themselves.[33] The staff could hardly have claimed ignorance, one graduate commenting, 'You would hear and see fires hoses going and things like that, shouting and screaming, and cadets would appear with shorn scalps'. Certainly the cadets made no attempt to hide the various pieces of apparatus, such as the chute, used in the ceremony. Nevertheless, the fact that Parnell stopped the initiation ceremony in 1919 showed that, if the staff had resolved to stop such activities, they probably would have been successful.[34]

By the mid-1920s, life at the college for the Fourth Class was one long year of torment. According to a member of the 1926 intake:

> Custom decreed that fourth class, the newcomers, were shit and were to be treated as such. It was a relief to be confined to one's room (as for study at night), at which time one could not be sent on bogus errands, or shut up in a broom cupboard, or otherwise hazed. One was not allowed to speak at all in the sight of or in the presence of seniors.[35]

Hazing generally only occurred when the cadets were not otherwise occupied with their civil or military training. The other essential factor was that the cadet classes needed to be together. Thus a large amount of hazing occurred during meals in the cadets' mess. All cadets were allocated to a table, with the allocations changing periodically. There were eight cadets per table, the two most senior cadets sitting at each end, with the Fourth Class cadets in the middle. Although the meals were brought to the table by the mess stewards, usually in a serving dish or bowl, the Fourth Class cadets were responsible for the actual serving. The plates of the other cadets were passed down to them, starting with the most senior cadets. If they misjudged the portions and there was nothing left when they had finished serving the others, then they went hungry – they quickly learned to judge the portions pretty exactly.[36] The Fourth Class was also responsible for the passing of any other items on the table, such as salt, sugar or bread. If they kept a senior cadet waiting for an item, they might be 'punished' by having to eat their meal under the table, drink a cocktail made out of all the condiments on the table, or be fined a scone (each cadet was given two scones for lunch). Usually it would not be necessary for a senior cadet to ask for an item, as it was the responsibility of the Fourth Class to be continually aware of the needs of their fellow diners. Fourth Class cadets were also required to perform exaggerated displays of good table manners, an example of which was that they had to put down their knife and fork and stop eating whenever someone spoke to them. While this is a generally accepted social practice, it became a form of harassment when senior

cadets took it in turns to speak to a Fourth Class cadet, so that in effect he had little time to eat his meal. Therefore, a practice that had originated out of the desire to impart to the junior cadets the importance of good table manners, eventually became so distorted that its major purpose was no longer to educate, but to humiliate.[37]

Another example of a seemingly innocent activity – which, when taken to excess, becomes harassment – was the questioning of junior cadets at the meal table by the seniors. This questioning was generally confined to two broad areas: the customs and traditions of the college and the Australian Army, and current affairs. If a cadet did not know the answer, he would be required to find it out by the next meal. Fourth Class cadets were also required to spend at least ten minutes per day reading the newspapers. At the end of each evening meal, they would often be asked to give a summary of some item that they had read in the paper, field questions on their topic and conclude with a personal comment. This practice forced them to quickly acquire a general knowledge of the military and the traditions of the college, and to keep abreast of, and develop an interest in, current affairs. It became harassment, however, when the Fourth Class cadets were continually bombarded with more and more obscure questions for which they had to find out the answers.[38]

Other Fourth Class meal-time activities were conducted merely for the amusement of the senior cadets, one such activity being 'Gun Drill'. This practice had its origins in the gun preparation drills that the Second Class were taught on the artillery course. Before any round is fired, the gun is first checked for obstructions and, if clear, the artillery commander is informed, 'Bore clear and ready to load, sir'. Modifying this drill, the Fourth Class cadets, before they ate their meal, saluted with their knife (instead of a sword) and informed the senior cadets, 'Bore clear and ready to load, sir'. They had to be able to give this report in German, Latin, French or Japanese (depending on the whim of the senior cadet at the table). They would then be given the command 'load', upon which they would put some food on their fork, followed by 'fire' to commence eating. On occasion, they would be told to 'gunfire' their meals, which in artillery terminology means fire as fast as you can with accuracy. Normally, it was soup that was gunfired. Another meal-time 'Gun Drill' was battery fire (guns firing in rotation). The Fourth Class cadets would put a mouthful of food on their fork and report 'shot one' and then consume it, by which time the next cadet would report 'shot two' and so on until the senior cadets grew tired of the game.[39]

Modified military drills were not limited to the dining room. The Fourth Class cadets were also periodically called upon to perform what was known as 'Machinegun Drill' with their beds. A cadet's bed could be separated into three pieces: its base and two ends. The activity would commence with a team of three Fourth Class cadets assembled at the base of the stone wall surrounding the parade ground. On the command 'mount gun', they would attempt to scale the wall (about 1.5 metres tall) with the pieces of the bed in tow. Once on top, they would reassemble the bed, the activity concluding with one cadet throwing himself across the bed. An unfortunate consequence of this activity was that the cadets invariably finished with less skin on their shins than when they started.[40]

Even lights-out brought no respite for the Fourth Class, as they periodically experienced the practice known as the 'wind'. The 'wind' was when a cadet's bed would be suddenly upended or overturned by the seniors, though supposedly by an extremely localised gust of wind, hence the name. Another practice involved closing the window and tossing a 'fart' into a Fourth Class cadet's room. A 'fart' consisted of a piece of 'slowmatch' attached to a piece of 'quickmatch' (both used for detonating explosives). The 'slowmatch' would be lit and thrown into the room. It would be about 6 cm long and take approximately fifteen seconds to burn, during which time it gave off a fairly nasty

smell. When the flame reached the 'quickmatch' it went off with a bang, hence the name.[41]

The unofficial training of the Fourth Class, which had originally been approached in a spirit of jest, had now degenerated into systematic humiliation and harassment. There were several factors contributing to this change. During the First World War the postgraduation prospects of the cadets seemed secure. However, by the early 1920s, in an era of worldwide disarmament, a satisfying career in the military seemed less certain. Consequently, the number of cadets, and their overall quality, diminished. With a smaller cadet population, the influence of a somewhat juvenile and malicious senior cadet towards the Fourth Class would be magnified, as there were fewer seniors cadets to oppose or, by their own actions, mitigate this behaviour. Once a humiliating or harassing precedent was established, it was perpetuated by its victims on the following intake of cadets. Most of the more malicious harassment of the Fourth Class cadets was carried out by the Third Class cadets, whose year of torment was still fresh in their minds and who were generally less mature than the Second and First Class cadets. A graduate later commented:

> It's interesting that the people who were the worst bastards, as far as bastardisation was concerned, were basically Third Class, who had to put up with it the year before and were small enough to say, 'Well I'll get it out of the Fourth Class next year'. And they were generally the more small minded people.[42]

While another commented:

> Being the youngest of my class – I had just turned seventeen – and of no great maturity anyway, this 'training' had at least one unfortunate effect on me. I finished the fourth class course determined to take it out on the next fourth class, and that obsession possessed me in some measure until after I had left Duntroon.[43]

Another contributing factor was the dearth of recreational activities, particularly in the evenings. Additionally, owing to the isolation of the college, the cadets were effectively cut off from female companionship. This meant that they had to entertain themselves, the Fourth Class cadets often being the butt of the jokes of the senior cadets.

Coulthard-Clark suggests that the intensity of hazing in this period was a direct consequence of the lowering of the admission standards in the postwar period. He writes:

> At a time when applicants were few and often of doubtful calibre there were those at Duntroon who viewed it as appropriate, even necessary, to institute a second selection procedure to weed out those members of new intakes who, according to a perceived view of the college ethos, ought never have gained admission.[44]

There were, however, internal regulatory measures for what was euphemistically known as 'Fourth Class Training'. One such measure was the 'Block Court Martial', which commenced at the college in the mid-1920s. The nature of these trials varied in accordance with the seriousness of the offence. For an extremely serious offence, such as physically assaulting a cadet from another class, or if a senior cadet was found to be using the Fourth Class cadets to perform tasks of a servile nature, the court would be held in front of the entire cadet body. In this way, all would see that justice was served. The

president of the court would be a member of the First Class, with a representative from each of the other classes completing the court panel. Evidence was presented and there was an air of officialdom about the whole proceedings. The punishment awarded might consist of six to twelve strikes with a swagger cane across the buttocks, this punishment being carried out immediately after sentencing in front of the entire corps. Another form of punishment was being 'Sent to Coventry' for a specified period. If a cadet was 'Sent to Coventry', then no other cadet was allowed to speak to him, except in an official capacity, for the period of the sentence. Perhaps the most feared punishment was the 'Creeping Terror'. This punishment consisted of placing a cadet in a bath with no plug in it, where he had to place his buttocks into the plug-hole to stop the water draining away. The cold-water tap would be slightly turned on so that it was dripping. The cadet was required to stay in the bath until the water flowed over the bath's edge.[45]

For less serious offences, the court was generally drawn from within the barrack block or class, as appropriate. For example, a Fourth Class cadet who did not participate in the Fourth Class Training was generally charged by the senior cadet of his block and might be awarded a punishment such as five kicks to the buttocks. Such an action would also send an unambiguous message to the other Fourth Class cadets who might also be considering rebelling against the established social order. Also, if a cadet committed a breach of honour, which if reported to the college authorities would have probably resulted in their dismissal, then the First Class cadets might order the members of the accused's class to try him. The member would thus be tried and punished, presumably learn his lesson, and be able to continue at the college without his official record being tarnished.[46]

In addition to the negative psychological and sociological effects of the harassment and humiliation to which the Fourth Class cadets were subjected, there were also some positive consequences. Graduates have described how, as a class, they achieved solidarity through adversity; they have also made known their suspicions that, in the absence of Fourth Class Training, they would not have formed the same strong bonds of friendship. The hazing of the Fourth Class was also a social leveller, stripping away any pretensions with which a cadet might have entered the college, and reducing all cadets to the same, albeit low, social standing. This factor facilitated the development of friendships, as the social distance that might have otherwise prevented them from forming was removed.

In its worst aspects, hazing was used as a means of revenge. A graduate later commented, 'In any group there are always a few who tend towards being barbarous, sadistic and cruel … and thus we sometimes find bastardisation being taken to extremes, so that decent people were broken by it'. He recalled that, when he was a senior cadet, one of the new Fourth Class cadets was the younger brother of a graduate who had been a noted hazer. 'The younger brother was a marked man … in a very short time this unfortunate and innocent scapegoat was hounded out of RMC with the harpies [sic] on his heels'.[47]

From the mid-1920s, Fourth Class Training began upon a cadet's arrival and continued for virtually the entire year. In *The Decades of a Duntroon Bastard* (1980), a member of the 1926 intake, G.M. Robinson, recalled that shortly after arriving he was escorted to his room by a senior cadet:

> He then drew my attention to a double door at the head of the corridor, and asked me to open it. I complied, and then dead-pan, he said. 'Get in!' It was a shallow broom cupboard. I looked at him, I suppose incredulously, and stepped back away from the door. At that moment three or four similarly clad somewhat older and bigger young men walked out of the back rooms.

> One came up to me, looked me truculently in the eye and said, 'Bolshy bastard, eh?'. I got into the cupboard; and from that moment, for ten long months, life was sheer misery.[48]

On their very first evening at the college, the Fourth Class would be paraded before the cadet body in the recreation room. Each Fourth Class cadet was required to place a German helmet (a relic from the First World War) on his head, march around the room and climb onto a table placed at the head of the congregation. He would then announce his name, age and where he went to school, following which he would be subjected to several questions, normally humorous, from the assembled cadets. An incorrect response would result in him being pelted with bread. After it was decided that he had provided enough entertainment for the senior classes, he would salute a picture of the King, march back through the assembled cadets and replace the helmet on its stand. Another Fourth Class cadet then took up the helmet.[49]

The evenings for the remainder of the first week did not bring any respite for the Fourth Class, as each night they would be required to assemble in the recreation room to entertain the senior cadets. Here they would undertake steeplechases and obstacles courses, constructed out of various pieces of furniture, with added encouragement being provided by the belts of the senior cadets as they raced by. Other activities included operatic duties and various dances, one of which was undertaken in the nude, with the exception of a carpet strip round the waist, held up by a belt. Although many of the activities were conducted in a spirit of jest, the underlying purpose was to reinforce the position of the Fourth Class in the college's social hierarchy: at the bottom.[50]

Periodically, rumours of the ill-treatment of the Fourth Class cadets would surface outside the college and result in some public pressure to cease all such activities. The staff would generally make a half-hearted effort in response:

> The senior cadet NCO would be 'matted' and told that fourth class training [unofficial] was to cease. As the majority of the staff were graduates, this order would be given tongue in cheek.[51]

By the end of the 1920s, however, the ill-treatment of the Fourth Class was a major scandal waiting to happen. That the treatment of the junior cadets had degenerated to such an extent was principally owing to the absence of staff supervision after-hours and during meal times, and the cadet code of conduct that prevented junior cadets, upon threat of additional persecution, from complaining of ill-treatment to the staff. Isolated by geography and design from the rest of the Canberra community, the college was essentially a closed community that kept its secrets well.

This secrecy ended in 1929 when a member of that year's intake wrote a letter to his father, alleging that his head had been thrust down a toilet. His father wrote to the Minister for Defence, Sir William Glasgow, who responded by setting up an inquiry into the Fourth Class Training.

Following the inquiry, an order was issued by the commandant, Brigadier E.F. Harrison, that there was to be no Fourth Class Training for one month and that the initiation ceremony was banned for that year. The senior classes responded by sending the entire Fourth Class to 'Coventry' for a month. At the end of the month, the Fourth Class Training recommenced with a vengeance as the senior cadets set out to make up for lost time. A member of the 1929 intake recalled that cadets would be forced into a broom cupboard after church parade on Sunday, where they would remain until lights-out (although they were let out for meals).[52] Another member of that intake recalled that, on one occasion, more than ten cadets were crammed into the cupboard after church parade

by a senior cadet. Unfortunately, the senior cadet forgot about them for several hours. Coulthard-Clark noted that:

> He remembered them during lunch, and leapt up and dashed out. On opening the doors the bodies literally fell out. The cadets were on their last legs, any longer and death could have resulted.[53]

Cadets were also covered in boot polish and were only permitted to take a cold bath to get it off. The most violent incident during this period of retribution was when a cadet was hit over the head for not passing the jam quickly enough and was consequently admitted to hospital. The cadet who started it all by writing to his father was discharged after less than a month at the college.[54]

This incident established the precedent for two recurring themes in the history of hazing at the college: if you complain, you will only make it worse for yourself and your classmates; and only cadets who cannot take it, and therefore should not be at the college in the first place, complain to parents or to staff about their treatment by the senior cadets.

