CHESTERFIELD WFA

Newsletter and Magazine issue 56

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Welcome to Issue 56 - the August 2020 Newsletter and Magazine of Chesterfield WFA.

In view of the current public health pandemic engulfing the globe, your committee took the prudent decision, before the introduction of Government legislation, to cancel until further notice our monthly meetings.

Meetings and other activities will be restarted as and when the authorities deem it safe for us to do so.

In the interim this Newsletter / Magazine will continue

We would urge all our members to adopt all the government`s regulations that way we can keep safe and hopefully this crisis will be controlled, the virus defeated, and a degree of normality restored.

Stay safe everybody – we are all – in the meantime - `Confined to Barracks`

Grant Cullen – Branch Secretary

Western Front Association Chesterfield Branch – Meetings 2020

Meetings start at 7.30pm and take place at the Labour Club, Unity House, Saltergate, Chesterfield S40 1NF

January	7th	. **AGM** and Members Night – presentations by Jane Ainsworth, Ed Fordham, Judith Reece, Edwin Astill and Alan Atkinson
February	4th	**Graham Kemp** `*The Impact of the economic blockage of Germany AFTER the armistice and how it led to WW2*`
March	3rd	**Peter Hart** Après la Guerre Post-war blues, demobilisation and a home fit for very few.
April	7th	**Andy Rawson** Tea Pots to Tin Lids…how the factory which inspired his research (Dixons) switched from making tea services for hotels and cruise ships to making Brodie helmets in the Great War. CANCELLED
May	5th	**Nick Baker** . The British Army has always fought a long battle with the debilitations cause to its soldier's efficiency through venereal disease, a combination of behavioural change and civilian interference resulted in an 'epidemic' of VD which threatened military effectiveness.CANCELLED
June	2nd	**Rob Thompson** 'The Gun Machine: A Case Study of the Industrialisation of Battle during the Flanders Campaign, 1917.CANCELLED
July	**6th**	**Virtual Meeting….On Line.** Tony Davies entitled `The Knutsford Lads Who Never Came Home`. Jointly with Lincoln and North Lincs WFA .Fullest details of how to participate elsewhere in this newsletter
August	**5th**	**Virtual Meeting – On Line . Beth Griffiths** ` The Experience of the Disabled Soldiers Returning After WWI`. Details of how to join in this meeting elsewhere in this Newsletter. Starts at 7pm
September	1st	**John Taylor.** 'A Prelude to War' (An Archduke's Visit) – a classic and true tale of `what if` ?
October	6th	**Peter Harris** Tanks in the 100 Days. Peter will present some of his researches for his Wolverhampton MA course
November	3rd	**Paul Handford** Women Ambulance Drivers on the Western Front 1914 – 1918.
December	1st	**John Beech** 'Notts Battery RHA – Nottinghamshire Forgotten Gunners'

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Once again we are having a virtual meeting, jointly with our friends at Lincoln Branch. Our booked speaker for the August meeting was Beth Griffiths and I am pleased to advise that Beth will be doing her presentation via the Demio on line platform, same format as our two previous `virtual meetings.` Thanks again to Dudley Giles for facilitating all the technical aspects of this presentation.

Here is the link - easy to register....

https://my.demio.com/ref/sTs3L2VM4VAuF9Z7

Notes of guidance for participants. Are elsewhere in this magazine

Beth describes what her presentation is all about.....

"My research is about physically disabled soldiers who returned to industrial south Wales during and post the First World War. My research seeks to establish the extent the disabled soldiers reintegrated on both societal and employment levels. It is an area which has not been researched previously and is an interesting subject which warrants investigation. This research fills a gap in the historical knowledge of the post-war period in the industrial south Wales area. The accidental injuries and disabling illnesses of the mining industry; amputation, deafness, blindness, facial disfigurement (from blast injuries and blue scars for coal dust entering open minor wounds before healing) and chest conditions can be directly compared with the injuries sustained in battle, loss of limb, blindness, deafness, facial disfigurement and the effects of gassing, This information allows comparisons to be made with the treatment of the disabled veteran and his acceptance into a society already recognising and accepting disabilities on a daily basis.

My talk will cover topics on a general and not necessarily a Welsh centric level. I will cover areas which include the return journey from the Front and eventual demobilisation, initial post-injury life at home, retraining and the challenges of securing employment."

Personal Note from the Chair (46)

Another Newsletter and still no glimpse of the light at the end of the tunnel as far as getting together for a face to face branch meeting. Still I think that the policy of providing branch members and friends with access to presentations via the joint Chesterfield and Lincoln webinars has met with some success and I have high hopes for next Wednesday's when Beth Griffiths an old colleague of mine from the Birmingham MA, will talk about the return of disabled servicemen, not only from Wales from where Beth clearly hails but from the country or should I say countries as a whole. Beth is currently researching this topic for her PhD which no doubt she will be awarded to go with her numerous other qualifications. I admire her interest in academic study, although I briefly toyed with the idea of going on to do a PhD myself, I could not whip up the necessary enthusiasm and the thought of between four and seven years, trawling archives. My wife was very keen for me to do the PhD, I am not sure what that means, maybe she just wanted me out from under her feet for a bit longer.

One of the unexpected successes of the lockdown has been the interest in the WFA website and other social media platforms, the twice weekly national webinars have like our own created interest and the recent presentation on Deborah was considerably over subscribed. For those people who are interested in these things the number of 'hits' on twitter and Facebook have greatly increased which I think is testimony to the very real effort that several members of the Executive Committee have put into maintaining and indeed increasing offers to members. Another great success story is the Pension Records which can be accessed through the members section of the website. These records were saved from destruction by the WFA and have been digitised for posterity by Ancestry. Part of the arrangement is that WFA members have free access to these records and if you haven't had a look at them, I do urge you to do so.

The other 'growth' area on the website is the podcasts. If like me your eyes glaze over when people talk about webinars, podcasts or twitter then I really do encourage you to overcome the reluctance, go to the members section of the website and click on one of the podcasts which are collectively called 'Mentioned in Despatches' these are very professional interviews of some of the leading historians of the Great War and there are talks on more or less every subject you may care to mention. A half hour or so very enjoyably and informatively spent.

On a final point some of you realise that I and indeed Mark serve on the national Executive Committee. Until recently I held the Education brief but a new trustee has joined the committee with far more knowledge of and enthusiasm for education. I have therefore agreed to change my role and am now responsible for Governance and Compliance which is a rather grand way of saying my role now is to make sure the WFA has all the necessary systems and policies in place required by Government or the Charities Commission.

I do hope you will be able to support us by joining us on Wednesday for Beth's presentation.

Tony Bolton, **Branch Chair**

Secretary`s Scribbles

Welcome to issue 56 of the WFA Chesterfield Branch Newsletter and Magazine.

Another month has passed and somehow, when one reads the news we don`t seem to be much further forward with localised lockdowns being introduced to control the virus. Will things ever get back to `normal`…..only time and circumstance will tell, but it is not going to be soon, that`s for sure. I hope all of you are keeping safe and well. I trust that both the national and ourselves as a WFA Branch are helping to make life a bit more interesting by offering the on-line `virtual meetings`. As Tony has mentioned we have had enough positives from our first two and next Wednesday we will have our third, with Beth Griffiths, who should have been our August speaker had we been `live` at our regular meetings venue the Chesterfield Labour Club, on line. Elsewhere you will find the link in this magazine to enable you to enter `the room`. All quite exciting! I have to pay tribute to our technical `guru`, Dudley Giles, who, without his expertise, these `virtual` meetings would not have, in all probability, happened. Thanks, Dudley, for a job well done !

Like so many of you, there have been limitations as to where we can go – no days out, visits to pubs or restaurants – or at least very restricted if at all possible. For many – self included – reading helps pass the time – in addition , of course to preparing the content for this newsletter / magazine.

Here is what I have been reading since the `lockdown began…… *Reluctant Partner: The Complete Story of the French Participation in the Dardanelles Expedition of 1915* by George Cassar; *Victory at Gallipoli, 1915: The German-Ottoman Alliance in the First World War* by Klaus Wolf *; 'Unsinkable': Churchill and the First World War* by Richard Freeman and finally my current `read`…all 600 pages of it…*Haldane: The Forgotten Statesman Who Shaped Modern Britain* by John Campbell.

Perhaps some of our readers would like to share with members receiving this newsletter what they have been reading…drop me a line.

Once again, thanks to Jane Ainsworth, for her contribution to this newsletter…a bit unusual, but entertaining and educating nonetheless .

I look forward to `meeting` as many of you as possible on Wednesday night – 7pm…start `signing in` at 6.55 please.

Take Care

Grant Cullen – Branch Secretary

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Any opinions expressed in this Newsletter /Magazine are not necessarily those of the Western Front Association, Chesterfield Branch, in particular, or the Western Front Association in general

THE WESTERN FRONT ASSOCIATION

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BRANDED GOODS

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OPEN AS USUAL

After a lot of preparatory work and investigation by our Branch Vice Chairman (WFA Branded Goods Trustee) the WFA is now able to dispatch some Branded Goods without the need to go to Post Office (we do this by means of purchasing Royal Mail postage on line)

The Eshop on the Website has been updated. The link to the Website is here

http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/

(these details are as under)

Regarding the Covid-19 pandemic please note that only some orders will be accepted

These are:

Clothing items ; These are supplied direct from the Manufacturers

Orders on the following items will be accepted as these can be dispatched via Royal Mail Letter Box (but will only be sent out weekly)

Bookmarks; Baseball Caps ; WFA Classic Ties; Lapel Badges ; WFA Coasters (Special Edition); Mousemats; DVD's (Individual -not sets) ; Stand To Reprints (Vol 3) The following items will not be available until further notice: WFA Mugs; Messenger Bags; Shoulder Bags ;DVD (sets); Binders (Stand To and Bulletin)

No orders will be accepted on these items until the situation is improved, The current thinking is that as such this is likely to endure through to the summer. Apologies for any inconvenience

Mark Macartney | Branded Goods Trustee | The Western Front Association

The Branch will be participating in a further joint event with (Chesterfield/Lincoln*) on 15th August 7pm. It will be a 'virtual' meeting - held over the internet -

For those of you that are unfamiliar with webinar and online conference tools (and therefore might be worried that they lack the IT skills to participate) it is hoped that the following, short, explanatory note - which takes the form of some frequently asked questions (FAQs) - might go some way to easing any concerns that you may have. The link to the registration page appears at the very end.

Q1. Do I need to download anything?

No. Unlike Zoom and some other apps, the webinar tool we are using DOES NOT require you to download anything onto your device. The app - which is called Demio - uses your internet browser. It is therefore as straightforward and as easy to use as clicking on a webpage.

Q2. What internet browsers does Demio support?

Demio supports all four of the main internet browsers – Chrome, Firefox, Safari and Microsoft Edge. That being said, you should ensure that your browser is up-to-date with the latest version. For Chrome this is Version 55+; Firefox (Version 53+); Safari (Version12.1+); and Microsoft Edge (Version 42+).

Q3. Do I have to use my computer or can I use some other device?

You can, of course, use your desktop computer. But you can also use your laptop, tablet or smartphone. However, once again, if you are using a mobile device, you should make certain that you have installed the latest version of its operating system (either iOS or Android OS).

Q4. Is Demio secure?

Nothing on the world wide web is ever totally secure. But, for reasons which are explained below, Demio is pretty secure. And for those that have been concerned by recent reports of things like 'Zoom bombing' and think to themselves 'What's that all about?', don't worry. This will not be a problem for us.

Q5. Is there a limit on numbers?

Only as far as cost is concerned. We will normally be paying for a room capacity of up to 50 people. If, however, an event is likely to be oversubscribed we do have the ability to pay extra and increase the capacity to 150. In fact, for the first meeting on 15 June we have gone to a capacity of 150. (Indeed, for the moment, we are not paying anything. The platform has been put at our disposal by one of our members, for free.)

Q6. I have a poor internet connection. Will this be a problem?

The short answer is yes, it might be. Live streaming takes up quite a bit of bandwidth and a poor internet connection may well affect the quality of your experience.

Q7. How will I know if I will have sufficient bandwidth?

Demio uses high-quality, low-latency streaming, so it's important that your internet connection can support it. Attendees should have at least a 1mbps download speed. If you are concerned, you can carry out a system check now using this link: https://event.demio.com/system

Q8. The check tells me that I have poor video and/or audio connections. Is there anything I can do to improve this?

There are lots of things that you can do to help mitigate any potential problems. (See also Q12) First, if there are other people in the house using the internet connection, try asking them (politely) to give you priority. ☺ In particular, ask them not to download (or watch) their favourite Netflix or YouTube channel at the same time as you are watching the presentation. Second, close down all the applications that you are not currently using (and which might be running in the background) including other webpages you may have open. Third, and if you understand this term, try viewing in an 'Incognito window'. The reason for this is that sometimes other browser extensions that you may have downloaded can conflict with your viewing experience (this is rare, but, as the saying goes, 'every little helps'.)

Q9. I don't have a webcam. Do I need one?

No, you don't need a webcam. In fact, the first thing you will notice when you enter the room is that your webcam and microphone have been automatically disabled by the administrator.

Q10. If my webcam and microphone are disabled, how do I participate in the meeting?

The audience communicate with each other, and with the presenter(s), by means of a chatbox. This is particularly useful when you want to put questions to the presenter at the end of the presentation. And you can also participate - through the medium of polls - to questions put to you by the presenter.

Q11. Some presenters like to give the audience 'hand-outs'. Can this be done in Demio?

Yes, in Demio there is a facility for you to download documents during the meeting.

Q12. What happens if I have connectivity issues during the presentation?

Demio is a highly stable platform. However, experience has shown that up to 20% of the audience may experience connectivity problems at some time during the session. It is important to stress that 99% of the time these connectivity problems will be specific to you and will not be the fault of the platform (and they are probably not being experienced by other members of the audience). Common connectivity problems include: poor video; poor or non-existent audio; or both! If this happens to you during the session then one of these three quick fixes (in Army-speak, Immediate Action (IA) Drills) usually works.

Drill 1. Refresh your browser. If this fails…

Drill 2. Come out of the browser and re-enter it using the same unique link you first joined with; and if this fails…

Drill 3. (If you have the capability) change browser (for example from Chrome to Firefox). If this fails…then we're sorry but we can do no more. But see Q13.

Q13. Will there be a replay?

Everyone who is registered for the event will automatically receive a copy of the replay. This means that if you do drop out everything is not lost. It also means that if you are unable to attend you can still enjoy the presentation at your leisure at a later date.

Q14. How do I register for the event?

The Branch will send everyone a registration link (usually via the weekly or monthly newsletter). You can share this link with other WFA members if you think they might be interested in the presentation. The link will take you to the event registration page. Once you have completed the registration process you will be sent a unique joining link. This is your link; it is unique to you and you should not share it with anyone else.

Q15. What happens if I forget? Will I be sent reminders?

If you run a digital calendar the registration link also allows you to save a diary entry. Thereafter you will be sent two reminders. The first is sent to you 24hrs before the event. The second reminder is sent out 15 minutes before the presentation is due to start. Both reminders will once again include your unique joining link.

Q16. What happens when I click on my joining link?

We advise you to join the meeting five or 10 minutes before the advertised time. Then, when you click on the link, you will be taken to a 'waiting room'. You will also see a countdown timer. At the appointed time, the host will 'open' the meeting and you should see one or more presenters waiting to greet you.

Q17. What happens if the meeting is oversubscribed?

At the moment our room capacity is limited to just 150 people and this should me more than enough room. Moreover, experience has shown, that not everybody who registers will actually turn up on the night because, as we all know, 'life' sometimes gets in the way! Nevertheless, in an attempt to gain maximum attendance we will be operating a first-come-first-served system - ie only the first 150 people to click on the joining link and hit 'enter room' will be able to attend the event. If the room is full latecomers will find themselves stuck in a waiting room until one of those first 150 people leave the room. Hence our advice to everyone is - click on the join link early! (Please be assured, however, that everyone who registers will subsequently receive a copy of the recording - regardless of whether or not they were successful in attending the live session.)

