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HON. EDITOR'S NOTES.

This, the last of the back volumes for the period of suspension, contains all the remaining contributions I received during the war. I have increased the size of the November number in preference to adding other matter to it.

W. H. HENDERSON.

November 22nd, 1919.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE MORAL, MENTAL AND MATERIAL FORCES IN A MODERN NAVAL WAR.¹

It is hard to distinguish between the moral and mental forces, both are intimately connected, but by considering the moral force to be composed of the characteristics of the people, the tradition of the nation and the environment of the individual; and the mental force to be the result of heredity, training and education, they may be split into various parts which can be considered in detail.

The Europe of to-day is very different from the Europe of 100 years ago. Nations at one time poor and thinly populated are now rich and overcrowded. Countries that were once agriculturally and commercially self-supporting, now depend on others for the necessities of life.

The interests of the great powers extend far beyond their territorial boundaries, their industries are inter-dependent and their commerce world wide. The prosperity of the nations of western Europe rests on trade relationships that are far-reaching, highly organised and easily disturbed.

The maintenance and defence of such relations in time of war must obviously be matters of primary concern, and matters which largely depend on the strength and efficiency of a nation's navy.

PART I.

MORAL—PATRIOTISM.

There is an intimate connection between the well-being of a maritime power and the navy that defends it. Knowledge of this connection ranks high among the moral influences in time of war. A navy is impressive through the number of its ships and the spirit of its men, but it is in relation to the life of the nation as a whole that the full extent of its importance appears.

It is not too much to say that the effect of defeat in a modern naval war will be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. The paralysis of industry, the unemployment of thousands, the rise in the price of food, are some of the consequences that must inevitably follow in the event of a naval disaster. Officers and men must alike feel that on their energy and courage hang issues of the vastest magnitude. They can go into action knowing that on them alone depends the prosperity if not the existence of their countrymen. It is at bottom a matter of enlightened patriotism and capacity to understand how closely the life of the navy is bound up with the larger life of the nation as a whole. A foundation of patriotism will be a valuable asset to a navy in a modern naval war.

¹ Written in 1913.

TRADITION.

The traditions of a people or a service combine to create a moral force that is of considerable importance. A tradition is more easily felt than analysed. The spirit of a school; the *esprit de corps* in a regiment are influences that are real though intangible.

Writers on naval subjects lay considerable stress on the traditions of the navy and attribute many of our victories in the past to this cause, regarding it as a hopeful augury for the future. There can be no doubt that the sailor has a supreme contempt for a foreigner. It is an excellent thing that he should go into battle feeling that the odds of victory are, owing to his own inherent merit, largely in his favour.

But, though no one would deny that the traditions of the navy are strong, yet in some respects they may have been misunderstood, and it is somewhat disconcerting to find how entirely ignorant the average seaman is of naval history. In this we have much to learn from the Germans who, proceeding on Goethe's principle, that the value of history lies in the enthusiasm it creates, see that the past glories of their country are widely known amongst the people at large. Without however in any way minimising the existing naval tradition, it is yet tolerably clear that it might easily be increased and made more intelligent. The fighting force of a ship can never be at its strongest unless there is mutual confidence between officers and men; without such confidence doubt and suspicion creep in and prove fatal to that loyal co-operation which is so important an element of success. A spirit of loyalty extending throughout the whole fleet and through officers and men alike is of incalculable value.

If the men trust their officers, the officers trust their captains, and the captains trust their admirals, one of the prime conditions of success in naval war is established. Clearly then much must depend on him who is in supreme command. Wellington estimated the presence of Napoleon on a field of battle as equal to an army of 30,000 men, and Napoleon rated the values of the moral and physical forces as three to one. The inspiring qualities of a leader make themselves felt in a subtle and powerful manner. Had Napoleon been able to remain in the saddle the French might have won Waterloo. If in the Russo-Japanese War Admiral Makharoff had not perished at the start, the course of events might have been changed. He possessed in a peculiar degree the confidence and affection of his men and his death was perhaps the greatest and most decisive loss that Russia sustained.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to quote the words of Marshall de Saxe, in his "Revères": "Man is an engine whose motive power is the soul, and the largest quantity of work will not be done by this curious engine for pay or under pressure. It will only be done when the will or spirit is brought to its greatest strength by its own proper fuel, namely, the affections."

PART II.

MENTAL FORCES.

To pass from the moral influences in naval war to the mental, here as in the previous section the subject is the man.

Socrates writes that "Good generals have the art to excite in their troops an emulation of distinguishing themselves by some brave actions,

that they may be taken notice of above their fellows, and all generals whose troops are thus affected towards them become eminent leaders in war." As it was then, so it always has and will be. The seamanship and fighting efficiency responsible for the defeat of the Armada were largely due to the work of Drake and Hawkins. No stretch of imagination can ascribe it to combined naval tactics. The English ships acted individually, keeping little or no order. The seamen were emulating, courageous, and the dashing commanders had made their reputations on the Spanish Main.

The relationship in a fleet between the admirals and captains may possibly play a sufficiently large part to decide an action. Few leaders have been more beloved than Nelson, who, writing to Lord Howe after the battle of the Nile, said: "I had the happiness to command a band of brothers."

A very great deal of the success of Nelson was due to the great affection which he inspired in all ranks for himself.

Captain Duff who was killed at Trafalgar said: "Nelson is so lovable and excellent a man that we all wish to exceed his desires and anticipate his orders."

An unpopular man possessing all the other qualities essential in a commander is rarely ever successful in a long campaign, for it is not in human nature to give unswerving loyalty to a man who by undue aloofness or petty tyranny has made himself disliked.

Having dealt with the leader, his subordinates must next be considered. It is clear that guns and torpedoes are of no use if there is no brain behind them, and although a healthy spirit will naturally express itself by acquiring as much accurate technical knowledge as possible, yet it is clear that initiative is and must be a valuable supplement. Strong mental and moral forces are certain to ensure good material and proper application. The possession of knowledge and intelligence is however an empty gift unless it is capable of taking the form of initiative. And here a practical problem of some difficulty faces those who are responsible for the direction of the navy.

How is an effective discipline to allow scope for initiative?

It is a problem that cannot be solved according to rule, but it is clearly a gain if officers are aware that such a problem exists.

The German solution of the difficulty is in the difference between an order and an instruction.

Readiness to take responsibility is a quality which this country has always exacted from its sailors and except in one famous 18th century instance has not been disappointed. This readiness to take responsibility is really a moral quality, but if it is merely a moral quality it may be little better than foolhardiness or that childlike ignorance of danger which is the high road to disaster.

In so high a sphere as naval warfare the men who have to take the grave responsibility which may involve their country's safety must be men of high mental power who have had opportunities of deciding in difficult conditions on questions of real importance; but mental ability and mental training are of comparatively little use unless the man who possesses them has also had the opportunity of carrying out his theories in practice.

Nelson in his standing orders lays down: "In time of war conditions must of necessity change so rapidly that the original order will no longer admit of complete application. It may be hoped however that if a subordinate officer knows the end for which the order was given he will be able to adapt it so that although changed to meet existing conditions it will yet help to promote the object that was at first designed, and it might even be necessary for an officer on his own initiative to disregard an order if he was convinced that the admiral of the fleet had a different set of circumstances in his mind when the order was given."

The orders of Wellington and Napoleon are of interest and to the point.

Wellington: "While an order should be implicitly obeyed, still circumstances may change and conditions widely vary from those known or from those that presented themselves at the time the orders were issued.

"In such cases the officer receiving orders guided by the object he knows his chief has in view must act on his own responsibility."

Napoleon: "Un ordre militaire même n'exige une obéissance passive que lorsqu'il est donné par un supérieur qui se trouvant présent écouter les objections et donner les explications à celui qui est chargé d'exécuter l'ordre."

Nor is initiative less to be valued in the men than in the officers. It is of course not so necessary, in so far as his duties are more mechanical. Yet the man who thinks and can act for himself even though at times he makes mistakes, is in the long run a more efficient unit than the man who blindly and unintelligently obeys orders. The introduction of steam has entirely changed the seaman's training. In sailing ships he had to be bold and self reliant and at the same time work whole heartedly for a common object, but now his training is more like a soldier's and tends to repress individuality.

In the training of officers, a system while ensuring accurate technical knowledge should at the same time encourage a study of the broader principles of their profession, such as strategy, tactics and international law. A close technical knowledge may be sufficient for a lieutenant but beyond that rank a wider outlook than the management of machinery is necessary.

International politics should be the peculiar study of naval officers. There are innumerable instances of admirals and captains having prominent parts to take in foreign affairs, and even if they have not got to arbitrate, they should be capable of supplying valuable information to the foreign office on the existing conditions.

When recruiting, it must be considered that the preparation of a race for war is made by its mothers and schoolmasters and to get good men the service must be made attractive.

Marshal de Saxe writes: "In peace on the daily routine depends the spirit of the men and nothing is more certain that success is dependent upon the men discharging their duties cheerfully and zealously.

"The zeal and love for their profession will be vastly increased if their daily round includes no irksome or unnecessary duty that could with a little forethought be equally well discharged in some other way."

The effect of some weeks of war on the personnel will probably be felt most by the officers. The higher the rank the greater the strain. The invisible danger of submarines by day and destroyers at night will produce an almost intolerable nervous tension. Napoleon fully realised the mental waste that a general on active service must suffer from, and in 1809 gave himself another six years—he was then only 39.

The ship's company will also suffer considerably and everything possible must be done for their material comfort, in this way only can the men be kept healthy and alert. The officers must appear cheerful and encourage the men. A cheerful aspect in the officer will do much to stiffen the morale and take the sting out of an unpleasant duty.

PART III.

MATERIAL FORCES.

Speaking broadly it is true to say that in the long run the richest nation will have the best material.

Sea power cannot be estimated entirely by the number and size of ships, and history shows that in the majority of cases in fleet actions the side with the fewest number of ships has been victorious. This is a curious anomaly and is worthy of a close study. The technical questions as to the size of guns and thickness of armour must necessarily be important factors both materially and morally, as a superiority in material produces confidence in the personnel.

Only in the last 20 years has any attempt been made to challenge our naval supremacy. But it has been done so successfully that at first sight it would appear, that as a nation we were in grave danger of losing at one stroke the command of the sea and with it our food supply, at the same time having our shores open to the dangers of invasion. But a closer examination into the state of affairs shows that England has a great tactical advantage and a wider distribution of material over any other power. In addition recent inventions have all been much to the advantage of Great Britain. Submarines make invasion most hazardous. Wireless, facilitates the protection of the trade routes. Aeroplanes do much to prevent a raid and assist a blockading force.

An examination of the naval bases and coaling stations of the chief powers shows that England has an enormous advantage and that even if she may be hard put to hold her own in the North Sea, she will probably have little difficulty in completely destroying the enemy's trade in every other part of the world.

PART IV.

The foregoing analysis of the moral, mental and material forces opens the way to the discussion of their relative importance.

Since the moral and mental forces can only be effective on living agents, and since the material forces can be summarised under the word "ship," it is possible to simplify the matter and discuss the relative value of ships and men. It is often stated that the complexity of machinery in a modern ship has eliminated the personnel element, but is this so? In the days of sail the efficiency of two similar ships manned by good and bad crews would not have been so marked as at

present. The examples of the futility of putting modern machinery into the hands of ill-trained men are numerous, and it is not too much to say that improvements in machinery tend to accentuate the differences in the personnel. The Brazilians were unable to train their turrets during their last naval mutiny and the Turks generally have been unable to manage their time-fused shell.

Good ships and good men are necessary for the existence of an efficient fighting force, but to which ought most attention be paid, by all those who are in any way responsible for the administration of the Navy.

A strong commander, a good spirit in the men, are great factors of success; so also are intelligence and initiative; so also are ships and dockyards, but to state definitely which is the most vital is an impossibility. It is simply a matter of degree.

Tolstoi writes that "Experience in past actions, whether ancient or modern, goes to show that victory is won not so much by numbers or dispositions as by that imponderable force called 'the spirit of the people,' and a victory has only been won when one side has been convinced of the moral superiority of the other."

The spirit of the navy is the motive power behind the ships and guns, and if it is wanting it is difficult to see what can take its place. As Francis Bacon says in his essays: "Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, elephants, ordnance and the like; all this is but a sheep in lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth not much where the people is of weak courage, for money is not the sinews of war."

Yet an opinion is often expressed that the improvements in machinery have detracted from the advantages of a superior morale and personnel.

Battle at a distance of five or six miles, when the foe is nearly out of sight, puts hot-headed courage at a discount and puts a severe strain on the two in the morning variety.

One may deprecate the habits of newspapers in continually publishing lists of statistics of various continental navies. It tends to exalt the ship at the expense of the man and does not encourage the sailor to believe in himself; but it does show what material requirements are necessary to ensure success in the event of two forces with equal spirit and intelligence meeting in war.

It would be a fatal policy to look only to the men and not the ships. The necessary number of ships must be laid down every year, and an adequate supply of sailors of the right sort provided. Men and ships are as it were hand and glove; the two must fit.

There should be men physically fit, well-trained, and capable of the extracting the utmost from first-rate weapons. Their ships should be so well equipped that no effort of the sailor should be made ineffective through lack of adequate material.

The Navy, and through the Navy the country, depends on both ships and men, neither can be neglected for a moment; and it is the work of naval statesmanship to see to it that the spirit of the men is good and that the ships are worthy of the men.

THE WORK OF A TRAWLER IN THE ÆGEAN SEA.¹

AUGUST, 1914.—Got drafted to a new base opened at Lowestoft, with 19 more petty officers who had been out of the service for years. Most of them were to fit the trawlers out with sweeping gear and rig new stays, etc. Most of the trawlers all wanted stays, etc., and general refit.

I was running a motor boat for about one month. We were all living on the pier; band playing daily; not a bad change.

After that I was to do duty as gunnery instructor. Two 12-pounders arrived. Several R.N.V.R.'s were doing writers' duties. Two more field guns were coming, to make four. Captain Ellison, from H.M.S. Halcyon was in full charge of base, Commander Higginson (retired), Commander Bruce, R.N.R., the former in charge of fitting groups of sweepers and patrol, the latter of charts and locating the groups where the Admiralty required. There were five retired lieutenants, R.N. Lieutenant Seymour was a midddy on the Cordelia with me, my part of the ship; first time I met him since. In addition to drilling the base I had to fit guns and rifles and drill the trawler ratings. Quite a busy time, working under heavy pressure the first five months, day and night. Got many trawlers fitted out and drilled up. I got fed up with trawlers. Thirty were going to the Dardanelles, and I left on March 17th, 1915.

March 17th, 8 a.m., St. Patrick's Day.—Joined 703. Lord Wimborne, Lieutenant Gowthorpe, R.N.R. (untrained). Commander Higginson, who had been at the base, was in command of 30 trawlers and mine-sweepers. Sailed from Lowestoft with a tremendous noise of steam whistles for the Dardanelles at 9.30 a.m.

March 19th.—Heavy passage. Arrived at Falmouth. Was to have leave before sailing, but the trawlermen, like at Lowestoft, made their tongues wag where they were going, that Commander Higginson was wise to clear out of it, as no doubt many spies were about.

March 20th.—Sailed for Gibraltar. Rough passage. Had to fall back for the misfits that kept breaking down. Commander very sea-sick most of the way. After five days arrived Gibraltar a.m., coaled, and proceeded to Malta. Visited E. 14, E 15; know all the crews.

March 25th.—Arrived Malta to get fitted out with armour plating on winch and wheelhouse; dockyard could only do six at a time.

The Inflexible, battle cruiser, arrived from Dardanelles, badly holed, 30 feet by 20 feet; wonder how she had kept afloat; pad that had been put on had slipped. Malta would temporary patch her, and finally complete at Gibraltar. My group in Selima Creek, last to fit out, on account of Commander Higginson, who had to remain until all the trawlers were ready.

¹ NOTE BY HON. EDITOR.—This came into my hands quite accidentally, the writer a Pensioner P.O. did not write it for publication.

April 15th.—Lieutenant Gowthorpe received orders for his group of six trawlers to get ready for sea, to tow smoke barge to Mudros for the operations.

April 16th.—Left Malta with six mine-sweepers, with barge in tow; was ordered to return to Malta to get armour plate; bad weather most of the way; three of the old barges, which had previously been for coal, could not stand the tow, and got smashed up. Plenty of traffic about; the old Greek Islands looked much the same as years ago. Our crew were full of vim, and seemed anxious to do their best.

S.E. of Doro Channel sighted a battle cruiser, so felt quite safe.

April 21st, a.m.—Arrived at island of Lemnos, Mudros Bay. Splendid net defence, three rows; the bay full of transports and battle-ships. Queen Elizabeth flag. What a sight; enough to smash the Dardanelles with all these land forces.

The battle cruiser that we passed turned out to be a dummy; splendid decoy. 1895, Admiral de Robeck, was my first lieutenant on the Cordelia in North America and West Indies, and also Admiral Thursby on the Queen two years, on the St. Vincent, Captain Hope, of the Lizzie, and many more officers and all the old ship-mates of former days seemed to be collected together. Coaled and filled with water. River Clyde was to do rather a risky job; be all right if it is successful, but slaughter if they have a hitch. The old Majestic class, and Canopus, Venerable, and Implacable, Doris, Minerva, and Dublin, and several small cruisers and T.B.'s; all was ready, but Admiral could not think of trawlers returning, as they were badly required for the general landing.

Commander of Hussar was to take charge of the River Clyde with a volunteer crew; she had square holes cut at her side, and painted sand colour one side, and barges were to be lashed at the side and troops disembark from them.

April 24th, 6 a.m.—703, Lord Wimborne, and Balmeade, mine sweepers, with H.M.S. Doris, Captain Larkin, of the Third Squadron, proceeded to sea under sealed orders with four more sweepers, 719, 332, 706, and Lock Broome; under protection of Doris at midnight swept Xeros Bay, close to peninsula.

April 25th.—Canopus and Doris opened fire at daybreak east of island of Xeros, on the Turkish batteries of the Bulair lines; went alongside of Franconia transport, which had the naval division all day. I knew all the P.O.'s who were in charge of the different sections of machine guns, etc.; quite a number of transports full of troops were in full view to the Turks all day. During all this time Canopus and Doris bombarded.

At dusk all the trawlers had eight boats full of troops, and moved away together; field maxim gun on our fore deck. Sub-Lieutenant Regan, promoted for getting his company away at Antwerp safe, was in charge. Old ship of mine, had a fine time, made a dummy landing south of island of Xeros, Turkey-in-Europe. Steamboats threw grenades at different positions; this bluff would keep the Turks from advancing on the peninsular while the general landing was taking place at five different points.

April 26th, at 4 a.m.—703 left with eight empty boats in tow from Franconia, and proceeded at full speed to Gaba Tepe, detached

from Doris, and to report to P.N.T.O. of H.M.S. Queen, Admiral Thursby, to work transport duty for the Australians and New Zealanders.

7.30 a.m.—What a sight; Queen Elizabeth and battle fleet, heavy bombardment; our troops have got a footing anyhow, and the ships are protecting until stores and men get landed as a support. Firing deliberate salvos while troops were being landed in open boats.

OUR FIRST TASTE OF FIRE AND SHELLS.

P.N.T.O. sent signal from Queen to proceed in to the landing for wounded; could see the Australians struggling to get a gun up a steep hill; they will manage it soon. Our troops had lost heavily landing by the look of things; the beach is covered with dead and wounded. Steam pinnace has to take all the boats from trawlers, as we can't get close in shore. Shrapnel shell bursting all over the beach and over the trawlers; took cover as much as possible; no armour plate for protection; good thing there is rope matting for protection around wheel-house. Steamboat brings two Egyptian barges full of wounded for us to take to hospital ship. Goodness, the troops are full of cheer, singing out to passing boats of Australians landing, "Bill, I'm sorry I've got winged." What a fine type of men, full of pluck, anxious to land, to get at the Turks for the pals they have lost. Slipped the boats at hospital ship, and could plainly see the trawlers were in great demand, for everything had to be landed under difficulties. P.N.T.O. ordered us to tow Indian mules and guns from transports. Engaged landing war stores and mules during the whole day under very heavy fire; all gave a cheer when the Australians got an 18-pounder on top of hill in position.

April 27th.—Worked all night, towing mules and shell and guns under very heavy fire; raining shrap bullets like hailstones. Our fishermen, when clear, are filling their pockets with them. Bringing many wounded off under difficulties; good thing the ships are pumping shell into the Turks, for they seem to have good entrenched positions.

Engineers, working like heroes, making a pontoon landing. By Jove, the sniping, what a country, hills and valleys everywhere.

Fleet bombarding heavy all night. Machine guns on shore and rifles. What a rattling sound all night. Searchlights from ships along the whole peninsula at the rattling sound while we get the war material on shore. P.N.T.O. going crazy for trawlers; this is a lively time for us.

April 28th.—Our boys are doing well now. Some Turks have been brutal; they are entrenched, and let our men pass, then most of them are shot from behind. Snipers in all directions, wounded Australian says our boys have captured a German officer and gave him steel for shooting our wounded. Stretcher party had the red cross flying. Hills are covered with dead Turks. Lost about 500 at the landing. At dusk all trawlers employed landing 16,000 troops; still under heavy fire. What a rattling of machine guns. Loaded 160 men, Naval Air and Motor Service. Come on to rain; they were all mostly gentlemen anxious to land with rifles, as motors were of no use here. Lord Loughborough, with four more officers, got down to the lieutenant's cabin, and all the men, well, had to get everywhere, except down the

funnel; no awnings or protections in trawlers; gave them coffee until the steamboats brought barges at 5 daybreak. Ships bombarding all the time.

April 29th.—Lieutenant Cadogan, P.N.T.O., raised Cain for not reporting to Queen; all very well him behind 12-in. armour; men were waiting to be landed; and the steamboats were at it all night. Everyone got drenched; however, they knew a night in a trawler from London town.

11 a.m.—Landed from the Arcadia General Birdwood and staff. Deck hand and myself landed the whole staff in our small dinghy; wished them every luck, and we had a cigar each off them. Pontoon was well advanced; picked a tortoise up just where the General landed, and took it on board; lots of shell still pouring into the water. Balmeadie, our mine-sweeping partner has been hit, getting towed in to beach; the crew will have to abandon her; sinking fast; been struck by transport propeller whilst dodging shell; run aground, water over her engine-room, total loss; crew went to H.M.S. Queen. Heavy bombardment at Cape Helles; Queen Elizabeth letting her pills go; what a stir of mud.

Triumph and Bacchante at Gaba Tepe; at it all day. Caterpillar balloon marking all the shots since the landing.

Wasted about six valuable hours, my trawler, through N.T.O. Cadogan, being sent to search for Chelmer, a destroyer; returned back on two occasions, said we could not find her, after searching all the transports and destroyers; seems to be giving our lieutenant, who is untrained, foolish orders to execute. Came back at 2 a.m.; got word from a destroyer that the Chelmer was coaling at Mudros, 45 miles away. Anchored off Queen; tired; had no sleep since the night of the 23rd. Got to report at 5 a.m. Lively; hope it's for the best.

April 30th.—Heavy firing, machine guns, ships bombarding, occasionally Triumph shelling the Narrows. Had to get alongside Triumph for bread and meat when time would permit; lots of old pals on the Triumph. She had been peppered with shells on February 18th, but was giving the Turks trouble; employed entirely for transport work, moving mules and equipment in barges; heavy shrapnel shells every barge that we tow into the landing.

Taking Australian and New Zealand troops and stores on shore; many of the troops breaking out of Sea-an-Dee and troopships; going mad to get away among the boys. Army officers want so many trawlers out of the six attached here to themselves; appears to be a lot of waste time having continually to go to H.M.S. Queen and have to go by boat. Lieutenant to report every journey; fearful muddling between N.T.O. and Army to-day.

May 1st.—Taking troops, Australian, and bringing Australian officers and men to troopship for certain stores. Things they want seem to be at the bottom of the hold, like a middy chest. Landing mules and Indians; one slipped between ship and trawler, gave it up for lost; appeared again other side of transport and swam back. Great joke we had slinging him. Big shell from Narrows or Chanak just missed our stern; aimed at Queen. Another one into a coalhold of collier. Ships weighing anchor and moving further away. Caterpillar balloon up all day.

May 2nd.—Australians are doing splendidly, and want to advance. General Ian Hamilton asks them to hold until joined by Cape Helles, which they expect daily. Moving stores, hills are covered with dead Turks, bringing off wounded, etc., in open boats. Plenty of dead mules floating in the water.

May 3rd.—Towing barges and provisions; troops all day under heavy shrapnel and sniping on beach. Gun firing into each side of beach causing a lot of trouble. Landed in afternoon; whilst waiting gave some bread to beach party that we picked up, survivors from Ocean; no one owns them; got no clothes yet; say they have to beg their food; tell them they are lucky to be alive these times. Army officers are worried for trawlers. Is our N.T.O. fighting the Turks or the Army? Bombarding at Dardanelles heavy all day. Our men are not doing so well, having resistance.

May 4th.—Busy time all day, towing barges and wounded; they said three (eight) weeks to Constantinople. Shelling the beach; Dublin and Bacchante seem to locate gun at Gaba Tepe Fort. Shells dropping in water frequently. Goeben said to be firing. Australian officers, mostly dead, and the men go out at night to search for snipers' dug-outs. Pulled one man out, painted green, with three baskets of pigeons and three weeks' stores; had been sniping everyone in the back; he got the bayonet. Destroyers landing troops every night.

May 5th.—Heavy firing day and night; machine guns never cease. Our ships are giving the Turks havoc, digging them out. What a country; valleys and bush all over. I was talking to some soldiers, and had a narrow squeak on shore beach; as I left them to get in our boat; 4.7 shell burst among these men around an 18-pounder and killed five; I had just given a bag of bread to them. Lot of dead and wounded about the beach.

May 6th.—Australians heart and soul in their work; when the barges, Egyptian, arrive at dusk they work like heroes unloading. On the beach it is marvellous how they have struggled making dug-outs. Mules loaded with trench stores, passing up the steep valley of death, which they have named, where so many brave men were mown down at the landing. Majestic and Triumph smashing things up again. Shrapnel hailing in the water and sniping, whizzling all over 703 every time we go into beach; steamboats, protected with rope matting around the coxswain, have a most lively time towing the barges from trawlers. Dardanelles battleships are bombarding again.

May 7th.—Saw a lot of Turks prisoners on board the Sea-an-Bee Austral transport; they seem frightened to death of the Australians. Landing mules and troops; towing barges. Australians are going mad to advance; having trouble with guns from Achi Baba. Landed Australians south of Gaba Tepe at night. Heavy shell falling on the beach and among the trawlers and transports. How the Colonies love the 703 bull boat; first officers and men on board from the trenches; gave them tea and bread; they say the ground is covered with dead, and the naval guns playing havoc; returning for stores; enjoyed tea; the fishermen drink tea night and day. These Australians are a sample of manhood, always eager to break out of the transports to be with the boys.

May 8th.—N.T.O. apparently does not pull with the Army officers; foolish journeys and wasting time; first going to one transport and another, making a hopeless muddle, towing empty barges to transports where not required, and others waiting for them. Heavy machine-gun fire; sound is getting further away; afraid our ships' knocking at the enemy's door previous to this landing has done no good. Stiff job on here; not gaining any ground at Cape Helles; heavy shrapnel and sniping to-day. Big shells coming from the Narrows frequently; heavy bombardment 12-in. shells from Gaba Tepe and wings.

May 9th.—Taking troops; we are attached to Colonel Patterson headquarters transport Arcadia, who will arrange our orders. Ian Hamilton seems very cool; has great hopes. Got a system every morning; orders on paper; thank goodness for that; not have to send the Lieutenant to Queen in the dinghy every trip. Could have easily megaphoned or signalled; wonder where they dug him out from; instead of helping the Army staff, appears to delay everything. Towing mules and gun carriages all day.

5.30 p.m.—Slipping a barge at anchor near beach; deck hand Kenny stuck in the way; as usual, in a blue funk; got shot in the groin, rifle bullet; I told him not to try and dodge "work or bullets." I managed to extract bullet; sent him to the Majestic for treatment; not much goodfunking every time we work the barges. Ships still blazing away at intervals, protecting our wings. Plenty of shells falling all over the beach parties, causing many lives.

May 10th.—Bacchante cruiser doing good work at Gaba Tepe. Bombardment from ship at intervals; was on the Triumph to-night; just missed the Goeben, they say, with 7.5; pity they could not knock her out; if she could see her it would not be long. Shells coming in the water from Narrows occasionally or forts.

Landing troops and stores; our men seem to be getting a sound footing, but still eager to advance. General Hamilton will not think of it until joined. Heavy bombardment, Achi Baba and right wing of Australians. Seems that enemy has a disappearing gun; sometimes detect the smoke; plays havoc on the beach; got the place measured off; hit by shrapnel bullets again.

May 11th.—Landing stores and troops; seems a treat to work with this Colonel Patterson; getting through double the work. Soldiers are not to keep trawler more than seven minutes alongside; lively on shore; machine guns and bayonets rattling. Heard to-day all those armour-car detachment got killed and wounded. Lord Loughborough wounded, coats are packed with the poor fellows bandaged. Medical staff having a fearful time, but doing grand work, filling hospital ships up under difficulties.

May 12th.—Landing troops; bombardment still raging. Saw a Turkish convoy passing by the bush south of Gaba Tepe; sent to atoms with 7.5 from the H.M.S. Triumph or Dublin; spotted nicely.

May 13th.—Battle still raging. Our ships constantly, with the aid of caterpillar balloon, bombarding. Germans couldn't, after this sight and cover the ships give, ever invade England. Good thing the ships are here to-day. Enemy seems to be falling back, Australians gaining ground; moving wounded and stores to transports, barge towing. Australians work splendid clearing the barges.

May 14th.—Ships still bombarding ; all does not seem well at the British wing ; say they are losing heavy ; expect to join shortly. From Helles French guns are doing well, but say infantry attacks weak. Buried writer from H.M.S. Prince George, who got killed by a Turkish shell in Dardanelles.

May 15th.—Towing barges ; transports getting shelled ; battle-ships moving ; old Canopus bombarding village and apparently munitions store ; blazing big fire ; searchlights at night spot the movements of enemy ; sudden bursts of bombardment all over peninsula.

May 16th.—Landing troops ; had about 200 on board ; no cover for them. Enemy can plainly see our trawlers daily. Bullets whizzing always when approaching. Beach master yells to close ; No. 703 as usual. Clear out bull boat ; steamboats having a lively time ; water short on shore ; Tommie coming off for water.

May 17th.—Still bombarding ; no advance at Dardanelles mouth ; getting somewhat anxious. Hot weather, living on bully beef and biscuits, and we give them plenty of tea with milk in ; puts new life into the wounded. What sights ; bad wounds.

May 18th.—Landing a load of troops from transport ; takes just about five hours to call at all of them. What a fearful day. Heavy bombardment ; gave the troops tea before arriving at beach ; say they will not forget the Lord Wimborne bull ahoy ; they shout full of life. Just gave officer's messenger tea who comes off daily. Next I heard man overboard ; shot by sniper ; full equipped ; manned boat astern ; poor chap had sunk with weight, and did not rise again ; Huges, from Queensland.

German submarine reported passed Malta. All transports' trawlers on patrol outside transports warned. Could it be possible to come this way ? Or is it a tale ? Our officers think it rot, and not true.

May 19th.—Australians seem to drive the Turks further back. More heavy machines and rifle continue day and night. Bombarding at intervals. Landing troops and bringing them off to transports. Colonel Patterson giving us double the journeys now. On the move until midnight. Have got quite a large stock of food on the beach. Beachy Bill continually at intervals, causing many casualties.

Midnight.—H.M.S. Goliath torpedoed at anchor in Dardanelles.

Firing at the trawlers when towing in barges ; heavy loss of life.

May 20th.—Bringing off to Sea-an-Bee from trenches officers and men for a spell ; they have had a terrible time ; the stench in the trenches from dead Turks. Served them tea and bread, says, never forget the bull boat ; enjoyed meal better than anyone for years. Can't make any advance at Helles ; ships bombarding Achi Baba ; Australians becoming anxious, and demanding to advance.

May 21st.—Landing and disembarking Indian Gurkhas with war materials ; also busy with provisions from Sea-an-Bee. Alongside the Triumph for water ; she is shelling the Narrows heavy at intervals, 10-in. and 7.5 ; had about 200 Australians on board. Triumph's crew sized them and called them on board and made real guests of them and in time for dinner ; enjoyed the Navy tot of rum.

Towing barges. Beachy Bill more active, Australians doing their utmost to find it.

5 p.m.—Dublin and Triumph bombarding; also battleships and cruisers at Cape Helles. Have not seen any French ships doing anything yet. Heavy terror of shrapnel around Achi-Baba; afraid our losses are heavy. Turks have the positions. Colonel Patterson, Arcadia, gave us a new journey to run fresh beef to Cape Helles, W Beach, and bring back to Imbros, from W Beach and Anzac (new name for the Australians, means Australian and New Zealand Corps or Company); they will enjoy the fresh meat; also fitting up bakeries. Situation seems quite secure at Anzac. French troops and Naval Division and English troops have a most difficult task. Why the dickens do not some of the Army leaders get among the men and push the movement. They all seem to be on the Arcadia, and many inexperienced officers in charge. Navy is giving them every support. The Army artillery 18-pounders not much use; big guns are required. Trawler reports submarine in sight; not believed.

May 22nd.—Almost forgot the day and the date; towing barges after taking beef. Plenty of transports at mouth of Dardanelles, and certainly a much better beach for landing; seems to be getting well advanced. River Clyde has been severely holed, and they are using her for a landing stage near French landing; rumours that German submarine has passed and seen off Greek Islands. We could do with a few more T.B.'s; not half enough.

Beach Master Captain Lambart, R.N., went frantic with our lieutenant at W Beach for taking written orders from Colonel Patterson, Arcadia, from Admiral. Says after discharging your meat, remain here; do not obey any orders from Colonel Patterson; seems to be a big fight between the two services over the trawlers; everyone wants them.

At anchor most of the time, and towing lighters to transports. Strikes me there is a muddle going on; wasting most of the day. I told my lieutenant to obey last order, and he would be safe.

Are we fighting the Turks, or our own sister service?