The initiation ceremony was again banned the following year (1930), as was the Queanbeyan Roughs prank. The result of this ban was that, when the college moved to Sydney in 1931, of the three classes present, only the First Class had been initiated into the CSC. The initiation ceremony was recognised as marking the end of the worst excesses of the Fourth Class Training and therefore, owing to the absence of the initiation ceremony, the Fourth Class Training continued unabated. A later commandant, Brigadier C.G.N. Miles, commented that, in his opinion, the reasons why the Fourth Class Training reached a peak in this period was because the initiation ceremony was banned.[55] The ban did not continue into 1931, when Brigadier F.B. Heritage, who had resumed the appointment of commandant on the college's move to Sydney, allegedly ordered the initiation of the Second and Third Classes (there was no Fourth Class in 1931).[56]

The cadets made a considerable effort to transplant to Sydney as many of the Duntroon traditions as possible, including elements of Fourth Class Training, though some elements intractably linked with the Duntroon site, such as the Queanbeyan Roughs, ceased. The fact that the college was now located in the middle of Sydney, coupled with the need to avoid adverse publicity, mitigated some of the other activities, such as preventing the construction of the elaborate initiation apparatus that had been a feature of the ceremonies conducted at Duntroon. Therefore in 1931 and 1932, the initiation ceremony was held, away from prying eyes, in the barracks' squash courts. In 1933 and 1934, it was held during the end-of-year camp training at Holsworthy, permitting a greater scope for initiation activities than had been possible at Victoria Barracks.[57]

The evidence suggests that Fourth Class Training reached a peak of brutality in the early 1930s. There was no longer any pretence at civility, and the Fourth Class cadets were simply referred to as 'bastard' for the entire year. Coulthard-Clark suggests that this upsurge in hazing occurred because the intake of 1930 remained 'bottom of the pile' for two years running, as there was no intake in 1931. Consequently when a new junior class did arrive in 1932, it was on the receiving end of two years of pent-up frustration and was very harshly treated. The treatment meted out to the 1932 intake established a self-perpetuating cycle of cadet abuse. As before, most of the harassment occurred in the cadets' mess, where the Fourth Class cadets were constantly bombarded with questions. These questions were generally esoteric in nature, as their sole purpose was to cause great difficulty in obtaining the answers rather than to educate. An incorrect answer might require the cadet to drink a condiment cocktail or he might simply be kicked in the shins

under the table. Additionally, during meal-times, the Fourth Class cadets were now required to sit on the forward edge of their chairs, with a rigidly straight back.[58]

While the college was in Sydney, many of the old checks and measures applied to the Fourth Class Training appear to have been disregarded. Although it was expressly prohibited during the college's first two decades, in the early 1930s the Fourth Class cadets were forced to clean the equipment of the senior cadets (fagging). Additionally, Third Class was now holding unofficial PT sessions for the Fourth Class in the gymnasium. Originally held only on weekends, by 1934 these sessions were held virtually every afternoon at the end of the day's studies. Attendance was compulsory for all Fourth Class cadets unless they had sports training. These sessions were designed to physically exhaust the Fourth Class and allow the Third Class to display its control over them, rather than to increase the physical fitness of the Fourth Class.[59]

In 1934 the treatment by the senior cadets was so harsh that some members of the Fourth Class complained to the staff. One of the recently admitted New Zealand cadets also complained to a visiting New Zealand Army officer about the physical abuse he had suffered. The potential for an international scandal, which might even result in a second withdrawal of the New Zealand cadets, galvanised the college authorities into reasserting some control over the Fourth Class Training. Coulthard-Clark notes that a cadet from Second Class was discharged for mistreating the Fourth Class cadets as a warning to the other senior cadets. Furthermore, the commandant addressed the senior classes, informing them that these practices were unauthorised and were disapproved of by the staff.[60]

Contributing to this upsurge in harassment was the continuing lack of supervision of the cadets. To overcome this lack of supervision, from 1935 an 'Officer of the Week' system was introduced, whereby a staff member would live in at Victoria Barracks and eat all meals in the cadets' mess. This officer would also be required to undertake surprise inspections of the cadets' rooms during the night. The implementation of this system reduced the opportunities for Fourth Class Training to occur.[61]

Despite these measures, it was apparent that the hazing of the junior cadets still persisted, resulting in further unwanted attention for the college when a closed (no press or public admitted) military court of inquiry was convened to inquire into the matter. This court was held at Victoria Barracks in April–May 1935 and was to inquire into the circumstances under which Staff Cadet P.H. Walker deserted from the college on 18 March 1935, and to investigate the allegations of mistreatment raised in a letter by Walker to his father. The court was also to determine the extent of the mistreatment of the Fourth Class cadets at the college.[62]

The court heard evidence from all current Fourth Class cadets, as well as from several senior cadets and the majority of the staff. Walker, who refused to attend the court and was not arrested owing to the adverse publicity that would result from such an action, returned to his parents' home in Victoria and did not appear before the court (although he was interviewed at home) and therefore could not be cross-examined.[63]

After examining the evidence, the court upheld only five of the sixteen allegations raised in Walker's letter. The court agreed with his description of the initiation ceremony and found that the Fourth Class cadets had been forced to take a bite out of a cake of soap and eat it; that they had been denied entry into the recreation room; that they had been tipped out of their beds at night; and that they had been used as a rifle rack.[v] Some of the

[v] This involved two Fourth Class cadets who stood side by side. They raised one leg behind themselves, bending it at the knee so that it formed a right angle. A rifle would then be rested across the two raised legs, the idea being to see how long the cadets could hold it in place before fatigue set in and their legs dropped.

allegations, however, were summarily dismissed, including a claim by Walker that he had spent a whole night trying to learn the names of the various commandants and lecturers since the college began. The court found that:

> As all lights are out at 10.15 we do not see how this is possible. The seniors do expect the new cadets to learn the names of the various commandants, but these have been only seven.

Other allegations – such as flushing a cadet's head down the toilet, cadets being kicked after giving the wrong answer to a question, and cadets being beaten with a bayonet in its scabbard – were not substantiated.[64]

The court found that Walker's desertion was not due to improper treatment from his fellow cadets but rather that he was homesick and unhappy! They expressed the opinion that he had found college life and discipline too difficult and was afraid that he would fail at the end of the year, be discharged and not have a job to go to. It was alleged that his previous job was still open and that he returned to this job on leaving the college. Following the receipt of the court's report, the Military Board officially removed Walker from the college[vi] (with effect from 9 August 1935)[64] on the grounds that he was unlikely to become an efficient officer.[65]

The court also found that in the period 1932–34, there was evidence of the seniors keeping the Fourth Class cadets 'unnecessarily and improperly suppressed'. Furthermore, it found that this 'bullying' of the Fourth Class largely ceased as a result of the disciplinary action taken in relation to this matter in 1934, and that 'during the present year [1935] there has been nothing which warrants the description of ill-treatment to the cadets'. It did find, however, that one cadet was involved in a partial continuance of the unofficial Fourth Class Training. As a consequence of the findings of the court, the Military Board instructed the commandant to inform the cadets that the carrying out of any initiation ceremony or any other practice involving cruelty or ill-treatment to another cadet would not be tolerated under any circumstances. Furthermore, the board instructed the commandant to publish in the college orders that 'the Corps of Staff Cadets has incurred the grave displeasure of the Military Board in connection with their treatment of Staff Cadets of the 4th Class'.[66] The commandant, Brigadier C.G.N. Miles, however, successfully appealed against this censure, arguing that while it:

> ... would have been well deserved two years or so ago, it hardly applies to the present members of the Corps of Staff Cadets. Further, should this censure be published now there would naturally be a grudge against the present 4th Class for having caused it, whereas this class, with only a few minor exceptions, received no ill-treatment at the hands of their seniors.[67]

The Chief of the General Staff, Major General J.D. Lavarack, concurred, stating that Miles' request was 'in the best interests of the college'.[68]

In 1983, in the wake of another hazing scandal, one of the cadets interviewed by the 1935 court of inquiry, the then retired Colonel M.C. Morgan, commented that he and the other cadets had been reluctant to tell the truth before the court, 'despite the innumerable

vi Walker enlisted in the RAAF in the Second World War where he reached the rank of flight lieutenant and was Mentioned in Despatches.

indignities inflicted on us, we evaded direct questions and prevaricated'. He described how they had been conned into thinking that the Fourth Class before them had been 'men enough' to take it, and so they had covered up, despite taking the oath, to protect the senior cadets of previous years. He commented that one cadet 'liked to prick his initials on each of your buttocks with his bayonet. Once he sawed at a cadet's ears with a geometry ruler until the blood dripped down'. (It is not clear whether Morgan in fact witnessed these acts or merely had them recounted to him.) Morgan did, however, observe a cadet striking other cadets with a piece of rope as they ran around the gymnasium and cadets being forced to drink condiment cocktails in the cadets' mess. He also described several instances of physical assault:

> I was kicked under the table so much, I took to wearing hockey shin guards ... sometimes we would be called into a senior cadet's room and given the choice of being struck with a hockey stick, rattan cane or bayonet.

Morgan, who spent three and a half years as a prisoner of war of the Japanese during the Second World War, wrote:

> I don't bear any resentment against the Japanese because they were the enemy, but after 50 years I still bitterly resent what my fellow Australians did at Duntroon under the guise of fourth-class training.[69]

The incidents mentioned by Morgan confirmed allegations made in an anonymous letter published in the *Smith's Weekly* (Sydney) on 1 April 1933 (when Morgan was in Fourth Class). The article appeared to have been written by a cadet of the 1933 intake (or an associate or family member). It alleged that the junior cadets had to drink sauce cocktails, and were whipped around the gymnasium with a thick rope by seniors for an hour of physical training. The article stated that 'every boy gets six or a dozen cuts from a cane off a senior before he is allowed to go to bed'. Other allegations concerned junior cadets being forced to clean seniors' equipment, being forced into cold baths, being locked in cupboards, and being compelled to mark time for three hours on the parade ground, clad only in pyjamas, at the end of which they were drenched with fire hoses. The commandant, Colonel J.D. Lavarack, denied the majority of the allegations, though conceding that he was not aware of the full extent of the 'ragging' of the new intake, but added that ragging was severely discouraged.[70]

The conduct of the initiation ceremony was one of the issues raised by Walker in the letter to his father. The comments of the court reflect the attitude of the staff towards such matters during this period:

> Since the very earliest days there have been initiation ceremonies at the College and it is clear that the cadets do not look upon themselves as full members of the Corps of Staff Cadets until they have been through the same. It is also clear that the cadets already initiated do not treat cadets as one of themselves until the initiation ceremony has been performed. For this reason we are of the opinion that the holding of such a ceremony as soon as convenient after the arrival of the new cadets, as was done this year, is better than holding it later in the year.

> Evidence was given that in previous years when the ceremony was not held until late in the year that until it was performed the new cadets were not looked upon or treated by the other cadets as full members of the Corps. That such a ceremony is performed has always been known to those in authority and we are informed that all graduates of the College have been through it. In view of the tradition [sic] of the College, which is very necessary for a proper esprit de corps, and the fact that some form of ceremony is almost universally in vogue in English speaking communities, we are of the opinion that any attempt to put down such a ceremony would be ill advised. We do not think that the ceremony as performed is unduly severe and we could find no cadet who objected to it or would like it abolished.[71]

That year, however, the initiation ceremony had been held much earlier (the first week of March) than had been the case in the past and was a much more subdued affair than the preceding ceremonies.[72]

The initiation ceremony survived the court of inquiry, the Military Board ordering its cessation, and the return of the college to Duntroon, though, owing to the rebuilding of the college, the initiation ceremony was now held in the gymnasium rather than the area immediately behind the barracks. Many of the traditional elements were retained, including the 'pain test' and the proclaiming of the oath of loyalty to the CSC while sitting on a block of ice, though the ceremony never again reached the degree of sophistication that had occurred in the late 1920s.[73]

The initiation ceremony remained central to the cadets' identity, with even the members of the short courses admitted to the college in 1939 ('2B' and '2C') being duly initiated. The cadets in the short courses were all ex-members of the CMF and were therefore much older and generally larger than the other cadets. Consequently their initiation posed some difficulties. For example, Class 2C with forty members would have proved quite a challenge for the senior class, which consisted of only nineteen, to initiate. Therefore Class 2B was somewhat reluctantly recruited to assist in the initiation, it being impressed on them that being asked to do so was a 'special honour'.[74] Likewise, the special intake for a twelve-month course from April 1943 to April 1944 was also initiated. The majority of its members were already in the AIF, had held the rank of sergeant and were all older than the other cadets. In fact, three of its members had been granted wartime commissions and several had been awarded bravery decorations. A cadet of the period remarked that the treatment of this intake was much harsher than normal, their initiation being so brutal that it resulted in one cadet breaking his leg and another catching pneumonia. The behaviour of the senior classes during this initiation was so appalling that the current Fourth Class resolved to treat the next intake more humanely. The 1944 intake therefore had a token initiation conducted in a jocular rather than malicious spirit. Activities included walking along a pole and falling into a pit of oil and mud, and then being fire-hosed down to wash the stuff off. It did not incorporate any flicking with towels or difficult physical activities.[75]

As the years passed, many of the college's traditional harassment practices were updated. For example, by the mid-1940s, what had been known in the 1920s as 'Machinegun Drill' was now known as 'Mount Mortar Drill', whereby the three pieces of a mortar (baseplate, barrel and bipod) equated to the three pieces of the bed. Additionally, the ingenuity of the senior cadets ensured that there was a constant source of new Fourth Class 'games'. By the mid-1940s, these games included the use of the large bottom drawer from a cadet wardrobe as a canoe, which was rowed across the tiled

floor of a bathroom by several cadets using their rifles as oars. Another 'game' was for senior cadets to walk into the room of a Fourth Class cadet and say 'Birds'. This required the Fourth Class cadet to climb onto the wardrobe and squeeze into the gap between the top of the wardrobe and the ceiling. The command 'Mice' required them to dive under their beds, while the command 'Monkeys' required them to perch on the edge of their desk. As for previous generations of cadets, the Fourth Class Training had the effect of unifying the class, a 1948 graduate commenting, 'I thoroughly enjoyed it. It certainly bound our class together from then until this day'.[76]

The final initiation ceremony was conducted in 1955, and reflected the evolution of over forty years of cadet culture. It was held on a Saturday night, approximately four weeks after the arrival of the Fourth Class. At the evening meal parade, the BSM announced that the Fourth Class were to parade in PT gear (including issued jockstrap) in the vicinity of the flagpole at 7.30 p.m. Upon arrival, they were divided up into section-sized groups and taken for a long run by a Second Class cadet, finishing at the gymnasium. Here they were told to strip down to their jockstraps and were blindfolded, the blindfolds remaining in place for the remainder of the ceremony. The ceremony commenced with them crawling under some tied-down camouflage nets that had been laid out over the gravel area adjacent to the gym. While traversing this area, and trying to avoid gravel rash, the Fourth Class cadets were fire-hosed.[77] One of them later recalled:

> If you were lucky, this hit your body directly; if unlucky, the hose steam hit the gravel section in front of your face, allowing you to be peppered with small bits of stone in the water stream.[78]

Next the cadets had to crawl through the triangular section of the metal frames used to hold the cadets' bikes. While they were crawling through, the frames were beaten with wooden stakes, accompanied by wild shouting and screaming. Once clear of the bike frames, the cadets were led into the gym proper.[79]

Inside the gym, a bull-ring system was in place, and the cadets ran blindfolded between stands. Activities included the 'pain test' (which was virtually unchanged from the format of earlier initiations) and the cadet climbing onto a vaulting box and being told to reach up as high as possible on a gym rope and swing out. The rope, however, had been greased, so the cadet landed heavily on his backside (there were no mats on the floor). Another activity consisted of being sat on a chair and asked whether they wanted to be initiated with the ring of the Corps of Staff Cadets. 'Yes' was the only acceptable reply, resulting in a small piece of copper wire being inserted over their ring finger. The other end of the wire was connected to a K-Phone magneto generator that was then given a generous crank, the voltage being enough to make the cadet's hair stand on end. Another stand involved walking a plank blindfolded with a hand resting on a senior cadet's shoulder. The impression was given that they had walked to a great height, from which they were then ordered to jump, though in reality it was only about a half a metre or so; the guiding cadet accomplished this illusion by crouching slowly and progressively. The cadets would then exit the gym through the bike frames with the accompanying noise.[80]

The cadet was then made to sit on a block of ice sited atop a chute. A senior cadet uttered 'With this entrenching tool, bloody and wet, I dub thee now a Staff Cadet', and the cadet was then whacked on his bare buttocks with an entrenching tool, which had been attached to some form of low-voltage DC power. This action launched the cadet off the ice and down the chute into a tub of cold water filled with all manner of pungent liquids. The cadet's arms were then grabbed by two senior cadets and he was dunked,

once for each letter of his surname (those with shorter surnames had 'bloody' inserted between each letter, for example, 'A', 'bloody' 'B' and so on). Taken out of this cesspool, the cadet was led to an adjacent area, where the (D↑D) symbol was painted onto his bare buttocks with raven oil (one 'D' on each buttock with the ↑ extending upwards out of the crack): thereby indicating the cadet's 'ownership' by the Commonwealth. It took some time for this symbol to fade away, being particularly evident during the swimming carnival held a few weeks later. The initiation ceremony thus concluded, the Fourth Class cadets had their blindfolds removed and their hands shaken by each of the senior cadets, who congratulated them on their induction into the corps. The cadets recovered their PT attire and once all the Fourth Class cadets had completed the ceremony, the whole corps adjourned for a late supper in the cadets' mess. The entire ceremony took approximately two hours.[81] All this was to cease, however, the following year.

