

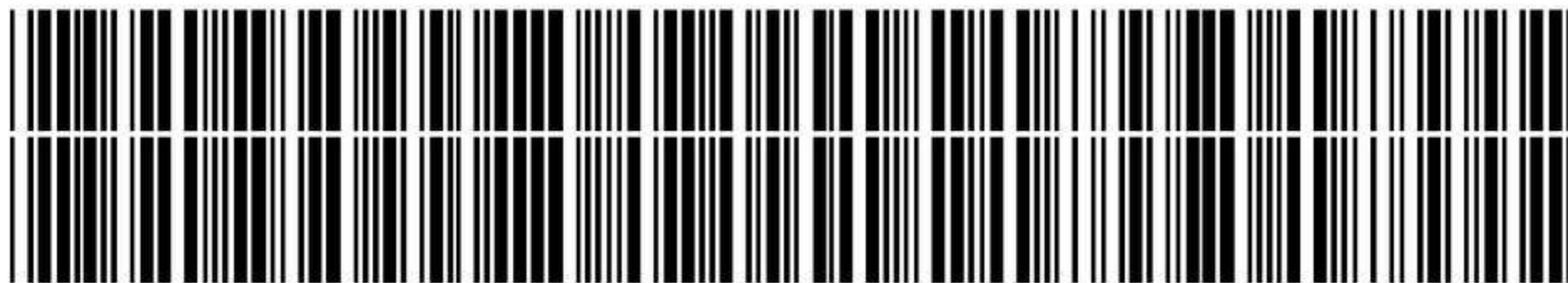
AWM38
Official History,
1914-18 War: Records of C E W Bean,
Official Historian.

Diaries and Notebooks

Item number: 3DRL606/136/1

Title: Notebook, 1916

Includes references to the 22nd Battalion, 6th Field Ambulance, the Somme winter and Mouquet Farm.



AWM38-3DRL606/136/1

DIARY NO. 136

Wageningen

AM 38

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 (in 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.

3DRL 606 ITEM 136 [1]

OPEN

C. E. W. BEAN.

221
Pogues
Mouquet

16

1.

22/3
Pozieres
Moquet

22nd Bn.

July 29/30.

(1st attack on O.G. lines)

C & D Coys in front trench
(orchard)

Had gone in night of 26/27,
abt 9pm. (after long delay
from dusk in Sausage gully)
Men in just before dawn.
Came up past gib -
turned right, & reached
orchard. There was a
casual barrage near
Gibraltar & there were
a number of dead men
there - one wd man was
lying there his pack burning

with phosphorus - he
burned to death (the
men had come from
Brickfields & were dead
before they got in.

C. Coy got in by daylight
& D Coy att by daylight.
The front was very crowded
& men were standing
thick in common trench
below two ~~by~~ roads.

Men dug very well during
morning & had it fairly
connected by cuts.

Germans started
barrage at 9 a.m.
& kept it up till 12 - &
brought the barrage

gradually in, abt
 3pm. ~~grad~~ getting
 out the 2⁶ x In
 K trench the bn lost
 heavily, 2/Lt Hart (master
 of Trinity College, Kew)
 W.S.K., 2/Lt B.S. Tapner
 (d.d.w.) & 3 others wd.
 - every officer there
 wd work.

In the 4 days the
 casualties, in hanging
 on, amt. to abt 15 officers
 & abt 300 or.

On night of 29/30
 C & D were in front
 trench. 24 Bn went
 into ~~close support~~ trenches
 in rear of 23rd &

The Brigadier sent up a little word wh we read out to all the Bns. (I believe, certainly to 22 Bn) before going in. He said:

"I has bn sd th when you go out 25 per cent if you will be killed. if you go forward; you will be killed if you go back - killed if you go back - It is better to be killed going forward!"
(I must try to get the exact words)

A Coy 22 Bn came up from K 2. On the whole the casualties were not heavy th night. The attack was at 11 pm. D Coy was ordered to support rt flank of 23rd Bn.

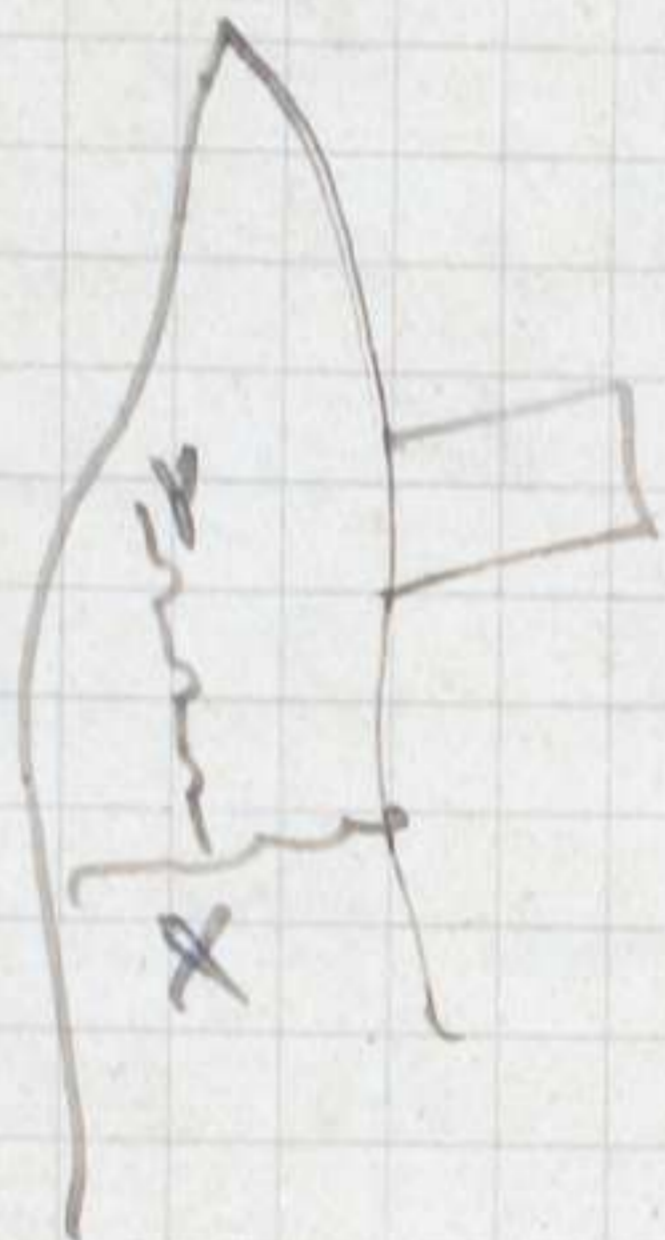
[Word had come thro from 26 Bn to Col. Ferguson had given order to retire. Maj. Maberley Smith refused to retire - & stopped the retirement, with Lt Col P Pearce. They referred to Col. Fether's & D Coy was sent up