May 23rd.—Towing barges about, and kept busy; proceeded to Tenedos with flying stores. Commander Samson is doing good work. Heavy firing all over continues. Seems, from what I hear from men who took stores to flying station, that there are rows between Commander Samson and Army officers. Hope they are not losing their nuts. Good men waiting to fly, and they are stopped for the very few. W Beach does not work so well as the Australians'; no sooner did we get to anchor at Anzac than the working party from Australian beach would be around ship and transfer the stores into empty barges and lighters.

May 24th.—Heavy firing day and night; landed at W Beach 5 p.m. first time. Saw trenches, picked up another tortoise, our officers, lieutenant and adjutant. Most of the transports have gone further out to anchor.

Commander Higginson, on the Minoru, I heard, chased a supposed submarine; turned out to be a dead mule; there are heaps floating in the water. There is no shelling the trawlers with shrapnel like Anzac. Beach master has made up for that forenoon rest; been towing night and day ever since. What a lively time we are having! Our men appear in great spirits; wounded coming down in hundreds

daily; not half enough hospital boats. This three weeks to Constantinople seems a farce. Strikes me the Navy knocked at the door of peninsula too soon. A landing at sixteen points would have worked better, by the look of things. There is no understanding.

Too much muddling at W Beach. Got a lot of Greeks for working the stores out of trawler, and work when they like; wish we were back at Anzac. Beach store parties move with life to empty the trawlers. Heard Captain Heneage is in charge of the mine-sweepers on H.M.S. Hussar.

There have been six trawlers for each beach and transport work. All other trawlers on patrol outside the transports and mouth of Dardanelles, and 703 has been detailed to work on transport work from Mudros, Port Lemnos, to the peninsula. Loaded ammunition from Minewoska, and proceeded to Cape Helles and unloaded.

May 25th, 5 a.m.—Towing barges and lighters all night, landing troops from fleet sweepers. Everyone, beach officers, etc., got their hands full; wounded coming down again. Hot day. Destroyers dashing about, Majestic and Swiftsure firing. Heard our troops are pushing the Turks back, but they have splendid entrenched positions; with the aid of our ships expect to get them on the run soon if they capture the hill. Wants a few naval guns on shore, 4.7 or 6-in. on Scott mountings. French infantry do not push forward; their artillery 7.5 is doing wonders. Shells from Chanak or Narrows coming among trawlers; ships and transports, moving about in all directions. Captain Lambart, beach master, shouting in all directions, "703 go to Anzac and bring back 130 troops who are waiting for you."

10 a.m.—No boat bringing fresh meat. Army officer asks, another noise, expect with beach masters, two cables length from beach, passing Gully Beach going to Anzac. Four big shells come close to our stern; opened out; wish I had a gun to fire at that battery. Triumph is bombarding. Dropped anchor at Anzac, made signals for troops, no reply. Coltman, trawler, hit off Gaba Tepe; not exploded. Lieutenant and I went on shore to beach master after one hour. Says no troops had come down, better return. Australian officers mad because they have taken our trawler away; can't get their stores or men from the transports, and miss the bull boat. Australians doing well, and want to advance. Got the telegraph cable on our anchor again; wish they would buoy it; took half hour to clear. Shrapnel around us again, and beach transports are moving away towards Imbros, proceeding towards Cape Helles; H.M.S. Triumph moved further out. Ask lieutenant if he would go alongside for our fresh provisions; could not, she was under weigh. T.B. came dashing under our stern full speed; told lieutenant there was something amiss; had on our bridge adjutant belonging to Colonel Cochrane, H.M.S. Arrogant, Ammunition Supply Column, who came from Mudros with the load of ammunition to W Beach, and wants to see the working of trawlers. He can see that beach master delays us returning for another load; screw loose somewhere; these Greek working parties at W Beach have no active service leader with them; they may be spies, half of them.

May 25th, noon.—Passed six cables length from H.M.S. Triumph. Big explosion; she is hit. Second explosion followed; she is torpedoed; volumes of black in the air, and wreckage.

Turned at full speed inwards to rescue, prepared life-lines and floating material, turned boat out. Triumph got list of 10 degrees. Heaps of men clinging to torpedo nets, many jumping into the water. Triumph heeled another 7 degrees. Stopped on her port beam, sent boat away with two men; many men swimming towards our trawlers. T.B. Chelmer put her bows under Triumph, stern walk, another trawler approaching, 719, William Allen. Commenced hauling men out of water, tossed oars overboard to the men; I had pulled about four men on board, last one young officer, lots of men screaming for help. Could see a good many losing their heads. Relieved by this young officer, I, at great personal risk, dived in among the batch of screaming men; I had great difficulty to get the men under control. First two men, placed them each end of a plank, with another man grabbing at me; he seized my arm, difficult to get myself free, pinched his nose until he swallowed some water, then he let loose; tied a cork floating life-belt around him; he felt quite safe after I had punched him to get him under control. Another man sinking, air belt had slipped under his waist, was almost feet up; pushed him up with my back, and put him in torpedo canvas boat. Shrapnel shell were bursting over the Triumph, and many T.B.D.'s coming towards the scene. Put quite a dozen more in small trawlers' dinghies and fleet sweepers' boats. The Triumph had turned over on her beam to starboard. A few men were sinking; I dived under after five, who were lifeless, got them in boats; I swallowed a lot of water, and remained in the water until every man was out. Triumph gave a big plunge, her stern coming high in the air, amid cheers of the rescued men, who yelled, "Goodbye, old Triumph."

Lieutenant Gowthorpe, in command 703, recommended me to my base, Osiris, to commander; have copy.¹ Got picked up by small T.B. 49 and taken to Newmarket, fleet sweeper; had been in the water about one hour, and I felt awfully shaken, the amount of water I swallowed, also fearfully strained. Gunner of Newmarket gave me a tonic of rum; no sooner I got it down, when up comes about a gallon of water. There were three men I had rescued getting sewn up, who were buried at sea; four men came to me and thanked me for saving their lives. I had saved about a score or more. Newmarket sweeper went to Port Kephelo, Embros. My trawler had saved 104, and discharged them to Lord Nelson flagship. Boat came after me, when I got to 703 Lord Wimborne there were seven more who had died; buried them at sea that night. All ships, battle and cruisers, cleared for safety to Mudros and Kephelo, behind the nets, except Majestic, at Cape Helles. A black day for the operations; submarine had got clear; towed some barges at Helles all night; heavy firing among the troops on peninsula.

May 26th.—Proceeded to Tenedos with Naval Air Service stores, and returned to W Beach with one of Commander Samson's pilots. H.M.S. Majestic at anchor; she is certainly asking for trouble, knowing submarines done the Triumph. Carelessness if she asks for it. Trawlers on patrol across the Dardanelles searching for submarines; not one of them got a gun; there are not half enough destroyers now submarines are present; what there are are doing splendid work. En-

¹ NOTE BY HON. EDITOR.—Was awarded the D.S.M. and the Silver Medal of the Royal Humane Society.

gaged towing barges during the night to the transports at anchor until 3.30 a.m. Steam boats towing dead mules out to sea.

May 27th, 6.30 a.m.—Not surprised H.M.S. *Majestic* torpedoed. Our engine-man saw torpedo pass; have no gun to fire at submarine. Bad luck to them. 703 had two Egyptian lighters secured astern, which we slipped. What a dreadful sight; she heels over suddenly port beam, men jumping in all directions into the water. In about five minutes *Majestic* was bottom up; luckily, there is plenty of available help; French surface boats doing splendid.

The pride of the Channel Fleet years ago when I was on the *Prince George*, going to her doom; Admiral Wilson's old ship; he would weep to see her now. Several men running around the bottom as her stern goes down. I went away in our dinghy with our cook, and picked up seven. Her ram only above water; two black days in a week; they will want more destroyers and net drifters. Cannot understand why steamboats could not patrol around her with a gun. Confusion going on somewhere. This ship should now be afloat; given away absolutely, to any eye-witness. There seems a screw loose at Cape Helles. Imagine a battleship at anchor, and no sign of a steam pinnace or picket boat with a gun patrolling around her, which would have been protection under the circumstances. They say she had only one active service seaman on board. Half a dozen trawlers patrolling mouth of Dardanelles; not one of them with a gun, only method to sink submarine is to ram. Even if our 30 trawlers were sent for sweeping they certainly before leaving England should have fitted some with guns.

May 29th.—Loaded with ammunition on *Minatoska*, transport. All the ships, French and English that were bombarding have got to safety inside the boom defence. Destroyers running the troops to the peninsula, 703 and 719. 448 has to run ammunition and stores to the peninsula with the fleet sweepers *Newmarket*, *Hythe*, *Clackton*, under the P.N.T.O. on transport *Arogan*; fishing for stores on the transports; proceeded to *W Beach* after loading all night

May 30th.—Proceeded to *Helles*, 2 a.m. Turks are taking full advantage of absence of battleships; T.B. destroyers having a few shots at different points. No further advance; many wounded; after unloading had to take troops from fleet sweepers alongside *River Clyde*. How slow these Greeks work; must be a few Turks among them. Bad look-out for the *Tommies*; the Army is entirely depending on trawlers for supplies.

June 1st.—Returned to *Mudros*. Our crew are not in the pink, having the first taste of hardship on iron rations some time; I tell them to stick in and be British. But one member, I trace, has been in the Navy, a perfect rotter, teaching the crew all the bad points, forgetting the good ones.

June 2nd.—Small French torpedo-boats on patrol outside *Mudros* net boom. Harbour is full of transports, battleships, and cruisers; trawlers 703, 719, 448 on transport duty with fleet sweepers. Peninsula depending on our supplies urgently. Remainder of trawlers on patrol; time they had a gun on them; naval crews are fitting at *Mudros*. hospitals for the wounded and recovered; medical arrangements and stores are lacking, towing wounded in barges close into beach; kept at

towing and going to transports day and night. Loaded high explosives; proceeded to W Beach, building a landing pier for boats.

June 4th.—Six battleships and cruisers bombarded Achi Baba from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., and general advance. 703 wasting lot of time waiting to get working party to load ammunition; shell coming in the water towards us continually; got about 90 tons on board; towing barges at dark with troops to River Clyde. Returned to Mudros with wounded and officers for Arogan; T.B. protecting battleship during bombardment. It is impossible to keep the days in mind; having a fearful pressing time on this transport work. All the battleships and cruisers are having a nice time. French ships as well watching us at a constant strain. Destroyers having troops to convey with fleet sweepers. At W Beach amusing to see the floating mules.

June 8th.—Transport, French, has sunk trawler Shellian; took her for a submarine on trade route S.W. of Tenedos. Shellian sank in seven minutes; all crew saved.

Loaded respirators from Aquitania; she is full of troops. Quite half a dozen troopships arrived. Australian Light Horse has volunteered to land with rifles, horses to be sent back to Alexandria. Transports, many are full of horses yet; they are absolutely no use for this operation. Heard say our engineers are mining Achi Baba. Everything seems to be turning into a muddle. Lieutenant Got told not to come on beach to see beach master about trawler to be unloaded.

June 12th.—New positions. The Turks started to-day heavy bombardment with big shell from Asiatic coast; first time, into Cape Helles, W Beach, and V Beach; most difficult on beach to work ammunition out of our trawler, while shell drops all around us everywhere. Cannot be any beach master.

June 13th.—Battleships, with destroyers protecting, bombard Achi Baba. Troops are doing very little. Our artillery army is not strong enough. French 7.5 are doing better. Pity a few naval guns were not landed, and heavy guns too; seems to be inexperienced leaders; they all seem to be in Mudros harbour and the staff at Embros. Pity Captain Lambert, R.N., did not stop in charge of beach, for everything wants pushing. The Greeks scatter at the sight of a shell, and slack unloading ammunition. We do not know their lingo. Army will have to send parties; there are no Greeks at Anzac Beach; the soldiers unload ammunition soon as it is dark, and not half the waste of time. Trawler Lizzie loads wounded for hospital ships. There is a lot of dysentery among the troops; losing a lot of men; does not appear to be enough hospital ships to comply with this great sickness developing. No place to put the men; have been taking a lot of sick in Egyptian barges, got no other method, from the Australian camps, sand blowing all over the poor fellows. What an outlook! Afraid since our ships have been entirely scared away, all the stuffing has gone from the troops. Asiatic guns heavy, continue to bombard at intervals, regularly every morning about 8 a.m.

June 18th.—Prince George—all our ships should be bombarding—bombarded Asiatic forts, destroyers patrolling around. The Humber, monitor, is doing a little 6-in. firing; do not know where she has come from. Heard Queen Elizabeth reached home safely. Fifty more destroyers would keep submarines away entirely. Loaded ammunition

from Sartiam and Minatonka; very hot indeed. Days our trawler is constantly loaded with upper deck cargo, no awnings; can't move about the decks. I have been affected with the heat, and I do not want to give in. Doctor on the Arogon has very little stores; keep out of the sun, with a couple of tablets. Our fishermen feel the effects of war. Have to try and stick it until I drop.

Cape Helles bombarding from Asiatic as soon as we arrive and drop anchor. Say there is to be a big attack at night. Took troops from Hythe and Newmarket fleet sweepers at dark to River Clyde.

June 22nd.—Been very hard at it. Our trawlers on transport; get no rest at Mudros; towing barges to transports and sick to shore, etc. Coming in our Greek dinghy which Arogon has lent 703 on account of ours that got smashed up; I got a tow by small paddle boat with fresh meat and mails from H.M.S. Europa. Boat capsized with three of the crew; lost the beef and spuds, bread; first we had for days, rotten luck. Lucky I had the mails in my pockets. What a scramble for mails on the Europa; no system; expect it will be organised some day. Everyone is ratty belonging to the staff on Arogon; too much drinking; like a floating hotel; nothing but bustle to-day. Loaded with troops from Britannic at 3 p.m. Proceeded to Cape Helles. Fancy trawlers taking attacking troops 50 miles and no escort. Fleet sweeper followed, with destroyer. Landed our troops safely at River Clyde. Got another load from Hythe for River Clyde. Asiatic guns causing lot of trouble at W Beach. Burst a shell just over our bow while going alongside; set a heap of ammunition on fire; had to back astern; got us in view; whole heavens alight; landed them later under heavy fire. Still lots of slackness, or they must not require ammunition at W Beach. All the best leaders at Mudros; someone should take a more active part; no sooner do we get to Mudros than we load up. Lay usually three days before any attempt to unload. Glad they are sending some of our Tommies to transfer into barges at midnight. Hear the volunteer crew of survivors from H.M.S. Triumph has got the 4.7 to land at W Beach; towed them to Mudros, fully equipped; P.O. Waldren, old mess-mate, in charge; it is lively, no mistake. Floating Sheer Legs at the very middle of W Beach, which was sunk first day of the landing; makes a splendid range-finder for the Turks from Asiatic. Cannot understand, all our smart officers are at Mudros. Load very smart, unload usually three days. However can the Army be short of ammunition.

June 27th.—Heavy and severe bombardment of Achi Baba by Talbot and destroyers, and advance.

June 30th.—French battleships bombard Asiatic forts 1 p.m. to 3.30. What a slaughter this big attack. Tommy says Turks lost heavily, *but the French advance badly*. *Naval Division lost heavily*, home battalion. Churchill's gas in the papers to be through the Dardanelles is all tommy rot. In these positions the Turks give our men very poor heart now the battleships cannot constantly bombard and protect their wings. Inexperienced leaders to push the men. Pity the naval officers could not land a brigade with big guns and make a show at that Achi Baba. Ian Hamilton has a most difficult task. The most of the leaders appear to me not fit to take charge of troops. It is a bad lookout if it were not for these trawlers and fleet sweepers. The Navy is

handicapped, and takes a small part. They are having quite a looking-on job just now (June 30th).

July 2nd.—Venerable and Chatham, with aeroplanes (and net drifters) that have just arrived from England, bombarding from the Gulf of Zeros, believe on Gallipoli. Net drifters would have saved Majestic.

July 3rd.—Talbot and destroyers bombard wings off Anzac. Majestic would not have been sunk had net drifters been here.

July 4th.—With Blister cruiser and T.B. Bombardment of Achi Baba. Heavy Turkish 4 a.m. to 8.30. The gun named Beachy Bill at Anzac, Gaba Tepe and Asiatic Annie firing into Anzac and W Beach is simply playing havoc. Dead mules floating in great numbers. Afraid this army will never advance or do much unless the ships cannot constantly bombard. Army guns seem hopeless against the Turks' guns, which get stronger.

It is awful at the beaches. "High explosives" ammunition piled up along the whole of our decks, and the beach party so slack at unloading, while shells from Asiatic are strewn among the small craft. The Turks fired about 3,000 big shell on general attack. The sick and wounded, dysentery, enteric, and I am told lots of self-inflicted wounds, so that the Tommies can get clear of the peninsula, bears a proof to some extent that the appearance of submarine has changed the whole situation. Afraid they will never take that beastly hill, costing no end of lives. Battleships at shelter. Had this landing of troops been done on February 18th, when the ships were forcing their way, most of naval men say who had been landed at Seddu Bahr and other places, no doubt we should have been through easily; but two months later Turks got their netting and guns up in the best possible positions, Asiatic guns, etc., and Beachy Bill, losing so many lives with them, must be disappearing and movable on railways, for they do not seem to locate them; soon as our ships fire back they cease fire, and appear in changed position. Chanak searchlight is very powerful, and spots our movements by night. Officers and men asked our crew how long had we been on this transport duty the other night. These officers had done nine months in France; said they had seen a more hellish time this past hour than they had all the time in France. It had taken us from 9.30 p.m. to 5.30 a.m. to land this lot of troops alongside River Clyde, making seven different attempts; each time we got spotted, or there must be spies on the peninsula giving signals how to fire. One shell went among a heap of cordite; lighted the heavens and beach up for miles round. These soldiers wonder how we live it through the day. Worst part for me is bucking our crew up; they get awful nervy, and dodge at times. Lieutenant Gowthorpe sticks it not bad for an untrained officer. Ian Hamilton says he will not forget the trawlers, for they have saved the soldiers these past few weeks from starvation. The senior officers of both services do not appear to dig in together and get on with the job. Wish I was in charge of this boat; never seen such a muddle and slackness with rotten system of beach master's party. I am told by the trawlers at the beach that there is much drinking and whisky about the beaches, especially in the senior officers' dug-outs. No wonder they drove our lieutenant away to his ship when he complained and wanted to help or assist him in anything.

Red tape will not win at this part of the peninsula. I must praise the difference at Anzac; everyone there buckled to his work; officers all as one man, and Captain Lambart used to come to all the trawlers every morning; in fact, he was always to be seen in a steamboat or handy; he would detail the work, and everything was moving like clockwork. Since he disappeared I scarcely ever see anyone, except the cox of steamboats. They say, every time we get to Mudros, hurry up, peninsula wants so-and-so ammunition. We never get any rest at all. Of course, I tell our fishermen never to expect sleep on this job. Then get pushed off to the peninsula full speed to await another three days before they get us unloaded. Rotten work, I call it, whoever is responsible.

These blister cruisers and monitors arriving will be a god-send, for battleships are not much use now submarines are about the Asiatic and Ægean seas.

During the remainder part of July it has been a most busy time for transport trawlers that I have not kept the full notes; towing barges and wounded men about hospital ships and transports when in Mudros harbour. The poor fellows are in a bad state. Loading ammunition for the peninsula at nights; heard some spies had wires connected to blow Minatonka ammunition ship up; had to keep clear of her for about two days. Colonel Cochrane and his staff have been heavily at it day and night, and attentive to get trawlers loaded, but the flow of officers from the trenches or beach on the Arogon, nothing but a floating drink ship at these times.

All these battleships seem helpless; pity some of these senior naval officers did not take a more active part instead of sailing about in glory. Bad look-out, I am afraid, having all these young inexperienced Army officers; been wiser to have had some ex-sergeant and ex-P.O.'s in more responsible charge, instead of being kept down in useless positions, where one has no control or allowed to have.

Here is Mudros harbour, full of active service officers and P.O.'s in what I call soft billets, while the reserves and trawlers doing all the heavy strain.

These blister boats, the old Edgar, Theseus, Grafton, etc., with the monitors, look like a new navy sprung up. How peculiar the old crocks like all the men manning them, reserve and old. Hope they manage to get through the Narrows. Something will surely have to take a big change with the troops first; no improvement in general, losing such a lot of men, dystentery. What a bad look-out for us!

I have been awfully ill all the month. Cannot get a chance to see the doctor. The heat has affected me ever since Triumph was sunk. Not enough medical staff about. Still, I'll stick it until the heat clears; a swim freshens one up, but the state of these sick men we are dealing with, Indians and men of all regiments, deceased men's effects; wonder we are not all knocked up. Then the peninsula Asiatic Annie, playing havoc at the beach and among trawlers and fleet sweepers, who have had the stiffest task on water; patrol trawlers are not so heavy pressed, neither is the permanent beach trawler. Motor lighters are arriving. What a relief! Say there is a lot more coming, and will attend on the beach. They can run close in to the shore at the piers and discharge stores.

All the requirements are coming now which would have been a boon at the general landing. What would the Army officers not have given to have had this class of motor lighters at the beginning?

Towed a Greek Xebec loaded with spars to W Beach, then returned, after unloading ammunition. Not much fighting just now. Turks have lost heavy. Their guns (Turkish) have good positions.

Preparing, I have heard, for another landing; they will want to do something grand and land in a few more places to gain a military advantage. Big guns! Our Army seems to want plenty of them. It has developed into trench warfare like France, and they will want digging out of those positions while the ships bombard. Small cargo coasting boats are expected shortly; our trawler is full up with flies, pests, spoiling all the food. Engaged running ammunition to the peninsula. Asiatic Annie making life unbearable on the beaches. Beachy Bill at Anzac not located yet; losing no end of men.

Towing the Greek Xebec from Morton Bay, Dardanelles. Got the tow rope foul of a French transport that had just anchored; had to slip her; but picked her up again. Shells from Asiatic at 11.30 p.m. Chanak searchlight. Another nerve tonic; knocks all the stuffing out of this crew. Still, under such circumstances, we are having bad luck, and no signs of gain, but just holding on. Turks have taken full advantage to get heavy guns up.

Infantry, in my estimation, in a country like this, wants plenty of heavy guns before advancing, and continuous bombarding. We just look at the troops, all that arrive now. Are they low-spirited? The young officers no doubt do their best. Our nation will now realise that good leaders for this military expedition cannot be made in a year. Naval officers start from childhood. I am sure our middies would make rings around most of them.

Towed steam and motor lighters to Kephelo ready for a new move; working under heavy pressure. Wonder where they are going to land. Imbros Island is getting crowded with troops. Returned to Mudros to Minatonka.

August 3rd.—Ammunition, high explosive 60-pounders and 18-pounders to W Beach and Anzac. Returned after heavy shelling; two big shells passed between foremast and bridge, and several astern, from Beachy Bill.

August 5th.—Loaded with high explosive, big cargo, also lot of coasting vessels, about five or six, at Minatonka. Proceeded to Kephelo, Imbros Island. Got one of the dummy battleships sunk for a breakwater inside of net boom. Arrived 6.30 p.m.

August 6th.—They say there are quite 30,000 troops. Lot of Yorkshire Regiment and a good many from W Beach, besides Naval Division. All the destroyers and paddle steamers and motor lighters are full of troops and stores, guns, and equipment. Getting under weigh at dusk. Hope it is going to be a success, but I have my doubts. The troops are nervy; have not the same vim as the landing on April 25th. Most of them I have spoken to say they will get slaughtered.

August 7th.—Proceeded 2 a.m. under sealed orders; all the troops had left with destroyers and battleship Swiftsure and couple of cruisers, Chatham, light cruiser. At daybreak, after cruising about,

heavy firing from the ships commenced severe bombardment, 14-in. gun monitor and four-funnel cruisers and Chatham. They have landed at Suvla Bay, place the Turks expected us landing April 25th; must have been landing all night. Good luck to our boys. Our ships are setting the scrub on fire; our fleet has got a net boom laid; drifter with nets outside entrance; its about two miles long. All the transports and ships inside boom. What havoc our guns on Turkish main pass.

Dropped anchor, and beach master will send for ammunition; working party from H.M.S. Glory brought transports, life-boats, and steamboats for ammunition; took some away. Our troops are landing at three points. Turkish shrapnel coming over our men; seems land mines are going up where our men advance. Eight horses pulling a gun into position behind a small hill. Our troops landing at the right point, called C Beach, are coming along the beach towards B and A Beaches. They are getting absolutely mowed down. What a sight! Mines are blowing up in all directions; our men advancing under our big guns' cover. Our ships will clear the way for the boys.

Lieutenant, R.N., in steamboat come alongside, says they have landed the men in the wrong place and made a mess of the show. But when the boats are loaded go to C Beach with high explosives. Having bad luck, all those Tommies, coming along that flat ground. Why, they are having a hot time, no mistake. Proceeded to C Beach. We have about 25 ammunition column on board, to be in charge where it is landed. A young Army second lieutenant; got charge of four trawlers with ammunition and responsible for the party; he is, absolutely lost; good thing there are two old ex-sergeants to put the men right.

This second lieutenant orders Lieutenant Gowthorpe to take his luggage to A Beach, time we are waiting half an hour steaming. I informed my lieutenant not to take notice of any orders, unless from naval beach master. Who should come alongside but the colonel with the wooden leg. Dear old British officer, in full charge of the ammunition at the landings. This second lieutenant reported my lieutenant for not taking his luggage. Laugh, we nearly all bursted at this flop. Colonel told him: "Young man, you are on a battlefield now. Take that window out of your eye" (his eye-glass, he meant) "and do for yourself. No servants now, carry your own luggage where you want it."

Colonel says they are meeting with opposition; boiling hot day, but doing well. Some of our slackers at home ought to be ashamed. Here is a retired colonel, lost a limb in South African War, and already has given two sons in France, both killed. Makes one proud to think there is a British gentleman hopping about in boats and on a battle front, doing more work than a dozen of some of them, and bustling the men about. How the Colonel used to climb up that long rope ladder on the Minatonka puzzled many; must have had a splendid artificial limb. Good luck to him. Gave him a cup of tea. He says the Wimborne's tea winds him up for another few hours, and is coming again later on for the second drop.

Got most of the high explosives unloaded. Motor lighters are landing provisions. Building a pier; what a fearful bustle. Water motor lighters and water tanks on shore. What a lot of Tommies, working like heroes, landing all the materials. Severe bombardment is in process.

Beach master says we are not to go anywhere near middle Beach B, as it is abandoned; A and C Beach only. No wonder all those men getting mowed down.

Horses pulling another 18-pounder gun from C Beach; shrapnel bursting all over them. There are four guns behind this small hill, south of the salt lake. Troops are advancing. General advance on peninsula. Blister boats with net drifters bombarding off Anzac. Say the Australians are gaining ground and the object of this new landing. Troops will join them and cut the Turks completely off on the main pass over by the village. Our ships are knocking spots off that village. Our troops have to advance quickly before Turks send reinforcements down. C Beach; heaps of mules landing; scarcely a shell reaching the water from Turks. Why this is quite a walk over for our new landing. What a huge difference from Anzac on April 25th. Unloaded all high explosives, and came to A Beach with small ammunition and grenades. Trawler 332 aground off B Beach, loaded; went to her assistance, got her in tow for two hours; could not move her, had to slip tow. Heavy shrapnel on the open scrub from Turkish positions, but small guns.

Discharged small ammunition at A Beach, and returned to tow trawler off with a tug Rescue; pulled her into safety. Think himself lucky we are not all shelled. Perhaps the skipper will look at chart now.

Proceed to Mudros; everything going satisfactory; enemy aeroplane came over and dropped bombs at the landing place among a heap of troops and stores.

Opened boom 2 a.m., loaded ammunition at Minatonka, proceeded to Suvla, new landing; had a short sleep while loading.

Arrived Suvla; dropped anchor; working party, beach master says will soon be coming. He is a Commander. All his face is yellow and burnt. There has been a fire in his motor boat petrol tank.

Landed on shore, with lieutenant to report. Soldiers say our men had taken a fine position on the big hill, but had to come back. Our ships are still bombarding. Some say it is a failure; troops cannot get water; rotten, if its true. Beach party and lieutenant, R.N., got the troops pumping water and filling bottles, anything that will carry water. Lots of scrub on fire; ship's guns are burning several places. It is very hot again. The Army cannot say the Navy is not clearing the way. Hear say there were very few Turks and guns, only small, when our troops first landed.

H.M.S. Glory's beach party says the aeroplane has been dropping bombs all over the Beach A, that when the troops landed they had to pull the men out of the boats; all is not going well, although no one has definite news. Troops have been filling their water bottles on our trawler; troops on beach not allowed water; mules and men have to take water to the fighting lines.

Unloaded ammunition; when unloaded had to go to C Beach and get the high explosives which we landed there and bring it to A Beach. Proceeded to C Beach; Turkish guns got the range. Shells are dropping all along C Beach, among heaps of mules, but do not explode. Been a mistake; this high explosive should not have been landed. Some more muddling, I expect. Stretcher parties going towards hospital

camp, C. Beach, in long strings. Turks are laying plenty of our men out.

Rescue, tug boat aground, just been hit; getting dark; got tow rope out. She is bow on to C Beach; motor lighter aground, too. Towing her from dark until daybreak; got her clear. Ammunition, high explosives, brought off.

Proceeded to A Beach and discharged ammunition. Things are serious for water. They say had to proceed full speed to Mudros for fresh water. Alongside Knight Templar, large party working; took a big and heavy load of petrol tins, filled with fresh water, and proceeded full speed to Suvla landing.

On arrival beach master sent two boats off for about 100 tins, and landed them A Beach. I hear say from soldiers that the troops are drinking, or have been consuming their own water. Mules have our petrol tins water; away they go.

I am much afraid, what our object has been, it has not come off, or good news would have come before now.

Australians advanced splendid, they say, the first day, but have had to fall back. If the troops do not join the Australians left wing very soon this landing will be a nasty smack in the eye for land operations. Our losses have been extremely heavy. Yorkshire Regiment wiped out almost at the landing first day.

Ships are still bombarding. H.M.S. Swiftsure using her 7.5 and 10-in. guns; saw some Turkish troops moving down a ravine with guns. Swiftsure spotted them, and completely wiped them out.

No more water taken off that day; cannot be in such a dreadful hurry for this tin water. No more taken off all day.

— p.m.—H.M.S. Swiftsure had motor lighters alongside her. Turks got big shell reaching the water. Four shells, large calibre, come close to our beam; splash of water came over skipper and myself; had to change clothing; got completely drenched. H.M.S. Chatham had a narrow shave; she got hit, also Bacchante and Swiftsure got hit, with common shell on the beam, heavy shell; got her anchor up, and moved out. Steamboat says five killed on upper deck and several wounded. Had to take Brigadier-General, Territorials, just promoted, to take over at C Beach. He has done good work at Helles; the troops have great faith in him.

Ordered not to go to C Beach until daybreak. General made himself comfortable in our wheelhouse. C Beach is getting heavily shelled, and mules, lots of them, get laid out.

Steamboat says water tank, one of the new coasters, will not go in at C Beach, and also that over 30,000 in want of water.

General landed C Beach at daybreak; heavy firing and bombardment continues.

Shelling C Beach heavy; does not seem any protection to land stores; everything seems in the open. Long sandy beach; Turkish guns can fire with accuracy. Got shelled; away again. Young Turkish girl, painted green, caught sniping. There must have been some blunders; afraid this landing will turn out a failure; disappointing. These troops should have joined the Australians before now.

I notice not a great amount of stores are landed; this is our fourth day, and no further water taken from 703. Screw loose somewhere. Lieutenant continually informs steamboats.

10 p.m.—Sent a working party off belonging to H.M.S. Glory; they are all old pensioners, to unload all the petrol water tins. I suppose beach master or someone had actually found that there is ready water available; just the idea to sling over a mule's back.

Some fires still burning, also at the village Anafarta, main road.

This new landing does not appear to be a success. Our troops should have had the positions, but soldiers say when I landed at A Beach that the troops had gained good ground, but on account of shortage of water had to fall back, and the Turks appeared in great numbers now.

It is a most difficult country, lots of sniping. The hills and positions should be rushed quickly at the very beginning before Turks get time to reinforce. Our ships have kept a most consistent fire on all the hills. Strikes me there is no understanding between officers and men; thousands of men at A Beach seem to be simply idle.

These land operations are not working in co with the naval ships, or the show would not be disappointing. Rotten luck; no wonder everyone is so bally ratty.

3.30 a.m.—After water was unloaded we proceeded to Lemnos, Mudros Bay. P.N.T.O. Arogan was in pain because we had been such a time; had heaps of work. Wounded were being brought in fleet sweepers, and was employed taking wounded to hospital ships and shore hospital camps.

August 20th.—Engaged by hospital department fitting up transports for hospital ships with a major from the hospital yacht Liberty.

They cannot find room for the number of wounded. Day and night kept going to get the requirements. One transport full of wounded soldiers waiting to get dressed; all the hospital ships are full. Major says there are over 33,000 from peninsula in four days, and they do not know where to fix them up; hospital ships leaving for south.

August 23rd.—Been with hospital major moving medical stores. Transport trawlers have had the heaviest part than any naval ship afloat during the operations. Patrol trawlers are all being fitted with guns; some have them already.

August 24th.—Heard from Ben-Loyal that the Suvla troops have been put on half rations. Cannot land the stores; shelling the beaches heavily.

Suvla landing seems a rotten failure; goodness knows, we are all having a very strenuous time, and no gain yet. This is a disappointment of my life, and nothing but leading the men to certain slaughter. Developing into trench warfare, which in a country like this, where boating is so very difficult to keep up supplies, will not come to any good.

Australians have done splendid, but lost very heavily; Australian Light Horse completely wiped out attacking on Lone Pine.

Fly pests and dysentery are wasting all the best of the troops.

August 25th.—Grand sport for a change to see the Australian medical staff; had about 150 on board to-day alongside a hospital ship. Nurses showered them with boxes and sweets; said they did not

get any like this at Anzac Beach, but plenty of shelling instead. Had a merry afternoon waiting for medical stores; quite a change from high explosives.

August 26th to 30th.—Engaged with the medical major from hospital yacht *Liberty*; transporting bedding to transports fitting out to receive the heavy numbers of wounded. Returning to Anzac N.T.O. at night; surely the Admiralty and War Office do not know and allow so much drinking to go on among the staff officers; time it was stopped. No wonder operations are so bad; it should be stopped for everyone at these times, and give more time and attention. On the beaches among the staff; permanent trawlers can never find the heads for orders.

