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1914-18 War: Records of C E W Bean,
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Diaries and Notebooks

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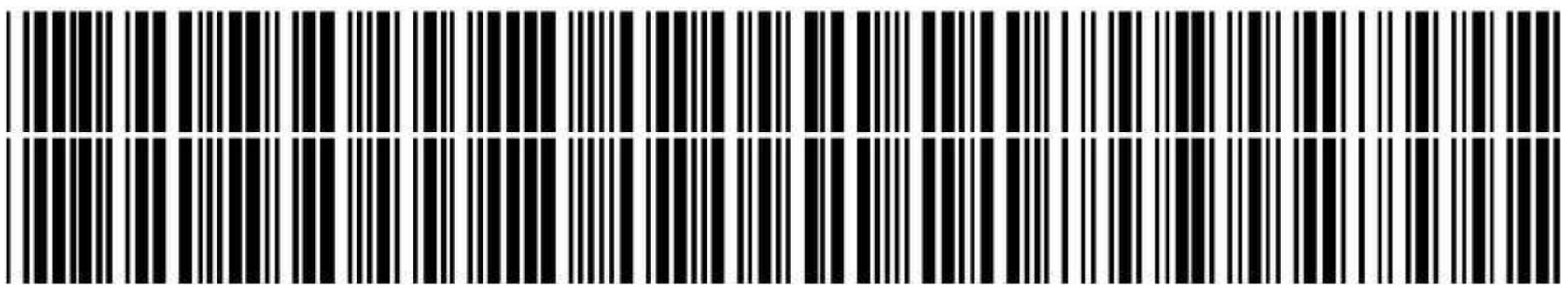
Title: Diary, September - December 1918

Covers fighting of September - October 1918, breaking up of battalions, W M Hughes in England and France, the armistice and Bean in England.



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Diary No. 117.
Sept 27 1918. to ~~Nov 27 1918.~~ 29
Dec. 3. 1918.

1st SET DIARY. No 117.
AWM 38 3DRL 606 ITEM 117 [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. C. E. W. BEAN.

2nd Copy.

Diary

Sept. 27 1918

to 29 Nov 1918.

SEPTEMBER 27th. continued.

We spent last night in Boulogne and I came on today ~~tonight~~ to BARLEUX, where Murdoch and Gilmour had already arrived. a couple of days since. One of the first bits of news Murdoch told me was that there had been a regular epidemic of mutinies in the A.I.F. during the last few days. It was, I believe, the question of the disbandment of battalions, and arose first out of the case of the 37th battn., where STOREY, the Colonel, some time ago made an unexpected disturbance over the proposed dissolving of his battalion.

It is a long yarn. Storey was second in command at Messines, and there, in the confused recriminations which followed the putting down of a barrage on the 37th and its withdrawal from the objective, McNICHOLL and Storey came to loggerheads. Murdoch says the two had been old enemies in Australia, both being in the Education Dept. and having some quarrel over their military work. Whether this is so or not, there is no doubt they were pretty bitterly opposed after Messines. SMITH, the colonel of the battalion, who took Storey's ~~xx~~ side, had to go. McNicholl was supported by MONASH, whose pride was very much hurt by the fact that the left flank of his division had not kept in its place with the right flank when the 4th Div. retired. Lately Storey has been given the command of his battalion, and no doubt Storey thought that it was the enmity of McNicholl that caused the 37th to be picked out as the proper ~~xx~~ battalion to be broken up. Storey first protested to McNicholl and afterwards wrote a couple of very wild letters to Gen. BIRDWOOD, over the head of his superior officers. He also made his opinion quite widely known to the battn., and I fancy said something to them on parade about the pity of their being broken up. Monash was very incensed ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Sto rey's action - which indeed was impossible for any commanding officer to put up with and disloyal to the interests of the A.I.F. as a whole - and Monash had decided to send Storey to England when the news came that the 37th had refused to be disbanded, and that the men, when ordered to march off to their new units, had stood fast. This happened a few days ago.

It so happens that the War Council has been urging Birdwood to have the breaking up of the battalions carried out at once in order to keep up the strength of the divisions. Monash certainly did not want this, but if the divisions were to be kept up to full strength, something had to be done. Birdwood came down a few days ago and informed Monash that the disbandment of the units which were to be split up must take place. Accordingly a number of battalions which had been chosen as the ones to be disbanded were ordered to march their men off to other units of their brigade. The 54th, 60th, 42nd, 21st, 37th and, I think, the 27th or 26th, were amongst these. I am certain of all but the 26th or 27th.

When the 37th struck the others did the same; the 54th and 21st seemed to have been especially firm. Their officers and N.C.O.'s in each case, when the order came to the battalion on parade to join its new unit, left the battalion and went to their new homes; but the men of the battalion stood fast. The discipline of the battalions was rigorously kept up. The new officers and N.C.O.'s did not assume stars or stripes, but took charge of the battalion on parade, N.C.O.'s told off their platoons and handed them over to the platoon commander, who reported to the Company commander. The "Colonel" roared his men up in approved

ordered, to step forward, and those who refused to stand where they were. On the order "March" there was a sort of momentary hesitancy along the ranks, men looking to the left and right, the whole battalion took a pace forward, and the difficulty was solved. Personally I cannot help thinking that Elliott on this occasion was the one man in the whole force who really played the man, and despite all his idiosyncracies showed himself to be a commander worth following. His 60th battalion was thus split up into the other three battalions, and the 15th Brigade went in as a 3-battalion brigade. All the other brigades gave in to their men.

The position which this creates is obviously a very difficult and dangerous ~~xxxx~~ one, and the results of it are too distant and important to be able accurately to judge at present; but of one thing I feel certain - that a man like John Monash is not the man to handle the A.I.F. at a critical moment like this. He was, of course, entirely opposed to Storey at the beginning, but he pretends to be on the side of the men now. Monash is not really a strong man though he is a very able one. Whatever happens he will try to save his own skin, and a man like that is just the man to make disaster out of a situation which a better man could possibly save.

A much more serious trouble, of quite a different sort, occurred in the case of the 1st Battn. The 1st Battn. was in the line before Hargicourt on the 19 September. On the 20th. it was coming out of the line. The relief had already arrived, the men had their packs done up and were about to move off. The Tommies on their left had failed on September 18 to reach a line which the 1st Bde. had reached in the Hindenburg outpost line. The 3rd Corps on our left was told that these trenches must be reached in order to get a jumping-off place for the attack on the Hindenburg line on September 29th. John Monash, in order to help ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ this, undertook very readily, over the telephone or in conference with General Butler, to take over 500 yards of the Tommies' line and do this portion of the attack for them, they being responsible for the remainder of the front northwards. The divisions to the south of the 3rd Corps are very tired and worn-out and the task was very difficult for them. On the 20th, just as the ~~first~~ battalion was going out, the order came for them to go in and do this attack. 120 of the men refused. They said they had so often had to go over the top to do jobs which the Tommies had failed to do, that they were not going to do it this time. The remainder of the battalion went over very short and carried out the attack with complete success, although they were, I believe, outflanked by the Germans driving in the Tommies and had to come back to the starting-point - although I am not certain. Anyway, 120 men who refused are under close arrest and what will be done in their case has not been settled. They are to be tried by court-martial, and the penalty for mutiny in the Australian Army is death.

It is the first time that this question has ever arisen, and this too is a crisis of the history of the force. I only wish to goodness there was somebody of a different type to John Monash in the saddle at the moment. The danger of the situation is that while the case is unquestionably one for swift and d rastic action, there is a certain amount of obvious provocation, and whether it is wise or expedient to make the first case of the infliction of the death penalty a case ~~xx~~ in which the men had some sort of excuse, is a very difficult one to decide. Personally I think it would be ~~a~~ wrong decision. It will come to that some day, no doubt; but the first one should be one ~~xxx~~ in which there can be no doubt and no element of provocation can be pleaded. Knowing John Monash, I don't think that he is in the least likely to make any decision which might contain the least danger to himself.

in approved fashion. The men whom they chose were, so Murdoch was told, the men who were calculated to make the best leaders and not at all of the Union Secretary type - i.e., they were not agitators amongst the men but were those who, in the main, were best fitted to lead them. They dined amongst the men and lived with them, but otherwise they carried on exactly as the regular officers. I believe that the 54th battn. went for a route march. Certainly orders were respected, sentries were posted, and the camp life and games went on exactly as usual by some means or other. Their rations came to them regularly, and how they managed to obtain or fill up ration wagons at dumps is a question. When one of their Generals going around his area visited a cricket match between two of the companies of one of these battalions, the whole of the men on the ground stood up to attention - which was a compliment that would never have been paid to him in ordinary circumstances.

The mutiny, or strike - it was more a strike than a mutiny - was, I believe, breaking down in the case of the 42nd battn. The men had been persuaded that in the interests of the whole force they must ~~xx~~ join their new units; when the news came along that the case of the 37th battn. had been allowed. Monash had left it to the divisional commanders to settle, and the G.O.C. of the 3rd Division (Gellibrand) had decided to allow the 37th to remain. I suppose that he considered ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the battalion was really victimised by McNicholl, who was a commander who never had the confidence of his men and was a continual source of trouble to his colleagues and superiors. Anyway, on the news of this reaching the repentant battalion it immediately repented again in the opposite direction and went back on strike. The other divisional commanders followed Gelly's lead. The 5th and 3rd Divisions had to go into action for the ensuing battle and it was urgent to get the battalions there in time. In every case the revolting battalions had offered to go in as battalions, and guaranteed to whatever they were called on to do, and they resented the imputation that they were in any way objecting to fight.

This may be rather too strongly stated. McN was hated by many on being "school-mastery" and not trusted by all; but some good men thought highly of him. C.E.B.

The 54th, 42nd, 37th and 21st were allowed to rejoin their brigades as units, all their officers and men going back to them. The men had always stated that they knew they were not deserting their officers because they realised that their officers were heartily in sympathy with them and, in a way, proud of their action, however it might be detrimental to the force and dangerous for the future. No man could help being so. But the one man who refused consent to this was ELLIOTT. Elliott from the first stood firm and said he could not continue in the command of a brigade in which the men did not implicitly obey him. One cannot help feeling that old Elliott took the stand which was in the best interests of the A.I.F. and most in accordance with the discipline which is necessary to hold this army together as the war begins to reach its fag-end. Anyway, Elliott stood absolutely firm. So did the 60th battn. When all the others stood out on strike the 60th stood with them. Elliott went down and addressed the men, and I believe they made no signs of giving in. Finally, before the show, Elliott went down intending to speak a last word to the men, offering them a chance of giving in, and I believe that when the word to disband was given, if they didn't act upon it, he would have shot whatever men refused to do so. Anyway, he told them that the brigade was going in in any case, and that if this battalion continued in its present attitude it could not be taken in, and the result would be the desertion by them of their comrades, and that they would throw upon the remaining three weak battalions the whole burden of a very hard fight. He called upon every man who was willing to join those three battalions, as

order

All this night at intervals we heard the tramp, tramp, tramp of infantry along the road outside past the waterpoint in ~~xxxx~~ Barleux: clearly they were going up for the fight. The 3rd and 5th Divisions are to go over in support of the Americans and take the 3rd Hindenburg line, and the second ~~Division~~ to be next in support. I don't think John will use the 1st and 4th Divisions again. They are away back by Abbeville (Picquigny).

I started ahead of Joe Cook's party, with which I came over, leaving Boulogne at 7.30 and going to Rollencourt to find out if by any chance our troops had attacked this morning, as there was news of a biggish battle. At Rollencourt I found out that the Press had moved up temporarily to Amiens, where they were staying at the old Hotel de l'Univers, which was being fitted up again for visitors under the sanction of the Town Major. At Amiens Cadge told me that the attack on that day was going well. The Canadians ~~xx~~ had reached Bourlon Wood and had been seen by aeroplanes beyond it, and the New Zealanders had crossed the canal on a front of one brigade. This was extraordinarily fine news. The attack seems to have been made by the 1st and 3rd Armies. I like the way in which Cadge started his announcement with the fact that these two Dominions forces had made the main advance. At the same time he told me that the Americans had made a heavy attack together with the French armies of Generals Mangin and Gouraud down near the Argonne, and that the Americans had gone in 7 miles. This is certainly the main American attack. I bought a Paris edition of the "Daily Mail" and in it there was a short message from Bailey, the American correspondent for the English papers. He said that the Germans had left machinegun rearguards, and that the Americans were engaged in mopping these up. The official communique does not give any hint of the Germans having prepared for this attack, but this statement by Bailey gives one the idea that the German move anticipated the Franco-American attack by withdrawing along that section of the front.

I waited at the Hotel de la Paix for Joe Cook and his party. They arrived about 12 and had some wine and bread and cheese at the hotel. From there we went on through the battlefield of August 8th to the camp which has been prepared for them just north of Biaches, west of the Somme outside Peronne. On the way up I stopped the cars at about four different places to give the party a description of the battlefield from Villers Bretonneux onward. Conan Doyle and the others seemed to be very interested, but Joe Cook showed very little interest in the ~~xxxxxx~~ story of the battles or in the places which had become famous in the course of them. On arrival at Biaches we found the new camp just co mpleted with the roof on the messroom not an hour before. The boys detailed as orderlies for the camp had not done this sort of thing before in their lives although they were willing to learn. One plate was provided for the frugal meal of bully beef and whatever pudding, bread and butter, cheese, or other course followed. Cups were provided for tea, but as no glasses appeared no wine was asked for. Afterwards one of the boys confessed to me that it was his first attempt at the job. There was plenty of cutlery, plates and wine glasses, but he did not know the rules for this sort of living. He said he was quite willing to learn, and from the type of boy they have provided I have no doubt they will learn quicker than most. However, the rest of us were afraid to suggest the bringing on of pudding or bread and cheese for fear that only one set of plates and knives existed, so Joe Cook for onee lunched more or less off the same rations as a soldier.

In the afternoon I took the over the ~~m~~ground of the late fighting at Peronne. Conan Doyle was wearing the uniform of a Lord Lieutenant of a County, the next most glorious uniform to which is that of a Field Marshal Commanding in Chief. This

drew salutes from everybody including colonels, and the old chap was so abashed, in spite of his experience in public life, that he hardly dared lift his eyes from the ground when any soldiers were passing - a fact which attracted me to him at once. He was absorbed in the story of the fighting north of Peronne, and when we came to the grave of a man of the 53rd battn. who had been killed in the furthest advance of September 1st, he saluted it saying -~~XRxxxxxxxxxx~~
"Poor boy!" "He at any rate deserves all the salutes one can give him."

We saw the quarry where Murray of the 53rd. had his Headquarters, and the railway line which the 53rd reached in their futile charge against the moat and battlements of Peronne. We came back past Anvil Wood, where the 9th Field Coy. Engrs. were just prepared to go up the line. They seemed to be under the impression that the fight was tomorrow. It was not until I saw Monash tonight that I knew it was on the 29th.

Joe Cook and Conan Doyle each spoke to these engineers. Joe Cook stood facing them trying to make cheaply witty remarks, not in the least the genial man that a member of our own Government from Australia might be expected to be. His face is curiously benevolent and fatherly, and this rather melts the men towards him - in fact they like him better than Hughes. But his speeches struck me as childish. Conan Doyle, on the other hand, told them that he was proud to be amongst them, and that he was proud, as all England was proud, of their fighting; that he was proud that the same blood ran in his veins. And the men cheered him to the echo He is a great, square, bull-dog of a man with an exceedingly kindly face. He appears at present to be bent on a generous endeavour to save Gough and the 5th British army from blame and make of the retreat in the spring almost a second retreat from Mons.

We crossed about dusk one of the old wooden bridges leading across the moat north-west of Peronne. The moat is full of water and a most difficult obstacle for troops. I left them to dinner and came back to our camp at Barleux.

SEPTEMBER 28. Murdoch, Gilmour and I were to see John Monash at six o'clock tonight in order to get from him the plan of the next day's battle. It looks as though there is a fortnight's fighting ahead, and consequently I decided to go up to the 5th Army H.Q. and try to push through the staff appointments for controlling and distributing the A.I.F. photographs and publications, which will otherwise be certainly hung up until I can do so. Body made a splendid run to ~~Therouanne~~ Therouanne and back, leaving there at 2.30 and reaching Australian Corps H.Q. near Barleux in time to find Wilkins, Murdoch and Gilmour just going into John Monash at a few minutes past six. John gave us, as usual, an absorbingly interesting account of the fight. He was very insistent on the fact that he doubted whether the Americans would succeed in carrying their objectives. It was a longer job than any the Australian Corps had undertaken, and his experience of the Americans during the last day or two showed him that they were very unprepared and untrained. He made a great point of one brigade having gone into the startingpoint without its bombs for mopping up. The brigadier had said that they could always get the bombs later. As usual we found ~~that~~ this statement of John's to be inaccurate. Whilst we were with him Ross, of the 1st Division, who was attached to the Americans as liaison officer, rang up to say that the starting arrangements seemed to be all right, and McLagan who came in said that only one battalion had gone in without bombs, and that as it was a support battalion it could easily get them. It struck all of us that John was hedging against a possible defeat, in which case he would be able to throw the blame on to the Americans.

The Australian troops will not go over until ~~11~~ 7 o'clock tomorrow, leaving their startingpoint and reaching the American objective, where they will pass through the American troops, at 11 o'clock. This gives four clear hours for roadmaking. We shall go up to the battlefield in time to see the Australians go over. The Meteor says that the weather is going to be fine.

Joe Cook has been chafing like an impatient child to-day. He knew that Hughes when he was over here addressed the troops several times, and I had told him that the men had received Hughes particularly well on several occasions. Joe evidently wanted to do the same: "Conan Doyle here wants to see battlefields, but I want to see the men", he said. "They told me I could see men and I have not seen men. What I want to know is when I can see some of the men!"

Plunkett, a genial old farmer, who is a captain in the 3rd. Battn. and is acting as one of the conducting officers, arranged with great trouble to take Cook off to Abbeville and Picquigny to see the 1st and 4th Divisions in the back area. Joe went off with him in an aggressive frame of mind, and as they went through ~~Longueau~~ Longueau the car completelybroke down. Being a war-time car it had inferior metal in the engines and something snapped. Plunkett, by using all his sense and push, managed to get the loan of a small runabout car to take Cook on into Amiens, and there tried to persuade him to have lunch while he himself hurried around to raise another motor car. Cook said he didn't want to have lunch - he wanted to see the troops. As the troops were 20 miles away and there was no means of getting there except by finding a motorcar, which Plunkett was trying to do, this was not very helpful. Eventually Plunkett raised a car from the 1st Division, and they arrived there to find that Cook's son, whom Cook wanted specially to visit, was away back acting as liaison officer with the Americans who were attacking next day. The result of this was that Cook began worrying about his son. "I know old Cook of the 2nd. Battn., and I knew damned well there was nothing to worry about - he'd never hop over the top with the Americans", said Plunkett; but it took a long time to convince Joe Cook that his son was not going into immediate and sudden death. However, by the time they had arrived back at the camp he had managed to allay Cook's fears on this point. As they came in the first thing that young Lowden, the other conducting officer, said was - "Well, Mr. Cook, I hear your boy is going over the top with the Americans tomorrow." It was just after this that Murdoch, Wilkins, Dyson and Myself walked in to their messroom, We noticed that the table didn't appear to be a cheerful one - in fact nobody seemed to be speaking. Cook disappeared to bed at once and Lowden and Plunkett each took me out and explained for 10 minutes that if Billy Hughes was a handful Joe Cook was a "Bastard, and a damned sight worse!"

SEPTEMBER 29th. For the first time in the last 12 months we have come back from a battle that went wrong. The last one was on October 12th at Paschendaale, and this went almost as wrong as that. We started late this morning. We were going up to see the Australian infantry start at 9 near Gillement farm 2 miles east of Ronssoy. Gillement Farm was the farthest point that Wilkins had reconnoitred, and we calculated that from there we should be able to look down the valley towards Le Catelet, and by crossing over into the next ridge to the east side of the railway ridge just beyond the line of the canal tunnel, we ought to be able to see up the line towards Beaurevoir, which our troops would then be attacking. By winding up the high lands which lie eastward from this point we could, if the shelling were in any way moderate, keep in touch with the battle as it advanced.

The party of visitors was in trouble to-day, having only one car for the whole seven. My car had broken down with a weak spring - also

weak spring - also a result of wartime metal, - and Murdoch's car was already full. Accordingly it was suggested that Smart who was interested in seeing how the official photographs were taken, should go up with Casserley, the Press photographer, and take one of the party with him. Dyson offered to go with Wilkins to Gillement Farm where he might wait for us. Murdoch, Gilmour and myself proposed to go through Ronssoy to a point near Gillement Farm and work out from there. We mistook our turning in Templeux and reached Hargicourt by mistake at about 10 a.m. We turned back and passed through Ronssoy towards Gillement Farm, leaving the car just beyond the first crossroad past Ronssoy. The crest of the hill is only a few hundred yards ahead.

On our way up we called in at the 3rd Division, which was very well advanced between Templeux and Ronssoy. They told us there that the Americans were said to have reached the green line - which was their objective - and the 2nd Hindenburg trench system, but that they had left any number of German machinegun posts, and that our brigades as they started to go forward after the Americans had been held up at once by machinegun fire. The right, so far as was known, had gone a good deal better, and Bellicourt had been taken; but on the left in front of the 3rd Division, although Bony had been passed and possibly taken by the Americans, it was quite unapproachable at present owing to the German machine guns in it. At 3rd. Div. H.Q. we found Smart and Berry (the editor of the "Sunday Times") with Casserley, the Press Photographer. As Casserley was new to it I advised them all to come along with me. The crest of the hill was about 300 or 400 yards away. As we walked along the road towards Gillement Farm we noticed at least 20 American dead who must have been killed by shell bursts - possibly in some cases by machinegun fire - before they had even reached their starting point. In the hollow on our right were a number of guns and a line of tanks. On our left on the flat surface of the hill was a disabled tank and a number of men in shell holes - largely belonging to the 3rd. Div. M.G. Battn. Men occasionally crossed the hill-crest on our left front. As occasional shells burst up the road I thought I thought we would make towards our front left for the hilltop where from the crest we ought to be able to get a view of what was happening towards the northern mouth of the tunnel and Bony. We went over, Murdoch and I in front and Smart and Berry following, and had not gone 100 yards when the Germans burst several shells not far away on the left. I altered the course a little to the right past these, and the next salvo fell right amongst us - one whizzbang shell burst about 10 yards behind Murdoch and myself and about 10 yards ahead of Smart. I signed to them to get down into shell-holes, and we sat there while four or five salvoes came over, when the shelling ceased.

Clearly things were too hot for us to take the party in that direction. There was also a fairly constant crackle of machine gun fire in that direction. Accordingly we turned back and walked towards the valley intending to go around to the right where the 5th Division were and where the attack had succeeded. On reaching the line of tanks we found that these tanks had each been blown up by a mine which was placed under the wire. Men who had seen them told us that the mines had heaved the tanks slightly and burst their travellers. The men inside were in some cases killed. Later on Gellibrand told us that these were American tanks and that the mines which had blown them up were old British mines which had been planted in the wire before the German attack on March 21st last year and remained in it still. There were, he said, two notices of "Danger" and the 3rd Div. were aware of this and guided their tanks another way or laid down routes to avoid them. It looked as if the Americans had not been warned and had been allowed to blunder on to the British mines by some terrible mistake. Anyway a line of eight of them were there lying along the wire, and we who saw them at first thought the Germans had successfully solved the problem of dealing with tanks. How these mines would stand a heavy bombardment I don't know. They seem to have consisted of the old plumpudding

bombs fixed up with some sort of fuse which would act only on heavy pressure. The infantry about there were warning one another to keep clear of the mines.