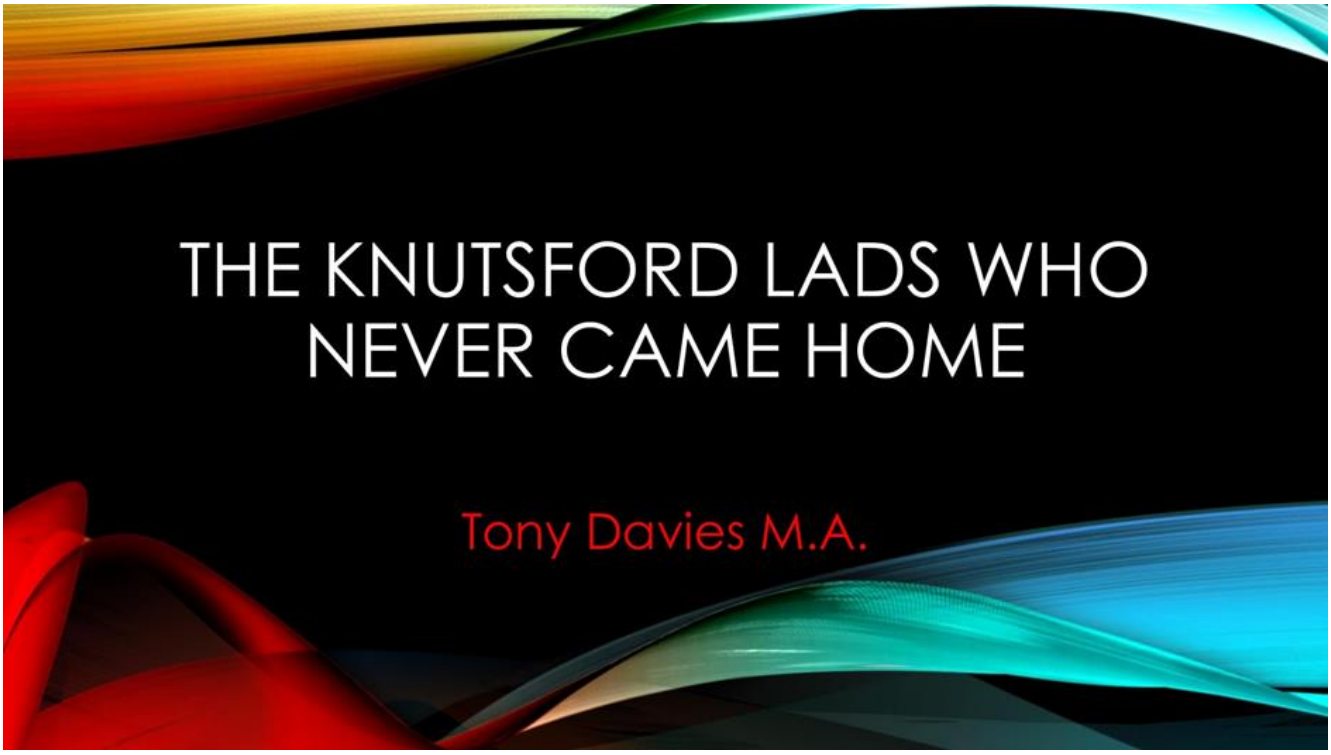
Q18. Okay, you've convinced me. I'll give it a go. Where is the link to the registration page?

Hopefully one or more of the answers to these questions will have set your mind at rest. However, if you have any other questions, feel free to email Dudley Giles - battlefieldeventsandtours@gmail.com

`Virtual Meeting` July 6th.

Following on from the successful first attempt to keep members together, Chesterfield Branch, together with our friends and neighbours at Lincoln WFA, organised a second `virtual meeting` again, as in the first instance down to the technical expertise of WFA member Dudley Giles.

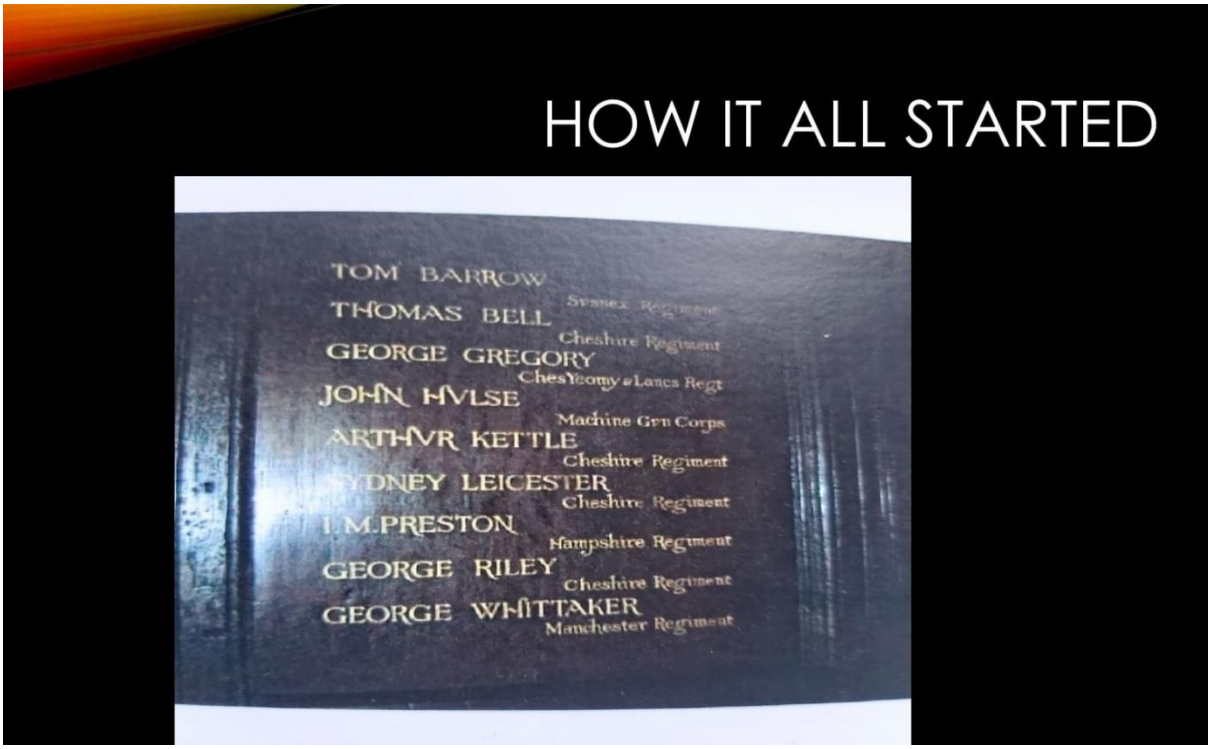
When we went live, Dudley made the first introduction advising that 65 folks had registered and as we got underway, 40 were in the `room`. After further words of introduction and welcome from our Branch Chair, Tony Bolton and Jonathan D`Hooghe, Lincoln Branch Chair, our speaker for the evening, Tony Davies entitled `***The Knutsford Lads Who Never Came Home***`.



Tony then briefly introduced himself…..After a career as a police officer, on retiring I went to work with the UN War Crimes in Bosnia and Kosovo, then with the UN Refugees in the Western Sahara. I am now a WW1 historian and author and I go into schools giving talks on WW1 (and Jack the Ripper).

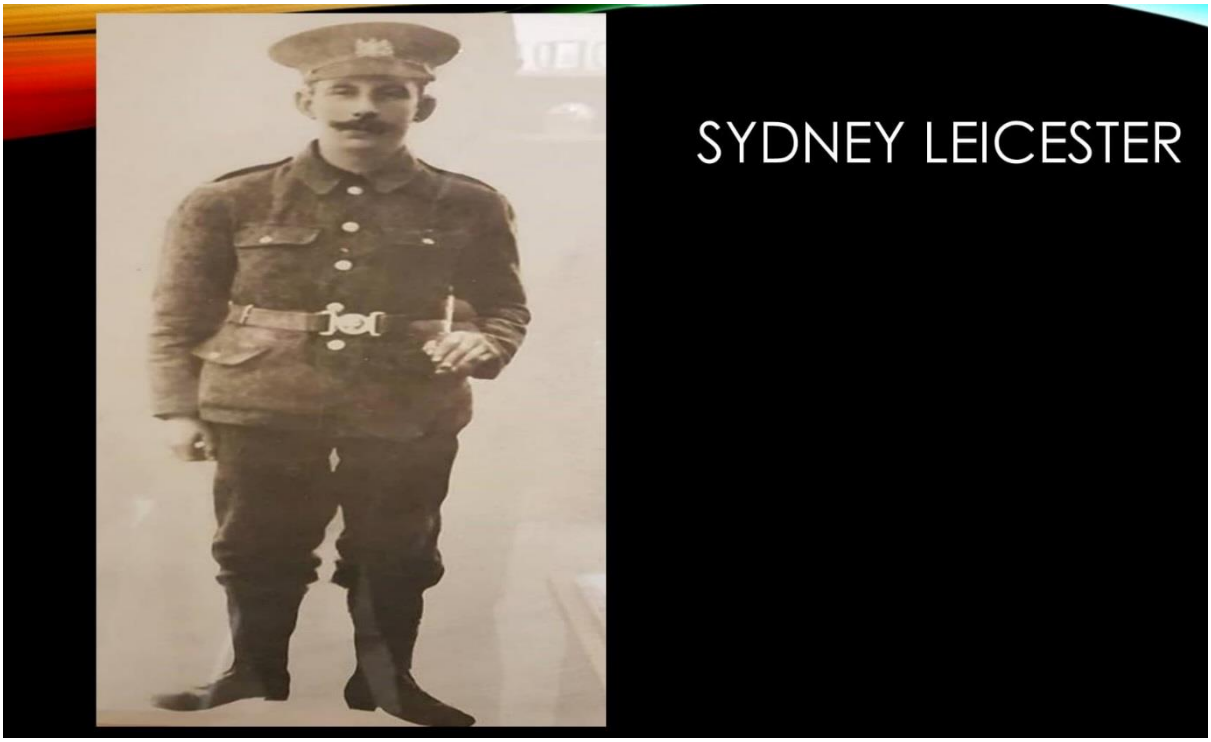
My talk is based on a book I wrote in 2015 about the Knutsford lads killed in WW1 but it was, as Tony said, it was basically about any village, town or city in the country. It is not a unique tale, although obviously some of the stories are, but similar did occur all over the UK, and indeed, in countless town and villages across Europe.
One of the first things Tony is often asked is `Why did I get involved`…it really started when he was in a chapel just up the road from his estate in Tabley and there was a small memorial in a quite dark corner and it listed the names of the lads who had been lost from that parish in The Great War.

This interested Tony so he started to look at their life stories and the result was the first book….
.`*The Tabley Lads Who Never Came Home*`

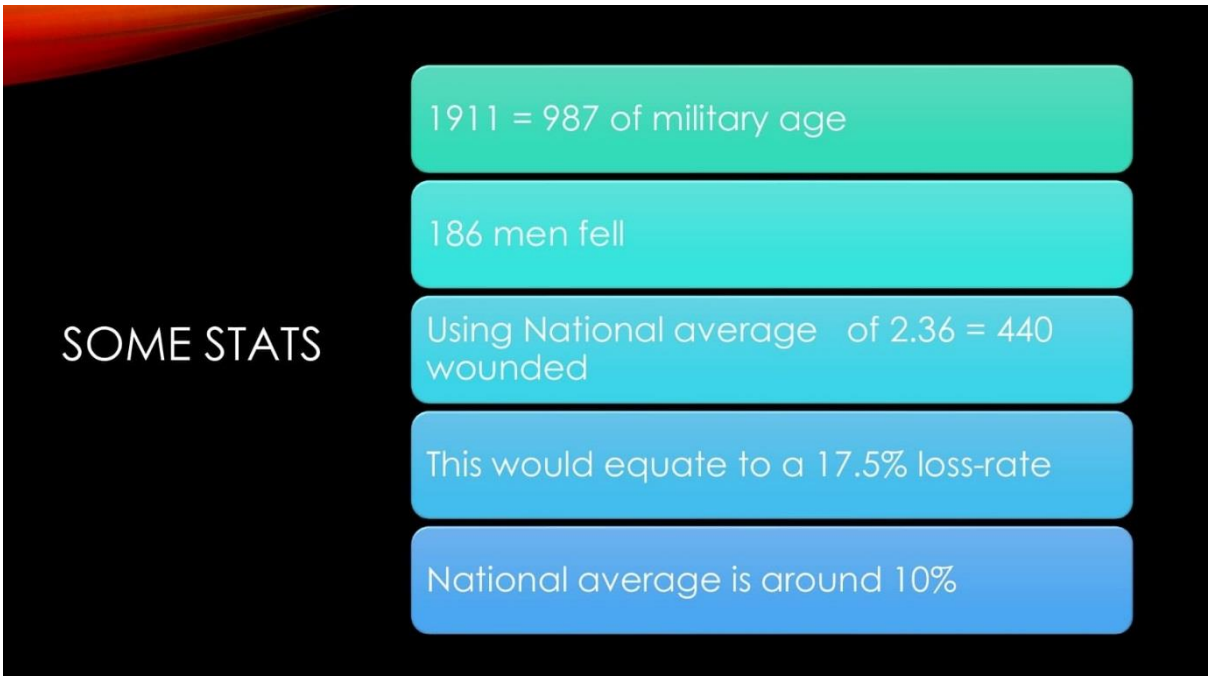


This was followed by another book sponsored by the Royal British Legion and then a request to look at the Knutsford lads…when I asked how many…er..just 400!

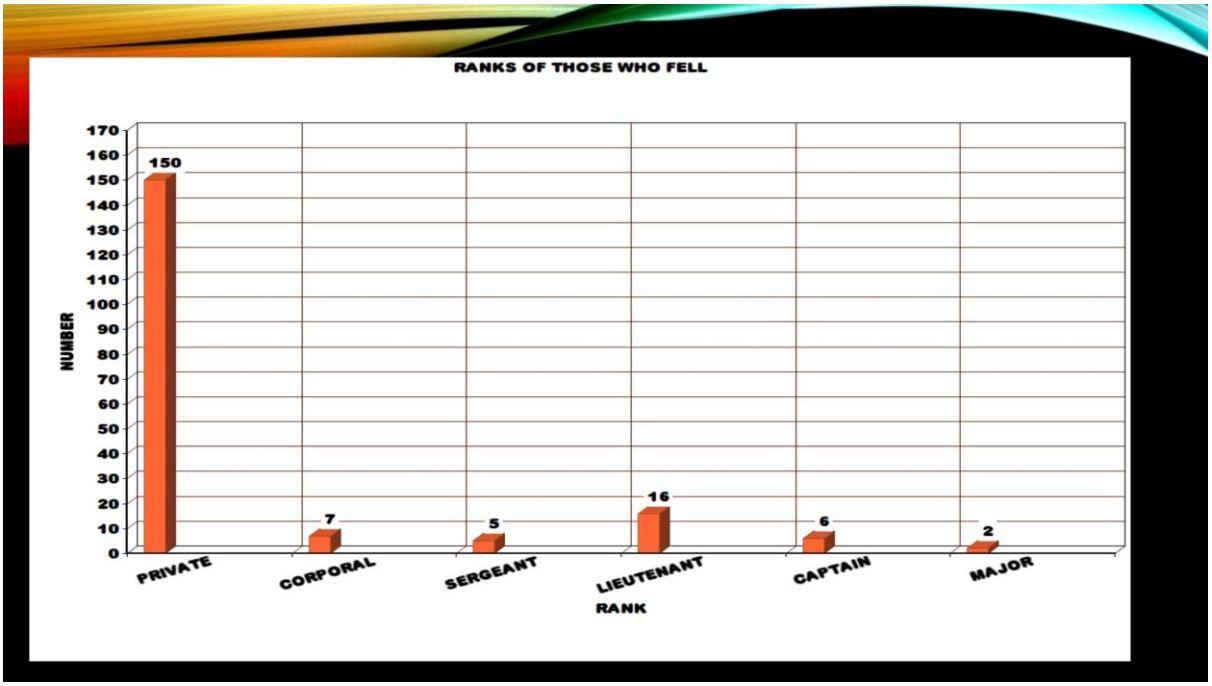
From where Tony lives now, he can almost see the house where the first lad, Sydney Leicester lived. Originally a farmer, later became a coach driver for a railway company and was a machine gunner with the Manchester Regiment. He wrote a letter home saying that the Germans were trying to steal his prayer book…a bullet had passed through his sleeve and embedded itself in his prayer book. He was killed on July 7th 1916 during the Battle of the Somme and he is commemorated at Thiepval



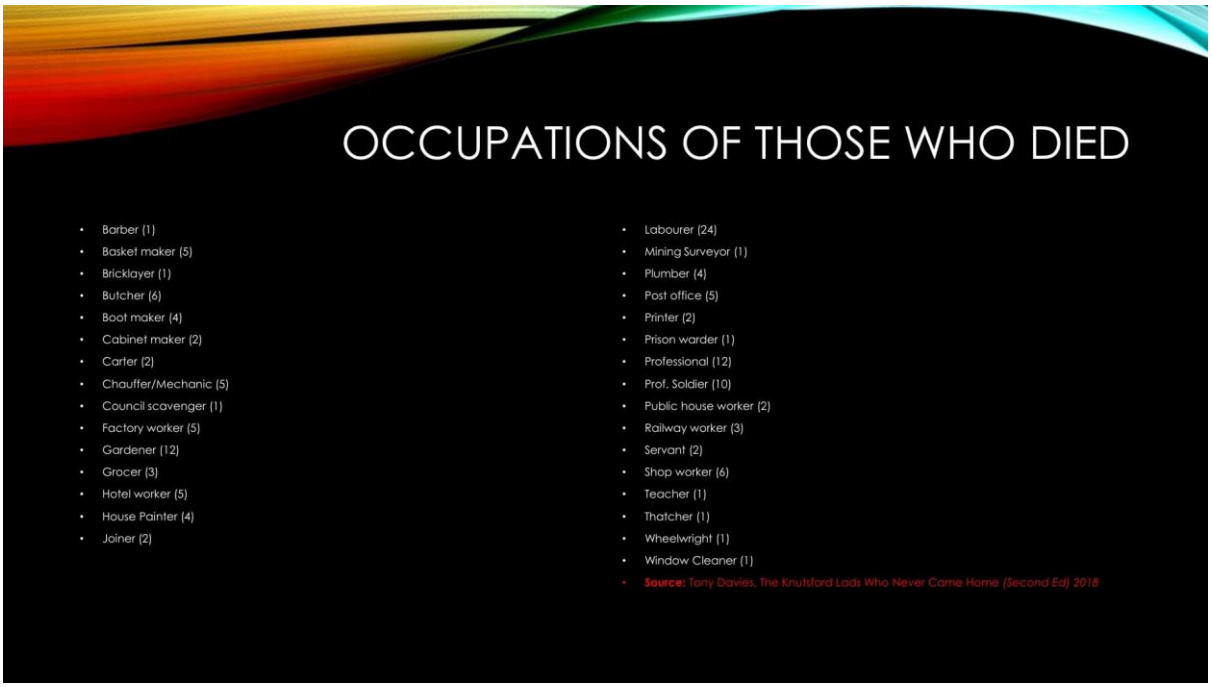
Sydney was the first lad that Tony looked at but when you look at the statistics for Knutsford, this is what we find,