In 1956, one of the new entrants had achieved some prominence in the social pages of the Perth press in relation to his departure for the college. Unfortunately for him, these press cuttings were mailed across to some of the senior cadets, whose training always commenced a few weeks before the Fourth Class arrived. The senior cadets therefore paid particular attention to this cadet when he arrived at the college – though it is doubtful whether his treatment was significantly harsher than that inflicted on most of his classmates. The cadet in question immediately complained to his parents and submitted his resignation, departing from the college shortly afterwards. The complaint was allegedly raised by his parents with senior Army officers in HQ Western Command and also leaked to the press. The commandant, Major General I.R. Campbell, was forced to defend the college against both Army HQ and the press. Not wishing to generate any further complaints in the existing volatile climate, Campbell banned the initiation ceremony shortly before it was due to be conducted.[82] Furthermore, to reduce the opportunity for the harassment of the new cadets, the following year Campbell initiated a camp at Tharwa (Point Hut), which the Fourth Class cadets attended for their first three weeks at the college. Contact between the Fourth Class and the senior cadets during this period was limited to a few lessons delivered by the First Class, ensuring that the new cadets were inducted into the Army, and the college, by the staff rather than the senior cadets.[83]

The 1956 Fourth Class, however, still had to live with the repercussions of the commandant's decision. The BSM called together the three senior classes and made it very clear that all hazing was to cease immediately and that there would be no initiation ceremony. He stressed that the 'military education' of the Fourth Class would henceforth be very strict. One of the cadets present at this briefing recalled:

> In other words military punishments for military offences were being encouraged in place of verbal abuse and personal humiliation. Although it was not actually spelt out in so many words, it could hardly have been made more clear that military offences such as dust in the keyhole would now be penalised heavily ... I watched as the hapless 1956 Fourth Class paid dearly for their classmate's escape and pounded the square for months for trivial offences.[84]

Furthermore, several cadets persisted with the hazing of the Fourth Class, despite the ban. The absence of an initiation ceremony meant that there was no 'ceremonial' welcoming of the new cadets into the corps and they continued to be treated as outsiders much later into their first year than had been the recent practice.[85]

The socialisation objective previously satisfied by the initiation ceremony was now

fulfilled by the Lanyard Parade, which was held at the end of the Fourth Class's initial period of military training.[vii] Traditionally, a poor performance on the parade ground by the Fourth Class was greeted with silence by the watching senior classes, signifying that the Fourth Class was not yet deemed ready to be accepted into the CSC. If applause was heard as they marched off, they had been accepted into the CSC. Acceptance was manifested by permitting them to wear 'bashed' peaked caps,[viii] together with the CSC lanyards and shoulder boards, like the other cadet classes. The Lanyard Parade was just one example of the strictly tiered system that continued to define cadet society. A graduate of 1968 would later describe this system as:

> 4th Class were the lowest of the low (in cadet-speak, 4th Class were the 'Shit of Shits'). Third Class were still junior classmen in the hierarchy, but a step up the ladder and therefore known as the 'Shit of Kings'. Second Class were senior cadets, with some little power and with responsibility for bastardisation. They were sometimes the terror of 4th Class, and therefore known as the 'King of Shits'. The top of the ladder was First Class – the most senior year. Its members were known as 'King of Kings' ... they looked after the junior cadets too, but were generally totally absorbed in completing their final year at RMC and graduating into the regular army.[86]

In the mid-1960s, hazing was alive and well at the college, with many traditional practices persisting. The Fourth Class cadets were expected to arrive for breakfast having memorised that morning's ABC news. They were not to eat until the senior cadets had arrived and the Fourth Class had taken turns in reciting every item of the news. Although this practice encouraged an awareness of current affairs, it was prone to abuse. For example, a senior cadet might order a Fourth Class cadet to go and refresh his memory if he was not satisfied with the delivery of that morning's news bulletin (the cadet potentially missing out on breakfast). Other hazing practices of the period involved eating 'square meals'[ix], taking full-force cold showers while whistling 'God Save the Queen', and standing at attention while answering rapid-fire questions from senior cadets on any subject that took their fancy. A graduate later commented that many of these practices seemed 'random, pointless and haphazard. Sometimes it was just a 2nd Class cadet stirring us up or having a bit of fun. Sometimes it was applied by a bad tempered (or worse, a drunk) senior cadet being bloody minded'.[87]

It was apparent by the late 1960s that hazing practices had become intertwined with the college's formal discipline system. For example, 'Wet Twos' consisted of Fourth Class cadets standing in the showers, wet, in some combination of uniform, two minutes before the evening mess parade. They then had two minutes to remove the wet items, dry themselves, dress in evening attire and travel the hundred metres to the front of the

vii Though Lanyard Parade was the official marker for Fourth Class acceptance into the corps, the unofficial marker was generally the Queen's Birthday Parade held in June, following which many of the restrictions imposed on the Fourth Class were relaxed.

viii The issued peaked cap resisted shaping attempts to remove its characteristic flat top. Cadets were permitted to purchase peaked caps (imported from England) that could be moulded (or 'bashed') to a more 'acceptable' shape. This was accomplished by immersing the hat in water and using a belt or pegs to hold down the sides of the cap so that when it dried the sides virtually touched the cap's chinstrap.

ix A 'Square Meal' required a cadet to sit ten centimetres from, and parallel to, the back of his chair and look directly ahead. To consume his meal, the Fourth Class cadet would have to raise his fork vertically until it was horizontally in line with his mouth and then move it along this horizontal line into his mouth. Before chewing could commence, the fork had to be returned along exactly the same route it took on the way up. This practice would continue until the meal was consumed.

cadets' mess in time for the evening meal parade. Lateness would incur at least one extra drill (thereby the cadets falling victim to both hazing and the formal discipline system). In fact, the college bathrooms lent themselves to all forms of cadet ingenuity when it came to conducting 'games' with the Fourth Class. All cadets were required to shower before the evening meal, but any attempt to have an early shower by the Fourth Class was thwarted by the senior cadets, who would order all Fourth Class to gather in the showers, towel and soap in hand. The 'games' would then commence. One such 'game' was 'bum slides', which required the Fourth Class cadets to provide a generous coating of soap and water to the tiled floors, as well as all sliding surfaces, such as heels, backs of legs and buttock. The cadets would then push off with both legs from the far wall to slide backwards on their bums as far as they could. Fourth Class cadets were also required to take 'bird baths', using the hand basins, and/or alternate hot and cold showers, rotating on command between showers of pure cold water and those of a warm temperature. Cadets would also be required to shower in various 'uniforms', jockstraps and webbing being a particular favourite in some cadet companies. The senior cadets would often direct the 'games' from the warmth of a bath.[88]

Once released from the showers, Fourth Class cadets then had to endure the evening meal which, owing to its more leisurely pace than that of breakfast and lunch, provided ample opportunities for harassment by the senior cadets. A practice borrowed from West Point was 'How's the Cow?'; upon being asked this question, the Fourth Class cadet would be required to reply: 'The cow she's fine, she walks, she talks, she's full of chalk. The lacteal juices of the female of the bovine species are prolific to the extent of X cups'. The milk would then be poured out to demonstrate that his assessment of the amount of milk in the jug was correct. Failure to predict the amount correctly might invite push-ups or some other form of punishment, such as being told to circumnavigate the mess while keeping his index finger pressed against the wall, or pushing a pea around the floor with his nose.[89] Even the simple act of sitting down at his allocated table was fraught with danger, the Fourth Class cadet having to excuse himself to the satisfaction of the senior cadet present before being told to take his seat. A graduate of this period commented:

> Chairs, we quickly discovered, were for Fourth Class to sit six inches from and parallel to the back of, for Third Class to sit on, for Second Class to relax upon and to stop First Class from falling on the floor. Some Second Class went so far as to insert a table knife between the back of the chair and each Fourth Class' spine to ensure that the requisite separation was being maintained.[90]

Despite staff attempts to curb its excesses, hazing was still prevalent at the college. This, coupled with the evolution of the college's civil studies towards degree status in the mid-1960s, led to the college's greatest hazing scandal.

In 1964, degree-level academic courses were introduced, whereby the Fourth Class would potentially receive a degree at the end of their course, while the most the other classes could hope for was some credit for future university studies. The senior classes felt that, as degree-qualified officers, the then Fourth Class would have a distinct advantage over them in their subsequent careers and therefore actively victimised them. This victimisation was so severe that the commandant, Major General C.H. Finlay, had to implement stern measures to curtail it.[91] The upsurge in victimisation coincided with the revitalisation of the college's civil curriculum. Previously the absence of a recognised qualification at the end of the course meant that most cadets were content merely to pass their civil subjects and therefore devoted the majority of their efforts towards military

studies. The external recognition now given to the successful completion of the college's civil course meant that the academic faculty began to adopt an increasingly dim view of 'Fourth Class Training'. Another factor was the introduction in the mid-1960s of a scheme that formally allocated each member of the academic staff as an academic advisor to a group of cadets, resulting in the development of a much closer relationship between the two groups than had occurred in the past. Consequently, the cadets were more likely to discuss with their academic advisor problems that they were having with life in general, including their treatment by the senior cadets.[92]

A lecturer at the college, S. Bennett, commented in a 1970 *Australian Quarterly* article that, in the pre-degree days of the college, the civil work was less important and less strenuous, and therefore the hazing of the junior cadets and other time-wasting activities did not figure so prominently in the academics' minds. He considered it inevitable, however, that the introduction of degree-level academic courses would see an attack launched against this feature of cadet life by the academic staff. He commented that the new staff, with no sentimental attachment to the college's traditions, could hardly be expected to look kindly upon practices that were detrimental to the cadets' academic performance and hence indirectly affected external perceptions of the capabilities of the academic staff.[93]

In contrast to the concerns of the academic staff members was the attitude of some members of the military staff. A graduate of 1968 would later write:

> There's no doubt the Army approved of bastardisation at Duntroon. In 1968, the commandant, Major-General Fraser, actually warned concerned members of the RMC academic staff not to interfere with college traditions, especially Fourth Class training.[94]

The increasing polarisation of the staff on the question of the value of the hazing of the Fourth Class cadets was building up to a showdown.

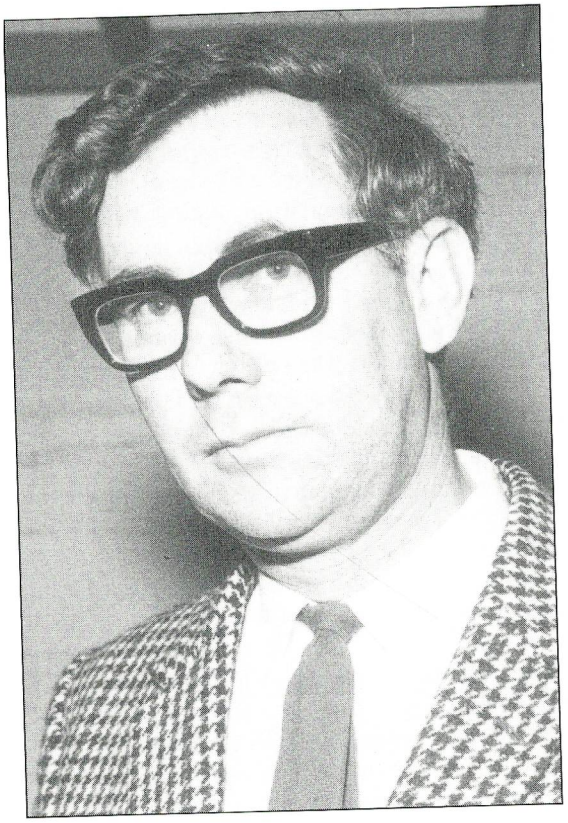
In September 1969, less than two years after the establishment of the UNSW's Faculty of Military Studies at the college, a major scandal broke. Its immediate origins lie in a lengthy letter written by a lecturer in the faculty's department of history, G.P. Walsh, to the commandant, Major General C.A.E. Fraser, dated 25 August 1969. Walsh had been lecturing at the college since May 1966 but had not taught the Fourth Class until 1969. While the general tone of the letter was not inflammatory, its contents were. Walsh wrote:

> On several occasions during the last week of Term, I was ashamed of my association with this College for the first time. I had always known that there was such a thing euphemistically called 'Fourth Class Training', but until this year I had little idea what it actually meant to the junior cadet.

Walsh's concern was prompted by what he saw as a threat to the academic integrity of the college. He believed that the Fourth Class Training was resulting in cadets' work not being submitted, or work being submitted of a standard inferior to that which they were capable of producing. In his letter he commented that:

> No self-respecting university teacher can tolerate such interference with his work ... We cannot have serious academic courses of study and 'bastardisation' as it is practised, since one is the negation of the other.[95]

The instigation of degree-level civil studies at the college had been strongly resisted by elements of the academic community, who did not believe that a liberal university education was possible in a military environment. Therefore, when Walsh commented



Gerald Walsh, who in August 1969 sent a detailed letter to the commandant, Major General C.A.E. Fraser, detailing his concerns about the harassment of the Fourth Class cadets. (Canberra Times)

that, owing to the bastardisation of the Fourth Class cadets, 'it is the opinion of a large number, if not all, of the academic staff that this year's result will be adversely affected', it appeared that the detractors had been right and that the college's academic credibility would be compromised even before the first cadet enrolled in the Faculty of Military Studies graduated. This was of great concern to Walsh, who wrote, somewhat ironically in view of later events, that:

> Any scandal or adverse publicity arising out of 'bastardisation' activities would seriously embarrass us [the academic staff], and our credibility as an academic institution would be seriously impaired.[96]

Walsh commented that he had been observing the Fourth Class cadets throughout the year and that they often appeared 'dazed, shocked, tense and very unhappy – conditions which render any form of instruction less effective'. He attributed this condition to their treatment by the senior cadets, though he was careful to differentiate 'normal army discipline', such as extra drills, from:

> Gross infringements on the civil liberties of the individual, assaults on the person, and stupid time-wasting activities, all of which render the recipient frightened, miserable and, quite often, mentally and physically ill.