When we got acriss the valley to the south we noticed that Smart and Berry did not follow. I think they were quite right to go back. Smart is a father of seven and I have no doubt Berry has youngsters at home also. We struck towards the sunken road from Ronssoy to Bellicourt passing just east of Hargicourt into the next valley N - the one north of Cologne farm. Here we found some officers of the 2nd Div Artillery who said they did not know what was happening but their guns had been for a long time out of range. They thought things were held up on their left. We walked down towards the line of whippet tanks which we could see in the valley - evidently the six whippet tanks supporting one of the brigades which was held up and not allowed to be launched. By the roadside there were three or four tank officers of the Tank Corps. One of them when we asked how things were told us that the Americans had gone through and that the Australian infantry had been started. "There is still another old front line u p there" he said. We previously heard h eard that the 10th Bde. H.Q. which had been intended to go to Bony had been held u p by machinegun fire in try ing to get there.

While we were with the artillery officers a British plane came down on the hillside a little on our side of Malakoff Wood. It appeared to make a good landing but no pilot got out of it. We set out towards this plane. The valley on that side was at intervals being heavily ~~xxxxxx~~ dusted with German shells. As we ~~xxxx~~ passed up the other side of the valley over the nuckle near the sugar factory we came on six wounded Americans One was trying to crawl in with a bandaged foot, wor king slowly on his hands and knees towards the rear. We directed him towards the road where at least he would be picked up. The others were too badly hit to mo ve. They had been knocked immediately aft er the start . It surprised us that the starting point was so far back as it was here. This was clearly one o f the great difficulties in this morning's attack

The position had been as follows. In the attacks by which we approached the Hindenburg Line the British did not get as far ahead as the Australians. The Australians had reached the Hindenburg outpost line southward from the tunnel mouth. But as it was necessar y to make this attack on the front northward of the Bellicourt Tunnel mouth where the canal passes under the hill, the British on our left had to advance their front line up to the Hindenburg outpost line before the date of the attack. They failed to do this on the northm and the Americans were accordingly put in two days before the attack to advance the line past Gillement Farm. Their attacking troops certainly reached the tr enches all rightm but were cut off by Germans whom they had left behind them or who had crept in on their flank. The American troops out in front were believed still to be there but the German was in beh in d them. The barrage was accordingly laid down beyon d the trench which the Americans had been ~~xxxxxx~~ expected to reach; but the infantry which attacked this morning had to start 1100 yards short of it. We heard of one American officer being rescued from the trenches where he had been for over two days, but I suspect that the greater part of the troops which had made that first attack had long since been captured or killed by the Germans. The Americans who started today had been in s tructed to h urry along with their tanks as fast as they could, ~~xxx~~ starting about 10 minutes before the barrage (so far as I can make out), and

hurrying with the tanks to get up to the barrage line. This was a most difficult operation even for old and trained infantry and a terrible handicap from the start. On top of this these Americans were set to capture two doublelines of Hindenburg trench at a place hwere it comprises possibly the strong est fortifications in the world, andover a di stance longer than any at which Australian divisions had ever been launched.

The wounded Americans were quite without help - one poor chap seemed to have crawled back some distance and lay shivering and deadly cold unable to go any further: he seemed to me to be very ill and possibly dying. I went back to the road to tell some American troops to send along stretcherbearers as soon as they could. In the meantime two of our own stretcherbearers of the 44th Battn passed near, but they had been doing the samesort of work all day long for other troops and had given one of their stretchers to Americans and were now tryi ng to find their own Coy. who might be in need of them. We could not reasonably expect to divert them from their proper job. However, in the end, two American stretcherbearers came and we showed the six men to them. We told them that we had guaranteed these Americans that they would be carried to the road, and asked if they would promise us not to leave the job until it was finished. They answered - "Wh y~~e~~ yes~~s~~ of course we will", i n a surpr ised voice.

As these men left us we saw a French, an Australian and an American officer coming down the road from the direction of Bony. The Australian turned out to be young Maas - the very same with whom I wor ked around the battlefield of Pozieres on the first day and the days preceding it. He told me he had been up to a point where they could clearly see Bony. Between us and Bony were standing some Germans and some Americans quite at their ease; but whether the Americans had gathered the Germans or the Germans the Americans they could not say. On the right everything appeared to be well. They told us that they had seen the English aeroplane come down and had visited the place at once. They found that the pilot had been shot through the ~~xxx~~ leg and was apparently bleeding to death. They had bandaged up his leg and hoped he would survive - they thought he had a chance. We struck across the valley towards him. The Germans were still shelling near the American wounded - close enough to be unpleasant. Half way across the road whom sho uld we meet but Wilkins and Joyce, who had struck difficukties from the very start. They walked back with us up to the aeroplane and we found that the pilot was alread dead lying behind his machine. Wilkins said that there was actually a German machine gun still lively just east of Quennement Farm, a scarred patch of red brickdust which marked the opposite slope of the valley not very far away. This gun had been sniping all day long.

? Frenchman

Wilkins said that when he started this morning he ran into the Americans in the tren ches near Gillement Farm and found the Germans bombing up the trench towards them only a short distance away. The Americans were sitting in the bottom of the trench, apparently thinking that the bombs they h eard were shells. A Lewis gunner was cleaning his gun. Wilkins asked hi m why h e was not shooting. He said he did no t know there was anything to shoot at - or some such remark. Wilkins told h im that unless he used his gun that he would never be able to use it again. The Germans were then within about 90 yards of them in the same trench, the men standing t hr owing their potatoe-masher bombs over the parapets, dowin i nto the trench, and an officer and another man standing up out side in a shellhole directing them. T Wilkins got them to snipe at the officer, but three point blank shots at him did not hit him. However the man next to him was killed and the officer had to take cover. An Australian officer who was with the Americans was trying to get them to organise their trench and put up a defence.

They ~~were~~ seemed to be no t unwilling - but simply appeared to be ignorant of the danger and how to meet it. The Australian officer called up his platoon to come into the trench and they came across over the top - about four or five of them were h it in doing so. The Lewis gunner who was firing beside Wilkins was killed by a machinegun bullet at close range and Wilki ns had a shotpass through his sleeve and gas mask and clipped a section from the point of his chin Obviously ther e was nothi ng more to be photographed in that direction, so he, like outselves, worked round to the right.

On the top of the hill above the aeroplane - about 1000 yards east of Cologne Farm - there ran a deep German communicatio n trench. By the time we reached this the Germans had begun to shell the place with 5.9's too regularly to make the trip across the top pleasant. We waited there ~~fo~~ for a while looking down at Bony which lay absolutely quiet and and apparently deserted - as most dangerous places in battle do appear. We cou ld see no movement at all through our telescope. The A machinegun near Quennement Farm was not firing. A number of tanks had passed over into the gully behind Gillement Farm all the time we were being shelled there - probably it was they that drew the shelling, but we could see no si gns of them from here. They seemed to be Mark V Star tanksk

Present ly when the shelling ~~ceased~~ eased we walked over the top sou th wards. The country here was cut up by shell fire almost as badly as Ypres, the trenches about here and near the American wounded having been constantly hit and sometimes destroyed as thoroughly as in the old Pozieres days, so that no man could have lived in them with impunity. The German shelling continued so we followed one trench - probably the German ou tpost trench - with deep dugouts occupied by American troops. There was a fair number of German killed in these trenches, ~~from the~~ From the edge of the ridge we suddenly came in sight of the big, scarred village of Bellicourt , with Nauroy - the furthest objective of the Americans - on the hill at the back of it. This valley was i n the utmost contrast to the one we had just gone t hrough. In the valley which leads from Hargicourt to Quennement Farm everything clearly had gone wrong. There was very litt le movement except on foot, and not much of that. The chatter of machineguns constantly broke out, especially over the road ~~we~~ we left. But in this valley i n which we looked they were moving the artillery t eams. There were guns unlimbered in a line across the bottom of the valley and n umber s of horses standing by them in the deep chalk trench of the Hindenburg line near the valley bottom. Occasionally german shells burst in the ~~valley~~ valley, but it seemed that either the German was disor ganised or he had no observation of the lower part of the valley. We moved across the valley striking at the bottom the road to Bellicoubt along wh ich odd streams of men were moving close under the shelter of i ts northern bank. We did not follow them into Bellicourt, although Wilkins, I thought, would have liked to do so - but it was late and there was no view from there. Instead we crossedthe valley and up the other side to the top of the knuckle near a disabled tank. The Germans were constant ly shelling this tank but although we saw him to be at least 5 0 or 60 yards around it he never hi t it. Possibly he was shelling a track which led near it, f or parties of pioneers and others would come up the hill nearby and have to dodge past this spot at the run. At least one shell seemed to fall right on top of them almost, but so far as we could see nobody was hurt

From here we watched the skyline about Nauroy and above Bellicourt for any sign of a move, but for some time saw nothing. Then Murdoch suddenly shouted that there were men moving on the hill north-east of Bellicourt. On top of this was a clump of trees around a house which Wilkins looked up on the map and found to be Cabaret Farm. It was just at 3.30, and from a point on the hillside we saw lines of men advancing up the slope both to the right and left of the farm. They seemed to spread fanwise, that is, on the left going northwards, some moving towards the farm itself, those on the right hurrying eastwards. It was clearly an attack because through the telescopes we could see they were running. It was quickly over. The men on the left disappeared into some road or trenches, thus I fancy working over the skyline; those going towards the farm itself seemed to reach certain communication trenches winding in that direction right up on the hillcrest. At this point along the hillcrest we could see the country of what was clearly the 2nd or Le Catelet system of the Hindenburg line. From Cabaret Farm there began to fly white flares bending over and falling just beyond the hilltop but in front of the farm. (Afterwards Rogers, who visited this point, told us that the 15th Bde. had a very hard fight in this attck. A machinegun from the farm or from the trenches in front of it, was playing on them as they came over the top, and a whole line of men lay there killed by it. (When Rogers reached the point where the machinegun was he saw, what he expected to see, that its crew had been well and truly bayonetted).

The movement all died away very quickly. At first we thought that these men looked like Americans because they carried packs, but I was pretty sure they must be Australians because from the state of the battle the Australians were the only ones likely to be attacking. It was raining slightly at this time. We moved a little higher up the hill from a point where we could see the few battered houses, Riqueval, which is immediately over the southern end of the tunnel. and the hills of both sides of the canal as far south as St. Quentin. It was clear that the 9th Corps had made an exceedingly successful crossing here. We knew they were going to have a push at the canal while we attacked the defences over the tunnel. They were said to have provided themselves with floats, lifebelts, lifebuoys and all sorts of material assistance for crossing the water. What we now saw was that they had actually got their guns on to the further side of the canal. Gun teams were as far up as half-way up the hillslope east of the canal - we could see the teams moving towards the guns. I suspected that they were bringing the guns some way back, but the barrage was as far ahead as Magny, so that the infantry had clearly gone much further than we had ever anticipated. We could see a batch of prisoners coming in and some of our infantry on the horizon south-west of Magny, while the barrage was being laid down on the hillslope well to the south of this point again - I should say opposite the smaller tunnel canal east of Belle Englise. It was now about 6 O'clock, so we came northwards as straight as we could, past the same artillery horses in their deep chalk trenches, over the shell-shattered hilltop east of Cologne Farm, across the valley between Hargicourt and Quennement Farm. where things seem easier than before. As we struck up the slope from here a couple of heavy shells fell by the sunken road leading over the top towards Ronssoy. We debouched eastwards to avoid them with the luck that the heavy followed us up. This German battery of 5.9's was clearly putting down a creeping series of heavies with which we were just about keeping pace. We could always hear the shells coming. Sometimes there were shellholes to drop into and sometimes there were not. As we got over the hill we found the H.Q. of the 42nd and 43rd Battns. in the deep sunken road to Ronssoy which clearly had been used by the English as a trench. We noticed H.Q. battn. had its small regimental flag, which was stuck out from some trench a little in front of the road. The C.O. told me (I think it was the 42nd. not 43rd.) that his men were just working

around through the 5th. Division into the front system of Hindenburg trenches and were to bomb up it towards Bony.

It was raining slightly. Wilkins went on to his car. We followed him after seeing the two colonels.

As we crossed that valley we saw one of the most striking scenes that I have witnessed this year. Our artillery limbers and wagons had been taking up the ammunition to the guns which were near to the line of American tanks at the head of the valley. The German battery which had been following us, or probably another battery of 4.2 or 5.9 guns which had been shooting in a desultory fashion around the top of the rise near 42nd Battn. H.Q., suddenly lengthened and began to fire for all it was worth on to the ~~right of~~ road down the near valley. Whether the Germans could possibly have had some observer of that hilltop I don't know. The old machinegun at Guenemont farm was still crackling away as it were in the midst of us, but I don't think any ground observer could have seen into that valley. We, overlooking the head of it, saw a German baloon, and if the shoot was directed by him it was one of the finest bits of artillery I have ever seen. The four guns crashed down their gray shells in sudden smokebursts on either side of the road down which the ammunition wagons were moving. The first salvoes burst about a third of the way down the valley near the head of a column. The drivers began to whip their horses to a gallop and go through it at full speed. The next salvoes lengthened, the gray bursts falling on the south side of the road, the teams sometimes being outlined against them and sometimes being partially hidden by them. The drivers came straight on through the bursts as hard as the teams could gallop with a slight interval between each team. Some of the bursts seemed to fall almost on top of the teams, and in one case I certainly saw some horses standing by which were hit. As the galloping teams, of which there must have been 20 in single file, reached the bottom of the valley, the shells began to explode there with the instantaneous effects and great puff which mark his high explosive shell. I believe the teams got through safely with the exception of four drivers killed - at least so we heard when we got near the bottom of the valley ourselves. We had crossed the valley just before the shells came down, but whilst I was watching some of the dust from one of these shell bursts seemed to blow over and I got a good mouthful and eye-full of it. Both Murdoch and I were sore in the throat and aching in the eyes, and I thought that after getting through the whole day without a scratch we had been well and truly gassed at the end of it. In 3/4-hour it passed, and it could only have been tear gas. We found the car near Ronssoy. We found Gellibrand, on whom we called, lying down in his overcoat. He had a trench mortar party and an artillery observer who went over with the Americans. Only a few of his mortar men had returned, but the observing officer, who had returned also, said that the Americans had undoubtedly got into Gouy and that he had left them there. They never got into Le Catelet, which was full of Germans at the time.

Gellibrand gave us the story of the American tanks having run on to one of our minefields. He himself had been up there to try and find out the position of his men towards Bony and had been chased by machine guns and under the direct fire of whizzbangs - not a bad experience for a Major-General. Whilst we were talking to him a German H.V. gun was shelling his H.Q. and the prisoners cage outside. Two men were killed and several wounded on the top of the spoil bank under which his H.Q. was, and in which Colpitts, the A.P.M., going up when he thought the shelling had finished at the prisoners' cage, suddenly found himself blown into the air and landed on his feet with a bump but unhurt.

As we were coming home Murdoch said - "I do hope John is not going to throw the blame of this failure on the Americans. He must not be allowed to do that on any account." The day's troubles have been due, of course, to the want of training of the Americans. Throughout the day we met little parties of them wandering about only too anxious to find somebody who would tell them what to do. In some cases it was a dozen men in single file wandering after a N.C.O. or other leader. They seemed brave men, and their attitude when one

spoke to them was always high. They regard themselves as being here as Crusaders, and you can see it in their high-minded attitude towards war. They are very stern about the Germans, and they think too many prisoners are taken. One never realised before today what a difference training has made to the Australians. I sometimes find myself wondering whether our men now, with their experience, will be capable of dashing far into fearful losses such as they faced, half-trained, at Pozieres; but one or two instances show well enough that losses don't deter them. Their great value as soldiers now is the manner in which they achieve their results while avoiding the losses which they used to have. Also with their depleted numbers 80 or 90 casualties are as heavy as 300 used to be in the Somme days.

The Joe Cook - Conan Doyle party was here to-day, and Plunkett almost in desperation what to do with them. I told him to settle Joe Cook's complaints by getting him far enough forward to frighten him. We came back to dinner with them tonight. Plunkett said he had done first-rate. Joe was as pleased as Punch and Conan Doyle says it has been "Der tag - the day of his life". Said Plunkett - "I gave orders to our driver to go on as long as he saw any other car - and then go beyond that. He pushed right up into the battlefield, and we had landed in the trenches overlooking Bellicourt. Joe was as pleased as a kid. He didn't realise at first that the shells would hurt, and when we had to get into the trenches for 20 minutes with everybody else, he woke to the fact that he had been in the thick of it." I had dinner with them, Cook proudly relating what he had seen.

SEPTEMBER 30th. Went up this morning to Monash with Murdoch and Gilmour. The first thing John said when we got inside the door was - "Well, you see what I expected might happen has happened". "The Americans sold us a pup". He went on to say that the American divisional staffs had simply disobeyed orders (I suppose he meant orders about mopping up). "They're simply unspeakable", he added. He said that our 3rd and 5th Divisions were going on and would bomb up the front and 2nd Hindenburg systems respectively - the 3rd Division towards Bony and the 5th Division towards Le Catelet. At the moment, so far as he knew, the 5th Division were a little bit ahead of the 3rd. While we were there the news came that the 11th Bde. was beyond Bony. The 14th Bde. was taking up the Le Catelet line.

We wrote out our messages, Murdoch, Gilmour and I, and after lunch started for a couple of Divisional Headquarters. We went first to the 5th Division at Hervilly. Here Jim Chapman, their G.S.O. 3, told us that their troops of the 14th Bde. who were attacking up towards Le Catelet, had had a very stiff time with machinegun fire from the direction of the tunnel, which was between them and the 3rd Bde. working towards Bony. We went into tea with Hobbs, who had an American General in there with him. This was General Lewis, of the 30th American Division. Lewis said that as far as he knew his troops had got their objectives, and he was clearly very proud of them. They had captured 1200 prisoners. Chapman afterwards told us that 250 of these and six guns had been brought back by the 5th Division from the direction of Nauroy, although he would say that over 1000 were American prisoners. A german battalion commander had been captured by the 5th Division who said that he knew of 600 Americans having been taken prisoner. The Americans, Chapman thought, must have all been knocked out by now, although they certainly had been in places much ahead of our troops at one time. However, the 8th Bde. had had to fight quite hard even to reach the village of Bellicourt, which had been much better mopped up than the country further north where our 3rd Division attacked. All this time we have been very anxious to know whether there are many Americans still out ahead of our troops.

Hobbs told us after tea, when the American general had left, it had been the greatest difficulty to him attacking without artillery, but the army had insisted on this as they did not want to run the risk of firing on any Americans who might be out in front. John Monash told us that no artillery had been used, but Hobbs said that artillery had been asked for again and again by him on certain points, and had been granted under the condition that he must ask for it in each case where he wanted it. ~~The air reports were that parties of Americans~~ I fancy he said, however, that now he was in a position to use it whenever he wanted it. The air reports were that parties of Americans had reached points just inside the "red" line. Some of our men who had been with them were said to have heard the Americans say that they were not going to leave the final objective to the Aussies, but that they were going to take it for themselves. Hobbs thinks, and ~~do~~ so does Monash, that this was why they went too far. This was part of the "unspeakable" disobedience or orders that made John Monash so angry. Aeroplanes have been reporting even today that the discs which our troops take forward with them in order to show what point they have reached have been seen at intervals along the Beaurevoir line; but it is q uite possible that the Germans captured some of these discs from the Americans and spread them out along the "red" line in order to avoid our artillery fire and puzzle our people. Men in khaki uniforms are also said to have been seen there. As an example of the difficulties caused by this Chapman told us of the sugar factory on the road to Estrees. This factory was reported from the air to be held by our troops and for that reason we could not get our artillery to fire on it for a long while - Corps refusing to allow it. The troops who were on the spot attacking it reported that they were suffering from heavy machinegun fire from this factory, and it took some time to convince Corps sufficiently to allow it to be pounded. Finally it was pounded and rushed and a strong post was found there. Germans and not Americans were found in it.

We went to the 3rd Div. H.Q., which was quite handy, and met old Colpetts, who showed us where he had been blown up, after which we went on to Gellibrand, who was very worried when we called on him this afternoon. He had been having a heart to heart talk with John Monash, with the result that he had been ordered to make a frontal attack tomorrow due-eastwards upon the untaken country ahead of the 14th Bde. - that is, the canal tunnel line. Gelly said that when you had a defence so strong as the Hindenburg line ahead of you and when you had already pierced that line on the right, where the English and the 8th Bde. were, it was clearly not a time for frontal attacks. If ever there were a time for tackling an obstacle in some other way than frontally, surely this was the time. Gelly had had strong words with the old man but hadn't persuaded him, and the attack was ordered for tomorrow at dawn. However, whilst we were there Corps rang up and Jess came on the telephone to tell the General that the Army had decided that tomorrow's attack might be unnecessary. The Division was still to go on drawing up their plans for it, but they would be informed of the decision later. "I thought it would soak in" was Gellibrand's comment.

Americans are still fighting amongst our troops, Gellibrand said. Yesterday he finally gave orders that our men should organise whatever Americans were amongst them

The British on our right are said to have taken Joncourt. The Belgians in the north have made a splendid advance and the British are said to be in Wervicq and close to Menin within a few miles of Lille. Above all there comes the extraordinarily welcome news that Bulgaria has given in. She has asked for an armistice and this is being granted on terms.

We wanted to see one of the American divisions on our way back and so called at Buire Wood near Tincourt, where their 30th Division had been. Some junior staff officers - they did not wear any distinguishing red or other coloured

patches - of their staff told us that H.Q. were up beyond Rozieres. It was dark so we came home.

Murdoch reminded me to-day of the fact that a few days ago we heard Monash speaking on the 'phone to Montgomery, the Chief of Staff of the Army, about (I think) the two American Divisions. "Tell them to place themselves unreservedly in my hands, and I will guarantee success", he said; and added - "You do that: tell them to place themselves in my hands. So long as they do that they will be all right."

OCTOBER 1st. Wilkins was telling us of the interior of the big tunnel which he had visited. Nobody knows, apparently, who is at the northern end of it, but a 5th Division officer or man yesterday, as he was wandering up the towpath in the dark, said that he had come in sight of the further end of it when he suddenly received a shock and was knocked over by some force which he didn't understand; and on the strength of this the idea is now held that the Germans have blown in the tunnel half-way. The story as Wilkins heard it was pretty vague. Wilkins said that the Germans had a string of barges inside the tunnel close beside the towpath in which they evidently kept a garrison. Some pioneers told him that when they first visited the place they found a meal spread in one of these barges and had finished it. The Americans had established a machinegun position at the tunnel mouth, and there is a story that when the Americans first reached the place it was lit with electric light. It is dark now. The 14th Bde. found an entrance leading out of it about 500 yards from the southern end, and Wilkins went up as far as this. Murdoch told the story of this tunnel in his wire last night, and by the way in which the typewriter was going I should say he relished it. Dyson, who was in bed, did not. I left it alone as Murdoch was telling it.

This morning Murdoch added a few embellishments to the tunnel story and then he and Gilmour left fairly early - this before lunch - going to see the tunnel for themselves, and possivly to the 8th Bde. and Elliott's Bde. H.Q. somewhere near Nauroy. (I fancy this location is wrong.) I waited during the morning to finish some of this all-important correspondence about the photographs, which has to be dealt with as soon as it comes in, and after lunch went out with Crawford intending if possible to get to the tunnel. We went first again to the 5th Div. H.Q. There was a lot of transport on the road and we were very slow. When we reached the Division at Hervilly I was afraid there would not be time to go any further. However, Chapman told us that the 8th Bde. was close by the tunnel and cars could get as far as Bellicourt, so we decided to chance it and run down there at any rate to see the tunnel. The road turned out to be excellent and clear. It was after leaving Hargicourt and climbing the hill it became a plank road wandering across the old Hindenburg battlefield. (I was under the impression that it must have been made by one of John's roadmaking parties, but Wilkins says it was a German road and had several craters blown in it. We certainly passed two such craters, with the road diverted around them by our engineers and one crater already filled in).

