

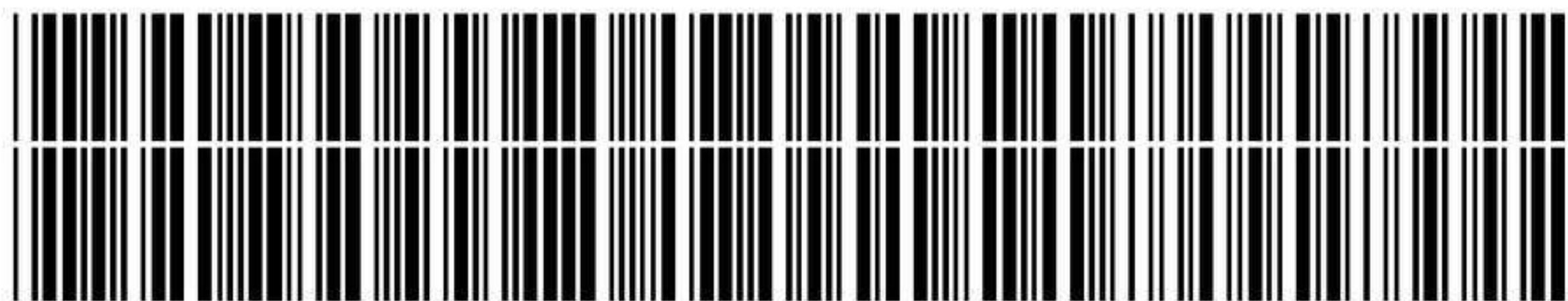
AWM38
Official History,
1914-18 War: Records of C E W Bean,
Official Historian.

Diaries and Notebooks

Item number: 3DRL606/24/1

Title: Diary, December 1915

Includes notes on Imbros, Mudros, talks with Lord Birdwood, visit to Helles and the other war correspondents.



AWM38-3DRL606/24/1

Diary 24
Dec 19/20 6
Dec 29

24

Original

DIARY NO. 24.

AWM 38

3DRL 606 ITEM 24 [1]

**DIARIES AND NOTES OF C. E. W. BEAN
CONCERNING THE WAR OF 1914-1918**

THE use of these diaries and notes is subject to conditions laid down in the terms of gift to the Australian War Memorial. But, apart from those terms, I wish the following circumstances and considerations to be brought to the notice of every reader and writer who may use them.

These writings represent only what at the moment of making them I believed to be true. The diaries were jotted down almost daily with the object of recording what was then in the writer's mind. Often he wrote them when very tired and half asleep; also, not infrequently, what he believed to be true was not so — but it does not follow that he always discovered this, or remembered to correct the mistakes when discovered. Indeed, he could not always remember that he had written them.

These records should, therefore, be used with great caution, as relating only what their author, at the time of writing, believed. Further, he cannot, of course, vouch for the accuracy of statements made to him by others and here recorded. But he did try to ensure such accuracy by consulting, as far as possible, those who had seen or otherwise taken part in the events. The constant falsity of second-hand evidence (on which a large proportion of war stories are founded) was impressed upon him by the second or third day of the Gallipoli campaign, notwithstanding that those who passed on such stories usually themselves believed them to be true. All second-hand evidence herein should be read with this in mind.

16 Sept., 1946.

AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

C. E. W. BEAN.

ACCESS STATUS

OPEN

St. Hart Davis

Ross

Where is Anzac?

J.

Collier 3 Lt. Hambee.

Barker 6 Aust. F. Amb.

Crozier - AMM. HQ & Bde.

Leysdon White
6 Aust F. Amb.

Note:

Apr 25

It is important to note that from 1 (or possibly 12) until 4 on the first day no troops were brought ashore. The boats were employed in carrying wounded to the transports - but whether this was the reason why troops were not landed or no I can't say.

About 7.50 am.

Dec 20th (cont) The fleet all turned ->

Suppose there were a submarine about for Imbros. Big craft, little craft, sloops, destroyers, battleships, transports - all making their separate way ^{straight} for the

Imbros Kephalos Heads. Grafton got a message: "You are to stay & watch for enemy ^{or attempts to} take away stores" or something to that effect. Two destroyers

Beagle |||| 411
- ~~Rattlesnake~~ (with Seymour formerly of Colne) were attached to her.

S. is a splendid chap - he knows his job to the uttermost on our coast there. When Grace was rather irritated w/

Rattlesnake ~~decided~~ for not firing as much as he ~~wanted~~ ^{thought} she ought on our flank - the voice through

megaphone sd "He fired 3 times, Sir, & then they fired 5 shots at him -"

"He's pretty close in, Sir" - "He is within 2000 yards" - He wdnt have his brother destroyer criticised

Even tho' the criticism was: "He's not doing it as well as you & the Chelmer used to do." loyal chaps they are.

Went down to breakfast & then transferred to the Beagle & steamed fast into Imbros. ^{In harbour} was a wonderful collection of warships of all sorts & sizes - transports full of troops, ~~Brig.~~ cruisers, Destroyers alongside them, battleships old & new - all busy talking to one another just like the crowd that congregates at a club after a break up of some meeting. They ~~stayed~~ ^{seemed to stay} long enough for a meal & a yarn ~~at the~~ it were - I then off to Andros, Salonica, Helles, I don't know where. The harbour quickly emptied down to its normal again.

Imbros was full of troops. Part of 1st IXth Corps was here (they're breaking it up, I believe). The 29th Divn is going to Helles & our fine

6 in Bally, has gone there already.
 Newinson Price & old Lawrence
 had turned up at the Chateau Pericles
 - they were in the Cornwallis at Savla -
 indeed they only left the beach there at
 abt 2.30. The Turks fired 4 shells at
 them as they came away. At about
 5 o'clock, ~~the~~ one of mines in
 their front trenches at Savla went up;
 the ~~at~~ Turks were clearly attacking
 the front line of trenches - or at least
 someone was there. By 9 o'clock the Turks
 were still bombarding the second
 line of British trenches at Savla x

I looked in to see Maj. Butler;
 George Lloyd was there - all tremendously pleased.
 I heard that we lost 3 wd. at Savla &
 2 wd. at Anzac. We all agree that
 thing to do is to get our account of
 this to the world before 1 German
 can do so. We got away every
 mule at Savla & all but 50 or so at
 Anzac - I believe 50 had to be

X
 at Anzac One, I believe, ^{of the two} was
 run over
 by a mule cart.

(I think
 this is wrong)
 C.W.B.
 15.6.24

4

poleaxed, ~~the~~ as arranged. We had expected to leave 9 guns - but only left 5 i.e. 3 - 18 pdr Australian guns; 2 - 5 in howitzers; [not counting 2 little 3 in & one anti-aircraft, & the old 4.7]. It is easy now to say we ought to have got them off but after all 1 thing we contemplated as extremely difficult in deceiving (Turks - & ~~if we had~~ it was partly by 1 gun that we deceived them. If we had it deceived them, then a great deal more we have ^{but lost} ~~for~~ than 1 mere gun.

Abt 5000 mules were got off at Anzac Suva. We left all our artillery waggons or a great many - which is a pity; & a good number of native waggons. I have heard it said if we had had anyone except Knox in charge we shd have saved these or at least smashed up all wheels. I

know a demolition party under
Maj. Williams was at work last 2 days.