He listed the following examples of bastardisation, commenting:

> These are but a few examples; many more are even more senseless, puerile, dangerous and humiliating. I say nothing of the things perpetrated by certain individuals in the First Term – they are an absolute disgrace:
>
> a. spending considerable periods of time in the Bridges Library looking up useless bits of information (e.g. the longest canal in the world).
> b. wasting time in writing out useless information e.g. 'the sex life of the earthworm'.
> c. hazing by excessive questioning during dinner in the mess, resulting in the Fourth Class cadets having to eat a cold meal in a hurry.
> d. doing push-ups in the bath, keeping the head under water for a certain period of time.
> e. doing so many push-ups that the cadet in question collapsed, hit his

head on the floor and had to be revived by water. (I suppose it is of some credit to the tormentors in question that they laid off this cadet for a couple of days afterwards).

f. hazing in the showers, and forcing the subject to answer a lot of questions; if the cadet failed to answer satisfactorily he was forced to take alternate hot and cold showers.
g. eating meals on the floor under the table.
h. crawling and climbing around and over obstacles in the bathrooms. (This practice was apparently widespread).
i. forcing Fourth class cadets to provide for TOC out of their own money. (They are supposed to steal it from the Mess; if they can't they have to buy it at the canteen).
j. punishing by a large number of push-ups all Fourth Class cadets who had the temerity to ask questions of the visiting lecturer. (A sad event in an academic institution).
k. schoolboy-type fagging, e.g. running messages for Third Class.
l. leaping or leaps – the time-wasting activity where cadets are made to change uniforms in rapid succession. (This sometimes wastes up to an hour of the student's time during the day).[97]

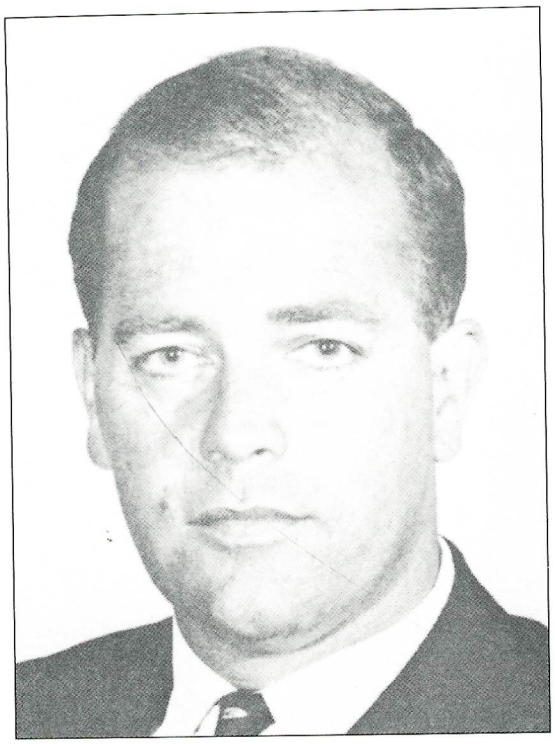
Walsh pointed out that, although in some respects bastardisation could be considered a tradition of the college, this factor in itself did not provide justification for its retention. Additionally, while previously entrants might have experienced bullying and fagging at their secondary schools, this was generally no longer the case. He commented that, as a whole, society was moving away from tolerating such practices and cited international and local examples where such practices had recently been suspended as a consequence of public outcries. Furthermore, he reasoned that it was spurious of some of the defenders of bastardisation to use undergraduate behaviour at civilian universities as a justification for their own actions. Walsh pointed out that there were differences between other university colleges and the RMC, not least the fact that students were not under military discipline and that, if a freshman was bigger and stronger than his tormentor, he therefore had a remedy not available to cadets. Walsh commented that, if he were wrong and that 'bastardisation' was essential and even beneficial, then it should be openly discussed and defended, and written into the curriculum, handbook and prospectus, rather than being hidden from the public.[98]

Walsh called for the eradication of bastardisation, commenting:

> Perhaps the quickest way to solve the whole problem is to expel one or two of the worst offenders ... An even quicker way would be for a public exposure or scandal (which seems inevitable if the practice continues), but no one wants this. A scandal brought about by the mental or physical injury or death of a cadet, or even a question raised in the House, would put the place back years.

He concluded his letter by stating, 'I set these things down to you, Sir, in order to protect and promote the best interests of the College and its staff'.[99]

The letter was delivered by hand to the commandant on the night of Friday, 29 August 1969. Owing to previous commitments, which necessitated his absence from the college, the earliest the commandant could deal with the issues raised in Walsh's letter was a week later, on Friday, 5 September. With the concurrence of the dean, Sir Leslie Martin, a meeting of the college's senior military and academic staff was set for that date. Copies of Walsh's letter were distributed to the senior staff so that they could contribute to the



The Rt. Hon. Sir Phillip Lynch, Minister for the Army during the 1969 bastardisation scandal. (AUSPIC)

discussion set for 5 September. Some time before this meeting, the Minister for the Army, the Hon. P.R. Lynch, received information from private sources that incidents amounting to bullying might be occurring at the college. The Minister immediately directed the Secretary of the Department of Defence to make inquiries into the matter.[100]

The 5 September meeting decided to establish a military Board of Inquiry to investigate the allegations. The terms of reference for the board were agreed upon the next day and it had its first meeting on Monday, 8 September 1969. The board consisted of Lieutenant Colonel S.W. Hosking, the Lieutenant Colonel in Charge of Administration; Major I.R. Wills, who was the quartermaster, and A.J. Hill, a senior lecturer in the college's history department.[x] Both of the military officers were chosen because their position and responsibilities at the college were purely administrative and they were not in the chain of command for the CSC: therefore no claims of a conflict of interest could be brought against the board (they were both, however, RMC graduates). At this time, the matter was still in-house. There was no public announcement of the establishment of the board, as Lynch hoped to avoid any public prejudging of the issues before the board as well as avoiding causing concern to parents with sons at the college before the facts were known.[101]

The Terms of Reference for the board were as follows:

a. To what extent, because of the behaviour of the members of First, Second and Third Classes, is there evidence to indicate if any member of Fourth Class of 1969 has been made to carry out any act or perform any task which contravenes CSC Policy Directive 'The Assimilation and Regimental Training of the Fourth Class' dated 14 February 1969.
b. Identify these cadets if any contravention of the CSC Policy Directive is established.
c. Make recommendations on action to be taken against any cadet so identified.[102]

x Hosking had graduated from the RMC in 1941, while Wills had graduated in 1958.

The terms of reference were deliberately nonspecific, so a wide-ranging and thorough investigation could be undertaken, though the board's inquiries would be limited to incidents that occurred in the period 1968–69.

The aforementioned CSC Policy Directive divided Fourth Class training into two distinct categories: 'Direct Training', which included instruction on uniform preparation and dining etiquette, and 'Indirect Training', which included the observance of traditional military customs and procedures, as well as the encouragement and guidance of cadets who experienced difficulty in achieving the required standard in such matters. Direct Training was generally undertaken on a group basis, while Indirect Training tended to be more one-on-one. While the First Class had overall responsibility for the training of the Fourth Class, the Second Class was responsible for the actual conduct of the training, and the Third Class was responsible for the quick assimilation of the Fourth Class into the college routine. The aims of the training including imbuing in the new cadets an instinctive respect for authority; achieving the high standards of discipline, bearing and dress demanded of cadets: and instilling in them the required *esprit de corps*. The training was subject to various limitations that forbade any humiliation, indignity, bullying or bodily harm. 'Indirect Training' was limited to the First Term, was not to occur past 7.00 p.m. on weeknights and was to be minimised on the weekends. The directive specifically forbade any activity that would adversely effect a cadet's right to adequate rest, nourishment, recreation and study. The directive also stated that the training of the Fourth Class by the senior cadets was not to be 'conducted in view of the general public or college staff'.[103]

A meeting of the college's academic staff was held on 8 September 1969. The meeting passed a resolution that strongly protested against the bastardisation of the Fourth Class cadets, which the academic staff believed was directly attributable to a decline in the levels of academic achievement by the cadets and called on the commandant to eradicate the system and instigate a policy to prevent its resurgence.[104]

The attempt to keep the matter within the confines of the college was thwarted on 12 September 1969, when Maxwell Newton, a Canberra-based journalist, published a sensationalised account of bastardisation at the college under the provocative title *Duntroon – A Tradition of Torture* (1969). In twenty-one pages, Newton reproduced in full Walsh's letter to the commandant, the CSC Policy on the Assimilation and Regimental Training of the Fourth Class, and documents relating to the board of inquiry (classified as 'Restricted' and 'Staff-In-Confidence' respectively). Although it was never established how Newton obtained a copy of these restricted – and at that stage highly sensitive – documents, evidence points to a contact on the academic staff, as several of these documents were distributed to members of the academic staff in the week leading up to the formation of the board of inquiry. Newton also provided details of a previously unreported meeting of the academic staff (8 September) and the resolutions passed at that meeting.[105]

Commencing his account with a quote from the Duke of Wellington, 'I don't know what effect these men will have upon the enemy, but, by God they terrify me', Newton set out to alert the public to a scandal that he claimed had been 'hushed up for years'. As well as the allegations contained in Walsh's letter, Newton added a few of his own. He alleged that following the '100 Days to Go' ceremony held on 31 August, thirty cadets needed medical attention for injuries (including a broken ankle and suspected fracture of the spine) and that, on 1 September, a cadet had slashed his wrist with a razor blade in an apparent suicide attempt owing to his depression over being 'bastardised'. He also claimed that, earlier in 1969, a cadet was admitted to hospital suffering from 'asthma' that had been induced by the cadet being forced to take alternate hot and cold showers,

and that this cadet was later medically discharged from the Army. Finally, he claimed that, in 1968, a Fourth Class cadet was admitted to hospital for four months after suffering a nervous breakdown induced by three hours of continuous hazing by a senior cadet. Newton commented that the 'tradition of sadism and torture practised on the cadets by their seniors' was a deliberate attempt to prevent the junior cadets from studying for their academic subjects. This situation arose, he claimed, because the senior cadets perceived that, if the junior cadets completed their degrees, they would have greater promotion prospects than the non-degree graduates.[106]

Newton also claimed that all the ringleaders had borrowed a copy of *Fight the Good Fight* (1964),[xi] by T.L. Brook, from the college library and 'implemented to the letter some of the practices described in it'.[107] The book described a week in the life of a member of the Recruit Class of the Royal Military College, Kingston, in February 1931, including several harassment methods, none of which were followed at Duntroon. The only practices described in the book that also occurred at Duntroon were common to most military academies, such as having to master the institution's history and certain mess customs.[108] Newton drew attention to the fact that the college library had fourteen copies of the book, implying that the staff had intended it to be some form of harassment guide. In *A Poor Sort of Memory* (1978), G.D. Solomon, a former Director of Military Art and a past Chairman of the Library Committee, elaborated on how the college came to have so many copies of the book. Shown the book in 1965, Solomon regarded it as 'an amusing and interesting piece of military folklore'. As it was a soft-covered book, likely to be easily damaged from general use, he suggested that a dozen copies be obtained, as it might be difficult to get replacements.[109]

Following the release of Newton's publication, the scandal continued to gain momentum, as former cadets both justified and denounced the college's training system in newspapers and on television. One of the allegations raised by Newton, that of a cadet being admitted to hospital in 1968 after suffering a nervous breakdown brought about by hazing, was confirmed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 16 September 1969. In an article titled 'Army Cadet Tells Why He Left', the former cadet in question described his experiences at Duntroon in 1968. He entered the college on 26 January 1968, departing the following day for a three-week orientation camp at Point Hut on the Murrumbidgee River. He returned to the college on Saturday, 18 February.[110] The harassment of the Fourth Class cadets commenced that evening.

While having a shower, they were subjected by the senior cadets to a barrage of questions, which they had to answer while standing at attention, and were forced to alternate between hot and cold showers. Upon returning to their rooms, the Fourth Class cadets were subjected to a kit inspection and forced to stand at attention for an extended period of time while being questioned by the senior cadets. The cadet in question was subjected to this treatment from 9.00 p.m. to about midnight. The following day (Sunday), his cadet section commander pulled everything out of his cupboards and told him that he wanted his room in inspection order by 3.00 p.m. When his section commander returned, he started pulling apart the Fourth Class cadet's rifle and asked him a question, which he could not answer. The senior cadet then began to scream at the Fourth Class cadet, who blacked out and woke up at 5.30 p.m. in hospital. He was later told by a classmate that his section commander had come running out of his room 'looking as white as a sheet' and asked a fellow Fourth Class member to go in and talk

xi *Fight the Good Fight* was written by a member of the 1931 intake into the Royal Military College, Kingston (Canada), shortly after his graduation in 1934, though it was not published until 1964 (to mark the thirtieth anniversary of his class's graduation).

to him. When they entered, they found him huddled in the corner. After being placed on his bed, he closed his eyes, curled up and started whimpering: he had been under the control of the senior cadets for less than two days. After a brief stay in hospital, he was reintroduced to the general cadet population. Almost immediately, several senior cadets from his company had a 'go at him' in the cadets' mess. He collapsed again and was rehospitalised, remaining in hospital until his discharge on 15 March. He claimed that he was a 'bundle of nerves' when he left the Army and took more than three months to recover from his experiences at the college.[111]

Lynch was asked by Parliament to investigate Newton's allegations. Lynch revealed that, of the twenty-four cadets who reported to the RAP on 31 August 1969 (the day of the '100 Days to Go' event), only seven cadets were actually injured during the event, the remainder having been injured during sport at the weekend, or requiring ongoing treatment for existing complaints. Of the seven cadets injured during the '100 Days to Go' celebrations, one was examined at a Canberra hospital for a bruised coccyx (he was x-rayed and returned to the college the following day), while the others needed treatment for severe bruising.[112] Another of Newton's allegations, that of an attempted suicide, was also revealed to be sensationalised. The cadet in question did in fact cut his left wrist on 1 September; however these cuts were superficial and were interpreted by medical staff to be an attempt to gain attention rather than a serious suicide attempt. When questioned, the cadet revealed that he had cut his wrist because of his unhappiness with his academic progress, and not, as Newton claimed, because he was 'depressed' owing to being bastardised. He was eventually discharged as he was assessed as being unlikely to make an effective officer. In view of later events,[xii] this assessment was probably accurate, for in April 1974, following an unprovoked knife attack on a young couple in Brisbane in December 1973, he was found by a jury to be unsound of mind at the time of the attack and was ordered to be incarcerated in a mental hospital indefinitely.[113]

As well as the college coming under fire on the political front, and from sections of the general community, the newly established affiliation with the UNSW was also under threat. The council of the UNSW's Student Union, a longstanding opponent to the affiliation, felt that the harassment allegations fulfilled their earlier prophecy that a liberal tertiary education was not possible in a military environment, and saw in them an opportunity to sever the affiliation.