Crossing the hilltop you come in full view of the hills north-east of Le Catelet and Gouy, which are in the possession of the Germans, not more than two or three miles distant, and why the German lets our traffic pass up and down that road without shelling it I cannot conceive. If we saw such a thing in any of our visits to the front we should argue that it was owing to a complete lack of watchfulness on the part of our artillery.

We left the car at the foot of the hill just west of Bellicourt near where was another car which we recognised as Murdoch's and a third which had brought up young Rogers to see the battlefield. The Germans were throwing a very few large shells into Bellicourt. We left the car on the road and cut across towards the southern tunnel entrance of the Bellicourt tunnel. We had to pass some deep trenches, not revetted or over well-kept, and band after band of heavy

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wire which, however, had been cut. In parts the wire was fairly intact, but I noticed at least one lane cut through it about 50 to 100 yards wide by very recent shellfire. Beyond these bands of wire again were other trenches in which the dugouts were certainly remarkably deep and well-built, and there seemed to be many of them. They were built on the generous German scale and not our wretchedly cramped model, in which one's tin hat constantly protects one's head against stunning collisions with roof timbers.

We met an engineer and asked him the way to the tunnel entrance. He pointed to a large house in the south of the village and said that the way was to go up to that and in there was a stairway which led down to the tunnel, We made our way to the house. I noticed that the Germans were fitfully shelling the southern end of the village also. A good road ran away to the south from the outskirts of the village, and occasionally men were moving on it. We entered the house but could find no trace of a tunnel entrance. Like a fool I had forgotten to bring my torch and we could find no candles. We poked around the cellars where Germans clearly had been living, and where there seemed to be an untidy collection of shavings, tins of eatables, bottles, and an unfinished glass of beer. A party of Americans under an officer came in here also searching for this tunnel entrance. They said they wanted to see a corpse factory which was supposed to have been found in the tunnel. They too hunted with us, but after lighting many matches we found only blind walls and stuffiness in the cellars, though a draught coming from somewhere seemed to show that the story of a tunnel entrance ~~seemed to be~~ was correct. We decided to push on to the tunnel itself.

The road led over the edge of a dip, and there we found the buildings of Riqueval, which we knew to be over the tunnel mouth itself. We could see the dark scrub banks of the tunnel running like a cut between the hills. Our artillery teams were moving across the hillslope to the left, and a few troops of the 8th Bde. were gathering around some bivouac in the gully on our left. Past the actual head of the tunnel in Riqueval artillery teams seemed to be moving up with ammunition or guns. There is a red brick house immediately over the valley centre where the tunnel enters. From in front of it you look into a long V-shaped cutting about 80 feet deep with steep scrub-covered banks, perhaps 50 yards from side to side. This runs away and disappears around a corner to the right about half a mile distance. At the bottom of the cutting there runs the shallow water of the canal, and beside this, on the left-hand side, a towpath. Just at the tunnel entrance there is the framework of about 70 yards of landing stage. On the ~~approxim~~ opposite side (west), which offered shelter to the Germans, there were still the German bivouacs mostly made of wood and malthoid much as we found them at the ramparts at Bapaume in 1917., and in the valley north of Harbonnieres on August 8th. last. They always remind one of the arbours in a pleasure-garden or a German bier-garten, generally having tables in the open and almost always being fitted with doors and windows taken from houses in the neighbouring French villages - an advantage which, of course, is not open to us.

We went down the western side of the canal and found old Tivey's H.Q. in one of these comfortable German arbours. The old man was full of talk when I asked him for an account of his brigade. He said that he knew there had been foolish statements made about the Americans reaching the "green" line (which was their objective), but that there was no truth at all in this. (The greater part of my cable this morning and of Murdoch's had been occupied in a warm appreciation of the Americans who had reached the green line and beyond it, and was despatched as a precaution against any of John Monash's aspersions of them reaching their ears or setting the tone of the comment).

Tivey said that the commander of one of the American regiments had been with him and that this commander himself had said that he was satisfied that only two platoons of his men at the outside reached Nauroy. (One knows from experience that a

1/10/18. commander who cannot get news of his troops is often inclined to jump at conclusions that they have not got through even when the infantry or the aeroplanes report that they have got through. It is a more comfortable solution for the man who does not want to be called on to make further efforts to reach them).

Tivey said that the brigade had started to find opposition even before it reached Bellicourt. (Chapman at Division told me that the 5th Div. had not met with more opposition at the outset than would be expected - but certain number of Germans are always bound to be left behind). Tivey said that the 32nd Battn. had had the hardest job of the lot in constantly having to extend and extend its line in order to keep touch with the British on the right who had gone further than we had, the brigade finishing up by having a tremendously long front. Patrols had been into Joncourt, but the line held was still this side of it. Tivey said that he was quite sure that no Americans existed out in front. His brigade had found parties of them near Nauroy but not further out.

The Germans on the 3rd Div. sector seemed to have been very much helped by two factors. Firstly, Gellibrand says they certainly released some of their prisoners. On the first evening he told us that he had heard of 500 prisoners being taken by the Americans and that nothing more had been seen of these 500. The Americans were known at ~~xxxx~~ one time to have been out in the front of our line with these 500, not knowing what to do with them. Gellibrand thinks that when they sent them back they sent them with escorts not sufficiently large to bring them through, and that these Germans either ~~xxxxxxxx~~ released themselves or were released by others who had crept up in the trenches behind them and were armed with rifles and machineguns picked up on the spot. The Germans also certainly worked in behind the 3rd Div. from the open flank. They could not do this in the south because the British had advanced so well there.

We went down to the tunnel mouth. On the way down a couple of young officers asked us to have a look at the "Corpse Factory" which was supposed to have been found in a chamber just inside the entrance. They lent us a German torch to light us. Americans were trooping ~~down~~ out of the tunnel entrance. They had been occupying it up till then as a bivouac, and were now leaving it as their divisions were being withdrawn. We crossed the wooden footbridge in front of the tunnel mouth, and there I copied an inscription which was carved on a slab of slate above the round brick entrance:

"Napoleon Emperor and King opened the canal of St. Quentin which re-unites the basins of the Seine and the Scheldt. Commenced in 1802 and finished in 1810, under the ministries of ~~xxxxxx~~ Counts CRETE and de MONTALIVET. This canal was executed under the direction of A N GAYANT."

Inside the tunnel we found immediately a stone stairway in the brick tunnel wall leading sharply up to the right. It was quite dark but the German torch guided us up the stone steps. At the top, evidently somewhere over the entrance of the canal tunnel, the steps led into a long narrow brick chamber. The far end of this chamber had been prolonged in the shape of a narrow gallery fitted with the ordinary double layers of bunks, (wood and wirenetting), for about 15 men. On the left-hand side of the brick chamber, just inside the stairs, was what looked like one of those long French wagons for carting trees. It consisted of two old cartwheels at the near end, then a pair of long, narrow poles covered with wirenetting. At the other end was a second pair of old wagon wheels. Beyond this, on the left, was a low counter of cement into shich had been let two coppers about 2'6" across. Continuing this counter was a wooden table on which were some tins or other gear of a cookhouse. Under the coppers there must have been a fire because a large kitchen stovepipe led out through the wall, or at some time had done so.

On the floor, between the wooden table and the brick wall, were

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were 11 Germans lying in all positions, mostly facing the table, quite clearly lying exactly as they had fallen when some disaster killed them. Between the furthest wagon wheel and the wall was a 12th man lying crumpled up like a dead mouse in this narrow space. In the first of the two coppers was a 13th man shaken to bits, with his head below the surface of the copper and his shoulder-blade showing clearly through the tattered gray cloth of his coat. The red brickdust and shattered earth of some explosion was sprinkled all over them, giving them the appearance that the surfaces of books have which have lain for months on the shelves of some dusty library.

The fact that this man was in the copper and the others lying dead in the place, and that two or three tins of fat were lying in the room, had given rise to the story that this was at last German Corpse Factory which had been discovered in actual operation when the Hindenburg tunnel was seized. No story is too wild for some people to believe it and this had been related to the war correspondents; and I heard afterwards that even some senior officers had expressed a belief in it. Old Tivey told me that at first when he saw the place he believed it was really a corpse factory, but afterwards, on consideration, he decided that it was a mere accident - this was after examining it with an engineer.

It took not 10 seconds after we had got into the room for us to decide quite positively what had happened. The theory of a corpse factory was out of court in the first second. But whether these men had been killed while trying to lay a mine or were effectively slaughtered by a shell, was for a few seconds in doubt. One almost immediately noticed the mark of a shellburst across the floor and the wall - the typical pitting in two lines as though the shell fragments had been sprayed from the point of the shellburst in those two directions. The shell had burst slightly beneath the floor at the right-hand side just inside the chamber from the staircase. Wooden boards had been placed over the gap in the floor since, this probably in order to help the Germans to get out some men wounded in the distant chamber where the bunks were. On the wall, above the copper where the body was, one noticed a round hole which at first sight seemed to be the one through which the stovepipe had previously been carried. A second glance showed on the cement the typical boring of a shell, with the groove made by the rifling on the driving band clearly marked. It was about a 6" shell, and it had come in from the direction of Pontruet, had bored clean through three or four feet of masonry and earth which protected the chamber from the outside air - made a slightly curved channel exactly as I have seen shells do at Anzac, and burst on reaching the floor on the opposite side of the chamber. One man had been thrown into the copper in a shattered condition by the explosion, and another thrown behind the wagon wheel - it is possible that they were sitting on the edge of the copper and the wheel, but it is more likely they were pitched up against the ceiling first. Anyway, the dust of the explosion still lay over both of them. The 11 men lying on the ground were all of a heap, and I could not swear that there might not have been another. One man's head was completely blown off; another's skull was cracked like an eggshell; and the explosion had flung pieces of them on to the walls.

The chamber was filled with a most sickly stench, and I heard one hardened Australian mule driver, who had come up to see the "Chamber of Horrors", saying that it was too much for him and that he would have to get out. An American was explaining to his mates - "Well, I never believed it before, but now I have seen it I can write home and tell them that I have seen it with my own eyes". Several Australians, who were wandering over the place with candles, were a good deal more critical. One young chap said - "If this is the way they do it - one man at a time - all I can say is that it must be a bloody long job!"

(Austin (an artilleryman) [illegible] of 3rd Div)

I was very nearly sick before we reached the open air.

1//10/18. The place was evidently one which had been used by the Germans either as a cookhouse or a messroom. The chamber ~~xhixxh~~ had probably been constructed originally for the raising and lowering of the old wooden portcullis gate, part of which still remains in a slot at the entrance of the tunnel, and the wagon wheels are, I imagine, some antiquated machinery connected with this.

We wandered up the towpath for about 100 yards. Twenty yards inside the entrance the Germans had built on a bridge across the water a concrete screen with a square hole for a machinegun, but this machinegun does not appear to have been used, for although we found in the chamber inside the loophole a machine for filling belts and a half-filled machinegun belt in it, we did not see a single expended cartridge. Beyond this screen the tunnel is intensely black. Large black wooden barges are jammed end to end. The first two of these seemed to be empty, and the pair of holds seemed to contain nothing but bilgewater and rubbish; but after this the barges were fitted with bunks and occasionally a messtable, and they had been used evidently for the living quarters of the garrison of the Hindenburg line. Some of our pioneers were sitting around a fire on the towpath. The place was curiously full of a smell of rubber solution. I don't know whether it was some apparatus employed by the Germans to keep the air pure. We picked up a lantern from the dark interior as being the best relic of the place for the museum, and as it was getting late marched back again towards the car outside Bellicourt. As we passed Brigade H.Q., the 5th Bde. staff was just coming in.

It was nearly dark when we reached old Body. Murdoch's car had gone, but Rogers' driver was still there. We moved up the road. John Monash had told us that morning that the artillery was going to move up with a view to pounding the German positions before our next advance. A short way up the road we began to meet traffic, and suddenly ran into a block.

It is curious that the last time I met artillery going across an old battlefield like this exactly the same thing occurred. The day after we got through Bapaume Gough suddenly ordered all his heavy artillery on to the roads without warning Corps, and the result was the most hopeless block of traffic I have ever seen. Body and I got involved in it at 6 p.m., and Body reached home some time before four o'clock next morning. This time nearly the same thing happened. Luckily the weather was dry or I don't think this block would have ever been dissolved. Morning would have found a hopeless jamb on the wooden road, and if the Germans, who would have been in full sight of it at three miles distance, had not blown the road to blazes they would have been very poor soldiers. In that old block in 1917 we suddenly entered a wild storm of rain and hail which made the whole road impassable, and the heavy guns and tractors blundering through the mud blocked the traffic beyond hope for many hours. This time it was a four-wheel driven lorry with a 6" howitzer behind which had managed to get ~~ixxxifx~~ its tow partially off the planks on the edge of the road. Only one wheel of the limber went off the road, but the lorry after failing to get the limber on again, left the gun half-way across the fairway. The consequence was that all traffic had to pass this point in single file. By the time we reached it the block was only about a dozen vehicles long in our direction, but it took an hour at least to clear it. We found that the traffic in the other direction was blocked all the way across the old battlefield to Hargicourt, but with the orderliness that is so admirable in the British transport it had kept to its own side of the road, and we did not meet a single case of double-banking until we were nearly in Hargicourt.

1/10/18. There about half a dozen wagons had tried to pass some of the standing traffic and had ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ met our column, and a hopeless block followed, which must have lasted two hours. In the first block on the top of the hill I went forward, and with about half a dozen other officers helped to work the traffic through by stages until our respective convoys were clear. There was no traffic control man from one ~~xxxx~~ end of the road to the other, nor did we meet one until we were clear of the block in Hargicourt.

In the second block I worked about half a mile ahead between the jammed teams of double-banked traffic until I came to the circus at Hargicourt without meeting anyone in direction of the traffic except a single Australian youngster who was letting his own ammunition column through along a cross-road towards the north. There was one man on traffic control duty at Hargicourt, but he had disappeared 100 yards down the road to deal with one of the five streams of traffic which converged there. The one thing that saved the situation was the orderliness of the drivers themselves. Had half a dozen men amongst them attempted to work a point for themselves by double-banking, the traffic would never have got out that night. As it was we got through in the wake of a tank - which acts as a splendid lubricator for traffic - and arrived home about 12.20 a.m

(This night's experiences were naturally written up ~~not~~ at the time, bur one week later. I expected to hear that Rogers' car had been kept on the road all night, but they must have got through in our wake. The road was more or less clear before dawn and the guns got there all right; although Monash, in describing the advance to Murdoch next day, thought one of the things which were holding up the battle all over the front at present was the appalling congestion of the roads. Said Monash - "It is holding up the Belgians in Flanders; it is holding us up here; it is holding the British at Cambrai".).

Today's fighting was as follows:- We attacked with tanks at 6 a,m, north-west of Joncourt and against Mill Ridge and Follemprise Farm, reaching these objectives early. Since then we have worked through the village of Estrees on the Roman Road to Le Catelet immediately in front of the Beaurevoir line. We found that the Germans had rushed up reserves to Joncourt in a great hurry, the 2nd. Guards Division being called back from a rest because there were no further reserves. A captured German officer said that the German artillery was moved back on the 29th September. We hear that the strength of the 1st Battn. of the 2nd Guards Regt. is 90. North-west of Cabaret Wood our attack on the Lamp Signal Station met with heavy casualties. The Beaurevoir and Fonsomme line seems to be strongly held. We reached the edge of Bony yesterday afternoon, but last night Bony was still not clear. Our troops helped to get the village of ~~xxxx~~ Joncourt. The German line in the north still runs in front of Gouy, but after today's attack our line south of this point runs roughly parallel to the Beaurevoir, which is the last line of the Hindenburg system.

We hear that the Belgians and British have taken 250 guns; the Canadians are all around Cambrai; and the Americans and French near Verdun have 22,000 prisoners.

OCTOBER 2nd. Before going out this morning with the party of visitors which has just arrived at our new visitors' camp in Biaches, we went up to Corps to get the news for the cable. Major Hunn tells us that the strong impression is that the Germans are retiring. It was noticed yesterday that 80 per cent. of their movement went east between noon and dusk, and 20 per cent. went west. Guns were seen going by Beaurevoir. A new prisoner taken from the rearguard early this morning (apparently in the Le Catelet line or near Estrees) said the orders were to fight until they were heavily attacked and then to retire fighting - where he could not say. Air reports say that the Germans have been seen moving east of the Beaurevoir line. The Germans have blown up all the bridges between Vendhulle and Gouy and there is only one left on the 3rd Corps front. The German divisions now against us have

2/10/18. mostly been hurriedly rushed into the line. The 21st Div. and 2nd Guards Div. were in the Peronne-Mont St. Quentin fight until a fortnight ago; the 119th Div. was opposed to our 1st and 4th Divisions on September 18th. All these were put in after the battle on the 29th. Last night all these were opposite us - the 119th Division right opposite, the 54th, 121st and parts of the much broken-up 185th were also there. The 185th must practically have been wiped out by the number of prisoners taken from them.

We went up to-day immediately after lunch with the visiting party. These consisted of Major Beath ("Ian Hay"), who has written the most popular books of the war and has been for some time in America on propaganda work. He is a tall, dark, English-looking Scotsman, with a very quiet manner, and so obviously very shy at being taken around with ~~xx~~ what looked like a string of Cook's tourists straggling across the battle-field in felt hats and baggy trousers, picking up souvenirs, until they gradually became laden like a salvage dray. Sir Gilbert Parker, ~~who~~ has grown stout of late and less like the shrewd, sharp-faced business man he used to ~~be~~semble. He is curiously matter-of-fact and simple for the man of the world I took him for. There were two other dry old gentlemen~~t~~ - Bailey, of the Plymouth "Western Morning Herald", and Munro, of the "Glasgow Evening News". Bailey had been asked over for three days, and when he found that the trip was cut down to two he looked very stern and seemed inclined to put in a half-formal protest, which much amused Bill Dyson.

We took them through Hargicourt, and although it had been lowering all day and had just begun to rain, we decided to chance the plank road over to Bellicourt on which we had had such an unpleasant experience the night before. As the three cars worked up the hill out of ~~Bellicourt~~ Hargicourt just on to the beginning of the plank road and the tail of the block, a H.V. shell whizzed down fair into the road about 100 yards ahead. There was a stir amongst the traffic, a scattering of mules and a scramble of men up on the bank as though something had been hit, and I decided that with this party it would be unwise to attempt to go on. We backed out just before getting entangled in the block and just as a second shell whizzed over and burst where the first had done. The third shell burst short of the road, but by this time we had turned for the alternative route to Villeret.

The plank road to Bellicourt was, I think, the "red" road of the operation orders. From the ruins of Villeret there started a "black" road which appeared to consist almost entirely of mud buttressed up as it wound between the shell holes. We left the car in Villeret, and walked across the valleys to Bellicourt. On our way we noticed that the traffic was still passing over the hill along the plank road as if nothing interfered with it, although we could still see the shells burst beside it. Wilkins later told us that he thought nothing was killed, although two shells hit the road fair. The party of civilians found the 5th Division coming out - the 2nd Division having just gone in. For some reason the whole way across the old battlefield the civvies were under a perpetual barrage of chaff from the Diggers. "The war's over", we used to hear, and it even went to remarks like - "I'd bloody well recruit them". Gilbert Parker was acutely conscious of having brought an umbrella, and looked really funny as he walked festooned with fieldglasses and souvenirs. The three older civilians could not carry it off at all, and I had to do my best with remarks like - "You know it is a real change for the men to see these clothes" - "And your hats are attracting a great deal of attention", W. S. Robinson, the Western Australian goldfield financier, was a younger man and an Australian, and had a cheery manner. I noticed that so long as he went first the chaff was always ~~good-humoured~~ good-humoured. They seemed to know at sight that he was an Australian.

We visited the tunnel and went up the line of barges. Wilkins tells me that these are not continuous. At intervals there are a few some of which have been sunk and the remainder

2/10/18. used as a barracks for the garrison. He also says there are many entrances of 250 steps into the moorland about 200 yards east of the canal. We did not go as far as this. The 5th Bde. had moved in and the lives of our visitors ~~xxxxxx~~ were saved by begging a cup of water from Martin, who gave them tea. We managed to reach home by packing Sir Gilbert Parker and old Bailey into an ammunition cart together with a good-natured ~~xxxx~~ Quartermaster Sergeant, and these two elderly civilians, stowed into the limber like bottles in a case, being towed over the mud by a driver on a pair of wheels, must have been ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the funniest sight that the outgoing division had seen for a long time.

It was raining miserably as we reached the car. We knew there was a big fight for the next day, when the 2nd Australian Division with the British troops on the south flank was going to tackle the Beaurevoir line, and it made one rather miserable to think that men were going to undertake this job on such a dirty night. On ~~xxx~~ the way back the G.H.Q. Daimler in which I was travelling broke down. We had taken a wrong turning in Buire and the car in trying to back and turn on the muddy road into which we had bumped, broke down in its differential. The night was very black with a Scotch mist. The young Englishman who drove the car seemed to me to be a little helpless. I wandered around in search of a telephone, and some English engineers in shelters close by took me to their H.Q. Whilst there the young O.C. saved the situation very generously by having my three old ladies ~~xxx~~ in to sit around the fire and have some coffee, after which he sent us bumping home in his boxcar. Dyson and Wilkins had been laying bets as to how much Gilbert Parker and the old Plymouth Brother had tipped the Q.M. in the ration cart. The odds were that it was a shilling between the two, Dyson said. I know they tipped the boxcar driver better than that!

OCTOBER 3rd. It was raining last night and it looked as though the troops this morning would get a miserable start, but it has cleared up and the weather is as warm and bright as one could wish. The weather has been extraordinarily favourable to us all this year. As one youg prisoner said to a man whom Dyson was talking to today up the line, when the latter pointed to his belt which was embossed - "Gott mit Uns". "Not 'Gott mit uns", he said; "Gott gegen uns". We went to Headquarters in the morning to find out the position. As usual, reports there were glowing. Aeroplanes had seen our troops mopping up in the village of Beaurevoir. We were well through the Beaurevoir line and the British on the right had taken Ramicourt and were said to be releasing civilians either there or at Montbrehain beyond. I wrote this up - "At last through the last system of the Hindenburg line." "Mopping up" is a dry expression not known to civilians, so I translated it in the wire that the troops had been reported to have been seen working through the streets and gardens and clearing out the cellars.

We went straight up to the point from which one guessed we could see this Beaurevoir line and village. We left the car by the sugar factory at Estrees, where there were already some 6" guns, and a little to the back of them the road appeared to have been recently shelled, with one or two craters in it and dead horses lying about. Not a shell was falling either in Bellicourt or Nauroy - the latter village being on the top of the hill beyond Bellicourt. An astonishing amount of traffic was moving over these roads considering how newly they had been taken. We struck straight on up the road to the hilltop above Estrees. Only an occasional shell was falling over the crest to our right. There was a line of our guns, about three or four batteries of them, in the valley behind the crest on the left behind Folie mprise Farm. Murdoch wanted to go on straight to the Beaurevoir line or beyond, but I advised him to cut across to a shell hole on the ridge on our left and have a good look on the landscape and see the position before we moved. I have always found this to be wise and save trouble.