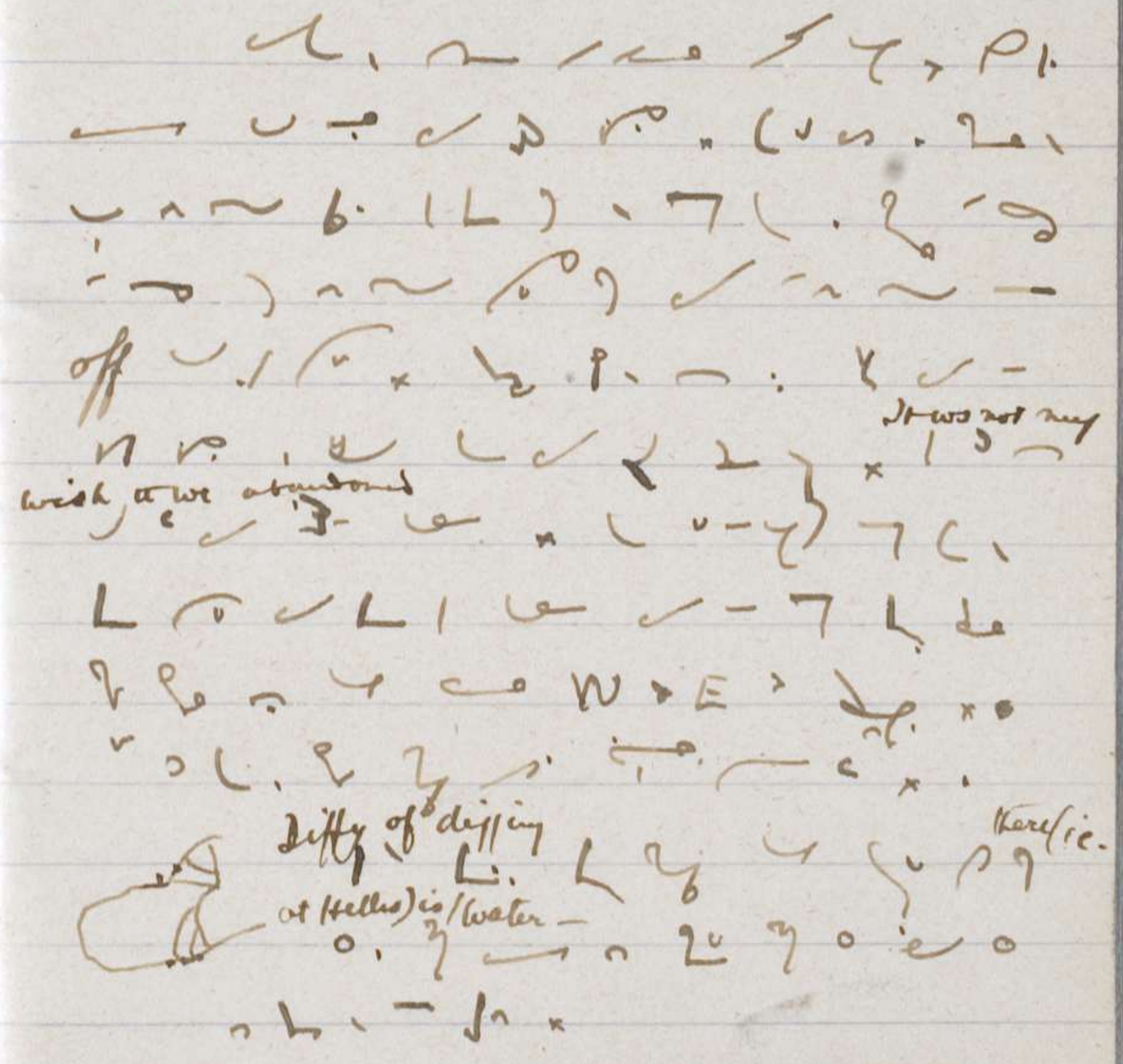
Dec. 21. Went up to see Birdwood tonight
at his request. He attributes our
success in 1st place to Providence.
The wind changed abt 1.20 on 1 night
of Dec. 20/21 wh he had originally
planned for 1 evacuation as he didn't
think 1 navy cd manage it earlier.

"I calculate there wd h. be abt
2000 men ashore - I think we shd have
lost ^{some of} those. I had given orders to once 1
~~land~~ ^{land} on 1 final night had begun
it must be gone on w at all costs,
Even if it were necessary for 1
troops to wade out into 1 water to
get into 1 boats. I am afraid it
wd not h finished till after daylight"
he added - "It was 1 danger."

What struck him most abt 1

6
evacuation as there were 8,000
Turks still opposite Surla & Anzac,
& 1 trench was in many places
within 25 yds. [Of course
Snipers Nest is within 100 of the
piers on N Beach, & the ^{Turks on} Nck is only
300 yds from 1 cliff of mule gully
where they overlook 1 whole beach
at 600 yds. - & 1 Turk is strongest
there. Birdwood was in 1 Chalkum.
He visited Anzac last day - & went
to right to Pipers Bde. On way back
he found a ~~at~~ a pt number of
light horsemen had dropped the
extra waterproof sheet & blanket
wh they were ordered to carry
for their comrades who were
leaving later in light kit. He was
clearly rather annoyed to more
stores & guns had not been got off -

but I doubt if he was right
 abt 1 gun. I daresay Knox
 have got off more or Indian carts
 etc. Suola got off much more but
 then Suola isn't observed like
 Anzac.



The warships report to there

8/

had been put up on Lala Baba
during 1 night a German flag.
I hope 1 Turks like it.

Dec 22. Called on B. Gen Cunliffe
Owen. He told me that all writing
from here had been stopped
He had been writing
an account of embarkation at
Anzac. There were abt 100 guns
at Anz. & rather less at Suvla -
abt 70 Turkish guns opp each
place. He thought 1 Germans
were bringing 2 big guns &
Austrians 2 - so deserters sd.

[1 deserter came in on 1 last
day] Early in Dec. we [expecting
or last but one] that we wd have 5 light
garrison were asked to prepare a
scheme. We sd we cd dispense
w 30 guns & by keeping others

9

firing (eg. 2 guns where 4 had been firing same amt, or 1 where 2 had been, firing on same amt of front) could prevent Turks from seeing it. We were told early in Decr to carry this out. We next got an ~~order~~ order that we must send away half the remaining guns - other whole lot. This was done w/ exception of 8 at Anzac.

Birdwood is a great little chap. He may not have the best brains in all the army - but he does so he sees everything for himself. Well by doing so he gets a grip of all questions far greater than that which could be obtained by the cleverest man on earth who ~~never~~ ^{seldom} visited the actual scene. There has been all the difference in the world between

Burdwood is just having the wound he rec'd at Quinn's on May 15 attended to - bullet extracted. I had no idea it was there - underneath skin on top of head. It began to suppurate lately. When bullet was taken out a few days ago some of nickel still remained in for suppuration still went on. This has now been taken out and the wound is healing apparently.

Birdie & the Braithwaite - Hamilton combination (if it can be called a combination)
 The following is the position of Turkish troops opp. Anzac
 Suolay, Helles at time of vaccination:

Keretch Trench	126 th	2100
118 A	127.	3000.
118 H.	33	3000
Kuchuk Anabarte Plain	78 th	"
S.	35 th	"
118 r	34.	1800
N of Scimitar Hill	66.	
	(70)	
200 yds E of Torgut Chesme	25.	2400
Helman Chair	64	
Jusak Kuyuc	17	1600.
Hill 60 (Kandi Trench)	16	1200
Opp. Hill 92	20 th	1800
W of A. Bd. R. Bain	19.	2300
305.	24	2000
The Farm	22	1800
80K4 } 13 ship H }	48 th	2000

H.Q.

(1) at 161 in Sq. 136 j

R) Sarla zone at 106 A7

G.H.Q. 107 R9 at Tekke.

D.H.Q. Kojá Dve 69 B2

A.C.H.Q. 69 j8

G.H.Q. at 48 n5

Sarla Reserves:

76th at 137 j8.

36th at 119 K4 2000.

18th 107 y1 near G.H.Q.

21st 93 i8

23rd. 81 n9

26 at 56 d4.

The Nek (^{Black} 180)

72

2000

80 T 1

2/48th

Opp. Quinn's

27

2000.

German. Opp's Trench.

r. J. Tolly 80 X4

57

2000

Lone Pine (125)

125th

1500.

S. of L Pine.

47

1800.