16

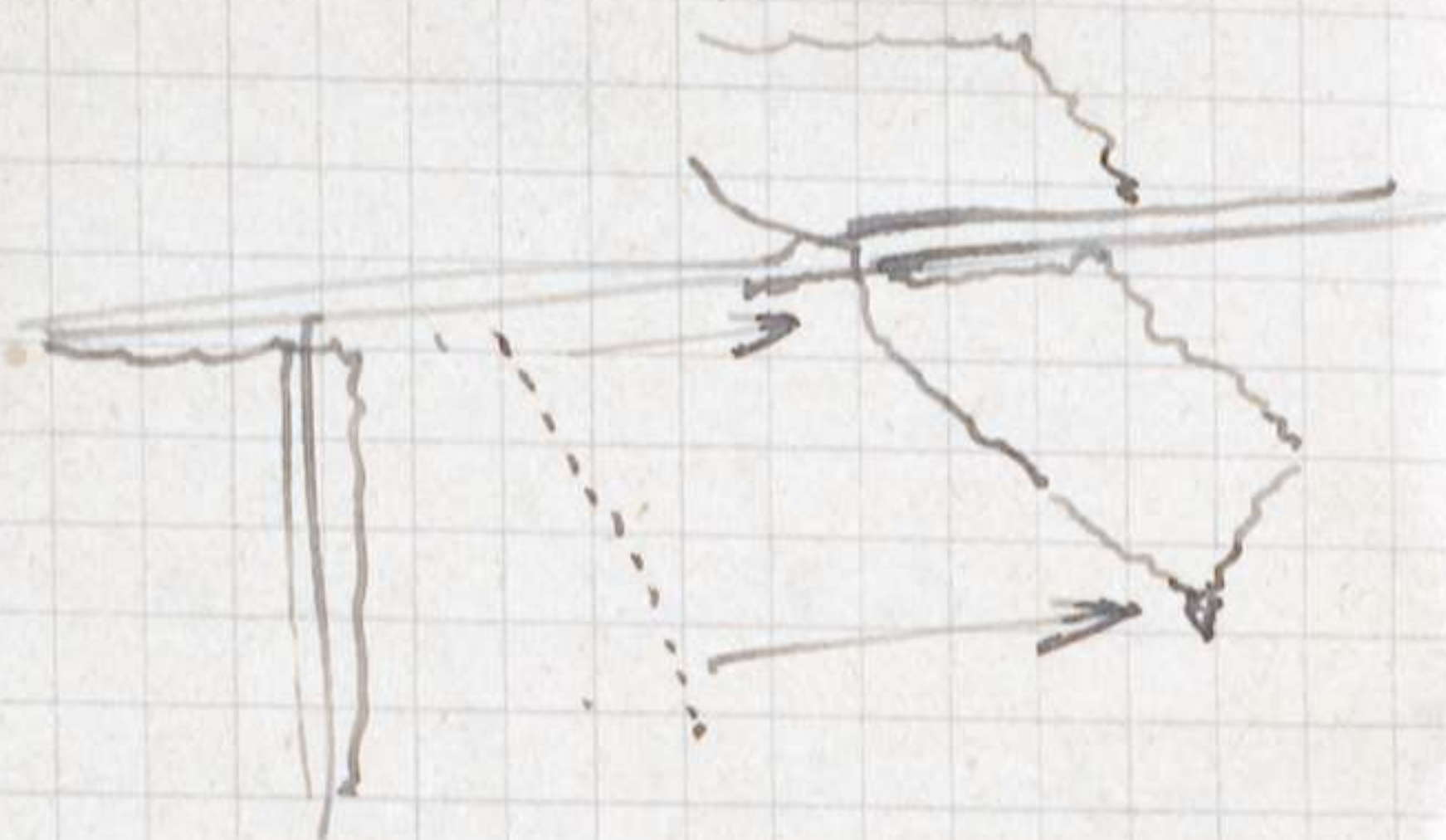
to help dig extension
along rd between 6 & 7
Bdes. When it was
found 7 Bde had come
back they were put
to dig along the road
from Pozieres (Brinds
Rd). There was a
dense fog and casualties
were v. slight.

A Coy was withdrawn
before light, & D came
back to the Orchard.
That night 21 Bn. relieved
them - & 22nd Bn was
sent to Sansoye Gully.
There was a false report
th. the Germans were in
in the 5th Bde line &

17



support we sent up
but it proved false.
There was the old
barrage on road 7 K 2
& between front line &
Sibaltas. Just before
they were going out the
order was recd. to
dig an assembly 2
somewhere abt 1x V.
They went by daylight
but under dense fog
& so escaped heavy casualties.
(The casualties mentioned
above were up to
this time).



On night of 4/5 Aug. the Bn came in again & went into assembly 27 (running thro' outpost at point 23). The attack was practised as marked by the arrows. The flank was to be formed by 22 Bn slipping back & 24 Bn digging up to them.

