

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

Diaries and Notebooks

Item number: 3DRL606/22/1

Title: Diary, December 1915

Refers to the evacuation, mules, Malcolm Ross, discussions with Sir Neville Howse VC and cricket.



AWM38-3DRL606/22/1

2 - Day 22'

22

Original

DIARY No. 22

AWM 38

3DRL 606 ITEM 22 [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

N. 1 46 24 Day 22'

Dec 16 - 18

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3. 2 - ~~annolis - 45~~
4. 1/2 - 6304 - 20
5. 1/2 - 23
6. 1/2 - 23
7. 1 - 45
8. 1/4 - 30
9. 1/2 - 25
10. 2 57

1. 2 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

216	3 1/2 - Russell H 4	Quinn	Can small 1/2 1/2
Turk 1	WE	4	34 before
1. 102 w 3	LI	2. 6	we.
H 1	L 9	acc 19	21.
T.	H 4	(Cast 8 6)	23.
1	H 3		32.
L 11 a	H 1 4 4	7	37.
			45 a r l
4	8		39.

5000 - L 11 7 4 10

Sturde 106 sphere - 10 1/2 1 1/2 x
 Pt. - 9 1/2 18 y. It has domed.
 Turk 2 - 4 1/2 1/2 x

Lent Caddy 5 1/2 toy
 Script & Graph

15 16 are odd ball tracks

16 - 46

40 40

O₁ O₂ M L
Lo 57 2, 2001 2

L 01' of S. Broadway.

4 on ^{old} Walkers Ridge

4 113 Knob by Russells c 50' x
~~1 ABC 731~~
2 ABC 25.

Bde HQ. 12.
.. sign c 16.
13 Bn 347
16 450 296

15 11 →
14 goes 0.5 → 12 → 19 → 17 →

170 1st Bde HQ. ⁴⁰⁰⁰ Herring 131
Sign. 1 off 3 → ~~10~~
13 Bn 5 70
16 Bn 4 87 (Margolin)

6 11 12 wings SW of Ashyl - all ↓ chalk
2-6 11 x
1 11 5 26 28 29 30 x

Turks L ↓ 200' x
Prisoners wd by patrol. started hunting.
Turk Rd goes thro Monash's left.
Last 170 detailed ← L 11 2 x

2

1st yr

N3 Ind
4 Aust.
2 LH Bdes



B

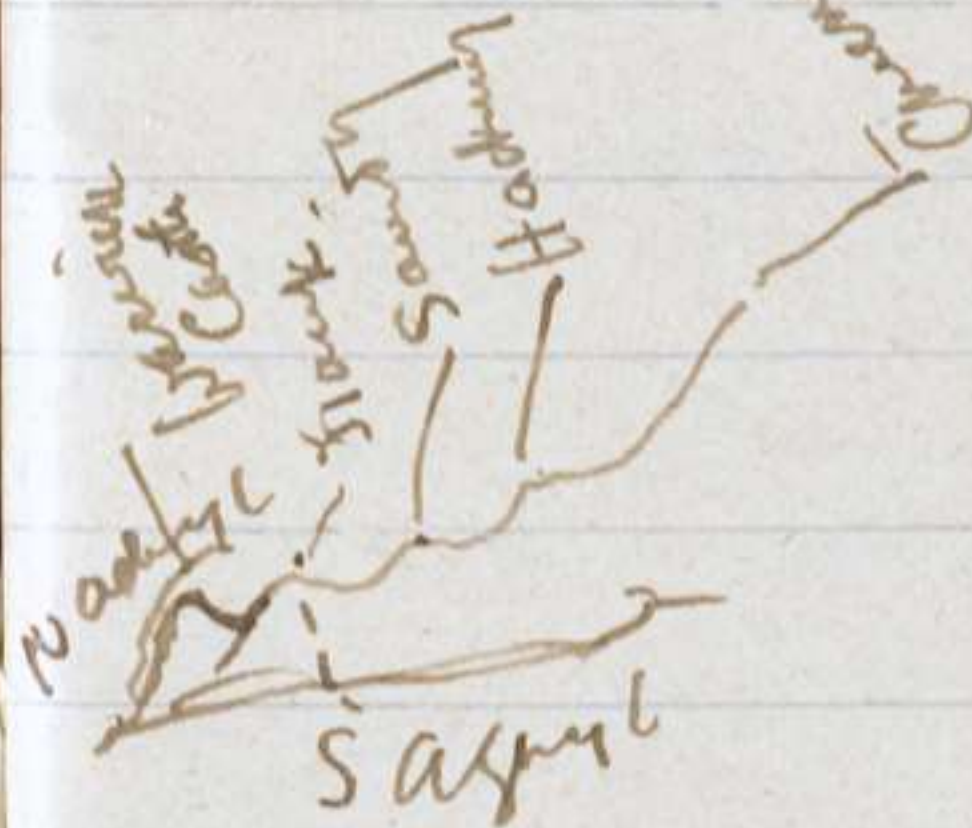
Only - ✓

1st yr A.
B. 9
C. 11. → 4 w after 1/2 ILH

2nd: A 7 P 7 below 7 4 w
B 9.30 P 7 N3 Bde. 4 Aust. ~~M.B.~~ NZM R
C. P 10.2.

Each section → L. 6 1. 7th yr
Eg - mouth → 9 7 male
No this x

Most 60 post in left section
Two yr April Dere: Franklina Post
Further: Sandyknoll
lightly held
Boyd's further E.
is Hackney Wick
to 17 > 2 at yr
Sandy Kn. 6 yr
Hack. Wk - 11 yr
0 > 8 x



4

From N.

Line of 4 Aust. 92 24, 80 03
through knoll called Becks Bluff.
(wh is ^{held by} 100 men as a ^{redoubt} [^] x
to 80 05 to 80 09 (of which is
Cheshire Ridge).

Old line, Black 92 to wire knoll
100 at intersection of 92 0 P T U.
Thence along Kai ajik.

Becks Bluff has been occupied
by this Bde in last month.

22 tunnels have been driven
thro' Cheshire ^{Ridge} right from rear
barracks ^{to firing line}. Look ^{almost like great underground}
barrack rooms. Permanent miners
dig main tunnels - occupants of
dug outs had to dig their own.



Snipers Nest. Digging

1 Men with picks & shovels at Hackney Wick
L. at present

Our men think the Ts are leaving. → C. 20/10.

My camera.

men officers
Apex 57.8

Have been losing men
but men have
been volunteering

about 2 am.

Go before moonset.

well.

has not been
periods of silence.