68 H 2.

36

(Sendarms.)
1000

1000

Ext. S ^{near} K. Tape

77.

2700.

38,100

Bij Camps. near Kojá Dve.

Turshken Keli

S of Egelmer Bay.

Hellas.

West.

- Left. 70 II. W of Sully Rav.
- 71 E. of SR.
- 124 W. of Kritia Nullah
- 38 E of Kritia N.
- 45 on Achi Bala Nullah
- 56 W of Telephone Lines. R h 3
- 55 E of " " in Kereves Doo
- 42 opposite Fortin le Gouez
- 41 overlooking Sea.

G.H.Q at Ali Bey Farm.
Kritia Zone.

Saghanli.D. Reserves

- 4.
- 46.
- 62
- 61

H.Q. of 13th Div.
20 Div

50. 42. 29. 30. 28
H.Q. 10 Div.

Chonak. 79. 80. 81.

GHO Esad.

Yalova Yalik Abad H O 3 W.
Y Amor.

181 l (Munir Bey Chift) ^{H.O. of} Luman
rons.

14

The whole of this cottage
Dec. 23 worked all yesterday till dinner
even midnight getting its various
despatches away. Ward Price is
clearly especially keen on making
this story a magnificent one -
a chef. d'oeuvre - & he can't
have a finer subject. The only thing
is th few people in England will
realise what an extremely dangerous
operation it was. W. Price in a
sort of humorous way (but sincerely
for all that) envies me for having
seen the Turks come over. "The
thing th spoils it from a journalistic
point of view," he sd, "is th there
wasn't ~~was~~ a battle - a rear guard
action by the West Yorks on a beach
wd have made the story one of
finest ^{possible} ~~interest~~" I say th battle

Stories are almost commonplace nowadays; & the spectacle of our whole position gradually left bare to 1 Turk - with lights burning, as ^{on} every other night, & 1 Turkish rifle popping off occasionally all along a line, & 1 Turk in morning bombardment, & finally charging, our ^{now} long deserted trenches - whilst we ~~waited~~ after a night of intense anxiety waited & looked on - is as good as any battle story.

But I am afraid it shows that 1 Turk is a most unenterprising fighter - And yet in patrolling & sniping he is energetic & bold in extreme, more so than our Savla troops so one of their staff officers told me. His vigilance is so imperfect.

20th Nov. by - p - o (10 am)
- 1 by 2 x 2.0 -

Tonight town news that Greeks are fighting /
Bulgarians ~~on~~ on / Albanian
frontier.

Dec. 24. Nevinnon, W. Price Lawrence &
myself were going to Hellen today to
- Got up miserably at 5.30 (or rather 6
for servants were v. late in calling ~~us~~)
went down to pier & waited for abt 3/4
hour. The sea was pretty rough & at the
end of this time the Naval Transport
officer on / pier told us that / transport had
sailed without waiting for us.

We had our Xmas dinner tonight -
W. Price went to sleep afterwards beside / fire.
He & Nevinnon are going back to Salonica tomorrow.
G.H.O. moves to Egypt & the ANZAC Corp has
moved their ^{headquarters} already
from mudloo.

Dec. 25 Xmas.
Lawrence & I started early for
Hellen. On / pier as usual no one
knew whether / transport 696 was going
from / pier or whether a boat would
be to help. ^{The NTO thought she would come to / pier.} In the end Lawrence & I
saw a boat going to her - so we ~~went~~
~~off~~ took no chances & went off

by it w/ A.H.Q. mail. It was
as well we didn't wait for her as she
didn't come in. Any amount of men &
stuff were waiting for her but 3 boatloads
of them managed to get out to her before
1 Captain sailed.

When 1 captain sailed 1
first thing he did was to ram a
drifter in 1 mtda - neither
captain being on 1 bridge (therefore
both being strangely quiet after 1
accident). All 1 reporter I heard
was "Are you blind?" from 1
drifter aft 5 minutes after 1
accident. There was a fair sized
dent in 1 drifter's side & we left
her looking at it.

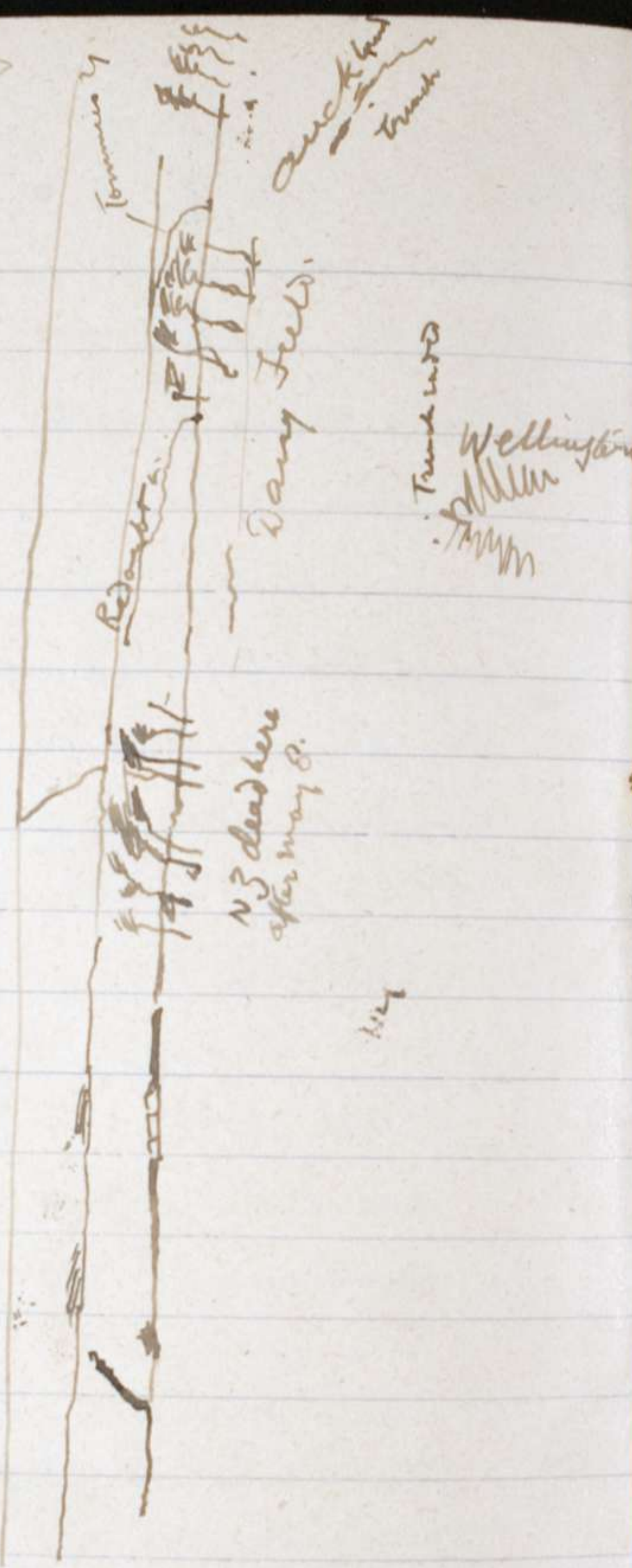
So much for 1 ~~efficient~~
navigation of which these merchant
skippers are so proud - I never
saw anything like it in 1 navy.