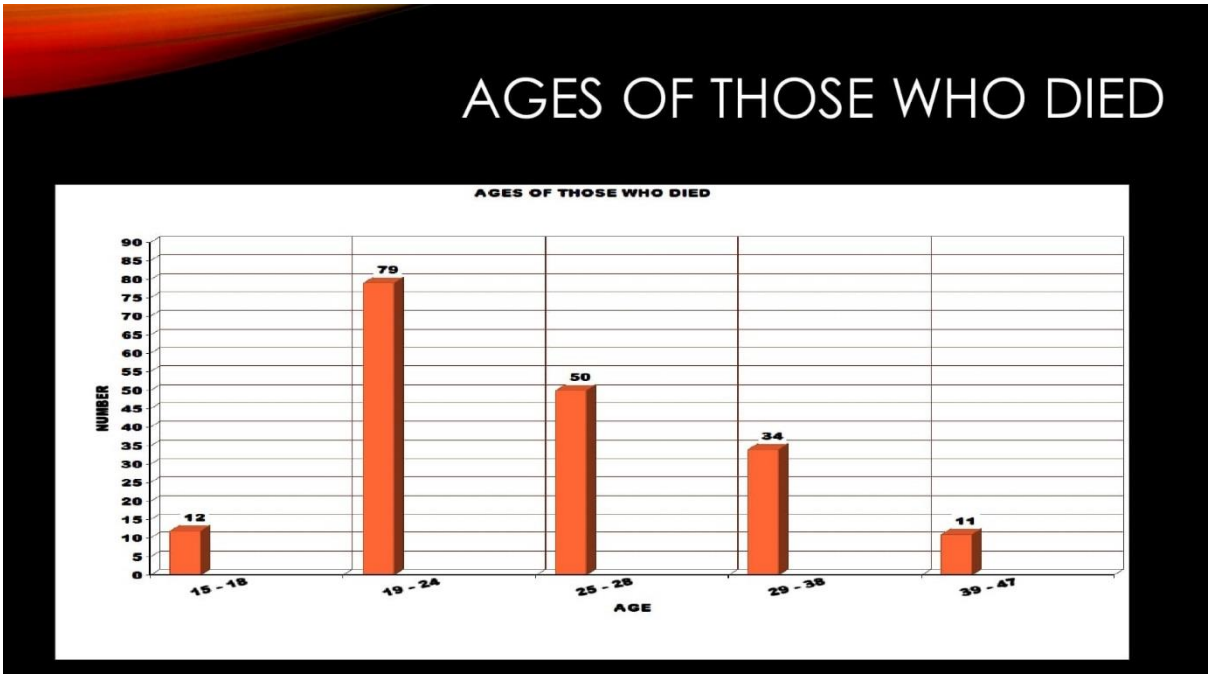
186 men fell out of the local population and Tony went on to explain the statistics shown on the above slide, pointing out that Knutsford`s losses were higher than the national average.



The next slide showed the ranks of those who fell and again, proportionally, it was the lower ranks who suffered most, when all too often nationally it is the loss of the `intelligentsia` which gets the greater attention and coverage . Indeed very few of the `other ranks` had any form of higher education.



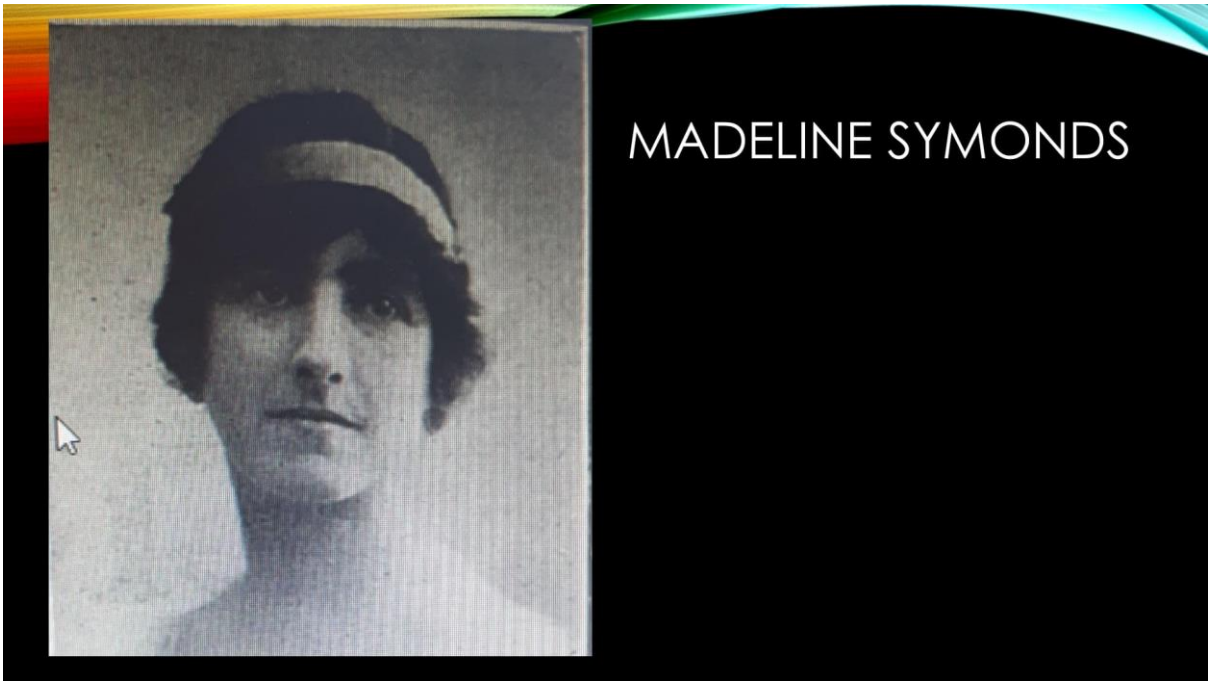
When you look at the occupations of those who fell, there was very, very few who could be in the `professional` classes.

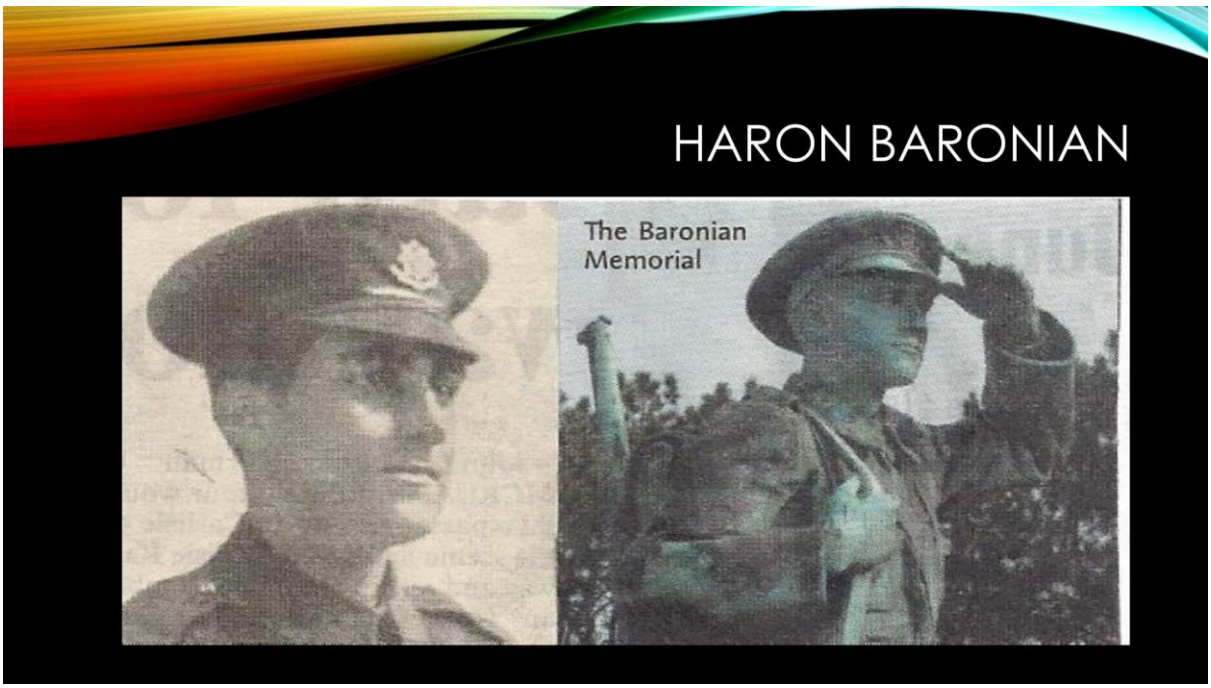


Before moving on to discuss individuals, Tony commented that there was one lad aged 15, whilst the oldest was 47/

Tony explained that some time ago, a lady rang him and said that she had some `things` in a box, which she thought had something to do with the war and she invited him to go and look at them. These two posters were folded up and were at the bottom of an old suitcase up in the attic. She was a local lady and said that they had belonged to her grandfather. They were two original posters from Knutsford. She didn`t know what to do with them, offered them to Tony, which he gratefully accepted. 11.46

Tony moved away briefly from the lads who were killed, the town of Knutsford itself set up its own recruiting office but within three weeks the recruiting sergeant himself was actually posted overseas, leaving the toon without a recruiting NCO, until Madeline Symonds stepped up to the plate and she became one of the only few recruiting officers. She set up in a little shop in Knutsford High Street and recruited between 200 and 250 men. She was a vicar`s daughter and later went on to marry a soldier



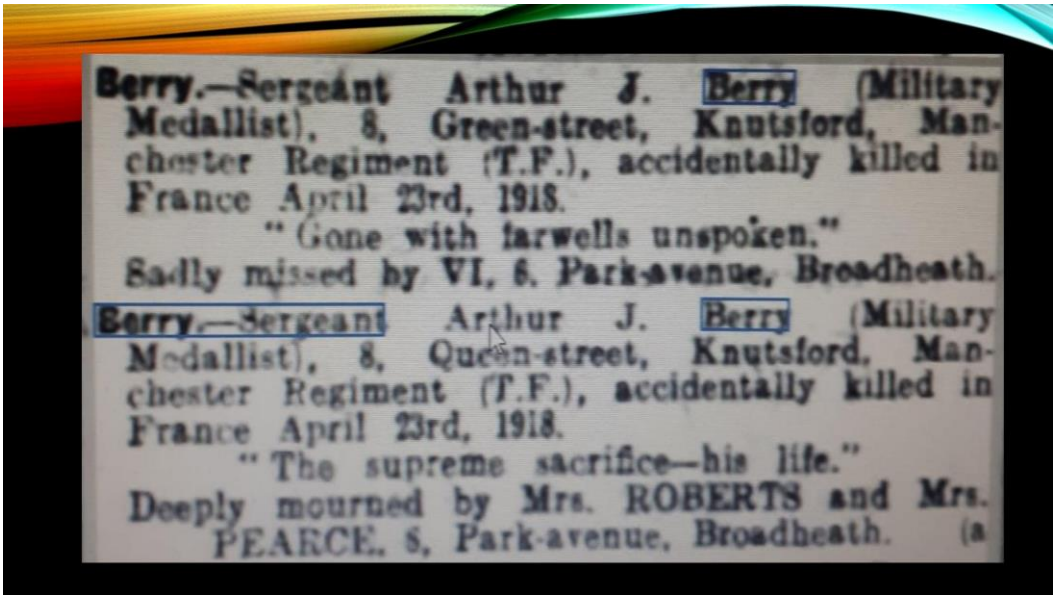


As the recruits were coming in, one of them, Harold Baronian, whose parents were both Armenians, were very wealthy, indeed they bought a house which had been built by Henry Royce, of Rolls Royce fame. Harold was fluent in Chinese , his parents business doing import – export work with China – and he had been to University. When he applied to volunteer, despite his education, he was declined for a commission , for reasons that no one knows although there was a few others from Knutsford with German sounding names who were successfully commissioned. He was killed in 1917 and his parents produced this fine statue.

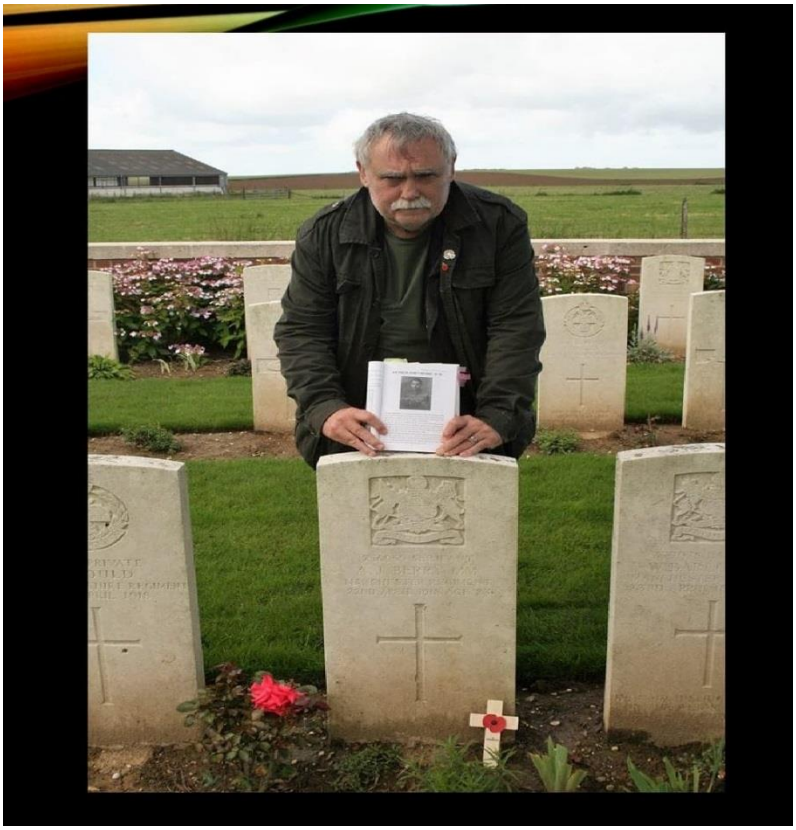
The statue was produced by the same artist who produced the statue of Oliver Cromwell which stands outside the Houses of Parliament.
For some time Knutsford did not have a public memorial but a new one, incorporating the statue of Harold Baronian was erected in October 2018. Some folks think he is in the act of saluting – but that is not the case – it would be the wrong hand – his hand is raised to shield his eyes from the sun as he took leave from his parents, looking for them in the crowd at the railway station. It was the last time his parents saw him alive.