Following a meeting on 17 September 1969 between the UNSW Staff Association and the Council of the Student Union, the Student Union drew up a petition incorporating conditions that it required the college to fulful, threatening a vigorous campaign to have the affiliation terminated if those conditions were not met. These conditions aimed to allow cadets to enjoy the same degree of civil liberties as their civilian counterparts at the UNSW, including cadets spending at least a year attending the UNSW's Kensington campus and a student union being established at the college, or at the very least, cadet representation on the UNSW's Student Union. The meeting noted that it was unlikely that the college would be able to, or even attempt to, meet the conditions, so the petition was viewed as the first move towards severing the affiliation. Over 1000 signatures were

xii Around midnight on 9 December 1973, the former cadet broke into the flat of a young couple in St Lucia, Brisbane, and attacked them in their bed with a heavy diver's knife. The couple received serious stab wounds during the attack. There was no apparent reason for the attack as he did not know the couple. Disarmed of his knife by the badly wounded man, he sat down on their lounge, lit a cigar and waited for the police to arrive. He was charged with two counts of attempted murder; his defence counsel submitted that the man was out of his mind when he committed the attack. Expert medical opinion stated that he exhibited all the signs of a mental illness that psychiatrists called 'amok' or reactive psychosis. Signs included brooding, then a homicidal outburst without motive, followed by amnesia.

collected, with the petition being presented to the vice-chancellor of the UNSW, Professor R.H. Myers, on 18 September.[114]

The UNSW's Staff Association held a further meeting on 26 September.[xiii] They upheld the petition raised by the student union and urged that, if there was no prospect of the conditions being met, then the affiliation should be ended.[115] However, despite the demands of the UNSW's student union and staff association, the conditions of the petition were never met and the affiliation continued.

The board of inquiry finished sitting on 22 September. Members of both the military and academic staff had been invited to give evidence before the board, and statements were taken from all Fourth Class cadets. In total, the board heard evidence from 143 witnesses, including Walsh, who also submitted a written statement. Members of the public were also invited to submit statements on any matter relevant to the investigation – but none did so. The board's report was presented to the commandant on 23 September and tabled in Parliament by Lynch on 25 September.[116]

The board found that some Fourth Class cadets had been bullied and subjected to personal indignities by senior cadets, vindicating many of Walsh's claims. Examples of the harassment of the Fourth Class cadets included:

1) two senior cadets simultaneously giving conflicting orders to a junior, sometimes standing on either side of him;
2) having to stand at attention for excessive periods while being questioned by seniors;
3) light being shined into a cadet's eyes during questioning;
4) awarding of unauthorised punishments of up to 200 push-ups in one day for failure to answers questions when it was unreasonable to expect the cadet to do so (one cadet fell and hit his head as a result of excessive push-ups);
5) wasting their free time obtaining information for seniors;
6) being forced to take additional cold showers, showers dressed in parts of their equipment (for example, webbing) and being forced to do push-ups in the bath;
7) being refused a place at a table in the mess, being abused in front of others, being made to stand on a table and sing, having to eat sitting on the floor, and having to drink a mixture of condiments;
8) being made to kneel before a senior, and being made to take breakfast to cadets of the two senior classes; and
9) a cadet being forced into a bathroom by a senior and having six buckets of water tipped over him.

Lynch commented, 'I would regard these instances in varying degrees as humiliating, stupid or simply a waste of time'.[117] The board also found that the assimilation training, in defiance of the pertinent directive, had not ceased at the end of the First Term, and although this training generally ceased at 7.00 p.m., some cadets found it necessary to complete tasks given to them by the senior cadets during allocated study periods.[118]

Lynch remarked that the fact that these actions occurred was indicative of poor administration by both the cadet hierarchy and the college's military staff. The Chief of the General Staff informed the Minister that disciplinary action would be taken against

[xiii] A five-man deputation from the Faculty of Military Studies, headed by Professor L.C.F. Turner and including Walsh, attended this meeting in an attempt to head off moves by the UNSW staff and students to cut the university's links with the college.

those responsible. He indicated that the commandant would prefer charges against one, possibly two, officers and that two, or possibly more, officers considered unfit for their present appointments would be reposted from the college. Additionally, one officer would be transferred to other duties at the college and charges would be preferred against some senior cadets.[119]

Major General C.M.I. Pearson, a member of the Fox Committee and commandant 1970–73.
(RMC Archives)

Furthermore, Lynch announced that, after discussions with the Military Board, he had decided upon the formation of a committee of inquiry to examine the whole issue of Fourth Class training at the college, particularly in the light of its recent affiliation with the UNSW. This committee would be chaired by Justice the Hon. R.W. Fox, a judge of the Supreme Court of the Australian Capital Territory, and, although it was not mentioned in Parliament, a 1940 college graduate. Other members were Dr A.M. Sinclair, the consulting psychiatrist to the Army; Professor L.C.F. Turner, Chairman of the Faculty of Military Studies and head of the faculty's Department of History; Brigadier G.D. Solomon, Director of Military Training at Army Headquarters; and Brigadier C.M.I. Pearson, recent commander of the Australian Task Force in Vietnam and then the commander of the 1st Division. Their terms of reference were kept as wide as possible in order to examine the whole philosophy underlying the Fourth Class training.[120]

Ironically, there was a connection between the major participants that stretched back some thirty years to Duntroon in 1938. The commandant in 1969 was Major General C.A.E. Fraser who, in 1938, as a cadet in Second Class, was a section commander. The two Fourth Class members of his section were none other than R.W. Fox and G.D. Solomon, and C.M.I. Pearson, although a member of the 1937 intake, graduated with Fox and Solomon in August 1940, having repeated a year.[121]

Lynch's actions were supported by the Opposition. What could have become an embarrassing issue for the Government, which was approaching an election, was defused by the prompt and comprehensive action of the Minister.[122] As Parliament had risen on 26 September, and would not return until after the general election on 25 October, the pressure being exerted on the college was now generally confined to the media.

The editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 26 September claimed that the system of bastardisation had obviously been sanctioned by the staff and called for:

> A clean sweep of the senior military staff, inevitably identified with the system, and replacing them with new men more receptive to a new approach. Certainly it is desirable that there should be a new Commandant.[123]

The commandant found an unexpected ally on the academic staff. In a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, published on 27 September, Dr J.D. Cashman, secretary of the college's Academic Staff Association, praised Major General Fraser as being a vigorous and far-sighted commandant and stated that, when allegations of misconduct were made, he acted swiftly and unambiguously.[124]

The results of the discipline inquiry were announced on 29 September. The commanding officer of the CSC and the officer commanding Gallipoli Company were posted from the college. One officer was charged and two other officers were transferred to other duties within the college.[xiv] Of the eleven cadets charged in relation to the allegations, six were found guilty, and the charges against the other five were dismissed. The BSM, P.J. McNamara, was among the cadets found guilty and was demoted to the cadet rank of corporal. Of the other cadets found guilty, one was a cadet CSM, who was demoted from the cadet rank of under-officer to corporal, while the remainder received a reprimand. Additionally, a routine order was issued stating that Fourth Class Training was to cease immediately.[125]

The disciplinary action taken was deeply resented by the cadets, and was condemned by sections of the general community. The public perceived that an injustice had been committed by punishing cadets and officers for upholding a tradition that they themselves had probably undergone – a tradition that had existed at the college since the early 1920s. If they were guilty, then it stood to reason that those that went before them were guilty too. Members of the college's academic staff were also disturbed by the inherent injustice in what they saw as a 'witchhunt' among the officers and cadets. Another matter that generated strong public comment was that, while the officers of his staff were subjected to disciplinary action, the commandant who had ultimate responsibility for the college, was not. Elements of the cadet population also felt that the punished cadets, particularly the BSM, who had no direct involvement with the Fourth Class Training, had been made into scapegoats to appease public opinion for doing little more than continuing a long-standing tradition. Significantly, McNamara's 'pen portrait' in the 1969 college journal contained the comment, 'Heard to say in 1969 "Et tu, Brutus" '.[126]

The former officer commanding Kokoda Company (which had been singled out in Walsh's letter as being the company with the worst reputation for bastardisation), was charged with conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline, in that he did not ensure that the directive concerning Fourth Class Training was carried out. The charge was heard by the new commanding officer. The officer charged was found not guilty but was reposted to Army Office at nearby Russell Offices in October 1969.[127]

Although it was not made clear in the Minister's statement on 26 September, the college's board of inquiry had continued to sit. A number of witnesses, mainly cadets, were recalled and their evidence was checked. Although the board had fulfilled its first term of reference – to identify to what extent the Fourth Class were made to carry out acts

[xiv] The commanding officer of the CSC, Lieutenant Colonel C.M. Townsend, had been awarded the Distinguished Service Order for his service in Vietnam, where he was the commanding officer of 6 RAR during the battle of Long Tan. Townsend, who had been at the college for eighteen months, was posted to the nearby Army HQ, while the officer commanding Gallipoli Company who had been at the college for only twelve weeks, was posted to the School of Artillery at Manly.

or performs tasks contrary to the issued directive – it was still proceeding on its second and third terms, which were to identify the cadets who had contravened the directive and to recommend action against them. However, appalled by tthe action taken against the staff and cadets, the cadets refused to disclose the names of their fellow cadets who had contravened the directive to the board. The fact that the board was unable to determine blame provided further justification to those elements of the community and the college who claimed that the earlier actions against the officers and cadets was merely 'political scapegoatism'.[128]

To the despair of the staff and cadets, the issue refused to go away. A recently conducted university study[xv] provided further examples of bastardisation at the college. Extracts of this study were published in *The Australian* on 16 and 17 October 1969, one of which described the bathroom 'Obstacle Course':

> Normally all cadets are dressed by 6pm for the 6.30 Mess Parade. If a 'Bathroom Drill' has been imposed as a punishment the junior cadet strips naked at 6pm and comes into the bathroom where he goes through a procedure of climbing over the 8ft high wall of the first shower recess, standing under the shower which is hot, climbing over the next wall into the next shower, which is cold, and then repeating the procedure. He stays under each shower for a period of time stipulated by the fully dressed senior classman. He is then required to cross to the other side of the room where the washbasins and lavatories are situated. To do so he must scramble through cylinders of wire netting, each only 14 inches in diameter. Then he must sit in the first washbasin, which is filled with cold water, and have what is known as a 'bird bath'. This involves sitting in the washbasin, putting one's hands out in a bird's wing fashion and saying 'tweet, tweet, tweet ... tweet'. Next the cadet must go out of the window of the bathroom, run for 50 yards and return to the bathroom. The cadet then takes a hot 'bird bath' followed by a cold one, goes out another window, runs another 50 yards and back into the bathroom. The procedure is then cold, hot, cold through a further three 'bird baths'. He next climbs over the wall to the first lavatory cubicle where he must stand in the bowl while the chain is pulled, then climb over the wall to the next lavatory cubicle for a further dowsing. He moves next to the bathtub full of water which is not boiling but the hottest the water system supplies. The routine ends at 6.28pm. He is given the signal 'Go' at 6.28.5pm at which stage he must shower, get back to his room and be on Mess Parade by 6:30pm. In his room he is likely to find his shoes tied together, his sock's tied together, his coat in someone else's wardrobe and so on. When he is late for Mess Parade at 6.30pm further punishments are a possibility.[129]

Another bastardisation practice described in the extracts was 'licking the pea'. This practice involved a Fourth Class cadet – who, from the viewpoint of a senior cadet, had behaved inappropriately at the meal table – taking a pea from his plate, placing it on the floor and pushing it around the table with his tongue until he returned to his seat. The report commented that the almost inevitable outcomes of bastardisation were 'group

[xv] The study was undertaken by Dr M. Austin, a lecturer in psychology in the School of General Studies at the UNSW, and M. Singer, who was the associate professor of psychology in the School of Behavioural Sciences, Macquarie University. The research findings were announced on 17 October in a seminar held at the UNSW's Kensington campus.

solidarity, blind obedience to orders and a ruthlessness which necessarily involved sadism in dealing with people other than superiors.' Furthermore, the process of bastardisation consisted of two 'psychological mechanisms ... the "stripping down" which reduces a person to feelings of worthlessness while the "building up" restores a belief that membership of some human group is possible'.[130]

The class that felt that it was the hardest done by in relation to the scandal was the First Class. Its resentment was illustrated by the fact that no cadet would accept the position of BSM – eventually an 'acting BSM' was appointed. Significantly, no cadet was identified as the BSM in the annual college journal. Because of his demotion, McNamara was refused the Sword of Honour, which was traditionally awarded to the BSM; nor was any other cadet awarded it, the commandant telling the First Class that none of their number was worthy of receiving it. This was the first occasion that this award was not made to the graduating class.[131] McNamara's classmates, who felt that he had been cheated out of this honour, took up a collection and presented him with their own sword in what was described by the media as 'an unprecedented act of defiance of the College authorities'. The sword was inscribed 'The First Class Sword of Honour for 1969' and was presented to McNamara in the cadets' mess[xvi] as a token of the high esteem in which he was held by the graduating class. On receiving the sword he commented:

> I am at a loss for words, but there is one thing that I can say. I've been able to come through this thing because I had 54 of the best class of bastards behind me, we stuck through this thing together and we bloody well showed them we could take it.

In a further show of defiance, the cadets invited the media to the presentation, an officer on the college staff stating, 'It's about the closest thing that Duntroon has ever seen to a mutiny'. There was some speculation as to whether disciplinary action would be taken against the cadets involved; however, the new Army Minister, the Hon. A.S. Peacock, ruled this out, commenting, 'I understand that a sword was presented as a gesture by the First Class cadets. This of course was unofficial, but no disciplinary action will be taken'. It was also speculated that a further protest would be made by the cadets at the graduation parade the following day, but this did not eventuate. McNamara graduated as the top cadet in his class,[xvii] receiving the Queen's Medal and seven other prizes at graduation.[132]

In October 1969, it was announced that the commandant, Major General Fraser, was being reposted, becoming the Commander, Australian Forces Vietnam. Army officials stated that the posting had been decided before the 'bastardisation scandal' and had in no way been influenced by it – indeed it was a sought – after posting. Fraser left the college at the end of February 1970.[133]

While these events were occurring the Fox Committee continued with its investigation. The Minister for the Army hoped that the report would be ready in time to implement its recommendations before the college's 1970 intake. This was not to be the case. The committee's progress was hampered because it was only part-time, its members often absent on other commitments. However, an interim report was submitted, its details being announced on 24 December 1969 by Peacock. From 1970, the Fourth Class cadets would commence their training with a familiarisation period of three days, which the committee hoped would reduce culture shock. Additionally, while the First Class would remain responsible for the day-to-day management of the CSC, staff supervision of the cadets

[xvi] The sword was presented to McNamara by the cadet CSM (under-officer) who had been demoted to the cadet rank of corporal following the release of the board of inquiry's report.