August 31st.—Commodore K. is making a fuss, and wants all trawlers on patrol duty except the permanent beach trawlers.

Proceeded to Osiris, Port Kondi, for boiler cleaning with 448. Ordered, on arrival, to Mudros again, to *Aquarius*, to be fitted with gun-mounting and gun.

September 1st.—Returned to Kondia with *Aquarius*, repair ship for trawlers now. At last some place to get our small repairs done. Had a spell of eight days, first since we arrived. Got fitted with gun, and going on patrol duty. The small coasting vessels and motor lighters recently arrived are many, and will convey most of stores to peninsula. Rough work is now over.

September 10th.—Lieutenant has to take charge of trawlers on patrol on the transport route, and escorting all vessels to safety for Mudros from the main route. Submarine has been reported in the vicinity of *Stratie Island*, said getting supplies from village of *Castrai*.

Naval guard with wireless station landed for observation on *Stratie Island*.

September 11th.—Patrolling day and night, without lights, 15 miles east and west off *Stratie Point*, towards the *Doro Channel* by night.

Net drifters with nets out patrolling at various points, 703 and 288, protecting drifters when nets are out, moving in outer circle in opposite direction, when too rough for nets, drifters patrol around *Stratie Island*. Continued patrolling, keeping a constant chain of escort for transports, submarine not seen.

Drifters on September 26th sunk four enemy mines floating south-east, about half a mile from *Stratie Point*.

September 29th.—703 in rough sea, sunk by gunfire enemy's mine floating (large calibre) three miles East of *Stratis*, on the main transport route. This is the first mine Lord Wimborne has come across. Some ship with false colours must drop them. Description sent to Admiral.

October 1st.—Seems strange, a good bluff, where the net drifters are about they seem to scare the submarines away, just the same, where our guns are firing on peninsula. Gun loaded and I am beside it all day, resting close to it, too much traffic for sleep. Patrolling for sixteen days; two to three days to coal at *Kondia* and for provisions is allowed. On salt rations all the time, worse luck. Our mother ship is not much use; very badly arranged for fresh provisions, considering the time they have been in charge of patrol vessels.

There are four oil T.B. destroyers attached to this patrol, two of them out at a time, the other two at *Kondia*. Fleet is much stronger, Nos. 18, 19, 30, 17. They usually give us any news; not making any

great change on the peninsula. Plenty hospital ships pass us, sometimes five and seven per day. Working, watch and watch. Got to keep our eyes blinking at night. Transports are coming in both directions on route, heaps of troops are arriving now daily; also British submarines are coming, quite a lot of them.

Sickness, dysentery, is said to be heavy at peninsula. Our monitors and blister boats are doing all the bombarding now. Battleships still at anchor in Mudros, going out one at a time occasionally to bombard.

There has been a fearful lot of hospital boats, Aquitania fitted now. Indian troopships are passing daily, net drifters have scared the submarines entirely away, unless it's the appearance of the two new destroyers.

9.30 a.m. Patrolling around Island Stratie. Fired our three-pounders at enemy submarine off East Stratie, whilst T.B. 30 alongside; she dipped, hard luck.

Olympia passed with another load of troops to Mudros, escorted her to boom with trawlers, the Skirmisher or Foresight is with all the troopships coming and leaving. Mauritania and Olympic I have seen three trips since patrolling. Patrolling east and west of Stratie during remainder of month, watch and watch. Still continue on salt provisions. No potatoes simply plays our new Navy fishermen out. They delight to run down everyone in the ships nice and snug at Mudros and Kondia.

I keep saying, "thought you were all hardened seamen, and to stick it, that we are at war and not catching fish in the North Sea." I know it's jolly awkward all the same. Had an active service Admiral been put in command of all the trawlers to see after such requirements, for its heavy, constant watching, and never had any leave to stretch their legs; 16 days out and it takes us all our time to coal and provision and get on patrol again; could do with many more patrol vessels.

October 28th.—Still patrolling. Stopping Greek Xebecs that are suspicious; many are employed by Government, French and English, with fruit, etc., from Mitylene Island to Mudros for the invalids.

November 1st.—Spent three days off patrol, each trawler to report to H.M.S. Glory, at Mudros, at 9 a.m., and escort new H submarine and get accustomed how to attack enemy's submarine from our own.

Lieutenant Holbrook I met on the Minatonka ammunition ship, was a midshipman with me on the Good Hope. He gave me a tale; said the other day he got fired at and almost rammed at the mouth of the Dardanelles by our trawlers. I told him that we have had no signals, only that our own are always escorted. Pity how in this crisis everyone is still kept groping in the dark. Enjoyed the change with T.B.s and our submarine, new type. Patrol at night as usual.

November 7th.—Boarded a Greek Xebec, found her loaded with oil and petrol, had his papers for Imbros, Kephelo, but he was sailing the opposite direction. Towed him to examination ground. Examination officer claimed him as a prize; no doubt he was supplying submarine, north side of Lemnos, or south side of Stratie Islands.

November 7th, p.m.—703 called in to flagship Europa by Admiral. Balkan troubles with the Bulgarians. Got quite enough to go with; how this great war continues to extend.

Proceeded to Salonika with two motor lighters in tow; one of lighters is a water tank.

November 8th, 11.30 a.m.—Arrived at Salonika, French have full charge of operations. Our troops and French are advancing. Three hospital ships alongside of jetty. Reported to Exmouth, flag.

Salonika looks very different since I was last here, breakwater and harbour for shipping now.

Many Greek boats, heavily filled with Greek troops from various islands, continue to land; French war materials landing and plenty of bustling. Took the two lighters to P.N.T.O., then anchored to await orders. Heard the place is full of Turkish and Bulgarian spies; many of our troops have joined from Mudros who have recently arrived from France. Left the same evening and proceeded to Lemnos to Europa and joined patrol.

French have a boom net defence outside Salonika, almost from Kasandra Point about three miles east.

During remaining part of November on patrol. Spent two days in Kondia, coaling and provisions. If you happen to be at Port Kondia, Osiris may give leave to trawlermen Saturday or Sunday for four hours. Have not had time for that.

This last Sunday all the trawlers in Kondia had to have a full head of steam and proceeded outside. 1 p.m. Commodore on Hussar gave us sealed orders, groups were sent in different directions, and spread. Amusing to see all the old corks, misfits who can barely crawl along. Soldier Prince 294 bears a charmed life, sweeping in the Dardanelles in the early days, turned up; it was a meeting of the Harry Tate's Navy, as these fishermen term the mine-sweeping fleet.

However, 703 had 12 trawlers spread outside Mudros boom, and who should come sailing out but the Olympic, submarine must be waiting for her, escorted by Foresight class and two T.B.'s.

We steamed to about one mile south-east of Stratie Point, when Harry Tate's Navy turned and made for port, like the Channel fleet homeward bound from the rock, 703 joined patrol for the remaining part of the month.

December.—Our patrol has been weakened since Salonika operations commenced, the four torpedo boats had gone to Salonika, also drifters had scared the submarines away, at least have not seen any lately. Drifter has sunk four enemy's mines.

The peninsula is not doing much, Turks have got heavier guns up now; can't get any good news from Suvla. Everything turning from bad to worse. Kitchener has said on his visit to Anzac the other day that in all probability troops would be clear by Christmas. Wonder whatever England will think of Churchill's gamble now and the sacrifices. The Navy under most obstinate difficulties have never ceased to support the Army, trawlers and mine-sweepers should never be forgotten by the troops, since the submarines drove our battleships to shelter. It was then that the Turks took advantage, and brought heavy guns and bombarded the troops with such fearful loss; for six weeks from sinking of H.M.S. Triumph the situation completely changed, all that was on the sea was trawlers and fleet sweepers to feed the peninsula. T.B. destroyers were kept at it and must have covered many a mile, drawing the enemy's fire, etc.

December 8th.—Troopships and transports continue to move, several going towards Salonika.

Trawlers are having plenty to do, escorting all these ships, many hospital ships leaving for the south. Our losses are still heavy, the peninsula must be a failure, for everyone is ratty and down in the dumps.

December 11th, 5.40 a.m.—Very dark, no light, stars or moon. Gun watchman called me to hurry up, position 11 miles east of Stratie, heard the motors, and submarine had been seen off our starboard quarter, close; silly fool, had he fired the gun he would have hit her.

The ship turned to starboard, but slow turning it was too late, the chance was missed, when I had the sight on and I asked to fire, lieutenant called out, "Don't fire, —, until we make sure." These are the useless inexperienced officers that I have to sail with, they suffer with a swelled head, no doubt. I felt like turning the gun on him, for the chance was missed, for I saw the submarine 20 seconds (large type).

In the first place the gun watchman should have fired, evidently the submarine took us for a transport, with our new orders to burn bow lights.

December 12th.—703 has been taken off patrol duty for a time. Reported to Europa (flag). Ordered to work under Captain Carver, R.N., to prepare for the evacuation; hear they are going to abandon Suvla. Many soldiers say at our last attack at Suvla, when our men were retiring, during the storm and cold weather when it was so difficult for boating and landing, the Turks were falling back the same time. There must be a screw loose somewhere. My idea, the Army is too late now in the year, the advantage to "advance" to take effect in this difficult country should have been done the very first couple of days instead of dawdling all this time, losing so many men. Our ships with the net boom and net drifters bombarded Suvla hills and village when the Turks were absolutely weak. What I can gather from the troops the first few days, had the supports got up in the positions that they seized and supplies of water been sent to relieve the first attacking force, no doubt the main track of the Turks would have been cut off; as it was, very hot weather prevailed, with weak material and bad leadership at the very commencement of the Suvla landing has caused this failure. Troops as a whole did not give one the confidence, same as the Australians on the Anzac landing, who were full of pluck to push forward at all costs.

December 13th.—The first few days of the Anzac landing, why many of the Australians and New Zealanders were hiding themselves on our trawlers to get among the Turks.

December 14th.—Engaged with Captain Carver, towing motor lighters and steamboats from Mudros to Kephelo, Imbros, belonging to H.M.S. Russell, Zealandia and Hibernia, battleships, Admiral Freemantle; strange to say, I have done commissions with them.

Admiral de Robeck, Thursby and Fremantle, also been with Captain Carver at Whale Island. Pity a few more Captain Carvers were not out here. An officer that one can't help digging in with; funny these fishermen quite understand his methods. He gets three times the work out of them, for the way he hustles them about; when he was wounded he got up to his waist in water, plugging a lighter that got holed, stretcher party arrived to carry him away, although bleeding, he drove them away for coming to his assistance with lumps of wood, etc.

December 18th.—Many troops have been taken off Suvla and Anzac, and new troops taken there up to the last day. Mules and guns, etc., come off quietly. Towed two motor lighters to Anzac 11 p.m., anchored all night. Very quiet, not much firing at Anzac during the night. Terrible lot of material has to be destroyed, impossible to save all.

December 19th.—Evacuation of Suvla and Anzac completed. Total of troops taken off by trawler and fleet sweepers, 42,700.

December 20th.—Slipped the nets at Suvla Bay, Turks, it is said, do not know yet of evacuation. All the Australians and Tommies from Suvla are mad because we have withdrawn, and feel disappointed. Engaged towing motor lighters and steamboats back to Mudros. Captain Carver will drive some life and go into our lieutenant yet. Another month would do him good.

December 25th.—Ships bombarding Achi Baba, heavy. Christmas Day, towing barges and motor boats to Mudros; on salt rations, have not got any fruit or anything to resemble Christmas, the relieved soldiers from Suvla have been well provided under the circumstances. Continued with Captain Carver until 28th. Commodore K wants the patrol trawlers, so joined our patrol, Stratie East and West, day and night protecting transport route.

December 31st.—French ship, Sufferin, sank British transport in collision off Kephelo Point, 6.15 p.m., very dark, no lights.

Turks are bombarding Helles heavy, can't live on the beach.

Patrolling transport route, many troops leaving for Salonika way.

January 3rd, 1916.—Bombardment of Asiatic coast, heavy, by H.M.S. Hibernia and Russell and monitors. Net drifters attending.

Returned to Mudros, off patrol preparing with Captain Carver, suppose they are going to get the troops off Helles, afraid it will not be so easy as Suvla and Anzac.

January 4th.—Towing steamboats, same six trawlers also motor lighters, making ladders again. Captain Carver gave 703 last time to fit 60 ladders, so that the soldiers can get quickly on the old battleships, net shelves, when evacuating.

January 5th and 7th.—Bombarding heavily Achi Baba. H.M.S. Russell and ships, blister boats.

January 8th and 9th.—Evacuated Cape Helles. 703 had at the final to tow motor lighter to Gully Beach, leaving with about a dozen trawlers at midnight. It came very rough at Gully Beach. Couldn't get some of the lighters in to Gully. Troops had to walk to W Beach. About half a mile off Gully, submarine signal observed, expect they have noticed our movements, not a shot fired yet, having good luck, so far.

3.20.—Returned to Kephelo with motor lighters. Had orders to *return towards Gully Beach again, about 3.30 fires lighted along all Gully and W Beaches, a great explosion heard; lieutenant says River Clyde filled with explosive, pieces seem to go miles in the air.*

Our troops are all off, no firing heard yet. Return towards Gully Beach, when in range the Turks opened fire on 703, several heavy shell. We turned back, H.M.S. Hussar coming towards us. She is taking our fire. Turks sent quite a dozen shots close to us, one went between funnel and main mast and dropped clear in water.

January 9th, afternoon.—Every ship came out of Sunday, Kephelo, and Aleakie Bay, caterpillar balloon also 703 with four trawlers steamed

outside. Caterpillar ship for submarine, drifters and trawlers protected battleships and monitors.

Very severe bombardment for about two hours on Achi Baba, Turks must have been spotted and must have lost many.

January 10th.—Employed towing barges and steamboats to Mudros, have not lost a man at the evacuation; talk about bluff, the Turks have been completely had. We have left with honour, for they have not drove us off.

OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM PENINSULA.

The object of these operations, no doubt, has held the Turks and prevented the invasion of India and Egypt, which should prove to be a menace to the German plans in time to come.

The military should have taken full advantage and pushed with vigour at the beginning, when first landed, when the ships gave them such good cover; they dallied and waited too long, Australians were ready to advance on the third day, although lost most of the officers. "Suvla" was certainly bad leadership and muddling; supports and reliefs were straggling about the beach, no one seemed to understand what to do.

I should think ever since the submarine put in an appearance and scared all our ships with heavy guns away, we lost the peninsula. Turks took every advantage of the ships' absence, and brought heavy guns on all the beaches. Soldiers lost their stamina and funk, through lack of experienced leaders; trawlers and fleet sweepers were saviours. Had there been another 50 destroyers to protect and keep battleships covering the peninsula all the time, no doubt it would have told a different tale. Admiral Wemyss and Commander Keyes worked throughout and were the mainstay of the naval forces, always kept the small craft feeding and supporting the troops.

January 13th to 15th.—Employed towing steamboats and motor lighters to Mudros. Captain Carver sent four motor lighters to follow trawlers by themselves. There are three missing and two picket boats. Southerly strong wind last night. Searched around Imbros Island and found two motor lighters aground; tried to pull one off, couldn't manage. One will want better tools, can't get in close enough. Hope the others have not got blown on Bulgarian coast. Reported to Captain Carver, he is sending the salvage boat.

There are two dummy battleships forming a breakwater at Imbros now. Northerly wind plays havoc, several small craft blown ashore.

Proceeded to Kondia for stores and coal, so ended the peninsula for the Army.

It's going to be a stiff winter for the trawlers and drifters, there are more than 100 on the Osiris II. books; they are to be strengthened yet. Patrol all over the islands of Greece constantly. Joined patrol on transport route, destroyers and fleet sweepers running troops to Salonika; I think we have enough to get on with.

Monitors stationed at Kephelo Point; has the range of mouth of Dardanelles, and destroyers patrolling. Navy will, I think, blockade the Dardanelles. Russell, Hibernia, Zealandia still at Imbros with monitors and blister ships.

January 15th.—Lieutenant Gowthorpe had, on our arrival in Kondia for water and coal to-night, to take command of 341 Prince Palatine and

proceed to Salonika for sweeping operations. 703 Lord Wimborne to proceed to Salonika when coaled and provisioned. Arrived and reported to Exmouth flagship. Very cold and snow on the hills.

Salonika operations are entirely under French control, but the patrol worked by T.B.'s and examination monitors stationed inside the boom defence by English T.B.'s for three days, French relieving for three days.

703 Lord Wimborne and 325 Janus, had to sweep 15 miles from outer boom, one mile east of Vardara Point, towards the Kasandra Gulf patrol, which was the main transport route for ships coming and going to and from Gulf of Salonika.

Had to lay at anchor at night, S.S.E. of outer boom, to protect submarine drift nets, which were in the shallow waters. Sweeping at sight of daybreak.

Quite a change from patrol duties, which absolutely get on one's nerves, day and night, watch and watch, and no rest-days in the Dardanelles trawlers, since we have been out have never had a run on shore yet. North Sea trawlers do have a change, and spend 10 and 12 days at sea at the most. Here it is weeks we have been at it and given no leave to the crews. However, we are to have leave for 2½ hours twice a week.

Fresh provisions from H.M.S. Albion, quite up-to-date mother ship, bread and beef; what a relief from Stratie patrol, close to Osiris and nothing but tinned food.

Commenced sweeping, Prince Palatine returned to Kondia, sweeping every day; went on shore for the first time since April 16th, 1915, thought I was in London, real live trams and motor cars.

H.M.S. Albion's crew are getting 6 in. Mk. 10 guns naval, and mounting them. Plenty of soldiers, all nations. I'm informed by M.A.A. Albion place is full of spies; got to be careful and not mention what we are doing and ships we belong to. It's about one hour's good steaming from the boom defence to the harbour where the French ships and a few of our old battleships lay. Prince George, Albion, Exmouth, and Bacchante, and also monitors M. 20 and M. 16, the four T.B.'s, 17, 29, 18, 30, same oil T.B.'s that were on our patrol off Stratie Island.

Our crew felt quite pleased to be sweeping, our troops are making some very strong fortifications, no fighting much.

January 20th.—Large fire on shore, off Kasandra Point, stretching about 1½ miles; must be some military store.

It's nice to get alongside the Albion to have a talk to the crew. Captain Lawley, R.N., that was principal P.N.T.O. on H.M.S. Queen, is in command. Captain Heneage left here to take over H.M.S. Hussar in charge of mine-sweepers.

January 22nd, 6.30 a.m.—Heavy explosion heard, signal rockets fired continuously. 703 got under weigh, I fired two sound rockets to draw attention to ships in harbour; it was French patrol.

Proceeded towards Vardara Point, where all the transports appear to collect, awaiting daylight, many boats waiting about. French trawlers and tugs closing large ship which appears in trouble.

Turned out to be the big transport four masts Norseman, laden with horses, torpedoed, no doubt, sounded like it where we were anyhow. English T.B.'s not in sight yet. French patrol escorting ships up the channel who gave us no orders, T.B. 30 signalled us to close on transport, we had the sweep out all the time in hopes of catching the submarine if

coming our way; slipped sweep wire and took head rope off Norseman, with French tug. We carried it away, she was sinking fast at the stern, heeling to starboard. 703 got hold of port quarter and towed at great risk, keeping her up. T.B. 30, with Captain Campbell of Prince George, ordered everyone off the transport Norseman, her captain never would come off our trawler, the transport's boats' davits were locked on our gunwale, and 703 was in great danger of being pulled under. Captain Campbell ordered everyone off our trawler except the skipper and myself. We were steaming full speed with this transport heeling heavy on top of 703. Transport Norseman's stern under water, pulling 703 over, grounded aft in eight feet of water; what luck, they would save her yet. Some Johnny let go our head ropes and our screw got foul of hanging ropes and wires from transport, two boats' davits locked our gunwale now, a fine pickle to be in; struggled with spars and iron bars and eventually got clear, but couldn't move engine.

Captain Campbell said we done remarkably well, keeping the transport under control. We then got pulled alongside, and there were about 500 horses in pens under water, 1,100 on board. Rigged gangways and was among the horses all day and saved about 200 by seven p.m. Everyone had a kick, we had to go up to the waist to free the horses and then couldn't get the animals to move, they were stubborn; fishermen may catch fish, but they do not know about ticing horses out of water like fish.

Got towed clear when dark, Admiral is making a dust up. Our screw has to be cleared by divers of Exmouth, and commence sweeping at once. 325 towed us up harbour, took the divers two days to clear our screw.

January 25th.—Commenced sweeping, motor lighters and Prince George's crew salving the transport Norseman.

January 26th.—Sweeping with 325, French sweeping close to Vardara Point. Our marines, some from Albion and ships, have taken charge of Fort Vardara Point, walked in without opposition.

Two guns can be observed, look like 9.2, command Gulf of Salonika. The submarine was waiting for the Norseman some time, I hear, close to this fort.

Naval officers at first thought it was a mine, but our statement from 703 was the same sound as that of H.M.S. Triumph and Majestic, distinct thud, a mine has a more open sound.

January 30th.—Sweeping and escorting Greek caique from the 26th to examination monitors, can't trust the Greeks.

January 31st.—(1128) trawler returned from boiler cleaning and Syra Island, where she has been docked. Commodore ordered 703 to return to Kondia on being relieved; everyone is sorry to leave here sweeping, there is always something to occupy one's mind.

Proceeded to Kondia February 1st, Lieutenant Gowthorpe is coming back to 703. Skipper told Commodore K that he would not sail with lieutenant again. Skipper Noble (703) transferred to trawler Derby, skipper from Derby transferred to trawler 703. Ordered and proceeded to Syra to dock and have spare propeller replaced, present propeller blade broken.

February.—Syra Island. Greek slip, hired by our Government at heavy expense, under Engineer Knox, R.N. Spent five days at Syra, and returned to Kondia to have engine overhauled.

Lieutenant Gowthorpe arrived and transferred to 703 from Prince Palatine, and left at 9.30 p.m. for our patrol which has been reorganised. We are in charge of group of nine trawlers, known as Mudros patrol and Stratie patrol and Lemnos; two trawlers to sweep at daybreak from Mudros boom defence, 15 miles out, and return by Admiralty Channel towards boom defence. Patrols are a complete chain from Malta and around all Greek islands.

Imbros patrol under Senior N.O. Imbros has Tenedos, Asiatic patrol, destroyers, etc.

Monitor with 14-inch guns at Kephelo Point holds the mouth of Dardanelles and Cape Helles. The trawlers and drifters are well organised, and trawlers have now been fitted with lance-bombs, most of them have depth charges.

Patrolling is most monotonous towards the Dardanelles; simply there is nothing in the shape of amusement for the crews.

Lot of trawlers have been on the same patrol and not changed ever since being on the operations. If they had two or three days at Malta, once every six months, same as many active service men get at Mudros, it would make a slight break, patrols are usually three weeks and six weeks out, three days in, except when boiler cleaning.

Syra Island.—All trawlers and drifters get docked at this Greek island, at a big expense to the Admiralty.

Engineer Knox, R.N., is in full charge.

One trawler and one drifter usually pulled up on the cradle together. 703 had her bottom cleaned and coated, also stem straightened, five days at Syra, fitted a new propeller, one blade broken in June against Mineskia.

Proceeded to Port Kondia, Lemnos, to have our engine overhauled, and small defects by repair ship Aquarius, under Engineer Clift.

Saturday.—Arrived at Port Kondia, 11 a.m. Trawler 341 Prince Palatine, with Lieutenant Gowthorpe, R.N.R., on board, had orders to transfer back to 703 Lord Wimborne at 6 p.m., and left at 8 p.m. instead of having our engine overhauled. Joined A patrol.

Mudros patrol is split into three sections. Nine trawlers come under 703, sweeping at daybreak from Mudros boom 15 miles of war channel and back again, one trawler at entrance of boom fairway also patrolling around Lemnos Island and Stratie Island, east and west of Stratie Island on transport route. We get orders from Europa, Rear-Admiral Christian. Our duty is to attend all places, calling on Stratie Island Wednesdays, to visit naval ground station there with wireless communication for submarines.

Imbros patrol comes under the S.N.O. Kephelo, H.M.S. Grafton (Captain Grace), trawlers, drifters, and destroyers patrol Imbros Island, mouth of Dardanelles, Tenedos, Asiatic coast to Cape Baba. A complete blockade continues, usually at sea one month to six weeks, and three days in for coal and provisions. We are in for a stiff winter.

The Abercrombie, large monitor, has two 14 inch guns, is stationed at Cape Kephelo, and has the mouth of the Dardanelles measured off and fires a few pills occasionally.

703 has lance bombs now, lot of the patrols have depth charges.

March 31st and April 1st.—Continued patrolling and sweeping on Mudros patrol, we get our mails more regularly now, traffic is not so

busy. H.M.S. Lord Nelson and H.M.S. Agamemnon often coming and going to Salonika, etc., with Admiral de Robeck.

April 30th.—Continued in this monotonous patrol and sweeping by day and night ever since the evacuation. Three mine fields have been laid mouth of Dardanelles towards Seddi-Bahr, British, southward towards Rabbit Islands, Malva, also to westward of Rabbits. Only small boats can get by Kum-Kale along Asiatic coast, and very shallow boats. Goeben and Breslau are done now to run out.

H.M.S. Hussar, torpedo gunboat.—Commodore Heneage is in command of Hussar, with Osiris II. stationed at Port Kondia, Lemnos Island, which supplies all provisions and stores. Commodore Pearce, in command of Osiris II., has all the trawlers and drifter base, and a most peculiar lot of fishermen to contend with; what a tale he could tell of their doings. Osiris II. works under direction of Hussar.

Commodore Heneage moves about all the patrols from time to time, and visits the different S.N.O. of the various bases. H.M.S. Aquarius is repair ship for trawlers and drifters. Engineer Clift has charge of all the craft, the boiler cleaning and defects by artificers usually take four to five days each boat, unless they are heavy, but its wonderful how quickly they get the boats ready for sea.

Mitylene patrol, H.M.S. Doris.—Stationed at Port Eroë, Mitylene Island, Captain Larkin has charge of patrol of trawlers and drifters, monitors, etc., big ships are not much use for warfare in the Ægean Sea. Small craft, destroyers, monitors, aeroplanes stationed at all islands, E 14 or E class submarines stationed at Kephelo in case any ships get out of Dardanelles, and at our various bases.

Crete patrol.—Under Captain Dent, H.M.S. Edgar, Suda Bay. Many patrol vessels based there for sweeping and patrolling.

Salonika.—Many French and English battleships here, splendid boom defence.

Commander Higginson (retired) recently joined fleet sweeper Folkestone, is in charge of Salonika under Admiral for patrol and sweeping. Several trawlers and drifters with nets stationed and operate day and night.

Stavros.—Monitor. S.N.O. of trawlers and drifters in this vicinity, patrolling Thasos, Bulgarian coast, Gulf of Sarto, then another patrol about Doro Channel.

There are about 170 trawlers and drifters with nets, all armed with two F. guns and depth charges, etc., hunting down the submarines in the Ægean Sea, base ship H.M.S. Osiris II., old P. and O. liner, Commander Pearce. Commander Tearle, R.N., active service torpedo expert, 341 Prince Palatine trawler, has a roving commission, got 18 net drifters with him, and he is operating any place where submarines are reported, with nets, etc.

Then there are many decoy vessels, fleet sweepers, and strong flotilla of destroyers move in the vicinity of various patrols and sweepers, all these vessels continually stationed at their duties, are doing splendid work. Dardanelles patrol is about the most monotonous, also Mudros, for we never have an opportunity to have leave. At Salonika and Crete it is worked quite different, the sweepers have a chance to have a change, battleships and cruisers are always in harbour, so they have a very good

time, but at any place our fishermen, who are mostly untrained reserve, usually leave their card behind, lots of them get drink and fight.

April 27th.—While we were patrolling, 1043 trawler, Lieutenant Carter, R.N.R., came alongside to receive orders, ran into our starboard rigging, no idea of working a vessel, carried two shrouds away, should be made to pay for damage.

May 1st.—Proceeded to Kondia, after being out six weeks, for boiler clean and refit.

May 2nd.—Requested to leave 703 Lord Wimborne. I have had 13 months with R.N.R. untrained officer, he does not take control of his men; crew say what they like to him, explained in his presence to Commodore Pearce, he should be sent to a battleship for a period.

May 3rd.—Transferred to 348 Minoru, Commander Higginson, R.N., retired, whom I came out with. It's a treat to be in a ship with a naval routine. 348 has just had 12-pounders and wireless fitted.

May 6th.—Tested gun mounting fitted by Reliance at Mudros. First shot gave me a black eye. Turtle back absolutely lifted, returned to Mudros alongside Reliance, floating workshop.

May 1st.—There is on each group of trawlers and mine-sweepers a lieutenant, R.N.R., untrained, he has about six to ten trawlers or drifters and operates in direct accordance with the various senior naval officers of bases in the Aegean Sea, for sweeping, patrolling, net work for submarines and transport duty.

These officers have not been on any battleship for 12 months, like R.N.R. lieutenants I have sailed with. A big mistake on the Admiralty's part. It would have been much better in the interests of the service, and more beneficial, had warrant officers from the fleet, with years of experience of naval work, been sent to organise these untrained reserve into naval discipline; ex-naval P.O.'s have had a rather trying time, to enlighten naval routine. Lieutenant R.N.R. can't forget merchant service, and fishing skippers stick to fishing rules. Each fishing post has its own particular method, and each skipper brings the North Sea into the Dardanelles, and imagines what a better way of working a crew by only having two men on deck, etc., at all hours; all hands on deck when work is important is out of the question, the lieutenant seldom taking much notice of the P.O.'s since naval methods are blank to him, he only practices merchant service.

Naval ratings are to replace some 200 fishermen and nine skippers who refused to sweep at a very important period in the Dardanelles, month of March, 1915. Lieutenant, R.N.R., and the whole above were sent back to England. I came to the conclusion their bravery is splendid in some isolated cases, but much bravery is their ignorance, they didn't show up greatly working ship under shell fire, like an active service rating. Glad I got two active A.B.'s lent. At the same time one can't help but admire these men who splendidly turned out for sweeping and patrolling in two watches, and also have greatly improved now. Younger skippers from England have lately been sent out, trained men from the Crystal Palace and establishments obey orders, and are better to deal with. Friction arises between the two classes of men; that the fishermen get fearfully jealous of anyone outside the fishing race on board I can't honestly say; the lieutenant should be kept longer on a trawler out here than 12 months, they should be relieved by a trained R.N.R. lieutenant

from a battleship. I have seen about four to six of any actual service that takes any real interest out in these eastern waters, which simply proves the naval training is certainly beneficial to get control of this fishing race, and operations. One wants to use the best possible tact and understand these fishermen, plenty of butter and jam and they will do wonders. I could always get them to interest themselves in gunnery and do their best for me, especially obey orders, which has lacked with the untrained lieutenant support skippers, who allows his men to argue when getting a direct order from a superior. Consequence, a naval P.O. knows too much, at least I have been told so, more than once, hence the jealous friction that exists. What a difference between a midshipman or young lieutenant of the same age, that has come from Osborne to organise a routine, stations his men, etc., to the best possible use; of course they are doing better now.

May 6th (continued).—I pointed out to engineer that no bolts were through the bottom plate and turtle back, but he just strengthened the gun pedestal.

May 8th.—Tested again with almost the same result, in presence of engineer; most unsatisfactory.

Returned to Reliance, and the engineer had to follow me to lift whole gun and mounting and put bolts through bottom plate after all.

May 10th.—Commander Higginson has taken over Commodore Heneage's duties whilst he has gone to England on leave, Hussar gone to refit at Malta.

Proceeded to Kephelo, Imbros Island, visited patrol on Asiatic, 309 Bassanio, and 928 trawler Blanche, at Tenedos, and Asiatic patrol to Cape Baba.

Patrolled Imbros, visited patrol drifters and then proceeded to Port Kondia, visiting mine sweepers off Mudros, Minoru 348, Commander Higginson, is very much more comfortable and businesslike, got a naval routine.

May 16th.—Proceeded to Syra Island to visit Engineer Knox, engineer-in-charge. Got leave 17th p.m. for two hours, thankful for very small mercies; my second time on land over a year now.

May 19th.—Flashing signals observed on shore, Syra seems full of spies, reported to Commander Higginson when he came on board, passed on to English Consul.

May 20th, Sunday.—Commander Higginson and myself took the Barry, paddle steamer, on a gun trial, which had just been mounted at Syra; result satisfactory.

P.M. visited Tenos Island and landed, and saw the wonderful church where thousands go yearly to visit to be cured; splendid sight. The church was a solid mass of gold inside. Commander had six pigeons, which I tamed afterwards on 348 Minoru.

Returned to Syra and transferred to 348, after a pleasant day, and proceeded to Crete.

May 22nd.—Arrived at Suda Bay, net boom at entrance. H.M.S. Edgar, S.N.O. blister boat, Captain Dent, a few of our trawlers stationed here, one of them almost captured German Turkish General, who had been supplying the enemy submarines about Crete recently.

May 24th.—Left with Commander Stevenson on board who is in charge of Crete patrolling operations, etc. Proceeded to Candia, capital

of Crete, recalled one of trawlers 323, hoisted his recall, and the skipper had actually a real donkey on the bridge with him with a pair of sea-boots on the hind legs, funny men the fishermen, no wonder they are named "Harry Tate's Navy." Transferred Commander Stevenson to 332, and then proceeded to Port Leaverus, after Commander Lee had been on shore about telegram.

May 25th.—Arrived at Port Leaverus. Two monitors stationed at this place, also has a boom defence, it's a destroyers' temporary base. Lot of unrest and unreliable news about the Greek movements lately, they are playing a fool's game which they will be sorry for later on.

May 25th, p.m.—Proceeded after visiting trawler patrol to Thasos Island, spotted a petrol tin with something secured to it, Commander sent me away in boat to inspect it; what luck, it was a long fishing line with about 200 fish hooks all filled with fish. Had fresh provisions for a couple of days, mostly bass. There is a Greek wireless station north-east side of Thasos. Our patrol is keeping a strict watch, trawler 43, Lieutenant Sinclair, R.N.R., in charge.

May 26th.—Arrived at Mudros, Lemnos, Commander Higginson reported to flagship Agamemnon.

P.M., left for Port Kondia, visited Osiris II. and Aquarius.