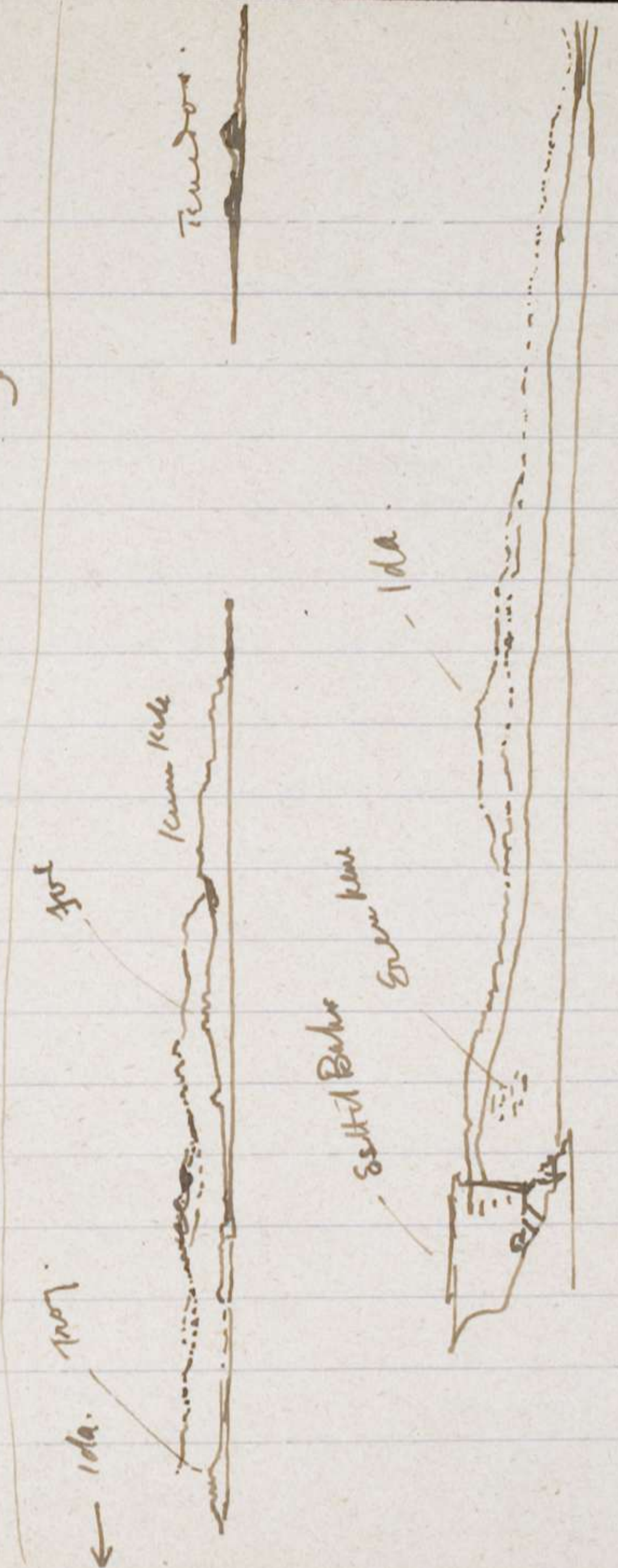
Drawn at Bullec
Xmas Day 1915

fire
1200
→

→
1000
→

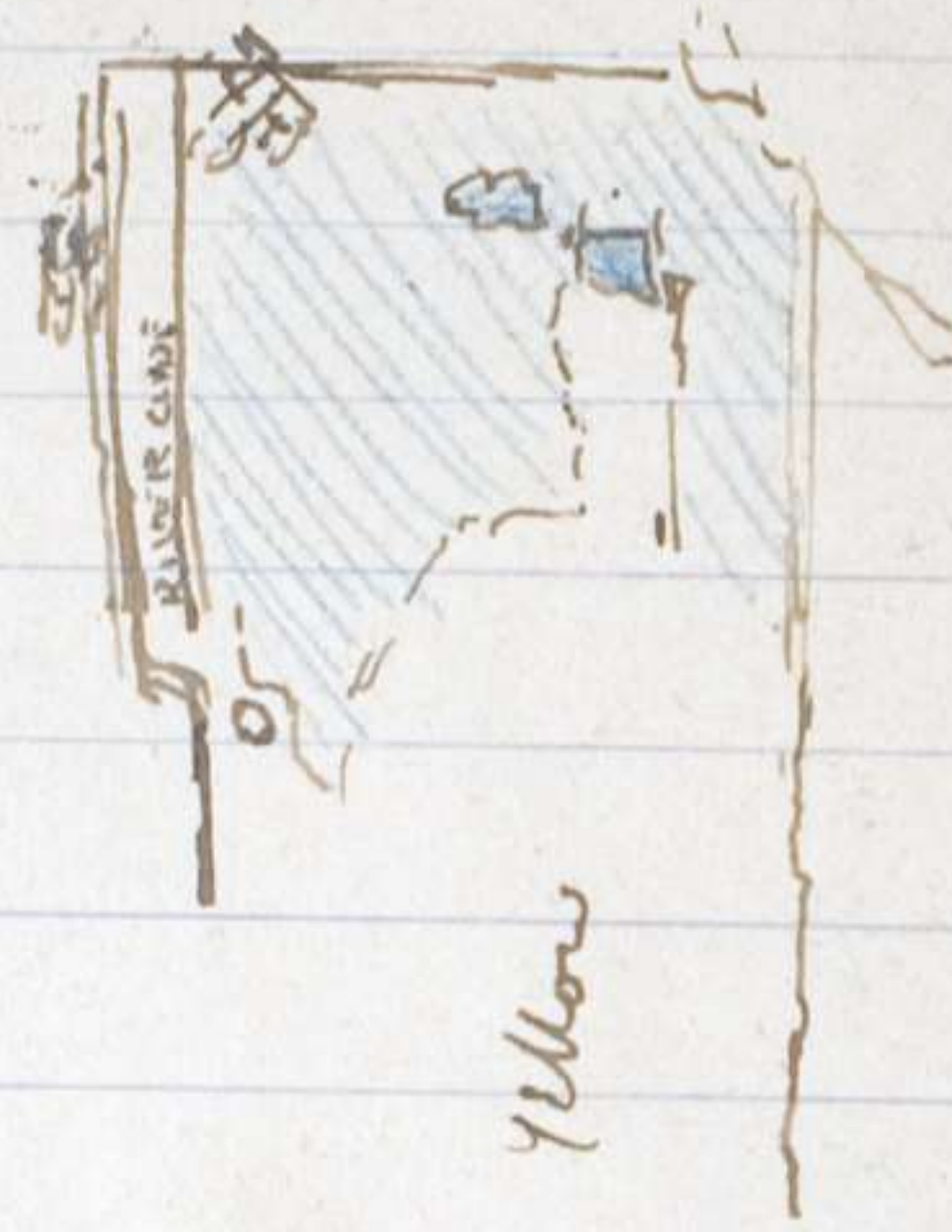


Sikhs
→
→



Broken Trench + Shells is 6 driving bank
Breakwaters partly made of

Boat in
Bow of
Relyde.



T. Plover.
~~14-15-42~~

Before getting into Helles
we ran into an anti-submarine
net - big wire mesh perh. 5 feet
in diameter held up by glass
clusters of glass buoys
cased in tow cord - rather
like a Chinese flagon -

Can't get about to
Sampson No
~~and 2' on July~~
~~by the way.~~
~~Fishport near our main~~
~~exp of late.~~

~~We caught our~~ we
steamed along gaily with
the net trailing alongside
w its line of buoys like
a big sea serpent
until the skipper

Some at long, South Hill, E. side
we were at RND
28 Oct 1, 9 days.

saw it - By that
time it was well
launched up in 1
screw. we had to
heave to & back
slowly out &
chop a length
out of net
before we could
clear, then
we cast the
remainder

we are being men
I've done the thing

To now bombing Helles
with ~~strafing~~

~~1 (V) 7-11~~
we can't land at Aug
They can at Chant

One four men did land in Turkey
Brent his plane, shot down
& was picked up.