[xvii] In 2001 McNamara was still serving in the Army and had attained the rank of brigadier.

would be increased. The most significant change was that subjects that had previously been taught informally, such as the college's history and the expected standards of behaviour, would henceforth be taught through formal instruction, thereby removing the opportunity for such instruction to degenerate into bastardisation.[134]

Most of the recommendations contained in the Fox Committee's interim report were incorporated into the revised college policy on the administration and discipline of the CSC, issued in mid-January 1970. This policy stated that fagging of any description would not be tolerated, and curtailed the disciplinary powers of the senior cadets. Henceforth, they could no longer stop a junior cadet's leave, and although they would continue to be permitted to award extra drills, any such punishment awarded was subject to the concurrence of their company commander. The awarding of illegal punishments, such as push-ups, was forbidden, as was inappropriate behaviour in the bathrooms, exaggerated marching of the new cadets or preventing them from using college facilities.[135]

Public interest in the scandal was momentarily revitalised by a segment shown on the ABC's *Four Corners* program of 2 May 1970, which 'exposed' the bastardisation of the junior cadets at the college. According to the Minister for the Army, Peacock, *Four Corners* had sought permission to produce a segment showing a day in the life of a cadet. The timing of the request was purported to be in relation to the presentation of the Colours to the college by Queen Elizabeth II; *Four Corners* proposed that the presentation would be the culmination of the segment. With the cooperation of the staff, a week was spent filming at the college, focusing on both the civil and military aspects of the training. The theme of the segment, and the footage shown, however, was not what the Army expected. Peacock commented:

> In this instance the editing appeared to be deliberately couched to give an unbalanced picture. For example, persons alleged to be cadets were shown doing pushups and showering in uniform. This is hardly honest filming in that I am assured the persons were not cadets. Therefore this sequence was faked.[136]

Further investigations revealed that the ABC had added footage to the material that it had filmed at the college, including a reconstruction of minor forms of bastardisation performed by an actor employed by the ABC.[137]

The Fox Report was presented to the Minister on 24 April 1970 and was tabled in Parliament on 12 June 1970. The committee had sat between October 1969 and April 1970, during which time it had interviewed ninety-one people and considered ten written submissions. Evidence was taken from both serving and retired members of the Army, as well as from representatives of the clergy and academia. Each class at the college provided three representatives to appear before the committee. College graduates from the past thirty years, as well as Portsea and Scheyville graduates, were also invited to appear before the committee. The transcript of evidence was over 1300 pages.[138]

The committee concluded by stating that:

> We are emphatic that the conduct which has come to be called 'bastardisation' must be banned. It is senseless and degrading. It is not countenanced elsewhere in the Army and there is no place for it at the Royal Military College.

The committee identified several facets of cadet life that were prone to the excesses of

bastardisation and submitted recommendations to prevent its re-emergence. Furthermore it stated that no informal training should be permitted in the cadets' mess, commenting:

> The principle should be that good manners and mess conduct are to be taught by the example of senior cadets, rather than by direction. As far as possible the Mess should have the relaxed atmosphere of an officer's mess.

Likewise, the report commented, 'Bathrooms should be used only for the purpose of which they are intended and be freely available to all cadets without ceremony'. Furthermore, they recommended that the Fourth Class should not be required to march around the college in the exaggerated manner that had become the recent fashion; that irregular or unauthorised forms of punishment, such as push ups, should be banned; and that the awarding of punishment should be more tightly regulated. They acknowledged that the banning of the bastardisation practices would not be effective unless it was 'closely and energetically supervised' by the staff.[139]

In his written submission to the committee, Walsh also commented on this issue:

> It is one thing to condemn a practice; it is quite another to see that it is not carried on .... Moreover, it must be realised that banning certain activities like 'bathroom sessions' and mess 'games' is not enough. More often than not, it is not what is done that constitutes bastardisation, but the way it is done and how many times it is done.[140]

The implementation of the recommendations depended very much on the commandant following them through. Major General Pearson, who became commandant after the report was finalised, later commented:

> I was never once informed or directed or advised to implement any of the recommendations of the report, never once. I think the politicians, having approved the report, sort of forgot about it ... nobody ever asked me, had I ever followed anything or done anything, or did anything, no not once.[141]

Not only did the report received bipartisan political support, but it was supported by the academics at the college, though some hostility to the proposed changes was detected in Army circles. The *Australian* reported that 'one military man at Duntroon' retorted, 'Do they want officers capable of fighting a bloody war or do they want a bunch of long-haired unwashed pansies?'.

Once the Fox Report was tabled in Parliament, media attention on the bastardisation issue died away. However, it was not forgotten by the college so quickly. One of the lasting consequences of the scandal was the aggravation of the existing division between the academic and military components of the staff. The academic staff were determined to ensure the academic integrity of the course, while sections of the military staff were resentful of what they regarded as interference in the internal matters of the college by the academics, whom they considered to be ignorant of the needs of the Army.[142] Walsh, in particular, drew the ire of elements of the military staff. In a 1983 article, he claimed that he had been a 'marked man' since 1969 and that the cadets had been warned not to talk to him as he was 'out to do a job' on the college. Furthermore, he had been slandered as a 'card-carrying Marxist', had received hate mail, was abused in hotels and even had a tonne of sand dumped on his front lawn.[143]

Following the controversy of 1969, bastardisation temporarily abated at the college, at

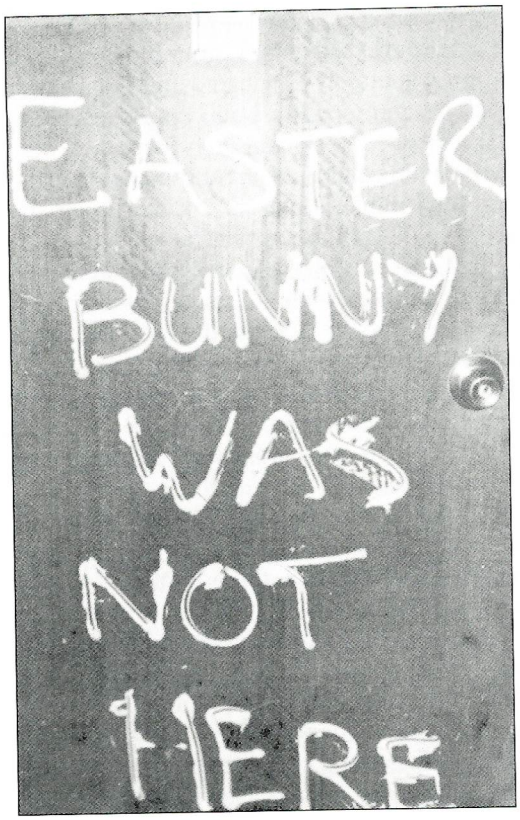
least in its most extreme forms. By the mid-1970s, however, it was again on the rise. A member of the college's academic staff at the time suggests that there were two principal reasons why this resurgence in bastardisation occurred. Graduates holding senior appointments on the college staff gave implied consent to bastardisation practices being re-established because they felt that the college had lost its military focus and was becoming 'too academic' (hence 'soft'), openly stating that they were there 'to put the military back into Duntroon'. Some military staff implied consent by glorifying the college in 'the good old days' turning a blind eye to the evidence of bastardisation. Also, graduates on staff, who formed the majority and generally held the key appointments, told non-RMC-trained officers (for example, OCS graduates) in no uncertain terms not to interfere in the unofficial training of the Fourth Class.[144] Coulthard-Clark notes that members of the college's academic staff periodically complained to the military staff about the treatment of the juniors by the senior cadets, and that on at least two occasions, they formally expressed their concerns in letters to senior members of the college's military staff (April 1980 and August 1982), though their allegations were later rejected after what they considered to be inadequate investigations.[145]

A 1977 college graduate recalled that senior cadets continued to take advantage of Fourth Class's ignorance; for example, they were made to run to the top of Mount Pleasant to find out how many litres the tank located there held. On arrival they would find that the 'tank' was in fact an armoured fighting vehicle rather than a water receptacle. A member of the 1971 intake recalled the new cadets being sent out to count the links in the chain around General Bridges' grave – there was no chain. Fourth Class cadets were again being harassed during meals; they were, for example, forced to eat a 'submarine meal', whereby a cadet would have to sit under the table and eat his meal with his plate above his head. The fact that the mess remained the centre of hazing for much of a cadet's first year was due to its social dynamics. A graduate later noted that bastardisation tended to tail off pretty quickly within a cadet's own company, as the cadets got to know each other; however, between a Fourth Class cadet and the senior cadets of another company, who had not developed the same social bonds, bastardisation tended to be maintained for most of the year. In the cadets' mess, table allocations rotated periodically (generally weekly for the Fourth Class and each term for the other cadets), so cadets from different companies ate together, thereby facilitating hazing.[146]

The most common bastardisation practice, resulted from the requirement that the Fourth Class cadets memorise the names and faces of all the senior cadets. Thus the Fourth Class cadets would periodically be bailed up by a senior cadet and asked, 'What's my name?' (generally with the senior cadet's nametag being covered up if one was being worn). An incorrect answer would result in the verbal berating of the Fourth Class cadet, and his being sent away to find out the senior cadet's name. This practice would often occur during meal-times in the cadets' mess. Another refinement of this practice was wearing fake nametags. One example read 'Argus-Tuft' which when repeated back to the inquiring senior cadet would invariably invoke retribution for telling him to 'get stuffed'.[147] This practice served as a constant reinforcement of the college's social hierarchy, by emphasising that the senior cadets were of such importance that the Fourth Class cadets had to know all their names, but the senior cadets rarely bothered to take such pains with learning the names of the Fourth Class cadets.

A practice that developed during the 1960s, and survived the post Fox Report reform, was that of the 'Easter Bunny'.[xviii] It was not until 1977, however, that this practice came

[xviii] The earliest mention of the 'Easter Bunny' is in the 1966 college journal.



A reminder on a Fourth Class cadet's door that the 'Easter Bunny' had indeed visited (RMC Archives)

to the attention of the general public. The public informant was again a member of the college's academic faculty, Dr I. Graham. In a letter to the *Canberra Times*, he described the 'Easter Bunny' that occurred on 6 April 1977. Graham stated that the senior cadets ransacked the rooms of the Fourth Class, hurling the contents outside and fire-hosing them and their kit, while a staff member watched. Graham also commented on the conflict between the military and civil timetables, stating that at present the 'academic–military combination seems incompatible'. He stated that the demands of the military training, including 'midnight training sorties, and the fagging duties of the freshmen for senior cadets add considerably to the non-academic workload. These conditions could endanger the academic value of a degree from the RMC'. Graham claimed that he had written his letter in the public interest, to bring public pressure to bear on the military authorities.[148]

The allegations raised in the letter, specifically that the 'Easter Bunny' amounted to a reversion to bastardisation, were 'angrily rejected' by the Fourth Class cadets. At the invitation of the commandant, Major General A.L. Morrison, a *Canberra Times* journalist read Graham's letter to the Fourth Class cadets. One cadet said that it was 'exaggerated, out of context and distorted'. The allegations were also rejected by the military staff, who revealed that the activity was carried out under strict ground rules, and that the officer present was in fact the adjutant, who was there to ensure that these rules were not broken. The cadets had asked for permission to engage in a traditional activity and it was made clear to them that no flour or paint was to be used, neither was furniture to be overturned or effects thrown out of windows. They admitted that several cadets had exceeded the specified limits and that one cadet had already been punished, as would be the others if their identity was established. They stated that 'The writer of the letter seems to be a great deal more upset about it than the cadets were'. The fagging referred to in the letter was in fact the practice of the Fourth Class cadets' having to make tea or coffee for their seniors from 9.30 p.m. to 10 p.m. at TOC – a practice that no cadet seemed to resent.[149]

The Easter Bunny was held the night before the Fourth Class cadets went on their Easter Recreation Camp.[xix] The week before, they had been advised that their sleeping bags were to be taken to the Q-store for waterproofing for use on their upcoming

[xix] The key to the 'Easter Bunny' was total secrecy leading up to the event by the senior classes.

recreation camp. The night of the Easter Bunny, the seniors accompanied the Fourth Class to the local clubs to celebrate their coming of age as cadets. Unusually, the senior cadets remained sober, while the majority of the Fourth Class became quite intoxicated. Previously the Fourth Class had been told to leave their rooms unlocked as there was to be a bed-check later that night. Around 3 or 4 a.m. their doors were kicked open and a rubbish tin filled with water and paper waste was emptied over their heads. The seniors then informed them that the attack had been perpetrated by the Fourth Class cadets of another company. Thus fired up by the senior cadets, who demanded that the company honour be satisfied, the Fourth Class cadets sallied forth on a revenge attack. Midway to the other company, however, they met up with another Fourth Class warring party heading towards their own company. After hurried explanations were exchanged, they realised that they had been duped and headed back to their respective companies. By the time they returned, lights were on everywhere and the doors to the company were locked. As they helplessly milled around outside their company, their rooms were being fire-hosed and their bedding, clothing, rifles and security trunks were being tipped out of the windows by the senior cadets. The tossing of their equipment out the window was most unfortunate for cadets who lived on the third floor. Underneath each building, Third Class cadets, armed with fire hoses, thoroughly soaked the items as they hit the ground, as well as any Fourth Class cadets who tried to retrieve their gear. The purpose of the waterproofed sleeping bags became apparent as the Fourth Class was required to sleep on the floor of the company recreation room that night. Cleaning up occurred the next day, the principal topic of conversation being the visit of the following year's Easter Bunny. The Easter Bunny ceased to 'visit' in the early 1980s.[150]

During the 1970s, bastardisation practices at the college periodically received media attention. A 1972 article in the *Advertiser* (Adelaide), titled 'The Khaki Campus', commented:

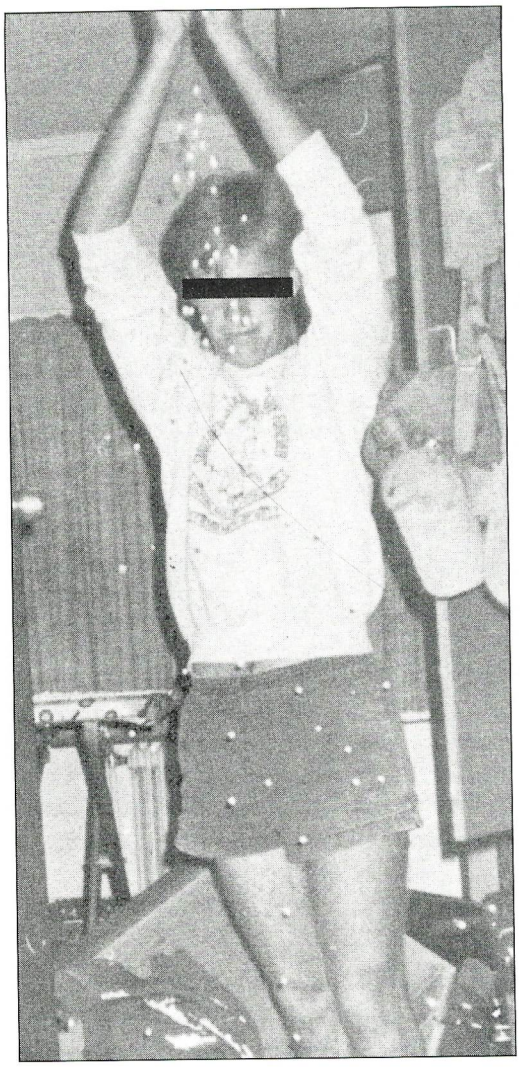
> Bastardisation had the value of being the great, if drastic, leveller. It quickly instilled in most cadets a sense of discipline, hierarchy, group loyalty and attention to detail ... it also wasted time, encouraged psychopathic tendencies, took cadets' minds away from their studies and created a willingness to obey without question the most stupid and outrageous orders.[151]

These comments were partly echoed by a member of the Fourth Class of 1974, who stated:

> Fourth Class was a tough and effective school, teaching us the meaning of *esprit de corps*, team play, cheerfulness in adversity and discipline. I loved it all and would not have missed it for the world.[152]

This comment, however, was written well after the event (in 1993) and therefore it is to be expected that in the intervening years the author somewhat rationalised his experience of Fourth Class.