Count left 37.3

Aucks left abt the same
100

Abt 100 men in the Apr
all m. go to the last night

mind before the end
15
Imps remain to the actual

The Jap Bomb mortar
last possible
guns at the Apex? are vigorous
4 → 1 Ap.

Braith goes abt 10
Hart abt 11 with
11 = 13.

Nomine at the Pinnacle.

the men not to resist attack
Mon.

They ... seen ~~no~~ signs that Ts know
anything. ...

Thurs Dec. 16. We have been on the 1st day.
I don't know why it was put off. The night is a beautiful
one. Perhaps snipers are not ready. I have just come back from
dinner w/ 1 NZHC. & in passing thro' I saw my way was
blocked by a number of mules coming out of valley N. of
No 1 Post. They were 1 mules or 2 did. into Bly. No 1
At once I thought - my good luck, if 1 Ts. didn't see all this
as it goes along they must be blind. But as I went along
behind them I began to notice how silently these mules
behaved. They had big loads but they were perfectly
quiet. They made no sound at all as they walked exc.
for the slight jingle of a chain now & then. I shd not have
known there was anything in front of me at all - & I don't
believe you could have heard the slightest noise at 200 yds.
Then again I Post that I have been thinking was Snipers nest
is not Snipers nest but a little outpost of our own
held by 1 1st LH Regt between No 1 Outpost & 1 Nek.
Even on these moonlight nights I myself did not
tell at 200 yds whether a mule was loaded or not,
or indeed whether 1 column of mules was a column

of animals or men - I doubt if at 1000 yds you could see them at all. Possibly just a black serpentine streak. As I walked along I noticed at 1 bank of the sea covered them from view all the way exc. perhaps for one or two very small gaps. Provided there is no noise I doubt if a Turk could tell on a night even as bright as this one (3/4 moon) that anything was moving - Certainly not more than I were fact that there was some movement going on.

Why aren't we evacuating tonight? Perhaps Navy cannot get boats. But moon will be fuller tomorrow & practically full by Sunday. Do the Turks know anything about it? While I was in the mess today a message came in with a signal saying one of

our snipers had just seen 200 of the enemy apparently with picks & shovels making for Hackney Wick. Hackney Wick was named by the London Bde of territorials who used to have

I followed them to Walker's Pier. They went quickly & were waiting there quietly when I arrived. Further on 1 Pier was old Ferguson & Levine Ferguson as pleased as punch. He had not merely got off the whole lot - they were giving his mules preference & he thought he'd get off practically whole lot.

They were going aboard a lighter horse gangway very quietly; Only one or two people on 1 pier & the hospital Pier was a motor lighter crammed up with baggage of Ind. battery. Underneath it were guns some NZ & some Austr.

They were quite hidden by the baggage. In the offing were two fair sized transports & several trawlers & the lighter came & went in a very neat way. Beachy Bill had not been shelling much but a French gun was heard today bursting just over Puffin's Plateau. Snipers Nest cannot see 1 He can only see 1 mast at 1 mile & it does not give it much of a mark to range on. It only Beachy goes on shooting

more a ft many lives will be saved
she has been doing for 3 days
as well as

waiting there quietly when I arrived. Further on 1 Pier was old Ferguson & Levine Ferguson as pleased as punch. He had not merely got off the whole lot - they were giving his mules preference & he thought he'd get off practically whole lot. They were going aboard a lighter horse gangway very quietly; Only one or two people on 1 pier & the hospital Pier was a motor lighter crammed up with baggage of Ind. battery. Underneath it were guns some NZ & some Austr. They were quite hidden by the baggage. In the offing were two fair sized transports & several trawlers & the lighter came & went in a very neat way. Beachy Bill had not been shelling much but a French gun was heard today bursting just over Puffin's Plateau. Snipers Nest cannot see 1 He can only see 1 mast at 1 mile & it does not give it much of a mark to range on. It only Beachy goes on shooting

this part ^{of line} it ~~is~~ is on a
Spur of Chumuk Bair wh runs
down into the fork of the two ch.B
Aghyfs —

Green Knoll
Hacking Wick.
Sandy Knoll
Franklin's Post
Warwick castle.

Monash tells me the ~~best~~ men of his
are kept regularly employed throwing up earth from 12 ft
Earth is just ~~shoveled~~ shoveled down into the
trench & thrown up from it agn.

But there are
some signs ^{to} To intend to attack &
They have made gaps in ^{their wire} at
Hill 60 & They have pulled down part
of their wire opposite the Light Horse -
So Ross tells me. We have heard
that they intend to attack as soon as
they get their big howitzers into
position - & we hear that at least
one of those howitzers is already
there - Will others be ready - its
a race agst time - the whole thing
Time means more likelihood of

Scheme getting out at Mudros or Lemnos - a little chance of getting away in 1 present spell of fine weather. There is a thunderstorm just now coming up.

The men aren't sorry to ~~leave~~ ^{leave} - not most of them. They regret ^{leaving} ~~leaving~~ all their comrades ~~buried~~ ^{buried} here - the number of demands for timber for graves has been enormous - I see solid looking ~~frames~~ ^{crosses} going up everywhere over the old biscuit box ones



At Savla they say th 1 Australian almost refuse to ~~leave~~ ^{leave} here - well I have been about to find out - it isn't the case. The men aren't frightened & there have been lots of volunteers for 1 last shot - the Die Hards - the 1 method is

A Tangle we over yesterday but
not today. Our aviators have
been active.

not to call for volunteers but to
choose the best men. It is / suspense
that men ^{doubt like} $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ The suspense from
the beginning of 1st night onwards
will be enormous. The Ts will
have 36 hrs in which they might break
1 line \rightarrow 36 hrs of ^{pure bluff on our part.} $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
They might fall back on finding any
opposite in front of them.

The Turks started some sort of
works on Snipers West again today
(so Braithwaite tells me) but
our howitzers are having a go
at it tonight. Since the last big
Stiaffe there doesn't seem to have
been anyone there.

The last 6 in the 50 of tonight.
The guns have been firing about
as much as they used to - but
we are using the 5 inch more
& the N3.4.5s. The N3 guns on
walkers Top can hardly be

Got off without being seen - at present 1 gun is trying to fire from different emplacements & one gun is doing 1 work of 4 - trying to keep abt 1 normal amt of firing.