(with operator
1 skipper
performed

2. 3 wire RNDs. L. R. ...
Aug 5-10

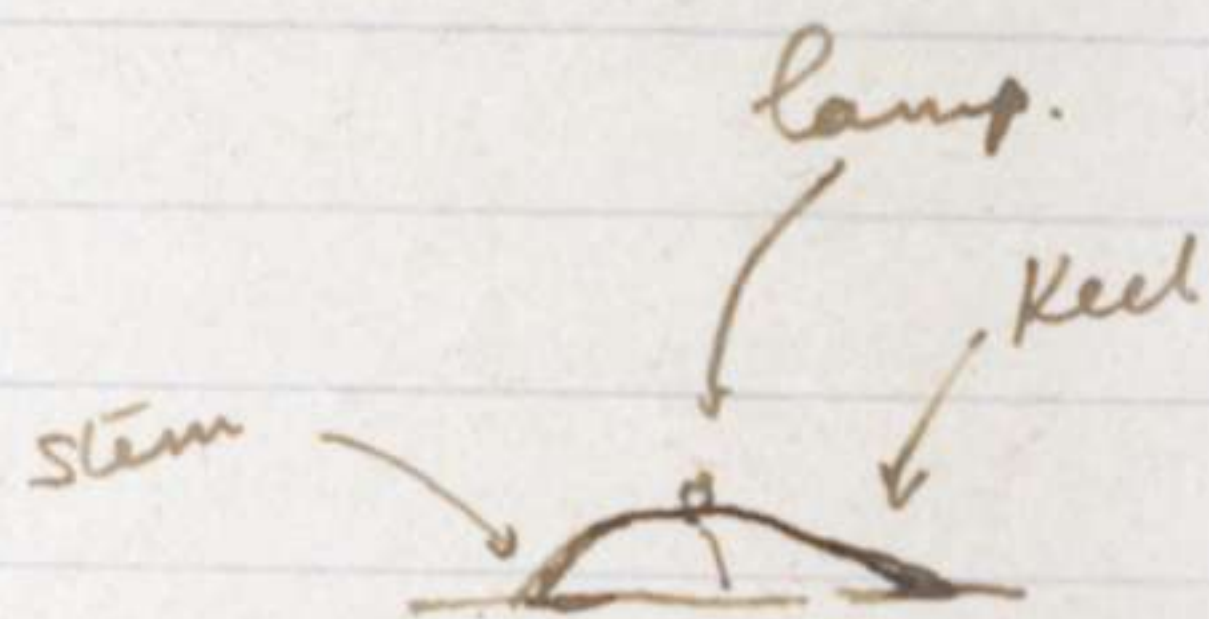
himself by hammering
it w a big cold
chisel against
1 side. Then we

Hibernia, Russell

cast 1 remainder of net in two
fragments overboard again, leaving

1 shorter end to drift abt by itself
 & get in 1 way of whoever passed.
 A drifter w a naval crew saw us -
 and the officer shouted something thro' a
 megaphone, so I suppose 1 net
 will be duly looked after.

We passed 1 ruined pier &
 breakwater of W. Beach (Lancashire
 landing) the British harbour - &
 steamed round towards V. Beach.
~~Just~~ As we were passing under
 1 cliff by 1 aerodrome a big
 aeroplane w 1 French colours
 (British planes bear 1 French
 colours too so I dont know wh
 she really was) seemed to be
 landing but to have failed to make
 1 last turn inland at 1 last moment.
 She alighted not far from 1 edge of
 cliff & came running towards it.
 ones heart jumped into ones
 mouth as the machine came
 bumping along towards 1 cliff.
 There was a telegraph line in
 front of her & she caught it
 w her two right planes & brought



What used to be
seen of the majestic -
her stem as a lamp
placed on it

21
down a pole. Fortunately this
stopped her. We saw a man get
out ~~so~~ ^{quite unconcerned} as 1 population
came running up (you would
think 1 cliff side contained so many
people).

We turned to have a look at
the old battleship wh 1 French
have sunk ~~of~~ to make part of
their breakwater (the Massena,
without masts or funnels or top
hampers) - the majestic by the
bye has disappeared altogether.
I suppose she was resting on her
superstructure & one of S.W. storms
crushed it to pieces altogether.

At this moment a Taube or
rather an Aviatik Biplane or D.W.
F. (or D.F.W.) came over - flying
low enough for you to see the black crosses
quite easily w/ naked eye. There
were two of our planes up & a
third soon joined them. One
sailed along parallel w/ 1 German
& we could hear the shots in 1 sky -
a loud rapid m.g. fire of about
15 shots, & isolated single shots. ~~the~~

I was very surprised to see that though 1 German came very fairly low not a single puff of Strapped appeared in 1 sky. It seems that we actually have no efficient anti-aircraft gun at Helles - only 3 little 3pdrs mounted by the RND at their H.Q. Yet at Imbros we had an excellent gun, possibly more, firing v. quickly.

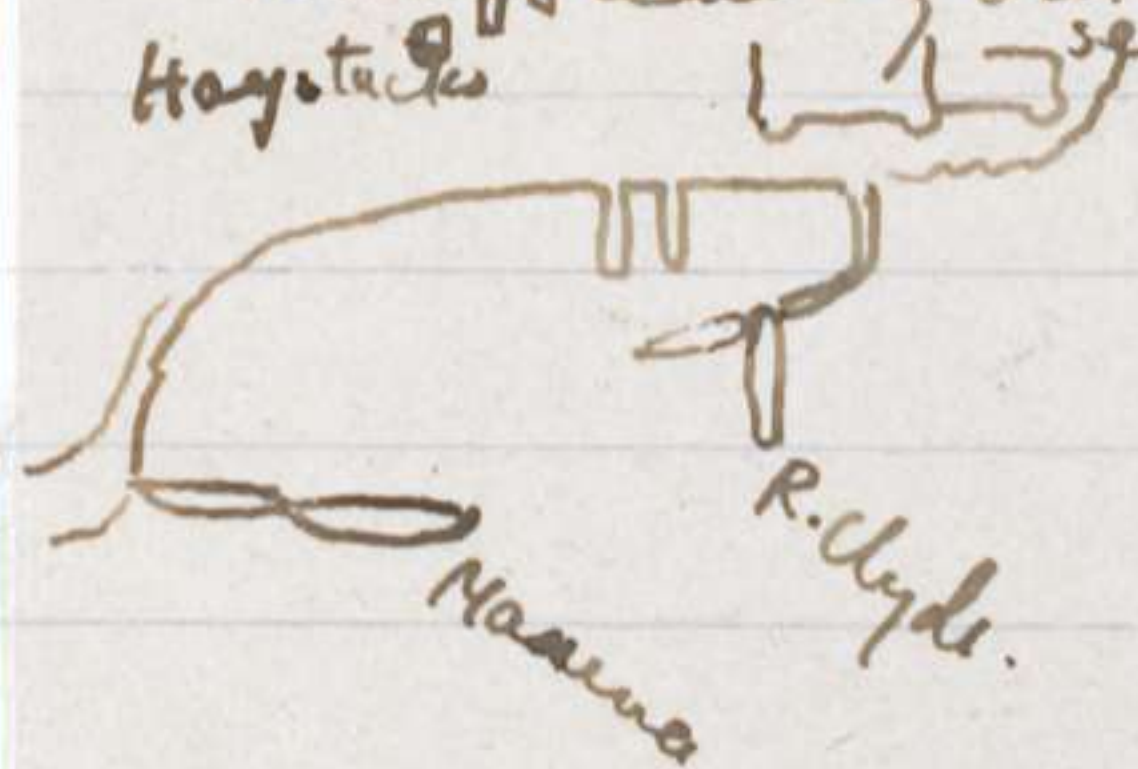
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~~single shots were, I afterwards heard, from~~
One of our planes dipped rapidly away from
German & ^{swerved} off, but came up to it again
quickly & finally followed it off
sailing parallel, at some distance,
towards Tenedos.

I heard afterwards that 1 single shot
were from our planes & 1 m.g. fire
from 1 German. Our m.g. (Vickers)
for some reason - probably 1 cold -
will not fire more than single
shots. The Germans have what is
probably a mauser pistol of sorts -
wh can be fired at any angle; &
they have been giving our planes
a real bad time of late. It is generally
only one German who comes over
at a time, but he is a bold flier.
~~And even since~~ our men think it
is one particular man.