Zero time was 9.15. The 7th Bde wrongly used mask valley & crossed line of 6th Bde who went up from Sanson Sub

16 The Crossing point was where the trench held by British crossed K 2^x + Crossing was managed by Concertina process. There was a heavy barrage on K 2^x. The losses there were very heavy — men went down and others walking over them — a very terrible mix up.

At Zero time word came back that only 70 men were up in the jumping off 2^x. Most of remainder — when our barrage started were in column 2^y + K 2^y

If any Australian deserves a statue at Pozieres it is Murdoch Nick Mackay.

13 Mackay was a stubborn opinionated young Scottish Australian Scot. He frequently had warm arguments with his brigadier (Gellibrand) abt court martials & disciplinary points of law - & Smith his Colonel told me it sometimes he wondered if he wd not have to get rid of him. But he kept him on as he knew he was a man of character - if he sd he wd do a thing he wd do it.

Murdoch Nick Mackay

Getting to me that he was hesitating whether to give him his majority - but for exactly 1 hour some days, just before this battle he gave it to him - a week before. I have never seen so frank a "pub" sell.

(Son of Mack of Bendigo advertising a Young Melb. lawyer)

Matthews, 2/11 Comd,

was up there but it was Mackay who came to this decision - practically ~~took~~ it out of Matthews hands & made the attack.

Col. Smith tells me that Matthews wd go up there specially to start them - & failed. He decided not to start them. Mackay took it out of his hands.

C & A Coy (3rd & 4th waves) did not leave the J.O. 2 till 9.45.

At 9.15 Maj. J. Mackay was in J.O. 2 & it devolved on him to say whether the attack shd take place at all. He jumped out in front & sd "Come on boys." (They were about 20 or 25 minutes late then - he had had a terrible time in K. 2 of running up & down collecting his men). He took charge of what

at the time of ~~start~~ barrage I don't know if any were there at all. Mackay is responsible for getting them together.

(I must find out how the Mash Valley route was taken by 7 Bde. Was it an omission by 2 Divn; or an order by Gen. Patton; or a breach of orders by 15 or 26 Pbn. C.O.?)

Col. Smith tells me the Roddas time is wrong. The signal light to the trench had been taken went up & was seen from Pbn 1st Co. at 9.40. This attack prevented m.g. on left from defeating us.

16 bits of D & B Coys. were there (Capt Elmiger had B Coy). He led them straight out, himself, to within 15 yds of O.F. 1 when he was shot thro the heart by ^{German} m.g. which was in about 34 A 4.1. in a shell hole in front of O.F. 1 - this enabled the advance.

The men got in straight away - Mackay had Lt. Pritchard (who seems to have been shot beside him) - Lt Thomas & Capt. Elmiger were both there & Lt Scanton - Lt Goff who was killed in B.

El. was abt 5 yds
outside assembly
of them. El. was
probly hit very soon
after this

16 When they got to O.G. 1
Thomas & Eluniger ^{was} were
the only two offrs. there.

The 2nd & 4th waves
(abt 50 or 60 men) went
over together abt 9.45
from Cemetery. They were
held up abt 4 mins
in Assembly 2, to
reorganise. The 1st
wave had only gone off
a few minutes. Capt
Eluniger was on the parapet
calling out to them to
come on. The M.G.
fire from left flank
was very heavy.

16 When the 3rd & 4th waves 19
went out the w.f. fire
was heavy & bullets
cd be heard overhead.

The 1st & 2nd waves
cd be seen ahead -
there was bombing in
O.G. 1.

The 3rd & 4th
waves hopped over the
parapet - the 1st &
2nd waves shouting
th they were all right
tho' there was still fighting
in 2 - ^{3rd & 4th waves} went over
to O.G. 2.

16

20

O.S. 1 was a good 2^y
 with deep dugouts.
 O.S. 2 was a support
 2^y with no dugouts
 & it was hard to
 say what was 2^y
 & what wasn't. The
 barbed wire in
 front was the indication
 they went by - men
 were sent ahead &
 both ways. A number
 of dead Germans were
 met - but what live
 ones were there
 were despatched very
 quickly.

16 The opposite came from
 the corner of on
 left (along road) from
 O.f. 1 to O.f. 2. There
 was some bombing there
 & bayonetting - there
 were Germans who
 didn't get away, &
 they put up a fight.
 There were 3 ^{Germans} machine
 guns in O.f. 1 but
 none in O.f. 2. (one
 had ~~the~~ belt with the
 bullets reversed -
 Col. Smith saw this).

Flares were coming
 up from left flank &

16 from in front --
observers were put
up both ways as
the position was so
confused.

There were only
4 shovels in the two
coys in O.F. 2.

They were in touch
with The Belle on
right flank. There
had been a Captain of
26 Bn there. ~~At the~~

Later in day during
morning a request
came up from an
N.C.O. or ~~to~~ W.O.

16

23

of 7 Bde for an
 Officer to go down there
 as the men thought
 they were being
 surrounded. (Some
 S. Prisoners coming
 in on ret. gave them
 this impression).

During night shelling
 was not heavy from
 Germans but from
 some shelling from
 behind - at least
 one officer was hit that
 way - It might
 have been Theepval
 abt 30 casualties
 from this. The rest of

23
 22
 21
 20
 19
 18
 17
 16
 15
 14
 13
 12
 11
 10
 9
 8
 7
 6
 5
 4
 3
 2
 1

16

3rd & 4th waves
had bn coming across
as they arrived at
J. O. 27 x Abt 120
men were in Of 2.

Capt. Carnous (A Coy)
& Lt. Lanyon (C. Coy)

were there, ^{2/Lt} Scammell, ^{2/Lt AW} Yates,
^{2/Lt} Kelleway, ^{2/Lt} Leadon,

Lt. E. B. McKay (dies afterwards)
& Lt Rodda. (The ~~three~~

four 2/Lts had recd their
Stars the day).