Beachy is still firing tonight one shot abt every 1/4 hr - they are going into 1 Hill at my back. As I had my dug out bungled yesty - someone as soon as Divt H.Q. moved went through 1 dugouts & ~~the~~ searched all my things & took my camera - I have brought everything across to Army Corps & borrowed a dug out here for a night or two - or rather a wooden house - a very fine one. I don't so much mind losing 1 camera (my second one) as Blamey has lent me his & I have

a small one from Embleton; but it contained 3 pictures of the Bacchanti shelling Kaba Tepe - & those I do rue the loss of. There will always be these prowlers - they are mostly men who wd do just (same in peace time.

I see 1 Turbo seem to be shelling the Suola landing place - or is it a storm. Probably the lightning showed up some of work. I hope it doesn't turn S.W. N is all right & NE better; but S.W. wd break up our beautiful new railed pier to the Whio - built by Maj. Williams in 4 days.

1 a.m. Aug 9 - I think it is ours - is keeping up a constant rattle on the Nek. I don't know what is the matter with it - there's very little bombing so probably no attack more than a reconnaissance. The T. front line is very near ours there.

Thank heaven the wind is N. still.
 Firing on right continues. It
 is ours & 2 m.g.s are going sometimes.
 I went outside onto Army Corps
 terrace to see - & found Gen Leslie
 walking up & down there in his
 pyjamas & an overcoat listening
 to it. "I think I'll go in light
 in Signal office but none in Gen.
 White's room." "I think I'll go in
 & tell White" sd Leslie. He did so.
 Presently he reappeared - "He sd he's
 been listening to it," Leslie sd.
 "I generally used to go in & tell
 Skeenoh" he added half apologetically.

Firing continued. Seemed to
 come from Chatham's - so I pushed
 off up that way. Going past my
 old dug out on 1 upper road I
 found Lt Kirk at 17th. He
 called to me - "I'm getting ready

3

1 last line, "he sd. I have to cover
1 last lot" — Col. Paton in
command, & I'm ^{practically} second." &

So he'll be right at 1 end. I
wonder if people realizes what a
frightfully ticklish job this is. "Worse
than the landing," sd Col. Hart to
me at 1 Apex today. And I
think many people think so. If only
they knew how our anxiety is
increased by 1 light-hearted way
they talk about it.

"What on earth are we waiting
for?" asked one o 1 N.Z. staff at
dinner today.

"Oh - for Asquith to make
a statement ^{in 1 House,} ~~it~~ were going to
abandon evacuate," sd Reid,
1 C. of Staff promptly.

— The third line runs across
Pluggie's Plateau & to Queensland

Point wh is a mass of wire -
 it will be held. There are chevaux
 de frise ~~the~~ being got ready to put
 across every road & path -
 it goes to Blameys head to abandon
 1 half made road up Snaresel
 Valley - & Thonast ~~has had~~
 is thinking hard o 1 wonderful
 underground barrackrooms his
 men have dug clean thro'

Cheshire Ridge in 1 last month
 But there are some at Surla ~~the~~
~~place~~ so far as I know - do 1
 place cant be held (They have
 had exactly as long to dig as
 we have).

Well - I went on to Y Ac;
 there was a light in Glasfords room
 but he wasnt there. Seeing a
 gleam thro 1 chinks of a
 neighbouring dug out I looked

15
in - & there we Chauvel -
lying in bed w influenza w he
has had for a fortnight (it is
probly paratyphoid) & Glasgow.

It appears the 1st Bn had $\frac{1}{2}$
an hrs silent stunt. Just at the end
of it the Turks opened fire &
so did we (or perh. we designedly
opened first). Ryprie's Bde ~~open~~
reported the same. I shall go
up here tomorrow so I didnt
go on.

I only wish 1 Turks w attack
today or tomorrow. When I sd to
Leslie - "I expect its 1 Turks
coming out to find whether
we're there" - he answered
"well - they've found it out by
now if its 1 Light Horse boys they're
up against!" Somehow when 1

I suggested to Chauvel the Anzac pier (where Beachy is so dead) shd have a ~~barrier~~ barrier of hay trusses put down it. It wd certainly save lives for Beachy has 1 exact range of the pier. Chauvel thought it a good idea - 1 only question is - will a fatigue party be available? I shd say from 1st 3rd line they wd.

11
firing is from the right flank one has not 1 faintest misgiving. They cant get thro the 2 LH Bde if they try for a year w its grand men & its solid old Bdeier.

In Auckland times today I found out the Pt Burton NZMC who sent in the article on "Army biscuits" wh I was rather suspicious of as an original, was a nice looking university youngster & 1 article is undoubtedly genuine.

I stow this confidential diary in my sleeping bag at Army Corps H.Q. - & leave it there during 1 day. If 1 Turk got so far it wd tell them nothing they didnt know; whereas if they rushed 1 firing line when

I was there it wd tell them too much, perhaps. I did chance taking a couple of Confidential maps ^{in my pocket} up Bully Beef Sap & St Apex - But after all - I shd have had time to burn them; & if the Turks got so far it wd almost be all up w our plans.

4.15 am. Woke up. Moon is down. Night rather stormy - flashes of lightning over Helles - Turks firing rather a lot. Constant bombs somewhere in lines. Don't think anything especial is happening.

The men are many of them firmly convinced that the Turk is doing the same thing to us as we are - hopping it. I believe he has lightened.

Grid.

18

Dec 17.th Woke up to find a grey sky
w heavy thunderclouds - & though
I gazed o' window I cd see the
scud moving from the South West.
Just wrong direction for us.

However, the wind was not
heavy - tho' there was a slight swell
there wasn't enough to disturb
the piers.

~~At home~~ Walked past house:
dug out as he was shaving. "What I
shd like to know is what they are
going to do w us afterwards," he sd.
"I hope they'll keep us all together," I sd.
"So do I," sd he. "I've been trying
to put it to Maxwell. But he's in
favour of just opposite & so are
they all - when they have good troops
they don't want to keep them all
together but to scatter them about
- & I'm not sure they're not right
looking at it from Empire's point
of view. Of course for Australia we
shd like to see them kept together.
But Australia has taken a very ^{wide} ~~big~~
view up to present & I daresay she
will still "

White tells me I can have

19
my request either today or tomorrow.
He also sd to Ross & I were for
the Grafton - the same ship wh
is taking the commanding officers
of artillery - Johnson & Anderson.
Capt. Boyle had sd that Honeyuckle
was rather small.

There has been produced - as
one was sure there wd be - a device
for firing a rifle after automatically
after we have left - w two bally
beef tins full of water & a bit of
string. It will pull & trigger as
late as 20 minutes after it has
been left. They wd use damaged
rifles.