The Turks have been watching Helles
beaches like cats watch a mouse since
our evacuation. They sent over
2 or 3 planes yesterday - low down; &
every day an airman comes over
to look for signs of evacuation. The
guns from Asia have been shelling 1
beaches persistently - they are not as

deadly as Beachy - who rarely put in a days work without doing a good deal of harm owing to narrowness of Anzac beach; but they make things very uncomfortable. Annie was throwing shells over from Anzac when we landed & again in afternoon when I came off. I never saw any effect but I believe she killed a couple of men yesterday - I think they told us so.

The French (by all signs) French are going to evacuate very soon - their place to be taken I imagine by British -) have put in a wonderful amt. of work at Helles. Their harbour is far better than ours; they have a mole leading out to River Clyde - well built of stone and even, in part, of the broken breech & carriage of old cast away shells of an 11 inch gun - old shells with driving bands - you see them clearly under water. The French have enormous stores of fodder on shore. Of course they have reduced from



21
two divisions to one. I am told that their
ammunition arrangements and ~~the~~
foresight in provision of stores, laying out
quays, & necessary departments are far
better than ours - some of our own staff have
told me so.

Lawrence & I went on board the
Rivier Clyde to leave ~~at~~ his bed &
kit - Wilson, the M.D. there, insisted
on pouring us out very stiff whiskies -
& afterwards, in spite of all protests,
opened a bottle of champagne.
I noticed that 2 Frenchmen whom
I saw on the pier, one after the other,
took up most of the ^{breadth of the} pier in their
attempts to walk along it - that is
to say, they weren't falling about but
they were noticeably irregular as
far as direction was concerned.

I don't know that L. & I can very
well cavil at them ^{when} we left
the Clyde to walk to the Gully Ravine
(wh. I had never seen) we were both
of us very glad that we had a long
walk before we came to the H.Q. of
the Manchester Bde (127th) - Gen.
Elliott.

The River Clyde had partly been given up, now, to the French for offices. But Jones the N.T.O. still lives on board. He is an R.N.R. man (and therefore naturally the right man for the beach work; but being R.N.R. he seems to get no promotion tho' he was on W Beach during the worst of work. And when they wanted an expert to supervise landing of and beachwork at Savla they chose an R.N. man & I believe, promoted him.

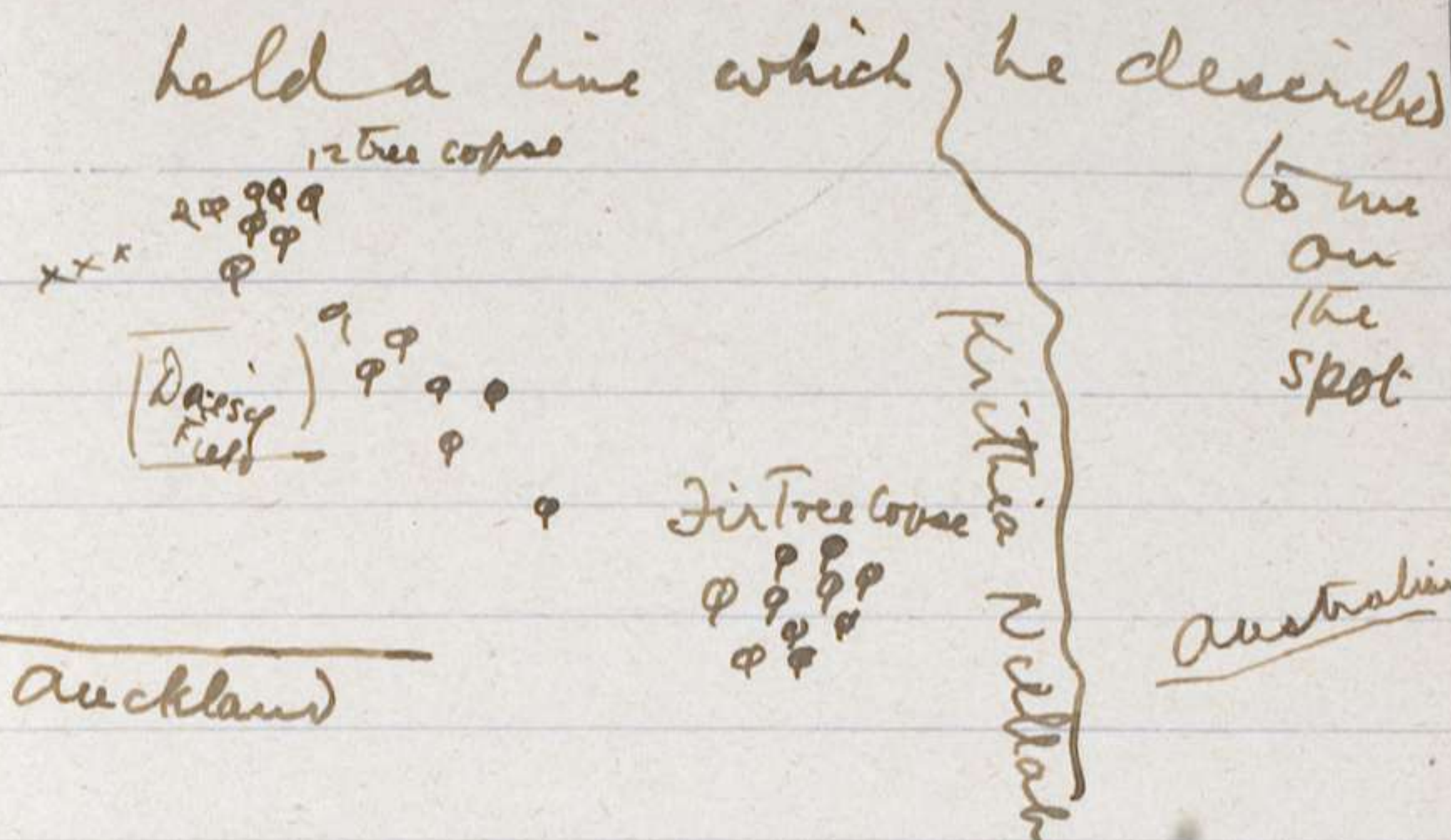
but we had some very nice times pleasant. This Bde really treated us most hospitably - as kindly and open as any Australian staff could have done.

The British have been cutting a road up the Gully Ravine, just in time to judge by the awful state of bottom of it. They did not feel the blizzard as severely as we did - they are very sheltered from N. North. They have done no deep digging at all of the sort we did at Anzac. But they have been tunnelling very energetically under the Turkish line & are going to blow the T. up in a day or two. They say they could have taken ^{without any loss} the trench which they took on Dec. 19, if they had had another day or two.

We had our Xmas lunch on 1 Jan. & staff of 129 in Divn. ~~was~~ - their Bde had celebrated Xmas a few days before, when it was out of trenches. (The 52nd Divn appeared to be out today - some of the medical units was having some sports). One of staff took ~~me~~ me up to the trenches where he personally relieved the New Zealanders who

Sikhs Wellington

↑ up hill



as above. We stood at X which was the end of the trench dug by 1 N.Z. left when he took it over. The other New Zealanders were behind them & apparently not yet in touch although N.Z. dead were where I have put the crosses x x x. The Manchester Bde. staff sd that 1 N.Z. people had run over concealed T. machine guns in the Daisy Field (of the position of which they weren't quite certain). They sd the m. gs. shut down ^{a tid} when the N.Z.s came up to them & N.Z. went over them without seeing them.