May 27th, p.m.—Left Port Kondia for Salonika. Arrived a.m. on 28th. H.M.S. Lord Nelson anchored close to Triad, Admiral de Robeck's yacht. Gave leave from 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. Saw part of the Zep. recently brought down. There is a great deal of unrest; place is infected with spies. Allies vexed at Bulgars walking into the French forts. Mostly French warships here, except six trawlers for sweeping the gulf, net drifters, patrolling, etc., with fleet sweepers in attendance in Gulf of Salonika.

May 30th.—Proceeded full speed to Stavros. Arrived June 1st after seeing trawler patrol.

Had a cruise up the Gulf of Santo. Mount Athos can be seen for miles.

There are many monasteries up the gulf. Looks splendid. No woman is allowed on this peninsula.

Lieutenant Williams, R.N.R., visited a suspected monastery. Petrol and stores had been supplied to enemy submarine. Remained watching a monastery light until 1.50 a.m. Proceeded to Kavala; arrived 3.30 p.m.

British consul came on board, and feared trouble arising; sent wireless message. Fleet sweeper arrived; a lot of unrest at Kavala. During the night 348 at anchor Kavala.

May 31st, a.m.—Proceeded to sea and passed Triad with Admiral de Robeck on board. Steamed along the Bulgarian coast close as possible for observation.

3.30 p.m.—Hostile aeroplane, flying high, chased to strafe us from Bulgarian coast and dropped a bomb; rotten shot, went wide. I turned our bow growler towards him, and he jolly soon retired. Commander Higginson says: "It is a fine bluff on your part, —." Dropped anchor at Thasos; 270 trawler arrived, and came alongside, with Lieutenant Williams for interview. Weighed anchor and patrolled Thasos Island all night.

June 2nd and 3rd.—Patrolled northern Thasos Island and Bulgarian coast near Dedeagatch. Also visited patrols and drifters and patrolled around Imbros Island. Some Turks said to be getting to northern parts of Imbros and Lemnos Islands; got them well in hand by observation posts. Had wireless message that Commodore Heneage would arrive from England in H.M.S. Hussar at Mudros on the 4th or 5th. Commander Higginson has been appointed to the Folkestone (fleet sweeper).

June 4th.—Arrived at Port Kondia; coaled and stored.

June 5th.—Folkestone arrived. Commander Higginson detailed her to proceed to Reliance repair ship at Mudros to have accommodation fitted.

June 7th.—Proceeded to Folkestone, sweeper, at Mudros; visited flagship. Left p.m. for Imbros and Dardanelles patrol, net drifters, and trawler patrols; visited trawler 26 Swallow; just had sunk a mine floating.

The peninsula has a very different appearance, but the River Clyde can be seen plainly on a clear day; she could not have been blown up completely at the evacuation.

Small Turkish tug boats hover about mouth of Dardanelles occasionally. Our minefields will prevent any escaping out.

June 8th.—Patrolled around southern side of minefields; there are four torpedo destroyers continually patrolling. Visited Asiatic coast; closely observed. Many horses and cattle and troops northern side of Eski-Stamboul, near red hut.

June 10th.—Returned to Mudros. Folkestone not ready. Left for patrol p.m.

June 10th to 14th.—Patrolled Imbros and gulf. Patrol day and night; nothing of importance. Heard that in the North Sea 40 German ships had been sunk; hope it is true.

June 14th.—Returned to Mudros. H.M.S. Hussar had arrived. Commodore Heneage signalled for his secretary, and Commander Higginson to come on Hussar; Folkestone almost ready.

June 15th.—Commander Higginson transferred to Folkestone from 348 Minoru. He is sorry I cannot come with him, as the Folkestone is fully manned.

Admiral de Robeck is leaving the Eastern Command. Farewell dinner on board H.M.S. Lord Nelson to all staff officers to-night at Mudros.

June 16th.—After Commander Higginson had left we proceeded to Kephelo. On account of Minoru having wireless, Lieutenant Evans, R.N.R., had to transfer from 309 Bassanio much against his wish, and brought his own P.O. with him, so I had to transfer to 309. Having some changes lately, although just got settled; no one wanted to change, but there it is; Commodore's orders, skipper, P.O., and lieutenant changed over. P.M. proceeded to Port Kondia for orders.

Lieutenant Devine, from 928 Blanche, trawler, appointed to 309 for Tenedos and Asiatic patrol, Soldier Prince 294 our companion; it is nearly time she was scrapped; she can go about two and an onion.

June 17th.—Good accommodation in this ship. Many tales at Kondia that the crews are to be relieved.

June 18th.—Battleships and cruisers all have had a turn at Malta; trawlers and drifters have had a most monotonous time. There has never been any sign of leave or change; pity some amusement could not be given.

Admiral Thursby is to take command of Eastern Mediterranean. I did two bright years with him as instructor on H.M.S. St. Vincent; we used to have some fine cricket and sports every evening after drill hours. Proceeded at p.m. to our patrol, and met the Tin Soldier 294 in Tenedos Channel, one of Irving's boats; she had a charmed life up the Dardanelles, sweeping, etc. The old soldier dodged all shots.

Asiatic coast. Turks appear to be building up batteries; rifle fire heard to the eastward of Tenedos; the Turks are practising recruits, I suppose. Big fire burning Asiatic, about 10 miles S.S.E. of Kum-Kale, Chanak light burns nightly, powerful searchlight at Kum-Kale region.

June 19th.—Hostile aeroplane 4.30 a.m.; dropped four bombs on Tenedos, no damage.

P.M.—Mosquito, torpedo-destroyer, bombarded Turkish battery E.S.E. of Rabbit Island, Yerk-Yera Bay; Turks fired in return. Bombarded for two hours; the destroyers just teased them by movements.

June 21st.—Floating mine sighted in Tenedos Channel; fired rifle without effect, then fired with 3-pounder; sank mine with my second shot by gunfire. Patrolling day and night; to 24th, no change.

June 24th.—Hostile aeroplane dropped bombs 5 a.m. on Tenedos Castle. Opened rifle fire, also 12-pounders from Tenedos, drove off.

Turkish heavy guns bombarded Malva Island, Rabbit Islands, for half an hour continuously; we have garrison soldiers on observation with wireless, and reporting movements of Dardanelles, etc.

June 26th.—Hostile aeroplane dropped bomb in water when we were coming down Tenedos Channel at 5 a.m.; no damage, precious near, dodged that egg.

June 27th.—Monitor, and Thesus, blister boat, and Mosquito destroyer discovered on Asiatic, E. of Rabbit Island, a working party; bombarded heavy and smashed gun battery to atoms.

Greek suspicious Xebec sailing towards our minefields; searched and chased her away to the southern side; nothing doing; apparently discharged her cargo.

June 28th, 6.10 a.m. Turkish battery in region of Kum-Kale fired 15 heavy 10-in. shell on Rabbit Island; Malva soldiers took cover; no military damage.

P.m.—Wireless message received that south 26 degrees west of Cape Helles, floating mine with periscope observed by one of our aeroplanes. Patrol spread to search. T.B. destroyer sunk same.

8 p.m.—Searched two Greek Xebecs; one of them had six Turkish refugees belonging to the peninsula, etc., from Mitylene to Tenedos; informed intelligence officer of same. Many Turks that will not fight are at Tenedos until after war; some 800.

June 29th.—Fire on Asiatic still burning near village for five days now. Captain Fyler, R.N., and Brigadier General of Forces was on Malva Island when we took two Army officers to take notes on wireless. It is still intact; returned officers to Tenedos. Heavy gun firing heard

to the south ; continued one hour ; fire still burning ; beautiful light by night.

June 30th.—Patrolling daily Asiatic towards Cape Baba ; many horses and men seen about.

July 1st.—Asiatic coast, bearing S.S.E. of Eski-Stamboul, another large fire. Chanak searchlight and at Kum-Kale burn on nights.

July 2nd, 4.30 a.m.—Hostile aeroplane came over our ship towards Tenedos ; we opened fire, also Tenedos garrison fired shrapnel and drove her off. No bombs dropped. Another minefield has been laid near Gully Beach, north-west of Cape Helles.

July 3rd.—Hostile aeroplane, 7 a.m., attacked Malva Island, dropping four bombs without any effect. Patrolling day and night. Searchlights, Chanak and Kum-Kale. Fire also burning near Cape Baba. Do not think there is any truth in those 40 German ships sunk. Must be the Jutland battle lies.

July 4th, 5th, 6th.—Nothing important ; 348 Minoru closed ; says our troops are advancing and doing well on western front ; blowing a gale all night to a dead calm in the morning.

July 7th.—Trawlers Soldier Prince and Blanche sunk each a floating mine ; cruiser class patrolling Asiatic ; many cattle about.

July 8th.—Proceeded to Kephelo to get fresh water ; long patrols ; we are out for six weeks, and usual three days in to store.

July 9th.—Kephelo, Imbros Island. Theseus, blister boat, is S.N.O.—We remain in to-day, boxed up in these trawlers, all this time ; is certainly not what they do in the North Sea. Kephelo has a garrison of all wounded men ; soldiers formed for observation duties ; men that are not fit to go to the fighting line again. They call them 2nd Queens, and they come from all kinds of regiments ; some of them are perfect wrecks.

July 10th, 3 p.m.—Abercrombie, 15-in. gun monitor, just going to fire on peninsula from Kephelo to Helles.

A fatal accident occurs. Aeroplane M.29 from air station, military pilot, Lieutenant Nicholson, R.N., relation to Admiral, a midshipman, R.N.R. Davis came to a bad end when passing over our trawler flying low ; rose rather too sudden over the dummy ship, and when close to stern of Theseus, blister boat, one wing appeared to break, and aeroplane turned a somersault and sank close to the stern of Theseus. She was to mark and spot the shots for Abercrombie, monitor. Officers and men from Theseus dived under to try and free the men ; but they were strapped and entangled ; divers had to be sent down. Our mate and myself lent all possible help in small dinghy, and unstrapped one of them and took him on board the Theseus. Pilot Nicholson, Lieutenant, had done some splendid work during the Gallipoli operations. Both officers were buried on Imbros Island.

8 p.m.—Proceeded to join our patrol towards Cape Baba ; one looks at the peninsula, Suvla and Anzac, that brings back the memories ; what a number of brave men have been sacrificed there, and so quiet now.

July 11th.—Patrolling towards Cape Baba met trawler 705 ; they are on Mitylene patrol, and have a system, three days' patrol and three days' spell, and here we are doing patrol day and night for weeks. It gets on with the war anyhow. Quite a change to meet a stranger in

another ship. Shot a wild duck; had a good supper; many times having practice at sea birds.

July 12th.—Had a nice dinner to-day; wild duck shot yesterday; met 348 Minoru at 3 p.m. and proceeded; patrolled along Asiatic coast closely towards Cape Baba. Many troops observed on horse-back.

10.30 p.m.—Greek Xebec sighted; looked suspicious. Tenedos Channel, hoisted challenge, received no reply. Then fired sound rocket. Think himself lucky he did not get a shot into him.

11 p.m.—This strange craft in Tenedos Channel turned out to be the Levant cable boat from Mudros; 348 Minoru escorting her to war channel.

July 13th.—Hostile aeroplane from Asiatic coast via Kum-Kale, 5 a.m.; dropped large bomb on Rabbit Island without any effect. Staff Army officer took passage to Rabbit Island.

July 14th and 15th.—Patrolling Tenedos and Asiatic to Cape Baba daily. Troops are continually in view; seem at observation points; disappearing when our trawler comes in sight. Proceeded to Cape Niger, Imbros, to get our stores; sent by Osiris II. via drifter 103; Lieutenant Carter, R.N.R., with group of net drifters, and returned to patrol.

Sunday, July 16th, p.m.—Got our boat out and had a sail; wind dropped, and we were drifting over to Turkey; had to pull for all we were worth to get back to ship.

Young Greek lad belonging to Tenedos, who has picked up English very well, says they have captured five spies at Tenedos attempting to cut telegraph cable; arrested, and destroyers taken them to Lemnos.

July 17th.—Proceeded to Imbros, Kephelo, coaled alongside H.M.S. Theseus, and proceeded to join patrol 6.30 p.m., about dusk, nearly ran into a floating mine on passage, 10 miles N.W. from mouth of Dardanelles. Bad light, rifle fire no effect, south of minefield, at close range. Fired gun, third shot found it with a vengeance; the animal exploded; I yelled take cover, for all the juice came all over our trawler. Destroyer Beagle came full speed towards us; thought we had been blown up, but all was safe. She made a wireless that 309 Bassanio sunk mine, and it was all over Kondia and trawlers that we had been sunk by mine; read the wrong way, I presume.

July 18th.—Patrolling Asiatic to Cape Baba; overhauled a Greek Xebec west of Eski-Stamboul; she had 13 Dardanelles Turks and a Turk from Salonika, refugees on passage to Tenedos from Mitylene; one of them suspicious.

Towed Xebec to Tenedos for examination. Two hostile seaplanes, large calibre, came towards us from direction of Eski-Stamboul, reached coast and over the eastern side of our minefields; suppose taking stock of our eggs in the water; then went towards Kum-Kale and Chanak.

July 19th.—Army medical officer took passage from Tenedos, 2 p.m., to Malva, Rabbit Islands, with Captain, Army Staff, to visit observation posts, to join signal staff, a naval lieutenant. Returned to Tenedos.

11 p.m.—Hostile aeroplane attacked Tenedos. Aerial gun and rifle opened fire; no military damage. Chased a Greek steamer and ordered her to anchor at Tenedos for examination for the night; she

sailed for Mitylene at daybreak. Officer interpreter kept at examination ground, Tenedos.

July 20th.—Patrolling. Nothing important.

July 23rd.—Proceeded to Kephelo for fresh drinking water.

July 24th.—Returned to patrol; history repeats itself. What the Turks did years ago to the Greeks. Raid on Asiatic coast about four miles north from Cape Baba. One monitor, destroyer, trawlers, drifters, and fleet sweepers.

Our spies at 1.30 a.m. from Greek Xebec landed under cover of ships, and captured about 300 Turks in training; many of them refused to come to boats, and were shot, as everything was going nicely. Much cattle, camels, sheeps, etc., were being shipped, when seaplanes and aeroplanes, hostile, came and dropped bombs; three just missed fleet sweeper Newmarket.

Expert slaughter men are found on trawlers; how to skin a sheep; they were mere shadows, and were in fearful want of food; however, we had one sheep for dinner three days, and made sure in case they got seasick. It was indeed a surprise raid for the Turks on Asiatic. If the Turks are not fatter than their cattle they must be very hungry. 294 trawler, Soldier Prince, bears her usual charm, and had a narrow shave from bomb, 7.45 p.m., in Tenedos Channel; bomb just missed her.

The village raided with our gunfire is a blazing furnace; burning in three sections. Altogether, over 20 bombs dropped by hostile planes without effect. Destroyers had them in line, and monitors.

July 25th, 27th, 28th.—Patrolling. Big number of Turks working parties engaged east of Rabbit Islands on fortifications.

July 31st.—Heavy firing heard in peninsula direction.

August 1st.—Patrolling Asiatic to Cape Baba and Tenedos Channel; appears to be many working parties along the coast, eastward of Garado Island, Yerk Yera Bay.

8 p.m.—Crowns of one boiler dropped down and leaked.

August 2nd.—Proceeded to Port Kondia, our base, Lemnos Island, coaled, and blew boiler down for engineer of Aquarius inspection, and repaired defect. Engineer has put 309 on the list to be sent home with first batch of trawlers, as she is not safe.

Clacton, mine-sweeper, has been torpedoed going alongside H.M.S. Grafton, near Stavross, and sunk; loss of a few men; she took the Grafton's intended blow. Grafton has many wounds on her funnel from the effects of explosion of torpedo.

August 10th.—Trawler 270 Hiawatha hugging the shore on leaving Port Kondia after a refit, and, proceeding to her patrol, ran on the rocks south of Kondia, Lemnos, wind S.E., heavy rough weather. Drifters and trawlers saved the crew and provisions, also the 3-pounder gun and ammunition. She is now a total wreck.

Proceeded p.m. to join our patrol in Tenedos Channel. 294, the old Soldier Prince, who bears a charm, has just picked up Turkish waterplane of latest type, marked 3/1916; the gun was taken away, I presume; position $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles W.N.W. off Cape Baba, and towed it, with a struggle, intact, to south side of Tenedos. Our Lieutenant got the small anchor for memento. Daimler engine, six cylinder. 348 Minoru, trawler, conveyed it to Admiral at Lemnos.

August 14th.—Heavy gunfire heard direction of Gallipoli peninsula, probably Abercrombie strafing; patrolling.

August 16th.—Enemy working parties seem to be active along Asiatic coast, but always keep clear when our trawler approaches in sight. Mules and horses by a well near Red Hut, Eski-Stamboul. Young Nick, the Greek boy from Tenedos, says they have caught another spy at Tenedos. Torpedo-boat destroyer conveyed him to Mudros.

August 18th.—Trawler No. 11, that runs mails from Imbros to Tenedos garrisons, was aground inside harbour; her anchor got jammed; piece of grease on her slip got in the way; 309 towed her off; no damage.

August 19th.—Hostile aeroplane, 6.30 a.m., returning to Asiatic over Tenedos, aerial gun from garrison and trawler's rifles opened fire; she never dropped anything, and sailed towards rising sun; shrapnel shell almost caught it.

Heavy enemy gunfire opened on torpedo-boat destroyer Basilisk, eastward of Rabbit Island.

August 20th.—Patrolling Asiatic and Tenedos Channel to Cape Baba.

August 21st and 22nd.—Rifle firing practice heard on Asiatic coast. Hot weather, near Eski-Stamboul; careful watch kept. Searched Greek Xebec-fishing south of our minefields, and strafed her out of it.

August 23rd.—Big fire burning eastward of Eski-Stamboul; said to be plague; burning the bodies.

Turkish waterplane in morning watch passed over us steering towards Mudros south-westerly, and returned one hour later towards the Dardanelles; reported by wireless to S.N.O.

August 28th.—Having many visits. Hostile aeroplane from Dardanelles coming from Kum-Kale, black tipped wings; dropped bombs on Tenedos, also on Malva Island observation post; opened shrapnel fire from garrison and 309 trawler's rifle for 15 minutes; great height; drove her away.

August 29th, 30th, and 31st.—Patrolling, nothing of importance, only monotonous at times.

September 1st.—Our patrolling pal, trawler 294 Soldier Prince, has been recalled to Kondia to prepare for going home. Irvin, of North Shields, should keep her for a museum; she escaped so many shells while sweeping the Dardanelles; very old boat, and can just crawl. Trawler 803 Agatha, modified sweeper, from England, relieved her.

September 3rd.—Proceeded to Kephelo, near dummy battleship, for fresh drinking water, and rejoined patrol to Cape Baba.

September 6th.—Ordered to Kondia to prepare for dry dock. Proceeded to Kephelo, Imbros, and towed an Egyptian lighter to flag at Mudros.

September 7th.—Trawlers 261, Swallow 448, 705 Avon, 334 Amy, 351 Ophir, and 111 left Kephelo, homeward bound; continuously at sea, some with bad wounds; to be brought up to date at home yards. Commodore Heneage on H.M.S. Hussar and all trawlers cheered them out at 10 a.m. First trawler has been relieved.

11.45.—Weighed anchor and proceeded to Syra to dock; caught the homeward-bound trawlers; exchanged signals. Parted off Skyros Island and led down to Doro Channel.

September 8th, 6.30 a.m.—Arrived at Syra to have bottom cleaned.

1 p.m.—Hauled up on slip with drifter 104; gave leave until 6 p.m.; first time on land for weeks.

September 11th, 12 midnight.—Proceeded to Kondia, after undocking. Rough passage all the way; heavy seas running. Head wind. Two of our crew drinking Greek poison; returned with fat faces and cut.

September 13th.—Arrived at Kondia, Lemnos, to complete boiler and engine defects.

September 17th.—Proceeded to Dardanelles, patrolling. Called at Mudros, alongside repair depot Reliance, and received repaired rudder belonging to motor water lighter at Kephelo; was too rough to get into Kephelo. Patrolled Tenedos Channel during night.

September 18th.—Discharged rudder to motor lighter at Kephelo, near dummy battleship, and rejoined patrol.

September 19th.—Hostile Turkish aeroplane came over from Dardanelles, 6.45 a.m., probably to attack Tenedos. Garrison aerial gun, also 309, our 6-pounder gun, opened fire, and all rifles. She turned tail when our 6-pounder shell whistled past her, and retreated towards Kum-Kale or Chanak.

September 20th.—Took a Greek Xebec, suspicious, for examination at Tenedos.

September 21st, 6.45 a.m.—Sank with Mk. VII. rifle ammunition cruiser mine floating $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N.N.E. Magsona Point. Blowing fresh, north easterly. Also at 10.30 a.m. sighted another mine drifted on shoal a little north of Eski-Stamboul Point, on Asiatic coast, close to shore. Got boat out at midnight, muffled oars, and destroyed same.

Nothing of importance during the month, except working parties and horses at various points on Asiatic; more active near bay.

October 1st.—Patrolling Asiatic to Kum-Kale daily and Tenedos Channel; changeable and unsettled weather continues.

Searchlight, the Turks', at Kum-Kale regions burns during the dark nights, but the British eggs are all laid nicely. Achi Baba and the Gallipoli peninsula at our nose daily; the show becomes very monotonous. North Sea trawlers do get a run into harbour. Just been giving our usual Kondia bucking-up pills. The Kondia buzz travels among fishermen much quicker than wireless. The latest: "All the men that have been away from England and who took part in the Gallipoli operations will be relieved before Christmas." Skipper, mates, and deckhands have all had letters from Grimsby, Lowestoft, and Aberdeen that the reliefs are on the way now; I don't think. 803 trawler, our partner, has been withdrawn temporary. Destroyers dashing about lately near minefields.

Burning bonfires on Asiatic; wonder if it is a supposed Turkish or German game; cannot be all plague.

October 5th.—Ordered to Dedeagatch to attend on monitor Abercrombie 14-in. gun, who is bombarding. Hostile aeroplane over Malva, Rabbit Island, seen on leaving patrol dropping bombs, and was over 309.

October 7th.—Joined patrol Tenedos Channel to Cape Baba. Had a large turtle five feet long; many about this part. Cut it up. Our boys could not relish it; was too rich. Mails from England hung up at Kondia now a week; our base do get slack forwarding mails.

Midnight.—103 drifter from S.N.O. Kephelo; 309 ordered to proceed forthwith at all possible speed to Piræus. Number of armed motor launches on the Imbros patrols now with 13-pounder guns. Our Navy does grow afraid; they are little use, unless very fine weather, unless to dash out at submarine attacks from Kephelo, Mudros, and Kondia.

October 8th, 7 p.m.—Arrived at Salamis harbour. Greek dock-yard, Athens, seen at a distance, and Piræus looks much the same as in days of yore.

Large French fleet at anchor in Salamis, Italian also. Russian battleships which recently had been handed over by the Japanese lay in Salamis harbour with three protections of boom defences. French flagship, *La Provence*. Admiral Fournet in charge of the operations entirely in Gulf of Athens.

H.M.S. *Duncan*, British battleship, Rear-Admiral Sadler, trawler 309 *Bassanio*, 348 *Minoru* trawler, and three other British armed trawlers, also *Foxhound* destroyer, while some of our destroyers are patrolling Gulf of Athens. *Rattlesnake* destroyer also.

Heard from 348 and 354 trawlers that Greece has until midnight to decide her intentions. Allies are done with all the foolery now. Greek cruiser close to the two late American battleships in Salamis; appears that one of the crew is said to have been caught attempting to blow his ship up, and he got shot on Sunday morning.

October 9th.—309 commenced with trawlers 332, 348, 11, 32 to sweep the war channels from daylight until dusk. Anchored at outer boom at nights.

October 10th.—Sweeping all day until 4.30, went up harbour alongside *Duncan* for provisions (fresh) and returned to outer boom; all ships have guns cleared for action.

October 11th.—Allies take charge of the Greek Navy. Four British trawlers for bait.

Daybreak.—Commenced sweeping war channel in co. with trawler 332 *Lizzie* and 354.

10 a.m.—Received signal to cease sweeping operations and clear for action and prepare for towing vessels. Lieutenant of 309 received his orders through the French flagship and proceeded up harbour, Salamis. Greeks have until 12.30 p.m. to clear out of all torpedo craft and submarines in Salamis, by the Allies' orders.

From H.M.S. *Duncan*, Admiral Sadler.

“British trawlers lead the way and represent the British Navy to snatch the Greek torpedo craft.”

12.30 p.m.—Lieutenant Devine, R.N.R., 309 *Bassanio* trawler, Lieutenant Evans, R.N.R., 348 *Minoru* trawler, Skipper Ash, R.N.R., 332 *Lizzie* trawler, Skipper —, R.N.R., 354 *Gyelfian* trawler, proceeded towards Greek Navy single line ahead, proceeded inside the boom, where all the Greek torpedo craft was locked in, by our boom defence, for a test, should the two Greek battleships, late American skeleton mast ships, or any of them, open fire on the trawlers; British

destroyers Foxhound and Rattlesnake covered us; had everything ready to torpedo both Greek battleships; British destroyer Savage covered trawlers; all the French fleet and Allied ships had guns cleared for action, also Russian battleship recently handed over from Japan. Greeks offered no resistance, and then we steamed around the Greek flotilla; all their sailors had landed in dockyard, and were watching our proceedings. British trawlers and destroyers returned to Duncan flagship for further orders. We then escorted armed French blue-jackets in about 50 boats, who boarded all the destroyers and yachts, two submarines, and cleared away the moorings. There were a few French tugs joined us to execute towing the torpedo craft and small craft to French lines, also French trawlers. Everything was in readiness, although did not know how these craft were left. 348 Minoru trawler made for submarines; got one in tow. 309 Bassanio made for Greek torpedo-boat which had been slipped by Italian sailors, got her in tow astern, boarded her; it was the Aifah; torpedo tubes were charged, but pistols were out of torpedoes; everything was left intact, and she was towed, and we dropped her anchor between the French flagship and Allies lines; French staff's orders. All the other tugs and trawlers were at it; Greek sailors and crews on their battleship watching the proceedings during the operation of marching off with their fleet. 309 Bassanio returned and took in tow destroyers, Greek Adea, Nikh, Nearfenea; handed them over to French cruisers; "war heads" were fixed to all their torpedoes, finished, and completed 11 p.m. The two late American battleships Mississippi and Idaho had ammunition on their decks; by Allies' orders, I presume.

11.30 p.m.—Dropped anchor abreast H.M.S. Duncan.

October 12th, 5 a.m.—Proceeded to outer boom defence, four British trawlers, and commenced at daybreak to sweep war channel. Greek mercantile boats are being held up from proceeding into Piræus. French admiral is taking over all their business. Hope he tightens the blockade; no end of material must be passing through this way to Central Powers.

Leave is only given to officers; slight unrest prevails at Athens and Piræus amongst Constantine's followers.

October 13th.—Sweeping from daybreak, war channel. British destroyers and French trawlers patrolling Gulf of Athens; many more Greek trading vessels held up, waiting to go in by orders for examination. The later American ships had been reduced of crews; ammunition taken from them.

French flagship Provence, Admiral Fournet, moved inside commercial harbour at Piræus; landing parties are ready to land; some batteries have already been manned by Allies.

October 14th, 15th, 16th.—Engaged with British trawlers sweeping war channel, laying at anchor, guard by night on outer boom. Greek commerce held up daily. French dreadnought, flagship Provence, Admiral Fournet, appears to be taking stricter measures. Greek cruiser that had joined Venizelos has sailed from Salamis, two British destroyers escorting her. All the Allied ships have guns cleared for action. Heard that King Constantine, who is said to be entrenched, motors to Athens daily. The Greek people are with the Allies' cause; seems King Constantine's followers causing all this unrest. The French

have Constantine under close observation. Greek vessels held up; are loaded mostly with cattle, and also passengers; warm weather prevails.

October 18th.—Engaged sweeping. All the Greek torpedo flotilla have their names repainted in French; skeleton French crews on board.

October 19th and 20th.—Sweeping all day; proceeded alongside H.M.S. Duncan, Salamis, after sweeping for fresh water and provisions.

October 21st.—Sweeping all day.

5 p.m.—Report to H.M.S. Duncan for orders, as 309 Bassanio has been detached from Dardanelles patrol temporary; now ordered forthwith to Port Kondia, our base, Lemnos, and proceeded 6 p.m.

October 22nd.—Arrived at Port Kondia; freshened boiler water. Loaded with stores for Dardanelles, G Patrol, and Kephelo, Imbros Island.

October 25th.—Proceeded to Kephelo with stores, and report to S.N.O. Theseus.

October 26th.—Relieved trawler Andrew Marvel, Tenedos, and Asiatic patrol. This is the most monotonous patrol; men never get any leave to break this strain day and night.

Noon.—Torpedo destroyer Esk commenced to bombard Asiatic coast north of Eski-Stamboul, two hours. Turkish working parties been observed for some time near Yerk Yera Bay; sandhill built, horses and mules in numbers near Red House close to beach.

October 27th.—Patrolling.

October 28th.—Patrolling towards Cape Baba.

October 29th.—Sank floating mine cruiser, position $\frac{3}{4}$ mile N.E. Tenedos breakwater, with 6-pounder gun and Mk. VII. mining rifle ammunition. Bad northern winds; sea choppy.

October 30th.—Patrolling, bad weather, Asiatic towards Cape Baba daily.

November 1st.—Patrolling; nothing important.

November 4th, 7 a.m.—Sank floating mine, Queen's Bay, Tenedos Channel.

9 a.m.—Proceeded to Mitylene Island with Captain Wheeler, Captain Stevenson, Tenedos garrison staff officers, 2nd Queen's Regiment.

3 p.m.—Arrived at Mitylene, and anchored; monitor 29 is S.N.O.

November 5th.—Visited, with lieutenant, M. 29. Coxswain P.O. Williams, who I knew, took me all over; first time I had seen him since they were so busy bombarding at Suvla, where she had done fine work with her 6-in. Mk. 11 guns.

November 6th, 1.30 a.m.—Weighed and proceeded to Tenedos. Leave had been given to C.O. only. Monitor 29 get leave daily. Trawlers do not seem to be considered for leave; had now $\frac{1}{2}$ day in six months at Syra; fishermen cannot be trusted on shore.

Two staff officers, two females, Greek subjects, took passage to Tenedos. Arrived at 7.30 a.m., and anchored.

2.30.—Weighed and patrolled.

November 7th, 8th, 9th.—Patrolling Asiatic Tenedos Channel, Ach Baba looms in the distance. Old River Clyde in the same spot.

Destroyers and trawlers still keeping a strict patrol and guarding minefields.

November 10th, 1.30 p.m.—Proceeded to Port Kondia; boiler cleaning crown had fallen some time now; the old coffee can has very decent engines. Engineer in Aquarius has her down to go home for repairs first opportunity.

November 11th.—Coaled and provisioned. Cleaned boiler.

November 21st, a.m.—Proceeded to join patrol Tenedos Channel. Arrived when two hostile seaplanes and one hostile aeroplane attacked; they dropped several bombs on Malva, Rabbit Island, also Tenedos; no military damage. British destroyer chased seaplane towards Yene-shek, opened gunfire, seen to bring it down, continued the fire until it went in flames. No further attacks during the night.

November 22nd.—Patrolling Asiatic; careful observation kept daily; powerful enemy searchlight Kum-Kale or Sedd-e-Bair, across mouth of Dardanelles. Wonder if they expect the trawlers to break through, and who will be the first one.

November 23rd and 24th.—Hospital ship torpedoed and beached at Tenos Island; the rotten pirates again. Patrolling Tenedos Channel and Asiatic; nothing of importance; some working parties near Red House.

November 26th, 10 a.m.—Proceeded to Molava, Mitylene Island, with military officers from Tenedos, Captain Stevenson and Captain Wheeler, picked up intelligence officer of Tenedos, and took in tow two Greek Xebecs, and arrived at Tenedos 9 p.m. Disembarked and joined patrol.

November 28th.—2nd King's Regiment is leaving Tenedos. Royal Marines Division coming in their place. Fleet sweeper Barry brought reliefs from Lemnos.

348 Minoru took relief Marines to observation posts, Rabbit Islands, Malva, where small wireless, also cable to Tenedos, fitted.

There are about 800 Turkish refugees at Tenedos, and about 400 Turkish subjects from Dardanelles and Asiatic; expect they know the best protection, but cannot be trusted; kept in one section, apart from Greeks, at Tenedos.

Heard blockade at Athens has been tightened; time our policy was altered; seems too much fooling with Greece all this time.

November 30th, 10 a.m.—Sank mine floating Tenedos Channel, rifle Mk. VII. ammunition, 80 rounds, heard Minemoska had been sunk, and my box of Turkish shells off the peninsula, on her with mementoes on board.

5 a.m.—Rattlesnake destroyer been in collision with another destroyer on patrol near minefields. Heavy casualties and damage; most difficult these dark nights; both struggled back to Mudros. Our eyes are still gazing at Achi Baba and mouth of Dardanelles, and wonder when are we going to get through. River Clyde in view, clear day.

December 1st.—Another month, and last of this year, and trawlers and destroyers have had a most monotonous time; the same old patrolling; of course, the destroyers get the patrol changed continuously, which is certainly as good as a rest, and they are organised for a little leave, while trawlers and drifters on this patrol have not had a break, only when docking at Syra, one half-day a few months ago. It does not seem human to keep men caged up in small craft for weeks and

Destroyer Bulldog has returned to G patrol mouth of Dardanelles, on minefields; after a considerable time she got mined. It was a serious accident, early part of year, when I saw her towed into Mudros. She had struck one of our mines, mouth of Dardanelles, and blowed her stern; badly damaged, and loss of a few men. The tide has a great effect at times on our mines; sometimes they absolutely come to the surface by strong currents; the mines had not long been laid when the accident occurred.

December 6th.—Proceeded to Mitylene from Tenedos with armed Greek guard, three brigands; also took passage, three witnesses, Governor's wife and daughter; arrived at 7 p.m.; anchored for the night after brigands disembarked.

December 8th.—Rejoined patrol; scarcity of food at Tenedos; Turkish refugees, etc., selling anything to get money. Patrolling until 13th; nothing important.