When he was researching for the book , Tony said he was approached by a guy who said his Great Uncle was killed, his name was Arthur Berry MM, of the Manchester Regiment. The chap gave Tony what memorabilia he had of Arthur, his death plaque and the swagger stick which can be seen in the photo below (left)

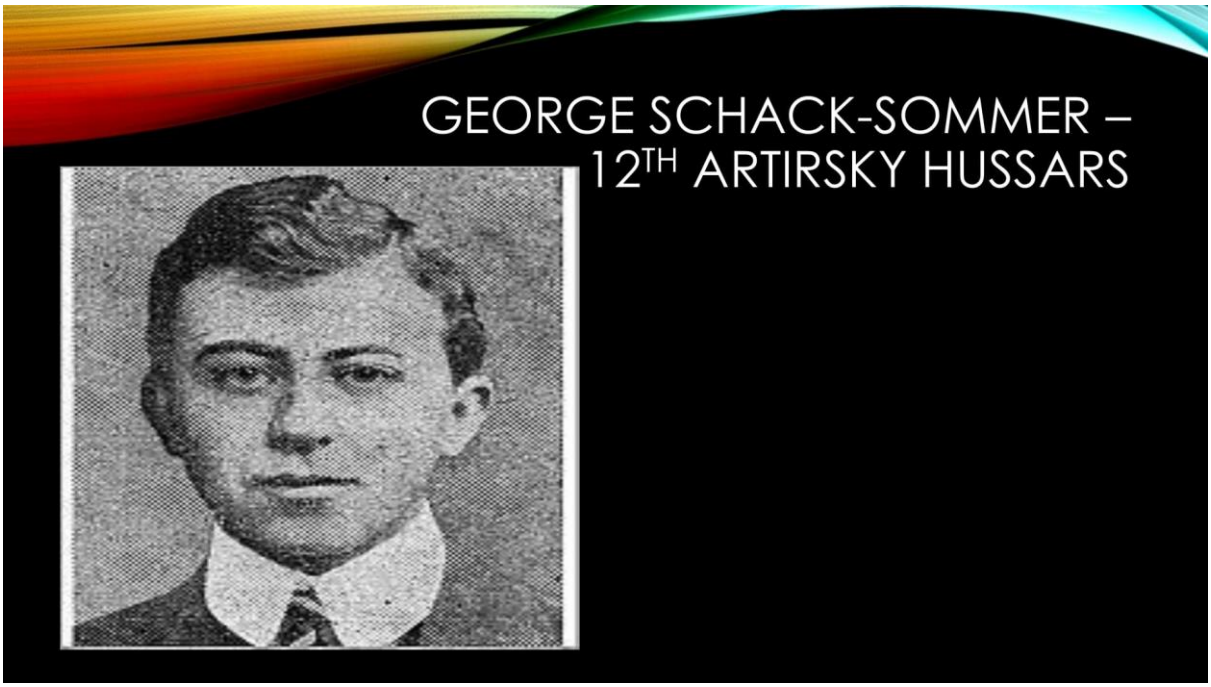
The sager stick is actually marked for the Artists` Rifles and what had happened was, Arthur and a friend had both intended to join the Artist Rifles but Arthur ended up with the Manchesters and they had swapped sticks. The other chap was also killed later in the war. Arthur was killed on a trench raid, he was returning from it, his officers having been killed. Getting back to the `safety` of their own trench , Arthur and another lad jumped in, but the other chap dropped a grenade which went off, killing them both.
Tony then put up a slide showing memorials which had been printed in the local newspapers,



Tony said he had not been able to identify who `Vi` was….was `she` a girlfriend…who said `Gone with farewells unspoken`…….that will never be known…



This picture is Tony at Arthur`s grave whilst on a battlefield tour



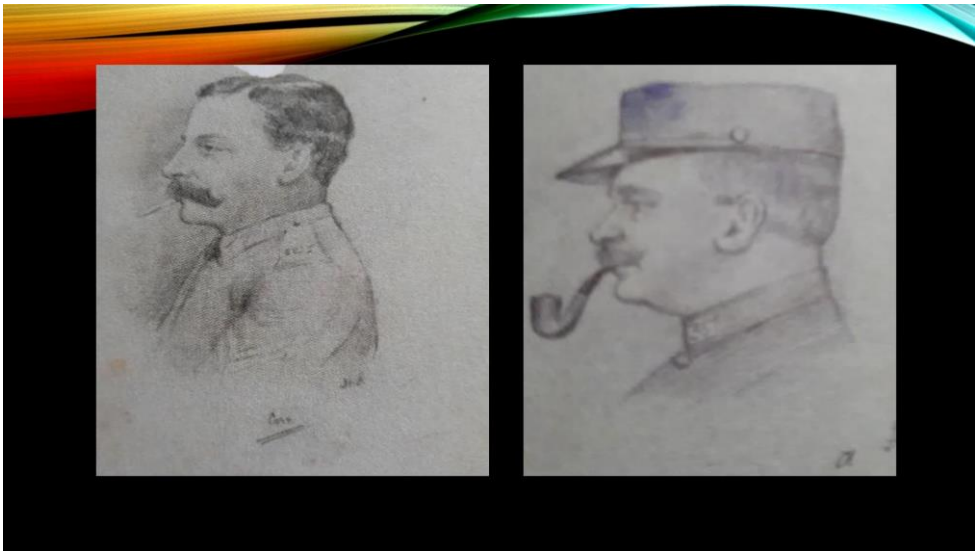
George Schack-Sommer is an interesting character, he was a mining engineer and attended Eton before University. Whilst working in Russia he joined the Russian army, getting special dispensation from the Czar himself. Why did he join the Russian army ?…we don`t know. His father was German whilst his mother was a Boer from South Africa. Neither of his parents would have had much love for the British Army so he opted to join the 12 th Artirsky Hussars with whom he was killed in 1915 fighting on the Bulgarian Front.

Not everyone was killed as Tony said, he had come across some interesting stories like that of Elizabeth Barber who had been a nurse with the Serbian Army.

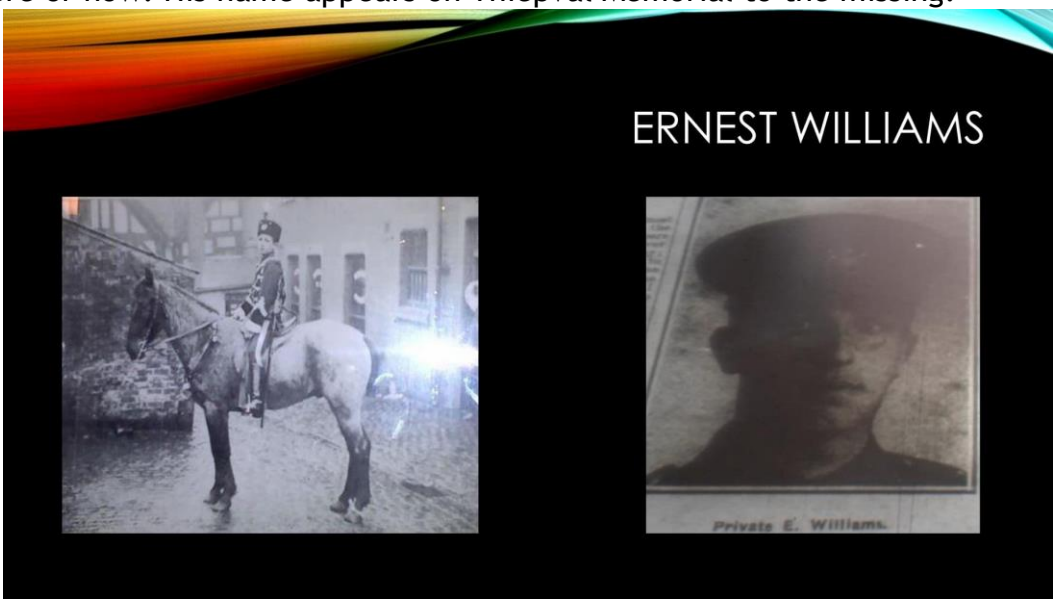
She was captured by the Bulgarian Army who actually paid for her ticket to get back to the UK and upon her return she had nothing but praise for her treatment at the hands of the Bulgarian forces. She returned to France with the British Nursing Auxiliary and was still with them at the end of the war.

George Whittaker, with a picture of his house as it still stands today. Went out to Gallipoli and became a fastidious letter writer, writing home virtually every day. Apparently those letters still exist but Tony said he had been unable to track them down. He was killed at Krithia on Gallipoli on June 4th 1915. His body was found by some men of the Royal Scots who buried him but it wasn`t until January 1916 that his parents finally got confirmation that he was dead, as initially he had been reported as missing .

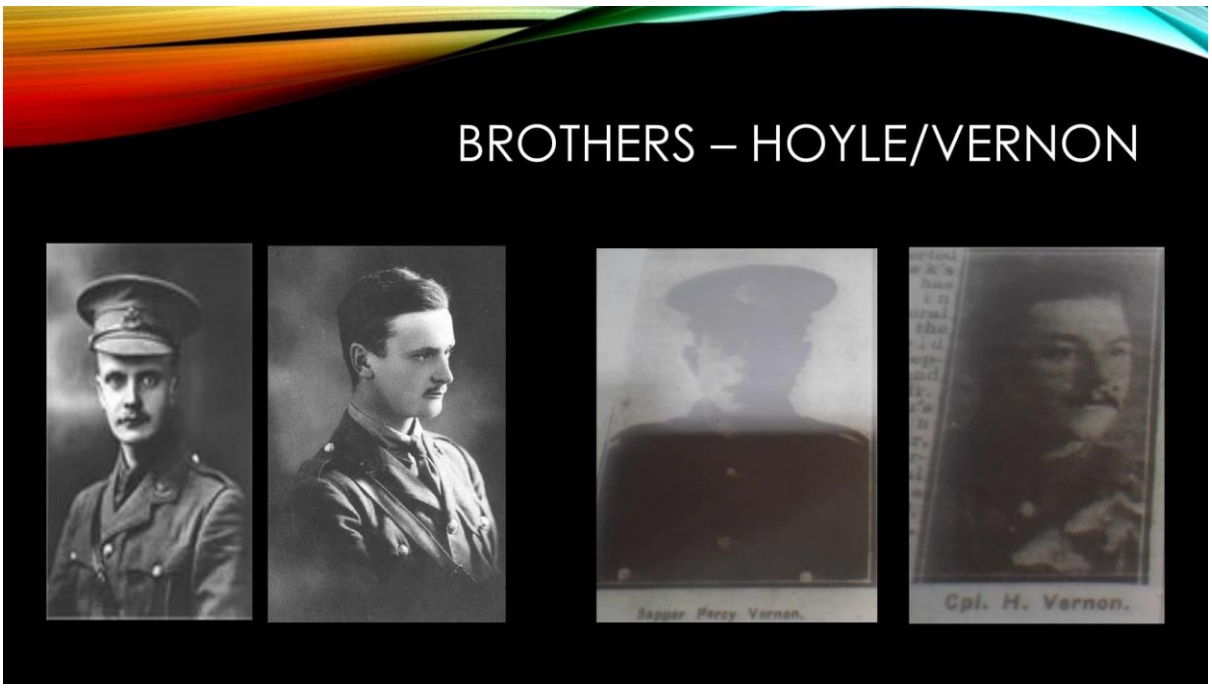
Tony said that for this talk he had selected some of the more interesting characters and one of those was Douglas Rigby of the Cheshire regiment, a talented artist some of whose works Tony has in his possession. He was also a skilled caricaturist and the following shows two of his sketches of soldier colleagues at the front. He was killed in action in 1917 but before that had sent many of his pictures and sketches home to his mother.



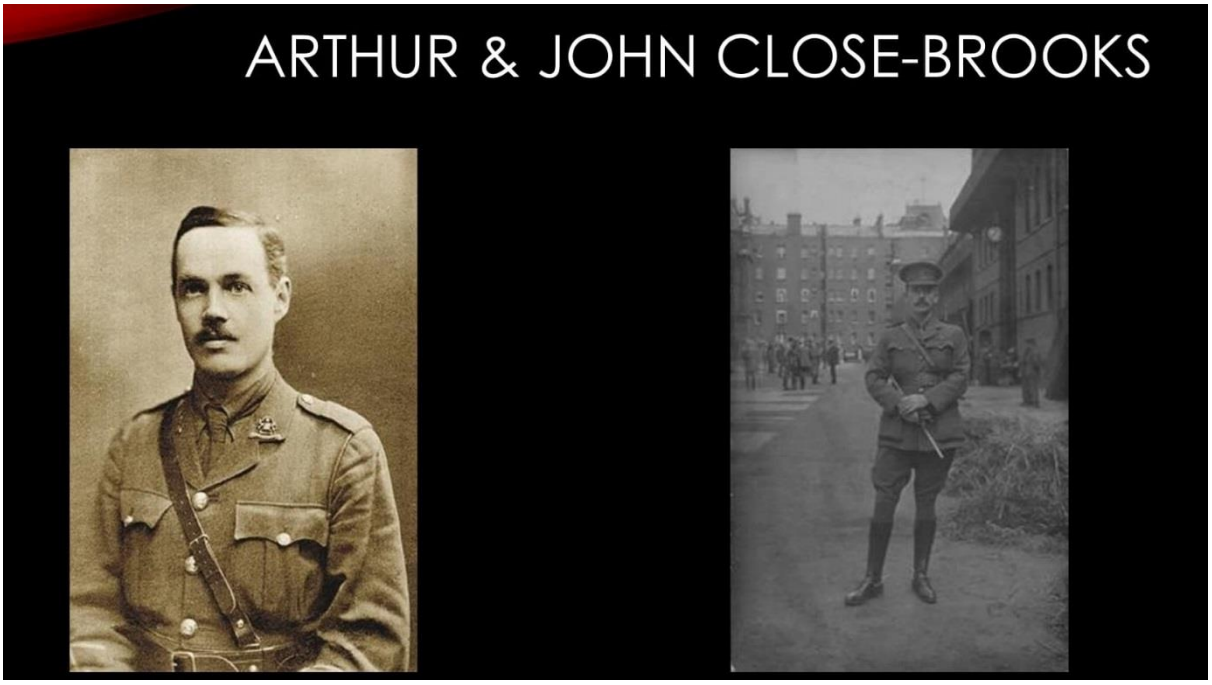
John Hulse of the Machine Gun Corps was a poet, and wrote some lovely poems of which Tony has several in his possession. The tone of these changed from being very optimistic pre-war and at the start of the war but they got darker and heavier as the time went on. He was killed in 1918 but no one knows where or how. His name appears on Thiepval Memorial to the missing.



Ernest Williams had a penchant for getting in uniform. The picture of him on the horse was taken at a Knutsford May Day celebration in 1906 – an annual event which, like so many other activities had to be cancelled this year.



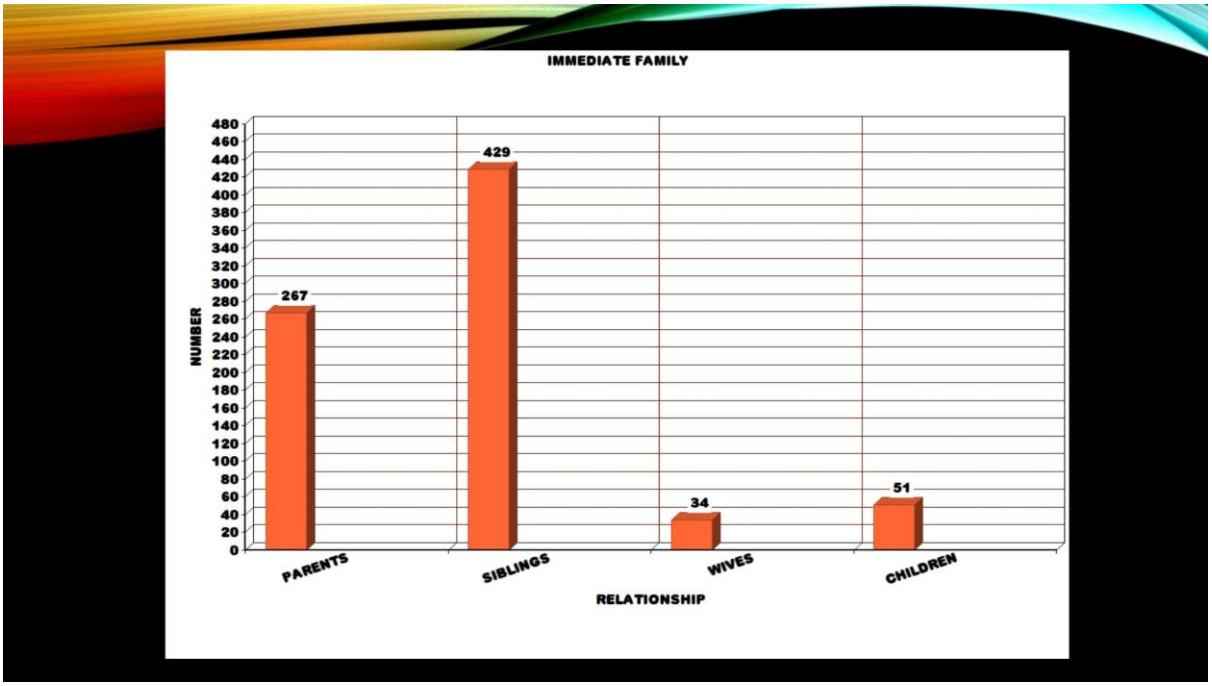
Several brothers were lost in the conflict, the Hoyle brothers were both officers but not in the same regiment. Both fell with a few weeks of each other. The Vernon brothers, one was in the Royal Engineers, both died but in this case years apart.