In the 1970s it appeared that, rather than class-based practices such as the initiation ceremony, hazing was undertaken on a much more individual basis. This hazing was dependent more on the personalities of the cadets involved and less on their respective positions in the cadet social order. A 1977 *National Times* article, entitled 'Men and Honour at Duntroon', included a comment from a First Class cadet that encapsulated the methodology behind the more vicious and individualised harassment: 'Pressure is usually



A cadet room's after it had been 'zapped' by his fellow cadets.

(RMC Archives)

put on the odd man out until he himself realises that he is not "officer material". This process can involve a lot of psychic violence'.[153]

This form of harassment was generally intra-class. A group of cadets would decide that a certain cadet was unlikely to make an effective officer and they would therefore 'encourage' him to resign. This 'encouragement' could take the form of shouting 'resign!' every time they saw him; the vandalisation of his personal property, such as his uniforms and room (commonly known as 'zapping')[154], or interrupting his studying to such an extent that it materially affected his academic progress. Harassment of this nature was often protracted and would generally end with either the cadet resigning or other cadets stepping in to curb the behaviour. Usually the staff were unaware of the extent of the harassment, knowledge of which was generally restricted to the cadet body, as the victim did not want to show that he could not handle the harassment by officially complaining. Additionally, by going outside the 'corps', he risked further ostracism. In a vicious cycle, the staff would note, usually under the formal assessment conditions of a field exercise, that the cadet lacked peer acceptance. Thus, in addition to his civil studies suffering, he was also under pressure from the military staff, since he was assessed as not performing at the required standard in the military component of the course. Once a cadet reached such a position, it was difficult to recover, especially if he did not have the support of his classmates. The cadet usually fell into a downward spiral that generally ended with his discharge (for either academic or military failure) or his resignation.[155]

In the 1970s, the 'games' held during the evening TOC (section-based evening suppers held from 9.30 p.m. to 10.00 p.m. Monday to Thursday) became more ritualised. An example of such a 'game' was a 'Reverse TOC', where the senior cadets prepared the TOC for the Fourth Class to consume: this would generally consist of brews made with various condiments, and toast covered in mounds of different spreads (or even shoe polish). 'TOC Testing' occurred when a brew was deemed by a senior cadet to be not up to standard; he might then tip it over a Fourth Class cadet. Similarly a piece of toast (covered with vegemite or a spread with similar adhesive qualities) might incur a senior

cadet's displeasure and would be thrown on to the roof (known as a 'TOC Bat') where it would stick, leaving difficult to remove black marks on the ceiling when it finally fell (TOC was generally held in a Fourth Class cadet's room, or in a spare room, which the Fourth Class would be responsible for cleaning). A 'Tic TOC' would require a Fourth Class cadet to be shoved into a cupboard and then periodically reappear to announce the time (in the manner of a cuckoo clock). Not all 'games', however, had the express purpose of hazing the Fourth Class. For example, during an 'Insubordination TOC', the Fourth Class cadets were permitted to abuse the senior cadets verbally (the duration of this concession varying from company to company).[xx] These and other TOC games were to provide much of the substance for the college's second great bastardisation scandal.[156]

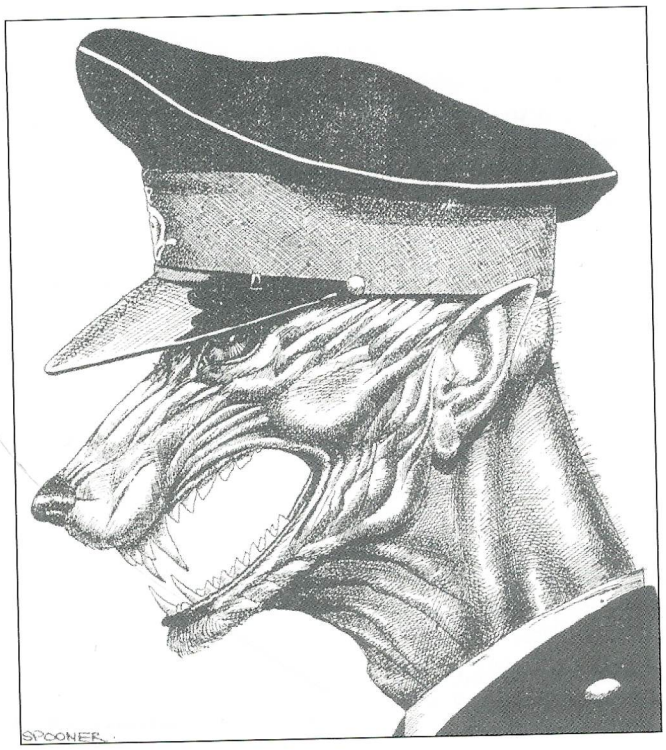
In his address at the opening of the college, Bridges, had echoed Kitchener's concerns that the college should be absolutely independent of political influences. Nevertheless, its commandant holds one of the most politically sensitive positions in the Australian Army. This sensitivity has been developed by media coverage of the college that is often biased and distorted. Occasionally, political influences have been exerted on the commandant for a speedy resolution to what is essentially a matter for military discipline. J. Essex-Clark, in *Maverick Soldier* (1991), commented that he was warned when taking up the position of Director of Military Art in 1980 by the Chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Sir Donald Dunstan, that the careers of officers on the college staff 'hang on the whims of teenagers'.[157] The political sensitivity of the college was apparent in the events of April 1983.

Traditionally, the Easter weekend, while providing the respite of leave for the senior classes, saw the Fourth Class deploy on a recreation camp, held at various locations throughout Canberra and New South Wales. In 1983, the camp was held in the Kosciusko National Park in southern New South Wales. It was while Fourth Class was enduring freezing temperatures, trudging up and down the slopes of Mount Kosciusko, that the scandal broke.[158] Its catalyst was a lengthy article by A. Rule, published in the *Age* on 2 April 1983, titled 'Officers and Not So Gentle Men: The brutal secrets of Duntroon'.

The article featured a startling caricature by *Age* artist J. Spooner of a wolf-like creature dressed as a cadet. The source of the allegations was three ex-cadets, identified as Cadets 'A', 'B', and 'C', who had all been members of the college's 1983 intake but had resigned within five weeks of arriving. It was stated in the article that, 'because the former cadets are still subject to military law, they have chosen to remain anonymous' – how military law would have been enacted, as they were no longer members of the Army, was not explained. The incidents they described, however, enabled the other cadets to readily identify them..[159]

Rule claimed that the basis of the informal training of the Fourth Class was that the senior cadets were seeking revenge for the ill-treatment they had received when they were the junior class. The three former cadets provided a long list of allegations of mistreatment. These allegations ranged from the extremely serious, such as pointing a loaded rifle at a cadet's head and pulling the trigger (the rifle was missing the breech block and so was unable to fire, though this was not known to the cadet at the time), to the somewhat trivial, such as a senior cadet not helping a junior cadet carry his bags to his room. Many of the allegations concerned practices that had existed at the college for at least fifty years, for example, a 'Screaming Eagle', where a cadet was tipped out of his bed and had water thrown over him, was known as 'The Wind and the Rain' to the cadets

[xx] A similar practice was the declaring of a 'Reverse Table' for the Friday evening meal, during which the Fourth Class would be given the opportunity to extract a measure of revenge for the treatment they had received in the preceding week.



The caricature of a cadet by cartoonist J. Spooner which accompanied the April 1983 exposé by the Age of a resurgence in bastardisation at the college
(John Spooner/The Age*)*

of a generation earlier. Others concerned somewhat more recent practices such as the 'Dead Ant', which involved a cadet lying on his back and wriggling his arms and legs.[160]

Another allegation concerned the 'TOC Test', more commonly known as a 'Bergen-Belsen TOC'.[xxi] This activity involved locking a Fourth Class cadet (or several Fourth Class cadets) in a cupboard with a toaster. The cupboards were segmented so that the cadet(s) would be unable to reach over and turn the toaster off. As time progressed the bread would begin to burn, filling the cupboard with smoke and making it difficult for the cadet(s) confined inside to breathe. The supposed rationale was that the smoke would cleanse a cadet of his crimes. In practice, the objective was to see how long he/they could stand the smoke, the cadet(s) only being let out when the banging on the inside of the cupboard became sufficiently frantic.[161]

The allegations also provided an example of how an incident, when taken out of context, could be distorted. The incident in question occurred in the cadets' mess shortly after the arrival of the new cadets and involved a Fourth Class cadet who, when asked, could not remember the name of one of the senior cadets. Several senior cadets then began tormenting him until he lost his temper and threw a punch. They then dragged him outside and allegedly beat him up. One of the former cadets commented that the cadet in question was subsequently discharged. This incident was, however, a set-up. The

xxi Named after Bergen-Belsen, an extermination camp run by the Nazis during the Second World War.

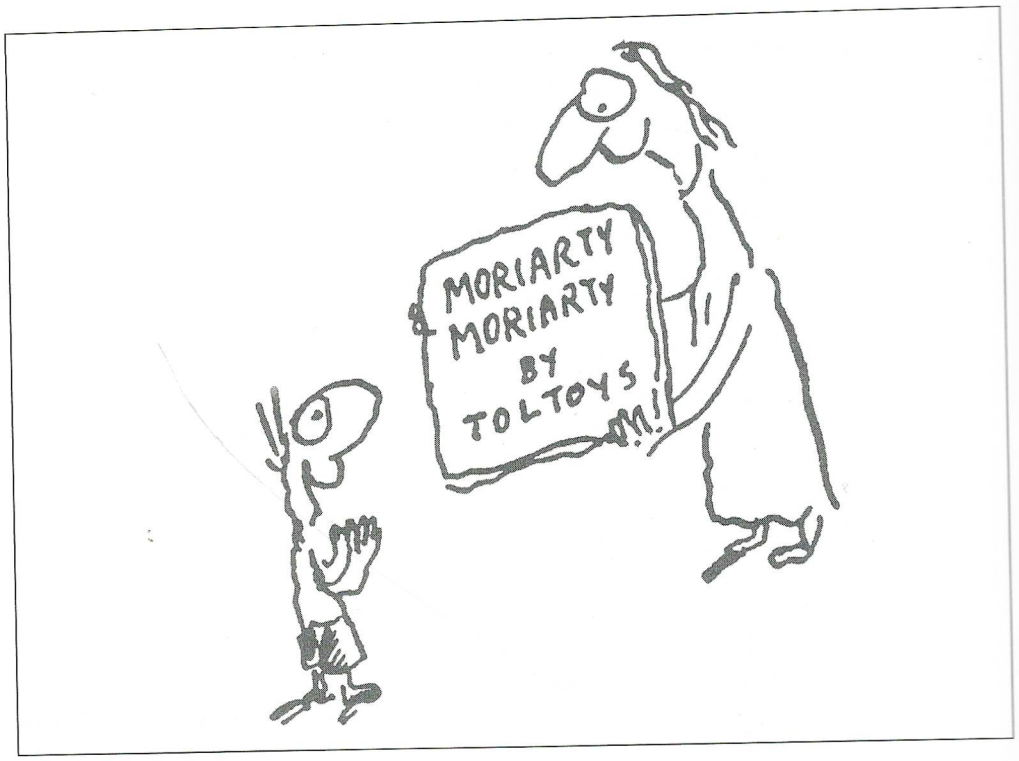
The cartoonist's R. Tanberg's view of the 1983 bastardisation scandal.
(Ron Tandberg/The Age*)*

supposed Fourth Class cadet was in fact a member of the Third Class who had been chosen because of his particularly boyish looks. This incident was designed to intimidate the Fourth Class and no actual physical violence took place. The ruse was later discovered by the members of the Fourth Class but by this stage the cadets interviewed by the *Age* had already resigned.[162]

Not all the allegations, however, were unsubstantiated. Other practices then in vogue at the college would also have made for interesting reading in the *Age*. A member of the 1983 intake would later describe the 'Indoor Obstacle Course'. This practice involved cadets' having to accomplish an objective, such as circumnavigating a room without touching the floor, by using the cupboard and desk and any other object that was in their room. If they knocked something over or infringed the rules, they would be whacked on the backside with a rolled-up newspaper:

> It really bloody hurt too, because they would put their full force behind it. They made us say, 'Please Sir, may I have another'. So you could get up to five to ten bloody whacks. A rolled-up newspaper, if it was thick and heavy enough, was like being hit on the backside with a chunk of four by two – its bloody painful.[163]

Prior to publication, the *Age* made a proof of the article available to the Minister for Defence, the Hon. G.G.D. Scholes. The latter ordered an immediate report from the



Cartoonist M. Leunig's view of the 'game' of 'Moriarty'.
(Michael Leunig/The Age*)*

commandant, Major General H.J. Coates, threatening an inquiry if the allegations were substantiated. Consequently, the junior class was recalled to the college to be interviewed.[164] The *Age*, keeping the issue alive, published further allegations on 4 April: two former cadets anonymously commented upon 'humiliating, violent and morally abhorrent events' that they had observed at the college in 1982 before resigning, while a retired Army officer, Colonel C.W.T. Kyngdon, who had been a cadet at the college from 1929 to 1932, commented on cadet abuses during that period. One of the former cadets described an 'Iron Man'[xxii] event that resulted in his being admitted to a Canberra hospital. This event, compulsory for the Fourth Class, involved eating a concoction of raw sausage, butter and tomato sauce and drinking an army canteen half-filled with sherry. The event ceased when the cadet in question became unconscious. The other cadet, who had gone AWOL from the college, described the 'Moriarty' game and accused a Third Class cadet of sodomising a member of the Fourth Class.[165]

The college adjutant issued a statement on 4 April denying the allegations of sadism and brutality. He confirmed, however, that the allegation concerning the game 'Moriarty' was founded, stating: 'We play that here but that is played in Army Barracks

xxii Participation in the 'Iron Man' event was usually limited to the Fourth Class of Kokoda Company. It was generally held at the beginning of the year by the Molonglo River. The aim of the event was to make the Fourth Class cadets throw up. It was described as 'Sprinted around a circuit eating slimy and squishy sausages, doing push-ups, gulping down raw eggs, drinking beer at a rapid rate and completing other exertions in a frenetic manner'. The event was banned in 1983, following the bastardisation scandal of that year.