December 13th.—Aeroplane observed coming from Kum-Kale region 9.30 a.m.; coming very low. 309 four miles south of Rabbit Islands. Aeroplane appears to be coming very low over our minefields, taking observations very closely. Destroyers Racoon and Beagle give chase, whilst trawlers 309 Bassanio, 803 Agatha, steamed towards the scene; cleared gun away. Racoon destroyer opens fire on aeroplane, fired four rounds. Aeroplane is coming down close to the destroyers. Trawlers arrived near scene. Aeroplane marked French distinguishing colours; destroyer Racoon rescued the two occupants, and took damaged aeroplane in tow to Imbros, Kephelo air-base. Are the Turks using false colours? "Screw loose again."

December 14th.—Heard the occupants of aeroplane were from H.M.S. Latona, S.N.O. Commander, R.N., from Kephelo; seems strange these destroyers and patrol should not have been acquainted; cannot trust our own destroyers. The action of the aeroplane moving about the minefields would lead many a patrol vessel to do the same. One cannot trust the Germans, when they use any suitable ensign to gain an object, also paint to disguise, seems to be a foolish act where such a sharp look-out is kept by the patrol of destroyers and trawlers at this monotonous spot by S.N.O. Spent the night on board monitor 29 with an old friend of mine, the coxswain.

December 17th.—Weighed and proceeded at daybreak for Tenedos; looking very black news; Greek canteen man taking passage brought papers off; that King Constantine's troops had turned machine guns on Allied troops at Athens; heavy losses on both sides. Very grave news; hope this will alter our policy.

P.m.—Arrived at Tenedos. Hostile aeroplane dropped bombs on Malva Island, near observation point, without effect, also dropped four close to our trawler when we were coming up the Asiatic coast, but missed its mark.

3 p.m.—Proceeded by S.N.O. and Admiral's orders, position one mile from Ponentic Point, situated S.W. side of Tenedos, to patrol five miles W.N.W. It is expected that an enemy submarine minelayer may break through blockade into the Dardanelles to-night. Patrol has been strengthened.

Did not see any submarines.

months, while active service men in the battleships about Mudros have been getting leave daily, and also a run to Malta. If we should be fortunate whilst boiler cleaning on Sundays at Kondia one may get on shore; but every place is out of bounds and other restrictions, so that scarcely anyone ever lands, simply to be safe.

I always wish and persuade these men from all walks of life to take an interest, and be always on the alert; this impression must fall flat, after a few days out, on most of them. There is a remedy which would be more cheerful and also tactful if our trawlers had a complete change of patrol every time boiler cleaned; that is, every 12 weeks. One would certainly be eager to keep his eyes lifting continuously. Most of the patrols have a little shore leave, except this G patrol.

Midnight.—H.M.S. S.N.O. Theseus at Kephelo changing her duties with H.M.S. Grafton. 309 ordered to proceed to Aleake Bay and sweep war channel with 348 Minoru outside Kephelo boom. They will all be sea-sick on H.M.S. Theseus; have not moved for weeks now. Prepared for sweeping at daybreak; she has been at anchor six months.

At daybreak carried out sweeping with 348, war channels all day; returned after slipping sweep wires to Kephelo to report to S.N.O.; dropped anchor; strong northerly wind becomes dangerous. Weighed anchor and proceeded to Aleake Bay. Very dark; difficult to spot boom entrance; got into shallow water, found the entrance later, and anchored for the night; quite a relief to have the anchor down for one night.

Heard 298 trawler Controller has been in action with enemy submarine near Gulf of Santo, and hit conning tower; prevented her from sinking, also put her gun out of action; submarine had greater speed and got away. Pity a small wireless had not been fitted on all these trawlers, especially when you are so far from destroyers, etc., just to give position and information.

December 2nd.—348 alongside from S.N.O. to 309; orders to fit trawler 1766 Estella with a sweeping outfit.

9 a.m.—Heavy explosion at mouth at Dardanelles. Hope it is that escaped submarine bumped one of our mines, or one of them.

Commander Tearle, R.N., on 341 Prince Palatine, with his big group of net drifters, is on the track of this submarine minelayer. Shooting their nets around Imbros and Suvla, etc., just now. Proceeded to Tenedos Channel to join patrol; nothing moving Asiatic.

December 3rd.—Patrolling Tenedos Channel and Cape Baba.

December 4th, 8.45 a.m.—Heavy firing from Turks near island Yene-Sheah, Asiatic, on to Malva Island and Rabbit, shell of large calibre, accompanied by hostile aeroplane, spotting shots, also flying over minefields, taking observations. Two destroyers steaming eastward towards scene. Aeroplane retired towards Chanak; firing ceased.

10 a.m.—Sighted and sank cruiser mine at Tenedos Channel, eastward of Mount Elios.

12 noon.—100 yards from shore, Tenedos village, lieutenant and myself sank another cruiser mine floating; both these by rifle fire 800 yards from breakwater.

December 18th.—Trawler 348 Minoru sank a floating mine off Kephelo Point, Imbros, said they almost bumped into it, keeping a bad look out, which is the cause of most ships bumping mines in daylight. Bassanio 309 patrolling from Malva Island to Cape Baba, Asiatic coast, returned towards south of Tenedos to Ponentie Point.

Long flash white light observed near Yuk Vera, Asiatic. Reported to commanding officer who said it was nothing.

12.55 midnight.—Distinct flashes observed from same position; long white light two minutes duration, same time long white light three minutes duration observed, appeared south-west point of Tenedos.

Reported this unusual occurrence to commanding officer, who replied it was nothing out of the way. These reserve officers never like the idea of my reporting these items, for he never seems pleased when I mention these irregularities which must be important, does not seem eager to report.

December 19th.—309 patrolling Tenedos Channel from Malva to Ponentie Point. Exercised the crew with rifles. Had a target out astern and brought wire to the winch veering target at different distances. While I was in the act of explaining how to adjust and use the sights, with the idea of training these fishermen to sink mines, the lieutenant came aft and said it's useless you telling the men about sights, I always fire a rifle and get hits without using sights or adjusting them. The lieutenant took the rifle from me and showed the men his silly way.

Just the class of these gunnery experts who would do well in the German Navy for us.

He was in command of trawler *Blanche* and run across the bows of *H.M.S. Hussar*, took about three months for repairs and, no wonder, does not know starboard from port. Why the Admiralty has not made use of the experienced, long-service ratings I can never understand.

To-day I relieved the skipper on the bridge for a couple of hours as he works almost watch and watch. The lieutenant came on the bridge and gave me the order "Hard a port." I repeated the order moving the wheel about 16 turns to starboard. He became fearfully vexed, saying he didn't want any of my navy ways on the craft. I said my navy way was the Board of Trade way and I moved it correctly. He said why don't you move the wheel to port then. I said, I would if you will give the correct Board of Trade order. He said, get into my method, when I say port move the wheel to port, when I say starboard move the wheel to starboard.

I replied, if you give the order hard a port, the wheel is moved to starboard, hard a starboard, move the wheel to port. But should you require the ship's head to turn to port, give the order, alter course to port so that the ship's head, wheel and rudder would move in the same direction.

The lieutenant said you navy men think you know everything, but don't move it that way here, and he sent for the skipper to relieve me. The skipper told the lieutenant that I was perfectly right, so I just left them both arguing the matter out, and I then knew that I was sailing with some seaman, I don't think. I found out he had been in a south sea wind-jammer.

December 20th.—Patrolling Tenedos Channel to the Rabbits then towards Cape Baba, after dark, more white flashes. Green light fixed on Asiatic coast for one minute near Yuk Yera Point, turned towards Ponentie Point, Tenedos. Greek Xebec observed at daybreak near Red Hut, two cables from shore.

December 21st.—309 Bassanio patrolling Tenedos Channel. Lot of horses moving along Asiatic coast; seems to be a lot of horses and cattle near Red Hut again. Destroyers cruising mined area.

December 22nd.—Relieved off patrol by trawler Kasandra, who took over duties. 309 proceeded to Port Kondia, Lemnos, for provisions and coal and boiler test.

23rd.—Coaled and changed boiler water. Crowns of boiler down.

December 25th.—Spent very quiet Christmas Day in Kondia. Had a game of football; took the crew on the beach for a game. Osiris crew claimed their ball; fishermen do not get consideration from the mother ship, Osiris. They served out beer to the Osiris, and what was left any trawlers may have the leavings. Most of the trawler men were quite upset at the commander treating the trawler men in this fashion on Christmas Day. 309 crew and others would not go to come back with empty kettles. Quite a pass word, these trawler men would say, we will have to bring the inebriates from the Osiris to-night, after the usual collection of empty bottles that were in full view of these trawler men every morning when boarding for fresh bread and provisions during the short stay in harbour.

December 27th.—Boiler tested and ship stored. 309 joined G patrol and relieved Kasandra in Tenedos Channel. After a short patrol, aeroplane, hostile, made a raid of Greek subjects, Tenedos village.

Heavy bombardment of guns from Asiatic on Tenedos. Battery appears to be near Yeni Shehr Point; looks like a moving battery or disappearing guns. Commenced fire 9 a.m., ceased fire 11.30 a.m. Tenedos shelled for the first time, shots falling short of object. Greeks are clearing away in droves to the west end of the island.

Heard in afternoon only a couple wounded from splinters. One bomb dropped south side of hills, Tenedos, did not explode.

British Monitor, Abercrombie, 14-in. guns, arrived. Fired a couple of 14-in. and retired, and did not draw their fire. Patrolled.

December 28th.—Turkish heavy guns opened out heavy bombardment of new battery, position a little south-east of Yuk Yeri. Appears to be big shell at Tenedos village; position of object moved to aerial gun near Mount Elias. Looks as if Tenedos is in for a hot time. Object again shifted to lighthouse on small island Garado, first shot fired 10 a.m., ceased fire 12.10 p.m.

No destroyer patrol in sight until 11.45. "Lighthouse" on Garado Island completely crippled and hit by many shots. On island about 150 shells fired. 309 Bassanio, at 1.30 p.m., the mate and myself with deck hands rescued in rough weather two Greek lighthouse men off Garado Island. They were quite pleased to escape alive.

The inhabitants at Tenedos are all clearing from village. Bombs dropped from hostile craft.

December 29th.—Took observations and position of battery and reported to S.N.O. Trawlers 348, 803, 1767, joined 309 Bassanio, found us quite alive. Then four destroyers, British, escorting H.M.S.

Grafton from Imbros, Kephelo, arrived to south of Malva Island to bombard battery. Bad weather prevailed.

They did not manage to draw Turks fire and returned to Kephelo. Destroyers keeping a sharp look out on Asiatic coast near Yuk Yeri.

December 30th.—Proceeded to Kephelo to see S.N.O. Grafton. At dusk left again with dispatches for C.O. Tenedos. Landed with lieutenant at 9 p.m., rough weather, with dispatches.

December 31st, 1916.—Embarked commander of islands and cable engineer off Tenedos, transferred them to destroyer *Racoon*; 309 Bassanio ordered to get all stores and oil off Garado Island when favourable. Heard that manager of the Eastern Telegraph Company had been arrested at Tenedos; always thought by his movements, crawling about in small boats when we were passing down the Channel at odd times, he was playing a double game, also another Turk at Tenedos found with firearms on him by marine guard.

Old Year's Night.—Arrangements had been made to get stores off Garado Island. 309 Bassanio trawler embarked lieutenant commander of H.M.S. *Abercombe*, also officer commanding troops of Tenedos, and staff naval surgeon of Tenedos. Got the trawler close to Garado and dropped anchor at short stay, then, with two boats and our dinghy, got on the island. The doctor and myself made for the lighthouse, while the others made for the oil and stores.

There was a lot of poultry, turkeys and guinea hens commenced a fearful row; doctor and I seized them and put them in a sack.

Chanak searchlight was burning; expected the Turks to open fire on us any time, for they had a correct range and the shots at aerial gun, whoever spotted, seemed to climb straight from the beach to its object. It was good shooting for distance of five miles or more.

Surgeon is a sport. We managed to get the lighthouse mechanical engine for working the lamp off, just at 12 midnight of the Old Year. He said we do get in some funny places in this war at the end of each year.

Struck 16 bells on the glass of the old lighthouse, and recovered about 100 tins of paraffin oil and a lot of stores. Landed them all at Tenedos, and had a jolly fine poultry dinner New Year's Day. Crew were all plucking feathers down in the fish hold when I got on board; did not give the poultry time to squeal.

January 1st, 1917.—Patrolling, and 309 is now strengthened by destroyers at daybreak along Asiatic coast. Destroyer is quite close in shore. Destroyer *Wear* opened fire in Yuk Yeri Bay to draw fire. Turks not having any. Patrolled to Malva and Cape Baba.

January 2nd.—Foxhound destroyer opened fire with 4-in. guns at 10 a.m.—position of Turkish battery near Yuk Yeri—and again at 4 p.m. Two British battleplanes, one of them spotting at great height, dropped four bombs.

Heavy explosions in vicinity of Turkish battery. Destroyer kept in Channel off Tenedos.

January 3rd.—Patrolling. Heavy weather.

4th.—Six of our airmen made a raid I heard. one airman, *Silvester*, injured on returning to Kephelo air station.

5th.—Patrolling all day. Southerly winds. Destroyers creeping very closely along Asiatic coast. At daybreak men and horses seen around Red Hut and then disappear when we closed.

At dusk trawlers 309 Bassanio and 803 Agatha, staff surgeon R.N. with lieutenant marines from garrison Tenedos; made a further raid on Garado Island and secured another 50 gallons of parafin and engine lighthouse lamp intact. Landed stores and patrolled during night.

6th.—Major White, commanding officer, and staff officers took passage on a visit to Malva Island, returned and disembarked when dark, then proceeded on patrol.

7th and 8th.—Patrolling. Bad weather—nothing new.

9th.—A year to-day Gallipoli finally evacuated and we are not through yet; however, we are still in command of the sea. At 9 p.m. 309 Bassanio crew with garrison officer and two marines raided Garado Island and took possession of remainder of stores.

10th, 4 a.m.—Captain Grant, S.N.O. of Grafton, ordered 309 Bassanio to proceed to Kephelo, Imbros, to sweep war channel with Minoru 348 at daybreak. Trawler 1767 Kasandra relieved 309. Engaged sweeping all day. Grafton put to sea. 309 joined patrol. 1767 returned to Cape Niger patrol.

12th-13th.—Destroyers active. Patrolling, 309 and destroyers. More observations on Asiatic. Saw a lot of Turkish troops moving near battery on Yuk Veri Point.

14th, 12.20 midnight and 1.50 a.m.—Patrolling. Hostile aeroplane in moonlight dropped four bombs, Tenedos. Chanak searchlight, or what appears a searchlight, near Kum Kale; got beam of light to south of Tenedos Channel in the sky fixed.

16th, 2 a.m.—Bright light moving rapidly in direction Eski-Stambul very close to beach. Heard the loss of H.M.S. Cornwallis near Malta, also Ben Macree.

17th.—Searchlight, broad beam, very much burning at nights from Dardanelles. P.M.—Trawler 3354 had shots, heavy calibre, fired at her when landing provisions at Malva Island from direction of Yeni Shehr, no damage; destroyers away, one towards Sulva Point.

18th.—Patrolling. More flashing lights observed, Asiatic.

19th.—Relieved off patrol, proceeded to Kondia, Lemnos, to have boiler scaled and store.

20th.—Coaled ship, Kondia, Lemnos, blowing a gale all day, dangerous alongside collier. 309 had to slip as collier is dragging with two anchors down. Anchored and kept steaming all night and anchor watch.

21st.—Drifters trot all dragged in a heap. Motor launch on her beam ends on shore, pulled off by drifter.

22nd.—309 cleaned boiler. Crowns of boiler down badly. Boiler inspector of dockyard and engineer inspected same.

26th.—Stored and completed for sea. 309 proceeded to G patrol, Dardanelles. Seven Greek riggers that have been employed making submarine nets at Kondia took passage to Tenedos for leave. Joined patrol Tenedos Channel. Two Turks escaped from Tenedos in Greek boat, gone over to Asiatic I heard.

27th.—Patrolling from Malva to Cape Baba. Motor launch and paddle boat, heard blown to sea from Kephelo, Imbros, during the

recent gale. Dardanelles searchlight continues to burn with wide beam. Laid trot during the night, caught large skate, ten stone, and returned tinned food to store.

Two more Turkish spies caught at Tenedos by garrison Marine L.I. Flashing lamps last night. Two more Turks reported to have escaped during the night in Greek boat from Tenedos; gone over Asiatic I suppose.

Heavy explosions heard in vicinity of Dardanelles during day at intervals.

29th.—Heard two more spies on Tenedos caught. Major White, R.M.L.I., made stringent orders; Turkish refugees to be home by sunset.

30th.—Trawler, 803 Agatha, our partner, has been ordered to Crete, so we are alone again.

February 1st.—Patrolling. Nothing important. Heavy rain. Malva to Ponentie Point.

2nd.—Patrolling to Cape Baba, Malva, and south of Tenedos. Explosions in Dardanelles.

5th.—Further heavy explosions in the Dardanelles daily. Laid a fishing trot, 150 hooks, caught several rays and skate.

6th.—Heavy explosions all day near Dardanelles. After hoisting in a Greek caique from Tenedos, and two marine officers from Tenedos, proceeded to Molava Island. Heavy weather, could not anchor at Molava. Landed officers further south after taking shelter. The next morning, 7th, weather calmed and got caique out and landed at Molava, proceeded to Tenedos and disembarked marine officers south side of island—blowing heavy weather.

11th.—British aeroplanes from Imbros or Lemnos been bombing Dardanelles a lot. Embarked garrison, interpreter and medical officer, Tenedos. Proceeded to Mitilene Island; left patrol.

12th, 8.30 a.m.—Returned from Mitilene Island with officers and lady Greek passenger for Tenedos and continued patrolling to Malva and Ponentie Point during night.

13th.—Trawler, Estella, sighted and chased submarine near Sulva; she dived out of sight. The usual no speed. What would we do if trawlers only had speed? Heavy explosions from 10 a.m. to 12 noon. Dardanelles, near River Clyde, also near Achi Baba, masses of obstruction appears in the air. Afternoon, proceeded, 309 Bassanio, took Major White and medical officer to Malva Island, observations, guard of marines for visit, landed, and returned with officers to Tenedos.

14th.—Embarked medical officer and took him from Tenedos to Malva, brought back sick to Tenedos. Rough weather prevails, searchlights, Dardanelles, burning.

15th.—Patrolling, nothing important. Searchlights, Dardanelles, and explosion heard. More flashing lights seen near Yuk Yeri, four long, seven short flashes at intervals, 9.55 p.m.

18th.—Major White, R.M.L.I., commanding officer, Tenedos, had a visit around island on 309 Bassanio and returned.

20th, 21st, 22nd.—Patrolling. Laid two fishing trots at dusk and caught quite a lot of ray and five large skate; exit the fearless tin opener.

24th.—Patrolling Channel, Malva to Baba. On hills 9 p.m.; various flashing by lamps from Eski-Stam-Bul, Asiatic, towards Cape Baba; observed one red, white and red, three red, and two red and white; then long flashes, two minutes' duration, reported. Heard Prince Alberta mined ten miles from Mudros, from Salonika, many lives lost; said did not keep in the war channel and got in mined area.

26th.—Hostile aeroplane making from Asiatic towards Tenedos, driven off by destroyer patrol fire.

27th.—Heavy explosions or gun fire during forenoon on Asiatic near Eski-Stam-Bul to the north.

28th.—Heavy explosions Eski-Stam-Bul to the north.

March 1st.—Explosion eastward, Red Hut, Yuk Yeri Bay; many large parties observed, appear to be digging near Yuk Yeri Point; wonder if lieutenant reports all these things to S.N.O.

2nd.—Working parties active east of Yuk Yeri. Locomotive engine observed moving.

3rd.—Tenedos to Baba, about 200 Turks observed near Yuk Yeri.

4th.—Fixed white light 6.30 p.m. near Yuk Yeri Point for four minutes on the hill then disappears, then appears one to two minute intervals for one hour. 8 p.m.—Distinct white long flash from S.W. point of Tenedos at intervals, then quick flashes and one very prolonged light. Dardanelles searchlight active during the night.

February 5th.—Loaded with army huts at Tenedos, transferred them to collier, Silverside, at Kephelo, Imbros Island, at p.m., and went on board E14 submarine, as I knew most of the crew; had a pleasant evening. Cox told me all about their exploits in the Sea of Marmora. E14 was on duty alongside dummy battleship ready to move at any time required by S.N.O.

6th.—Returned to patrol and got relieved to coal and provision. Passed 341 Prince Palantine loaded with cable and buoys going towards Sulva, expect she has some trap to drop.

Kondia. Coaled and provisioned and painted.

March 18th.—Got sudden news to leave the trawler with all the crew that came out from England. Embarked on transport, Osmanieh, at Mudros. Everyone going home got paraded in front of Commander Pearse, H.M.S. Osiris, who bade them all farewell. All P.O.'s disappointed; not one word he said for our valuable assistance in training and holding all these untrained fishermen straight from the fishing docks to the firing and Gallipoli Expedition.

19th.—Arrived on Osmanieh at Suda Bay, Crete. 3 p.m.—Transport Miniwoska was on her beam ends at the gate entrance. Another transport on the opposite coast well heeled over.

20th.—Arrived Malta after war channel was swept, and sent to Egmont.

25th, p.m.—Embarked on mail boat Megantic, had three torpedoed crews taking passage to Marseilles, and entrained for England.

Arrived Portsmouth April 1st, 1917.

NAMES OF ARMED SHIPS THAT HAVE WORKED IN THE ÆGEAN SEA.

Battleships.

	Lord Nelson, Flagship, Admiral de Robeck.	
	Agamemnon, Rear-Admiral	
	Exmouth, Rear-Admiral Sadler.	
	Queen, Flag-Admiral Thursby.	
Implacable	Canopus	Albion
	Irresistible—Mined—Sunk.	
	Cornwallis " "	
	Ocean " "	
	Triumph—Torpedoed "	
	Majestic " "	
	Goliath " "	
London	Prince George	Venerable
Prince of Wales	Queen Elizabeth	Swiftsure
Vengeance	Glory	Duncan

Battle Cruisers.

Inflexible—Mined—Repaired.

Monitors.

Earl of Peterborough	Roberts	Abercrombie
Humber	Nectar	M. 29
	M. 30—Sunk—Gunfire.	

Cruisers.

Doris	Minerva	Talbot
Bacchante	Euryalus	Bienheim
Amethyst	Chatham	Dublin
Dartmouth	Lowestoft	Foresight
Sapphire	Phaeton	
	Thesus	
	Grafton	} Blister Ships.
	Edgar	
	Endymion	

Europa, Flagship, Mudros, Rear-Admiral Christian.

Adamant—Submarine Base
 Ark Royal
 Anemone
 Aster
 Fauvette—Mined—Sunk.
 Reliance—Floating Workshop, Mudros.
 Aquarius " " Port Kondia.
 Osiris II.—Store Vessel and Base for Trawlers.
 Hussar—Torpedo Gunboat.
 Triad—Admiral's Yacht.
 Imagmo—Special Service Vessel.
 Ceylon—Tug.
 Gowan—Tender to Humber.
 Hindu-Kush—Collier, Sunk.

Destroyers.

Bulldog	Basilisk	Savage
Lea	Beagle	Scourge
Scorpion	Colne	Renard
Comet	Grasshopper	Ribble
Harpy	Mosquito	Usk
Pincher	Kennet	Grampus
Chelmer	Racoon	Fury
Wear	Rattlesnake	Staunch
Foxhound	Welland	

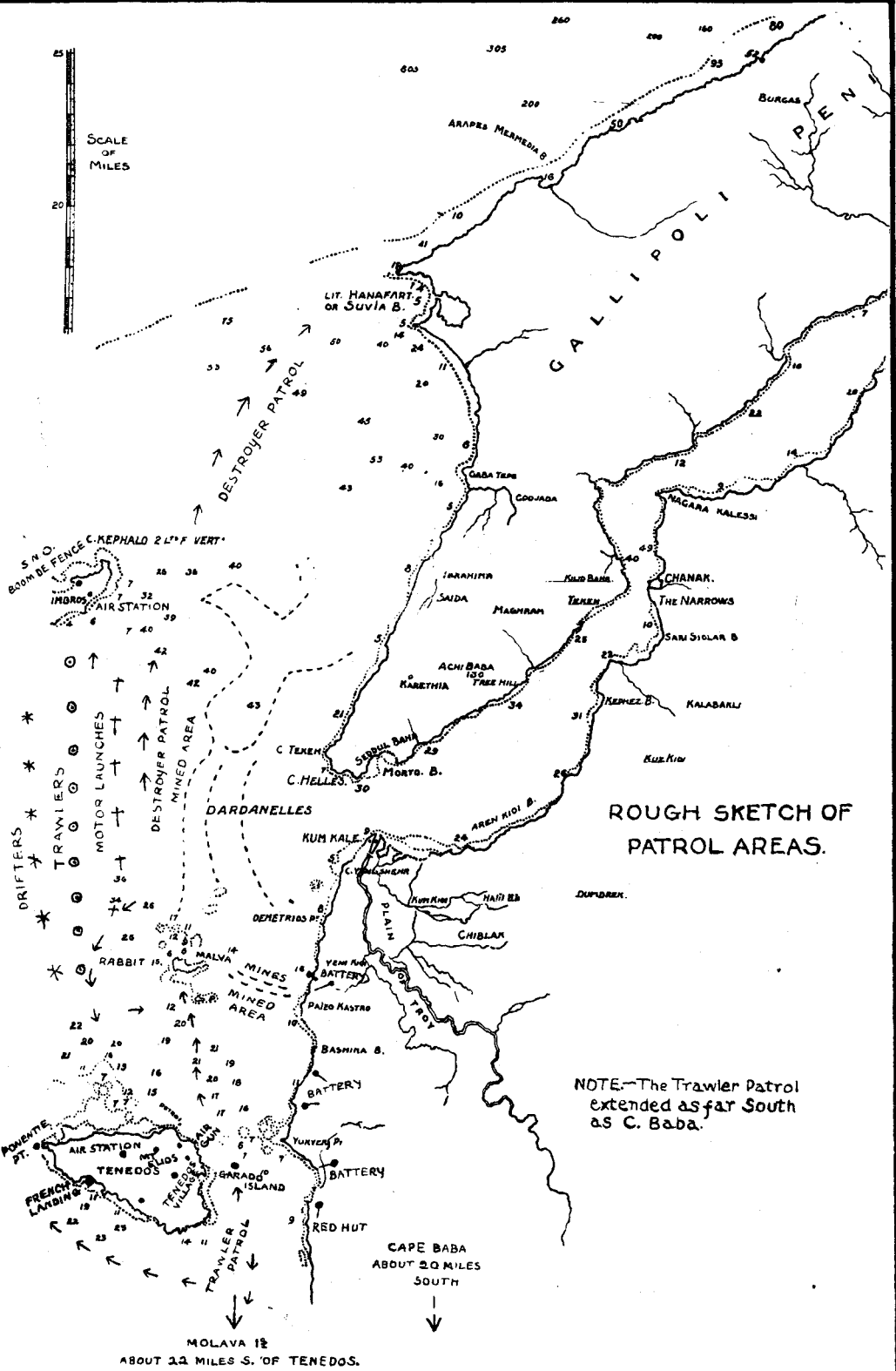
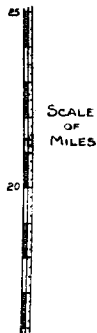
Torpedo-Boats.

Nos. 17, 18, 29, 30.

Fleet Sweepers.

Jonquil	Lynn	Monica
Newmarket	Reindeer	Folkestone
Gazelle	Whitby-Abbey (sunk)	Hythe (sunk)
Ben-Macree (sunk)	Clacton (torpedoed)	

There were also more auxiliary boats and small light cruisers, names unknown.



MOLAVA IS.
ABOUT 12 MILES S. OF TENEDOS.

CAPE BABA
ABOUT 20 MILES
SOUTH

THE CRUISE OF THE CANOPUS.

Continued from page 269, Vol. III.

LEAVING Malta on February 24th, we arrived two days later at Port Tribouki, in the Island of Skyros. This had been used as a base for the Fleet, but we found no ships there except one storeship. We received orders the same evening to proceed to Tenedos, and anchored to leeward (south side) of that island next morning. Here we found the Triumph and Cornwallis, but ships were constantly coming and going. We coaled and remained at anchor for the next two days. On the evening of March 1st, we proceeded to take up our station for patrolling the entrance of the Dardanelles, the mine-sweepers and destroyers operating inside. The next day we went inside and engaged the forts to the southward of Kephez Point. On the way in we saw the result of the previous bombardment of the forts at Sedd-el-Bahr and Kum Kale, which had been reduced to ruins.

March 2nd. On this day the ship was hit three times, once on the quarterdeck (probably by a 6-in. howitzer) which split the bulkhead on the afterside of the wardroom creating some havoc there pieces penetrated the deck and were brought up in the flat below. Another hit the main topmast just in line with the lower cap, bringing down everything above it. The third pierced the after funnel and bursting outside riddled the first cutter and picket boat and cut up all the ropes in the vicinity such as cutter's falls and derrick guys. There was also a hole in the main derrick and a chunk cut out of the wooden fore-derrick.

We were relieved in the evening and anchored off the north side of Tenedos. Remained at anchor next day coaling and repairing damages.

On the 4th we were detailed for searching the coasts of Besika and Yerkyub Bays. We claimed to have knocked out two field guns, and dispersed a body of troops, but drew no fire. In the meantime an attempt was being made to land some Marines of the R.N.D. at Sedd-el-Bahr and Kum Kale, under cover of the ship's guns, but the positions were found to be dominated by concealed trenches and our men were unable to obtain a foothold and were forced to retire to the ships with some losses. Both points however were set on fire by the ship's guns. We saw the Dartmouth making some fine practice.

Next day we were employed with three other ships spotting inside the Straits for the Queen Elizabeth who was firing over the land from outside. We followed each other at certain intervals of time along the sides of an imaginary oblong, firing as well at any target that presented itself. The spotting corrections for the Queen Elizabeth that were passed down from the top sounded most satisfactory, but though we credited her with several hits in the fort that she was firing at (in Kilid

Bahr) there is reason to believe that not much permanent damage was done. We were not hit on this day though shells fell all round us, and down below the water-knock that followed a miss led one to suppose that the armour had been hit. The writer picked up some splinters of shell on deck afterwards.

The next time we entered the Straits was on the 8th, when four battleships were stationed on the bows and quarters of the Queen Elizabeth to deal with flanking batteries while she bombarded Kilid Bahr with direct fire at long range.

On the night of the 10th we went in, in support of the destroyers and trawlers and attempted to extinguish searchlights by gunfire.

We were again on night patrol on the 13th, and spent the next day inside the Straits supporting mine-sweepers. During the day sank five or six mines—or what we took to be mines, though it was afterwards said that some were buoys on indicator-nets. Others were unquestionably Carbonit mines—with horns, but none exploded when our shots hit them. The Cornwallis relieved us in the evening and we saw her having what looked like a warm time as we went out.

On the 16th we made a demonstration to the northward off Gaba Tepe, hoisted out boats and put the Marines into them, as if to land, which had the effect of drawing a few shots from field-guns.

On the fateful 18th, the whole fleet except the Cornwallis and ourselves who were detailed for the night patrol, advanced to attack the forts, and we, coming up in good time so as to have a look in, saw the Ocean and Irresistible in a bad way, the Gaulois coming out very much down by the head, and the Inflexible very much damaged.

It was not till a good deal later that we learned that the two first-named ships and the Bouvet had sunk. We escorted the Gaulois as far as the Rabbit Islands and sent our boats to assist in taking off her crew if necessary. We also got ready to take her in tow, which she declined. The Inflexible reached Tenedos safely under her own steam, where she anchored in shallow water.

It was unfortunate that just at this time the weather turned bad, but we were under the lee of the Island until the 21st, when the wind suddenly shifted round and we all had to weigh and move round to the other side.

About this time, Commander Samson arrived with aeroplanes and the erection of an aerodrome was begun on Tenedos Island.

On the 26th the Queen and Implacable arrived, the former flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Thursby.

The next day we went for the first time to Mudros in the Island of Lemnos, where a naval base had been established, transports collected, and troops encamped on shore.

We remained there two days and then returned to Tenedos where we found the other ships on the north side. Spent the night cruising round the island, as it was reported that the enemy's torpedo-boats had got out and had been seen in the Gulf of Smyrna.

On the 31st we were again on patrol outside the Straits and next day were employed covering mine-sweepers at work inside

On Good Friday, April 2nd, we were attacked by an enemy's aeroplane which dropped bombs at us and the Albion, luckily missing both. We went inside covering sweepers again and fired a few rounds

of 6-in. at the lighthouse on Cape Helles, as it was suspected that the enemy were using it as a signal station. Returned to Tenedos in the evening and next day went to Mudros.

Spent Easter Day coaling and provisioning.

We had been fitted at Malta with a 6-in. howitzer on the fore-turret, but as it was considered that it would be more useful on shore, we got it out and turned it over to the military.

The *Inflexible* was in port, repairing damage in order to steam to Malta, and we with the *Talbot* received orders to escort her. It was originally intended that we should not go further than Cape Matapan, but the captain of the *Inflexible* decided that it was desirable to take us further, events proved the wisdom of this for on the 10th we met a head wind, the pad that had been fitted over the hole in the *Inflexible's* bottom worked loose, and eventually we had to take her in tow by the stern until reaching the entrance to Grand Harbour, where she was taken in charge by dockyard tugs. (We subsequently had the gratification of receiving a congratulatory telegram from the V.A. for this performance.)

We went into harbour after her, coaled, provisioned and stored, and left again within 24 hours.

We were next ordered to Tribouki again, where we arrived on the 13th and awaited the arrival of transports with the Royal Naval Division from Egypt.

They began to arrive on the 16th, and when some had arrived and anchored we heard that one, the *Manitou*, was being attacked by a Turkish torpedo boat. The destroyers *Jed* and *Kennet* which were with us were immediately ordered in chase, and the latter succeeded in getting within range of her, driving her to the eastward where she was headed off by the *Minerva* and *Wear*, and ultimately ran herself ashore on the Island of Chios, where the crew escaped—to be interned by the Greek authorities, and the boat was destroyed.

We heard that she had fired three torpedoes at the transport at a range of about 100 yards which all missed!

The next few days were spent in organising and practising the landing of troops from the transports. We were daily in expectation of getting orders to move, and at last, put to sea on the morning of April 24th.