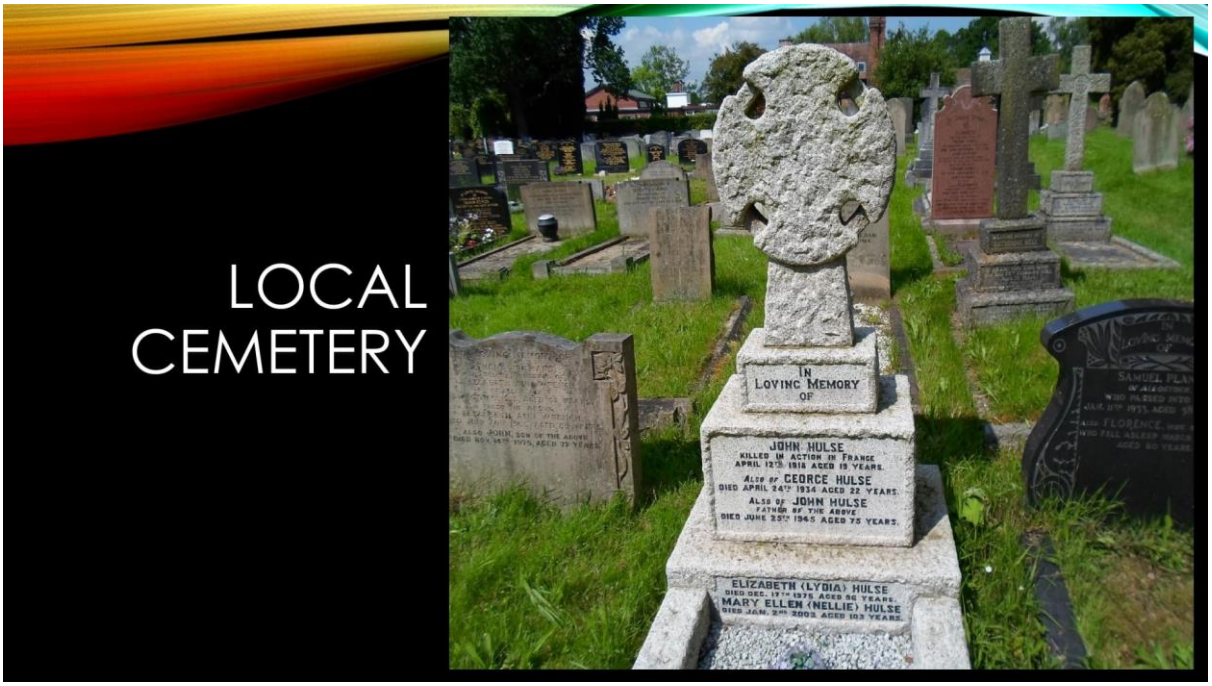
Arthur and John Close-Brooks – Arthur died early on in the war in 1914, John, leading an attack in 1916 towards the end of the Battle of the Somme.

When you look at a small town, as it was then, like Knutsford, that were immediately affected – of the 186 who died, 180 fell during the conflict, a further 6 after the war, from the effects of it – 267

parents were still alive, 429 siblings, 34 widows and 51 children…and that doesn`t take into account other relatives, like grandparents. So the effect on the town must have been immense.



Tony went on to say that whilst walking round local cemeteries whilst researching the book he came across family plots where the names of fallen soldiers had been added to the headstones. In this case John Hulse.



Now if you look behind this stone, the lighter cross to the right, Sydney Leicester is named on that one although he has no known grave being commemorated on Thiepval.

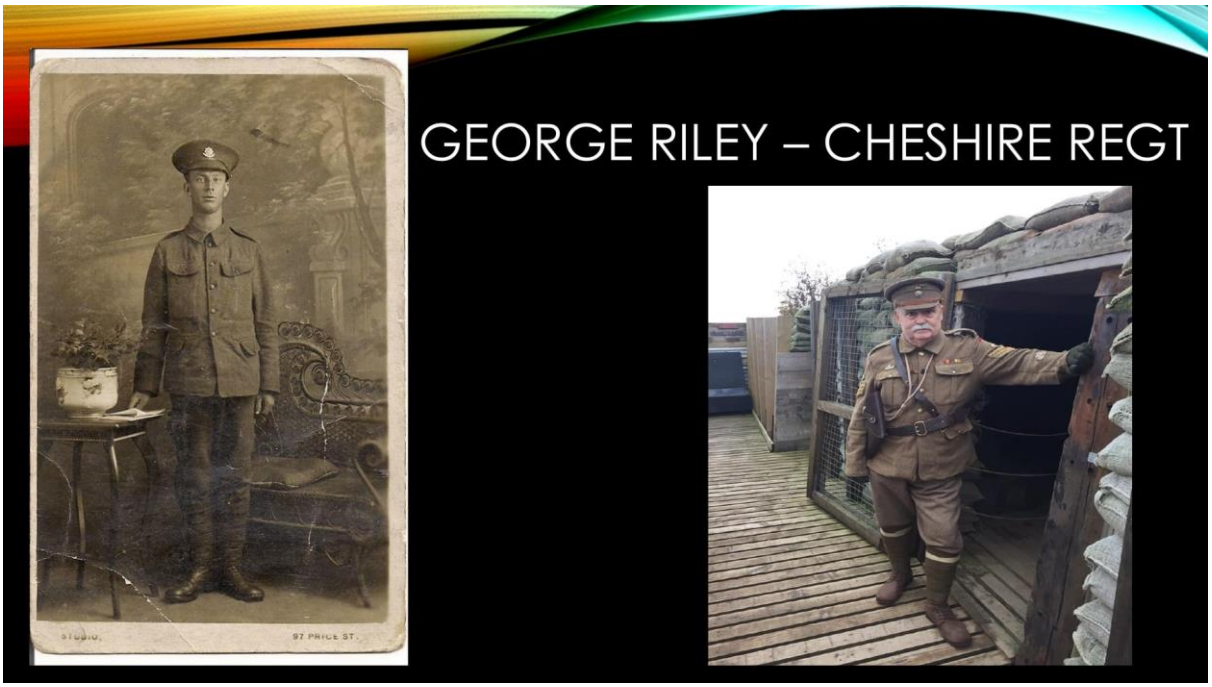
George Lucas was training in Birkenhead and was wounded when a detonator went off and he subsequently died – not from this wound but from tuberculosis a condition he had when he joined up. Subsequently there was an inquiry as to how this man had got through the recruiting process and indeed the Army Council were in fact informed that Lucas had joined up whilst suffering from TB. Practices were put in place later in the war to try to stop similar cases getting through the recruiting process and the medicals.

On the left is James Holland, seen here with his mum, and in 1915 he was out on an attack and didn`t feel well – he was suffering from severe piles. He asked his sergeant if he could go back but was told to wait for an officer. Shortly after that James and several other men were seen runni9ing back to the British lines shouting that the Germans were coming. He is seen firing at the Germans but by the time he gets back to the British line he has no rifle. He is immediately arrested and court martialled for `Cowardice in the Face of the Enemy` and in May 1915 he was executed.
Was he a coward – No!.....Was he ill ?....Yes!. The trial papers are available on line and make interesting reading. He is not on the Knutsford Memorial, but that of Great Budworth.

Our last man to fall was Ernest Gough

He was with The Devons in Russia in 1919 when killed by a shell. He has no known grave but is commemorated on the Archangel Memorial.

Tony said that when he does his talks in schools and suchlike, he takes on the guise of a recruiting sergeant, George Riley. A couple of years ago he was at the Tapton flower Show and was reading out about the war, lady came along and asked if she could have a photograph to which Tony assented. I conversation she said she had a relative who was killed in the Great War…who was he asked Tony …answer…George Riley ..which made the hairs stand up on the back of Tony`s neck. She offered Tony some photographs and letters of George Riley and needless to say first thing next morning Tony was banging on her door. The real George Riley was killed at the Battle of Passchendaele. He and his comrades went `over the top` on October 24th and he was posted missing. Three days later he was found by some German soldiers having sustained a thigh wound. He was taken to hospital but died ten days later so technically he died as a POW.



GEORGE RILEY – CHESHIRE REGT

Tony concluded by showing pictures and describing other re-enactments he has done, some for the history channel.

Presentation over Tony then took a number of questions from `attendees`. Thanks again to Dudley Giles for a well organised `virtual meeting`.

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Military Ambulance Trains

Originally published in 1921 in the book `British Railways and the Great War` (two volumes)

Part Five

How cordially the services rendered by the railway sub-committee were appreciated by the military authorities was well shown by the following letters received by the Railway Executive Committee from the War Office:-

July 15th, 1916

I am commanded by the Army Council to express their satisfaction at the successful delivery to France of eighteen complete ambulance trains constructed by the Railway Executive Committee to the order of the War Office and one additional train presented by the Princess Christian. The results of the labours of the Ambulance Trains for the Continent Sub-Committee have received universal praise, and the Council recognise that the success which has attended their efforts has been largely due to the technical skill of the sub-committee and the unfailing trouble they have taken in the design, construction, organisation and transport of these trains.

I am to request you to convey to the members of the Sub-Committee and to their secretary, Mr. HJ Moore, the Council`s appreciation of their services in a direction which so closely affects the welfare of the troops at the Front

B.B. Cubitt

War Office, London SW1, July 19th 1920

Sir,

As the work of the Sub-Committee on Ambulance Trains for the Continent is now approaching completion, I am commanded by the Army Council to desire you to convey to the individual gentlemen who have served as members of this Sub-Committee, the Council`s high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by them.

The efficiency and celerity with which the Sub-Committee dealt with the design and supply of ambulance trains and spare parts for the various Theatres of War undoubtedly helped in a marked degree towards the successful termination of the late war and in alleviating the sufferings of the wounded and latterly have also proved of great assistance in coping with the many problems which arose subsequent to the conclusion of the Armistice. It is understood that this work was carried out by these gentlemen in addition to their heavy and onerous duties under their respective railway companies, and the council desire to record their recognition of the patriotic spirit which animated the members of the Sub-Committee.

I am, Sir, Your Obedient Servant, (Sgnd) B.B. Cubitt

From Battlefield to Britain

Under the stress of War, Boulogne became what is aptly described as a `city of hospitals`. The work of unloading the wounded from ambulance trains to ambulance motors for conveyance to these hospitals was done with such expedition that a train of 123 wounded is known to have been cleared in in 19 minutes and another of 264 wounded in 53 minutes. During the month of March 1915, the number moved to Boulogne either from the trains to the hospitals or from the hospitals to the ships was 33941.

When passing all these arrangements and achievements under review in a speech he made in the House of Commons on April 22nd 1915, Mr Tennant, then Under-/secretary for War, spoke of them as "subjects of legitimate pride and gratification", and continued:-

It was no uncommon feature of the battle of Neuve Chapelle that the wounded should be back in hospitals in London within 24 hours of their wounds being received. I had the pleasure of seeing a Lieutenant-Colonel in one of the Highland Regiments who was wounded at Neuve Chapelle whilst in the trenches between 1.30 and 2pm. He became unconscious on receipt of his wound and he awoke to consciousness soon after 3pm in comfort in a hospital bed in a hospital eleven miles behind the firing line, with his wounds dressed.

More remarkable still was the account given in the British Medical Journal, August 11th, 1917, of the expedition with which the transfer of wounded from battlefields in France to hospitals in London was effected. The action that led to the carrying of the Messines Ridge began at daybreak on June 7th of that year and at 2.15pm that afternoon ambulance trains with men wounded in the action were entering Charing Cross Station.

Distribution at Home

No sooner was the fact realised that a large number of hospitals would be wanted for the nursing of the wounded than offers of accommodation began to pour in from every part of the country . Town vied with town and village with village in their eagerness to have the honour of tending those who had suffered in conflict. With the use of ambulance trains, in which patients would travel with a maximum of attainable comfort, distance from the port of arrival became immaterial ; and, in the result, practically every town in Great Britain had a hospital of some kind, great or small, in which sick and wounded were received. Apart from the recognised military hospitals, of which full use was made as a matter of course, general hospitals everywhere hastened to place every bed they possibly could at the disposal of the military authorities. Poor Law and other institutions did the same, but the more remarkable factor in the situation was the way in which new hospitals were specially organised for the occasion. Red Cross Hospitals, Voluntary Aid Detachment hospitals, and others besides, were opened in large numbers were opened in all kinds of public buildings, including schools and chapels, while private residences were also extensively used. The effect of this distribution was in every respect excellent. A concentration of the patients in any one town or locality, or even in alimited number of towns and localities, would have ben impracticable, whereas the methods adopted had the effect, not only of making the best possible use of accommodation in every section of the country, but of utilising the services of local doctors in such a way they were able to look after the sick and wounded in hospitals in their own neighbourhood while still carrying on their private practice – remember this pre-NHS days. In other words the military element was cared for without neglect of the civilian population. Great advantage followed , also , from the services which ladies resident in the towns or districts concerned were able to render at the local hospitals as nurses, cooks, or in other capacities .

The work of distribution was at first controlled from Southampton, but by 1917 it had assumed such proportions and required such frequent communications with other branches of the War Office that the headquarters was transferred to Adastral House, Thames Embankment, where Sir William Donovan, as Director of medical Services, Embarkation, had a large staff and controlled an exceptionally efficient organisation carrying on a work that became, at times a very laborious, exacting and complicated business indeed.

The basis of the organisation was the receipt by the Director of Medical Services, not only of information as to the prospective arrival of hospital ships at certain ports and the number of patients they were carrying, but, also, of daily messages by telegraph or telephone, from each

main hospital in the kingdom as to how many beds were available for sick and wounded troops either in that institution or at any auxiliary hospital which might be associated with it.

Special arrangements with the Postmaster General allowed of the staff at Adastral House being put into instant communication, whenever they desired, with any hospital in any part of Great Britain. In this way the Director of Medical Services knew the exact position, day by day as to the accommodation then available, and could give directions to the Deputy-Assistant Director of Medical Services, or any other officer, at each of the ports of arrival concerning the destinations to which the patients should be sent. Adastral House was thus kept in touch with the situation as a whole, and was able to ensure both that patients would not be sent to any town where the hospitals were already full and that what was done at one port would not likely clash with the action taken at another. On receiving the said directions from London, the Deputy-Assistant Director at the port concerned would draw up his programme and make the necessary arrangements in respect to ambulance trains, etc. with the local railway authorities. The destination of each patient depended, more or less on the nature of his illness or injuries. Certain hospitals specialised in the treatment of particular injuries or ailments, and it was to a hospital of this type that a patient suffering from any one of such injuries or illness was sent by preference. An effort was also made to send a patient to a hospital near to his own home in order that he could be visited more readily by his relatives, but this was not always practicable, more particularly with specialist cases. All that could be done was to send a man as near to his home as circumstances would permit. There were special hospitals for Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and other Dominion troops, so that, altogether, the arrival of each hospital ship meant a great deal of sorting out.

It was subject to such conditions as these that the Deputy Assistant Director at the port would draw up the first draft of his programme – only, perhaps to find it subject to many revisions and alterations before it could be regarded as complete. Fewer or more cases might arrive than had been expected; hospitals reserved for special cases might announce at the last moment that they were full up; these cases would then have to be sent on to another destination, and perhaps by a different train; delays might be caused by bad cases or by the arrival of a boat at low water, when more time would be required for disembarkation – and so on.

Let us assume, however, that all these and other possible conditions had been duly met and that the ambulance train had been despatched from the port of disembarkation on its errand of mercy. The function it then fulfilled was a triple one since ambulance trains at home provided, not alone for the distribution of sick and wounded from ports to the interior of the country but for the transfer of patients from one hospital to another, or in the case of soldiers from the Empire, from one place in the interior to the port from whence they were to start on their journey home

The transfer from one hospital to another was generally arranged when the recovery of a patient, who might have been sent to one of the specialist hospitals in the first instance, was not expected for some months. He was then moved near, or nearer to, his home, although this was not done in the case of patients whose recovery was not likely to be long delayed. Even with this limitation, the removal of transfer cases became a big business in itself, and one that involved the setting up of a separate department at Adastral House. An ambulance train starting from aport might have to stop at any number of places, perhaps up to seven or eight either en route or on the return journey, in order to pick up transfer cases. This could more especially happen in the Eastern Counties where the train would make something like a circular tour instead of having a straight run. In some instances empty ambulance trains were sent from a port to towns in the Midlands or elsewhere in order to deal with transfer cases or to convey Empire soldiers to the port from which they were to embark on their homeward journey. The final stage of a typical programme at Dover for the running of an ambulance train, was under all these conditions, as follows:-

Ambulance boat, Jan Breydel. Due 2.50pm. Berth no. 2 . Number of ambulance train. 16. To convey Canadians to Taplow (Great Western Railway) hence to Temple Meads, Bristol, with 100 cot and 60 sitting cases together with three cot patients picked up at Addison Road for transfer to Temple Meads. On the return journey stop at Taplow to set down five cot Canadians and at Addison Road to set down one cot case, all from Temple Meads.

To be continued

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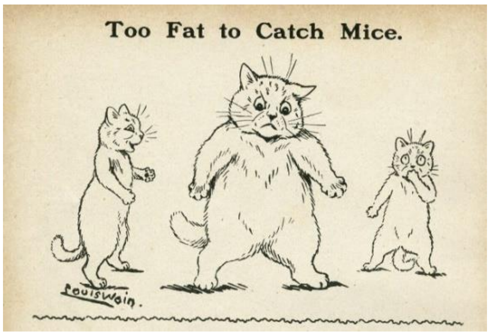
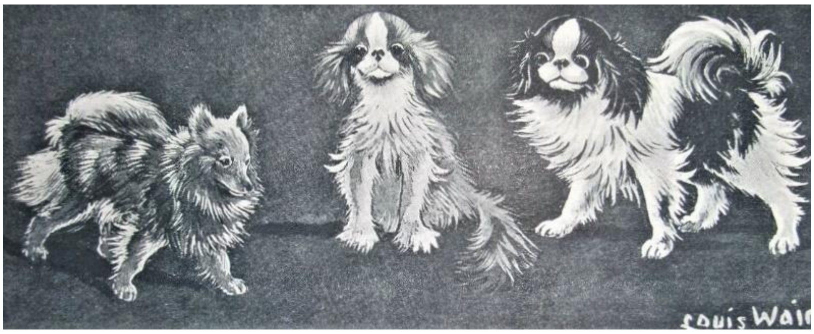
LOUIS WAIN'S CATS by Jane Ainsworth

(INTENDED FOR MENTAL HEALTH AWARENESS WEEK IN MAY 2020)





For centuries, scientists have explored the links between genius and madness. Many individuals created great works while suffering from periods of mental illness; some achieved success, wealth and fame in their lifetime, but others, sadly, were unaware of it happening posthumously, gaining no direct benefit. Examples include: <u>Music</u> (Beethoven, Schumann), <u>Literature</u> (Charles Dickens, Ernest Hemingway, Virginia Woolf), <u>Poetry</u> (Lord Byron, Sylvia Plath) and <u>Fine Art</u> (Goya, Munch, Gaugin, Vincent Van Gogh, Richard Dadd).