everywhere'. He also commented that pressure from family and friends may have contributed to the allegations being made. 'There is such a build-up in coming to Duntroon. If they go home it's not good enough just to say, "I didn't like it".'[166]

In contrast to the sensationalist approach of the *Age*, which described the treatment of the Fourth Class cadets as sadistic and brutal, the *Canberra Times* provided a more balanced coverage. Its Defence correspondent, F. Cranston, described the majority of the *Age*'s allegations as 'Boarding school type harassment'.[167] On 6 April, the *Canberra Times* reported on the experience of two former cadets. A member of the 1975 intake described the cyclic nature of bastardisation allegations:

> It seems to crop up every couple of years as disgruntled former cadets air their dirty linen in public. About the only thing that remains constant is the media's sensational treatment of the subject and the lack of any real insight into the Corps of Staff Cadets.[168]

The other member described his treatment in 1977 as more mentally than physically painful, and stated that he was never subjected to violence by a senior cadet. Additionally, the harassment he described was directed mainly at improving his personal standards rather than causing humiliation.[169]

On 8 April, the *Age* printed the allegations of a former cadet who had resigned from the college in 1973. He claimed that a fellow cadet, because of the persecution he was undergoing at the college, had attempted to commit suicide by stripping the insulation rubber from an electric iron and holding the live wires. He also claimed that cadets had been stripped naked and dumped several kilometres from the college to make their way back.[170]

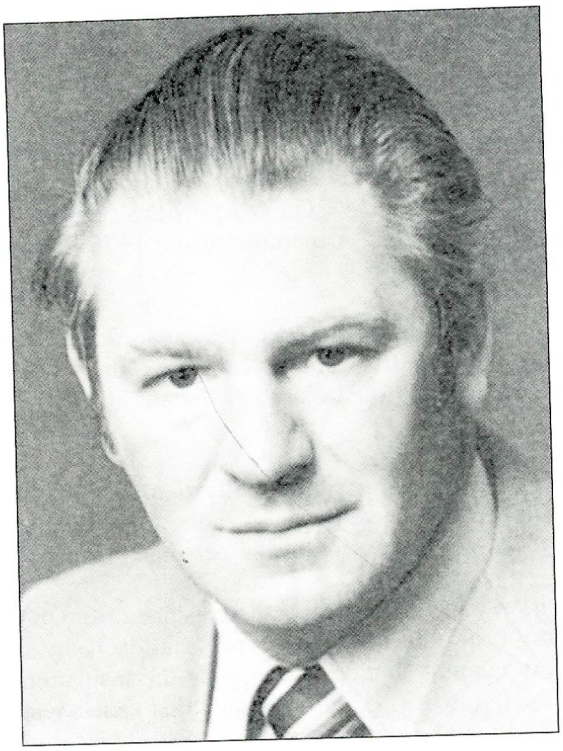
The Fourth Class returned from the Easter Camp on 5 April and each member was individually interviewed in the adjutant's office by the adjutant and the RSM. They were asked, in confidence, to report any incidents of bastardisation as part of a general review of college discipline. Any incidents reported resulted in the cadet being interviewed a second time and having to supply the names of the cadets involved under oath. The interviews concluded in the early hours of the following morning.[171]

As a consequence of the initial allegations, coupled with the information provided by the Fourth Class interviews, fourteen cadets were charged with prejudicial behaviour. The charges were heard by Coates. Five cadets (four Third Class and one Second Class) were recommended for discharge. Six cadets were disciplined and warned that any further deviation from the accepted standards of conduct would result in their immediate dismissal. The remainder were found not guilty. The cadets recommended for discharge were removed from the college on 9 April.[172] Their parents publicly pleaded with Scholes to display leniency, arguing that dismissal was too severe a penalty for their sons' actions.[173]

The commandant's report on the matter was handed to Scholes on 7 April and was publicly released on 12 April. He referred to the *Age*'s original allegations as 'imprecise' because the three ex-cadets who made them were hidden under a cloak of anonymity. The commandant described the allegations as:

> A mixture of fact and generalisation. While in most cases they have an element of substance, the generalisation that sadism and bastardisation is a code of ethics practised within the CSC is completely rejected.[174]

The scandal thrust unwanted public attention on the training of the Fourth Class cadets,



The Hon. G.G.D. Scholes, the Minister for Defence during the 1983 bastardisation scandal.
(AUSPIC)

generating widespread criticism of the college; among those who offered criticism were the college's academic staff. Walsh (whose letter to the commandant in 1969 had initiated the bastardisation scandal of that year) called for a full judicial inquiry into the treatment of the junior cadets, commenting:

> Despite what the Army says, it believes in and condones bastardisation ... the public and the University of New South Wales have been consistently duped by the military authorities at the College. Bastardisation ... has been back at Duntroon for ten years.[175]

It was clear that Walsh was not alone among the college's academic staff in his views on bastardisation. On 29 April, the president of the college's Academic Staff Association, Dr J.D. Cashman, issued a statement calling for the eradication of all forms of bastardisation, as the association believed it was incompatible with facilitating a balanced and liberal education at the college. The statement also voiced the association's support for the commandant in his efforts to eliminate all forms of bastardisation.[176]

Meanwhile, the fate of the five cadets recommended for discharge lay with the Minister. After deliberating for four weeks, Scholes announced on 11 May that he would not endorse their dismissal. He asked the commandant to substitute a lesser punishment, as he felt that the incidents that had resulted in the cadets being recommended for dismissal were not isolated and were in fact reflections of a pattern of conduct that had apparently been accepted as customary at the college. He therefore felt that it would be inappropriate for a few cadets to be so severely punished. Four of the cadets were awarded the punishment of twenty-one days' confined to barracks and sixty-three days' stoppage of leave (the fifth cadet had already been discharged administratively for non-disciplinary reasons). Two of the four cadets reinstated to the college completed the course and graduated.[177]

In a minute to the Chief of the General Staff dated 10 May, Scholes enunciated more clearly his feelings on this matter. He stated that, although he considered the setting up of another inquiry, similar to that of 1969, to be inappropriate, he thought that a number of changes needed to be made at the college. Scholes wrote that:

> While there is a need for cadets to have discipline, endurance and physical and mental strength, I do not accept that excessive behaviour of the kind that has been reported is a way of achieving these goals. Humiliating,

degrading, bullying or senseless behaviour is clearly unacceptable. I expect the Commandant will make perfectly clear, with specific examples, what is tolerable behaviour and what is not.[178]

Major General H.J. Coates, commandant during the 1983 bastardisation scandal.
(RMC Archives)

Tellingly, Scholes commented:

I believe that the current policy guidelines on the treatment of cadets at RMC are satisfactory ... My concern is rather with their thorough implementation and the attitudes governing their administration. I believe there is sufficient evidence to indicate that there have been incidents breaching the intent of this guidance which go beyond isolated cases and which represent a more widespread pattern of unacceptable behaviour ... It is clear to me, however, that there have been a sufficient number of incidents involving excessive behaviour to indicate that at least some of the military staff at RMC should have been aware of their existence, or at least aware of the existence of a significant proportion of these incidents ... The military staff at the RMC will be expected to accept responsibility should breaches of accepted behaviour occur in future.[179]

The Minister also asked the CGS for a comprehensive report, detailing what had been done to implement the recommendations of the Fox Report and whether there had been any variations to these procedures in the past few years. Finally, he asked that consideration be given to exposing the cadets to some Army basic training, 'particularly its physical fitness and disciplinary aspects', before they joined the college. He wrote, 'It seems to me that a few weeks at a Recruit Training Battalion or an equivalent unit would reduce the difficulty in adjusting to first-year life at the college'.[180]

On 1 June, Coates addressed the cadets and outlined the changes he would introduce to ensure that the treatment of the Fourth Class did not return to its past practices. The company commanders would move their offices into the cadets' barracks and an officer would be present for every meal in the cadets' mess. As to Scholes' request to expose the cadets to Army life before joining the college, from January 1984, the first three weeks of Fourth Class would be spent away from the college at a specially built camp at the nearby Majura Range, where the new cadets would be under the control of the college staff. This arrangement was to provide a period in which the Fourth Class could make the transition from civil to military life, away from the rest of the cadets and the associated socialisation factors (in effect, a return to the Point Hut orientation camp concept that had

been abolished following the Fox Report). Furthermore, when they returned to the college, the induction of the Fourth Class would be entirely under the control of the First Class; the other two classes could assist, but only under the direct supervision of the First Class.[181]

Coates also stated that inappropriate behaviour in the mess and bathrooms was to cease and that section-based TOCs were to be abolished. TOC could still be held on a company basis, but was not to be served by the Fourth Class cadets. This decision was not popular with the cadets. The Third Class, who had had to put up with TOC the previous year, felt cheated, as did the Fourth Class, whose members felt that they were being deprived of experiencing a college tradition through no fault of their own. The Fourth Class cadets were also being treated as the 'cry babies' of the corps. They felt that this was a great injustice because the members remaining at the college had not complained about their treatment.[182]

Rigorous staff enforcement of these changes over the next few years effectively ended bastardisation at the college. A graduate of the period later commented, 'They would still do the things that they thought that they could get away with, but the wind was really put up the senior class – they really did not want to risk it'. The staff also attempted to reform the dynamics of the college's social structure, in particular, by decreasing the importance of the class system by officially abolishing it, and emphasising cadet rank instead. All First Class cadets, and most of the Second Class cadets, had cadet rank and therefore could command the Fourth Class. Significantly, the Third Class were of the same cadet rank as the Fourth Class and were therefore encouraged to be more supportive and nurturing of the Fourth Class than had occurred in the past, when they had had command over them. The staff's aim was to break down the large social gulf that had previously existed between Fourth Class and the rest of the corps. These moves were fostered by the fact that the Third Class of 1984, who traditionally would have been the worst bastardisers of the Fourth Class of 1984, had themselves been spared mistreatment by the senior cadets after the crackdown on bastardisation in April of the previous year. A member of the Fourth Class of 1984 recalled that probably the worst treatment that he received during Fourth Class was being braced up by the senior cadets and having a long list of questions fired at him. These questions were along the lines of 'What's my name? Who's your section commander? Who's the PMC?' (President of the Mess Committee).[183]

After 1983, the Fourth Class games that survived were generally intended to be enjoyable rather than humiliating. Examples were 'Space Invaders', 'Zulus' and 'Submarines'.

'Space Invaders' was based on the popular computer game of the same name. The game was usually conducted at 1 or 2 a.m. on the basketball court beside the cadets' mess, with the Fourth Class cadets dressed only in their jocks. The Fourth Class cadets would be lined up in two to three ranks and would bob along from left to right, bending at the knees, swinging their arms and simulating the appropriate noise from the actual game. At the end of each pass of the senior cadets, who would attempt to hit them using fire hoses with a trigger function, the Fourth Class cadets would jump forward one pace. If hit, the cadet would fall to the ground and perform a 'Dead Ant'. The remainder of the Fourth Class cadets would continue to advance forward until they too were 'destroyed'. A cadet would also be designated as the 'Mother Ship', his role being to run behind the other cadets (and therefore present a more difficult target).[184]

'Zulus' consisted of the senior cadets, armed with their issued rifles, forming up behind a barricade constructed out of their issued metal trunks. The Fourth Class cadets, usually attired in their underwear and brandishing ironing boards (shields) and brooms (spears),

would then charge the senior cadets. When the Fourth Class cadets heard the click of the trigger being engaged on the rifle (obviously unloaded) they would fall down 'dead'. Those Fourth Class cadets not 'shot' would attempt to storm the barricade, and a minor brawl would then develop.[185]

'Submarines' was conducted in a cadet bathroom. The door would be sandbagged and the room flooded with water. The senior cadets would paddle around the room sitting in their security trunks and using their entrenching tools as paddles. The basic concept of the game was for the Fourth Class cadets, who would be wearing helmets, to swim around underwater and come up to the surface away from the senior cadets. If they came up within reach of a senior cadet, they would be 'donged' on the head with an entrenching tool and be out of the game.[186] A 1986 graduate would later recall:

> It was 'come and do this' and you certainly would not have said no. But there was no menace in it – you did not feel at all intimidated. It was actually quite good fun and it gave you something to talk about afterwards.[187]

After 1985, even these 'games' died out. This demise was caused by three factors: the more intensive nature of the new course, the breaking of the bastardisation nexus and the changed demographics of the cadet population. The new eighteen-month course incorporated the military training that had previously been spread over four years. The intensive nature of the course resulted in the frequent absence of one, if not all, cadet classes from the college on field exercises. The incidents of bastardisation were therefore reduced, due to the decreased opportunity for inter-class interaction.

Another contributing factor was the breaking of the bastardisation nexus. Traditionally, the worst bastardisers had been the Third Class, seeking retribution for the treatment they had endured the year before; the Second and First classes had generally lost interest in most of the bastardisation practices. In 1986, the classes that would have been the Third and Second classes were sent to the Australian Defence Force Academy. The only representatives of the old RMC system left at the college were the members of the 1985 Second Class, now in their final year of training and with little time or enthusiasm to engage in the bastardisation of the new cadets. Never having experienced the intensity of the bastardisation that had occurred under the old RMC system, the January 1986 intake had little motivation to impose retribution on the new cadets (Third Class) when they moved into Second Class.

The final contributing factor was the change in the demographics of the cadet population. Many of the cadets undertaking the eighteen-month course were older, and often more mature, than their predecessors who had enrolled in the four-year course. A large percentage were in fact former soldiers, who brought to the college their experiences of the induction training they had received at the 1st Recruit Training Battalion at Kapooka, New South Wales. This training did not include the highly ritualised practices that had evolved over seventy-five years at the old RMC, but mostly involved verbal abuse, generally aimed at humiliating the Third Class cadet. As well, the presence of female cadets meant that the perpetuation of many of the old bastardisation practices could easily be construed as the much greater crime (particularly in the late 1980s) of sexual harassment, and therefore gave pause to cadets considering their reintroduction. The female cadets also induced a greater degree of maturity among the cadet body, who now came to see many of the practices of the past as juvenile and more appropriate to a single-sex boarding school, rather than a mixed-gender military college.

However, some elements of the old customs survived. One company, Kokoda, once called a 'bastion of barbarism', still had a rite of passage for the new entrants: the

'Kokoda Challenge'. Conducted early in the year, it involved a physical activity, normally a run around the college and up Mount Pleasant, followed by a barbecue breakfast back at the company lines. Here the Third Class (or the recent academy graduates) were welcomed to the company and presented with their company T-shirts, thereby formalising their acceptance into the company. This practice fulfilled the socialisation aspects of the initiation ceremonies held in the past.[188]

For many members of the public, Duntroon and 'bastardisation' are synonymous. 'Bastardisation' practices varied from year to year, from company to company, and from cadet to cadet; there was no standard 'bastardisation' experience. The practices that evolved at the college need to be examined in the context of the period in which they occurred. It should also be considered that the majority of the cadets, while participating in bastardisation practices, did so in a measured manner.