Within an hour -
Yates had bn badly
hit - Kelleway &

16

Scammell both (25)

Just on dawn the
Germans launched a
attack. There had been
only the intermittent
shelling - A line was
seen coming up the
hill in extended order -
at 150 on this sector
from valley into which this
I looked.

There were no
firesteps & so most
of our men hopped
over parapet & started
shooting with L. G. & rifles.
But Germans had put

16 snipers into shell holes 26
abt 40 yds in front of
our T. All our eyes
were on the attacking
wave in the full
When men began to be
killed it was not known
where these snipers
were. On the left
portion of the front the
Germans bombed the
trench from shell holes
E of it. They scattered
some of the men digging
there. Plt Q. J. O'Neil
organised the men in
the corner & got them
bombing onto these Germans

16 of Feb the D.C.M. 27

The Germans did not come from the left flank at this time. While Germans were coming up the Sniper ~~hit Capt~~ hit Pt. E. Vienna (of Gelong - a well known character & football supporter) & killed him. Capt H.F. Cunnow sd: I'll get the chap who did that - & was drawing his revolver on him when he was hit thro the head. The man took his death very ~~hard~~ hard - a very fine popular officer.

The rifle & inf. fire
broke this attack up
200 yds away (in
the dim light). They
rushed back (it was
a clear morning, not
misty) & evidently
someone over the
edge of the valley
turned them back.
They came on again
a short distance &
then clearly got
into shell holes.

A few kept crawling
abt in front - our
men were picking

them off. A few
(one man helping
another, wounded)
drifted in to the
7th Bde - but
none in to 22nd
Br front.

After this attack
had cleared, going
along the line Rodda
found Yeaden missing,
Carnow k, McKay
hit w bomb over left
eye. He didn't want to
go away, but he
had it dressed at

Alpha this
 attack there were
 abt 50 effectives
 in Coy. 2 (of 22 Bn)

16
 dressing stu, & died
 from it afterwards.
 Yates had bn carried
 back wd. to Coy. 1 into
 a dugout; Lanyon
 had bn buried by a
 shell & was out to
 it;

In Coy. 1 Thomas
 had been killed digging
 back towards 24 Bn.
 Patrols had bn sent
 out in front, but
 the barrage wd not
 let them go any distance.
 L.G. on left had bn

X 7 gun blown
out

¹⁶ blown out - & the 2nd gun
we sent for. A private
named ~~the~~ Lyall
was the only man left on
its crew - he came
with it to left flank
& was killed almost
at once. Germans
were getting onto the
trench ~~by~~ with their
shells now - occasionally
right in to it.

A gun & team from
O.F. 1 were sent up
to replace the one
on left. L.S. in
centre was also
blown up - 7 of crew

16

of 3, 2 were k & 1
w. by the one shell.

They were replaced by
ordinary riflemen (they
had some sort of
instruction) - gun was
usable.

By midday the
no. of effectives ~~was~~
was 2. ^{Hampson & Roddy} off in front
30 men in front
line.

At 4.30 ~~for~~
~~Spence Smith came up~~
Lt Hojarth came
to give Roddy & Hampson a spell -
up. The trench was
choked with ord -

As men were standing
round cooker in
Sausage fully after
coming out from first
4 days in Pozieres -
a big shell dropped onto
the cooker. Serjt Peart & M.
orderly room Serjt - a
splendid chap - was mortally
wounded while he was
getting parties for a casualty
return. One shell blew up cooker.

Through Ear drum &
out at back of neck
(he has since been back)
on duty.

16
Some crying to have an
end put to them.
What was possible
was done in way of
Morphia etc. It was
impossible to get wd.
away if they were
badly wd. walking
cases could help one
another.

After Hogarth had
been in an hour he
was ~~with~~ thro' the
head. Lt Skene Smith
took his place.

abt 6.30 two

platoons of 24 Bn
 came up & relieved.
 The commn 24 was little
 more than a series
 of shell holes - & full
 of dead & wd.
 The officer of 24th wanted
 to know where the
 depot for H.Q. was
 & we told H.Q. was there
 where he stood.