This is in Gen Hamilton's despatches
but I have never heard any N.Z.
Officer mention it — tho' it is just
possible th it was discovered only
after N.Z. went away. /

I had to get back to Imbros
on account of the Anzac Magazine —
So I left Lawrence at 3 & walked
right down the gully to its mouth
& then thro' the reserve camp of
5th Div (on a slightly reversed
slope & well up within fire of any
sort of shell) & so to the French Beach.
The Turks were firing a shell with
a big black smoke into our trenches.
We gave them (from 3 to 3.30 or
thereabouts) a very vigorous
strafe for Xmas day — at
Anzac we shd have called it
a tremendous bombardment,

28
but then we knew very little
abt bombardments at Angac.
Had yet here - tho' they used their
guns so much - they had no
anti aircraft guns except 3 miserable
little 3 pdrs at the H.Q. of the
R.N.D.

The tractor turned up from
Tenedos (her word nowadays)
abt 5. Had my Xmas dinner
at home at abt 8. ~~Had~~ ^{with} a very
nice mince pie provided for
us by 1 boy (they ^{had} got 1
bakery to cook ^{two} for them.)

Had a yarn to James on
1 way back - a curious
sleepy English yokk of some
education, Lawrence's
balm. He sd it was 1 most
miserable Xmas he had ever
spent - & poor chap. I dare say

it was for we left him to kick his heels on the R. Clyde (which is only a great empty steel carcass ^{half} full of bilge - with one comfortable little ship officers saloon panelled in brown oak which the Turks haven't yet managed to hit. (The Turks now range on the bows of the Clyde in order to hit the piers & boats & the Clyde had two big holes put thro her bows 2 days ago).

James seemed very much impressed by the difference between the pictures of war in the newspapers - & the reality - & was rather inclined to attribute his joining the army to the ^{showing} newspaper accounts. "I don't think I'd ever join again if there were another war," he said - & although I told

him I didn't think anyone
 wd feel satisfied if he had not
 joined I didn't seem to convince
 him at all (to judge by / tone of
 his voice).

I dined by myself - & for
 Xmas fare had a mince pie which
 our batmen & the artists gave me
 - they had had it cooked by the
 11th field Bakery.

Dec. 26th (Sunday)

Working all day at the
 Anzac magazine - a great deal of
 which really is excellent. On

~~the~~ arriving home last night
 found a note from Beethers enclosing
 a wire from 1 Censor: It regretted that
 Maj. Delme Radcliffe & conscripts
 had not been informed that no
 details whatever ^{could be dispatched} from wh a hint
 as to methods by wh 1 troops

had to be withdrawn from Angas or
Suola; ^{all} our messages had to be
carefully re-read & seriously
curtailed.

This was like an ^{unexploded} shrapnel shell
in 1 pit o 1 stomach. The despatch on
wh I had poured out more care
than on anything I have written here
— the only chance one has had of
even attempting to rival Bartlett's
work (which no man even censured
in this degree). However the authorities
are quite right. They know what
they mean to do about Helles &
I don't. The only thing I could wish
is that they could have told us this
before we wrote & not after. We
had a long conference w Aspinall
(Ch. of Staff, Dardanelles Army) &
the Press Officer before we wrote at
which I lived within wh we were

allowed to write were carefully laid down - all to appear as if done - & I had kept strictly within this & Radcliffe had scarcely had to alter a word of my article. If we had known that it was to be written on ~~different~~ ^{lines} within still narrower lines we wd have written it so.

As it was of course the best article of the campaign goes to wall. However the important thing is the other place - & one can't expect authorities to ~~do this~~ have everything cut & dried for us on the instant & never to change their minds at any moment. If ^{Col} Lyrell had been a little quicker he wd have saved us a lot of trouble - that's all. And as he considers press censorship his

least important function I think ~~his ideas probably put us~~ to a ~~to~~ our needless trouble we probably largely due to his ideas - that's about the sum of it. Very little harm done, anyway - that, such as it is, only to us and none at all to the Empire.

Dec. 27. Mond. Decided to leave for Madras tomorrow.
 -> Went off at last moment to try & get some details of work of the flying corps. Commandr. Samson was here before we landed - I remember he made some of earliest reconnaissances - so I went off to see him. He lives abt 4 miles or more away near the heads of Kephalo Harbour. ^{When} I went in to see him he was lying down reading ~~after~~ before dinner -

It struck me that there was one body of men to whom I had not given (or at least, on the information I possessed, give) credit for work at Anzac, but who ~~and~~ really ought to be mentioned in my history as responsible for so much daring reconnaissance - & that was the flying corps. So I

& I must say I never had a cooler - indeed ruder - reception from any man. I told him who I was & that I should like to have ^{a yarn} if he could let me have it. He might at least have given me a polite no - but he didn't trouble to get up. "I'm afraid I can't be of any use to you," he said curtly. I told him it was not for newspapers or something to that effect - he simply said: "you go to Head Quarters, Royal Naval Air Service - they'll talk like Hell - they'll tell you all about it." He is a quaint little ~~old~~ chap with a little Jewish nose like an owl's beak & two bright eyes & a short thin beard - He is a splendid flier & has done great things & I

rather high ~~pale~~ cheekbones,
 pale.

know 1 best officers are often 1
~~most~~ ^{most} unbending to 1 Press - &
 I dare say the audacity. Probably he
 has had pushing pressmen after
 his stoves a score of times & has
 learnt to suspect 1 journalist.
 Still, as far as I'm concerned,
 though I cordially admire him
 I wasn't going to be talked to &
 treated like this so I said a short
 goodbye & went.

After wandering for an hour
 tumbling about & nearly killing
 myself in 1 dark over 1
 sandhills & tangled scrub &
 rush beds of 1 Kephala lathyrus - &
 tearing my trousers - I reached
 the other air-camp & there
 found Maj. Buzzard who,
 once he had found out I was
 not a spy (which he clearly



Oruba. aragon.
 Dec 31. Waikiki
 Britannic
 going to fog. quick boats. abt every 1/2 minute.
 Subm. in Doris C
 White still on Cornwallis on Imbros.
 Papers on count. 2 or 3 per

Suspected - ~~had~~ as follows:
 & I suppose quite justifiably - until
 I showed him a letter Gen. Birdwood had
 given me in case I take the Anzac
 Magazine to England - told me as
 follows: -

There are 2 wings of the RNAS
 out here. At first there was only
 one, under Sampson, & all the
 aeroplanes had their H.O. in
 Tenedos. In Feb they came
~~a second~~ to Imbros & left
 Tenedos to the French. I believe
 it was the 3rd wing who were
 first & the 2nd followed. There are
 properly abt 50 aeroplanes in a wing
 but in this case there were not so
 many - I believe now they are trying
 to bring the number up to 70 or so
 out here - now that ~~the~~ German
 are so active.

The German aeroplanes are
 giving our men a bad time just
 now. The difficulty when an enemy

If you do get above him the
Turk can drop quickly down
to his landing place at Chanak,
whereas we cannot land ~~now~~
at Anzac. The wonder to my
mind is that they ever let us use
the landing place at Helles.

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plane cross along is first to
get above him + then to shoot him.
Our Vickers guns jam in cold weather
at the height they have to fly at, whereas
they seem to arm their men w Mauser
pistols. The T. anti-aircraft guns
have been shooting very well of
late - I asked our men if they
ever came uncomfortably close &
they said: "Oh yes, very much so indeed".
Some of these guns are at Anzac -
probably 4; some at Egelmer Bay;
& some at Helles. After Anzac
was abandoned our men went
over there ^{flying} low down I fancy,
thinking that 1 Turkish gun wd have
be withdrawn; but they found it
was still there. [The Turks have been
on 1 beach in parties collecting
stores]. Turks are now bombing
& shelling Helles a great deal;
& they sent an aeroplane to ~~Helles~~
Mudros on some day which
dropped 6 bombs close to the
Anzac.

The system as far as it affects Anzac was
that two ~~flights~~^{planes} were always kept
~~ready~~ available for Anzac every
day, at the call of the Anzac Corps
(which meant the B.G.R.A.)
~~When~~ It was difficult to deal w Turkish
aeroplane attacks - but 1 system
Sampson instituted for this was th
immediately he heard of bombs
dropped in Imbros at Ithaca he
went straight away at once &
dropped them on 1 Turkish
aerodrome at Chanak.