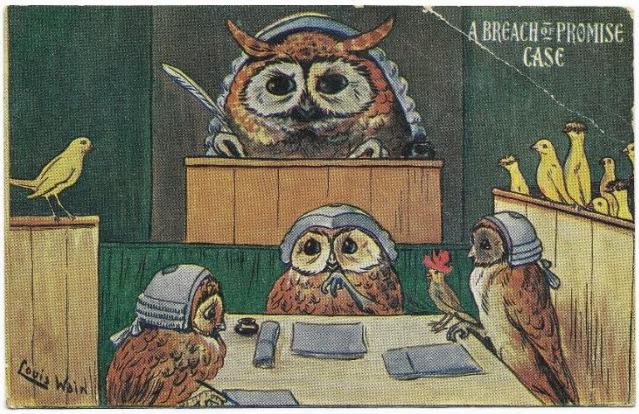
Plato (423 – 348 BC) claimed that creativity was a "divine madness... a gift from the gods." His book *Phaedrus* (370BC) is a dialogue between Socrates and Phaedrus, in which the former explains the four kinds of divine madness: Apollo: prophecy; Dionysus: mystic rites; Muses: poetry; Aphrodite: love. According to Seneca, Aristotle (c384 – 322 BC) believed that "There is no great genius without a mixture of madness". Theseus in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* says: "The lunatic, the lover and the poet are of imagination all compact". Psychologists and researchers continue to explore connections between creativity and mental illness, with no suggestion that madness is a prerequisite of creativity.

Various therapies help people with mental health problems: art, music, writing, drama and dance. In addition to being enjoyable occupations, they enable patients to express their inner thoughts and feelings which are too complex to articulate. Therapists help patients to interpret and understand what they are trying to communicate while art allows professionals to access the hidden, innermost, private worlds of delusion, hallucinations and delirium.

L*ouis Wain in 1903, aged 43*

Louis Wain (1860 - 1939) was an innovative Artist and Commercial Illustrator, famous mainly for his anthropomorphized cats although he also drew dogs and other animals, which are all popular today. I have been a fan of his felines for many years, but recently 'rediscovered' him while browsing post cards on eBay. Louis spent the last 15 years of his life in Asylums, where his brightly coloured cat paintings became 'psychedelic' as his mental health deteriorated. There are different opinions about the cause of Louis' mental illness, but some specialists are convinced that his schizophrenia is apparent in his work.

Whatever the root of his inspiration, Louis created a huge amount of superb work – drawings, paintings, ceramic figures and cartoon films - through Victorian, Edwardian, Art Nouveau, Futurist and Psychedelic periods.



LOUIS WILLIAM WAIN was born on 5 August 1860 in South Street, Clerkenwell, Islington, London, to William Matthew Wain (1825 – 1880) and Julie Felicie nee Boiteux (1840 – 1910). His father was born in Leek, where he worked as a Silk Weaver before being forced to leave home on converting to Roman Catholicism. William gained experience as a Draper before moving to London as a Woollen Draper and Commercial Traveller. Louis' mother had French parents and siblings, but she was born in London or possibly 'At Sea'. Her father was an Artist and she worked as an Ecclesiastical Designer and Embroiderer.

Louis was named after his maternal grandfather, Louis Antoine Marie Boiteux, and his father William. There is some confusion in records over the spelling and order of first names of some family members: Marie (Mary) is used for males or females and Louis chose it for his Confirmation name.

Louis was the first of seven children; a second son was stillborn. None of his five sisters got married but they remained at home, where several worked as Embroiderers and talented Artists.

Caroline Mary (Marie) Elizabeth (3.2.1862 – 14.4.1917, aged 55, in Willesden district)
Josephine Felicie (4.4.1864 – 14.1.1939, aged 75, in Willesden district)
Claire Marie (22.12.1866 – 20.5.1945, aged 79, in Dulwich, London) NB Probate

Mary (**Marie**) Louisa (1869 – 3.3.1913, aged 44, in St Augustine's Hospital, Kent)
Felicie Marie (Julie) (4.7.1871 – 8.2.1940, aged 69, in Willesden Hospital)

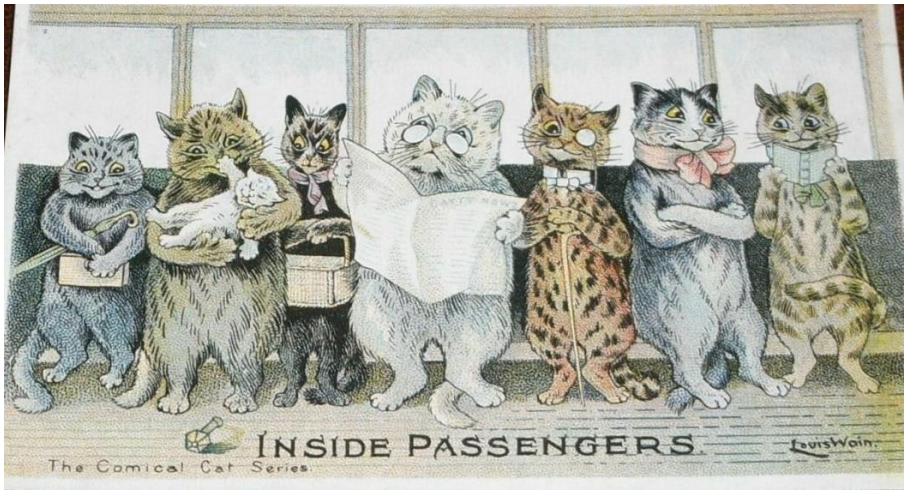
Louis was born with a cleft lip and delayed attending school. He initially went on to study music but changed to art at the West London School of Art, where he was an Assistant Teacher c1880-1. (The School of Art was founded in early 1860s in Marylebone then moved to larger premises as it took on more students: in 1873 to Oxford Street then in 1880 to Great Titchfield Street, near Regent's Park).

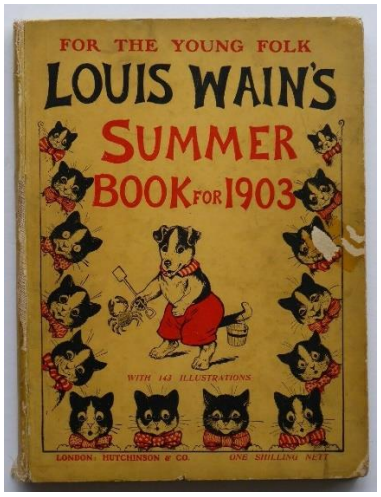
When his father died in 1880, aged 55, Louis assumed the role of supporting his mother and sisters. Having been paid for some of his drawings, he quit his teaching position to become a freelance Artist. Louis achieved success working for several journals, including the *Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic News* and the *Illustrated London News.* He fulfilled various commissions for animal shows and country houses, including impressive drawings of Wentworth Woodhouse in 1888-9. The family resided in shared houses, employing domestic servants, at Brook Street then Park Street in Westminster.

Louis got married in January 1884 to Emily Marie Richardson, who was employed as a Governess for his youngest sisters. His mother disapproved because she was ten years older than him, so they had moved to Hampstead. Emily became ill and was eventually diagnosed as having breast cancer; Louis was devastated when she died in 1887, aged 36. While she was ill, they acquired a black and white kitten called Peter, who provided great comfort to Emily. Louis drew many sketches of the cat, which Emily encouraged him to publish.

His first drawing of an anthropomorphic cat to be published was "A Kitten's Christmas Party' in the *Illustrated London News* in 1886. Louis wrote of Peter later: "To him, properly, belongs the foundation of my career, the developments of my initial efforts, and the establishing of my work." Peter can be recognized in many of his early published works as he lived until 1998, aged about 14 years.

Louis' *Catland* drawings were prolific and his often-comic anthropomorphized cats – dressed in contemporary clothing, with exaggerated facial expressions and participating in all sorts of different activities - were extremely popular as cards, postcards, illustrations in books, journals and posters. Louis was regarded as an expert on cats and his work raised their status amongst the public; he was invited to join the National Cat Club in 1890 and chaired it from 1898 to 1911.





The family moved from central London to a large house in Westgate on Sea, near Margate, Kent, between the 1891 and 1901 Censuses**.** Marie was certified insane early 1901, aged 30, and admitted to an asylum in Kent; she had suffered from delusions and was diagnosed with 'primary dementia'. (I have been unable to find out more about her because personal records are not yet publicly accessible).

In 1907, at the height of Louis' success, he was invited to New York, where he drew some comic strips for Hearst newspapers and launched *Grimalkin* and *Cat About Town*, which were greatly admired. However, his public criticism of the City offended people.

Louis returned home soon after his mother's sudden death of influenza in 1910, aged 70. She was buried in Margate, Kent. Louis' sister Marie died in St Augustine's Mental Hospital (formerly Kent Lunatic Asylum) in Chartham in 1913, aged 44, and was buried nearby. Apparently, the Wain family did not talk about her. Caroline died of influenza in April 1917, aged 55, and was buried with her father.

At the end of that year, Louis and three sisters moved to Brondesbury, Willesden - originally in Middlesex but now within London Borough of Brent – so that Louis could reduce journeys into the city to sell his work. Despite his success as an Artist, Louis experienced financial difficulties. He needed to earn enough to support his mother and sisters but had no head for business and could be gullible; he under-priced his work, gave away copyright and lost money on some speculative investments.

The First World War made his situation worse: an investment in a venture to create lamps with pure white light using virtually no oil was lost because it was not developed, the market for his work collapsed because of restrictions on paper supplies, an order for ceramic versions of some of his drawings, fulfilled by a Continental firm, was lost at sea when the ship was torpedoed and his Annual, introduced in 1901 and published for 20 years, ceased. Louis introduced a new cat *Tommy (C)Atkins*.

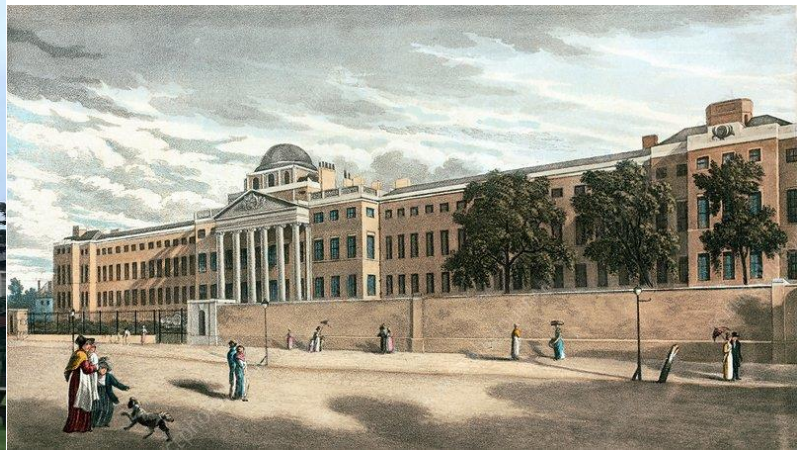
Louis came up with the idea of making animal cartoon moving pictures and he worked with a cameraman to produce a ten-minute film *Pussyfoot* which was screened early 1917. He found it demanding drawing 16 pictures for each second of film and abandoned the project after three films. (Pat Sullivan in Hollywood overshadowed Louis, gaining fame and fortune for his animated *Felix the Cat* series).

At some stage during the war, Louis sustained concussion and other serious injuries when he fell from an open topped bus in The Strand in London. He was admitted to St Bartholomew's Hospital for several weeks to regain consciousness and receive treatment. It appears that he did not fully recover but Psychiatrists do not believe this affected his mental illness. Louis' behaviour became erratic and occasionally violent towards his sisters, who were unable to cope with him. He was declared insane in 1923 and committed to a pauper ward at Springfield Mental Hospital in Tooting, where Dr Thomas Stuttaford diagnosed schizophrenia. Louis' cat drawings here could appear aggressive and evil.

(Springfield had opened as the Surrey County Pauper Lunatic Asylum in 1841 with 299 'inmates' admitted on the first day; the number increased to 385 in the first year. Two wings were added in 1847 to accommodate another 400 patients with subsequent extensions on the large site. It was renamed Wandsworth Asylum in 1888 and a block was used as Springfield War Hospital in the First World War for soldiers suffering from shell shock. In 1929, it had 2,000 patients, 83 acres of farmland and 14 acres of garden. It is now Springfield University Hospital and used as the headquarters of South West London and St Georges Mental Health NHS Trust, who provide inpatient and community services).

Dan Rider, a London Bookseller, visited the Asylum in 1925 and recognised Louis. Dan contacted the *Times* who publicized Louis' circumstances and a group of influential people, including Princess Alexandra, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, John Galsworthy and H G Wells, established a fund to raise money to move Louis to a different Asylum and to support his sisters. Louis was transferred to the Bethlem Royal Hospital in Southwark - also known as St Mary Bethlehem Hospital and Bedlam – where he had his own room.

Springfield Mental Hospital



Bethlem Hospital in Southwark – illustration 1828

(Bethlem was founded in 1247 in Bishopsgate and it was England's first asylum for the treatment of the insane, but for many years it was an inhumane place as well as a popular London attraction. It relocated to a larger, more ornate building in Moorfields in 1676, but patients continued to receive little care from unkind staff, with cruel treatments and many chained to walls so that none were cured. The interior of the grand building deteriorated and living conditions were squalid. In 1815, the hospital moved to new premises in St George's Fields, Southwark, and new staff were appointed. An inspection in 1818 found patients clean, well fed, properly clothed and without restraints but other scandals occurred. In 1853, protests from reformers succeeded and the hospital was no longer independent, able to operate outside the law with no inspections.

(When the Bethlem Royal Hospital moved in 1930 to its current location in Beckenham, Kent - now within the London Borough of Bromley – the Imperial War Museum moved into the main part of the premises in Southwark. The Bethlem remains a psychiatric hospital in 270 acres of green space managed by South London and Maudsley NHS Foundation Trust. Bethlem Museum of the Mind contains a permanent history of the hospital and holds exhibitions, often showcasing work by patients).

Napsbury Hospital, St Albans

A Tea Party at Napsbury

Louis moved again in 1930 to Napsbury Hospital at London Colney, St Alban's, as it was felt this was a better location for him than the new site for the Bethlem. (Middlesex County Asylum opened in 1905 to house 1,200 patients amidst parkland; it was used during and after the First World War, known as Middlesex War Hospital, and closed 1998).

Louis found peace in its relatively pleasant environment, extensive grounds and colony of cats. Although he became increasingly deluded, his erratic mood swings were controlled and he continued drawing and painting for pleasure. His work from this period is marked by bright colours, flowers and intricate abstract and psychedelic patterns, but cats remained his primary subject.

His sister Claire brought materials in for him and collected the finished works to sell. Felicie had been housebound with arthritis for many years and she died in January 1939, aged 75; she was buried with her father, but Louis was not informed.

Louis had a stroke in November 1936 and deteriorated until he became bed bound and was unable to speak. He died on 4 July 1939, aged 78, in Napsbury Hospital, where he had spent nine years. His funeral service was held at the Church of the Sacred Heart in Kilburn on 10 July. Louis William Wain was buried with his father and sisters Caroline and Josephine, who predeceased him, in St Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Kensal Green, Brent, London. (Sisters Claire and Felicie would join the others later, in 1945 and 1940 respectively).

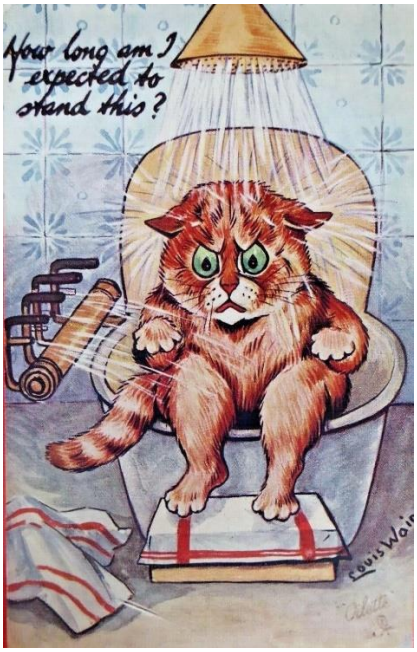
The headstone has the inscription: "Pray for the soul of Matthew William Wain, who, after long and patient suffering, died on October 27th, 1880, aged 56 years" and simply the names of his children. "Louis Wain" was added in the style of his signature. Letters of Administration were granted for Louis William Wain in 1971, almost 32 years after he had died intestate. He left £300 (worth about £6,700 in 2018 based on labour value).