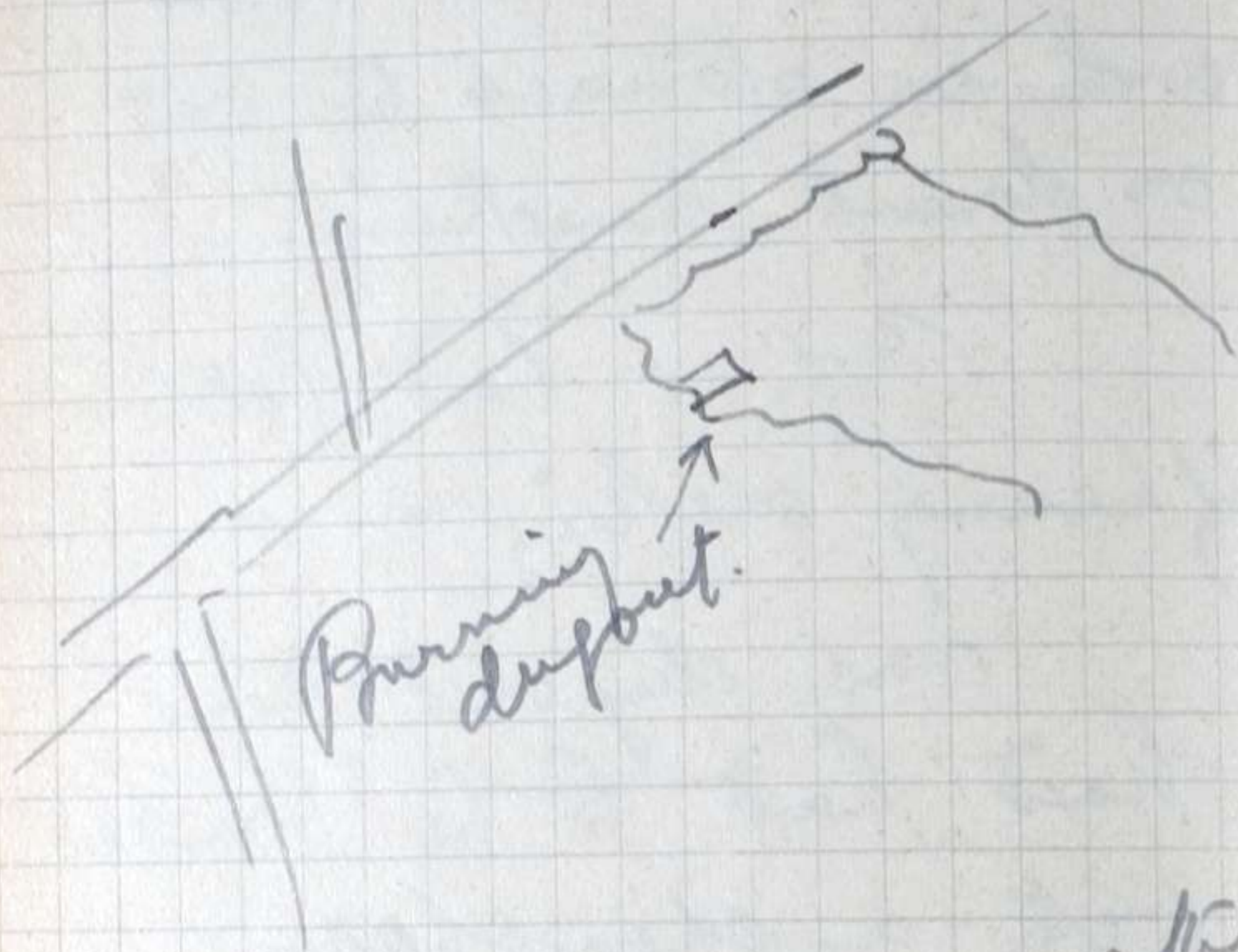
A German ~~man~~
 Red X man was in
 O.G. 1 in a depot &
 did fine work amongst
 Aust. & wd Germans.
 There was provisions &
 water in the depot &
 he did all he cd with

it. He finally marched
out w/ Bn. He did
not allow ~~us~~ men
w/ in stomach to eat
or drink anything.

B.G. 1 had got
fairly heavy shelling -

one dug out there
had had to be bombed
with a phosphorus
bomb & was still burning
when the 22 Bn left.

It was the landmark
all night and
all day long by
wh they knew where
B.G. 1 was - a guide
to messengers (runners)



Running
dugout.

took charge after
he heard that Mackay
& Ehriger were out
of it.

they could see the plane⁴⁰
of it on the smoke by
night & the white
smoke by day. ~~#~~
Men were withdrawn
from both sides of it
in the eye.

of officers in O.F. 1
Maj. Matthews (2inc)
was in charge (H.Q.
in dugout where Red X
man was in O.F. 1)
He reported to Col. Smith
at Bn H.Q. in Cemetery.
Lt Alderson in O.F. 1
was wd & came out
during day.
The officers who came

40A

Lt Woolf. W.S.G. was hit
going over from assembly
of 800. (in mid wave).

Handyside

2/Lt Kenneth
Comm Aaf4 wd. going over
with Mackay
d. of w.

2/Lt Handyside
Comm Aaf4. w going over
w 3rd
waves.

Of 11 reports promoted
on Aug 4, 5 were k.
4 were w.
& 2 surviving
unw.

2/Lt Condon
1st wave or 2nd
reports missing
on going over
never found.

140.
~~200~~ reports were rec'd in Sausage
Sully before Aug 4 & some were in Rhytly

16

out on evg of Aug 5
were

2/Lt Blanchard R.

2/Lt King H.T.

} just rec'd
comm
on Aug
4.

Maj. Matthews L.W.

Lt. A. Skene Smith

Lt Lanyon H.T. (now Cpi)

Lt H.C. Rodda

(Mackay took charge of the
Show & made the
decision to go over)

i.e. 6000 rapt to men.

Of 24 officers who took
part only 8 came out.
incl. Bn H.Q.

within a week. 60 reports were rec'd.
later.

16

1635

42

L/Cpl ND Weston ("Omeo")
 a youngster of abt 20.
 During the attack when
 Germans were sniping
 one lot of us in a
 shell hole abt 40 yds
 off. 2nd Cdut reach them
 w bombs. They shouted
 out for Omeo - he
 came along & had a
 look at the position &
 decided he cdnt reach
 them by standing in
 2y. He hopped up
 on Parados, with
 a bomb in hand,

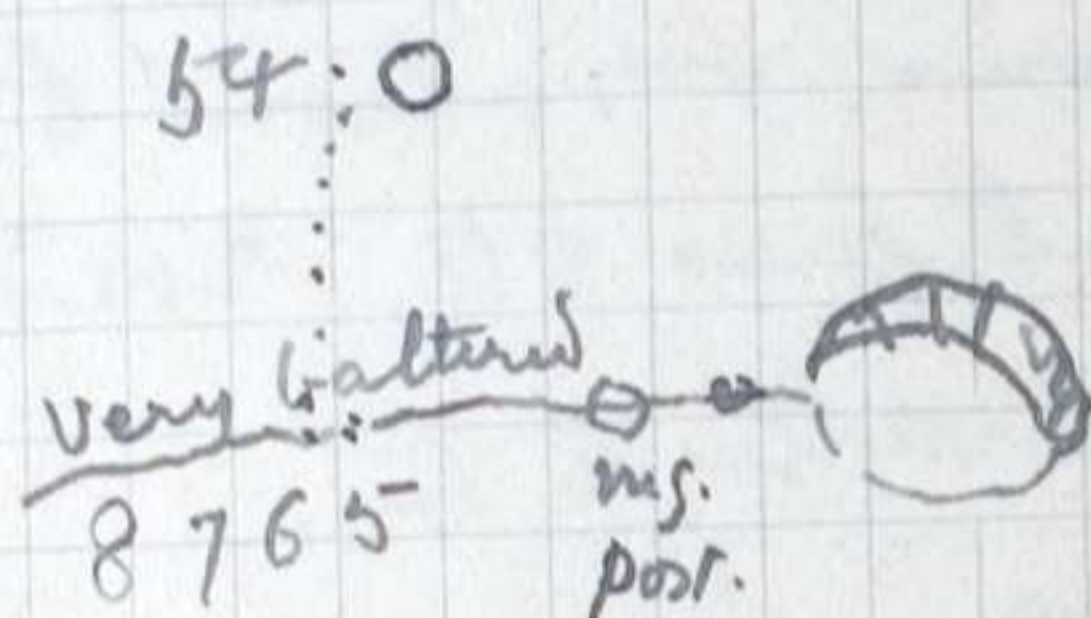
Shot thro head
 (eye ^{was} actually
 flying out)