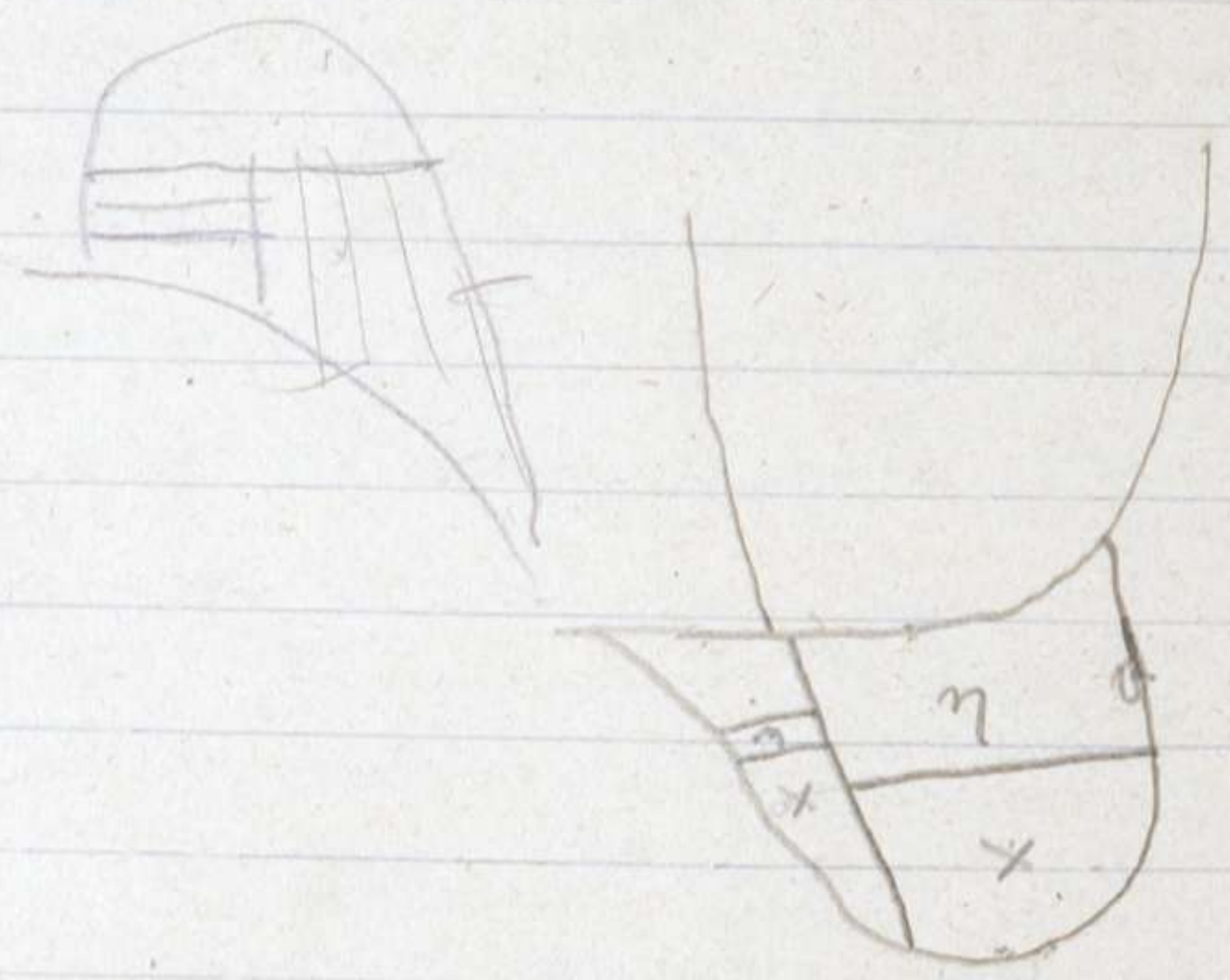
I saw the Engineers S-1st Coy
jeetly burning their rifles, pickles,
shovels, tubing, breaking the
pumps. I smashed my home
made furniture myself & put a
knife through 1 waterproof
sheet when I left my dugout.
Somehow I don't like to think of
furniture as a curiosity in some
Turkish Officers home. Ordnance

has 500 of its old rifles (they are worth £12 I believe); but disused clothing is being torn up & left behind. The Turks wd find it full of vermin anyhow.

For the B. see small black diary -
Dec 19. ~~Rob the Ross diary.~~

The last day, I was not waked last night - so knew that nothing had happened since 3 o'clock. All the troops for the ^{night} were clear by 4 a.m.

And there is Anzac today looking exactly the same as it always has done - with incinerator fires going dreamily & 1 big fire still smoking. There was a 5 minutes straffe on Hill 60 after daylight & at 10 a.m. the Turks burst a few ^{fairly} heavy shells on Plateau 400 - either after 1 anti-aircraft gun on the 18 pds on Phillips Top wh was shelling 1 Chessboard. One of our old 5 in guns howitzers wd manfully shelling the chessboard & battleship Hill - some of our guns are



* a salvo or two on Russell's Top.

quite close down to 1 Beach but
the ones of Phillips Top & on Russells
Top where 1 line are so close to 1
Turks — & ~~two~~ ^{almost} old 5" howitzers
whose sights are ^{so} shaky to
allow them to be used w safety
will have to be left — we shall
destroy them first as best we
can.

I went w poor old Ross to
Hospital Ship, Dunluce Castle.
He was so seedy today that 1
~~doctor~~ doctor had him put off immediately
to get up. He has a temperature
wh looks like paratyphoid & there is
nowhere on these ships to put a sick
man when 1 ship is in action.

During Church — we have church on Sundays
w 1 church bellringing just as in an
English village in this surprising navy
— ~~and~~ I thought I heard some rifle firing
more than 1 desultory shot or two wh
goes on during 1 day — but I think I was
wrong — There is nothing whatever

it made me very fidgety abt 1
feet during 1 Padre's sermon (wh
was about Christmas Day — Sat next).

unnormal today - everyone on this ship says so.

11.50 Turks are throwing a heavy shell into Lala Baba - but they have often done it before - 5 or 6 ^{black} bursts in 10 minutes -

12.30 at lunch w 1 Capt. ~~message~~ just as we were enjoying some very good roast beef off a beautiful clean cloth a gruff bearded woman of signals came in & handed Capt Grace a message. "1st Bact. Dion reports large body of enemy moving northwards from S. of Kili's Bahr" it ran. "Gialton will move south & engage them?"

There was a sort of strained silence for a moment - (Cpl. Johnson & Maj. Anderson were lunching there).