April 25th. The business which was entrusted to us was making a feint of landing in the north part of the Gulf of Xeros, with which intention the *Doris* and *Dartmouth* bombarded Bulair lines early in the morning.

Meanwhile, the landing of the Expeditionary Force was being carried out, the 29th Division at Cape Helles, and the Australian and New Zealand army corps (*Anzac* for short) to the north of Gaba Tepe.

During the night we received orders to proceed to Gaba Tepe, which we did at full speed, arriving there in the morning.

We found the *Queen*, *Prince of Wales*, *London*, *Majestic*, *Triumph* and *Bacchante* anchored in a line off the beach and were ordered to send our launch and pinnace with a steam boat to tow each, to work for the *London* in bringing off wounded. We then anchored at the northern end of the line and laid out a kedge to keep our broadside to the beach. We were now able to see something of what had been done, and to

appreciate the dash and determination with which the troops had gained a foothold. At this point the cliffs rose steeply from the beach, and no praise can be too great for the men who had stormed and carried them. When we arrived they were busily entrenching themselves just under the summit, and the rifle and field-gun fire was literally incessant. At one point was a transport's boat half full of and surrounded by dead men, and it was not until dusk fell that they could be removed. We could see several temporary shelters with the Red Cross flag over them, and the stretcher-parties were busy on the beach all the time. We fired our 6-in. occasionally by order, laying and training by scale and bearing in order to reach certain positions on the "squared" chart with which we were supplied, but it was impossible to see the results of our own fire.

At night each ship was told off to illuminate certain sections with searchlights.

This routine was continued during the week, and on Sunday, May 2nd, we were detailed to cover two destroyers that embarked 50 New Zealanders, and landed them on a point (Nibrunesi Point) forming the northern end of our anchorage. Here, the existence of an observation station was suspected on a hill called Mount Falcon, near the point, and, landing on the reverse or northern side of this, they surprised a party of 23 Turks, of whom eight were killed and the remainder taken prisoners.

The same evening the troops made an advance, under cover of a heavy bombardment by the ships, and at dark we moved off to Imbros Island to replenish ammunition.

The ammunition ships had been sent there out of the way on account of a little habit that one of the Turks' ships—probably the Torgut Reis—had adopted, of sending a few 11-in. shells into our anchorage daily, which became known as the "morning hate." But as soon as with the assistance of a seaplane, our ships particularly the Triumph and occasionally the Queen Elizabeth replied, she retired towards the Sea of Marmora.

After 11 days spent off this beach we were ordered to exchange duties with the Vengeance that had been working off Cape Helles. On 7th we did so and spent that afternoon from 12 to 7 p.m. in the Dardanelles off de Tott's battery, supporting the French who were holding the right of the Allies' line across the peninsular. Running diagonally across their front was a ravine known as Kereves Dere, which became of considerable importance in subsequent operations, as it afforded excellent cover for the enemy. With our 6-in. guns we thoroughly searched the far side of this and whenever we opened fire we drew a reply from a gun about 9-in. known as "Whistling Willie," which was concealed somewhere about Suandere Point. But although the shells fell all round us they never got us. We had the Goliath, Albion and Majestic taking turns with us on this job and it happened that we had the same trick next day. Then we had 24 hours off and then from seven p.m. Sunday, to eight a.m. Monday. And so on. On Wednesday 12th the Goliath relieved us at seven p.m. and was torpedoed at midnight. We had just left for Mudros for coaling, etc.

We returned to Cape Helles on Friday 14th, and found that the night work had been given up and we had to divide the daylight hours

with the *Majestic*. For the next four days we were on duty from one p.m. till eight, and on the 15th were hit three times by (about) 5-in. shells; one of which cut through the heel of the fore topmast, wrecking the instruments in the top, but the mast did not come down and one man who was in the top was untouched. Another went through the side of the sailing pinnace and did only slight damage. The third just grazed the side of the quarterdeck and broke a guard-rail stanchion. Several heavy ones just missed us. On the 18th we were sent back to "Anzac" where we relieved the *Queen* as senior officer's ship.

About this time there were rumours that German submarines had managed to reach the Mediterranean, and on the 21st we got definite reports that one at least had been sighted in the Aegean. Consequently from that date we kept under weigh.

On Sunday 23rd, at 4.10 a.m., received a signal from *Albion* that she was aground off Gaba Tepe Point. Proceeded at full speed to her assistance. At 5.30 we took in her 5½ in. wire hawser and started towing on her beam, or slightly before it. This was found to be a mistake. We therefore slipped the hawser and at 6.9 anchored astern of her, with our stern towards her and took in her 6½ in. wire. At 6.28 started steaming ahead. No sooner had we taken the strain than the splice drew, leaving the thimble on our ship¹. Anchored again and passed our 6½ in. wire to her. 7.0. Weighed and proceeded ahead, revolutions for eight knots. No sign of movement. 7.8. Enemy opened fire with shrapnel at both ships. *Albion* hit frequently.

7.15. Sounded "action" and opened fire with 6-in. 8.40. Both ships being straddled by heavy projectiles. Seaplane reported enemy's ships in Straits. Hoisted out sailing pinnace with the intention of sending her to *Talbot* for bower anchor but this was not required. *Lord Nelson* arrived and opened fire on enemy's ships, driving them off. 9.5. Ship moving. 9.9. *Albion* floated. Heavy shrapnel fire continued, also heavy howitzers.

9.14. *Albion* coming off fast. Steered to westward. 9.15. *Albion* slipped hawser and proceeded to westward. Stood by *Albion*. 9.50. Stopped, hauled in hawser. *Lord Nelson* proceeded. Signal from Vice-Admiral "Well done *Canopus*!"

10.50. *Taube* aeroplane attacked *Albion* with bombs but missed her. Opened fire with anti-aircraft guns. *Taube* flew towards *Anzac* where she dropped bombs at 11.6.

11.20. Proceeded to our former station.

3.5 p.m. *Triumph* relieved *Albion*. Latter proceeded, steaming round *Canopus* and cheering ship. Her mainmast and main-derrick were too much damaged to hoist in her picket boat and she therefore left her behind with us. She was towing her launch which she was able to hoist in after making temporary repairs.

Next day, Monday 24th, an armistice was granted to the Turks to bury their dead, of whom there were estimated to be over 3,000 in front of our lines. On the 25th *Vengeance* arrived to relieve us and reported that a torpedo had been fired at her by a submarine on her way from *Mudros*. Our captain transferred to her to remain as S.N.O. while we went to *Mudros*. Just as we were leaving the bay, escorted by a destroyer, two of our officers distinctly saw a periscope

¹ It would be interesting to know where this hawser was fitted.

break the surface. It was well on the quarter, and unfortunately the gun to which one of them (Lieutenant Clarke R.N.R.) ran to lay it, would not bear. We reported this, and destroyers proceeded to search, but without success. A few minutes later we heard the report "Triumph sinking" and looking round we were just able to see her going over and turn bottom-up in which position she remained for 25 minutes.

The destroyer that was accompanying us was sent back to save life, and we proceeded at full speed. Later on, another destroyer the Usk caught us up and escorted us, by describing circles round us while we steered zigzag courses to Mudros.

We stayed 12 days at Mudros and were then ordered to Malta.

Shortly after leaving harbour a submarine was reported on the quarter. Whether it was one or not, we do not know, but the captain of a hospital ship that we had just passed told us afterwards that somebody on board her saw the track of a torpedo. We made a good run to Malta in 47 hours our defects were taken in hand, and there this account is being closed for the present.

THE ADVENTURES OF THE EMDEN AND HER CREW.¹

LECTURE BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER V. MUCKE, S.M.S. EMDEN.

THE Emden had left Tsingtau two days before the outbreak of war, and was in the Yellow Sea. The news of the declaration of war was received by wireless; in the first instance, war against France and Russia only. Immediately on receipt, the Emden pushed forward towards Vladivostock through the Straits of Tschuschima, well known through the destruction of the Russian Fleet by the Japanese in 1904. It was a very dark night, with strong phosphorescence. On board war watches were begun, *i.e.*, one of the half of the crew were at the various fighting stations, guns, torpedoes, etc., and the other half slept in their clothes ready for immediate appearance. One war watch was commanded by the captain, Captain V. Muller, the other by the first lieutenant. During the night nothing was sighted. I had had the first war watch from midnight to four o'clock in the morning, when I was relieved by the captain. I had hardly reached my cabin when I heard the signal "Clear for action." In the grey dawn a steamer had appeared which looked like a Russian cruiser. We made for her at full speed. Seeing us, she turned and made off as fast as she could go. We did not at first know what the steamer was. She was signalled to stop. Then a round of blank was fired, and, as this had no effect, it was followed by a shell at a distance of about 8,000 metres. The steamer could not now reach the neutral waters of Japan. As the shots began to tell, she stopped and hoisted the Russian flag at every masthead. Thus during the first night of the war, we secured our first prize. It was the Riasan, of the Russian volunteer fleet, a brand new passenger boat built in a German yard, plying between Shanghai and Vladivostock. A prize crew, consisting of an officer and 12 men, were sent on board to take command of the vessel. There was a heavy sea, so that the boat was in danger of being smashed against the ship's side. There were numerous women passengers on board filled with anxiety as to what would be done with them. The Russian flag was hauled down, and the German ensign hoisted in its place. We steered southwards at 15 knots towards Tsingtau. The captain of the prize twice entered violent protests against his capture. He claimed to be a peaceful merchantman, and could not understand why he should be taken. We answered that his fate would be settled at Tsingtau. As we did not immediately make course for Tsingtau, he again protested, and demanded that he should be taken there by the quickest way; his reason, of course, being that he feared that if we pursued our present course we should meet other Russian ships which were in the neighbourhood. Naturally, such was

¹ Verbatim report of Lecture delivered in Vienna. Translated from *Tagliche Rundschau* of June 18th, 19th and 21st, 1915.

our intention, but unfortunately no others were sighted. Needless to say, his protest was not heeded.

As we were rounding the southern point of Korea, seven smoke columns were sighted ahead to starboard. We had seen in the French papers that the French squadron, consisting of the armoured cruisers Montcalm, Duplex, and several destroyers, were stated to be in Russian waters. An action was out of the question for us, especially as we had captured the Riasan. During the night we had much trouble with the women passengers, as they switched on their cabin lights every few minutes. This we could not allow, as both ships had to steam with masked lights.

On arrival at Tsingtau the Riasan shipped guns, was manned by a German crew, and continued her existence as a German auxiliary cruiser. As she was brand new, the Russians had not yet had time to ruin the good German engines, and she would still do over 17 knots. In Tsingtau there was full war activity. The blockade by mines had been completed, and the fortifications along the sea front were manned. The port itself was humming with animation. A number of German vessels were lying in harbour; some were being equipped as auxiliary cruisers, whilst others were being loaded as colliers for the Fleet. While in Tsingtau we saw on a small scale the same enthusiasm for the war as was then prevailing in Germany. All were full of confidence. We took in as much coal as we possibly could, and completed the final preparations as regards personnel, munitions, etc.

The next day at dawn we left Tsingtau, followed by a number of German vessels, all making southwards, according to orders. The two armoured cruisers, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, and the cruiser Nurnberg were at the time of the declaration of war in the South Seas, and the Admiral had ordered all ships in Tsingtau to proceed southwards and to meet the squadron at a certain point. As we left Tsingtau there was great enthusiasm, the band playing the "Wacht am Rhein." The crew were on deck, and joined in; there were cheers from both sides, and a general feeling "We shall manage it all right." Of the colliers, we selected the Marcomannia, and during several months she was our faithful companion.

August 13th the Emden was detached from the squadron, with orders to carry on a cruiser warfare in the Indian Ocean. By the end of the first week in September we reached the Gulf of Bengal, and looked out for prey on trade routes. During the night of September 19th a vessel was sighted. Of course, the Emden's lights were out. Coming up astern close to the ship we shouted through a megaphone: "Stop immediately. Do not use your wireless. We are sending a boat." At first the steamer could not realise the position, hardly expecting to find an enemy man-of-war so near the Indian coast. But after a blank shot across her bow, she went full speed astern, blowing her siren, thus indicating her intention to obey orders. We sent a boat, and took possession. At first we had a slight shock, for our prize crew signalled that she was a Greek ship. This was unpleasant, for we should have had to let a neutral ship go, and at the next port she would have, of course, reported our arrival. Fortunately, however, she contained contraband, namely, coal for British ports. Consequently she was attached to our small squadron, and made a welcome

addition to the Marcomannia, whose holds were already half depleted. There were now three of us, but more were to follow.

As the Emden for some time had not touched any port, and could not count on making good her provisions, we had crammed her at Tsingtau with all we might possibly require. The First Lieutenant is, so to speak, housekeeper, responsible for every detail of the equipment. During the last few days our supply of soap had been showing signs of running short; we were thus obliged to count washing among the luxuries. At sunrise on the morning of the 11th, a few hours after the capture of the Greek vessel, a large steamer was sighted ahead. Assuming that we were a British man-of-war, she at once hoisted a large British flag to signify her joy at our presence. I regret I did not see the foolish face of her skipper when we hoisted our ensign and politely signalled her to join us. She was *en route* from Calcutta, splendidly equipped to carry troops from Colombo to France. A particularly pleasing feature was that, owing to the undeniable love of the English people for cleanliness, she was carrying enough soap to last us at least a year, even if we made the fullest demand on this boon of culture. The numerous horse-boxes and gun-stands were of less interest to us! Half an hour longer and the sharks could meditate over them! Her crew were shipped on our "rogue's depôt." For this purpose we always kept one ship, either because of her small value or because of her neutral cargo, the destruction of which would only have entailed financial loss, as the cargo would have to be paid for after the war. The "rogue's depôt" was retained until she was overfull with the crews of captured vessels, then dismissed. In this instance the Greek Ponto Porros was acting as "rogue's depôt."

During the next few days our business flourished; as soon as a steamer came our way she was stopped, and one officer and say 10 men were sent on board. These made her ready to be sunk, and arranged for passengers being transhipped. Whilst thus engaged another mast-head generally appeared on the horizon. There was no need for us to hurry; they simply came our way. When one got near, the Emden advanced towards her, made a polite signal, and bade her join our previous capture. Again an officer and some men boarded her, and made everything ready for sinking her. This was hardly done when a fourth mast was sighted. The Emden again went to meet her, and the game was repeated. At times we had thus five or six vessels collected on one spot. Of the one, you could see the top of her funnel, the next was under the water right to her decks, the next was still fairly normal, just rolling from side to side as she was slowly filling. Their crews were collected on the "rogue's depôt," surprised to make each other's acquaintance. Thus we swept the whole route from Ceylon to Calcutta; with us our old companions Marcomannia and the Greek Ponto Porros, whose duties as "rogue's depôt" had been assumed by the steamer Cabinga. She was an English vessel with an American cargo, the sinking of which would only have caused us monetary loss.

I should just like to say a word about the behaviour of the English on these occasions. Most of them were quite sensible. After their first astonishment they started abusing their own Government, but with one single exception offered no resistance to their ships being sunk. They were always given ample time to save their personal belongings,

and they generally took advantage of this delay to save the valuable stores of whisky from the fishes. Also they did not neglect business, but did their level best to give their competitors the benefits of German piracy. Generally, the captains would ask, "Have you seen the steamer 'Y'?" "No," we said. "What, have you not seen her? She is only two hours later than I am, and seven miles to the south."

Thus we always knew in advance, when mastheads were sighted, what the ship's name was, and avoided running up against neutrals. One was a particularly good chap, who was in the unenviable position of having to tow a dredger from England to Australia. Every sailor-man must sympathise with a poor devil whose lot is to have to take one of these boxes, which cannot do more than four knots, all the way from Europe. And so, from the human standpoint, it was easy to understand his joy at being captured.

It is a queer feeling for a sailor to see a ship sink. We, too, accustomed to stand by any vessel in distress, had a queer sensation when we had to destroy them and saw them sinking. The destruction was generally carried out in the following manner: We went below into the engine rooms and unscrewed the cover of some large pipe leading outwards. Thus the water rushed in in a huge gush, twice as high and broad as a man. The watertight door leading to the boiler room had been previously opened, so that at least two large compartments must be flooded. In addition, two further compartments would be holed, either by explosion (at night) or by a shot. For some time the vessel would roll, as if uncertain what to do, then gradually she would sink lower and lower till the upper deck reached the sea level; then the whole ship appeared as if drawing a last breath. The bow would settle down, the masts would touch the water, the propellers would stand up in the air, the funnel would blow out the last steam and coal dust; for a few seconds the ship would stand upright, and then, like a stone, shoot vertically to the bottom. The compression of the air burst the bulkheads and hatches; like a fountain the spray rose up some height, and shortly after no more was to be seen. As a last greeting from the depths, about half a minute later, loose spars, pieces of wood, boats and other objects came shooting up and long spars dashed to the surface like arrows, springing up several yards. Finally, a large spot of oil, some beams, life-belts, and similar objects, indicated the position of the sunken vessel. Then the Emden made for the next masthead.

The English were always most grateful to us for allowing them time to save their personal property, and they have recognised this unreservedly in their press.

I am hardly exaggerating when I state that during 1914 the Emden was the most popular ship in the East Indies. Altogether the English had, generally speaking, no real understanding of the war. With them it is not—as with us—a war of the people. Most of them take a detached view, and judge the achievements of friend and foe alike, solely from the point of view of sport. Thus it happened that our captain was lauded in the most glowing manner by all the English newspapers in India. We also treated the passengers always with the utmost consideration, and did not hesitate to sacrifice valuable time to meet their wishes. I recall the instance of an Englishman who, just before

the sinking of a steamer, implored me to save his only possession—a motor cycle. The cycle was hoisted out from the hold and carried, together with its happy owner, by a special boat to the “rogue’s depôt,” where they were both made comfortable.

As regards provisions, our supplies were naturally exhausted. Thanks to the amiability of the English, the captured vessels were always so well stocked with tinned food prepared by the foremost English firms that our crew had the greatest difficulty in living up to the maxim that enemy property must, under all circumstances, be destroyed. We had occasion to notice that sweets, jams, and other delicacies are quite acceptable to the palate of a sailor.

After having sufficiently swept the Gulf of Bengal—the lack of further vessels being the best test—we transferred our sphere of usefulness to the other side of the Gulf, towards Rangoon. Here we encountered the first regrettable mishap, viz., the total stoppage of all English ships. It was only later that we found out that all sailings had been cancelled on our account. Still, we had to our credit that a Norwegian steamer assumed the duties of our “rogue’s depôt,” which enabled us to sink the original one. Owing to our excursion towards Rangoon, we had not been in evidence for one whole week. This fact the English Government, in their circumspection and care for their subjects, took advantage of, by announcing officially to their expectant compatriots the joyful news that the Emden had now been finally destroyed by her 16 pursuers, and that shipping could again be resumed without fear of interference. This, of course, we only learnt later from newspapers. As no more merchantmen put in an appearance, we returned to our old field of operations—dear to us by now—near the East Indian coast, and decided to test the inner worth of the Madras oil tanks. We arrived off that port on September 18th, and only the previous day the official news of the Emden’s end had been announced. We advanced up to 3,000 metres. The lighthouse was peacefully aglow, facilitating navigation. By the rays of searchlights we discerned our object, the high white tanks with their red rims. A few shots, the short flare of a bluish-yellow flame, a burning flow from the shot holes, a huge heavy black cloud, and true to the old proverb, “Variety is the charm of life,” we had this time expedited several millions’ worth into the air, instead of to the bottom of the sea. A few badly-aimed shots were fired from Madras. Later on the papers stated that, when fired on, we hurriedly vanished, extinguishing all lights. To this I would reply that we naturally had approached without any lights, and that neither the captain nor myself noticed any shots, only the officers aft. We therefore had no intention of escaping from the shots; in fact, as regards the question of lights, we really did exactly the opposite. After the bombardment, we intentionally showed many lights on our port side, and steered due north. Later we extinguished all lights, and steered southward. The fire for some time illuminated our course, and the heavy black smoke column from the tanks was still visible 90 miles the next day.

As the English were gradually becoming too much for us, we paid a call next day on French Pondicherry, by way of a change, but there was nothing doing, and we proceeded, in order to visit Ceylon and the West Coast of India. We learnt later on that, in consequence of the

bombardment of Madras, all Europeans made for the interior; furthermore, that the English had started a nightly searchlight service, and swept the whole surroundings of their ports with searchlights at night. Thereby they considerably facilitated navigation for us. We then arrived off Colombo. Whilst we were cruising off the port, the searchlights suddenly showed up a dark shadow, which greatly interested us. At first it looked quite dangerous, but improved on closer examination. It was an English steamer, with a full cargo of sugar. The captain was so annoyed at being caught within the rays of the searchlights of the English naval port that he offered resistance to our orders. The regrettable consequence of this patriotic action was that he was not allowed to take even a single pocket handkerchief. Within five minutes the steamer was evacuated and the crew collected on our "rogue's depôt"; the captain and his engineer had the honour of being accommodated in a temporary cell on board S.M.S. Emden, and within a further ten minutes the sugar was sweetening the sharks' supper. This same captain later on told the most marvellous fairy tales about the Emden. Whilst admitting that he had been well treated, he nevertheless complained that accommodation had not been in accordance with his rank. Apparently he expected our captain to turn out of his own cabin! He further spoke contemptuously of the Emden's state of cleanliness, "dirty, badly scratched, and dented." I can but agree with him. But one cannot coal at sea month after month and carry several hundred tons of coal on deck without suffering for it. Had I only known what a precious visitor was coming, I should certainly have set all my pride, as first lieutenant, on producing a freshly painted and spotless ship. The good man also stated that our men looked starved and depressed. It would be an injustice to the provisioning of English ships to describe our crew as starving; and the great depression of the crew's spirits was best shown by the fact that their greatest joy was to dance to the sounds of our daily afternoon concert.

In the meantime the question of coaling was becoming difficult. Marcomannia was empty; we still had our prize, the Ponto-Porros, laden with Indian coal. But Indian coal, besides possessing a very low calorific value, has the characteristic of giving off very heavy clouds of smoke and of dirtying the boilers very badly. So we were by no means satisfied with our tender. The question of a better coal was most obligingly settled by the British Admiralty in Hong Kong by unselfishly giving up to us during the next two days two fine vessels of 7,000 tons each, loaded with best Welsh coal consigned to them.

We then made for Diego Garcia, a small island far away in the Southern Ocean. We intended to recuperate there and overhaul the ship. As we entered the port an Englishman greeted us with tears of joy, carrying presents. He knew nothing of the war, as mails only arrived twice a year. He asked us to repair his motor boat which had broken down, and we gladly complied. We left the port without telling him of the present-day horrors. His next mail was due a fortnight after our departure; he may then have realised on whom he showered his gifts.

Having then made some further good prizes sailing north, we grew anxious to meet some men-of-war. We had read that 16 English,

French, and Japanese ships were wasting their coal in searching for us. To facilitate their job, we meant to look them up in their own ports. Penang seemed most suitable, as our enemies were bound to have a base in those parts, and we hoped to find a cruiser or two.

October 28th, about four o'clock a.m., the whole ship's company was called, and warm breakfast served in readiness for action. With steam in all boilers, we were making for Penang at about 20 knots. It was still dark, and we wanted to be in the harbour itself shortly before sunrise, because a fight in the narrow harbour was impossible in the dark. On making port we were carrying four funnels instead of three. This fourth funnel was made of wooden frames with canvas, and shaped like the funnels of the English cruisers in these parts, so that when steaming with her four funnels the Emden was the image of one of the English cruisers. We had prepared the funnel some time ago, and we generally carried it at night. During the day it was dismantled and made fast on deck, forming a shady little spot, where the crew held their siesta.

When we got close to Penang "Clear for action" was piped, and we steered towards the harbour in full readiness. Suddenly we perceived a bright white light passing away from us some 400 metres to port, but could see no ship. Otherwise on entering we only saw fishing boats.

As we approached the inner roadstead to Penang the sun was just on the point of rising. We could see in the twilight quite a number of steamers in the harbour, but only trading vessels, there being no sign of warships.

We had almost given up hope of meeting an opponent, when suddenly from the midst of the trading ships a black mass emerged, which was no doubt a vessel showing no lights. It was not yet possible to make out the size or description.

Unfortunately the ship was in such a position that the stern was turned directly towards us, so that it was very difficult for us to recognise what sort of ship it was. Not until we had approached to within 200 to 250 metres did we know with certainty that she was the Russian Zhemchug. On board the Russian vessel everybody was busy sleeping. We first fired a torpedo which hit the stern; by the force of the explosion this was lifted into the air, perhaps one half to one quarter of a metre, and then slowly began to sink.

After the firing of the torpedo there was activity on board. We could clearly see how quite a number of Russian officers came rushing on deck and threw themselves into the water from the stern. At the same time as the firing of the first torpedo our guns shelled the fore part of the Zhemchug, where the crew's quarters are, with such a hail of projectiles that after a few minutes the fore part of the ship looked like a sieve. The fires burning in the interior could be plainly seen through the shot-holes.

Meanwhile we had passed her, and turned round in order to go out again. Our guns kept up the fire. Now the Emden was fired at from three directions, from the Zhemchug and from two other quarters, but we could not find out whence. We could only hear the whistling of the shells and see them fall. One of the merchant vessels near us was hit thereby. As the Zhemchug began to fire, and as we did not

wish to expose the Emden to the danger of a full broadside from her heavy guns at a distance of only 400 metres, we fired a second torpedo right into her amidships. The torpedo struck in the fore part, under the bridge. A huge black and white cloud of water rose up, spars and splinters could be seen flying, the upheaval covered the whole ship, and when it had subsided, about 20 seconds later, nothing was to be seen of the ship except her mast. Numerous swimmers filled the water, but there was no need for us to trouble ourselves about them, because a number of fishing vessels were quite near at hand.

We now looked around us to see from which side we had been shot at, and discovered—for meanwhile the sun had risen—half hidden behind the island, the French torpedo-boat d'Iberville. She is an ancient tub with two light guns. Just as we were on the point of getting to grips with her a torpedo-boat was reported coming in. We did not want to meet the latter in the Narrows, and therefore steamed towards her at a good speed, and opened fire. The boat immediately turned, and we saw that the mirage, which was very marked on that day, had deceived us. It was not a torpedo-boat, but a Government steamer. Firing was immediately stopped.

We were just about to turn round and settle the d'Iberville when again a large ship, apparently a man-of-war, was reported out at sea. It was possible to see the ship from the stern; it really appeared to be a large vessel, apparently one of the French armoured cruisers expected in the harbour. As a matter of fact it turned out afterwards that the mirage had deceived us again. It was the French torpedo-boat destroyer Mousquet. She steamed towards us at about 15 knots as if nothing had happened. Our fourth funnel was still up; we had no flag hoisted. At about 4,000 metres distance we hoisted battle flags and opened fire. Seven minutes later there was nothing to be seen of the boat, which even after the third salvo had been reduced to a heap of fragments, surrounded by clouds of smoke and coal dust. The French boat had first, when she recognised us as opponents, accepted action, firing on us with her guns, and also discharged two torpedoes without scoring a hit. The Emden steamed to the place where she had sunk. All the boats were lowered in order to save the survivors. Here we had the peculiar experience that they took to flight by swimming away from our boats, in spite of the fact that the distance from the coast was so great that no one could think of swimming to the land. We fished up 33 men, a number of whom were badly wounded. They had the best attention on board. Our doctor had gone in the cutter, so two-thirds arrived on board already bandaged. Canvas quarters were built on deck for those who were not wounded, and they were supplied with chairs, benches, tables, also clothes, food, drink, cigarettes, etc. When we asked them why they swam away from our cutters they replied that their newspapers had stated that the Germans massacred all their prisoners; their officers had told them the same thing. After a few days they were all transferred to a passing English steamer, with a neutral cargo, and from thence landed at Sabang.

The French, through their two senior petty officers, expressed their gratitude to the captain, and also to me for the treatment they received. They would make known in the newspapers how the Germans treated their prisoners, and would not believe the newspaper lies in the future.

There was also a badly wounded officer on board. On leaving he asked for a cap ribbon of the Emden, which he received, and also expressly thanked us for our kind treatment.

On November 9th, just before sunrise, the Emden lay off the Keeling Islands. Our objective was to destroy the telegraph and wireless station. For this purpose the landing corps, consisting of two officers and 49 men, were disembarked under my orders.

The Emden lay at anchor some 1,500 metres from the shore. I had originally reckoned on armed resistance, and had consequently taken four machine guns with me. As a matter of fact, we met with no resistance. Immediately on landing we took possession of the station, and proceeded to destroy, burn, and blow up everything. We had noticed, on landing, a small sailing ship in the harbour. This also was to be blown up. By chance the blowing up was postponed, fortunately for us, as subsequent events will prove. This vessel was the Ayesha. I sent for the director first, and told him I should destroy the station. I asked him to give me the keys of the rooms, etc., so that I should not have to batter in the doors first. He agreed without further parleying, pointed out all the places where reserve supplies, etc., were stored, and then said to me, in the course of conversation, "Moreover, I congratulate you." "On what?" I asked. "On the Iron Cross. The telegram has just come through."

The destruction of the station and the fishing up of the cable occupied about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Then suddenly the Emden blew her siren. This was the signal to hasten back with all speed. I was able to do so at once, as we were just getting into the boats. The work was finished. As I pushed off I saw that the Emden had already weighed anchor, and was leaving the harbour. First of all I steamed as fast as my steam pinnace could go, *i.e.*, at about four knots, after the Emden, because I had no idea what her intentions were. I thought the Emden was going to meet our coaling ship, as it was intended to coal that day. Suddenly the Emden hoisted battle flags, and opened fire. I could not see the enemy; he was behind the island, but I saw his shots striking. As the Emden was engaging the enemy at a speed of about 20 knots, it was impossible for me to follow. I therefore returned, occupied the island, hoisted the German flag, declared the island a German possession, put all the Englishmen under martial law, prohibiting any signalling or communications with other places, and made arrangements for the defence of the beach, installing my four machine guns and having trenches dug.

I intended to oppose the expected landing from an English warship by force. I then went on the roof of a house to observe the fight. The opponent of the Emden was the Anglo-Australian cruiser Sydney, a ship of about double the size of the Emden, with side armour and considerably heavier guns. The enemy fired quickly, but very badly. The Emden found her range immediately, and the salvoes landed splendidly on the enemy vessel, but were ineffectual against her armoured plating. The shots of the enemy took great effect on the unarmoured portions of the Emden. In about a quarter of an hour one of her funnels had already gone, and she was burning fiercely aft. Then she made for the enemy at full speed in order to be able to fire a torpedo, whereby she lost her foremast. The fighting lasted from 9 a.m. till

dark, and was at a great distance, chiefly below the horizon. The last I could see of it was the Emden steering an easterly course and the Sydney steaming at high speed towards her, apparently with the intention of destroying her at close range. At this time I observed a violent explosion on board the Sydney, apparently due to a hit by one of the Emden's torpedoes.

The Sydney then ceased firing, and slowly steered westwards, and the Emden slowly eastwards. The distance gradually increased, the gunfire died down, and both ships disappeared in the gathering darkness below the horizon. The English version that the fighting lasted only one hour before the destruction of the Emden is therefore another addition to the numerous lies of our cousins across the Channel.

But let me return to the island. The behaviour of the Englishmen was again characteristic. While we were as busy as possible putting the beach in a state of defence and the fighting was going on only a few thousand yards away they came to us asking if we would have a game of tennis. They also told us later they were very glad to have their station destroyed, because they had to work a considerable amount of overtime owing to all the other cables to Australia having been previously cut. It was quite clear to me that the badly damaged Emden could on no account come back to help us.

It was also to be expected with certainty that an enemy cruiser would call on one of the following days to look at the station. Even if I could oppose a landing, it was unthinkable to hold the place against naval guns, and we would inevitably have ended our exploit as prisoners of the British. I therefore gave the order to get the Ayesha, which fortunately had not been destroyed, ready to sail. The Ayesha was an old sailing vessel of 97 tons, out of service, which had formerly shipped copra twice a year from Keeling to Batavia. There she was without sails or ropes, and only manned by a captain and one sailor.

The Englishmen on the island warned me earnestly against taking the ship, as she was old and rotten; besides that, they confided to me that English cruisers were in the neighbourhood of the island, that I should certainly be caught by one of these cruisers. Furthermore, the captain of the ship, as he came ashore, uttered these consoling words: "I wish you a pleasant journey, but her bottom is rotten." When the Englishmen saw that we were nevertheless getting the Ayesha ready they looked upon the sporting side of the matter again, and did everything possible to help us. They showed at once where the provisions and water were. They advised us to take these stores, as they were good, and not those which were already old. They themselves brought up kitchen utensils, water, etc., on lorries. From all sides we were hailed with invitations to dinner; old clothes, woollen blankets, mattresses, etc., were given to my men. In short, they did everything they could to help us out. Further, they were not niggardly with advice as to what course to take, and later on I was convinced that all they told regarding the wind and weather was quite correct. To the last boat that put off they gave three cheers and wished us bon voyage. Then they gathered round the Ayesha for a while, taking photos. I had meanwhile hoisted ensign and pennant, at the same time giving three cheers for the Kaiser, and had the Ayesha towed out of harbour by our ship's launch. It was high time, for it was already getting

dark, and, on account of the numerous coral reefs, it would not have been feasible to get away at night. I then turned westward in order to deceive the Englishmen, whom I had told that I intended to go to German East Africa. Later on I changed my course to the north. I did not pass North Keeling, where the Emden is supposed to be stranded. I saw nothing of her, nor did I observe any sign of firing or any searchlight.

I kept to a northerly course so as to get to Padang. The question of water was causing anxiety. The Ayesha had four tanks, of which only one had previously been used. The water in the other tanks became foul and undrinkable. Thank Heaven we soon had regular tropical downpours, which gave us enough water to fill the tanks. We did not require any water for cooking, as we ate chiefly preserved foods, and we cooked rice and such like foods in salt water. My men's clothes were soon in rags, as we had put on our oldest clothes for landing, and only had one suit from the Emden with us. On arriving at Padang we were all more or less in our birthday suits.