We found a suitable shell hole with the village of Estrées - red roofs in back gardens and a fine mass of a red brick

3/10/18. church arising above them - 400 yards to our right front, and cemetery of the village about the same distance to our left.
~~[illegible]~~
On the crest on our immediate left was Folemprise Farm. There was a valley below us and beyond it, on the next knuckle of hill along the edge of the crest, ran the wire of the Beaurevoir line. Beyond this over a second knuckle ran the treelined Roman Road. Tp the left of this was what looked like an ~~[illegible]~~ abandoned gun. In the valley on the north of these knuckles must have run the curious ditch knownas the Torrens Canal, which has been somewhat of an anxiety to our Corps staff. They heard that it drained a marsh and that it contained about a metre of water several metres wide. On the slopes on the north of this valley lay sprawling the red-roofed village of Beaurevoir. Beyond it was the rolling green open country, with the distant horizon banded in trees and a church tower amongst them, next to which through the telescope we could see a German Red Cross flag over a house on whose roof the red cross was painted in a white circle. To the left of Beaurevoir was a single red house standing by itself; and left of this again was the clump of trees surrounding Bellevue Farm. Left of this again, and more distant, was another clump of trees surrounding the larger farm of Guisaucourt. The farm buildings of Lormisset were closer to us just where the hill left cut off the view. We knew that Lormisset, which was in the Beaurevoir line,had been taken. I noticed that some machine-gunners were sitting in a shell-hole on this slope along which we passed. This did not look as though the whole landscape was in our possession. They said they had gone forward but struck a gap where there were no infantry ahead of them, and they thought there had been something of a mess-up. Then from our shell-hole we noticed that in the landscape beyond Beaurevoir there were any quantity of figures moving. It was as full of movement as I have ever seen a battlefield.

From Premont I saw a motor lorry moving off towards the German rear. Just beyond the southern end of Beaurevoir, where it ends in a ~~[illegible]~~ cemetery under what looks like a row of olive trees, there was moving from left to right a body of about 30 or 40 men in no particular formation, and at first, so far as one could see through the telescope, without arms. By their heavy hocks and the gray shade of their uniforms, we took them for Germans, and we wondered if they could be prisoners as our objective was well beyond Beaurevoir on the limit of the high ground. The Germans, however, or some of them. seemed to be carrying what appeared to be either stretchers or machineguns - two of them bearing what looked like a stretcher but what I afterwards decided was the carriage of a heavy machinegun - and others carrying something on their shoulders. They moved towards the Torrens valley till the knuckle beyond La Motte Farm hid them. Several times we saw either this body of men, or another like it, and I was still perplexed as to what they were until we saw that some of them were speaking to isolated vehicles of transport which were moving off in several places towards the German rear - clearly transport retiring. It followed that this must be German infantry or machine gunners advancing. Therefore our line was not likely to be in Beaurevoir cemetery - if it had been these Germans would have been under machinegun fire. Through the country behind Beaurevoir, every here and there, we could see gun teams moving, apparently with guns; ~~[illegible]~~ and along what looked like a road towards the southern end of the distant landscape below Premont we saw a whole line of guns or transport moving away. There was practically no artillery fire at all on either side, and it struck one that the German was moving back his guns and that presently his artillery would descend again. Meanwhile we could see not a sign of movement of any sort in the town of Beaurevoir. The Beaurevoir wire and trenches in front of Estrees were clearly ours because we could see an occasional man there, and later on the 24th Battn. was moving up in platoons from behind the gardens of Estrees immediately in front of us.

They passed around the left of thetown and up to the Beaurevoir line. Seeing this movement, or for some other reason, the Germans put down a heavy barrage with whizzbangs on the back gardens of Estr ees. To the left of Beaurevoir on the ~~hillcrest~~ h illcrest was the red house mentioned above, and Bellevue Farm. We saw a party of men mo ving up the hill near the red house and suddenly begin running for it They entered it and present ly began to leave it again working along the road to Beaurevoir. About the same time the guns in the valley behind us and all the guns in the background behind us opened a heavy bombardment of Beaurevoir and of the crest onwchich these men were making, their passage to the village ~~was~~ rath er uncom fortable. The bombardment was. mo stly shrapnel and we noticed that it began on the further side of Beaurevoir and far beyond La Motte farm and gradually shortened on to ou r side of the town. The white shrapnel puffs could beclearly seen against the red house, with an occasional bu rst of high explosives amongst the bricks. The Torrens Valley gradually filled with dust. This made us guess that what we at first took as a bombardment preliminary to a further attack by us must really be a barrage laid down agai nst a counter attack by the Germans. (I fancy that both the men whom we saw near the red house and the Germans beyond the cemetrey were caught with two of the three counterattacks which we delivered, according to General Wisdon's accou nt, during the day.)

Something had clearly gone wrong with the attack. The f urthest point at which we saw our men was on a certain winding sunkenroad leading into the southern end of Beaurevoir

While we were watching this scrap there came over the hilltop into our shellhole a couple of artillerymen from the batteries behind the hill. One was a Sergeant Major who had been with thebattery a long time. "It isn't often we get a chanceof seeing anything" he said. "They won't let us get up with the infantry. I reckon we don't haveto undergo a circumstance to what they have to put up with. I reckon they ough t to be pensioned off, the whole lot of them, if they get back after this. Ours is a soft job besides theirs" We t old him he could see Germans and German guns if he liked through our telescope, and he was as delighted asa child. "I'll have to be getting back or I'll be pinched as an absentee like I was before when an aeroplane fell near our batter y and I went off to see it. I thought it had fallen abou t 100 yards away, but we walked a hell of a distance before we came to it, and when I got back I was on the mat for a deserter. That is what will be happening this time" he said, laugh ing as he climbed out of the shellhole and went off.

(To 8 Bde HQ)

We hurried back to the 5th Bde H.Q. in the Canal cutting south of the tunnel. We found Martin just inside the window with his Staff Captain ringing on the telephone. They were j ust arranging with the 24th Battn. that it should attack at 6.30 that evening.(in about 20 minutes' time) to get the high ground beyond Beaurevoir on this side of it above La Motte farm, so as to improve the position for the night. The 24th Battn had been lent to the 5th Bde for the purpose. Zero wasto be at 6.30 but the barragewould not comedown for 10 minutes from that time beaause the 24th Battn had some ~~xxxxx~~ distance to go in order to reach it. The barrage would then go 100 yards in 4 minutes and was not to last longer than could behelped in order to avoid the waste of precious ammunition which did not exist in great quantities in the forward area. It turned out today that the 5th Bde had very heavy fighting immediately in front of Estrees. The 18 and 19 Battns had to go through and take the Beaurevoir line followed by the 17 and 20 Battns. who were to go through them into the cou ntry beyond. However when the 18 and 19th start ed they found themselves at once held up by a very s trong point in the Beaurevoir line on the hill immediately infront of Estrees. They could not get past it in any way, but the flanks moved on and the left flank was cut off from then and lost touch. Each brigade had 8 tanks and 8 whippets

The tanks of the 5th Bde. were knocked out but the strong point was finally taken. They got 200 prisoners, two trench mo rtars and several machineguns. However it was too late for the objectives either there or on the flanks to be reached. The left of the 5th Bde. had reached La Motte Farm and the Torrens stream and the right had swung well forwards with the British who had advanced apparently considerably further. As we left Martin the staff of the cavalry brigade which was in waiting came up to his H.Q. I believe the cavalry wasto have gone through if things had succeeded, and some say that they did get through down/ n ear Ramicour t and were releasing civilians in Montbrehain b ut I think this was wron g.

We wen t on to the 7th Bde. which was in a concrete dugout just/ north of the main road into Bellicourt. Some English officers were there and LLoyd of the 12th Field Artillery who was pretty ill, sitting with his head in his hands ou tsi de the dugout. We found old Wisdom just explaining the position to the brigadier of the 7th British Bde. (who said he had met me at one time in Egypt) of the 25th British division which was to relieve the 7th Bde. tonight. I understand that when the 6th Bde.has done another attack the 2nd Division will follow all the others out into a back area, and the whole Corps except the artillery will be relieved. Murdoch says that Hughes and Monash had talked over the relief of the Corps and Monash had promised Hughes to get them all out by October 15th. This will be a week earlier than that. Murdoch says that Monash made some mention of getting in the 4th Division again, but that has of course been given up.

Wisdom was quite ready to tell us the situation, busy as he was. Wisdom says their task was practically to make good the red xxxxx lin e of September 29th. The troops on their left, however, were very late bu t afterwards got to Prospect Hill. Fou r tanks failed to start of those that were with the 7th Bde. They were old Mark V tanks. Four went on. The battalions were to attack in the following order - The 25th were to take the Beaurevoir on the left of the 5th Bde and the right of the British,and to stay there. The 26th were to pass through them to the final objetive on the left front of Beaurevoir village; the 27th were to pass through andform a protective flank on theleft of the 25th Battn and beyond, and the 28th were to extend this up to the left of the 26th. This was in case the Tommies did not get through, and they performed it almost to the letter. However when the 26 th reached a position on the left flank of Beaurevoir they were quite out of touch with the 5th Bde. andcould not see them at all. There seemed to be none of our people in Beaurevoir although several sources informed the 7th Bde. tht the 5th Bde. were through the village. A tank actually got into Gui sacourt farm away to the north. As the 5th Bde. were nowhere to be seen, the 26th Bn. formed back along the sunken road to the south-east (south-west?). The first counterattack came about 9.30 in the morning straight against the Bellevue farm flank. The 26th Battn were weak and had to give their flank and came back in the end to the drain which runs across the meadow in a S.E. direction (broken blue line on map). The Germans got into Bellevue Farm, and our people moved back after seeing that the Tommies who they thought were on Prospect Hill were in the drain on their left. (I believe the To mmies had posts north of Prospect Hill also). The 5th Bde. was at this time in the Torrens Canal S.W. of Beaurevoir; the 7th Bde. are now just west of Bellevue farm. The fouhd out that the Tommies had posts north o f Prospect Hill despite German counterattacks, so the 28th Bn. pushed out posts up the Beaurevoir line or near it on the eastern end of the hill. An officer with a patrol of th e 28th Bn. went right round the Tommies' posts on that hill and picked up a Tommy sergeant, brought him right around the circumference of the hill to our line in the drain then up to our post forward and so back to his own, so that he sho uld know exactly where we were.

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During the afternoon there were three or four counter-attacks. One came from the direction of Guisecourt Farm and one from Beaurevoir. The barrage coming down cut off the men in Bellev ue farm and they were said to have retreated from it. (I think it was one of these counterattacks that we saw near the red house, the Germans being driven back). Our total advance was abou t 3000 yards, though at xxxx one time we were nearly 1500 yards further. It was tough fighting, especially on the part of the 26th Battn. The 7th Bde. got apparently about 500 prisoners and took two 77's near Bellevue farm and probably these had to be abandoned later. There were other guns possibly firing down the main road i n fron t o f Estrees which were sealt with by machine gun fire. The British were supposed to have taken Le xxxxxxx Catelet and Gouy, but this was very uncertain, and I believe a counterattack from the north reached the edge of Gouy. It is doubtful whether the British are holding now more than the edge of the village. Wisdom told us that at one time the position of the 26th Bn. near Beaurevoir was very xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx touchy. They did not know who was on their flank when they refused it. The next thing they knew was that they were being attacked by Germans from Beaurevoir village in a position which was well behind their right flank where they had expected the 5th Bde. to be.

Wilkins, who was up the line today as usual, told us that he saw a German attack coming over the top of Prospect Hill towards the British in the drain. The attack came somewhere down the hill, but when next he looked the Germans were going back over the hilltop again.. This makes difficult to understand Wisdom's statement that the British had posts on the northern side of Prospect Hill. Just before this attack Wilkins saw our patrol of four men come over the hillto p and down towards the drain.

A matter mentioned both by Wisdom and Wilkins was that one of the tanks of the 7th Bde,if not two,was sent around to help the 5th Bde. The tank machine gunners were worn out, so two Australians volunteered to take their places. The tank took up the route from Estrees and was at once knocked out by a shell. Both the tank drivers were killed, but the English officer inside and the two Australians got off unharmed.

We heardnext day two stories worth remembering for the history. One of the officers of the 18th Battn. and a couple of men were grabbed and captured by the Germans during I think, this attack. On their way to the German line they shook themselves free from their captors, the officer getting away minus the seat of his pants.and back to the Australian lines. The same thing happened to a sergeant of the 17th Battn. who got a very long distance xxxxx forward at Mont St.Quentin. He had no arms, but he simply planted one on the cheek or chin of the German who was in charge of him, scattered the guard, and got back to his battalion.

9 Oct.

Wednesday.

I had a letter from old Jock to say that he had been offered leave in Australia (6/12 as he put it) and that he had decided to accept it. I also heard that Billy Hughes was coming over with the last party of visitors - bringing them himself - in a few days' time. So I decided to finish dictating my diary to Crawford and cross at once to England and see Jock and return with Hughes.

At Boulogne on the boat I had a wire from Aust. Corps that Billy was crossing the next day and wanted to see me. However, as one never knows what happens when a man is warned for Australia, I decided to cross at once and see Jock. I was also anxious to get a holiday which I had arranged from Oct. 15 in the south of France.

I cannot think (writing this on Oct. 15) who it was that met me in Boulogne and crossed with me - some oneof our officers; and that growing lack of memory is one of the reasons that has driven me to think that a complete holiday would be a good thing. Our troops have come out of the line. After the last stupid, wicked fight at Montbrehain, where Mahoney of the 24th and other grand men fell for no reason except to increase the reputation of a division and of a General (one would not grudge them if the fight had ~~been~~ had the results which could have been won from it had the front been wider).... After that stupid, wicked, wasteful little success, when the 18th Bn went in in support 100 men strong in all, our old Australians were withdrawn.

This was not fair to Rosenthal - apparently he wasn't ~~[illegible]~~ concerned in attack. Monash undertook it probably at postwar's request. C.E.W.B. 28 Jy 1941.

On the 8th, when I went up to see the American divisions in order to obtain, if possible, their account of the fighting for the Bellecourt tunnel, I found the 30th American Division at the Quarries at Templeux Guerard - engaged, that day, in a breakthrough from the positions which we had ~~xxxxxd~~ reached at Montbrehain. Our field artillery was supporting them (only the 1st Divl. artillery and, I think, the 3rd (Army) Bde. A.F.A. having come out for a rest. They had had wonderfully good reports earlier in the morning (and I think they are apt to jump at these rather incautiously at present), and these had been whittled down a lot later. They had as a matter of fact got their green line (the red line was still far ahead) and the tanks were just going out to Premont, which in the first flush had been reported taken. The British cavalry were at Vaux le Pretre, ready to break through it was a real clean breakthrough (so some of our Australians who were attached told us), but they were held up by the British division (I think the 6th) on their right - which itself was held up by the French north of St Quentin, who had not got ahead so far as expected.

The old General - Lewis - was very shy of giving me any copies of official papers of theirs but he was ready to give me anything unofficial. He asked me in to lunch. After lunch an Australian youngster, Major Wall of the 6th Field Ambulance, passed me - he had been up helping at their advanced dressing station, as their own senior medical officer there had been killed the night before. Wall took a Ford car this morning right up to Montbrehain. He arranged their medical evacuations for them - they had no idea of classifying cases, he said - not even of introducing the simplest form of classification by putting stretchers with serious cases in one place, light cases in another, and so on. They were very willing to learn but were like children in their simplicity. Their officers at the dressing station had not been medical officers to a battalion as ours have, and knew very little of the needs of the units. While he was up there they completely missed their rations for one day - the division omitted to get up its rations that day. When the stretcherbearers asked Wall about it he could only say that the Divisional general and headquarters were in exactly

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9/10/18. the same case - they had received no rations wither.

General Lewis seemed a kindly old chap - rather like an old English gentleman called on to manage a war and managing it from his library - running in an out whenever a message was received but not with any obvious close grip on what was happening - not obvious to the outsider, anyway. One of these divisions with its staff and our officers attached to it, before Sept. 29, was in some difficulty as to its rationing arrangements. Our man advised their "Q" man to go in and see the General - so in he went with some request for an arrangement about the rationing. "Rations!" said the old chap; "don't talk to me about rations - I've got a battle on!"

I seems almost unbelievable to our people. Yet I think they might almost have done the same some years ago. Perhaps not - we always had a pretty good appreciation of the importance of "Q" work.

Wall had missed his ambulance by staying up with them, so I gave him a lift to our place. On the way we called at the H.Q. of the American Corps, the 2nd American Corps, at Tincourt, in Buire Wood, to get any reports possible from them as to Sept. 29. W e were referred to a Lieut. Parkes, who was the Press Officer - they have one attached to every Corps apparently to get together whatever material is suitable for the Press.

The edition of the Paris "Daily Mail" which Bennett, our Despatch Rider, brings back from Amiens, contained an announcement that the Germans had asked for an armistice. Dyson pointed out that this - the biggest event since the war began, if there was anything in it, was printed with a heading just the same as that of the daily account of the fighting - covering only two columns. It showed an intention to refuse to regard this news as being important - indeed this is all the value that people give the German statements nowadays. The German isin the position of a man who has dealt in frauds before and been found out; and when his next statement comes on the market very little attention is paid to it - people all realise that the only thing that matters is where our armies are and what they are doing. The German will change his tune simply and solely in accordance with our military position, and that is the only thing our people look to nowadays.

Prince Max of Baden, the new Chancellor, has made a great speech. He was appointed there as a pledge that a new democratic programme would be carried out and that the Government would be responsible to the people. Unfortunately some time ago he wrote a letter to Switzerland explaining to one who held the conservative point of view that people were blind - were mistaken in him. They thought his object was to reform - to give constitutional effect to the reform movement. As a matter of fact it would defeat that movement. I don't know - but I should say this letter will cause him a lot of trouble.

I stowed Prince Max's speech into my pack to read on the way over, and left Barleux early this morning, taking Wall as far as Belloy, near Picquigny. On the quay at Boulogne I picked up Colonel Barraclough, who is in charge of our Australian munition workers in England; and he came over with myself and Welch (who was O.C. ship). It was rough and for the first time in crossing the channel since the war (if I remember right) I was seasick. In the vestibule of the ship, also very sick, was James, the Canadian War Correspondent. Apparently they have two - Livesay the one for their Press Association and James for the Government. James used to be in the Canadian infantry. As they have a

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number of units in France outside the fighting line - 16 Forestry Companies and a great number of men in Railway construction companies and many in the Royal Air Force - who would be neglected to some extent by the Press Corresp't. who deals almost entirely with the Canadian infantry; James (who succeeded Rowland Hill) is charged with writing an account of these outside branches of the Canadian Force as well as of the fighting corps.

He told me that the Canadians had been very satisfied to be fighting down near the Australians in the Somme. They went up to the north from there; and he gave me the successive stages of the battle for Cambrai which was headed all the time by the Canadians. (I noted this on the cover of another notebook). The heaviest fight was on October 1, when the Germans came at them with at least six divisions and with the artillery of 10 (apparently in a desperate attempt to prevent the taking of Cambrai). The Canadians were driven in a very little. But this morning before James left he heard that the Canadians had taken Cambrai - they had thrust two divisions down from the north of it, and the British had thrust up from the south and joined them on the east side of the town.

I had dinner in the train with the others and then went straight down to Dartford. The factories beside the railway were not so.....but I have no doubt they are ..... A friendly sergt. guided me to the hospital (with a lift in a Red Cross bus) and I found old Jock with all his things packed, due to start in one hour's time. He had to go down to Bulford and get some instruments which he could not induce the wretched staff of that hospital to return to him - and then was going to Weymouth into camp with his 800 returnees. They make them up into battalions, officers and all, and send them out organised. Very often they have only heard the day before they go - the evening before, or the morning of the same day - that they are for Australia, and the surprise is overwhelming. Herbert, our cook, went a week ago and we have in his place a brother of Scott, our camp orderly. This brother is a delicate chap and was long ago marked for Australia after a very bad wound at Gallipoli and illness in France. But when he was at Weymouth preparatory to starting, and the urgent need for men arose this summer, he was boarded and marked fit for service in the infantry. His brother was very anxious about him - he was in his old battalion, the 57th (it must have been the 5th he was in originally), and I easily got him out as our cook, vice Herbert; but his brother is afraid he will not be strong eenough for this either - he has a weak back. Scott thinks the winter will be too much for him even under our comparativel comfortable conditions.

Jock and I went up to London an hour after I arrived. The old man had bought two tin boxes from the Salvation Army for a most reasonable price, and was especially proud of the deal. The men at that hospital, as everywhere else, are immensely attached to Jack. He started his debating society for them, as usual; it went tremendously well. He spent about £1 a week himself providing the cakes - and the tea - they simply held the debate in a ward after some songs, and they used to get 100 men to come. Jock's idea is that this all gets men to think out their social relations and so help to prepare the world and Society for the best - as his Theosophical friends believe, for the return of Christ onto the earth. The officers and men were all fond of J. His latest undertaking was to take a party of nurses (and I am not sure if an officer or two or a patient did not go) to Ely Cathedral; then to King's College, Camb., to the afternoon choral service - it was without organ, but he specially arranged with their great organist (is it Dr Mann?) to play afterwards.

9/10/18. So J's good work here is closed - but it will live for a long time in the men and women whom he has helped.

Jock said that he meant to stay the night at Charing Cross Hotel. It was where he always stayed in town if he were late. I intended to return next day with Billy Hughes, so it was convenient for me too. But when we got to Charing Cross they had no rooms. Full up. They advised us to try the Golden Cross opposite. The Golden Cross was full. The Irish porter there said he had been turning people away all night. He rang up Jack's Theosophical hotel - the Gwalia - that was full. He advised us to try Craven Street - there were a number of quiet hotels there. The first we knocked up was full - they recommended us to ask the police-man at the end of the road - he had brought several people round and taken them away again and might have found something. The policeman was found by us crossing the Strand. He told us of two hotels he knew of - the Buckingham and one run by the same people - and here we found at last one room at the top of the house. I don't know why town was so full - Americans and officers on leave I suppose, and the hotels mostly taken for public offices.

Oct. 10.

Thursday. This morning I had a rush round with Jock. One maid and a porter were running that hotel - poor little woman, she had to do all the bedmaking, sweeping, cook the breakfast and wait, take the visitors the hot water and wake them up.

I fixed up with Dodds that the making of models might start at once - attached to the engineer training establish-ment. Also the system of A.I.F. publications. Old Dodds is a very broadminded and farseeing man in these matters. The money for the models will come out of a military training vote (which is the only way we shall get it - we can get it now but after the war we never should), and it will make all the difference to our Museum. Dyson and I and Anderson and Gullett and many others agree that this is what we found most interesting in the museums connected with war which we have visited, especially as youngsters.

Jock and I had ourselves photographed together for him to take out to mother and father. One doesn't like being posed, but the little ~~xxx~~ old English photographer opposite Charing Cross station was so pathetically earnest that we could not refuse to do as he told us.

When we turned up at the train at Charing Cross by which I was to return to France Box, Murdoch and Gilmour were there, but Murdoch told me that Hughes was not coming to the front to-day but was starting on Saturday instead and going straight to Paris. A sudden War Cabinet had been called - so the party was to go without Hughes. Murdoch and Gilmour also were staying behind. Billy told me that he wanted another account written of what the Australians had done - as a matter of fact I have one ready.

I waved good-bye to old Jock - and had lunch with the others in the train. Box, Newton Moore, and three Scottish and English journalists who were crossing - (Wills of the "Graphic", Wilson of some Scottish paper, and the other (a Scotsman) whose name I forget). We stayed the night at Boulogne though it seemed a great waste of time.