The Captain sent a message to bridge - ship to steam S. at half speed - meanwhile ask for the square ^{on map} then we went ~~we went south~~ on w lunch.

~~At 1.30~~ "I'd have thought more of it if it had been in 1st week of landing," sd 1 Gen. "There's this to remember new observers" sd Anderson, "there is always movement on the road - & we know it well."

The ship steamed south. Ford

First Night.

Table I

To anchor by 7pm.

	Beach or plan	Ship	Capacity	Total
N. Beach	Mars	Mars	2000	2000 } 2800
	N2	Ermine	1000	
S. Beach	S1	Abbasid	1,500	1200
	Beach marked "transfers"	5 Transfers	1,250	700
				<u>1,900</u>
				<u>4700</u>

To anchor by 10pm.

N. Beach	N1	Carron	1000	1000	} 2000
	N2	Hazel	1000	1000	
S. Beach	S1	Elkahira	1500	1200	1200
				<u>3200</u>	

*NB. The first K lighter to leave N. Beach is, on her 2nd trip to put 200 into each troop carrier Carron & Hazel.

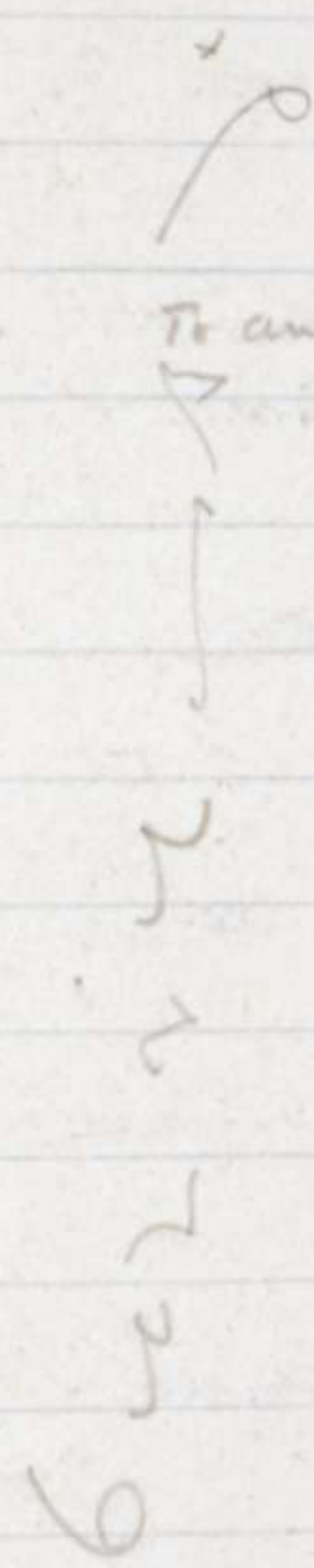
To anchor by 1. am.

N. Beach	N1	Prince Abbas	1500	1600	1600
S. Beach	S1	Heroic	1000	800	} 1200
	S2	Reindeer	500	400	
				<u>2800</u>	

Note

Troop carriers to sail as soon as they have on board the number of troops allotted to them, but not before. Remembering 400 come off in each motor lighter.

10,700



2nd Night.
Table II

To anchor by 7pm.

	Beats on plan	Ship	Capacity	To take
N. Beach.	Mars	Mars	2000	2000
	N2	Ermine	1000	800
				2800
S. Beach	S1	Abbasiah	1500	1200
				1200
				4000.

To anchor by 10.0. pm.

N. Beach	N1	Carron	1000	1000
	N2	Hazel	1000	1000
				2000
S Beach	S1	El Kahina	1500	1600
	S2	Reindier	500	400
				2000
				4000

* N3. The first K Lighter to leave N Beach is on her second trip to put 200 into each Troop Carrier Carron & Hazel.

To anchor by 1am.

N. Beach	N1	Prince Abba	1500	1200
	N2	Heroic	1000	800
				2000
S. Beach.	Nil	(from Aemak Dere & Brighton beach parties)		10000
				abt. 500 (cutters)

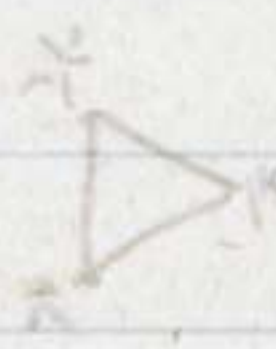
Trawlers & steamboats for flanking parties.

Off Aemak Dere { 3 trawlers } to arrive off Aemak Dere
 { 4 steamboats } at midnight approaching
 { 8 cutters } shore as if steaming to
 Sunken Mile & when close
 to troop carriers at anchor
 to turn to the Northward

240 men to be brought off together with the small beach party here coming with them.

The position of embarkation at Aemak Dere & Brighton Beach will be marked by the white lights in form of a triangle.

Table II cont.



The Boats of Aemak Dere will proceed to Topso Beach & Brighton "Chelmer" (which will be laying to seaward of the trawlers for troops) after embarking their troops except one picket boat & two cutters which will lay off shore till just before day break for supplies & then join Chelmer who will escort them out of range of Sun fire.

Brighton Beach { 2 trawlers } Trawlers to stop & lay off
 { 2 steamboats } 1 1/2 miles west of Ari
 { 4 cutters } Burma. Boats then to approach shore as if proceeding to Sunken Mile & when close to the troop carriers to turn to the Southward.

120 men to be brought off together, with the small beach party here coming with them.