On the way we suffered at times from heavy tropical squalls and storms. The sails were old and weak, and constantly had to be changed and patched. One evening we had a storm like a cloudburst, which passed close over us; the electricity produced was so strong that on the tops of all our masts a brilliant St. Elmo's light burned. We had no charts of the part we were traversing, only charts to Batavia were on board. Nevertheless, we steered safely through the numerous reefs which lie about the islands off Padang. Shortly before Padang was reached, at the most dangerous spot, where enemy cruisers constantly passed, we lay one whole day absolutely becalmed. In spite of the terrible heat, we tried to tow the Ayesha with her small boats, which only held three men, so as to at least make a little headway. Suddenly we perceived a destroyer ahead, which we at first took to be an enemy. It turned out to be the Dutch destroyer Lynx. She came close up to us, perhaps within 50 metres, examined as closely, looked specially for the name, which, of course, had been painted over a long time ago, then took close stock of my helmsman and myself, who were alone on the deck in very ragged clothes. I had sent all the other men below. I was not flying any flag. It was not my wish to make myself known too soon.

The Lynx then steamed off, but returned in the evening, and followed us about 100 metres off. We were really sorry for her, for it was certainly no pleasure for her to dawdle behind us at the enormous speed of one knot; more the Ayesha did not do with the light wind blowing.

It did not suit us, however, to be brought home like a vagabond by a policeman, and, as the Ayesha was a warship, there was no occasion for me to put up with this escort. We therefore took a white lamp, and with a small board which we held in front of the lamp, we signalled her, and I asked, first in English and then in German, "Why are you following me?" At the signal in English nothing happened. At the German signal she departed, and kept at a good distance; a sign that one has only to speak German to be understood and to accomplish something. The poor Lynx was obliged to spend another whole day near us, because there was practically no wind.

On the next morning I found myself within Dutch territorial waters, and consequently hoisted ensign and pennant. On the afternoon of November 27th the Ayesha anchored at Padang. I had previously signalled to our faithful follower the Lynx that I wished to come aboard her; she thereupon came towards us, and I went over in order to tell the commander that I wanted to enter in order to replenish stores and water and necessary supplies, and that I should leave again within the stipulated 24 hours. The commander thought that there was nothing against my entering, but that I should not be able to leave again. As regards the rest, everything would be decided by the Government in Batavia. I was, above all, anxious to get hold of a German steamer, for it was very questionable whether we could continue our voyage with the Ayesha, owing to her condition. In the harbour there turned out to be several German and Austrian steamers, which hoisted flags and gave three cheers on our approach. We were *immediately surrounded by numerous boats, and all sorts of articles, linen, clothes, clocks, mattresses, cigars, and cigarettes* were thrown to us. Here at last we got German newspapers, old ones, but still very welcome, as we had so far only seen English papers, which gave us the usual lying news; Russians near Berlin, Kaiser wounded, Crown Prince killed, epidemic of suicide amongst German generals, revolution in the country, complete disruption in the west, etc.

The Dutch Government at first created difficulties, as they would not recognise my right as a warship, but wanted to treat me as a prize, which called forth a sharp protest. When they asked me to produce a certificate to the effect that Captain V. Muller had nominated me commander of the Ayesha I replied that the question as to by what right I was commander solely concerned my superiors.

The principal person in Padang seemed to be the harbour master, a Belgian by birth, from whom no consideration was to be expected, just as we showed him little consideration when he came on board. The Ayesha apparently was not good enough for him; anyhow, he behaved as if he were on a coal barge, until it was made clear to him also, in plain German, that he was on board one of His Majesty's warships, on board of which he had nothing to say.

As already stated, we were short of the most necessary equipment, had no charts, no clothes, and were longing to renew our acquaintance with soap and toothbrushes. But the Dutch would only give us provisions and water, also some rope and sails. Everything else was refused on the ground that, for instance, the supply of soap and toothbrushes would mean an addition to our fighting powers, and that was prohibited by international law.

In the meanwhile the German steamers, in spite of the Dutch "marking" like retrievers, had passed on to us sufficient stuff to allow of our sailing that evening materially strengthened. The consul, an Austrian by birth, Herr Schild, accompanied us a short way. As he departed we gave him three cheers in recognition of his far-reaching assistance; and, to the strains of the "Wacht am Rhine" the Ayesha disappeared into the darkness. At two o'clock that night a small rowing boat suddenly came alongside. Out of it came an officer and a non-commissioned officer of the German Reserve, and reported themselves for duty. They had been following us for hours—unknown to

us—as they had not been able to board us whilst in port, out of respect for neutrality. On leaving Padang we had no Dutch man-of-war in attendance. As a matter of fact, I had informed the Dutch Governor, through the consul, that I should have to regard a further unmistakable escort, such as had marked our arrival, as an unfriendly action, liable to endanger the whole success of my enterprise. I should like here to mention the tone of the Dutch press, which was somewhat as follows: “Thank God, these low Germans are being wiped off the face of the earth once and for all.”

For nearly three more weeks we drifted about, often severely suffering from bad weather. This was particularly trying for our ten live pigs, which we had shipped at Padang. We waited at a given point at sea in the hope of a German steamer turning up. How we had got into communication with German steamers I, of course, cannot disclose. Twice we were disappointed, each time by an English steamer, one behaving so peculiarly that we cleared for action. At last, on December 14th, we met the anxiously expected steamer. It was the *Choising*, a 1,700-ton coasting steamer of the North German Lloyd, which in peace time plies along the Chinese coast. At first transshipment was impossible, the storm being so bad that the *Choising* had to signal that she could not remain exposed to it. The *Ayesha* behaved beautifully; with her small sails set she lay fairly steady, and none of the heavy seas or breakers washed over her. We sought a point under shelter of the land, and, on the 16th, we transhipped all standing to the *Choising*. We gave our good old *Ayesha* a seaman’s grave. At 4.58 in the afternoon she disappeared in the blue waters of the Indian Ocean, accompanied by three cheers.

On January 7th the *Choising*, which, unfortunately, could make but seven knots, had neared the Straits of Perim, where things got too hot for us. The Straits are very narrow, and we had to expect English cruisers. The *Choising*, too, had no deep sea charts. Of course, all lights were out, and we were going top speed. The Perim lighthouse was working, and we disliked being lit up at regular intervals. Near Perim we saw two British men-of-war inshore, exchanging signals. We could not see who they were, and had no wish to go nearer. After a few anxious hours we were able to consider ourselves “out of the wood.” Next night we were off Hodeida. Meyer’s *World Guide* was the only book available, which stated that the Hadschas line now ran as far as Hodeida. We thus imagined that we would only have to take the “special” from Hodeida Central Station to be carried off to Germany. Unfortunately, things were to take a different course. At first, on approaching, we discovered some lights which we took to be the landing stage. As we got closer we did not like the look of things. The lights were very unusual, and we therefore stood off to the south. We entered four boats, and landed under cover of the night. The *Choising* was sent out with instructions to return during the next two nights to the same spot should we wish to be picked up. We did not know how matters stood in Arabia. We had read of encounters between the English and the Turks around Hodeida, but did not know the result, and could not say whether Hodeida was in the hands of the Turks or not. At dawn, when our boats were near the supposed landing stage, we discovered that it was the French armoured cruiser *Des-*

saix. As we had no intention of going alongside such a landing stage, we sailed towards the shore and landed. Considering the swell, this was not quite free from danger with our heavily laden boats. From an Arab fisherman we gathered the cheering news that Hodeida was occupied by French troops, a misunderstanding due to the fact that, whilst the Arab spoke excellent Arabic and we equally good German, our mutual comprehension nevertheless left much to be desired.

Ashore we at first met only a single Arab, and, although I advanced with the most friendly gestures and my most engaging smile, the chap bolted. Then 80 or 90 Arabs gathered, apparently with hostile intentions. We therefore got ready to fight. Suddenly from the opposing lines a dozen Arabs emerged, and advanced towards us without weapons. I stepped forward unarmed, and conversation ensued. The Arabs were gesticulating and shouting all together, whilst we were endeavouring to explain as intelligently as possible that we were Germans. Not an easy matter! We spoke German, English, French, Malay, but still they did not understand. They neither knew the German ensign nor the German merchant flag. They made all sorts of crazy signs which we could not make out. There was even an unpleasant misunderstanding when we misread the sign of friendship, which consisted in rubbing two fingers together, for the sign of enmity. We pointed towards the French cruiser with menacing signs, shouting "Boom, boom," but still they did not understand. At last, when we showed them a gold coin with a picture of the German Emperor, someone shouted "Aleman." That we understood was bound to mean German. With one voice we too shouted "Aleman," and a basis for an understanding was found. Great enthusiasm among the Arabs and a general rush and fight to carry our heavy baggage. Surrounded by some 600 Arabs shouting and dancing and the Turkish soldiers, who had been sent originally to fight us, we made our entry. During our march the French cruiser was clearly visible.

From Hodeida we attempted first to proceed by land, and made for Sana, the capital of the Yemen. In consequence of the unfavourable climate, at times 80 per cent. of my forces were fever-ridden and unable to march. Towards the end of February it became obvious that we should not get any further by land. We returned to Hodeida and took two tsambuks, small sailing vessels 12 metres long and four wide, such as are locally used by the Arabs. With these, during the night of March 15th we ran the English blockade, which extended from Lohaia past Kamaran to Tebel Zukur. We did not see the British; I carefully selected a Saturday to pass the danger zone, knowing that they hate to miss their week-end rest. During the voyage we lost one of our tsambuks, the pilot running her against a reef, when she started to make water. She sank in a depth of four metres. As luck would have it, this boat was carrying our doctor and the sick, some of whom, owing to typhus and dysentery, were too weak to be able to manage by themselves. I tried to get as close as possible in order to rescue the men, but I could not get nearer than 100 metres owing to the reef. The rescue work was arduous, owing to the dark, and our only means of transport consisted of two small canoes holding about two men at a time. I could show no lights from our tsambuk, as our lamps were blown out in the strong wind and our torches were damp. I therefore

had an open wood fire lighted in the boat, so that the men from the sinking boat might at least know the direction. Some of them had already gone drifting past us, and had to be called back by shouting and whistling. The torches were gradually dried at the fire until they burned, and only then could we make certain that no one was drifting past us. Gradually all the men were collected, making 70 people in the small vessel, including the Arab crew. To enable the boat to carry this load at all, I had to throw the best part of my provisions overboard.

Next morning we raised two maxim guns and some ammunition, but all our provisions, a part of our arms, and, above all, the medicine chest, could not be saved. As we had now no medical comforts, one of the typhus cases succumbed a few days later, owing to lack of proper treatment.

On March 24th, near Lith, I heard that Jiddah, where I had to take in provisions and water, was blockaded by three British ships. It was therefore impossible to continue by sea, and we proceeded by land, our caravan consisting of 110 camels. The country is unsafe—bandits flourish there. We therefore rode with rifles ready. We marched at night, averaging 14 to 16 miles daily, and rested during the greatest heat. Much corruption is being carried on with English funds, and large sections of the Arab population are pro-English and against their own Government.

We were suddenly attacked by one of these bands in English pay shortly before dawn on April 1st. The caravan was fired upon so heavily from all sides that the voice could hardly be heard above the whistle of the bullets. Nothing was to be seen. The numerous small sandhills made it impossible to see beyond some 400 metres; further, it was so dark that we could not distinguish our assailants, but only the flashes of rifle fire. It was evident that we were completely surrounded. In spite of the hellish fire, we had no loss of life; only a few of our animals were shot. At dawn we found that all the surrounding hills were occupied by Bedouins. To get some breathing space we attacked with the bayonet, first to the west, then east, and finally north. This turn of events found them unprepared, and as we rushed forward cheering they bolted like so many sheep. A short pause in the fighting ensued. We attempted at first to advance, going to the left in the direction of the sea, in order to secure our rear. But it was now found impossible to proceed. We were confronted by 300 modern British rifles.

We ourselves had 16 German and 13 Turkish rifles. We could not use our four maxims whilst on the march, as we had no gun-carriages with wheels. Thus we were in the proportion of 1 to 10, and had to advance at the very slowest pace with our camels, hardly able to fire at all, through a district in which we were shot at from the sandhills, with hardly a chance of seeing the enemy. Right at the outset a seaman fell, shot through the heart. At the same time one of the officers received two mortal wounds. Many of the camels were killed; in short, it became impossible to continue our advance. Those of the Arabs who were still with us had suddenly, without first asking, begun negotiations with our opponents. A lull in the fighting occurred, which we took advantage of to entrench ourselves. In great haste we

made a kind of small fortress with our camels' saddles, provision bags and boxes filled with sand. We emptied our petrol cans and refilled them with sand, and at the same time prepared loopholes in the sand. We had to use our tin plates to dig these loopholes, having no other tools. We had just buried a dead sailor and carried the wounded officer into our camp, where a special place had been prepared for our wounded and sick men, when the enemy sent a messenger with the following proposition: That we should proceed unhindered, provided we handed over all arms and ammunition, all our provisions, water, and camels, and agreed to pay £22,000 only! I replied that the question of money was of supreme indifference, as I had none at all, but that to surrender arms was not the custom of German soldiers. Immediately the firing was resumed, and continued all day until dark. We were so far protected by the above preparations that we suffered no further loss. Our trenches were not completed, and, above all, our rear was still exposed, as the camp was fired on from all sides; but we had placed our camels in such a way that they lay wherever we were insufficiently protected. After dark we got the dead camels outside the camp, deepened our trenches, improved our protection, and buried our water barrels, to ensure their not being hit and leaking; and then came our first chance that day of eating a piece of dry bread.

During the night the wounded officer died, and with plates and bayonets we dug him as deep a grave as possible. We buried him in the stillness of the night. There was a full moon, fortunately for us; thus any sudden attack could be kept down with our maxims. Altogether the fighting continued until the afternoon of April 3rd. Each night we sent gendarmes, got up as Bedouins, and such other Arabs as were still with us, towards Jiddah, which was only 10 hours' ride distant, and asked the garrison to come to our rescue.

It was at first unbearably hot in camp. The rifle barrels got so hot that our hands were burnt when we picked them up. The camels' saddles, being well oiled and greased, started to turn bad, and we could not wear any headgear for fear of offering the enemy an easy target. We had dry bread only, and could not get at the water except by night, two small glasses for each man. With the rise of the moon we could breathe a little freely; it was then cooler, and we could leave our protected positions.

I am sorry to say that we had one more death; two men were severely wounded, and one slightly during the three days' fighting. The question of ammunition was causing us much anxiety; we had already used a good deal, and some of it, which had been in the water, often misfired. As our trenches had gradually been made deep enough, we did not return their fire at all for hours, to save ammunition in case of a sudden attack.

On the forenoon of the third day the enemy suddenly sent a flag of truce. They would not insist upon our surrendering our arms, nor did they now want our munitions, camels, etc., only the £22,000, cash down! I therefore expected that the garrison were advancing from Jiddah, and that the fellows were anxious to get out of us what they could. My first reply was that I wanted to treat personally with their Sheik, but he knew better than to come, for it would have been a brief interview, consisting of a shot from my revolver. When they again

insisted on receiving payment I sent them the answer that they could call for it at Jiddah. Then came the reply that if we did not pay immediately there would be hot fighting. To this I answered that, as far as I could see, this had already been the case these last two days. The fighting was resumed, but for a short while only; then not a single shot from their side. A cautious reconnaissance showed that the enemy had departed—only just in time for us! We had run short of water, and towards the end I had had to refuse it to the Arab gendarmes. They drank the water they found in the dead camels. Our own men tried the same thing, but could not drink the water. In consequence of the lack of water, I had arranged for the coming night to attempt to break through towards Jiddah. It would have meant leaving the wounded and sick behind, but thank God it never came to that.

Shortly after the departure of the enemy a small force belonging to the Emir of Mecca arrived, and accompanied us to Jiddah. As we entered the town we could see the searchlights of an English warship searching the beach. We stayed a few days, mainly for the sake of our seriously wounded, and then, on board tsambuks, again ran the British blockade without being detected, and on April 27th we finally reached our last port, El Weg. A $5\frac{1}{2}$ days' march brought us to the railhead, El Ulah, and then back to civilisation.

THE END OF THE GERMAN WAR FLEET.¹

TOWARDS the end of November, 1918 (*sic.* ? October), a well-known young doctor made statements in our mess concerning our ships stationed at Wilhelmshaven and in Schillig Roads which we could only believe to be impossible, or, at any rate, greatly exaggerated. He told us: "The crews have mutinied and have taken their officers prisoners; in one of the ships the men have gone so far as to train their guns on another ship. The officers and midshipmen of the latter ship, however, manned the turrets, and were able to force the mutineers to surrender without firing a shot. Destroyers had been laid alongside each battleship, and had orders to open fire and sink them if there was any trouble."

We could not credit this, as we had only left Wilhelmshaven for Cuxhaven a few days previously, and when we sailed things were, to all appearances, running their normal course. Why should the crews suddenly have risen against their officers? On what grounds had they suddenly refused to obey orders? The length of the war had enabled us to cut the drills down to a minimum some time ago, food, certainly, was not in such profusion as formerly, but still in quite sufficient quantity. Every officer on board did his best to provide the men with all the recreation and amusement possible. What reason could there possibly be for this unrest? We could think of none.

At the beginning of November we proceeded to Kiel. Certain ships belonging to our scouting group were to carry out gunnery practices, others were to undergo refits in the dockyard. We therefore made fast alongside the Artillery Quay in the dockyard. It was Sunday, November 3rd. The Third Battle Squadron—the moving spirit of the whole agitation and the source of the first unrest a year previously which had happily been suppressed—had in the meantime also arrived in Kiel. It was thought advisable to disperse the various squadrons of the Fleet as much as possible in order to prevent the disturbances from spreading any further. The presence of this battle squadron was fatal to Kiel, and consequently also to us.

Early in the afternoon of the day in question large bodies of men from the Markgraf marched to the naval detention barracks in order to set free certain of their comrades who had been sent there in consequence of insubordination on board their ship. Naturally, they met with armed resistance, the first shots were exchanged, men were killed for the first time. This was a signal for the revolution to begin. Once the stone was set rolling it was utterly impossible to stop it. Soon men from other ships joined in; the numbers grew. In spite of this, the nights of November 3rd and 4th passed in comparative quietness. But on the morning of the 4th fighting and shooting took place in every corner of the town, from end to end. Work at the dockyards stopped, the barracks were opened, and anyone could go out or in at will, an

¹ Official translation author unknown. Sent by D.I.N. with the permission of the L.C.A.

unruly crowd of turbulent soldiers and workmen filled the streets. Before long the docks were seized, the ordnance depôts broken into, every man was provided with rifles or pistols and ammunition. In addition to this, each man laid hold of anything he could find in the shape of a weapon, old cutlasses, officers' swords or port epee, etc. They tried to blow bugle calls on the fog horns. As the greater part of the crowd had not the slightest notion how to use a pistol, shooting practice was organised. Firing continued the live-long day, and, naturally, men were wounded. In between the rattle of machine guns was heard.

The shore authorities had, of course, hastened to call in armed assistance against the mutineers from the surrounding garrisons. The troops arrived, but were quite powerless. They were met by a storm of machine-gun fire before they could even detrain. The only course open to them was to surrender their arms to the revolutionaries.

As it was now evening, we hoped that our ship and her crew would not be involved in these terrible proceedings. We wished to raise steam with all possible despatch, in order to quit Kiel Harbour and gain the open sea and join our admiral, who was at the moment in the Flensburg Fiord with the remainder of the ships of the squadron.

But, most unfortunately, we found we could not rely on our crew. The ships could be got ready for sea by 1 a.m.; it still wanted an hour and a half to that hour. The men had long since retired to rest. Events on shore had apparently not made much impression on them. They lacked the necessary understanding of the matter, as the agitators had not entered into sufficient explanation of their aims. While one watch was carrying out the order without question to raise steam with all despatch, another watch appeared on deck in shore-going rig, and declared that if the order to "let fires die out" was not given immediately they themselves would draw them. They refused to put to sea.

So things on board had already come to this pass! In our ship willing ears had been found to listen to the propaganda organised long ago by the originators of the movement. We officers were quite powerless against them.

After a short time the first armed parties approached our ship, rioting and shooting wildly at everything around them. We officers were consulting with the C.O. as to what steps we should take in case just such a body of men should board our ship and force us to surrender, which was an event which might be expected at any moment. What could a few inadequately armed officers do against a mob numbering hundreds of armed men, more especially as we could no longer reckon on the loyalty of our crew? And, in point of fact, a howling mob was soon close upon us. The two leaders, a truculent-looking and an equally dirty stoker of a submarine, came on board with a few other men, requested to be taken to the C.O., held a loaded pistol to his head and to the heads of the other officers, and demanded the immediate surrender of all the arms in the ship and the instant release of the crew. The C.O. entered into discussion with the two rogues, and endeavoured to make it clear to them that he would only surrender the fire-arms with the consent of the crew, but that as the crew were at present asleep, they must go away and return in the morning. Meanwhile the behaviour of the mob waiting outside the ship became more

and more menacing, the discussion lasting too long to please them. They threatened to storm our ship, pistols were fired over our heads, shouts were heard such as "Shoot the dogs, down with the swine!" As we were unable to prevent it, some of the crowd boarded the ship and ran into the forecabin—we were powerless to stop them. They woke up our crew, ordered them to get up immediately, to disarm the officers and arm themselves, to give up all remaining weapons, and then to leave the ship. We tried to persuade our men that it would be madness for them to run away in the middle of the night and wander round the town, where they would be unable to obtain any food. In vain. The crew were thoroughly cowed by the scoundrels and so bewildered by the shouting and shooting that they acceded to all their demands. In order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed we gave up some of our pistols, throwing others overboard. In the course of 15 minutes the crew had armed themselves and left the ship. A stoker from a submarine was stationed at the gangway, armed to the teeth, and wearing a red scarf; he had taken over the watch. And there we stood, alone on the poop, rendered speechless by what had occurred, and anxiously awaiting further events. Those were the most terrible hours we had ever experienced in the whole course of our careers.

Unhappy Germany! How will it all end? Unhappy Navy! Ruined by the wave of a magician's wand, as it were! All your power and all your prestige swallowed up in a few hours by the deepest shame and humiliation! Can it be that the whole system is false? A system by means of which our Navy became so great, nay, which has raised it to the position of the best organised, best disciplined Navy of the whole world? Our Navy which has ever aroused feelings of envy and jealousy in the breast of our opponents and which has verily during this long war given sufficient proofs of its preparedness and efficiency? Have all the labour and all the pains spent on training, has our whole scientific system, in short, been built on a false foundation? Impossible! How has it come about that suddenly, at the braying of a small minority, the whole carefully erected edifice has collapsed like a house of cards? That the majority have made no resistance, but have, either immediately or after a feeble effort, joined the new movement? The systematic political agitation, long at work in Russia, has indeed borne rich fruits.

The Navy, which had now resolved itself into a chaos of mutinous ships, was no longer ready for action; that was clear to us all. The British might now come when they would; they need fear no further opposition from us.

During that fateful night there was no question of rest. We had to make up our minds to be taken prisoners sooner or later and marched off.

When day dawned on November 5th the aspect of Kiel Harbour had undergone a complete change. The war flags had all disappeared from the ships. The red flag was flying everywhere. All Government buildings on shore, including the station, the town hall, etc., etc., and all surrounding fortifications had fallen into the hands of the revolutionaries on the preceding day, and on them, too, waved the new badge of freedom. The ships' crews had torn the black-white-red cockade from their caps and had stuck bits of red rag in the buttonholes of

their uniforms. A Soldiers' Council, after the Russian model, had been organised on shore, and had established themselves in the C.-in-C.'s office in place of the authorities, who had been taken prisoners; a Workmen's Council had also been formed, and conducted business in the Trades Union Headquarters.

Again, as on the preceding day, shouts, the noise of shooting, and the rattle of machine guns resounded everywhere. As in some cases groups of revolutionaries marching through the streets had been fired upon from certain officers' houses, volleys of machine-gun fire were directed at every open window without distinction.

Fourteen points were laid before the officers on board, acceptance of which was to be decided upon by the Soldiers' Council on shore in conjunction with a deputation of officers. At the same time we were informed that officers who would not conform to the new order were to be dismissed the service immediately, without a pension or any compensation whatever.

We had packed our trunks during the morning, as it was impossible for any officer to remain on board in the present circumstances and under the red flag, even apart from the probability of being taken prisoners, did we attempt to do so. The only course open to us for the moment was to seek a refuge somewhere on shore, and there await further events. If the rabble were to institute a closer search for officers on shore also with a view to imprisonment, we could walk as others had already done, under cover of the darkness and the fog, to Neumunster, the nearest railway station—the line between Kiel and Neumunster had been torn up in order to prevent the transport of loyalist troops—or we could somehow make our way inland. We still hoped that the revolution might prove to be of a local character, and that it might yet be quelled; as yet we had no idea with what rapidity it was spreading over the whole of Germany.

In the course of the afternoon I hastily seized the opportunity which offered of going ashore with our Executive Officer, our servants, and our trunks. As we had no civilian clothes on board, we had perforce to wear uniform. But what uniform! Before starting we took off the oak leaves from our caps, our shoulder straps, and port epee; we wished to avoid having them torn off by the wild hordes on land. Our goal was the house of a certain family, the parents of our Navigating Officer, to whom we intended to apply for immediate shelter. We had not been long ashore before we encountered a furious machine-gun fire at a street corner. A few civilians who had ventured out took refuge in the neighbouring houses. An unknown man, who, however, soon made himself known as an officer and who had hastily put on civilian clothes over his uniform, warned us to proceed no further down this street. We made a detour, and reached our destination without further incident. We were received with open arms and in the heartiest manner. We learnt later that the crowd was said to have been fired on from one of the windows, and in revenge every window of the house had been punished by a volley of machine-gun fire.

The rest of our comrades on board, who had also found refuge among various families, and whom we welcomed in our new home in the next few days, clad in strangely varied clothing—one of my midshipmen, for instance, came dressed as a messenger boy and pushing a

handcart—had not found it so easy to escape. We two had hardly left the ship, so they informed us, when a wild band of armed men boarded the ship and chased off all the officers still there. In the meantime the invaders had loaded two guns and fired them indiscriminately across the harbour. The officers could only take absolute necessities with them, and were marched under a strong guard, two by two, through the dockyard and the town to the Trades Union Headquarters, insulted and jeered at on the way by the rabble soldiery. After a short examination they were allowed to proceed on their way.

While this was taking place our Frankfurt had been towed from her berth to the railway station in order to cover the vicinity of the station with her guns in case more troops should arrive.

The wildest rumours were now current in Kiel; the IXth Army Corps had invested the town, forming a wide circle round it; the British had forced their way through the Belts into the Baltic, and were about to bombard Kiel from the sea, etc., etc.

Events followed so rapidly in the following days that they fairly tumbled over each other. The newspapers could not be printed fast enough to bring the latest news. First came the revolution, which spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity, then the fighting in various towns, the transformation of the Confederated States from monarchies to republics, the abdication of the reigning princes, the flight of the Kaiser into Holland, and, lastly, the publication of the armistice terms, the delay of which had aroused the most intense excitement among the people, and the annihilating conditions of which fell upon all Germany like a blow from some gigantic fist.

All this followed a logical course. Certain parties had succeeded in placing their party interests above the interests of the Fatherland, and had not hesitated at this grave moment to split up the renowned "unity" of the German people; more dangerous than any other enemy, they treacherously stabbed in the back their comrades fighting in the West, so it was clear that the Allies could work their will on us, as we had of our own volition rendered ourselves defenceless. They realised that Germany in its present condition would accept any terms that might be imposed, and Germany did so.

The same Germany, which had waged successful war for four long years and whose people had heroically endured unheard of hardships, was now forced through internal trouble to submit to this disgrace, and with bowed and humble head even to beg for amelioration of at least some of the conditions.

The same Germany, which, not only in the West and in the East, but also in Serbia, Roumania, Turkey, and Mesopotamia, was supporting her allies with her victorious troops, whose submarines had spread terror and dread not only in the North Sea and the Baltic, but also in the Arctic Ocean, off the American shores of the Atlantic, and in the Adriatic and Black Seas, and by whose heroic activities, while death threatened them from all sides, more than 16 million tons of enemy mercantile shipping had been sunk. The same Germany, which with marvellous self-sacrifice had contributed milliards of marks to the War Loans in order to carry on with the war, now lay beaten to the ground, and was forced to implore that it might at least be left with sufficient breath to sustain life.

The naval conditions contained, among others, the following clause: The surrender of all submarines and their entire armaments, the internment of a specified number of battleships, armoured cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers in a condition of disarmament in neutral or Entente harbours, and the complete disarmament of all naval forces left in Germany. All the conditions imposed by the Armistice Treaty were explained by the necessity of making it impossible for Germany to begin the war again. Had our enemies been aware of the state of affairs in Germany at that time, had they known that all was chaos and confusion, they would not have feared our recommencing the war.

The followers of the new movement were cheerful enough. They were living in a frenzy of ecstasy over their newly-gained victory, which brought them so much nearer the fulfilment of their aims. What might happen to the Fatherland was a matter of supreme indifference to them. They were firmly convinced that the red wave had engulfed the enemy troops on the West front; there was even a rumour to the effect that the light forces of the British Navy were already sailing under the red flag. They did not believe that the armistice conditions would ever materialise, they thought that they were written on sand, and that on our opponents' side, too, men were dreaming of the long desired international freedom and equality. The generalissimo of the Entente forces, Foch, was already said to have been murdered.

All these conjectures were, of course, utterly without foundation. With iron energy and ruthlessness the enemy insisted on the conditions being carried out to the last detail.

As might have been foreseen, but a few days elapsed before the men became desirous of seeing their officers on board once more. They had recognised, no doubt, that in the present chaotic state of things it was impossible to make any progress. But at the same time they gave us to understand that certain officers among us, who were disliked by them, would not be allowed to return.

As we were well aware that any delay in carrying out the armistice conditions would only bring still greater misfortune down upon us and upon our country, the officers gradually returned, in order, in the interests of all, to carry out their last duties, viz., the disarmament and internment of the ships. But how changed it all was now! In the mornings we went on board in civilian clothes, and only donned uniform on arrival there, as it was inadvisable to show ourselves in uniform on shore if we wished to avoid unpleasantness. We were no longer the men's superiors; we were not permitted to issue orders. This was done by the Soldiers' Council, which on shore and on board each ship was elected by the men themselves, and which arrogated to itself all authority over the ship. The spokesman was formerly a mining petty officer. The officers were merely made use of to give advice. There was no officer of the watch. A petty officer was stationed on deck to look after the safety of the ship. Work was carried on in the morning only; in the afternoon the gentlemen went ashore and were given leave till the following morning, when they were expected to return to duty. The C.O.'s, officers' and warrant officers' mess was done away with. Everyone on board shared the same food. At noon food was served, consisting of various things cooked altogether, and

which, although prepared in a different way, was generally more abundant than what would formerly have been served in our own mess.

We were glad to go ashore again in the afternoon. A meeting which we, under the presidency of our C.O., held with the Soldiers' Council was typical of the conduct and views of the men at that time. Quite apart from a perfectly incredibly unmilitary behaviour which appeared to be part of the new order of the day and which was displayed on every possible occasion, the members of the Soldiers' Council betrayed a deeper ignorance than one would formerly have thought possible upon all questions of organisation and administration. In conjunction with this there was, of course, unbounded distrust of the officers and the paymaster. They were especially desirous to see all the books relating to administration in order to determine what had become of various funds. They often gave voice to the suspicion that we had enriched ourselves at the expense of the men. They also demanded that we should sell all the provisions we might have in hand for our mess to the men, as we were now all faring alike, and that our stores of wine and spirits should also be returned to where we had bought them from. The canteen was to take over our tobacco, etc., at cost price, so that the men might at length be in a position to smoke a good cigar, etc., etc. The fellows spoke in an incredibly provocative tone, and we had to submit to it and clench our fists in silence. These scoundrels held us in the hollow of their hands, and we had no one to help us, no one who could represent our interests in higher quarters. In case we refused to comply with their wishes in regard to wines and tobacco, the Soldiers' Council threatened us with a far more dangerous insurrection on the part of the men. We had placed a certain quantity of provisions at a store in Wilhelmshaven to be kept for the use of the different messes—the men's as well as our own—so that the whole stock of our provisions should not be jeopardised by our protracted cruises in mined areas and in order to have something to fall back upon in case of need. These, too, were to be sold, as we were suspected of underhand dealings. This request was formulated by the crew, who had long been grumbling that the food was both bad and insufficient in quantity. But, as we learnt later, the true reason for it was that the men were eager to divide among themselves the victuals thus released from our stores, as they were afraid, in view of their imminent discharge, that they would be passed over in the distribution of stores. They had already sent a deputation to Wilhelmshaven to superintend the sale of the various articles in question.

Compliance with the first demand of the Soldiers' Council was peremptorily refused by us, as the administration in no wise concerned it, and it had no right of control whatever. The paymaster was responsible only to those in authority over him for the proper conduct of affairs.

We agreed to their second wish, as it was to our own interest to dispose of the very considerable amount of provisions on board during the three days which must elapse before we proceeded on our last cruise to the port destined for our internment. We therefore handed over the victuals for the use of the men, and the tobacco, etc., we sold to the canteen, but the alcohol we sent to an acquaintance on shore, so that we might at least retain a portion for our own use.

It was necessary to work hard in these last few days, if disarmament was to be finished at the right time. All ammunition, all breech blocks from the guns, the whole of the fire-control installation, together with the range-finding gear and telescopes, all torpedoes with war heads and practice heads, all explosives, gun-laying apparatus (?director) and telescopic sights and the signal stations in the dockyard were given up.

In addition to this, various other things that might have been of use to the British were removed from the ship.

In the meantime we had received information that the ships destined for internment were to be taken to England. As internment in a neutral port had been spoken of in the armistice conditions, we had hoped to be permitted to spend the period of our exile somewhere in Denmark or Sweden. But there is no doubt that neutral nations would have emphatically declined to harbour in their waters such crews as ours now were, and who would become a danger to their own people.

The last day, Sunday, November 17th, had arrived. In accordance with the armistice conditions, all ships due for internment must have left their home ports by 5 a.m. on November 18th.

The deputation who had been sent to Wilhelmshaven to sell off the stores returned early in the morning. According to their report, it appeared that the stores had been broken into and a large part of the victuals stolen. However, said they, some of the things had fetched such a high price that the amount realised by the sale nearly covered the loss. Later on we had reason to doubt the truth of their story, as a few days later we heard that certain members of the deputation were in possession of considerable sums of money. Unfortunately, they had already been discharged, and, as we were unable to prosecute inquiries at the time, we were forced to put off explanations to some later period.