was leaning back to
 throw when a sniper
 got him & knocked his
 eye out. He fell forward
 into a group of
 1/2 dozen men; the
 pin was out of bomb.
 He called out to
 O'Neill. "For God's sake
 take this bomb group
 the pin is out" &
 O'Neill took the bomb
 & threw it over the
 parapet. He fainted
 at once. He got
 D.C.M. & St George's
 X of Russia for this
 — & has recovered

The Bu was abt 350 strong, & abt 15 Apr. Most of Bu was in Chalk Pitt & rest in Sausage Jolly.

They were on carrying munitions & rations to the line, fatigues etc. roadmaking up Mash valley to E.

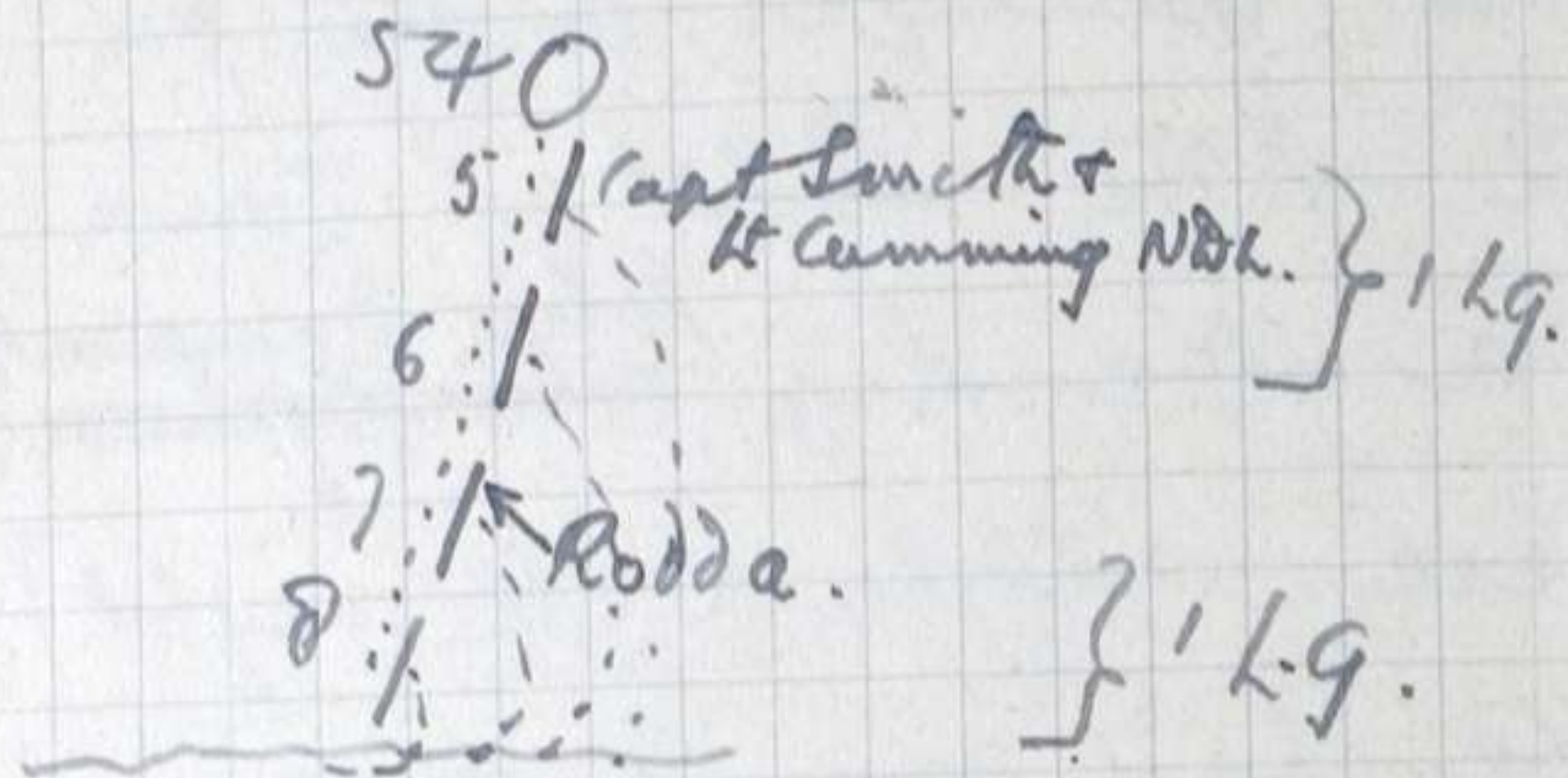
On 24th were notified to 3 Apr & 100 men from Bu (taken from B Coy) were to be att'd. to 21 Bu & assist in attacks on M. Farm. They were to be in position on left of Quarry by midnight 24th.