N2 ⊙
N1 ⊙
MARS ⊙

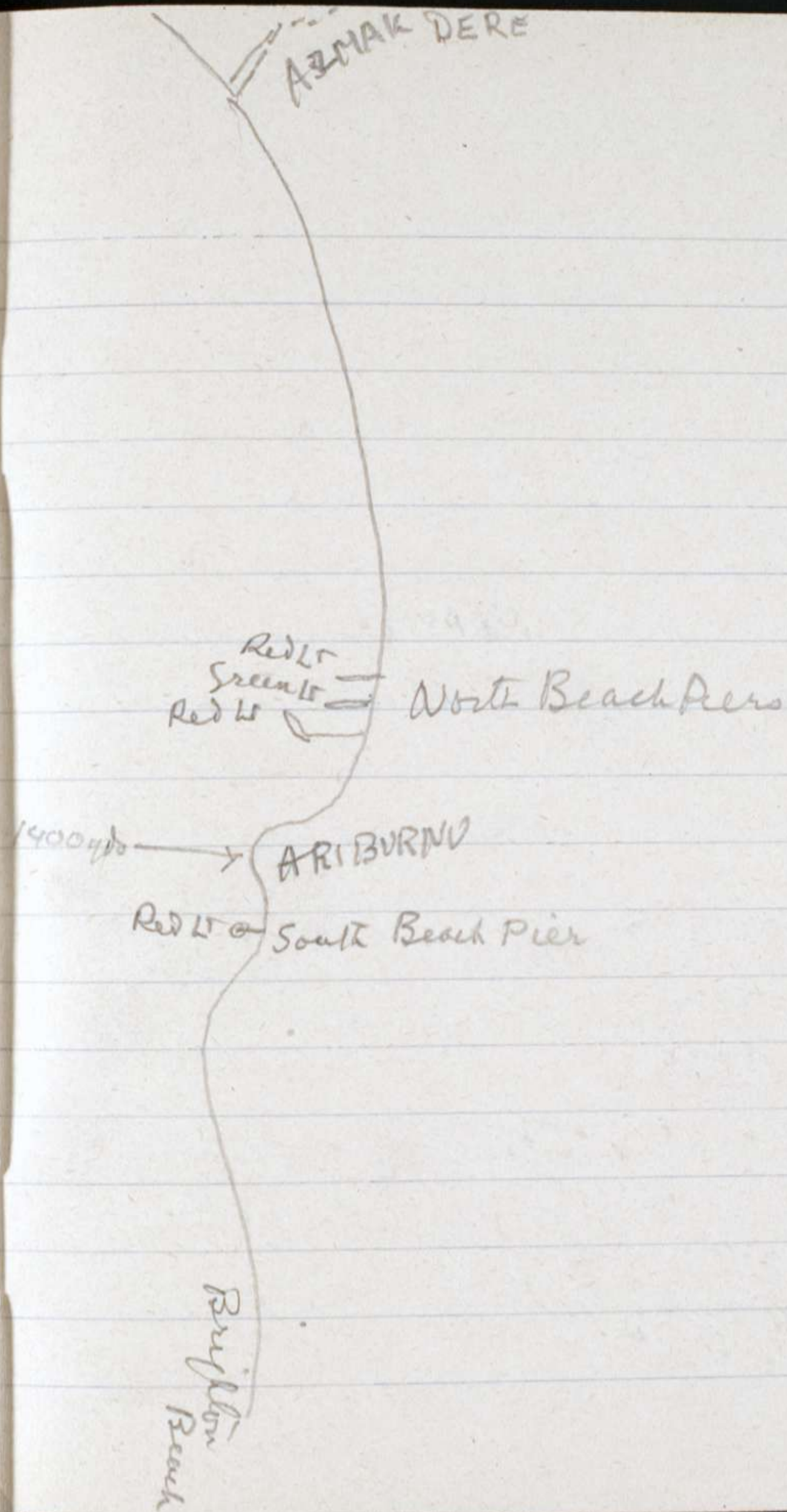
S1 ⊙

S2 ⊙ ←

TRAWLER ⊙
(1st Night)

Note

Care to be taken by
ships occupying
S2 berth that they
do not anchor to
the southward of
their berth.



Major & magnificent to come to Kephala

At Suola:

Osmanieh
Princess Eva
Barry
Redbreast
Rowan
Snæfell

In reserve at Kephala.

Skirmisher
Sentinel
Prince Edward
Queen Victoria.

Capt. Hon A D E H Bayly in
Honey suckle superintending at
Anzac.

15 motor lighters or steamboats
12 cutters or transports lifeboats to
be taken to Kephala from Madras
by 17 Dec.

All Suola troops to Kephala
exc. 5000 1st night.

Suola. 10500 1st night
10500 2nd night

Anzac. 4000 1st night
4000 2nd night.

Capt E.

Unwin VC N.T.O. Suola.

Capt Ch Staveley Anzac.

Anzac covering sqn.

Gratton	Beak
Talbot	Basinisk
Hector	Rattlesnake
Humber.	Colne
M15	Chelmer.
M16	

Gratton left flank. Rattlesnake on ^{right} flank
Beak on left flank but near
to Gratton.

at Ahiki in reserve
Talbot Hunter M13, M16
Colne, Chelmer, Basilisk.

Colne & Chelmer out on second
night.

Edgar Raylan Abercrombie
Sir Thos. Pictou to attack Hells
if ordered. otherwise usual
activity.

If many wounded abt
ships not to fire next day. (Monday)
otherwise to fire on stores &
on Turks.

(Diary Cont. Dec 19)

The movement of troops from
Kilit Baku was ~~reported~~ ^{uninterrupted} ~~on~~
by an aeroplane & was not
confirmed.

5-45. The sun has set - moon is
one night off full - sky a good
deal brighter than last night
but not brilliantly clear - a
low mist seems to be gathering
on beach.

Guns & searchlights to be uncovered
tonight.

7 pm. Mars has gone in.
Very bright night.

8-10. Mars a dim shape going
off thro' darkness to the South.
- Only 8000 men left - splendid.

Firing quite normal - moon so
bright that I can easily read what I write
in moon light.

8-27 Carrion off - or at any rate some
long dark trooper ^{open} ~~to~~ clearly behind
the hospital ship.

Some gun has flashed (on a shell)
down near Brighton Beach.
a monitor (w. 12 inch guns -
~~ped.~~ 1 Sir Thomas Pictou) moving
past us on 1 left - she is moving
between us & 1 land. The focse is
peopled by about 25 white
tipped seamen's caps - some walking
up & down (for it is a cold night).
They are exceedingly interested
& anxious & awfully kind to any
soldier - our batmen have a
glorious time.

8.45 Bomb at the Apex.

A fair amount of firing on 1 right.
Monitor is closed inshore.

Steady white light at little
Table Top. Gun going at Suola.

The Pictou has been instructed
by the Suola Blypters to steam
right in to Anzac in order to
Engulf Suola - Capt Grace
has asked the Rattleraker to go
in & tell Honeysuckle that Pictou

Beagle

1 on Mackays. 8th Batty.
One on Russels. 1st Batty (or 3rd)

One officer & sapper left
w/ out gun in half.

4 (or 5) One near 4-7 9th.

One on low slopes of Phillips Top
5th (may get away)

2.5 in

On N3 gun to be got away from
Russells Top (is this quite
playing (game?)

3.5 in.

is in way of traffic & where she
will be a confounded nuisance.

Rattlesnake is just creeping off to
be rude to 1 Picton. A big transport
is lying on our ~~left~~ starboard side
w/ two red lights ap.

9.15 bomb on neck.

9.20 slight increase in the
firing. Bombs at Leanes,
Russells & Apex.