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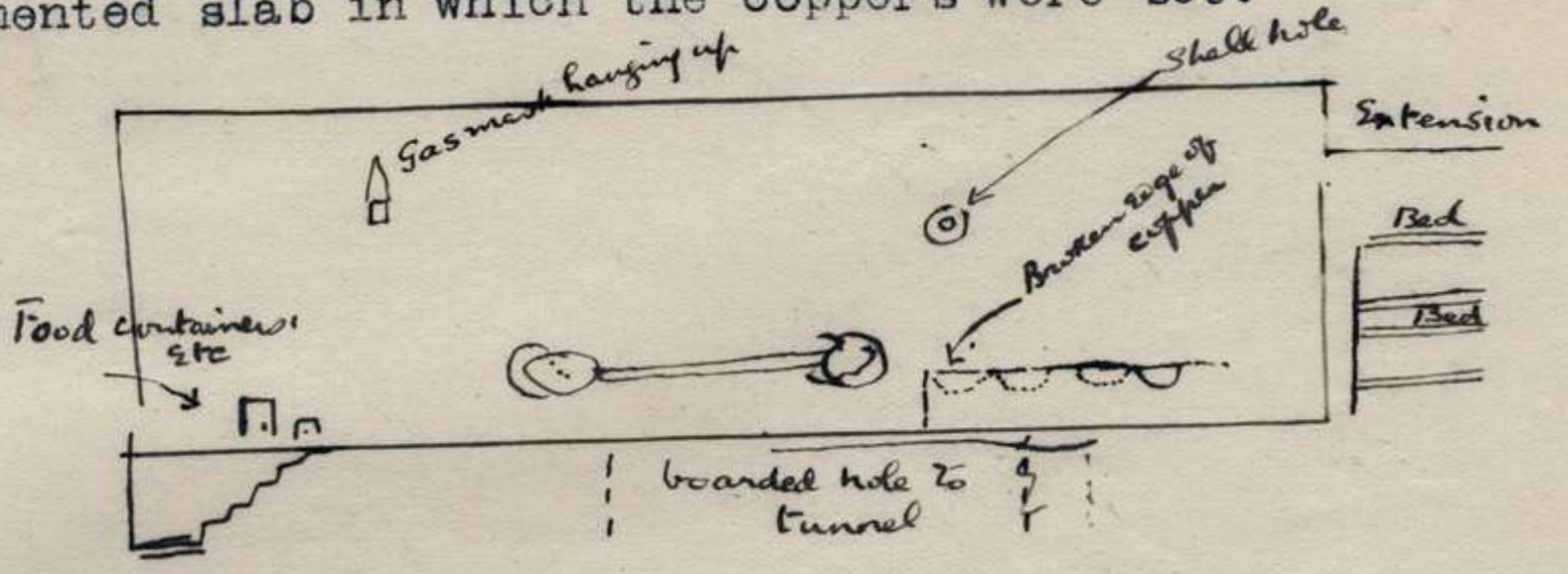
October 11. Friday. Started early with the three cars (mine and two from G.H.Q.) in order to reach the front if possible near Bohain, where the American divisions who replaced us, and the British, are getting into country inhabited by French civilians. Moore was anxious to get tc Le Cateau (which has been passed), but this is off our old Australian front. The two G.H.Q. cars had constant breakdowns and Boddy and I came to the conclusion that their two drivers were not playing the game - that they made the most of a breakdown in order to avoid work.

Breakfast at Tete de Boeuf, Abbeville - apparently just newly reopened - the German air-bombs have badly knocked about that corner of Abbeville, where the houses are very old. One car had broken down and so the five of us came on in my car to Amiens (where the people are getting back in numbers) and to Peronne by lunch time. We made a late start after lunch, as Moore arrived late, and visited the Hindenburg line and Canal tunnel. We went to the chamber of horrors - still smelling sickly through the bodies have been removed 10 days; and I brought back from there a food container - one of about a dozen - showing that the place was a kitchen; also it had been pierced by a fragment of the shell which killed the Germans. My previous description of the place is correct except that there were three coppers and the table which I had thought to be standing there was part of the cemented slab in which the coppers were set.



Returned and had dinner with the visitors. After dinner back to our home in the ruins of Barleux - where Bill Dyson for a month or more has had his studio in an old repaired hut, and we our camp in the old wooden German dressing station. Not a bad home except for the flies (the result of German horse-standings nearby), and the fleas from Wilkins's dog, which he adopted and which is devotedly attached to him.

October12. Saturday. Came down in my car with Box and Sir Newton Moore to Paris; the lorry had arrived to take our camp belongings to Eu or wherever the Corps is going to find room for us. The camp is to move on in charge of Crawford and Scott; and Dyson is staying a day or two with Wilkins till Wilkins completes his photos of the Hindenburg line and the artillery, etc. I asked him to get the artillery at all costs. It may not be in for long, and it may never fire another shot after it comes out.

At Amiens Cadge told us that the opinion at G.H.Q. was that the war would not last more than three weeks longer. They seemed confident, he said, of peace within three weeks.

Haig to-day has published an exhortation to the troops to disregard this talk of peace as dangerous. The present is the moment, he says, for the most intensive and unceasing effort. One is inclined to be a little jealous for our troops being out of it - still, they had done their bit if ever anyone did, and they must have their rest. Anyway, they were pretty well played-out. With battalions getting down to 150 strong, or so, the end has to come.

12/10/18 (The Canadians have had heavier losses, I fancy. James rold me that they had lost 40,000 up to the taking of Cambrai. I don't know what our loss has been).

As we passed behind Montdidier we saw that there had been trenches and dugouts, and dumps of shells and used ammunition cases right as far back as the Amiens road. The defences of Paris (I think about Clermont) contained the best wire entanglements that I have ever seen - tremendously deep; deeper than the Hindenburg line at any place where I have seen it.

Hughes, with Murdoch, Gilmour and Dean, had already arrived at the Hotel Crillon before we did - beat us by about 10 minutes. Hughes was late for his appointment with the French President, M. Poincare - to receive from him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. But he went off at once - about 5.30 p.m. The President received him and made him a speech congratulating him upon what the Australian troops had done in the war, and conferred the cross upon him.

I had a room with Box, the hotel being very full. Murdoch and not Box is Hughes's chief confidant and adviser, though Box is very much in his confidence also.

At dinner we had the three leading English or British journalists in Paris - Adams of the London "~~Rix~~ "Times"; Jerome of the "Daily Telegraph"; and Bruce of Reuters. They were very much disturbed - as was Hughes - by the probable answer of President Wilson to the German appeal for an armistice. The Germans appealed to him on his 14 points and subsequent speeches. His answer was that he wanted to know whom the German Government spoke for - and that it was impossible to speak of armistice so long as they were on French and Belgian territory. We got this reply on the day that I returned to France, Oct. 10th. The papers to-day hinted that the Germans would accept these conditions. Hughes is tremendously anxious to ensure that Wilson should be stiffened up in his attitude. It is a tragedy if Wilson makes a weak showing now, he says - this schoolmaster, this theorist, who has not the experience of actual international dealings that we have, whose people has not undergone even in the aggregate the sacrifice that our little Australian people has undergone; who has not suffered under the direct smashing brutal blows of the German kultur as the French and Belgians have - that he should come in just when the ~~tide~~ tide has turned after four terrible years and undertake the management of our case and give it away for us - this has roused Hughes to a maximum of indignation and energy. France is the country to act, he says. The protest of Great Britain would not go far in America because America is prejudiced against Britain, but the protest of France would at this moment effect anything - even separate the American people from their President, if necessary. Therefore he proposed to the English pressmen here to strike at once, while the iron was hot. M. Clemenceau is away as usual, we believe - or will be tomorrow. But this news will surely bring him back - if the German reply is an acceptance. And Hughes wants to get Clemenceau to make a statement which will go to America and make certain that the President does not tamely accept the German offer, and allow the German to get quietly out of France and Belgium when (as he believes) their armies are within an ace of disaster.

The position is this, so Murdoch tells me: That Turkey - if this respite had not been given to her - would have made peace on Tuesday next; and that Austria would have followed two days later. And Germany has only taken the steps she has taken because Austria and Turkey told her that if she did not then they would make a separate peace. By Hughes's way of thinking President Wilson, by his weak terms hinted at in his

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12/10/18. reply - has kept Austria, Turkey and Germany together at this moment when they could have been separated. Hughes is convinced that we have got the Germans beaten - that we are on the edge of a certain and overwhelming victory. And by allowing President Wilson to act as if he had the authority of the whole of us we are running the risk of being robbed of the fruit of our victory by a visionary, a theorist, an unpractical, new-sprung statesman in the bitter school in which we have learnt.

I went for a walk with Box and Murdoch tonight, last thing; we walked up towards the Champs Elysee till Murdoch and I siddenly collapsed and fell on our noses over the low wire border of the grass plots in the dark. It was an interesting walk. Murdoch said that the answer of Wilson had been discussed in the Imperial War Cabinet; no statement had been made upon it by any of the allies publicly - no comment; and Lloyd George was asked what would be the position of the allies if Germany accepted. "Well - I cannot see that we can do anything else but stand by Woodrow Wilson" he said - "We shall have to accept and stand by what he says. There seems to be no alternative". - or words to that effect.

The alternative is, of course, to hammer the Germans for all we are worth and try to smash them (as Hughes expects) while the terms are still unfixed. After the German reply there will be an American reply, presumably, and perhaps another German reply after that. In any case Foch will be called on to fix the terms of the armistice. An armistice is a military agreement and President Wilson can surely not undertake to remove this from the hands of the army commander and fix it over his head. This gives three weeks and it should be possible for the allies to get Turkey and Austria out of the war in that time.

Hughes was asked whether - if it were necessary to make a big push he would consent to the Australian divisions being used. He said that if there were a prospect of their being necessary for a decisive blow - he would. But he laid it down as absolutely necessary that they should have at least a month's rest. The 1st and 5th Divisions, of course, have had nearly a month's rest.

I thought this was right. Box thought it would be a very great shame if the divisions were called back to the fight again this year - (Everyone that one comes across, French, English, American, admits that they have deserved their rest indeed).

Hughes intends to busy himself tomorrow morning getting this statement from Clemenceau. "It is not I who am going to speak it - it is someone else" he told the three pressmen. And they were to come tomorrow and get it or find out if it had been obtained. But Hughes also wanted to make a speech himself. He wanted to jump right in on the same subject. Murdoch advised him not to do this - the reason why Hughes wanted to make this other speech was in order to obtain or strengthen his standing with a view to getting a place at the Peace Conference. He is utterly against Australia going unrepresented there - yet it will be very, very difficult to make a place. There might be one representative of the Dominions at the Peace Conference; but Canada would not allow Hughes to stand for her. Canada has no one here. The only man on the spot is Smuts, and the British government is almost certain to suggest Smuts as the representative of the Dominions.

Hughes is determined to stay. He will combine the Peace Conference with the necessity for an Australian representative of strong influence to back her in the repatriation of the A.I.F.

12/10/18. For these reasons Hughes wants to make his voice heard.

Murdoch is against his appearing to attack or interfere with Wilson. It seems to me that Wilson's answer leaves a great deal of room for conjecture, and that it is quite possible that, within the limits of it, Wilson may really intend to ask for all the terms that we want. His question to the Kaiser - "Who do you represent?" really involves and answer giving us all that we are fighting for in the war. It is unthinkable that Wilson cam merely take the Kaiser's word that he has revolutionised his Government and Constitution the Kaiser's Government's word is not worth that of a Jew pedlar, after the Brest-Litovsk peace. The Germans obtained that armistice on the grounds of No Annexation, No indemnities- and when they had Russia disarmed they took both - as much as they could get of them. No one trusts the German official word for ten minutes to-day. Wilson would surely have to ask what exact form the constitution would take, what the suffrage would be, when the elections would be, what the executive would act on (the authority of the Kaiser or of the Reichstag or what), and to whom the Ministers would be responsible - the actual form of the constitution - the sections and clauses settled by law - before he gave away our present military advantage in an armistice. You cannot fight four years of terrible war and then give away the result by being too polite or by leaving room for a mistake.

I should say that Hughes could not go wrong in his speech if he went all out for democracy - and that would help to keep the English socialists in with him - Box is afraid of Smilie and hissort. Murdoch says it would not make any difference to Smilie whether they got a democratic Germany out of the war or not - he wouldnot care. Murdoch wants Hughes to explain to the French people what the British Empire is - how the Dominions are equal states, with a view to letting the French understand this need for representation.

October 13. Sunday. Box and I had breakfast in our bedroom; and in the middle in came Millet (I don't know if he spells it so or Millais or how) of the French Ministry of Marine - a most intelligent chap, formerly a journalist, who speaks English perfectly. He was formerly secretary or something of the sort to Pichon, the French Foreign Minister - a rich man of not very great account - no one except Clemenceau seems to count in the French ministry.

Millet had arranged a lunch with M. Pichon tomorrow (Monday) at which Hughes was anxious to speak. Hughes lunches at the Embassy to-day. "Derby", he said, shrugging his shoulders to one of the English pressmen - "Derby - oh, he's no use - he won't do anything", and dismissed him in two words - so. Millet says that the French Government has already made up its mind about the armistice: its intention is that that is a matter for Foch - the C.-in-C, That is its attitude. Also the terms of the armistice seem to have been discussed and settled as far as the French Govt. (or Foch) can settle them - and they are all right, so Millet says. There is no fear of what Foch would ask. He would see that the allied armies are not only in as good a position if the war were to continue after the armistice, but in a better position if anything. That is his absolute and unquestionable right.

The papers show that the German reply has been received in America - or at any rate has been published. It does accept Wilson's terms. "All over bar the shouting" said Box. And it looks like it. There is very little shouting in Paris. People are interested in the newspapers - but as much or more to see what the armies have done - not so much to see the German reply. Laon and La Fere have been taken, but there is no rejoicing in Paris. I would never have believed that the French would remain so calm at a moment such as this - but the

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currents which are flowing in this war are too deep for that sort of superficial expression which they used to obtain in the Boer War. That was more like a game in which we were onlookers. This is a struggle in which we are all fighting in our own way and have certainly all suffered too deeply to allow that sort of "Mafficking". I think it is the dead who rise up between the survivors and any sort of Bacchanalian rejoicing such as that which followed the relief of Mafeking.

This afternoon we got old Boddy in the old mud-splashed Vauxhall to take us for a drive to Versailles while Murdoch stayed behind to compose Billy's speech at the luncheon tomorrow. Billy asked Murdoch that he and I should knock out something for him on the lines which he suggested. But old Keith was clearly anxious to do it by himself. He had nearly finished it when we got back; and so I limited my interference to one or two suggestions. It struck me that one good point would be that the Kaiser was aking now for a mixed commission. It was well, at this moment, to remember that the Kaiser could have had this mixed commission - he could have had it by lifting his little finger four years ago. Four years ago Edward Grey offered him a mixed commission - which would have given peace and an honourable solution to the world exactly as it could to-day. The Kaiser had chosen to reject it. Instead he deliberately appealed to his armed strength as the arbiter - deliberately plunged the world in four years of war filled to the brim with newly-invented horrors - he thrust that untold misery upon the world rather than accept the solution for which he now asked.

Billy Highes had a talk with me this morning in which I urged him that it was all-important to get some plan of repatriation -(Box calls it demobilisation - it is both, really - inextricably involved in each other) - drawn up by the A.I.F. at the earliest possible moment - put Monash in charge - Birdwood is not the man for it at all. It was urgent, I said, if they did not want a catastrophe.

Billy said he had seen Monash in England. Billy had told him that the Corps must be brought out of the line by Oct. 15 and Monash had hurried over to tell him that it was out By October 7th. Monash claimed the credit of this bringing out the Corps, but Hughes told me that it was his own work really - and I believe him. John would not have done it nor been able to do it but for him.

Billy said that he had had an opportunity of judging Monash and Birdwood. "Birdwood is the man I would rather live with. He is a man of kindness - a man who thinks of others", he said. "Monash is a far more capable man - he has the ability; but he is out for himself all the time; like a Jew, showy...."and so on. "Do you think he has the kindliness or the humanity in his nature to deal with men at a time like this?" he asked. "You see, he has landed the force in an internal upheaval - (the mutinies in the Battalions) - Do you think he is human enough to really be charged with the responsibility of the future of the force and of repatriation? I think he could draw the scheme. But I think I ought to be there in order to see that it is carried out with regard to the interests of the men - and that is what I intend to do. I propose to stay - some Minister ought to be here - I propose to stay myself..." And then he went on to speak of his decision to stay for the Peace Conference. It might be the end of him, politically, in Australia; but he was taking the chance.

Murdoch had a good talk to him on the way down from Calais. Murdoch thinks that Monash is not really the man for the Repatriation - why not White? he says. I know he is thinking of Monash's

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13/10/18. ~~x~~thinking of Monash's relations to the battalions which mutinied in order to save their existence as units of the A.I.F.

Hughes told me at the same time what he thought of Wilson's terms and the German reply. "Look here - suppose I go to your house one day and break it open, and smash all the furniture, and rape your wife and daughter, and make a heap of your belongings and set fire to them, and break your nose and black your eyes and batter your face - and then you go away and get three or four of your friends and come back with sticks and set to work to tackle me; supposing, when I begin to feel that you are getting equal, I come to you and say - "I'll go out and leave you in possession if you will let me go quietly - I will go out just as I ~~am~~ came, won't make any fuss". What would you say to me? You'd say - 'Yes; but how about my wife and my daughter? How about my nose and my face? How about my smashed-up furniture?" Well, that is just how it seems to me."

I think this is part of the quotation. C.E.B.

Billy considers that it is absurd to suppose that the war could end without restrictions upon German commerce? How about the French industries which the Germans have srushed and utterly put out of the market. Are the Germans to be allowed two or three clear years to build up their markets while the French are kept at a standstill because the machinery has been crippled intentionally by the Germans?

Keith Murdoch wrote Billy a very good speech on those lines - with a really fine lofty start. I wondered at the old chap sitting there with his pipe in his mouth hammering out on his old Empire typewriter a succession of powerful paragraphs. Billy cut the speech to blazes. He altered all the beginning of it (which was much the best) and left the end. That is intellectual laziness, so Deane says. He got tired of altering if by the time he was half through it. Billy likes to get these speeches as a basis for his own - to give him ideas. That is all he uses them for. He cut this one to bits. I have got Murdoch to let me have the original for the War Museum. The speech was ready about 7.30 p.m. when we went out to dinner.

The Versailles trip in the afternoon was a most glorious one. Box stayed at Versailles during the July conference - black days they were, he says, when Paris was at the depths of its depression.

He told me something of the conference. Whereas with the Germans the great general staff finally instituted a political section and ran it from G.H.Q. (the Kaiser being C.-in-C. had this political section at his H.Q. in the field right under the influence of Ludenorff - (I don't know whether it was actually under Ludenorff or under the Kaiser only) - the allies keep their general staff very firmly under the Versailles Council. Any really important military action has to be sanctioned by them. A big offensive would certainly not be undertaken without their permission, Box says. The Council at Versailles in July was called very suddenly. It was called at the request of Foch who said that he could not sit still any longer and simply let the Germans attack. He must be given leave to attack or something wasgoing to break.

Hughes very much wanted to be at this important meeting. But Lloyd George did not want him to be there - probably none of the great representatives did - they wanted to talk this over amongst themselves alone; the Dominions Prime Ministers could be called in to a later sitting when business was not so critical Hughes knew Lloyd George was going over by a special train. But in order not to lose a chance Hughes himself arranged to go over by the staff train. It was only on the morning of going over that Box and Smart, who were arranging things, ever knew

13/10/18. of the special train for Lloyd George from Victoria. Billy suddenly announced that he was going by it - and all arrangements had to be completely upset in the middle of the morning. Griffiths and Brain were wild and so were Corps H.Q. (I came over on the staff train alone as Boddy was at Boulogne).

On the way over, at some point, so Box tells me - probably on the boat to Dieppe - Lloyd George must have spoken to Billy. "Well, now, what are you going to do?" he probably said. "Are you coming to Versailles with us straight away? You will have to go straight there in order to be in time for the meeting." Billy read from Lloyd George's tone like a flash that he was not wanted - and out came the strange casual independence which the little man often shows at odd moments: "Oh, no, "he said - "I'm going to Birdwood. I don't want to go to Versailles".

That is how Box conjectured it happened - something of the sort occurred certainly; because Billy suddenly informed the party that they were going to 5th Army H.Q.

. Where were 5th Army H.Q.? No one knew except the R.T.O. at Dieppe, who said Crecy. There was only one car but the Dieppe officials, or else someone from the Embassy, solved the problem by putting Billy's party in the fast French cars provided for the typists and clerks of Lloyd George's party. Billy went up to Crecy and got there after midnight. (Abbeville was being bombed, and they met two British officers in two staff cars with immense headlights, each officer with a W.A.A.C. in his car. They asked these officers the way to Crecy (the Waacs spending their time trying to hide their faces, Box said). Billy was in immense ~~spirits~~ spirits all the time - tremendously cheerful - probably he could not hear the bombs. They got to Crecy and found the Army flown; but the Town Major had good lodgings for them.

The cars took them, as French cars do, at a tremendous pace. Hughes will never drive slowly. On the way back he had to follow in the wake of LLoyd George - who would not go more than 20 miles an hour. Lloyd George stopped at Beauvais to see the cathedral and they managed to give him the slip there. Billy signed to the chauffeur and the chauffeurs slipped round another way, jammed down the accelerator and disappeared in dust. - But that is by the way.

Billy was not at Versailles apparently for the momentous meeting when Foch asked for a free hand to attck the Germans. Haig, I believe, was against it because it involved weakening him in Flanders - according to Box, Haig had to promise some divisions. Haig (I fancy I was told) or someone else of them also wanted the attack, if made at all, to be made on the front and not on the flank. It was Foch's decision to make it on the flank. The leave was given to Foch to do as he wished.

At this time, Box says, as far as he knows there was no mention nor idea of any attack by us up at Amiens later - nor of any other attack. Box never heard a whisper of any such plan. But there was a great deal of interest shown in the little attack which was coming off at Hamel. They all knew of it, and they seemed to regard it as a test - and they were exceedingly pleased at the results. Box doesn't think that an offensive like Hamel needed the consent of the Versailles Council - I should say it certainly would not.

The Council seems to work with a set of separate staffs, each big state having its own general and staff there. The Americans have Bliss and his staff; the French Foch and his staff. And Foch does his work as C.-in-C. with his own staff. The others prepared matter for each other and for their governments. A forthcoming event, even if not coming for

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/10/18. special decision before each Government, would be laid before it by its section of the staff, in good time; so that it would have an opportunity of objecting if it desired to do so.

The British pressmen tell us that Bliss was of opinion that the American troops should be re-brigaded with the French and English troops as their administrative staff was so defective. Everyone - Millet, Jerome (I think), Wall and

the principal docking centre in Australasia and the only yard for the construction of warships. Here during the war three destroyers (the *Huon, Torrens,* and *Swan*) and a light cruiser (the *Brisbane*) were completed; that term includes the local manufacture of the main machinery and boilers (except the *Brisbane's* turbines) and of part of the electrical fittings. Another light cruiser, the *Adelaide,* was laid down in November, 1917, and launched in July, 1918.[46] The island dock was used by eleven Australian warships, two British auxiliary cruisers, and three Japanese cruisers. Fifty transports and three hospital ships were fitted out, forty-eight of them at least once, and many four or five times; the *Wiltshire* had eight refits before being dismantled in November, 1918.

Garden Island, formerly the Admiralty's naval yard in Australia, but taken over by the Commonwealth Government before the war. It comprised repair shops for refitting ships, a naval store dépôt, a sub-dépôt for torpedo-gear and gun-mountings, and a dépôt-ship (H.M.A.S. *Penguin*) for naval officers and men. Here forty-two transports and the hospital ship *Grantala** were fitted out, and sixty-seven refits were carried through. Garden Island, having no dock, could undertake no new construction, but repairs were evenly apportioned between this yard and Cockatoo; the pressure of work being considerable, both were kept fully employed, and the friction which occurred after the war was entirely absent. At Garden Island all the smaller warships were refitted and repaired when necessary (the *Parramatta* was overhauled five times, and the *Encounter* six); the captured *Komet* was converted into H.M.A.S. *Una,* and several dépôt and patrol ships were fitted out, besides six mine-sweepers and three small vessels for the military administration at Rabaul. The main responsibility for the supply of naval stores and fittings in Australasian waters rested

[46] Particulars of ships built or building for the Australian Navy during the war are given in *Appendix No. 4.*

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The British pressmen tell us that Bliss was of opinion that the American troops should be re-brigaded with the French and English troops as their administrative staff was so defective. Everyone - Millet, Jerome (I think), Wall and others who have seen anything of the Americans, agree about that point - that the men are good but the administrative side of the staff very bad. Their defects have shown up in the fighting near Verdun also, Millet says.