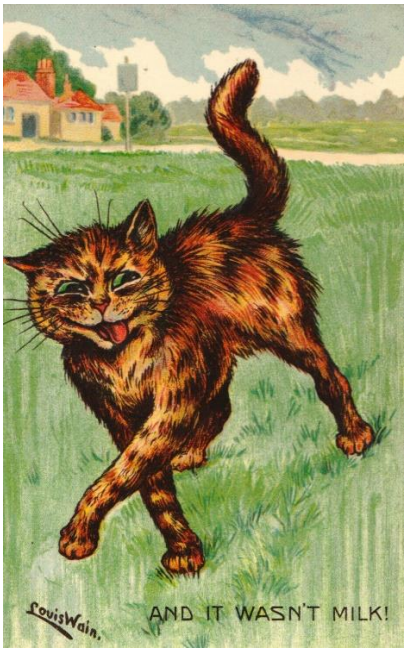
There were quite a few Obituaries in newspapers around the country the week after Louis died. As often happens, each reported different snippets about his life and they help to build up a more detailed picture of the man. The *Daily Mirror* called Louis: 'the uncrowned king of Cat-dom, a strange tormented man with a passion and love for cats that overwhelmed all else.' It stated that he 'drowned in sorrow' when his wife died and praised his sisters for their 'heroism and selfless devotion' through periods of poverty and his insanity.

Birmingham Mail explained how Louis kept a 'family of animals' and at one time had 17 cats; his drawings delighted millions. *Portsmouth Evening News* explained in a joint article about Mr Harrison that Louis had thought of the idea of using animals in moving cartoon pictures; 'his cats were famous around the world'. *Cornishman* said that one of Louis' sisters gave Peter, a black and white kitten, to his wife when she was ill. The article provided a few more details about the accident when he was 61, but frustratingly not the cause of it: 'he fell from the top of a bus in the Strand and under the hooves of a pair of dray horses'.

Yorkshire Evening Post includes information from Louis' sister Claire's interview with the *Daily Telegraph*. She was planning an exhibition of his work: "I have scores of his paintings … All the years he was in Napsbury Mental Hospital Louis painted, but many of his works he gave away to patients and the staff. That was his pleasure." She described how her brother loved music and had studied this first but abandoned it for drawing. She said that he composed an opera, which was of interest to Sir Henry Wood, "but that was before the war and never produced". Claire spoke of his various financial losses during the First World War and his subsequent accident. "About 18 months ago he had a stroke and was bedridden since."

*Liverpool Daily Pos*t reported in early October 1939 on the opening of the exhibition of Louis Wain's work at the Brook Street Gallery in London. Louis 'continued to be an unmistakeable individuality and his vivid and almost naively amusing cats and kittens have given a grand sum of pleasure not only to children but grownups.' 'I think one may say truthfully that Wain will probably be reprinted and enjoyed long after many another more 'artistic' artist has been forgotten.'

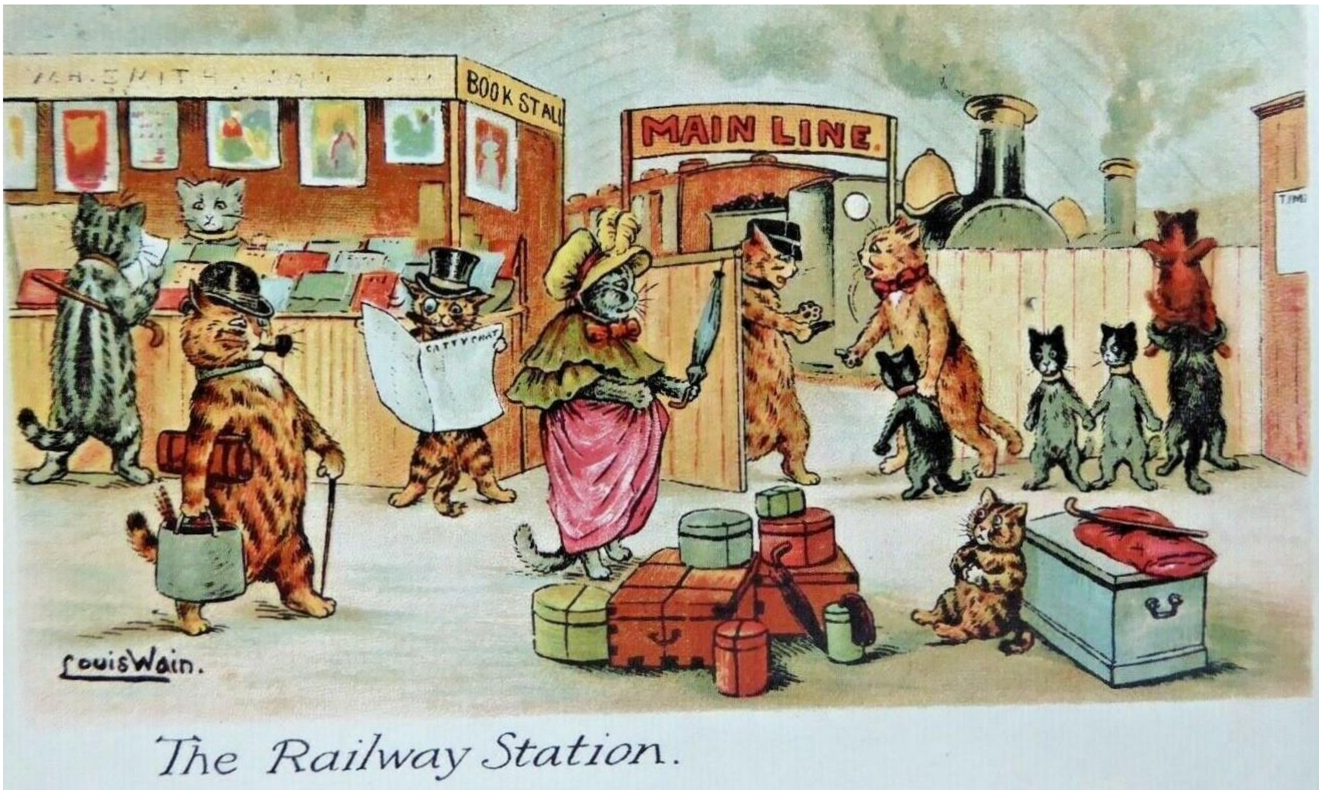




Louis Wain's work lost its popularity after his death as people were preoccupied with the Second World War. However, the publication in 1968 of Rodney Dale's biography "*Louis Wain: the Man who Drew Cats*", followed by an exhibition of his work by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1972, revived interest in his work, which has remained very collectable. Few of his many books have been reprinted; books and original postcards using his designs fetch high prices but postcards have been reprinted.

Rodney Dale's book has been republished and is still available. A new biography "*Louis Wain's CATS"* by Chris Beetles was first published in 2011 and contains many wonderful illustrations in colour.

(*Inspired by Louis Wain, other artists have produced their own anthropomorphized cat designs*).



Jane Ainsworth – 8 June 2020

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Received this from Michael Moretti…as he put it déjà vu ???

WHAT GOES AROUND, COMES AROUND

History repeats itself. Came across this poem written in 1869, reprinted during 1919 Pandemic.

This is Timeless....

And people stayed at home
And read books
And listened
And they rested
And did exercises
And made art and played
And learned new ways of being
And stopped and listened
More deeply
Someone meditated, someone prayed
Someone met their shadow
And people began to think differently
And people healed.
And in the absence of people who
Lived in ignorant ways
Dangerous, meaningless and heartless,
The earth also began to heal
And when the danger ended and
People found themselves
They grieved for the dead
And made new choices
And dreamed of new visions
And created new ways of living
And completely healed the earth
Just as they were healed.

Thursday, November 7th, 1918

CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF KELOWNA

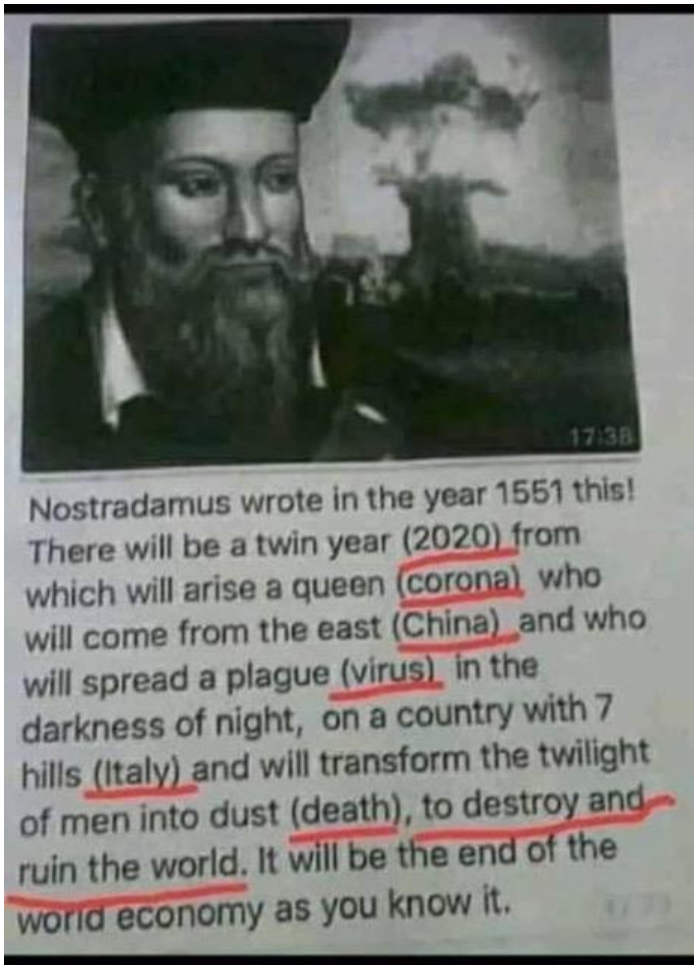
PUBLIC NOTICE

Notice is hereby given that, in order to prevent the spread of Spanish Influenza, all Schools, public and private, Churches, Theatres, Moving Picture Halls, Pool Rooms and other places of amusement, and Lodge meetings, are to be closed until further notice.

All public gatherings consisting of ten or more are prohibited.

D. W. SUTHERLAND,
Mayor.

Kelowna, B.C.,
19th October, 1918.



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Dear members and supporters

Guided Tours of Spital Cemetery
In response to concerns about group tours in the Cemetery during these difficult times, we have reviewed our risk assessment policy and Chesterfield Borough Council is now happy for the tours to resume. Relevant changes are:
1. Tours must be booked, email spitalcemeterytours@gmail.com Time and date to be arranged between tour guide and visitors
2. Numbers on the tours, presently a maximum of 6 including the guide(s), will be regularly reviewed in line with Government guidance for outdoor meetings.
3. All guidance on social distancing will be observed.

Note:a pre-washed bag will be available to accept donations on the tours, or you may wish to make your donations online, through our website.

We look forward to welcoming you back on the tours. Of course the Cemetery is always open and a fascinating place to visit at any time. There is a new downloadable Map and Guide to the cemetery on our website. www.friendsofspitalcemetery.co.uk

Best wishes
Friends of Spital Cemetery

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Chum William Henry Sparrow Lowe Barking Branch The Old Contemptibles' Association

This iconic picture has appeared many, many times in print and on line showing men of the Royal Fusiliers resting in the Grande Place at Mons on August 22nd 1914 – they were in action against the Germans at Nimy next day. So who was the soldier looking directly at the camera ?

This is his story

Chum William Henry Sparrow Lowe
Barking Branch The Old Contemptibles' Association

1914: Private W. H. Lowe
L/9750, 4th Battalion, The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment)

Born on 4 January 1884, William was the son of Thomas John Lowe and Mary Ann Lowe (nee Ebdy) and was baptised at All Saints' Church in Walworth on 19 January. He was employed as a chef's assistant and lived in Camberwell when he attested for The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment) on 11 September 1902 and two days later arrived at the Regimental Depot in Hounslow to commence his training. Posted to the 4th Battalion on 19 November 1902, while stationed at Woolwich Lowe passed his 3rd Class Certificate of Education on 16 October and was appointed a Lance-Corporal on 9 December. Awarded 1st Class Service Pay on 1 April 1904, Lowe reverted to the rank of Private on 27 May and forfeited his pay award. He was later awarded his first Good Conduct Badge on 11 September 1904 and transferred to the Reserve on 4 April 1905.

William married Annie Frances Brown at Bucklow Registry Office in Cheshire on 18 March 1908 and they went on to have seven children. By 1911 he and his family were residing at 59 Salisbury Road in Barnet and William was working as a builders' labourer. Following the declaration of war, and with just over a month left on his twelve years' period of engagement, William was mobilised from the Reserve and after reporting to the Regimental Depot at Hounslow was posted to the 4th Battalion at Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight. Private Lowe embarked with his Battalion on the S.S. Martaban at Southampton on 13 August 1914 and landed at Le Havre the same day. On 22 August he crossed the frontier with Belgium near Malplaquet and by late afternoon the 4th Royal Fusiliers had reached Mons, resting briefly in the Grande Place before taking up positions on the Mons-Conde Canal at Nimy. Private Lowe was taken prisoner on 23 August following the fighting on the Canal and spent the remainder of the war in captivity.

Repatriated following the Armistice, William was posted onto the strength of the Regimental Depot on 18 December 1918 and on 17 February 1919 was transferred to the 5th (Special Reserve) Battalion, attached 150th Protection Company, Royal Defence Corps in London District. He was transferred to the Class Z Army Reserve on his demobilisation on 28 June and returned to live with his family at 45 Barkworth Road in Rotherhithe. William and his family later moved to Lambeth and later to Dagenham, where by 1939 they resided at 18 Dagenham Avenue. He continued to work as a general labourer but on the outbreak of the Second World War was employed full-time as an A.R.P. worker. Sadly, William and Annie's youngest son Herbert Henry Lowe, who had been born in 1919, died in Egypt on 4 March 1945 while serving as a Sergeant in The Essex Regiment. Herbert is buried at Fayid War Cemetery: Plot 5, Row D, Grave 1 and his family provided the inscription carved at the base of his headstone:

To Live In Hearts You Leave Behind Is Not To Die.
Mum, Dad, Sisters And Brothers.

William had been sent his 1914 Star by post on 12 August 1919 and on 22 July 1920 was issued with the Clasp and Roses for the medal. He joined the Barking Branch of The Old Contemptibles' Association after moving to the district and served as Branch Honorary Secretary.

After suffering periods of ill-health, Chum William Henry Sparrow Lowe died in 1954.

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The Illusory Threat
Enemy Aliens in Britain during the Great War

Farrar, Martin John

Awarding institution:
King's College London

THE ILLUSORY THREAT:
ENEMY ALIENS IN BRITAIN DURING THE GREAT WAR

Martin John Farrar PhD Degree

Abstract

In 1914 there were around 53,000 Germans immigrants living in Britain, yet by the end of the Great War, there were only 22,000 left. During the war the British government spent a lot of time and effort producing legislation directly aimed at protecting domestic security and against enemy aliens.
This thesis understands and explores the methodology and workings of the infant intelligence community and places the use of intelligence and work of the Secret Service Bureau at the centre of the governmental decision

making process in relation to the enemy alien question during the First World War.
By assessing the intelligence available on enemy aliens at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the thesis seeks to understand what the real issues were and why decisions were made with regards to internment and repatriation legislation in the Great War. It arises that the British government had a co-ordinated enemy alien policy, which was not borne out of a reaction to press and public pressure for change.
Chapter one focuses on pre-war; developments that facilitated the British government's adoption of the premise that enemy aliens were a potential domestic security threat to the home front in the event of a war with Germany. These developments were the birth of the Secret Service Bureau and the activity surrounding the compilation of the unofficial register of aliens. Chapters two and three examine the role of the Secret Service Bureau in relation to the enemy alien question and the Bureau's influence with other government departments during the First World War. Chapter four considers the Secret Service Bureau's role in developing enemy alien legislation between 1909 and 1918. Finally Chapter five considers the patterns and impact of press and public pressure on the British government's alien enemy policy.

Acknowledgements

I owe an enormous debt to William Philpott, Professor of the History of Warfare, King's College London for his patience, passion and out of the box thinking. His guidance and challenges to my assumptions have kept me disciplined in the completion of this thesis.
Thanks also go to Paul K Mills and Stephen J Johnson for their personal time given to proof reading the many drafts of this thesis, The Chartered Institute of Management Accountants (CIMA), my employer without their flexibility and understanding this thesis could never have been undertaken.
I would also like to thank the staff of the archives visited. Especially the patient and friendly staff at the Bodleian Library, the Churchill Archives Centre in Cambridge, the Imperial War Museum and the National Archives Kew.
Finally I would like to thank my family and friends who provided me with distractions in this long process and kept me sane.