9.30 very heavy firing at shells -

First time I have ever heard
rifles fire down here. I wonder
if it is the Turks who are co-^{attacking}
after a charge by us this
afternoon.

9.55 - The four 10 o'clock steamers
are creeping in - & the motor lighters are
actually out by them -

Message from Honeycomb
9.55 Very quiet - excellent
progress ~~blimpade~~ ^{Therms in}
our ^{port} ^{quarter}

10.5. Fighter coming in is shouting to
some transport - he is shouting
again - you can hear him a
mile away.

Motor lighters alongside 10 o'clock
ships.

Heavy firing down boat - rifle
fire.

At this moment there are
2 motor lighters coming out -
prob. all 10 motor lighters on
the sea full of ⁴⁰⁰⁰ soldiers &
only 2360 soldiers in 1 whole
Anzac position. Firing sounds
to me quite normal.

There are after all about as many
men actually observing in 1 firing
line as there are on any night
(when 2 are observing, 4 resting in
trench, 16 in support).

The C parties could really
be shifting now if wanted but

it was not realised that 1 B parties wd be away so extraordinarily quickly. They wd not have bn, either, had 1 night bn rough - so time had to be allowed.

But it has bn a wonderful success - 1 am Hamilton thought we shd lose $\frac{1}{3}$ in getting off - & here we have got all off except $\frac{1}{20}$. It must be a surprise bec. if the Turk knew we were moving he cdnt help trying to kill 1 man at 1 pier w shells - he knows they'd be used elsewhere.

10:30 2 bombs & small burst of firing at Nek. Hells still firing hard - constant ripple.

Incinerator lights still showing as usual at Auger.

10.50. The motor lighters had to be
loaded by 9 pm. They are now
mostly going back from the 10
o'clock ships. The big transport
on our right is being loaded -
I can hear rattle of the chain,
I have just seen a gun flash
two down near NO 3 post.

11.15 - very quiet indeed - scarcely
a shot at Anzac nor a Swallow -
The Turks ~~but~~ may be listening
to the constant shooting at Hellier
- rifling still continuous
there. ~~last~~

11.40 packet boat opposite
Brylton beach - flares from
her funnel.
- a good deal more firing
at the centre. Bomb boat on
Russell's

Bomb at the Apex

Fair amount of firing - all normal

Pictou moving off to a place
not between us + 971.

Gun fire to NE of Levitt's Trench
Swallow.

What I thought was the
Pictorial ^{early} of
Peleliu!

11-30 bomb at the Apex. Boats
are due at Bujillion Beach &
Asmak Dere.

An olive cross gun has fired.
A fair number of small
steamers are lying in shore - 5 of
them & several trawlers & motor
lighter.
very heavy mg. fire at Hellenes.
& bombs - one continued burn now.
Lt Bombs at Neck ^{almost together} & outbreak of rifle
fire - Bomb at Chatham's Post

Fire at Hellenes was gone on w
bombs for 5 minutes. I hope those
poor byers have not been thrown
in to attract attention from
us. ☹

11-45 several bombs at Russian
Top. Men there are keeping it
up well. Firing quite normal.

11-50 2 flashes down by Chatham's
Post. Another.

Hellenes fire has been going on
a quarter of hour. A curtain out

Prob Beachy has been told to
hold

of firing at Chatham.
11.51 Destroyer has fired behind
Chatham.

V-heavy gun fire at

Message 11.10 from Rearguard
Commander to Angac Army Corps
"Everything very quiet -
Turtles busily engaged
digging under & putting up
wire"

They must surely think that
all our activity means a big assault

11.57 a big blaze for a few
moments in Angacully.

Midnight on some ships bells

12.4 bomb at Russell's top

12.10. Bright flash low on right
report ? mine or Beachy.

12.15 Bomb at Lone Pine.

12.20 Bomb at neck. Certain ant
-offing at Pine Bomb at
Chatham. Destroyer firing.

All our own field guns have
probly finished by now.

12.25 bomb at Nek.

Bomb at Apex

Can hear a Turkish w/ sniper.

12.30. ^{? 15} 4 trawlers going in to Berylton
Beach - with cables &
steaboats in tow.

12.34 Bomb at Chathams.

12.37 Two bombs at Nek & curtain
abt of firing.

Bomb at Chathams or Leanes

12.39 Destroyer fired.

Moon has been clouded for a long
time but is still so bright th. I can
~~just~~ write & read what I write by
its light alone.

12.44 2 bombs & bit of crackle abt
Nek - Sawla still fitful.

12.46 Bomb at Nek.

12.50. Bomb at Nek

12.51. 4 Bombs at walkers / at
Chathams.

1 am. Bomb at Chatham's.
One of the 1000. ships moving out
2 a 1 am. ship moving in.

1.2. Bomb at Neck.

1.5 Bomb onto the farm.

1.7^{1/2} Another bomb at farm.

1.8. Triangle of lights at Brighton
Pier visible.

1.9 Two bombs at Neck.

1.10. Dets. fired

Intermittent little bursts of firing
Sometimes make you think we have
been discovered — but it is no
more than normal.

1.19 Dets. fired.

Two bright near-true fires on
shell green.

1.23 Destroyer (Rattlesnake) firing on
Turks near Chatham's.

Rather a lot of intermittent
firing follows.

1.28 Bomb on Apex

1.29 " " "

1.30 " " "

Last Party should now be leaving Apex

1.31 Another Bomb.

1.31 Bomb at Net. - another
Two warships
Two ~~steamers~~ closing in (destroyers
(Chatham))

1.35 Bomb at Chatham.

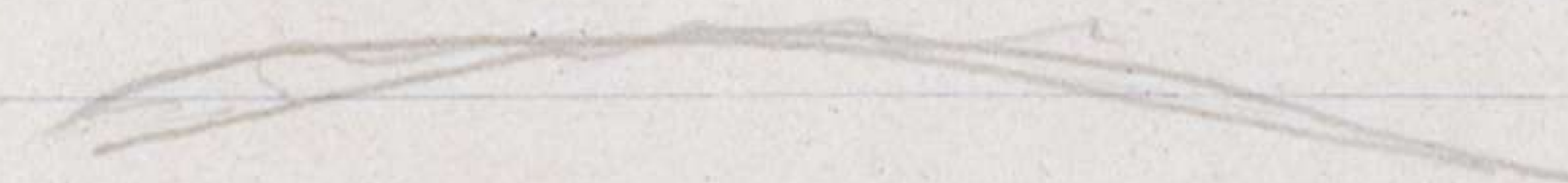
1.38 Bomb at Net.