Jerome told me that the French soldiers were anxious not to give up the fight until they were able in Germany to give the Germans a taste of the treatment which the Germans have given to France. Jerome had been up to the front - but it seemed to me that the opinion which he brought back was likely to be that of the officers not of the men - and possibly of the staff officers at that.

Millet had a curiously reassuring piece of news of Wilson which he told to Box and myself in our bedroom this morning. He said that the French government had recently discussed the terms on which an armistice could be granted and had instructed their embassy at Washington to mention the subject to the President. When it came up, he said, surprised: "Armistice! There's not going to be any armistice!" So he may be firmer than many think.

When Hughes got to Versailles from Beauvais he was standing in the hotel or the hall of some place where they foregathered. Hankey was there (the former secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence) and Sir Henry Wilson, C.G.S. Hughes coming in tired from his journey said to Hankey that he would like to get some tea. Hankey (also an Australian - by birth) said stupidly that he did not think it could be done. His manner was rather frosty. Hughes straightened up at once. "Oh, if you can't get it I'll see about getting it myself" he said. After all, Hughes is a member of the War Cabinet, and Hankey climbed down many pegs at once. "I'll see if anything can be done - & I'll try and get you some..." he said. Then they noticed Wilson standing shaking with laughter at the far end of the room. "Of course you can get it, Hankey", he said. "Your batmen are having tea out there now, anyway. I'd advise you to ask them."

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Hughes left Paris tonight. I was up half last night writing a cable which I hope will force Millen to let the A.I.F. be responsible for the making of a plan for repatriation so far as demobilisation involves it - which means up to the time when the men arrive in Australia. Of course Millen's civil department must decide the main plan of what to do with the men once they get them back - the provision of employment, the making of openings. But at present Millen's jealousy has gone so far as to prevent Pearce and the A.I.F. from drawing up a proper plan of demobilisation because they cannot decide how to classify men and send them back to Australia without trenching on questions of repatriation, and Millen will not allow that. I hope this cable will settle Millen (if the censor passes it) and yet allow him a way out. It points amongst other things the need for a strong political support to the A.I.F. in England - and if Hughes takes advantage of this they are surely certain to appoint him.

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14/10/18. speech very well. And at the end of it I think it was M. Clemenceau who thanked him for what Australia had done. Anything that Australia asked of them in the future, they said, they were bound to give her - and they thanked Hughes too, personally, for what he had done - for his strong leadership in this struggle.

He had a talk with Pichon about New Caledonia and the Pacific, but I didn't hear what they decided.

Old Poincare said to him, when he first saw him on Saturday and presented him with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour - "We must not have Peace!" He meant of course we must not have an armistice on what appeared to be Wilson's terms in his first Note.

The Germans have, I believe, done away with the political section of their General Staff; and they have done away with most of their censorship regulations - they had to do this when they took some of their Social Democrats into the Cabinet. The result is pretty interesting - unheard of criticism of the Kaiser, for example.

I stayed near the Gare de Lyons. Last night they had the English review "Zig-zag" with Daphne Pollard, at the Folies Bergeres.

October 15. Came south by the early train. The French lawyer and his wife and son (an artillery officer) who shared my compartment, were all insistent that they must get into Germany and beat the Germans there, and let them see what France has suffered. Towards the evening I saw a paper giving President Wilson's reply to the German note. Nothing could have been better - Foch to settle the armistice so as to give no tittle of military advantage; Germany is reminded that in the speeches (?) in which she expressed her agreement was a clear statement that we could make no agreement with the German Govt. so long as it was in the power of any arbitrary authority in Germany to settle questions of peace or war and disturb the peace of the world without consulting the people; and the Germans were reminded that at the very time of their peace demands their army was burning towns, and the submarines sinking the Irish passenger boat "Leinster" and the (?) Hitachi Maru, and firing on the boats which were saving the passengers.

A first-rate Note - Wilson has risen well to the trust which was placed in him. The German Govt. wants to save its face but it is just exactly what we cannot allow them to do.

Two American officers in the train. One a doctor who had been treating some of their wounded from the Montbrehain - Hindenburg line sector. He said that they spoke very highly of the Australians and liked to have them beside them. The Americans were apt to advance very fast and they complained that the French on their flanks generally got left behind - but the Australians were always dependable. The details were not clear - I don't know what ground there was for the statement, or where; but that was the opinion, anyway.

An English engineer also told me that when the Australians came to Daours he was wondering when he would have to blow up the bridge. The Australians told him - Never. You won't have to do it at all. After three weeks they told him that the line there was safe against the whole German army, if it attacked. He seemed to appreciate the spirit.

He did not appreciate (I guessed) the Australian method of housecleaning at the Daours Railway Station - which consisted of taking all the interior of the house out into the yard and burning it. (Probably it was in a very filthy

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Changed at Tarascon. Could hardly get a room at Nimes at all.

October 16. Wednesday. Saw around the Amphitheatre, Temple of Venus, Tour Magne. The old lady at the Tour Magne was just going away as I got up to it - late in the afternoon. She was put out - said it was too late - it was too foggy - no view - made me promise not to stay too long up there. Poor old thing - she was very short of breath and feeble. I stayed a very short time and gave her a franc - and she was completely mollified. She went for me straight about the Germans: Mustn't make peace with them! Barbarians! It's all right to make an armistice with the Bulgars on condition they give up their arms, but not with the Germans! "They are barbarians. You must just strike!" she said fiercely looking at me. The spirit of the French - one never ceases wondering at it.

The "Frankfurther Zeitung" has an article for the Germans to read and take to heart, coming from one of themselves. It says - "Germans must recognise that at this critical point in their history, there is wanting in to their traditional policy (that the national aims are to be enforced not by force of right but by force of arms) that strong military weapon on which this traditional policy depended." I quote it from memory. But it is the straightest admission of Germany's present position that I have ever seen.

The British 2nd Army, the Belgian army of 12 Divisions, and the French army of 5 divisions up in Flanders, all under the King of the Belgians, have advanced and are clearing the way north of Lille.

October 17. Thursday. To Marseilles. Tonight in the theatre was announced by the leading lady: "Messieurs et Madames - J'ai l'honneur de vous annoncer que les Anglais ont pris Ostende." The band struck up the Marsellaise, and people stood up and sang it.

October 18. Friday. To Cannes. A tremendously long train - very full. The evening paper announces that Lille was entered this morning by French and English troops (Birdwood's old army). (Later.- An aviator found that the Germans had left Lille in the early morning. The English invited a regiment of the 1st French Corps d'Armee to enter the town first. This was done about 10 a.m. The town was flagged - seamstresses had been sewing all night. This was the first occasion on which one has heard of any marked demonstration.)

October 19. Saturday. Raining in Cannes - not what one came for - but I slept a good part of the day and read the rest.
The British have passed Turcoing and Roubaix and the Belgians are in Bruges. The French have crossed the Aisne at Vouziers. Now through the Hundung Stellung North of Laon! The Americans (there are now two armies of them) are fighting very hard in the Argonne - I fancy that battle at Grandpre must really be the heaviest now because if the Germans are broken there it seems to imperil their whole retreat. The 2d American Army Corps is also constantly fighting at Bohain near where it replaced us. They called themselves storm divisions - and that is how they are used right enough. I notice signs that they seem to consider that they have the same difficulty in getting the British communique to mention them that we had.(Indeed General Lewis told me so). Anyway, the American communique now deals with them though they are on the British front.

October 20. Sunday. The British have apparently been stirred into a special communique mentioning the Americans. Zeebrugge, Heyst, Thielt, Bruges, taken. Charles of Austria has promised his peoples local autonomy - Hungary to be joined only by the Crown to

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20/10/18. Austria. Wilson has told him that the Czecho-Slovaks, now our allies, will have to be the judges of what is sufficient there. Karolyi and Tisza are the centre of wild scenes in the Hungarian parliament.

~~21/10~~ October 21 MONDAY

Today begins the fifth year ~~of the war~~ since we left Melbourne in the Orvieto, and certainly the last of the war.

The German answer to President Wilson has not yet been given. They say in the papers that it will be delivered today. There have been two quite clear signs - one anyway - of what it will be. The Germans are not going to reject, nor make a stiff reply to, Wilson's terms.

First - there has been picked up (as was of course intended) by a Dutch wireless station an Order from Hindenburg to the German troops calling their attention "to the Order, many times repeated, that no damage except such as is necessary for military purposes, should be done to towns and houses when they are evacuated". This Order was clearly given in order to comply with President Wilson's demand, and sent by wireless in order that he might have knowledge of it.

Secondly, though not on such good authority, it is stated that all German submarines have been recalled. That probably is some step meant to meet President Wilson's other demand, that, before an armistice is spoken of, submarine outrages must cease.

If they have taken these steps then they are certainly going to accept Wilson's Note in a conciliatory spirit.

Indeed, with the Americans hammering north of Verdun what can they do? The Americans can go on hammering for ever. They have new troops all the time. The German reserves must soon be used up. I wonder if the winter can save them - it alone can and they know it. By next year we shall have lost the value of our tanks - that is, the Germans will have good tanks too, presumably. But we shall have an overwhelming force of Americans.

I went to the Lerins Is. today with a party of Americans. The old Abbot or Prior there was delighted to see them. He shook hands and said to them: "Messieurs, we regard you, America, as our saviours". He had an immense veneration for the flying man. "Me - I should never have dared to fly" he said.

October 22. Tuesday.

The German reply is published - exactly on the lines as outlined by the newspapers. I may be slow: but at first sight I don't see why it should not be accepted, so far as it goes. It seems to be a considerable surrender of what we want, if only this is guaranteed.

October 23. Wednesday.

This place is not so blue and sunny as I hoped - rain all to-day and most of yesterday. I booked a sleeping berth for the trip back, yesterday, for Oct. 29, at 92fr.60! I had booked and taken it when told the price and had not the strength of mind to undo it. But it was more than one's conscience would permit. I went in within half an hour and cried off on the score that I had to be in Paris on Oct. 29 - and got a couchette at 33 fr. instead. It cost six francs in tips, but it is a load off one's mind. Think what you could do for 92 fr. - the presents you could buy, theatres, teas - a whole week's wage to many people!

The papers are all against the acceptance of the German reply. The argument which appeals to me is that of the "Daily Chronicle", which says - "We can make no concessions to Germany". That is true. This is a case in which we cannot make concessions - not after this sacrifice. It is about the only business we have ever undertaken in which we cannot. But after four years of this - 600,000 dead of Britain; and 1,000,000 of France.

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October 24.

Thursday.

Yesterday I made a real start on the little book which I want to publish before the troops go back to Australia - a suggestion, just to shoot in the idea of how the children of the country can take up the work of the A.I.F. for Australia - make their country and not ~~them~~ themselves their life's work.

Balfour has made a speech in which he says that we must keep the German colonies - that we cannot (as an Empire - in the true sense - of United States) risk having an enemy on our line of communications with our various States. We cannot afford the risk of German submarine bases just outside the shores of our various States.

I cannot help thinking this is an argument put out as a manoeuvre. To my mind Max of Baden's speech in to-day's papers shows that the Germans are not really changing their state in the way in which we must see it changed: they are trying to save the face of the old regime for all they are worth - or rather the old regime is trying to save its face for itself. We are not beaten, say the Kaiser and his Govt. - and the class of newspaper editors and party leaders who really support them - We are going to change just as little as we are forced to. We are going to put up this camouflage of a change and remain here behind it. In the last resort in any conflict between the military and the local Govt. the higher command will decide!

It is more than that we allies have fought four years for. It is real change - revolution; not the old thing camouflaged by half-measures.

October 25.

Friday.

President Wilson's answer today - straight to the point. He consents to pass on to his allies the request for the armistice, but says:

(1) The terms on which it can be granted by the military advisers of the allies would be that Germany should be put in a position in which she would not again be able to take up arms;

(2) That before the armistice is granted it must be made clear that the allies do not trust the word of the present rulers of Germany - who are the rulers who made the war. Either (a) those rulers must go and we must negotiate with the representatives of the German people; or (b) if we have to deal with the present rulers, an unconditional surrender is the only term which we can accept.

The French papers tonight approve - but one feels that they are not really hearty about this reply. The French, after what they have suffered, want to get at Germany and make her feel what she has done to them before the war ends.

The French have been for some days on the Danube in Bulgaria. Austria-Hungary has split its joint Parliament; the Croats in ~~Bohemia~~ Bohemia have set up their independence, and the Poles may do the same. ****

October 26.

Saturday.

A rumour in the French papers that the Kaiser has ~~abdicated~~ abdicated. The Americans - Cannes has far more of them on leave than of English - all realise that their fighting at Verdun (Grandpre and on the Meuse) is the hardest now going on because it cuts straight at the German retreat by Sedan and the iron district of Briey.

**** (The ferment in Hungary is the result of our people and the French (and later the Italians and Americans) recognising the
(25th.) Czecho-Slovaks. Austria cannot bring force against rebellion now, and the U.S.A. has any amount of force to support it -
**** so Austria is simply disintegrating).

There are really three centres of fighting - the Americans at Verdun; the French on their flank; and the British and French on their right (and possibly the French on their left), pushing in beyond Cambrai. The American push

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26/10/18. is in the hardest country. The Americans think (and are probably right) that their men are making heavy going of it and heavy losses, by pushing straight on in the face of machineguns. Probably they ~~were~~ are. The Germans have to keep them back at all costs in order not to lose Sedan which would cost them the Briey iron district but, more than that, would imperil their whole front in France and Belgium by forcing it to squeeze through one narrow line of retreat in Belgium. On the other hand the British attacks beyond Cambrai form a secondary menace of the same sort but only threaten half the line. And the process is there by pushing up behind the Lys to tear the Germans from the Lys and send them beyond the Scheldt. From the Meuse I do not think we can tear them in this way - not by this process - though the Americans cross it at Verdun. The country is too difficult. When they get to the Meuse we may (one would think) push in Alsace.

October 27. To show how the Germans work - how unbelievably thorough they are - the French papers publish today a reproduction of a German picture postcard. The Germans for the last few days, for the first time in their history, have been trying to make out that there has been a great change in Germany, and that the military govt. has been subordinated to the civil.govt. Immediately, in the same instant, their propaganda department has started supplying neutral countries with postcards showing the Kaiser not in his uniform of the Guards of Hussars, which has always before been used for these postcards of him, but in civilian dress and a "top hat"!

I went to church to-day. The English church was filled with the same queer old dried maiden ladies and staid men who make the congregation in all these sunny health resorts. The English prayers for King George and the Queen and the Prince of Wales and the Bishops and Lords strike one as far more incongruous than they used to do. H.G. Wells's "Joan and Peter" is very true; and yet there is a rottenness in it which is not true of ~~English~~ English life - a fickleness of choice between vice and chastity in his characters, which is probably autobiographical. Wells's novels always seem to me to be intensely true to life except just where you suspect they are an apology)(to himself) for some yellow streak which is in him.

Ludenorff has resigned. The German comment on the Kaiser is becoming bitter.

October 28. Monday. I left Cannes (after two glorious sunny days). The wagons lits and couchettes are taken off this line - possibly every bit of available time and space is needed for the sending of coal to Italy; or I suppose it is really from a wish to economise coal.

The American inhabitants of Cannes were most hospitable to me all through. Had me to lunch and tea at their villas with Crum. Crum is a fine straight manly young chaplain. The German note in reply to Wilson is out. It is stiffer. Roumania is in the war again. The German note simply asks us to state our armistice terms.

October 29. Tuesday. Came up in the night train in a carriage with some Americans and a most beautiful delightful French girl - a young widow whose brother (a fine-looking cavalry officer) had evidently taken her down to the Riviera to get over the blow. Their relations were charming - more like those of the best and most modest type of English.

Just before turning in to sleep I found a young French girl sitting on her suitcase in the cold corridor of the train with her face in a pillow - she could not get a place and was proposing to travel all night in this way to Dijon (arriving at

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29/10/18. 5 a.m.). I changed places with her and camped in the passage - and was pleased to find that after the hardening of these campaigns it was no great hardship - I got quite a fair amount of sleep. I believe one could sleep anywhere now.

A delightful day in Paris, walking quietly round the streets and writing the new book. I felt rather tired and like a glass of wine, but one is not taking it during the war. Coffee and chocolate did quite well.

These French are remarkably determined upon making peace in Germany. Another one - an old man of 70 this time - leaned over to me in front of a cafe in the Boulevard des Italiens and impressed on me for all he was worth that a revolution in Germany was not enough. We must make peace in Germany, he insisted.

The waiter at the restaurant was an Italian from Milan, immensely proud of their opera there. He rattled off the names of them - La Traviata, Madame Butterfly, Rigoletto..... and of the artists, and even warbled me bits of them.

Grand news - Austria has asked for a separate armistice and peace, and makes it quite clear that the request is separate from anything Germany may do. This is the sin finding the sinner out, with a vengeance. Within three months - three short months - the German is absolutely isolated; in the same position, without any scheming on our part, in which he used every lying intriguing device to put us. No one, I think, dreamed three months ago that it was possible.

And it was very largely that dashing offensive on Aug. 8 that changed the whole course of affairs!

It looks as though Germany were stiffening - as though the clique behind the Kaiser, the whole of those interested in the caste system, editors, professors, officials, were going to have another fling; sticking to their half-reforms as the most that is compatible with what they believe to be the soul of Germany. But, if so, there is a discontent behind them which will blow them to the winds as the moderates in Russia were blown. The "Vorwaerts" and the "Frankfurter Gazette" and others are freely asking the Kaiser to resign, and some hint at a republic. I think a republic would bring them a "negotiated" peace. I doubt if a Hohenzollern will be allowed to do so by the Allies.

October 30. Wednesday. In train for Amiens. I have wired to Eu to Cutlack to send Boddy thither to pick me up. Two beautiful sunny autumn days, today and yesterday - probably battles, as usual, on the front.

The Italian offensive, which began so disappointingly on October 23 and 24th that we heard nothing of it, expanded on October 27 into a fine success. The Italian papers at first said that the Austrian army was the only thing in Austria that remained solid and strong. But it seems to be giving at last.

The Bohemian state has been definitely proclaimed and started on its independence in Prague; the Poles are uniting. They say that Karolyi has refused to form a cabinet in Hungary because the Austrian Imperial advisers insist on Hungary having the same King as Austria and he wanted complete independence. The Germans in Vienna have met and decided (so the "Matin" says) to appoint a foreign minister of their own in place of Andrassy (who asked Wilson for the separate peace). And the German newspapers are all taking a sort of secondary encouragement from the idea: Now we are free from all bonds joining us to Austria and all treaty obligations; now we can incorporate the German part of Austria in Germany itself. The Germans in Aussig, in Bohemia, have also resolved to detach themselves and join on to Germany.

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30/10/18. (In those mixed frontier races there always is/bound to be trouble - thank Goodness it is getting home to the Germans at last).

Every day the situation enormously changes - A Germany simply uniting the German peoples is on the tapis today - Vienna going on with the war. The Italians will almost certainly get Trieste, and the Austro-Germans are probably too much done up to want to fight on longer.

Do the Allies want this combination? Is it the right and just thing to allow this nationality to unite it go on swelling and puffing and bursting itself with militaristic ambition and endangering the peace of the world. Ought we not to fight on and puncture it until all that wind and arrogance and stuffing has hissed out of it? Those are today's questions. I dare say tomorrow will bring another lot. But the newspapers can scarcely keep up this sort of pressure for long

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October 31. Thursday.

At Eu-three miles from Treport - I found poor old Cutlack only just back from his broken arm, was down with the 'flu, and in No. 3 (British) General Hospital at Treport. (34 men died of pneumonia, following influenza, in one day, at Abbeville in our No. 3 Australian General Hospital - including ward orderlies. It is ranging amongst the German prisoners there).

The news arrived that Turkey is out of the war - an armistice at noon to-day. Exactly four years (is it not?) since she entered it.

The Corps is going back to the front - probably into the line, as one expected. Monash told me today that, in the question of the employment of the Corps, Hughes stood alone on one side and all the authorities on the other - Wilson, Lloyd George and all of them. They urged that for Australia herself it was important that the Australian Divisions should be put in again. There is to be a big push on a wide front of 80 (?) miles on November 4th, and they are to be put in immediately after- 1st and 4th first, then the others one at a time.

November 1. Friday.

To 1st Bde H.Q. to get the story of Sept. 18 and Aug. 23 before they go into the fight again. Their B.M. (Hutchins) is just moving to A.I.F. H.Q., Agnew of 3rd Bn taking his place.

The news camein while I was at 1st M.G. Coy. that Austria is out of the war. An armistice with Italy was arranged to begin at noon to-day. The Italians (with British 14th Corps and French) had taken 50,000 prisoners yesterday.

McKay told me the story of the meeting of 1st Bn. The Bn. of the 2nd Bde - its advanced parties - were already in the line, he said, when 1st Bn was told to make its attack. Mackay was with Glasgow up the line when Glasgow had word from Corps that the attack was to be made. This was on the afternoon of Sept. 20. Glasgow gave him the word - the detailed order would follow. The men were tried for "joining in a mutiny". Most of them got from three to ten years. I don't know to what number - about 12 I fancy (or else 12 got off).

November 2. Saturday.

The troops are all discussing the chances of going into the line again before Christmas. Every pair one passes on the road is talking of it, dispassionately - arguing one side or the other. They have a sort of idea that three months' rest had been promised to them - not definitely - by Hughes. The officers are beginning to realise that there will be a move in a few days - and are taking it very well - with a joke or a laugh. They know that the allied terms are being discussed and settled - the last two days; the idea (coming from Rawlinson) is that the Germans would accept the land terms but not the British naval terms.

I visited 3rd and 2nd Bns.

November 3. Sunday.

Austria has sent in her white flag for an armistice, but no definite published news yet of her accepting the terms. Bitterly cold grey day to-day. I watched 1st Bde football and visited 4th and 1st Bns.

November 4th. Monday.

Austria has accepted our terms - Italy's terms perhaps. Italians are in Trieste and Trent. The armistice started at 3 p.m. today. The move of our 2nd Bde into the line has been postponed 24 hours. One wonders if this is because of a chance of Germany accepting her terms also or because of some connection with the offensive which I believe was to have started today. A beautiful clear sunny day.

Our 2nd Bde. (with which I am now staying) was to leave tomorrow night.

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4/11/18. The great discussion among the men is whether the move is into a near area for moral support - or into the line. They are disappointed but not taking it at all badly as far as I can see. Some think it a shame that they are not getting the full three months' rest, and all the officers say our strengths are very low. They hope to be out again by Christmas. I visited 6th and 7th Bns.

November 5. Tuesday. News today that we had taken 13,000 prisoners and 250 guns in the big attack which started yesterday. To-day is a wet day - dull and drizzling. I visited 8th and then 5th Bns. It is curious to see the difference. The 8th has a young Colonel, Mitchell - a youngster with sporting tastes who keeps a young sporting mess - a brave chap who always goes round and sees for himself the moment it is possible to do so, in battle; as young Howell-Price did - a very religious boy, he was, with high and conscientious motives. The 5th Bn has a very courtly formal mess. Hastie is now their second in command, but is going to Australia on leave, which will make little Lillie second in command. Traill, of 8th Bn, has command - a very brave but not a pushing man. Herod of 7th Bn - a N.S.W. youngster (as young as Mitchell) is a different sort again; very quiet and shy (Mitchell is shy of me, but in another way) - and with a quiet mess - living out of his Bn rather than in it; and a great man for training. His direction of the battle of Aug. 9 from the roof of a house in the firing line was a fine bit of work, it seems to me.

I finished 2nd Bde.; and as they are leaving tomorrow I came back late to Corps at Eu.

November 6. Wednesday. Came up with Cutlack to Lille to the Censor, leaving Crawford to go with the lorry and our gear to 1st D.H.Q. tomorrow - wherever that may be. We will meet them there.