16 48
 Capt H. Smith (orig. 21 Bn)
 was in charge of B. Coy.
 [His Brother of 21 Bn R.G.S.,
 a younger brother, a
 Plt of the 21st — son
 of a Bendigo ^{Police Inspector} ~~clerk~~ —
 were all k. th night].
 He had gone up previous
 night & reconnoitered
 position.

The Coy had to go
 to left of 22 Bn into
v. shattered & held
 by couple of posts of
 21 Bn & m.g.

They went in as
 platoons as numbered,



16 having lost abt 6⁵⁰
 men going down slope
 extension of K 2 to
 Quarry. In position
 by 12 pm.

They were to link
 up with (54) not
 by entrenching but by
 a series of shell hole
 posts.

Attack was at 4.45 am
 25th Aug.

5 mins before
 zero they hopped out
 in front. Their
 position will be as
 marked opposite.

As soon as barrage

10 51
started they led out in
Indian file & dropped
men in shell holes as
they went. It was just
coming light.

21 Bn. went out at
same time.

(54) we very strongly
manned. Capt Smith
got practically on to it &
we shot thro the head
a few yds from it.
Our men withdrew a
little into shell holes
& started bombing.
Germans did same
with us. A private

16

(a runner) Pte. Fenn of B. Coy. 52
 went right to the bomb post,
 took Capt Smith under
 armpits & pulled him
 into a shell hole -
 Smith was dead
 but pte. did not know
 this & they were
 able to get his
 belongings.

A runner came to
 Rodda & reported Smith
 killed. Smith came to
 R. ^{sent} reports to Col. Forbes
 that they were in
 position, gave map refce.
 & drew a sketch.

Got a reply:

"All O.K. Hang on where you are unless you get further instrns. Our boys have done splendidly."

Cumming got past 54 & was sniped in the head twice.

The last Bo saw of him - 2 slightly wd

21 men sd they wd try & get him back to Quarry. He was in S for 2 days - & was taken by a German working

ply behind Mougnet 7.
One L.G. was able to
do a bit of sniping
whenever movement
was seen.

33 were lost out
of B. Coy.

Shelling was most
on skyline 27 &
on ground near Quarry.

They were relieved
the night by 4th Divn
at abt 1 am. 4th Bde
brought no m. gs. (14 Bn)
Rooda had to do trip
back to Quarry 4
times - & 14 Bn m. gs. was

16 brought back with him
A Coy had to be in Toms ⁵⁵
Cut at 2 am.

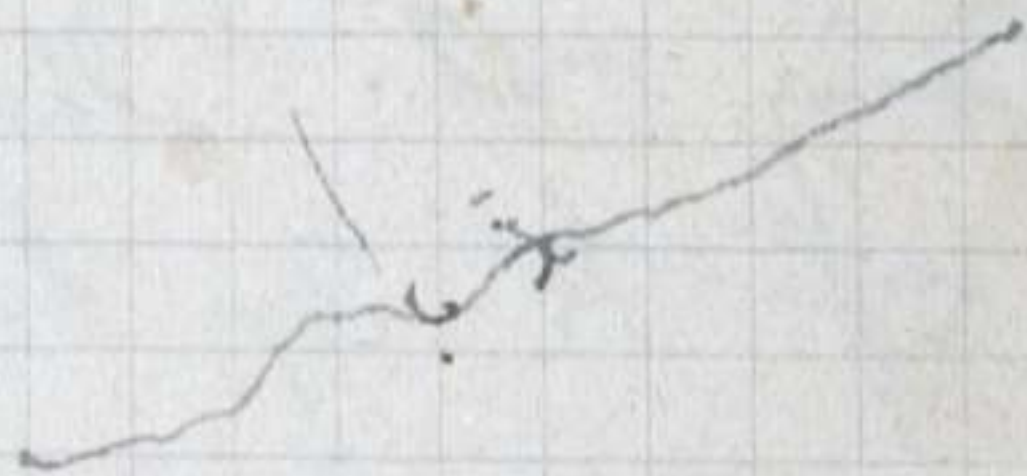
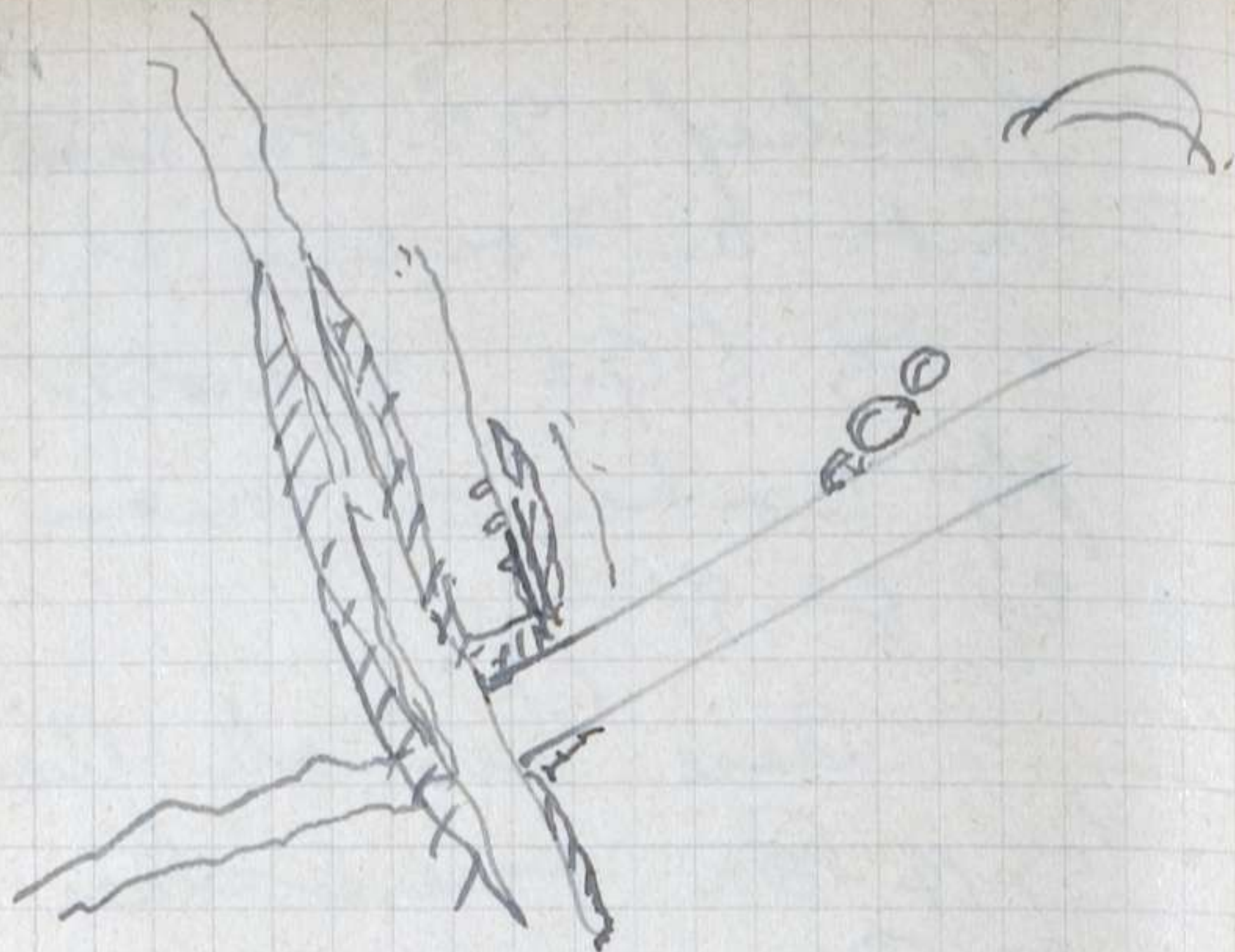
At 6.30 or 7 am they
moved from Toms Cut to
Quarry, & another
Coy was sent from
Balk Pit to 1st Ave.
They stayed there till
early evg of 26 Aug ²⁴
when they moved up
to Quarry (C. under
Capt Lanyon).