1.40 Cannon firing.

Firing normal in centre but
quit on left.

1.45 Beady (wh. has fired all
6 times tonight) burst a
shell on Brighton Beach.

1.47 Bomb. at apex. 2nd.
2 at Russell.



measured. 1st. 2nd.

2nd

1.54 Lights still all along old
Angas line - abt 6 or 8 ft.

To Heliotrope
19 Dec 15
11.31

To Anzac Army Corps from
Rearguard very quiet. Turks
basically engaged digging under
& erecting wire. Everything
proceeding satisfactorily.

1.55. Arno alongside - possibly
Birdwood.

1.57 Bomb at Apex
Some firing on right.

2am A troop carrier ^{such} ^{men striking matches}
Remembrance of firing ^{aboard} ^{her}

2.1. m.g. working a burst.

First lot of ditchers must
be leaving guns -
firing a little heavier.

2.5 Beachy has thrown a
shell onto Brighton Beach

2.10 Rather a lot of firing

2.14. Bomb on Apex

2.21 Something sounding like a
mine at Savla.

2.25. Bomb at Walkers.

Somebody has broken up
the incinerator on shell gran

2.30 Cocoa w/ 1 Captain -
Challans post must be
deserted by now - + 1
last lot - is all it is left now
in Quins to Lone Pine
A thick mist has gone over
1 moon.

2.48. Maxim on left in 3 bursts.

Tabletop left still bright.
I have set camera on Nek
in case mine goes up.

2.55. Quite a fair amount of firing
all from 1 centre.

Bomb at 1 Nek.

2.57. Beachy shot on Chalking

2.59. Bomb at Nek.

Helicopter asking where ^{is} _{is}

3. Bomb at Wakers.

Beachy. Probably probably at
Brighton Pier.

3.12 Bomb at Nek - firing at Pine

3.15 Last lot now alone left at
along line,
Destroyer fired.

Can still hear a solitary rifle
or two on right as well as in
centre.

Men must be hurrying down
Chailak Dere down paths
amongst hills I know so well -
- can hear them on the left also
just one or two - mostly in
centre, moon too dark to see

by
Possibly the isolated rifle shots
are from patrol rifles to fire
after we have gone.

Can see Chelmer waiting for left
flanking party - to get him
off in cutters

3.15. Left Lone Pine - poor old
1st Bde.

Gun or bomb on right:
Bomb at walkers.

A shot at Suola.

Very little firing now & almost

all in centre.

Just before L. Pine was left
then we were firing.

A shot at Savla-ships I think
Hellas pretty quiet.

Quite normal firing

3.20. Quinno & Popes left -
well - ~~poor~~ its a n extraordinary
end to a fine history.

The Turks have got it at last
- the place they never got take -
by our quick heavy in 1
night. And in 1 end

perhaps 1 ~~more~~ greatest
success we have achieved there
is quietly giving it to them

Light ~~still~~ ^{without} their ^{knockout} ~~blow~~ ^{blow}.
Light still burning on little ^{blow}.

Two or three rapid shots
from m.g. at Quinno

3.23. Beachy.

3.25. Walkers Nek left. The
old Angus line is now

open to 1 Turks, a desultory
fire still continues.

- one far on right.

3.26 The mines at the Nek have
been blown up. Tremendous firing
- two huge red clouds. Turks
firing for all they are worth all
along line.

Message left flank party all
embarked.

- A great finale.

3.35 Firing still heavy. right to
extreme right.

Beachy burst a shoveler
artillery road.

3.40 Bull sound as of gun being
blown up.

3.45 I can see flashes of rifle
on Snipers Nest.

3.46 heavy mg action

The Suola wireless man

On Nibranesi point has
launched his aerial.

Burdwood sends message
to Russel "How are you?"
4. am. fire at Angac has almost
ceased except a few flashes
at Snipers Nest I can see no
flashes.

Savla has just fired all
the Culs on C.R. Lala Baba
making a gigantic show &
absolutely going away the
show for Angac unless they
have got news that our
evacuation is complete.

3.25. words from W4 -
Evacuation complete.

4.26 Helibridge reports
awaiting arrival of
rear guard commander.

Firing fairly constant -
4.35 - ~~Partly~~ sending telegram ~~to HQ~~ ~~to HQ~~
4.57. Heliotrope made to Chatham -

Commander Rear Party & Comms.
Rearguard Party have embarked.
5 - Turks still firing no one ashore.
M.G. going every now & then.

5.15 - Turks still sending an
occasional sniping shot at our
trenches. Table top light still
burning.

Heliotrope. Angae to Suola
of Corps. "Operations completed"

3.57.

5.40. All Suola stores being
we had at least one man
wounded.

Turks still sniping
at Angae.

Red glow in sky
Every now & then ships
Cark of oil goes up in a
huge whirl of flame. one
fire adern of us explodes.

Dark shape of ships against
red glare reflects in
water.

we had to stand by to
see what can be done in
way of destroying Angles
Stirb Comoros. At present
Suppose we don't know
what men are left ashore

Anafarta gun firing & Beachy somelms.

Over the top "Take up your day position" "Take charge of Moulton M or M16 when they arrive at daylight."

6 am. 7. fire has practically ceased except at 1 am still hear shots from new West of No. Post. Pier lights

6.45: Olive Grove & other batteries opened heavy bombardment on Anzac position - very wild shell bursting all over position.

7.5. Signal to Grafton. All ships to prepare to open on mule carts & stores, as all wounded have been evacuated, further can be made without delay.

Bombardment still going on, very high.

At 7.15 shelling stopped & crowds of Turks can be seen running

ships to fire at the Tanks - but only two or three salvos. 18.5.24

all over our trenches - attack from L. Pine or GOT. We are going to fire on stores on beach.

7.37. Clear fire. Fleet Ave us sent to Ketchikan. God by. Few more stragglers seen. Rearguard coming reports all wounded evacuated - nothing left with capt. to K. on command. Few more guns raised - all medical units taken off.

Parasol 1000 Gallons oil S.S.W. of Mills. We fire at it.

* I fancy I was the first in our ship to see this. Capt Grace of the Heston had let me use his big telescope on the bridge - one on a stand, I think. I was watching the skyline, & as I looked through it I saw what I took to be a forest of young fir trees on what might be Gun Ridge. But looked next moment I saw that the trees were all moving. The tanks must be holding branches - I thought of the Japanese at the Yaku (was it?) and the forest at Dunsinane. Then I realised that the telescope magnified very greatly, & what

I thought was the trees. They ran up to the trenches, stopped, looked in. I told Grace to look