The battles have been going well. The British are not far from Avesnes - 13,000 prisoners and 350 guns captured; and the Americans who attacked on Nov. 3 are within 12 miles of Sedan; and the French got on 12 kilos. today.

Lytton tells us that in the battle of November 4 the N.Z. division did extraordinarily well. They attacked Quesnoy and got the outer defences. Theplace is an old French fortified town with outer and inner defences. The Germans in theinner ramparts held out. The N.Z. sent a bde. around one side of the town and a Bn. round the other, and then summoned it to surrender. The Boche refused. We then sent aeroplanes over it dropping notes telling them to give in; and a few Boches came in but their officers refused still. A N.Z. officer, accompanied by two German officers and a white flag, again summoned them to surrender, but they refused. The N.Z. then attacked the place with scaling ladders and scaled the walls (so Lytton says). They got it to surrender at last and took 100 prisoners there. Around the town and just south of it they got in all 4000 prisoners nd 80 guns - one battery of Germans driving its own guns back as prisoners into our line.

Tonight, as I was sitting with Philip Gibbs and Percival Phillips, there came up a French officer, attached to the British Press, who said that the German wireless at Nauen (so French H.Q. announced) had sent out a message saying that they were sending in a party to the allied lines to ask for the terms of the armistice.

This looks as if it may be - may be - at last the end. It is not three months since Aug. 8 - only 3½ since July 18 - and it has changed so. The French officer thinks that the German civil population is frightened - frightened of the war coming into Germany and of the bombing of Berlin. The Czechs will probably get quickly into S. Germany unless something is done.

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6/11/18. something is done.

The soldiers - the army - is not yet beaten so as to be broken; it is still fighting, - as White said tonight when I saw him. But the civilians behind it are giving, according to all appearances.

The terms are said to be: The retirement of the German Army out of Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, and to a point 30 miles east of the Rhine - leaving its guns behind it; we to bring our troops up to the Rhine and to occupy bridgeheads. The German submarines to come into two British south coast ports from Atlantic and North Sea; and the German fleet to anchor in the Bight of Heligoland under the guns of the British fleet. (The Austrians have had to give up half their artillery and half their fleet).

The reason why our move was delayed 24 hours was the blowing up of a delayed German mine on the railway. This has been happening everywhere and causing a lot of trouble - it is one reason why the troops cannot get further than they are, and quicker on the 4th Army front. They are 40 miles ahead of the railways (Cadge says) owing to these mines, and the railways are necessary in order to keep rations up to the men. There is very little artillery fire now on the front except on our side (so Cadge says).

November 7.

Thursday. Left Lille today for 9th Corps H.Q. It was most interesting to come through the country where the earliest battles in the wat were fought - outside of Lille on the Douai road we noticed that a number of the houses had been destroyed long ago - a percentage of them; and yet there were no obvious shellholes around them or around that part of the country. It must have been in the days when the guns were brought up to fire direct on this house or that. It was like looking on the sacred relics of some incident of the dim past.

The road to Lille had taken us through Lens, which was completely broken up - utterly smashed so that it was hard to know if the brickheaps and skeletons of twisted machinery were in the town or in the suburbs. The only decently ordered thing left was one plank road from the railway station to the main road - apparently German.

To-day we struck Douai-Cambrai-Le Catelet. After Lille I was surprised to see how much they were all knocked about. Cambrai especially seemed to have had almost every house affected by one shell or another. The hard fighting which the Canadians had there must have done a lot of damage to the place. We expected to find civilians here and at least a cafe where we could get a cup of coffee to go with our lunch. But there was none; and the Y.M.C.A. at the railway station was closed until 2.30 p.m. Douai was just the same. The German has done his damage to the railways exceedingly well. They tell us that his mine which blew up the railway and which delayed our 1st Div. move was at Epehy - which the Germans had left 7 weeks before - so long had his mine been delayed in its action.

In Cambrai the high tower of the church or Hotel de Ville seemed to be intact; and so were the fine old towers of Le Cateau - though the outskirts of the town were smashed. We began to find the inhabitants again here - not so many as at Lille and almost all old men and little children.

We called at Busigny, which was almost intact, to see 9th Corps. Harper is the general - but we saw there Colonel Farmer, formerly of 3rd Australian Division, who told us that our 1st Division had been delayed another 24 hours and was going to St Souplet. We passed Rawlinson's H.Q. (looking very snug in a fine camouflaged train) and went on in the dark to St Souplet, where the young town major was very decent. We found little Norrie of the 11th Bn there arranging advanced billets with

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7/11/18. Priestly (Int. Officer 1st Aust. Divn. - now G.S.O. 3). Norrie gave us one little house he had. Our lorry had not arrived, so while Cutlack went off to 9th Corps to get some rations I stayed at the billet and swept and cleaned it.

It had been an officer's billet in the German days; and British officers and Americans had lived there since.

While I was there Priestly looked in. He had been up the line. The British were very well, he said. The 32nd Division apparently was on a one battalion front - one battn. in line, one in support, one in reserve; one bde. in support and one resting. The 32nd Divn. were going to sideslip onto the 46th Divn next them; and our 1st Divn was going in north of the 32nd.

Priestly said that the German white flag came in quite close to here to-day. At about 10 a.m. a car came down the road to Guise with a great sheet flying from the top of it. It contained two generals and two admirals. (Later:- It was at 10 p.m. - a German labour company was sent out ahead to fill in craters in the roads. The party consisted of 10 - several generals; an admiral; Herr Erzberger; and a naval captain.)

Cutlack this morning told me that the Germans knew the armistice terms. Wilson had let them know of them. He had informed them that the allied council at Versailles had agreed to his 14 points being taken as the basis for negotiation except as to two points: first, the freedom of the seas must be understood in the sense given to it by the Allies (which means Great Britain's interests must be safe-guarded). Secondly, the restoration must include the restoration of civilians of France and Belgium in their occupations. On hearing this the German Govt. seems to have decided to send a party at once to ask the terms of the armistice. This looks as if peace were certain.

White and Wynter both spoke to me of Hughes and his attitude. He is going to make any decent arrangement extraordinarily difficult. For example - no sooner has Hughes (partly as the result of my telegram) been allowed to stay over here and help to administer and support demobilisation, than he rings up Dodds to know if the "cards" ar ready. The cards are the documents issued to every man to fill in with his occupation, and all the details covering himself, so that the authorities may know in what category to send him home. The A.I.F. military authorities here have now leave to issue these. Dodds had them printed in accordance with instructions from Defence. Hughes said - "Have you asked them if they are members of a Trades Union?" Dodds said - "No; Defence has instructed us not to ask that question". Hughes said he would wire the Cabinet - and the cards are held up accordingly.

Then Hughes came down on the Education Scheme, which the men are so pathetically keen about, with all the contempt in his little nature: "Your education scheme is worthless" he said. "What you can do in six or seven months is rubbish - you are like a camel trying to break through the Pyramids by piddling against them!"

Murdoch got me to add to my telegram from Paris that strong political support was needed to the military scheme for demobilisation, and of course this pointed straight at Hughes. But if Hughes is going to act like this he is justifying the idea one used to have of him as a completely selfish politician; and it cannot be tolerated that he should wreck our demobilisation at this stage. It is still entirely undecided whether Birdwood or Monash shall carry it out.

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7/11/18.

Hughes wants Birdie to go over and see him. Birdie thinks Hughes wants to give him his conge verbally because he fears to put it in writing, and he will not go. Possibly this is true. In the meantime the interests of the A.I.F. go uncared for. White got Birdwood, against Birdwood's will at the time, to approach Defence on this subject in 1916 (Birdie is rather proud of it now). And practically nothing is done yet. White tells me that if he had the way, when the war ended he would abolish the Corps staff and bring the whole of the divisions under G.O.C., A.I.F. Then use the Corps staff largely as the demobilisation staff. Men are to be sent back by their trades - not by units. White would have them organised at once into proper companies with the right number of officers and N.C.O.'s according to their trades. But White does not know if Birdwood will be asked by Hughes to do the job, and I don't think he will. I told White that Hughes didn't think Birdwood capable of this organisation. "Well, then, the thing is for him to say so, straight - choose Monash to do this and invite Birdie to visit Australia" said White.

Wynter says that he is convinced that White is the most capable organiser we have - a better administrator than Monash.

November 8.

Friday.

Cutlack and I and old Boddy slept last night in this house, which I had swept last evening. This morning we found some old military packing cases and a chopper (I found the pump last night and good water as far as its looks go). We chopped the packing cases, made a fire, boiled some tea and broiled some bacon.

In the morning Cutlack went roundd to 4th Army in their train near here and learnt that the German fleet had mutinied. We have caught a wireless message from Engineer's mate BEHRER, at Berlin, to the "3rd Battle Squadron", telling them that a party had gone to Paris to arrange the terms of the armistice, and urging them to remain loyal on this account. It seems that the crews of all the submarines in the nearer seas (which had come into harbour together) had mutinied; and the others were determined not to go out to sea for the fight which they thought their officers were planning for.

This is better than anything we could have hoped for - a gleam of independence in the German people. Philip Gibbs told me at Lille that he met at Bruges some of the gibls who kept a restaurant there. Bruges was a regular headquarters of the German submarine warfare, and the crews and officers used to come in there for a few days and go off again. The officers were the most terrible "thugs" - a rough crowd engaged on absolutely desperate business - it was regarded as the deadliest service in the war, more dangerous than air work. The girls kept a tally of each of these officers who used regularly visit their tearoom. When they went out they put a mark against their names; and if they did not come back within a certain time they knew that they were dead. The list of submarines losy was a tremendously long one, they said. (This is very unreliable, but it does show what sort of man the submarine officer was and what the work was like - and it explains something of the reason for the mutiny).

Our lorry arrived during the morning with Crawford in charge, and Scott and Bennett and Dorrington (Wilkins's half-Irish, half-American, half-mutinous cook), and plenty of rations. Glasgow arrived this afternoon ahead of his H.Q.; and so we had him, and Ross his Chief of Staff, and Arthur Maxwell his A.D.C.m in to dinner. And what with Yank's cooking, and a first-rate supply of crockery found in this little house, and a box of cigars sent me by W. S. Robinson after his visit, and a cake (a beautiful Australian cake) made and sent me for Christmas by the little mother, we had a first-rate dinner.

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8/11/18. Glasgow is a splendid straight chap. He wants the newspapers to give us a clean lead after the xxx war, and the youth of the country to be moulded by schoolmasters of character (rather than of learning) - because (as I too am firmly convinced) you can do anything with the young Australian if you give him the right lead - he is capable of xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx the utmost brilliance and devotion. The need is to get their devotion turned from their selfish ends to the good of their nation, and it is the easiest thing in the world, given decent leaders.

They say that the German party arrived at Foch's place to-day. The party immediately put down a list of terms which it said it was prepared to accept. Foch shook his head and t old them that it was his terms that they had to receive; that they could accept them or refuse them, but only his terms would be considered. The German party said that it could not possibly conclude such an armistice without authority. Foch said that they could send one of their party back with the terms, and they would be allowed 72 hours to accept them or leave them. The German party decided to send back the terms by the captain who was with them.

To-day, like yesterday, has been a vile day - raining most of the time. The line went forward 5000 yds. at least, they say; and we expect the outposts to be past Avesnes early tomorrow.

November 9. A beautiful day - cold, sunny. I took the chance of driving (with Cutlack) to Dernancourt in order to get 20 photos of the battlefield before it is completely altered. I must do the same at Fromelles (of which we have not a single picture). Then I have to go to England to arrange for the continuance (if possible) of Gullett's and Cutlack's positions; my passage to Australia to establish the museum, etc,; the printing of the little book on Reconstruction, which White says they will make"the bible" of the education scheme; and other things.

I noticed that in all the country we went through we did not begin to see signs of really haavy artillery fighting till we got nearly to Beaurevoir. I should say that the artillery put down a good barrage for the Americans when they attacked towards Premont - but that that was the last stiff fight up to hhis point. The Hindenburg battleground was of course pitted with new shellfire of Sept. 29 and the first few days of October - far heavier than anything since; that was quite obvious.

On the other hand there was certainly heavy fighting at Cambrai - it was heavily knocked about by recent fighting, especially on the outskirts. The centre was, in one part, blown up by the Germans exactly as Bapaume and Peronne was in 1917.

Le Cateau has also some signs of heavy fighting, though nothing like Cambrai or the Hindenburg line - (Nauroy, Gouy, Beaurevoir, Bellicourt, Bellenglise). Possibly it is partly the result of the original battle in 1914. I have not seen it in full daylight.

On our way to Dernancourt we called at 4th Army and Herbertson told us that this morning our troops could not find the German. He had gone in the night - cleared right away. The nearest place our aeroplanes had found him in was Sivret (or some such name). They thought he was off to the Meuse. He delayed us in every way possible by his delay-action mines - just a 5.9 shell with a clever fuse almost impossible to tell from other fuses, which delays its action for weeks or days, as required, by the amount of acid put in. (We have an unused one in our War Museum - from Mericourt).

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9/11/18. He buries this under the lines of railway; sometimes he blows a crater in the line and then buries the shell at the bottom of the crater. Our work party fills the crater in, and a day or two later the shell blows it up again.

On coming back this evening we heard that the aeroplanes which went over to-day found that they could not drop their bombs on the Germans because when they went over the French towns there were the French inhabitants out in the street waving the French tri-colour flag, and the German soldiers mixing in amongst them.

General ~~Debeny~~ Debeney, of the 1st French Army (so Arthur Maxwell told us) considers that the German soldiers are out of hand and have broken away from their officers, just as the fleet has done. They are resisting well in parts, it is said; but in other parts have clean gone.

This is all rumour. Glasgow hears that our 4th Division has had its move countermanded. The 1st Division is to go into the line about November 14 or 15. The 4th Army is not advancing its line much beyond Avesnes for the moment. It has instructed its divisions to hold a line through Avesnes with their main body; and will follow the Germans with mobile columns. We met the Scots Greysm with their grey horses, on the road near Vermand to-day, moving up.

Lots of these details of fighting, etc., are inaccurate. They only represent the current talk at Army Headquarters or Divisional Headquarters on the actual day when the things are happening - vague rumours of the armistice conference which have no doubt come to Rawlinson on the telephone from Haig or Lawrence - several times repeated to Corps and Divisional Generals, and through them to their staffs.

November 10. Sunday. Another glorious cold day. Coal is our difficulty here. We are going to see if we cannot get some from old railway dumps.

I suppose there is no armistice yet, for our planes are flying over. Anyway, the 72 hours isnot over till tomorrow.

November 10.

Sunday.

Today breaking beautifully clear and sunny, and the German still having one day to mke up his mind whether to accept the armistice terms of Foch, I decided to go up to the forward area and see what was to be seen up there. Boddy needed petrol and I went round to the youngster, Norrie, who is Camp Commandant 1st Australian Division, in a cottage by the village pond near General Glasgow's, in order to find where we could get it.

There I found Priestly, G.S.O. 3, 1st Division, lying on his bed not very well. "You've heard the news" he said. "The Kaiser has abdicated - and his son also. There has been a revolution in Munich, which has proclaimed a Republic (Bavaria I believe is to be the State) ~~"The~~ - and another revolution at Berlin in which the army has joined. The German fleet has mutinied right enough - Lloyd George has announced it - it was ordered to put to sea, and it refused."

The news is wonderful - exactly what we have been fighting for all these years and thought past hoping for.

Cutlack at once decided to come to Lille to the censor; and as the Official Photographer's Warrant Officer, Casserley, had arrived just then, I abandoned the visit to the front and decided to get a series of photographs of Fromelles and then go straight to England. In the end Cutlack stayed to watch things at the front (Corps moved up to Le Cateau tomorrow), and I took Casserley to Lille, wiring to White to ask if he could have us billetted.

On calling in at Army, Herbertson told me that he heard that G.H.Q. was disappointed with the revolution. They did not feel sure that there would be a stable government left to negotiate with. On reaching 5th Army H.Q. at Lille young Birdwood said the same; when I said the news was splendid he said - "Don't you think it goes a little too far - this revolution I mean; isn't it a little dangerous for our country - a little infectious....Bolshevism - we didn't want to see that in Germany".

And now one thinks of it, as Wynter says - this explains Lord Milner's speech. He said that we did not want to press Germany beyond the point of possessing a stable government - so he too was really afraid of revolution.

I said to White this evening that I did not think that a little revolution would do England any harm. He said he hated the talk of revolution - England was a nation which possessed the power of changing things without a revolution. I told him I doubted if there were really a change in the spirit of a nation's organisation, ever, without the tearing up of roots by a revolution - compromise left things where they were, altered the form and left the reality.

Birdwood was having the King of the Belgians to dine tonight - he had just taken him to Tournai (which fell today - they are around Mons!); and I dined with Wynter (D.A.G. A.I.F.) in E Mess. We passed today near Inchy (just West of Mons) a narrow little curving bit of trench, all grassed over, just north of Le Cateau Road, west of the town. I could have taken my hat off to that little old trench: it must have been one of the left flank posts of the British Army in the retreat from Mons. Those houses which I noticed in the second village outside Lille on the Douai Road, destroyed without shellholes, must be a village burnt by the Germans for a punishment during their first advance four years ago. The houses were burnt, not shelled, and all the isolated houses burnt too.

Wynter told me (we have seen no papers for days) that

10/11/18. Hughes had written to the "Times" strongly putting the point that he stayed in England so as to be available for consultation; but that he had not been consulted when President Wilson's 14 points were accepted by the British Government and other allies. There was nothing in them about the colonies of Germany - and there was a clause as to equality of trade which put out of the question (if it were literally enforced) our policy of preferential tariffs to England and to our ~~fr~~ friends. Unless Austria were forced to do so she would certainly not treat German goods the same as the British, French or American goods after the war. The terms of peace were practically decided in the terms of the armistice, he said. Why was he not consulted?

The "Times" made a very lame answer. Decisions of immense importance have had to be made so swiftly, it said, that it was impracticable to consult the Dominion representatives.

Hughes also pointed out that the 14 points made no mention of indemnities; yet the Kaiser had promised his people in the spring that they would get indemnities from the allies.

In the first view I must say I think that Hughes was absolutely in the right. There can be no good explanation for not consulting the Dominions in the matter of the terms of peace, and of the armistice.

There are rumours tonight that the German wireless announces that the terms of the armistice have been accepted. The civilians are convinced that the war is over. For the soldiers of this 5th Army it is not a bad war. Even the outposts are now sleeping in beds - so John Churchill says (for what ~~that~~ may be worth). But the Germans are throwing gas shells into the villages - there are no troops there, only defenceless villagers who get down into the cellars and of course are gassed badly - and some die. Old "Gas" Wilson told me this. So it is true.

November 11. Monday. I was billetted with an old French lady who had lost her house - a beautiful house - at La Bassee and another house at Inchy, 5 miles out of La Bassee. German artillery had used the Inchy house as a headquarters, the lady and her husband were living there with them. Two big guns were put in behind the house and these drew the shells. First one end of the house went, and then the other. A number of the German signallers were killed; and some horses. The old people (chicken rearers) lived in the cellar on and off; and then they decided to go. They hid their jewels and plate by burying them, and left the place. They went to a place called by some name like Marquilly - 5 kilometres away or more. From there the old man wanted to return and get some more valuables; but they would not let him.

They heard that their La Bassee house and the Inchy house were ruined. And presently they heard that the Germans in the Inchy house had dug up their jewels. They knew that the Germans had probes with which they sounded every inch of ground however deep you dug; and the Germans had found their cache.

They laid a complaint before the Commandant; and the Commandant had up the cooks of the 248th Regt. and examined them; and a spoon and a fork or two were returned. But no jewels - no valuable papers. Only - 6 or 9 months afterwards there turned up from Germany and reached these old people in due course a packet of jewels which had been amongst those taken from their cache. The process had gone on along the cumbrous distant channels of the State in Germany and had resulted in these things being found and returned to them.

The old man and his wife decided to come from Marquilly to Lille to some relatives. So he made a second cache of his

11/11/18. precious things. This time he hid them in an outhouse; over them he put tarred felt or some sort of non-conductor; over that he put a pile of wood - very deep. He hid there, amongst other things, a crucifix; and a diary - now run into four volumes - which he had kept every day of the war - a very frank one. He hid this in a German kettle and buried it at the bottom of this cache.

Nine monhhs later they heard that this cache, too, had been dug up. The old man would not believe it. "Pas possible" he said. Presently they heard definitely that one of the women in the place had the little bronze crucifix in her possession. This made it certain that the cache had again been discovered. The old man was very nervous about his diary and what had been written in it. It certainly would have got him into trouble. However he made up his mind to go to the Commandant at Marquilly. He did so. He could not be frank but he made some sort of case. The Commandant sent for his men, and they said - "Your treasure - yes - it was a pig which dug up your treasure. We flung the books away because they smelt so bad".

And that was what had happened. The German cooks had used the wood; then they put a pig into the outhouse. The pig, nosing about, had rooted up the cache. Probably the books too had been rooted up; and being in the pigstye, they smelt so strongly that the men had thrown them away.

The old man had died just three months ago. The old lady, a few weeks since, hearing that the district was free, had walked there. She could not get a permit to go, but she went - on foot. She knew the house had been smashed. But she found it a mere heap of bricks; the trees bare shredded stumps; huge craters in the garden. Yet she spoke of it quite cheerfully. Wonderful, wonderful people, these French. Fancy her walking to that place from Lille - it must have taken days.

This morning she insisted on giving me coffee in the kitchen. When I went upstairs to dress I heard a few hoarse cheers in the street. It was a company of a labour battn. marching through the Place Cormontaigne on its way to work, the old fellows giving a gruff xxxxx cheer spasmodically and waving at the upper windows as they went. A few of the Lille people strung out on either side of their road through the square. There was an occasional bleating of some child's tin trumpet.

I guessed what it meant. The armistice must have been signed. The Mess had the rumour; and when I went round to see General Birdwood afterwards, he and White had gone suddenly to G.H.Q.; but MacGregor and Churchill told me that the armistice had been signed.

The war ended at 11 o'clock this morning.

One could not realise it. No more gun flashes; no more flares. Tonight the streets would be bright - the towns would be lit; the cars would take the blackpainted eyelids off their headlights. The munition factories would have to bring their work gradually to an end; the business of the world for the lastfour years was finished. We had won - beyond all hope, everything exactly as the most optimistic democrat would have planned it. The Kaiser and his son had gone to live in Holland.....I couldn't realise it and I am sure the people of Lille couldn't.xx

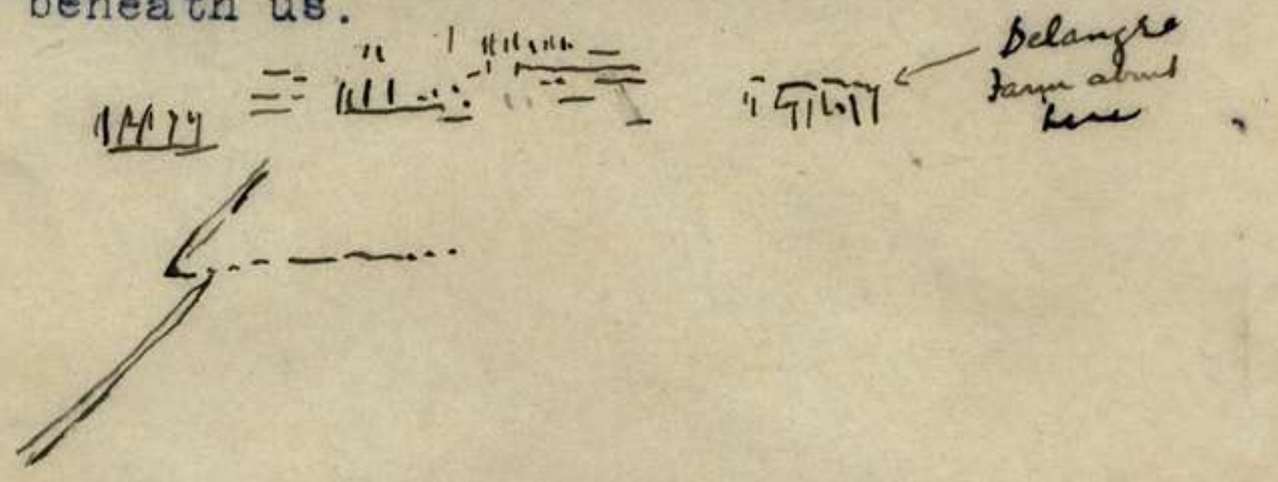
We saw no demonstration whatever there. I went to Press H.Q. The correspondents may stay on to follow up the occupation of Germany by an allied army. Today they have all gone off early to see Mons, which was holding out stubbornly enough yesterday but which must be ours today. They do not know (Lytton did not know when I saw him) that the War is over.