We are losing a fair number
of men & machines - they go out
& no one knows what happens
to them - only th they do not
come back. The Turks haven't
so far claimed them; so it is
supposed th they have engine
troubles over sea & as they
cannot reach land or find a ~~safe~~
ship to alight near, they are
drowned. Two planes have
so disappeared quite lately.

another came down into the sea but fortunately close to the gaffton wh picked 1 plane & 1 man up. The air cushions inside the lining of the planes keep them afloat for a little. The sea planes can some of them fly very fast but they cannot go to any height - they have gone to Salonica & Sampson. This lot are returning to England on Thursday.

One airman who had been over there of late told me that he did not think Fryberg of NZ, Now a Colonel. Helles could only Richardson - now a brigadier get away. I don't think this is the general opinion.

Abt 1 most remarkable thing done so far in the air was in one of the flights in the direction of Chonak Kawak bridge or Uzun Keupren. A machine gave out, & the pilot had to land in a marsh. Before doing so he dropped 2 bombs on the nearest railway station but the

set fire to 1 machine

3rd bomb apparently wd not drop & he had to alight with it. He came down in 1 marsh, & started off towards 1 sea in 1 hope of getting away somehow; but as he did so he noticed th a brother pilot had seen him & was coming down to help him. ^{They fugitive & thought him 01} ~~As he had an~~ unexploded bomb in his burning aeroplane. He at once turned back, crept to within 30 yards of plane, & there lay down on his stomach & began firing w his revolver at the bomb to explode it. He finally blew 1 bomb up just as the other man was getting near him - much to 1 others astonishment. The second machine, I believe, for a moment wheeled away but finally settled. The pilot of 1 wrecked machine scrambled aboard; & they were up & out of reach before 1 Turks cd get to 1 spot - a very wonderful feat.

I believe th No I wing of R.N.A.S is in Flanders - but most of naval wings are in England.

Anzac, they say, is a difficult place to observe as it is so hilly & hills all show flat to an aeroplane. But (big Turkish camps ^(eg. behind Gun Ridge) against Anzac) make no attempt at concealment as they have their tents & bivouacs absolutely open to view. It is a bit hard sometimes to distinguish Turkish hospitals from above & our aviators have to be very careful not to bomb them.

~~There~~ Nevinson & Ward Price having gone to Salonica left their servants - two good fellows (but simply children) from 'Munster Fusiliers' - w/ officers' mess at the base here. Turner came in this morning w/ glowing details of their Xmas dinner. "The officers sent us out plenty of beer, Sir, yes Sir, & wine, Sir, & they asked us to be sure we had enough, Sir" - "and I ~~put out~~ ^{got hold} of a bottle of brandy" - put in Maloney - "... and I went out for a walk, Sir, after lunch - yes Sir," babbled Turner, "and I fell over a rock and

lay there till six o'clock and two men came along & helped me back and the Serjt. Major helped put me to bed, Sir - Or it may have been the Serjt. Major helped him back - I forget. Anyway he told it bubbling over with giggles & seemed awfully proud of himself. I suspect he rather acted to himself a good deal more drunk than he was - he seemed to remember too much about it.

Dec. 28. ^{our Hotel} ~~Hotel~~ Jerry didn't do. All day on Anzac Magazine - Saw Butler who gave me a letter from Birdwood to the King's secretary asking for a message from H.M. to preface the magazine. Lt. Tuck (of photoprophin branch ~~dept~~), who is a connection of Raphael Tuck, gave me some fine photos. Dined w/ Gen. Birdwood. He has wired to Kitchener asking if he can be connected again w/ 1 Anzac troops. There is

nothing for him to do at Imbros.

Dec. 29th Sailed this morning at 7 o'clock
by trawler (1000 or something) for Madros,
with my small army - Barker, Colles,
& Crozier, artists; Bazley who has
acted a clerk & has typewritten the
whole screed; & Griffin, Ross's
batman - all good chaps tho'
Crozier is the softest & most
sensitive of the three.

~~The~~ Old Lawrence handed me
out last night just before I went to
bed ~~a~~ five ^{or six} stanzas about our
graves in Sallipoli - well thought
out & exquisite (as one wd expect
from old chap) in sentiment.

Almost last thing was
that that good fellow Hatterick (Chernick's
batman) arrived from Alex with £12
worth of stores for me - films, developing
powders, waterproof, gum boots.
The latter I am leaving to Lawrence.

At about 5 we arrived in Madras harbour in the midst of a most exquisite sunset. We reported to Europa - sent her mails on board with a message to say we had some cases for her. For two hours (11.0) we had mails & troops for (Arason) she kept us knocking around, waiting for the cases to be taken off. Every half hour or so a voice would come from Europa: "Trasher!" "Aye-aye Sir!" - "What sort of cases are they?" Our skipper was a bit deaf but eventually we would shout back that they were "large cases". Then an interminable pause - I knew what was happening well enough - The information was going along its slow course to the brain of the ship & would presently come ~~back~~ ponderously back along the same course. It did. 25 minutes - then "Trasher! Are they empty cases?" or something equally inquisitive. After 2 hrs our skipper (who, I must say, tho' restless was exceedingly diffident abt asking the

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I didn't see why I shd be spoken to in the way so I presented my letter from Gen. Birdwood abruptly & let it stand at that. He ~~didn't~~ had his back up at once but everyone else I saw on the ship was exceedingly nice - Maj. Dehne Radcliffe, Col. Armstrong, Capt Erskine Murray - & before I went to bed (in a sumptuous bed after a sumptuous dinner & looking forward to a superlatively sumptuous bath) I had had a quick passage to England fixed up for me by the steamer Wahine (a USS Co of NZ boat if you please) with a request from a branch of H.O.C. to pass me on as quickly as it could be done!

[By the bye what I thought was the Arumba in Imbros was our old Pacific friend the Oruba - I thought I recognized those two lines of upperwks).

P.T.O. ⁴⁵

authorities anything but wd ~~edge~~ his boat off & pretend to go, in hopes of getting a ~~best~~ decision from Europa to attend to his case,) went close in & asked: "May I go to Arragon & transfer troops & mails?" The immediate answer was "Yes!"

So he did. ~~It seems~~ He was a fine friendly ^{patriotic} Chap - but I really think half the trouble of these shippers is that they are afraid to stand up to a big ship & tell her what is the matter with them.

We went onto Arragon - climbed up a rope ladder onto a vastly towering deck (wh was simply lumbered 16ft deep in mail bags) with awe & hesitation. I found my way to the ships adjutant & found a supercilious boy of 22 - looking like a junior clerk in a P & O office (wh he probably is) - sitting there. I told him who I was & where I wanted to go & sd I had 5 men attached to me. He told me what I wd do - sleep on Arragon & report to as there was no boat off & report to Anzac ("You'll see Gen. Godley" next day. I sd "But what abt 1 men": "Never mind 1 men" he sd curtly.

May 19.

Thompson & I flying RNAS on
May 18 flying over Anzac abt noon
looking for a gun in 1 Dardanelles (no-
trying to spot the Canopus or some
ship out 1 Barbarossa which was
firing at Anzac) ^{but Canopus just could not reach her.} Saw two valleys
in front of Anzac position simply
full of troops. He flew for
2 hrs over 1 position trying
to get his observer to put
guns out from but they
could not make him realise 1 importance.
Later when they descended at Imbros
he himself reported it to 1 general
concerned at G.H.Q. & reported so
strongly that they sent up a second
aeroplane. This next up & reports
v. strongly. When it came down
(or before) ^{Anzac} & reported that hostile
aeroplane had been flying over
Anzac for 2 hrs - our men

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have been firing at it.
The Genl sent back "The aeroplane
reports that your men failed
to hit it." It was flying at
abt 3000 feet, too.

Davis V.C.
Persia