22nd by evg of Aug 26
were holding ~~left~~ line
previously held by
21 Bn - During night

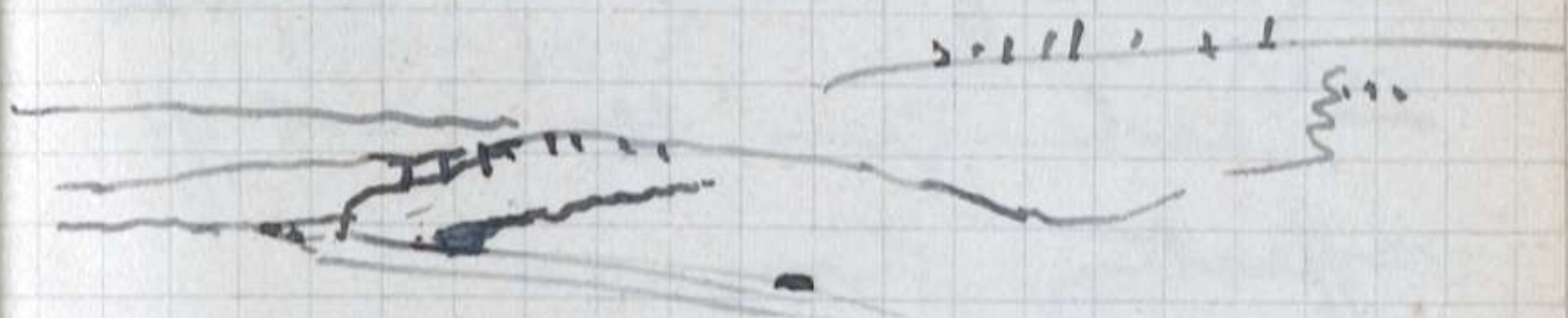
16 of relief 22 Bn sent
out a covering plty
& 2 L.G.s to protect
plty working on Commun
ty to P 77.

These were all relieved
by 14 Bn & were clear
of Quarry by 3am.
on Aug 27. Lost no one
going out. The continuation
of K 2 had to r.
much improved that day
& afforded good protection.

At midday on Aug 26
it began to rain &
it was the first Expc.
they had of real mud.



From here they went to
 Sansay Gulch - short rest -
 Brickfields straight
 away & billets in
 Albert th. night.



Casualties in first
 two trips were 32 ofrs
 & 752 or. & 11 ofrs.
 K. or dofwr & over 200
 dead (52 in C Coy).

(All ofrs exc. ^{wd} ~~hand~~ ^{permy} ~~dis~~ ^{abled} ~~are~~ ^{black} ~~on~~ ^{bay} ~~back~~)

The genuine shell shocks
were a feature of Pozieres
— each gun that went off
affecting them.

16
- at Armentieres in
Bois Grenier salient
The 22nd Bn left
End of June after
we had been turning the Germans
up with raids - lost
60 men in 10 days.
(4 offrs wd, 1 K. & 600r.
casualties.)

During Pozieres both
times Durnford was
doing his job up on
the Chalk Pit. There
were British lying above
the Chalk Pit & Durnford
buried these with "Scottie
Lang."

59A

22 Bn. 3rd
36 decorations
in Pozieres.

8 M.C.

1 D.S.O.

27 M.M.

3 D.C.M. & 1 St George's Cross.

1 Serbian Silver Medal.

All these in
Pozieres

16

60

Flers. 6th F. Amb.

Wounded were lying
out by the Amb. The
shells seemed to ruin

The wounded round
just cleaning them each
time. One fell in

the Amb. a little
before.