11/11/18. It is strange that the last scene for the British army should be where the first was - at Mons.

I sent a short wire; and then left with Casserley and Boddy for Fromelles to get some photos before the place changes.

Going through Haubourdin I again noticed that many of the houses along one street were burnt - not continuously but here and there, showing that this was certainly the work of Germans in terrifying the inhabitants in 1914. We turned left at Vert Ballot - and just at 11 ~~o~~ o'clock I noticed on my map that the corner we were approaching was marked "Fin de la Guerre" - from the name of the estanimet there, I suppose. I got Casserly to photograph the fingerpost - it was just 11.10 a.m. as he snapped it.

The road past Radinghem, Le Maisnil and Fromelles runs behind the old German third or reserve line. You can see the line about 200 to 400 yards away on the right all the way; and by the roadside there are a number of cottages strengthened (if not actually lined) with reinforced concrete. There was a concrete fowlhouse attached to one, with the grain still in it. The road runs up the Fromelles Aubers ridge; and the right-hand side of it is simply peppered with artillery observation posts. In many cases the German has used the shell of an old ruin as camouflage by building a concrete O.P. as a sort of core to it so that his observers sat there in real comfort. Very different from our precarious seats on a ladder in a barn with half of the tiles off. Fromelles church - a pyramid of tumbled brick - has a strong O.P. on the top of it, just like a bit of the old church to look at from the distance. It has the whole country spread out before it just like a map - a position an artillery officer would pray for. We could see the roads almost to the front line right beneath us.



We went on to the old battlefield. Rhe road which was the boundary of the 15th Bde. is now a main artery of the traffic across the old lines - such little traffic as exists. There has been a Portuguese battalion coming along it - all day we had been meeting bits of them. (Birdie told me that the Portuguese commander-in-chief told him the other day that they had been most neglected by their government. For a year they had had no re-enforcements. They always had a rule in Portugal that when an expeditionary force went out it was relieved regularly at the end of every 12 months - but these men had never been relieved at all. The officers were sent back to Portugal on leave; and when they got there the Govt. kept them there and sent new and green officers back to the front The result was that the officers with the Portuguese troops were useless. The men simply laughed at them, and when lately they were ordered to go forward to do some work they refused. It was pretty serious. A M.G. was turned on them (apparently by the Portuguese commander's orders). Six or seven were killed and the mutiny fell through - this

11/11/18. Birdie heard from the Portuguese Commander. After that Birdie split up the Portuguese corps and put one battn. in with each of his bdes - in some divisions, anyway - so as to make them up to 4 bns. per bde. Being used in this way they had no chance to mutiny).

We found the old No man'sland simply full of our dead. In the narrow sector west of the Laies river and east of the corner of the sugarloaf salient the skulls and bones and torn uniforms were lying about everywhere. I found a bit of Australian kit lying 50 yds. from the corner of the salient; and the bones of an Australian officer and several men within 100 yds of it. Further round immediately on their flank were a few British - you could tell them by their leather equipment. And within 100 yds. of the west corner of the Sugarloaf salient there was lying a small party of English too - also with an officer - you could tell the cloth of his coat.

The ground is all divided into shallow turtleback ridges between grassy ditches or water channels ---

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And along one of these water channels near the German wire were lying so many Australian waterbottles that it can scarcely have been an accident. The poor chaps must have crawled here wounded, at night, for water, I think. Or else one of them must have collected a number of these waterbottles and crawled out with them for himself and his mates.

The Sugarloaf salient had been tremendously pitted by shellfire and by plumpudding bombs. And the old German wire had been splendidly cut. Both sides had put up new wire since. The British wire was very good and high and uncut - I couldn't have attempted to get through it in most parts. What the Portuguese can have been doing when they let the German through it I don't know.

On the east side of the road, about 500 yds west of Delangre farm and 300-400 yards south of the German front line, we found the water-filled ditch which was taken as our objective. It had certainly been in part a ditch. It ran to the corner of a sort of orchard, 400-500 yds. S.W. of Delangre, and merged into the ditch along the orchard hedge nearest to the German line.

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At the point marked X I found a bit of the cover of an Australian waterbottle; and at Y an old rifle butt, probably Australian.

In the front line were a lot of concrete shelters, about 3ft. of concrete on the top and just room in the little box below for a man to lie crouched.

It came on to rain a misty drizzle. But we got a number of photos; and then drove on to Boulogne. I saw very little signs of festivity over the place. Only when we punctured in a village beyond Wizernes and four children stood by the watch us mend it in the dark and drizzle, one of them said to the other:

"Have they got a flag in front?"
"No" said the second.
"Then they have not been to St. Omer".

Those children came from Lens - so they volunteered. When I said the Kaiser was a refugie they said "We are refugies also - from Lens". Their house was in ruins. They had lived in the cellars a long time - three years they had been amongst the Germans. Then many people were killed by the shells and they were evacuated through Switzerland. They wanted to know if the streets had been disentangled of rubbish yet? if the bridge on the Douai road had been blown up? The elder boy, Charles, was 14 when the Germans evacuated them - if he had been 15 they would not have permitted him to leave. There was a sister about the same age and a little brother. They were most intelligent quiet children. They told us that Germans had been billetted on them - they were forced to take them and there was no payment. Their father was at the war with the French and their mother had brought them here.

A couple of French youths passed aged 20 or so, singing and rather drunk - the first sign of the peace festivity. They were waving a flag. The French mostly seem to carry about a fair-sized tricolour on these occasions - not wave it but carry it quietly around.

There were lights - subdued, but still lights, in the villages we passed through.

At Boulogne in the main street we did suddenly run into a crowd, mostly of British soldiers, some Australians, some French, and a few women, who were walking around the half-lighted streets. There was one soldier blowing a tin trumpet - one or two waving a flag; and a few obviously half-seas-over: the occasional bright shop front attracted them like moths. There was very little noise really. There were a few electric lights near the quay, but the trams and many of the street lights were still darkened by staining blue.

As we came over the hill towards Wimereux an intermittent light which atfirst I took for an electric torch showed up ahead of us.

"I guess that old lighthouse hasn't worked for four years" said Boddy.

And so it was - a lighthouse.

Col. Huxtable, who is now in command of No. 2 A.G.H., and Major White, put me up. Cars and men have been passing at intervals all the evening. There has been little shouting - not so much as on a Saturday night at home. It is quiet now - 11.45 p.m.

And so it is Peace. The question in all minds at present is - can we ensure that this split-up German govt. will pay for the damage to France and Belgium? Can we be sure that Bavaria and other parts will not escape by proclaiming themselves separate from Germany?

11/11/18. Anyway - the military regime is gone - split, rent, smashed, fled. Who could possibly have imagined this four months ago?

November 12. Tuesday. Crossed from Boulogne today - a beautiful sunny cold day On the boat coming over one had, for the first time in four years, that delightful feeling of free roving, which one used to have in the long ago days before the war. The boat heaved and sagged to a lazy swell. There were many other boats on the sea, mostly making direct for Calais. After these four years, when one all-impounding purpose possessed the world, there was a freedom in the ~~xkx~~ air which made all the difference. I find it hard to describe - but the difference to one's personal comfort was as great as that between drinking castor oil and enjoying a cup of French chocolate. For four years there has been only one business in the world and one has felt all the time that no one had any right (oneself least of all) to have any other pre-occupation or interest. Every ship that one saw on the sea was in the grip of that stern business - they were all controlled by the same great organisation, all carrying stores for the same destination, exactly as if all were trucks on a single line of deadly dull railway inside the big blank walls of a Government dockyard.

But to-day, for the first time, there was the old romance of the shipping of the seas in every ship that we saw. They were mysteries again - as they ever will be in peace time. They were beginning to build again the great trade of the world - just beginning - only the first tottering steps; but ~~stirk~~ still they were constructing good things and varied things. Each ship had begun to be, for all those who saw her, that bundle of mysteries which she is in the good peace time. Whenever a ship heaves up and passes you in peace, on some business of her own, you know not what, bound for some distant land-fall, you know not ~~xxxx~~ where, carrying in her a swarm of strange and varied people with all sorts of interests - unfamiliar to you - whenever one of those wayfarers of the sea passes you she carries with her an aroma of mystery and romance which you come to associate with the smell of ship's tar and of a sea rope. You cannot pass round the crowded basin of any old-world port without feeling it - these people - whether they are going to South America or the East Indies or Western America or the Levant or the White Sea - or if they are going only round the rugged corner of the local coast to fetch strawberry baskets and wood faggots: they are going on a voyage into a world we do not dream of; each ship is a packet of strange interests, strange sights, strange memories and vivid impressions.

Well - for the ~~fxxx~~ first time in four years that aroma begins to hang around the ships of the world today. It may seem a vague and abstract thing to write here, but it as real as anything in life to me today. Two days ago these ships were as dull asd like to one another as trucks in a coal train. Today they are free to do their own work for the world; at least to begin their varied interests of peace in place of this one dull all-pervading objective of the war. And what is as much - one is free to enjoy the sounds and sights around one.

Of course the war precautions are still being taken. The German navy has not submitted. "S.M.S." (they still call her that) STRASSBURG has summoned the German sub-marines not to submit to the humiliating conditions of the

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armistice in spite of the Government having signed it. Not one German submarine has come into the ports where they were required to come. The navy is mutinous, - against the German Govt. as against the Kaiser. Our Admiralty has asked for all seaside lights to remain shaded. We have told the German Govt. (and their delegates have agreed) that if the German navy does not act in accordance with the terms of the armistice we shall occupy Heligoland in order to be in a position to force them. The German people under Dr. Solf, who seems to be the biggest man there (as I thought he would be after meeting him in Sydney in 1909 or 1910 when he seemed to me a German with really broad and wise ideas, very British and un-German ideas, on the government of Samoa), has appealed to President Wilson for mercy on the German people which is in danger of starvation; and Wilson and Clemenceau (who is really a great man, by all his recent magnificent speeches - and a fair one to England) have promised this. But unless the German navy acts in accordance with the armistice I do not think there will be bread sent to them; and this is the great handle which the allies at present hold. If Germany plays her part and restores France and Belgium she will get bread - otherwise she will not.

We were escorted over by destroyers as usual and by three small airships; the airships for once in a while spent their time on this voyage in diving towards the ships, soaring again, playing every sort of prank in the air to amuse the men on board - when they waved the men on our four or five little cross-channel ships waved back. We still kept to the crooked course between the two shores in order to avoid the minefield which must still be there. As we came in there was a dull boom behind us and one destroyer was hidden by the smoke on the water for a moment. I fancy she had destroyed a mine.

The towns of England were beflagged. In one field we saw a dozen German prisoners working picking greens in charge of one old Tommy; and from one heap of greens in front of them there stuck a tall staff on which waved a Union Jack.

In London I went to the War Records Section and found that Treloar (now Major) was away on his honeymoon. Funny old fellow - he brought the girl over quietly from Australia and married her last week without even telling Balfour, his assistant and confidant all through the war. He did not even tell Mrs. Almon, at the lodgings, though she knew very well because his room had always been full of photos of the girl.

On leaving the Records I saw Long and got him to agree (on White's advice) to take the little book on Reconstruction for his education scheme as a work on "Civiss". He will order 2000 at once - of course the scheme will get any profits that there is. As I went out from his place to dine with Murdoch I walked into a strange Victoria Street. For the moment I could not imagine why all the lights had such strange bright haloes round them - until I realised that for four years I had not seen street lamps at all except the hooded ones of war time. The lights were the sight of London. There were a number of people in the streets with flags in their coats or on their jackets; that seemed to be the main decoration and it was well done. Very few drunks. As I came back late I saw a crowd standing

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around some soldiers and girls who were dancing a jig. It is the first time I have seen a jig but there was no mistaking the quick jigging step. They were laughing and shouting - quite decent in it all. It struck one - here at last is the reason for dancing: it is a form of expression of feeling; and this crowd cannot express its release from this pent-up four years of suppressed feelings except by dancing. The feeling is bewildering: one doesn't get used to peace in a day; and the old remaining anxiety and strain of war is still at the back of one's brain and will remain there till the world is itself again.

Prince Max of Baden (or is it Bavaria) issued two or three days ago, just before his resignation, an appeal to the German people abroad, asking~~xxx~~ them not to despair of the fatherland: "The homeland has shown unprecedented strength in suffering and endurance" he said. "In the fifth year, abandoned by its allies, the German people could no longer wage war against increasingly superior forces. The victory for which many had hoped has not been granted to us. But the German people has won a still greater victory, because it has won a victory over itself and its belief in the right of might. From this victory we shall draw new strength, for the hard time which faces us, and on which you can also build."

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Diary.

(Nov 13 - Dec. 3. 1918. written up in Sept 1919 from notes)

Nov.13th 1918. Dined at with Smart and Dean the Savoy/this evening. The dining room was crowded and young Air Force officers and others very excited. There was dancing afterwards in the Ball Room downstairs- anyone seemed to dance with anyone though mostly, I fancy , they were parties.

I hear that White and Monash are to organise the demobilisation of the A.I.F. from here. White has been sent over by Birdie and is busy drawing the scheme of the departments that he will need.

The Government has at last wired agreeing to the list of pictures which we suggested that our artists should paint, but not to the scheme of the "Artists" Corps. Well, it is not so good as that scheme by which each artist would work just like any other member of the A.I.F., for the good of his country. But it is a good step in advance. They have approved of pictures costing £2950.

November 14. Passed through Trafalgar Square this night. It was crowded with people mainly from the East End , groups of them dancing a curious jig- about six or eight taking arms in a line and jogging up to another line which faced them and did the same; the two lines bobbing and jigging in towards one another, and receding again interminably, and shouting and laughing. Bazley says it is some wierd old London dance that has survived in the East End and come to life apparently. Staff Officers, officers of the R.A.F., Diggers and girls, old men and apparently staid elderly married women were jigging backwards and forwards and a good humoured crowd looking on. Bazley says they have some old song about "Mrs Brown" which they sing with the performance.

Bazley was dancing arm in arm with a Major in red staff tabs and an Air Force officer and a line of Diggers and others on the first night after the Armistice.

It is the people trying to express its relief, I suppose, Trying to get back into the frame of mind of peace - throwing off the responsibility which has been on everyone this last four years, and not having any other expression but to wear their feelings gradually down in this way.

November 15. Billy Hughes has made a speech in which he demands an indemnity from Germany. I think it may be with a view of taking all that he can back to the Australian electors. I dont like this insisting on something which I dont believe that any nation could possibly provide- the gigantic task of paying for this war. Of course they must

repair what they have done in France and Belgium, and it will mean a tremendous obligation to the French whose industries they have systematically and deliberately ruined by breaking the machinery flooding the mines and so on. But a complete indemnity or any thing like it is surely beyond the means of any power. We must see that they have far more to pay than any other power, which may mean indemnity- but I dont believe it wise to ask of them the impossible.

White ws sent over here by Birdie to prepare a demobilisation scheme. He saw Hughes and informed him. Hughes sent for Monash and wants the two to work it together, I fancy.He told White of his plans to get the men into factories and training workshops, by hiring factories for them if necessary."He's a big little man," White said to me,"he has big ideas - and that is the way to do things; I think he's right. But if is clear to me that all this scheme of factory training and the rest of it is something quite separate from the staff work of demobilisation;and I told him that I did not feel that I could undertake it. If he divided the ~~xxxxxx~~ work, and chose to make John Monash responsible for the whole of these big schemes, with any office that he wished - s uch as that of Director General of Demobilisation or some such title, I would be quite pleased to stay on and do what I can in this work that I am about. Or if John Monash takes the whole thing, ~~xxx~~ then he is quite free to avail himself of any work that I have done in drawing this scheme and getting these officers (Coxen, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~Foot~~ and others,whom White has ordered to London to take up the chief departments into which he is dividing Demobilisation)~~to~~ start organising them, then he is welcome".

November 16th I went out to Mr Hughes today, really in order to tell him what I knew White would never think of telling him, what all this meant toWhite in his career as a soldier. Hughes kept me for lunch and made me drive afterwards with him to Buckingham Palace in his car.While he went in to see the King I waited downstars. On the way back from the Palace to his house Hughes told me that some time back he had been approached by some section asking him if he would accept a post in the British Ministry. He said that he would do so only on one condition - and that was that he should have the power to carry out his policy. If they would guarantee to him the power to give effect to his ideas, he would accept. On that point the offer broke down.

November 18.My thirtyninth birthday. Monash is over here. White, whom I saw today, prayed me not to intervene for him

with Hughes nor to let Murdoch do so- but just to let things take their normal course whatever that wasto be. The first portion of the German Fleet is to surrender today.

There is a full moon, and one cannot help waiting for the recurrent whirr of the double engines of the German planes. It is almost impossible to believe that, on a night like this, there is no enemy in the air, no danger in the skies, burring overhead like a droning wasp to be followed by the sudden crash crash crash crash of his bombs.

Nov.20.Fog. The first 20 German submarines in today.Our people - or rather the Press, especially a horrible section of it which will never be suppressed,- is too boastful.It is not the spirit for this victory: it is the spirit that we fought Germany to break.

I am trying to get Lambert to go out with me to Gallipoli as the artist to paint the Landing and the Charge of the Light Horse at the Nek.

Nov.21. "I am very worried about White", said Dodds to me today. "What has Monash been saying to him? They saw Hughes today and when I saw White afterwards and asked him what was to happen he said'Bloody Hell!'- So I knew something pretty trying must have occurred for White doesnt swear. I asked Gen.Monash what he had been doing to White.'Oh- I didnt do anything, 'said Monash,'I just suggested that the best course for him would be to go back to Australia'. 'What- did you say that to White - well that explains it' and I told him." That is what Dodds told me, as far as I can remember it. Probably it is by no means verbatim. I think Monash said that Gen.White would probably be wanting to go back to Australia and he thought that this wd be a good thing - or something of that sort. Anyway, White wont stay in London and work with John, it is clear.

Another Howell Price, one in the Navy, has won the D.S.O I see, at Zeebrugge. Webb Gilbert came in to see me today. We are going to get him appointed an A.I.F.artist to do the models. He is a first rate sculptor, Bill Dyson says. White has agreed to give him his honorary commission .

Nov.22 Saw Doris Keane in another piece. Not a patch on what she was in Romance.

Nov.23.Back to France.

Nov 25.Monash held a big meeting at Le Cateau in the Brewery Chateau (Corps Headquarters) today to announce and explain the beginning of demobilisation.His speech will be typewritten. There was a little dialogue with Birdwood at the start, the inference of which seemed to be that John pushed Birdie aside making or attempting to make it quite clear that demobilisat-

ion was his, Monash's, affair only. Birdie said a few words in preamble and shortly afterwards left. I wasnt there in time to hear this - I had to get in from St Souplet where we are still staying. Afterwards I went to St Solre le Chateau with Glasgow and Arthur Maxwell and Ross.

Nov.29. Every evening from dusk onwards until after midnight, wherever you look you will see, every minute or so flickereing above the horizon, the haze of a flare - red or green or yellow or white. The troops are never tired of letting off these German flares. Sometimes you see one quite close - sometimes it is the haze of one fired perhaps thirty miles away. But the horizon is never free from the light of them. I wonder when the men will get tired of it - it has never stopped really since the offensive of August 8th began. They discover these flares and flare pistols, and take them back with them to rest areas and amust themselves firing them till far on into the night. I passed a group of men today outlined in an orchard by the blazing dazzling white light of burning cordite. The had found some and were buring it; or else were making a bonfire with flares.

I met today the Major commanding the 180th Tunnelling Coy R.E. in which Angus Butler was before he was blown up and nearly killed when attempting to withdraw one of our own mines at La Houssoye. The Major told me that they have been engaged in the nasty job of digging up German mines on railways and roads - or suspected mines. It is very hard to say where the mines are. Sometimes you can tell by the sinking of the earth. The Germans bury 5.9 shells with the fuses depending upon a wire suspended in acid. There is often a group of these shells together. As soon as the wire is bitten through the mine goes up. The 180th Coy in digging for these has lost since the armistice one officer and seven men killed. The trouble is that as the wire suspended in the acid gets thin the mere vibration of the pick getting near to it is apt to break it and send the mine up. That is why so many mines seem to have exploded when trains were passing overhead. The Germans in their armistice terms had promised that they would send pioneer officers to point out where the mines were and pioneers to dig them up. But these did not come. The authorities asked for them by wireless. Still they didnt come. We asked again - no reply. We asked again and at last the reply came: "Use our prisoners"! The major (whose account this is) tells me that he supposes that they cannot get the pioneers to return when they order them

to do so. The pioneer officers or engineer officers who did come back to inform us where the mines were, found great difficulty in doing so. The mines were often found to be some distance from the places which they pointed out. I suppose that they had kept very few particulars.

The German system ofydestroying the roads and railways has been tremehdously effective. They have quite deprived us of railway communication here. The railway is through to Le Cateau - but ahead of that point there is no communication except by road, and the roads are becoming almost impassable through the heavy traffic. You have to creep along them in a motor car at almost a walking pace. For five miles between Beugny and Solre that is the case.

The Germans exploded a trainload of munitions at Solre and each truck tore a crater into the bed of the line half deep enough to bury it in. There is a field on the Avesnes side of the line at Solre Station which is entirely scattered over with bits of truck, and of railway line. The Germans have also made a practice of blowing a crater in the lines, and then burying a nest of 5.9 shells with delay action fuses(in acid) at the bottom of the crater. We come along and fill the crater in, and think no more about it. There is no suspicion aroused through the sinking of the filled in ground as there would be if the mine were a specially dug one. Six or eight weeks later up goes the mine again in the same vital spot.

December 3rd. Staying with Drake Brockman at Sains, going round the battalions of 4th Bde of which he is now the general. I am trying to see two battalions a day and to get through by the end of the year so as to start for Gallipoli to study the Turkish positions early in the new year. The Govt wants me to advise it also as to the desecration of the graves and the general position regarding the cemeteries. But I cant get away till I have seen every battalion and got from them the story of the fighting from August 8th to the end. And I find that this can be done, at the fastest, at the rate of two battalions a day, pretty thoroughly.

The excellent demolitions carried out by the Germans have resulted in an emeute - a sort of half mutiny, half strike in the 15th and 16th Bns here. The rations have been a bit short owing to the great difficulty in supplying the troops in this district. Now that the war has ended, so thorough was the German in his work, we can hardly feed our troops. Otherwise, you wdnt know that the war had ended. At the base there were demonstrations on Armistice Day - in London rejoicing lasted a week. At the front there was not the least difference. The battalions simply went on with their work. If Peace brought anything to them it was probably a good sleep.

C.E.W.B's Diary - 29/11/1918.

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* This was the night of our famous dinner - young Carroll dog cooked up by our cook (the "Yank," a regular murderer) in search for treasure he believed buried in the garden of our billet - my mother's beautiful parcel - with cake, chocolate drops, raisins etc. Glasgow Arthur + Ross were our guests - a marvellous feast!

C.E.W.B. 20/6/47.