The appointed task was finished at the proper time; at 5 p.m. our ship and the other cruisers lying in Kiel Harbour and destined for internment were ready for sea.

In the course of the day we repaired to our several places of refuge, and packed up our belongings. Anything we did not require in the immediate future was stored away in attics. Only absolute necessities were taken with us, for we reckoned that we should without fail be able to return home on December 17th, the day on which the armistice ended, if we did not return at once with the crew which took the ships across.

I, too, packed the small trunk which our navigating officer obligingly placed at my disposal, and, glancing around the comfortable room, my eyes fell upon a picture hanging there which had provided me with much food for thought in the past few days. It was a painting by the well-known Marine artist, Stower, entitled "Kiel Week." How many happy hours we had passed in bygone Kiel weeks! What balls and festivities of all kinds we naval officers had enjoyed there! What brilliant days to look back upon all the year through. Even in 1914 one festivity followed close on the heels of another, both in Kiel itself and upon the water in honour of the presence of a British squadron! Now all is over. Never more will the Navy know days like those, never again will the international sporting world assemble at Kiel to celebrate the far-famed regatta.

I took a hearty farewell of my amiable hosts, my servant took my things, and off I set down to the harbour, towards an uncertain future.

As already stated, the Soldiers' Councils now believed themselves to be the sole authorities in the ships as well as on land, and were anxious to prove their right to this usurped authority by the issue of countless written orders. Orders were received from Berlin, from the so-called supreme Soldiers' Council of the Baltic Station, from the Soldiers' Council of the North Sea. Orders were issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the High Sea Fleet, and by every Soldiers' Council on board the ships. The orders coming from Berlin and the High Sea Fleet were either ignored altogether or else altered and misconstrued to suit the fancy of each particular Soldiers' Council. This naturally led to highly successful results! We were first ordered to be ready to put to sea at 5 p.m.; this was afterwards changed to 8 p.m., in accordance with the wishes of the Soldiers' Councils in "agreement with one another"; towards 8 p.m., however, it was announced that if we left at that hour we should be off the Jade, the rendezvous for the ships, long before 9 a.m. on November 19th, and there would be time enough were we to leave the following morning, Monday, November 18th, at 9 a.m., to proceed on our course to the North Sea. Our "poor bluejackets" wished to pass the last Sunday evening in Kiel in full and unrestrained enjoyment of their freedom. We officers were not consulted. The crew simply put on their shore-going rig and went ashore.

But there was more to come. It might have been about 4 a.m., when I was suddenly awakened and shown an order to prepare for sea immediately.

Apparently the gentlemen had taken fright when they learnt that the Allies proposed to occupy Heligoland should the ships not leave their bases at the proper time. But how to get the crew back to the ship in so short a time? As the last order we had received was to be ready to put to sea at 9 a.m., the next morning, naturally the married officers, warrant and petty officers, had gone home. The men had returned to the ship with the last boats at midnight and 1 a.m., though we had really not expected them to do so.

We despatched both our boats ashore, the steam pinnace and the motor boat, giving the orderlies instructions to assemble all the officers they could get hold of.

Fortunately, the weather came to our assistance. A dense November fog spread over Kiel Harbour, which greatly impeded the progress of our vessel to the Holtenduer Lock. In the pitch dark night and with a visibility of less than 100 yards, we were compelled to feel our way carefully and at low speed past the ships lying at anchor to the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal.

I was truly thankful when I at last succeeded in getting the ship safely into the lock. It was impossible to proceed on our course in such weather. Two more light cruisers had secured in the second lock. Thanks to this involuntary delay the two boats, with most of the officers who had gone ashore, reached us in time. A few had missed the boats, and had to be left behind, which they probably did not regret.

Towards ten o'clock the weather cleared sufficiently for us to be able to proceed through the Canal—probably for the last time—out into the North Sea.

After having been surprised by another dense fog in the Elbe, we anchored off Cuxhaven in order to take in stores, in accordance with a fresh order. In Kiel, three days previously, we had had to deliver up by far the greater part of our provisions in compliance with another order.

We were very unwilling to anchor here, as we had been advised that some very extreme Socialists were at the head of affairs in Cuxhaven. They had proclaimed a Republic in Cuxhaven, and behaved in an outrageous manner. All officers had been taken prisoner and shut up in a bowling alley, the mine-sweepers stationed there, who did not approve of their exercise of power, had only succeeded in reaching the open sea with the utmost difficulty, having been fired upon as they proceeded out. Neither was the Soldiers' Council of the neighbouring submarine base, Brunsbittel, inclined to fall into line. The members thereof had assisted the submarine officers to escape from the neighbourhood in every possible disguise, had then broken open the ship's safe on board the accommodation ship *Preussen*, had divided the contents among themselves, and then vanished inland swiftly and noiselessly.

However, strange to say, we obtained our provisions without difficulty, then proceeded on our course, and during the night of November 19th we reached the Schillig Road, so well known to us through the war.

Next morning a water boat came alongside, bringing us a sufficient quantity of water for cooking, washing, and drinking.

In the meantime the rest of the ships had assembled in the Schillig Roads:—

Five battle cruisers:—

Hindenburg, Derf-Dinger, Molthe, Seydlitz, and Von der Tann.

Nine battleships:—

Friedrich der Grosse, with the chief of the squadron on board, Vice Admiral v. Reuter, Kaiser, Kaiserin, Prinz Regent Luitpold, König Albert, Kronprinz Wilhelm, Markgraf, Grosser Kurfurst, and Bayern.

Seven light cruisers:—

Frankfurt, Coln, Emden, Karlsruhe, Nurnberg, Brummer, and Bremise.

A number of destroyers.

Regensburg, the eighth of the light cruisers demanded, was to follow. At the outbreak of the revolution she was stationed in the Baltic Sea, and had been put out of commission, her crew being discharged. Now she had to obtain another crew and find men who would volunteer to take the ship across to England.

The submarines to be surrendered were not to cross with the rest of the ships, but were to be delivered up in groups at various English ports.

The larger part of the German naval forces were now assembled in the Schillig Roads. It looked almost as it had so often done in

past years, when the High Sea Fleet had assembled its forces in the Jade in preparation for some blow against the British. With what eagerness and enthusiasm we used to receive the order, "All forces to assemble in the Schillig Roads!" Had it not been proved in the Battle of Jutland that we, though far inferior in numbers, were yet stronger than the British by reason of the superiority of our construction and the excellence of our armament. And now we, the victors on that day, were forced to assemble our ships and bow beneath the British yoke.

The question of flags played a large rôle in these last hours. The crew wished to fly a large red flag at the masthead during the voyage to England, in order to meet their British brothers as liberators of mankind under the ensign of freedom, and to be received by them with cheers and enthusiasm. But when they learnt that a few days previously the British Commander-in-Chief had given our Admiral Meurer to understand that he did not recognise Soldiers' Councils, and regarded the red flag as a pirate flag, and that he would destroy by gunfire every ship flying this flag as a pirate ship, they immediately climbed down most ignominiously. The red flag at the masthead became a red pennant, and finally the gentlemen abandoned the red rag altogether, and our war flag was flown as in former days.

At 1.30 p.m., in accordance with the order to "prepare for sea," the first ships weighed anchor and the squadrons slowly got under way in line ahead, first the battle cruisers, then the battleships, then the light cruisers, and, lastly, the destroyers.

The sight of this mournful procession was heartrending. It seemed as if the very ships themselves must know that there was no longer any question of dealing a blow at the enemy, but that this time we were entering on the most humiliating, most dishonourable course ever taken by fighting men.

The German Battle Fleet was on the way to surrender to the enemy. This was the tragical end of our once proud Navy!

Ah! If only in one of our actions a merciful British shell had spared us these last weeks and this wretched end!

How much happier was one of my comrades, whose family had inscribed beneath the announcement of his death:—

"A merciful fate preserved him from participation in the downfall of our German Navy."

TRANSLATION OF A DIARY PICKED UP IN THE
OBSERVING STATION, FORT BISMARCK, TSINGTAU,
ON NOVEMBER 9th, 1914.¹

July 31st-August 1st.

MOBILISATION AT TSINGTAU.

According to the papers and telegrams, the conflict between Austria and Servia becomes every day more serious. When Russia joined in the order was received at Tsingtau to mobilise. As a commencement, the foreground of the sea batteries was cleared. Beds, mattresses, tables, and other articles of furniture were given out from the G.V., as well as from the Victualling Yard.

On July 31st the marine artillery manned their works. Shortly afterwards the 3rd Marine Battalion occupied the infantry works facing the land. Naturally, we were at first very pleased that it was really going to be war. I will now tell you a little about the life in the batteries. The garrison of a battery is about 180 men; the rooms are at present very wet. Water is running down the walls, and is coming from the ceiling; in fact, everything is wet; this is due to its having rained for the last 14 days.

Life in the batteries is very unhealthy; on the first night several people caught cold; in order to keep the men healthy, the 3rd Marine Battalion, with the exception of a guard, now sleep in barracks.

August 3rd.

Last night I slept very badly. At 7.30 p.m. the garrison was marched to barracks to sleep. I remained behind in the observation station, as the sea is now watched from all positions by day and night. At 9 o'clock I got into my hammock, but quickly got out again. I made the discovery that the mosquitoes buzzed round me in swarms. My arms and face were completely covered with these insects; they bit and annoyed me terribly; I remained lying there until 12.30 a.m., but could stick it no longer, so got up, picked up my hammock, and threw it out. I then lit my new pipe and lay in the grass till 6 a.m. I then slept like a top. After this I made my breakfast off five fresh Berliners. At last, after eight days, we were allowed to bathe again, which was a pleasure. We were paid to-day. First telegrams about the victories against the Russians received, which gave us great pleasure. This morning we had a parade for cleaning arms; owing to the wet state of the batteries, the small arms rust very quickly. A certain amount of emery paper comes in very useful for cleaning purposes. The side arms were sharpened to-day.

August 4th.

This morning we had reveille at 3 a.m., and marched to the batteries. Breakfast at 6 a.m. Then one hour's artillery duty, after which

¹A plan of Tsingtau showing the forts is to be found at page 334, Vol. III.

articles of war were read. Bathed in the sea at 10 a.m., dinner on return to barracks.

An Austrian cruiser is lying here, and will remain during the war. An Italian cruiser is also expected, but it is doubtful if she will be able to get through. The whole of our squadron is not here, only six gunboats and one torpedo-boat. S.M.S. Emden went to sea two days ago, but has not returned. The two big cruisers Scharnhorst and Gneisenau are also at sea. The gunboat Jaguar arrived yesterday. She reported that she had been in dock at Shanghai; the dock had been flooded by night, and she had left secretly. The English did not follow her or catch her up. The gunboats are without fighting value; they carry a few small guns, which are principally for landing purposes, and can, on account of their small draught, cruise about in the rivers.

August 6th.

This evening the Emden brought in an auxiliary cruiser which she had captured outside Vladivostock; these auxiliary cruisers are converted merchant ships, and carry a few small guns; their object is to capture or sink the enemy's merchant ships. The Russian had one officer and 80 men on board; they are now prisoners in the Tsingtau Chinese School. The crews from the gunboats are now on the cruiser looking after her. Yesterday evening she went to sea under the German flag. I hope we shall get some work to do here soon; we do not want to be idle the whole time. China appears to be very friendly towards us. It is reported that the Chinese in Peking have had a large picture of our Kaiser painted as representing the mightiest lord in Europe.

It is reported that sixteen million marks in roubles were found on board the Russian protected cruiser.

August 12th.

We have now been 14 days in the batteries, and so far there has been no attack on Tsingtau. As there is plenty of work to do, it is not very boring. In each battery there are 11 sentries, the garrison is divided into three guards, and each guard is on for six hours; we have one night in bed out of every three, and one is expected to be ready for any duty immediately after coming off guard; we are in a perpetual state of perspiration.

Our cruiser squadron is now fully concentrated. It consists of two big cruisers, three small cruisers, and two armed merchant ships. They will remain permanently at sea. The day before yesterday the following telegram was received from the Scharnhorst:—

“Scharnhorst and Gneisenau had a fight with four big English cruisers; two have sunk and two badly hit have sailed for Hong Kong.”

August 20th.

Yesterday afternoon we went to a cinema at the Sailors' Home. Japan has sent us an ultimatum to leave the Protectorate and deliver it over to Japan. This may do for a Russian, but not for a German. I think before Tsingtau is delivered over to Japan there will not be a German left in the place. The women and children were sent into China, probably to Tschin-nan-fu. The reservists, including many volunteers, have arrived from foreign countries. At last the Tsingtau merchants are taking notice of a soldier; up to date they have ignored us. They have sent cigars and magazines to the batteries, and the latter,

although very old, at least give one something to read. If the Japanese *really come they will have a difficult time before they can hoist their flag here*; on the land side we are very well protected by the infantry works.

Some places have already been burnt; the big village of Lit'sun is now in flames. There are several coast batteries here, but they have only a few guns. The chief battery is our Bismarck fort, with four 28 cm. howitzers. From the sea these are in a position which it will be very difficult to hit. Hui-Ischien-Huk battery (Fort "A") is armed with two 24 cm. guns and three 15 cm. naval guns; it is the one nearest the sea. Tsingtau battery, with four 15 cm. guns, is built on a hill, like Bismarck battery. Lastly, there is Schauenwa (?) (Fort "C") battery, armed with four 24 cm. guns, built like Fort "A," on the sea. We have received no more telegrams from Germany, so do not know how the war is going on, but we hope for the best.

August 23rd.

Our position is now serious, as the Japanese have demanded the evacuation of Tsingtau; this will never be agreed to. The ultimatum expires at noon to-day. We may therefore now expect the Japanese. Yesterday afternoon we received the Holy Sacrament, and it was very solemn and impressive. On the way back to the battery we heard firing; the alarm was at once sounded along the seafront. The torpedo-boat S. 90 has gone out, and is now outside the protection of our coast batteries. Some islands lie just outside the range of the guns, and beyond them two small islands are looking like two haystacks, as they run up straight to a point. An English destroyer had hidden herself behind the latter, and as the S. 90 steamed past, at a range of about 6,000 metres, the former opened fire; she fired about 80 rounds, but none took effect. (Written in afterwards, "One shot through the flag.") S. 90 replied with her two 8.8 cm. guns, and scored a hit before she had fired two shots. The shooting of the English ship must have been very bad, as from our position shots were observed to strike 1,000 metres short; the Englishmen then went away. We thought that she was probably a scout of the English, and would probably return later with her squadron; unfortunately, no such luck; nothing happened. Probably we need expect little here from the English, French, or Russians, as they could accomplish nothing against us. On the other hand, the Japanese will shortly be making a move, as the ultimatum expired three days ago; they have not as yet shown up, but they may do so to-morrow; they will certainly send a sufficiently large force, and if they really do come the casualty list will be heavy. We cannot possibly hold Tsingtau for ever.

Tsingtau women and children have been sent by steamer to Shanghai, or by railway to Tientsin. The wives of the officers and warrant officers remain as nurses.

August 27th.

How often have I written that we are waiting for work. Last night I was on watch from 6 to 12; as I was . . . at 6 a.m. this morning, the first I heard was, "The Japanese are here." I went at once into the observation post, and looked through the telescope. There, 30,000 metres away, lay two big cruisers, four small ones, and four torpedo-boats; later on they were joined by three big cruisers and one

torpedo-boat. Yesterday I never expected this, *i.e.*, that they would be here this morning. We had given up all hope of ever having anything to do; now the Japanese have issued an ultimatum giving us till 8 a.m. to-morrow to leave Tsingtau; let us hope no answer will be given, then a start will certainly be made to-morrow; we are all very keen to fire the first shot out of our howitzers. At 4 p.m. a Japanese torpedo-boat came within range of our battery Hui-Ischien-Huk (Fort "A"); the battery at once opened fire, but, owing to the great range, did not get a hit; the torpedo-boat immediately turned round and made off at full speed.

At daylight to-morrow the first attack will certainly begin from the sea; we are very pleased at the idea of it. I expect that at home they have already given us up for lost; we are in very good spirits here. It all depends whether we can beat off the contemplated attack. Yesterday the following telegram was received from His Majesty:—

"God be with you in the impending difficult fight; my thoughts are with you. (Signed) Wilhelm."

August 28th.

Unfortunately the Japanese did not attack this morning. This morning at 4 the projectiles were put into the guns in order that when anything happens we shall be able to fire very quickly. We slept from 5.30 till 7 a.m. Medical inspection at 8.15. The Japanese continue to lie outside our batteries. At 2 p.m. Fort "A" suddenly fired three rounds of 15 cm. shrapnel towards the peninsula opposite Tsingtau called Cape Jaschke, but we have not the slightest idea what was going on there.

August 29th.

The Japanese landed yesterday at Cape Jaschke, and began to build emplacements for batteries, as they can bombard Tsingtau very well from there. This was observed from Fort "A," which fired shrapnel on them. The shooting must have been good, as the number of our people who were landed there by S. 90 report that the Japanese evacuated the peninsula and left several dead behind.

August 31st.

This morning a Japanese destroyer ran ashore on a small island opposite H.H. battery (Fort "A") and remained fast. Unfortunately, our batteries are unable to reach the island. The gunboat Jaguar steamed out and opened fire on the destroyer, and obtained some good hits, and we were easily able to see the effect of the shots. A Japanese cruiser lay away on the horizon, and allowed the destroyer to be bombarded without coming to her assistance. The gunboats cannot take on a cruiser; they are, however, suitable for an opportunity when there is no heavy gun fighting; they can then steam out for a short distance, and then make a bolt for the harbour. Four destroyers came to the assistance of the bombarded destroyer, but it is now too late; the work was completed; she lay over on her side, and S.M.S. Jaguar returned to harbour. As it turned out, the crew of the destroyer were taken off by the crews of the other destroyers. Unfortunately, our outermost minefield lies beyond the range of our batteries. The enemy's torpedo-boats are minesweeping continually. A few days ago I saw one exploded. A huge column of water went up in the air, and then slowly subsided.

September 2nd.

It has now rained without stopping for the last two days. We are having very bad times. The Japanese still do not appear. It is very monotonous here; they are even making us do infantry work.

September 4th.

8.30 p.m.—I have just come off guard, having been posted at 6 a.m.; it never stopped raining the whole time. My waterproof cape was wet through and through; as there is only one sentry cape in each battery I was soaked to the skin, and shall have to change my clothes at once.

September 5th.

11 p.m. last night I caught a bad cold, and that is not to be wondered at. First wet to the skin, and then having to sleep in a wet room; the sleeping rooms are naturally damp. This morning at 10.30 a.m. we had a small change; a hostile biplane came over us from the land side at a height of about 1,000 metres; the aeroplane passed over the redoubts and then directly over our battery, and, circling round, dropped two bombs which did no damage. It then flew over the signal station and . . . office, where it dropped another bomb, which also caused no damage. As the flying machine was over us we distinctly heard a whistling like a shot flying through the air; shortly after we heard a bomb explode on the hillside about 30 metres away; the fuze and some of the bits were found. It must have been a small bomb, as it only went about 50 cms. into the soft ground, and made a hole of from 60 to 80 cms. in diameter. We do not know if the aeroplane was an English or Japanese one. It is to be hoped that we have now waited long enough, and that it will be soon time to do something. To-morrow we are going to have church service in the battery. Last night we had abominable weather; our telegraphic connections were damaged, the railway traffic was stopped, and in Tsingtau some of the streets were washed out. As it is only sand and stone round us, when it rains the rain runs off at once; the water we catch is used for cooking.

September 7th.

Yesterday afternoon another aeroplane came; it was fired at by the batteries, but was apparently not touched; it was much too high, about 1,400 metres. The aviator did not throw any bombs; it was a seaplane. The Japanese landed on the 5th of this month at Tongku, north of Tsingtau, altogether a force of about 10,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Four thousand men were landed on the 5th, and started to march towards Tsingtau, in two days they may possibly be here, everyone is breathing with relief; at last they are coming. The Japanese squadron of about 20 ships came in sight this morning; against these we have our four sea-front batteries, 17 guns. How it will end here is in God's hands.

September 12th.

Nothing new, everybody is getting bored, and hopes that something will happen, simply for the sake of a change. Either the Japanese will win and we shall be defeated, or the other way round; the first will probably prove correct, for it is hard to believe that we, with our 10,000 men, will be able to hold out for long against from 10 to 15 times our number. There are now from 25 to 30 batteries on our land front; we have therefore more than doubled our number. The

Japanese can advance safely on the land side, as the marines and our batteries have already cleared out. Unfortunately, as I have already pointed out, we have too few batteries facing the sea, and they contain only 17 guns; still, however, we hope that the Japanese will attack, this as soldiers should wish.

September 13th.

Sunday afternoon.—We have now been here six weeks since the start. The Japanese are coming slowly nearer. Yesterday morning our aviator, Ober-Lieutenant Pluchow, made a reconnaissance flight which lasted three hours. He saw Japanese troops near Tsimo, where he was shot at by infantry; the wings of the machine were hit nine times. No damage was done, as he was flying at a height of about 2,000 metres, and the bullets could not penetrate. All the land between here and the Japanese landing place is flooded, their artillery will therefore not be up for a week or two. Our coal mines seem to be what the Japanese chiefly want; the owners have, however, been too cute for them; as the Americans are now in the business, they are being worked under the American flag. The Japanese will be very careful not to pick a quarrel with the Americans. This afternoon a sergeant lost his life laying a land mine. Three thousand infantry moved out against the Japanese, and one of their patrols came in touch with them; one man was killed, and two were captured; the latter, however, escaped. Something is now bound to happen within the next day or two.

September 18th.

A company of infantry which occupied the Mecklenberg Hotel were yesterday attacked by the Japanese, and were forced to retire, after blowing the houses up; the Japanese lost 20 killed; we had no casualties. A Japanese staff officer has been captured here as a spy; he was poisoning our water with typhus bacilli; he was shot yesterday.

September 21st.

Japanese flying machines came over very often; they always drop bombs, but hit nothing. This morning one came over us at 8 a.m.; it then went out to sea to get more bombs from the steamer (parent ship), and came back over us again at 10.30 a.m. Our people have at last realised that we can shoot the flyers with our guns, *i.e.*, howitzers; until now, only the direct-fire guns have been used. To-day we had some 8.8 c.m. sub-calibre guns (used for gunlaying) mounted; if the aviator comes early to-morrow our battery is to fire at him, and we hope to bring him down.

At 5 p.m. to-day a Japanese torpedo-boat came within range of Fort "A"; only nine shots were fired at her, as she quickly got out of range. The battery fired very well. However, as the boat soon got out of range, it hardly had time to be effective. Up to date our losses have been one officer killed, six men wounded. The Japanese have already 20,000 men in the field against us; 20,000 more are said to be following; they are reported to have lost 70 killed and wounded. This evening I have a night in bed, so propose to have a thoroughly good sleep.

September 25th.

This morning two aviators came close to Tsingtau; as they were heavily shelled with shrapnel they turned round and went away. Our battery did not shoot, for, as you know, howitzers have not a range equal to that of flat trajectory guns. Let us hope he will come again

to-morrow ; he is almost sure to do so daily. At noon we heard the distinct thunder of guns, probably the Japanese bombardment of Sha-tze-kou.

September 26th.

At 7.30 a.m. two aviators came into view, but turned back.

September 27th.

At 7 a.m. two more aviators came into view, but they did not stay long. At 4 a.m. artillery fire was heard from the land side ; it lasted till 6 p.m. ; 30,000 Japanese are advancing ; our marine field artillery and machine gun section made good practice ; on the other hand, the Japanese fire is said to have been very bad. The Japanese are reported to have lost 1,400 killed and wounded ; until noon to-day we have had one killed and a few wounded. If these figures are kept up they will certainly not take Tsingtau. During the afternoon, as the field batteries fell back from one hill to another, the Japanese advanced. At 5 p.m. S.M.S. Jaguar and the Kaiserin Elizabeth opened fire at the Japanese, and at 5.30 p.m. Iltis Berg battery and Battery XII. The latter is close to Bismarck Battery ; we can hear the words of command ; the range was 7,000 metres ; it is to be hoped that we shall open fire to-morrow.

September 28th.

Nothing happened last night. At 5.30 p.m. we heard rifle and artillery fire ; this lasted all day. The Kaiserin Elizabeth and Jaguar shelled the left flank of the Japanese. At 9 a.m. our battery was bombarded from the sea ; the hill was hit, but not the battery itself, although a good many shells passed over us ; it was a very fine sight. Iltis Berg battery fired the whole morning, Battery XII. for two hours. Our field battery has withdrawn inside the infantry redoubts, and has taken up its position there ; the Japanese have occupied the hills facing the redoubts. At 9 p.m. Iltis Berg commenced firing at these hills, and kept it up till midnight.

September 29th.

At 4 a.m. this morning we started again. Iltis was the first, then Pass Kuppe, then the other batteries joined in. The aviator came over Tsingtau at 8 a.m. and dropped a few bombs ; we did not fire at him. Batteries I., VI., VII., XI., XII., XIII. and Iltis Berg have been firing all day. At 7 p.m. B.B. (my battery) received orders to fire one round every half hour at the enemy's batteries. We fired one round, and were then stopped. We are so pleased at being able to fire at last, but we still have to wait a bit.

September 30th.

11 a.m.—Heavy firing last night ; we had a night off. This morning our observation balloon went up to a height of between 1,500 and 2,000 metres ; the observer located an enemy's howitzer battery behind the nearest heights. Battery XII. opened fire on this ; the balloon signalled the hits by flag. The Austrian cruiser Kaiserin Elizabeth shelled the enemy's howitzer battery, and got one hit. Yesterday and to-day we rested from 11 a.m. till 4 p.m. I would gladly do without this if we might fire instead. Last night the Japanese torpedo-boats attempted a dash through the outer minefields, they got within 8,700 metres, when H.H. (Fort "A") opened fire on them, and they turned back.

In general orders it was announced to-day that up to September 28th the Japanese losses had been 1,784 killed and 8,000 wounded; our total losses are 110 killed and wounded. Four of the English staff and three of the Japanese are quartered in the market place at Lit'sun. So far no English or Russian troops have taken part in the fight. The shooting of the Japanese troops is very bad, while that of our marines is very good. During the last year the 3rd Battalion S.M. have regularly received decorations for shooting. The Chinese report that the Japanese are in a blue funk when they think that they are up against the marines. Our infantry appeared to be very done up when they fell back; their toes were sticking out of their boots, their helmets were shot through, etc. Here we sit and are allowed to do nothing. No firing since 6 p.m.

October 1st.

4 p.m.—Very little firing up till 12 noon; we slept from noon till 4, 4 to 5 cleaned arms. The Japanese artillery have not fired from the land side since September 27th; they are probably digging in their guns behind the hills in front of the infantry redoubts.

October 2nd.

Our land batteries kept up a heavy fire last night and this morning till midday. We heard a lively machine-gun fire from No. 5 (British No. 1) redoubt, but do not know what it was at.

October 3rd.

1 p.m.—The artillery and S.M.S. Jaguar have again fired a good many rounds; the latter made good practice against the enemy's flank.

8 p.m.—Last night our infantry made a sortie from No. 5 (No. 1) redoubt; they met the Japanese just behind the big obstacle (high wall and wide barbed wire entanglements); after a lively fire our men had to retire. The Japanese objective was probably our waterworks at Hai Po (pumping station).

October 4th.

7 a.m.—A few rounds were fired last night from our land batteries; the 15 cm. field howitzers also fired a few rounds. An aviator was sighted, but did not come near us.

10 p.m.—Battery XII. fired some rounds. As the Jaguar was firing into the enemy's flank this afternoon she was shelled by a hostile battery; one shot is said to have slightly damaged her. It is a fine sight to see the columns of water rise up all round the ship. The Jaguar was not easily scared, and replied merrily. Fort Schauenwa (?) fired her 21 cm. shrapnel; our battery is the only one which has not yet fired; our patience is certainly being taxed to the utmost.

October 5th.

10 a.m.—At 9 a.m. an enemy's battery opened fire at No. 11 battery and the horses of the field battery. On No. 12 battery and Schauenwa (?) replying, the enemy ceased fire. At 7 a.m. this morning the aviator appeared, and was shortly followed by two more; some bombs were thrown. They were using two biplanes and a monoplane.

October 6th.

As to-day is the Kaiser of Japan's birthday, we thought the Japanese would make an attack on Tsingtau in order to make a present of it to their Kaiser; instead of that, they did absolutely nothing. The

battleship *Triumph* bombarded No. 1 (No. 5) redoubt. The aeroplanes were again sighted.

October 9th.

Yesterday our observation balloon broke away from its moorings near *Iltis Berg*; it was proposed to send it up without an observer to try to draw the Japanese artillery fire, as we wished to know at which places behind the hills they were digging in their batteries; the wind was, however, too strong, and the cable broke. At 11.0 a.m. to-day the *Jaguar* and *S. 90* were shelled whilst they were firing at the enemy. I was just going on guard, and so had a good view of the whole thing; neither ship was damaged, as the shells struck the water at from 500 to 1,000 metres wide. Yesterday evening *B.B.* at last received permission to fire; the target was to be a large gun emplacement, range 9,000 to 9,500 metres. We fired 100 shells between 5.30 and 10 p.m. To-morrow we are to get up at 5 a.m., and to commence firing at 6 a.m.

October 10th.

Yesterday afternoon we fired 50 more case-hardened shells.

October 11th.

Another aeroplane came in sight to-day.

October 12th.

The Japanese proposed a four hours' armistice, lasting from mid-day till 4 p.m.; their patrols went out to find their dead and wounded, ours did the same; naturally, all went unarmed. The Japanese can be easily seen through a telescope as they search the ground; they have a uniform the same as our infantry (a khaki suit); both patrols carry a white flag with them; if the Japanese show themselves without a white flag they will be fired upon by our artillery.

October 14th.

In the forenoon we were bombarded from the sea; the fire was mainly directed against *Iltis Berg* and *H.H.*; the latter replied to the fire, and at 14,000 metres made some hits with her 24 cm. guns. *B.B.* can only fire when the enemy comes within a range of 10,500 metres; if they do come within that they will catch it. Our aviator, Ober-Lieutenant *Zur-See Pluchow*, made an ascent yesterday in his monoplane; two Japanese biplanes chased him, but could do nothing, as a monoplane can fly much higher. We have a great respect for Ober-Lieutenant *Pluchow*; he is always cheery and ready to joke, and runs great risks; at the same time he is a small man.

October 17th.

At 6 a.m. this morning a hostile battery posted behind *Kuschan* fired on the *Kaiserin Elizabeth*, but did not hit her. At 10 a.m. they again fired on the *Kaiserin Elizabeth*. Yesterday and the day before it poured, to-day it is clear and bright.

October 18th.

To-night *S. 90* sank a Japanese coast defence vessel, and then ran ashore on the coast and was wrecked; the crew was landed, and no one was wounded.

October 19th.

A Japanese battleship has apparently struck a mine; she has a list of from 15 to 20 degrees to port, and is slowly steaming eastward. A Chinese Minister reports that two . . . are on their way to *Tsingtau*.

November 3rd.

10 p.m.—For the last six days Tsingtau has been heavily bombarded from the enemy's land batteries; most of our land-front batteries, as well as most of the guns, have been destroyed. This month the sea-front batteries have been sparing with their ammunition, as they expect an attack which does not come. Our battery has been badly damaged by howitzers; two of the howitzers have been damaged; direct hits have gone through the splinter-proof shield; the crews were not wounded, as they were all under cover. The chief observation post, where I have my war station, has been heavily shelled. Large holes have been torn in the concrete roof, but the roof is still standing. It is very unpleasant when one has to sit in the position and is unable to protect oneself whilst shells crash into the roof every three minutes. It is better fun in the field, where one gets a run for one's money. There is no longer a single battery here which has not been damaged. Since yesterday the enemy's artillery has principally bombarded the redoubts to make it easier for their infantry to storm them; their attack, which was expected to-day, is now expected to take place at three o'clock to-morrow morning.

The enemy's artillery is posted behind the hills; the infantry have driven trenches right up to the redoubts; they are expected to make their main attack against Fort No. 4 (No. 2). Shells have already torn holes in many places in the long white wall and wire in front of No. 5 (No. 1). To-day many columns can be seen carrying long pieces of wood, which they will use for laying on top of the obstacles during the assault. We do not fire at them much, as we have got very little ammunition left for the still undamaged guns; this is being saved up for the final attack, so that it can kill a few more thousand Japanese. Yesterday two sergeants, four N.C.O.'s, and 30 men were sent from our battery to reinforce the redoubts, as also were 30 men from the sea-front batteries. How we should all like to go with them, but everyone cannot go.

There are still 200 case-hardened shell and 120 shrapnel; the shell will be quickly fired away, and the shrapnel kept for the assault. There are very few opportunities for getting out of the battery; during the day the Japanese fire shell, and at night use shrapnel, so that the damaged batteries cannot be repaired. If by any chance there is a lull, the garrison have to turn out and work hard; anything to get out.

All of us know how very critical the situation is. God knows what is impending the next few days. We are always very pleased when we occasionally get news from home; it is always good news, and that is the great thing. There is no doubt that all is going well at home. I often think now of my home, how they are getting on, what my brothers, who, of course, are all soldiering, are doing. I have found a good friend, and we understand each other better than brothers.

If we find an hour's rest during the evening we find a quiet spot and talk of the beautiful home, our beloved parents and sisters, and everything else one loves. These are my happiest hours. I will die happily if I can only die alongside my good friend Rudolf. By to-morrow morning we may be dead, or in the hands of the Japanese. With roughly 6,000 men, we are opposing a superior force of from 40,000 to 50,000. At any rate, we will cause the Japanese the greatest

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possible loss when they assault. Unfortunately, we cannot do more. If we have to die we know the reason why; we know that the Kaiser and the Fatherland will look upon us with pride, as is evident from the telegram which we received last week. I will now lie down to rest, perhaps for the last time.

November 5th.

The long-expected assault has not yet taken place. The infantry redoubts are being perpetually shelled; the big wall and wire entanglements have been badly damaged in many places. Yesterday evening for about ten minutes there was heavy rifle fire. Our case-hardened shell and shrapnel are all gone, with the exception of 40 of the former and 20 of the latter.

Two of the guns can no longer be used; the crews have been marched down to the front line. How happy should I have been to accompany them to the firing-line!

This appears to have been written by one of the men, by name Pauer, belonging to the 3rd Company, Marine Artillery.—Tr.