Martin Farrar

Part One
An introduction

At the outbreak of the war there were around 53,000 Germans living in Britain. Surprisingly the German community was, at the time, the third largest immigrant group in Britain behind the Irish and Jewish communities. By the end of the war, there were only 22,000 German immigrants left in Britain. Enemy alien men of military age had been rounded up during the hostilities, placed in internment camps and then deported at the end of the war. This was irrespective of the threat they posed to British security. Enemy alien women and children fared little better. They were made to register themselves with their local police station, had restrictions placed on their day to day lives and many were deported with their men folk.
During the Great War the British government spent a lot of time and effort producing legislation directly aimed at protecting domestic security. This was achieved by restricting the movement of the German immigrant population at large around the British Isles. The scope of these powers was unprecedented and was based on evidence that suggested the enemy aliens in Britain were a threat to the stability of the country. This thesis will focus on the evidence and intelligence available to the government that justified decisions that were made. It will consider where this evidence and intelligence came from and whether it was reliable. The goals are to understand the work and role of the Security Service in relation to the enemy alien question during the First World War; to focus upon the infant intelligence community and understand how it built influence across government departments through gathering enemy alien intelligence; and finally to appreciate the Security Service's place at centre of the government's enemy alien decision making and legislation. Using the archives of the British Counter Intelligence Services, released to the National Archives in 1997, and Secret Service files released under the Freedom of Information Act since 2005, this thesis will chart the development of inter-departmental government activity in the creation of policy for the internment and repatriation of enemy aliens. Assessing the intelligence and how it was used in the creation of enemy alien policy will develop an understanding of how contemporaries actually came to the conclusion that enemy aliens were a domestic security threat to Britain. Finally, this thesis will examine the consequences for such a

wartime policy and consider where the perceived threat from enemy aliens fits in the wider domestic security questions addressed by government during the First World War.
By adding the Security Service intelligence gathering process to the historical studies in this subject area, a contrast can be drawn between the actual threat posed by the German, Austrian and Turkish communities in Britain and the perception that enemy alien policies were nothing more than ethnic cleansing and minority persecution. The focus will link the internal security threat back to the measures undertaken to control enemy aliens within Britain. In turn this will necessitate a reassessment of the role played by the press and public hostility in persuading the government to act over the issue.
It is important to set out, up front, that in the pre-war years and during the Great War various groups associated enemy aliens with spying. The natural definition of a spy is thought of as a secret agent obtaining useful military or naval information of a rival country that could be used by their government. However, the literature and public debates of the period show that there was a much wider definition of what spying might entail. Spies could also be seen as saboteurs, at large and ready to deliberately damage or disrupt the military and economic resources within an enemy country when required. A Home Office letter, in August 1914, on the subject of enemy alien arrests used the widest possible definition: 'Enemy subjects who are reasonably suspected of being in any way dangerous to the safety of the Realm will be arrested by the Police and handed over to the Military authorities. The interpretation of 'dangerous' is very ambiguous and leads back to the title of this thesis. Throughout the war the illusory threat that enemy aliens posed changed from security, to political to economic to even divisionary, depending on who was who was in control of the illusion and telling the tale.

Very few historians have looked at the subject of enemy aliens in Britain during this period, and even those who have tend to include it as a footnote to the wider events on the Western Front. The exceptions to this have been Bird's *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain 1914-1918* and Panayi's studies *Prisoners of Britain* and *The Enemy in Our Midst*. Bird concentrated on the legislative measure taken by the government to reduce the threat to national security from enemy aliens in Britain during wartime. Panayi highlighted the public hostility and 'chauvinistic intolerance' the German community experienced.
Bird's study of the control of the enemy aliens in war time has to be the starting point and key text for this subject area. He rightly points out the neglect of this area of research.
In the vast corpus of scholarship devoted to Great Britain's involvement in the First World War one of the more intriguing issues of domestic policy which has previously attracted little more than cursory attention from historians is the treatment of the small minority of the population (…) who found themselves classified as enemy aliens.
The book provides a firm foundation and detailed introduction to the build-up of government legislation surrounding everything to do with enemy aliens in Britain during the Great War. Bird's book covers everything from emergency measures undertaken before the war, internment policy during the war, enemy aliens in custody, repatriation, restrictions placed on enemy aliens at 'liberty', citizenship, employment, military service and trade issues.
Bird's study is brilliant in narrating 'the evolution and application of policies' by the government against the perceived threat of the enemy aliens at large in Britain, with no stone of detail being left unturned. There can be no piece of enemy aliens control legislation that has not escaped the author's eyes. However, the context of how this fits into the wider picture of the Great War and what information the decision making process was based on is missing. The legislation surrounding enemy alien control was not created in a vacuum and involved a collection of institutional government department processes, to make recommendations and changes, before reaching Parliament. For example, were the control measures introduced by Prime Minister Herbert Asquith to the House of Commons in May 1915 a desperate attempt to shore up a weak government and stave off the establishment of a coalition administration? Bird declines to comment beyond detailing the legislation process.
Asquith's coalition government, in May 1915, saw Reginald McKenna replaced at the Home Office by Sir John Simon. Bird comments on the event; 'If McKenna saw himself as a scapegoat for the government's unpopularity over the aliens question he at least had the consolation of being promoted to Chancellor of the Exchequer. Again, frustratingly, Bird after insinuating the demotion of a Cabinet Minister over the issue of enemy alien control offers no more explanation on the subject.
Here is an opportunity to add an extra dimension to the explanation of how the coalition government came into to being. The issue of enemy alien control had been a factor in the government reorganisation and it needs to be recognised as such. No longer can the events of May 1915 be judged simply, as Taylor once did, on the disappointing results experienced on the Western Front at Festubert and Aubers Ridge and in the Dardanelles: 'He [Asquith] settled on coalition with the Conservatives in

order to conceal the facts about both shells and the Dardanelles from the British people, another step towards the position that, if men knew the truth about war, they would not go on fighting it. Turner argues the formation of the coalition government came about because the Liberal Cabinet lost its grip on the direction or war. Turner notes: 'until January 1915 only the spy scare was translated directly into a parliamentary attack on the ministry's competence, and that was limited to the Home Front. In the autumn of 1914 and the spring of 1915 the remedy for spy scares was for the government to focus upon enemy alien legislation.
Again in 1915, Bird highlights the beginnings of a clash between the Home Office and War Office over enemy alien controls, caused by blurred division of responsibility, but he does not comment any further. It would be interesting to show how this then manifested itself in other areas of government, as it is highly unlikely enemy controls were not a point of dispute in other departments. The government departments involved in making enemy alien legislation work in practice included the Home Office, War Office, Foreign Office, Admiralty, Board of Trade, Ministry of National Service, Post Office, Treasury, The Police, Military Intelligence, Colonial Office & India Office, and the Prisoner of War Department. The sheer number was a recipe for inter-departmental conflict.

Bird concludes that alien policies were:

Attempts by essentially moderate politicians to resolve the fundamental dilemma of reconciling the perceived requirements of national security with humanitarian principles in a generally hostile climate of public opinion, and in the face of persistent pressures from parliamentary critics, propagandists and some sections of the press to introduce measures far more repressive than justified by the circumstances.

However, we never really understand the evidence that the decision making process was based on to prove Bird's theories. With this in mind, it is difficult to prove as Bird tried that political expediency came increasingly to dictate policy without investigating material and evidence that the legislation was based on. Bird's book is a clinical, detailed study of the law-making process surrounding enemy alien controls, but one that gives his reader much food for thought in the form of unanswered questions.

Panayi's 1991 book *The Enemy in Our Midst* builds on the foundation of Bird's detailed study. He then tries to fill in some of the unanswered questions left by Bird, or what Panayi calls 'insufficiencies'. The main 'insufficiency' highlighted by Panayi is the role that public hostility played in getting the government to act against the enemy aliens in Britain. This he covers in great detail and to great effect.

The book sets the scene by charting the growth of the German community in Britain, before introducing the reader to the widespread nature of anti-Germanism in the years leading up to the outbreak of the Great War. He then focuses his attention on the official reactions and measures put in place against enemy aliens, before detailing the various anti-German reactions and movements in Britain during the First World War. Panayi goes further than Bird in analysing just how influential public pressure was over the enemy alien issue. He argues: 'that the government would not have introduced many of its measures against Germans within Britain without the pressure of "public opinion"'. Panayi illustrates this by attempting to show the link between the implementation of the main measures in internment policy and the peaks of Germanophobia in Britain. But again, like Bird before him, Panayi fails to understand the bureaucracy of law-making and that public opinion was just one of many factors influencing enemy alien policy.

As Panayi's study is so detailed, again it becomes difficult to understand how all this fits into the wider context of the First World War. He also has a tendency to take the minority to be the majority view. In some parts it is as if Panayi has forgotten that Britain was at war with Germany, a total war which went right to the heart of the home front. How should a threatened home front have reacted to the novelty of air raids and death and destruction on its own doorstep? Again, this is all down to understanding internment and enemy alien legislation in the wider context of the First World War.

With a subject area like this, it is important that it is contextualised within the issues of the day during the First World War. Panayi gives a detail account of the numbers of German aliens in Great Britain at the time of the outbreak of war, but does not explain how they relate to the overall population numbers. The population of Great Britain in 1914 was 45,400,000 and the number of German aliens was

53,000. That is less than 0.1% of the total population. The reader does not get a feel for how small the number was. Maybe Panayi was missing a trick here, as it would actually strengthen his argument to explain that the unprecedented levels of legislation may not have been in proportion to those it was enacted to affect. Britain had limited resources to fight a war and attention was focused on the enemy alien and internment camps diverted valuable resources from the military effort.

Panayi discusses the anti-German riots and provides illuminating eye-witness accounts, but does not go into any details surrounding the geographical spread of the rioting across Britain. Neither, does he go into any detail when focusing on the various anti-German movements and right-wing MPs. Their geographical locations might throw light on their motivations and influences on enemy alien legislation. Reading Panayi's detailing of the German community's 'destruction under the chauvinistic intolerance which gripped the country in the Great War,' the reader would be forgiven for believing that spy mania and the poor treatment of enemy aliens was a purely British Empire affair. However, John Williams' study of the home fronts of Britain, Germany and France during the Great War helps to balance this view. It would appear that exactly the same reactions to foreigners as occurred in Britain after August 1914 were at work in Germany too.
Suddenly every foreigner seemed to be a sinister enemy agent. In early August German police stations were crowded with aliens, most of them tourists caught by the outbreak of war and arrested as spies. It was said that the possession of a well- cut coat, a well filled wallet and notably a motor-car was enough to ensure immediate imprisonment as a spy.
Although at 5,000 the English immigrant population in Germany at the outbreak of the Great War pales into insignificance when compared with the numbers of German immigrants in Britain, the German government's reaction was the same: a policy of internment.

Englishmen in particular were ill-treated by police and threatened in the street, and many were sent, regardless of age or sex, to the dreaded Spandau fortress. Even if not arrested and interned, hundreds of English teachers in Berlin were left stranded and penniless.
The phenomenon for changing foreign names was not restricted to Britain either. Where many naturalized Germans in Britain quickly adopted English names (including the 'so called' British royalty), in France, Parisian street names with German origins were replaced and in Germany hotels with English titles were hurriedly renamed. Williams points out: 'The movement went furthest in Germany, where the Berlin police chief, von Jagow, ordered the elimination of all foreign names and words.

By looking outside the British Isles during the First World War, Williams highlights that the treatment and control of enemy aliens was not solely a British problem, as the reader might be led to believe if going by Panayi's account alone. Understanding how the German immigrant community was treated in the First World War, together with the type of hostilities experienced and the groups who inflicted this hostility does not help us understand how Britain got to the point of uncontrolled fear and hostility in the first place. Panayi does not examine what was fuelling the hostility and fear and why sections of the British public were so keen to believe in the information put before them regarding enemy aliens. Can internment in Britain really be attributed to a 'policy of ethnic cleansing which eliminated the German community'? What both Bird's and Panayi's studies confirm is that the concentration camp really came into in its own during the First World War. While those states who captured soldiers might incarcerate hundreds of thousands of such individuals in prisoner of war camps, their internment camps also played a role in punishing civilians, whether in Europe or beyond, because of their nationality.

The centenary of the outbreak of the war in 2014 has brought the subject of enemy aliens back to the mainstream First World War history after years of neglect. Two edited volumes in particular have focused attention on the subject of civilian minorities in war: Panayi's *Germans as Minorities during the First World War* and chapters in Winter's *Cambridge History of the First World War*.

Panayi brings together a collection of essays and case studies from leading contributors that examine the treatment of German communities around the world. These cases studies allow the reader to compare how German communities were established and integrated around the world. Then the reader can contrast their treatment when war broke out as these communities were labelled 'enemy aliens' and subject to differing government restrictions. The case studies range from the experience of German women in Britain and male internees on the Isle of Man, to German immigrant communities in Belgium, Italy, Russia, the Americas, South Africa, British East Africa and New Zealand.

The recent three volume Cambridge history of the First World War includes a section on 'Populations at risk.' This section includes chapters by Panayi on 'Minorities' and Annette Becker on 'Captive Civilians'. Panayi's chapter concentrates on the Manichaean dichotomies that the state and society create and construct in war, the idea that divides individuals into simple categories such as good and evil, or friend and enemy.

He points out that official or public opinion's constructs of what is black and white leads through patriotic fervour to the persecution of minorities such as the ethnic Germans in Britain. Britain was far from the exception and similar outpouring against German ethnic minorities took place in France, Italy and Russia. Panayi regards all governments' internment policies as an extreme measure that would lead to a mainstream policy of ethnic cleansing and in some cases even genocide. However the use of such concepts of ethnic cleansing and genocide are post facto 'historization' and did not exist during World War One. Panayi concludes that ethnic minorities across Europe had the experience of being either persecuted, integrated or exploited during the Great War.
Becker's paper on captive civilians argues that alien enemies were some of the first to be seen as guerrillas or supporters of enemy armies and forced to live in what she terms, 'the age of the concentration camp. Noting the birth of the concentration camp at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries in Cuba and South Africa, she highlights that with the end of the Great War the familiar sights of internment camps in the landscape and captured civilians were largely marginalised, forgotten. Becker concludes on the concentration camp system: 'We can see these developments as incoherent and often improvised disorder, the consequence of a totalisation process which led to the incarceration of "enemies", whether they were soldiers taken on the battlefield, or civilians, identified and treated like internal enemies, "soldiers without weapons" who had the misfortune to find themselves in the territories overrun or occupied by troops.
Before the centenary of the outbreak of war there had been a cluster of studies focused on enemy aliens and the Anglo-German relationship in the lead up to hostilities at the beginning of the twenty first century. Van Emden and Humphries use personal testimony in the form of original letters, diaries, photographs, newspapers and government reports to tell the story of life on the home front. One chapter, 'The Enemy Within', uses first-hand accounts from enemy aliens in Britain at the time, and blends them with contemporary anti-alien propaganda from the likes of Horatio Bottomley's *John Bull* magazine and Lord Northcliffe's newspapers. The accounts from the enemy aliens in Britain build up a vivid picture of the hardships and persecution that this section of the population suffered during the repeated attacks on them. However the government's response to the enemy alien issue is not covered in any great detail.

Van Emden and Humphries do try to examine the wider picture, looking at the pre-1914 situation with regard to the German community in Britain and also looking forward to the Second World War, during which most immigrants of German origin were able to preserve their liberty in Britain. They ask why the treatment of enemy aliens during the First World War 'was far worse than anything meted out in the Second World War in Britain? In the end, they put this down to 'a confluence of influences and attitudes peculiar to an island race, which before the war was largely ignorant of other races and cultures. This conclusion appears particularly odd considering Britain had been an imperial power, with a long history built on internal immigration.

The attitudes peculiar to an island race are dealt with in more detail by Winder who looks at immigration into Britain. He narrates the waves of migration to Britain, from 7000BC to the present day, concluding that we are all immigrants now and that we should question our image of Britishness. He argues that each new wave of foreigners arriving in Britain at first provoked fear and alarm within the country before they became accepted as permanent part of the 'British furniture'.

Although some of his conclusions around 'Britishness' and multiculturalism are rather one-sided against the British people, Winder's study does help us understand how the German community developed in Britain during the two hundred years before the outbreak of the First World War. The German immigrant community in Britain had already been established and accepted as a part of British everyday life. Had it not been for the First World War, there might be a sizable German population in Britain today, with a German butcher or tailor a familiar sight on the British high street. Winter's study puts the enemy alien experience during the First World War into the wider historical context of immigration and

highlights how the lessons learnt around internment meant that similar mistakes were not made in the Second World War.
Ramsden's cultural history of the Anglo-German relationship traces the high and low points between Britain and Germany from 1890 to the beginning of the twenty-first century. He charts the rise of British stereotypes of the German nation through the nineteenth century and into the First World War. It is interesting to note that the anti-German riots of May 1915 were not the first such violent outbursts focused against Germans in Britain. The precedent had been set back in the fifteenth century when Londoners vented their anger against their fellow Anglo-Saxons.
When Londoners rioted against 'Germans' in the fifteenth century, they were exhibiting a chauvinistic dislike of foreigners in general and the desire to protect their economic self-interest against privileged aliens (often merchants who bought those privileges by lending money to the King), rather than displaying any particular hostility to Germanness. The attacked 'Germans' were as likely to be Dutch or Flemish as residents of the later 'German' territory, and Londoners often referred to the same aliens as 'men of the [Holy Roman] Empire' or 'Easterlings', so uncertain were they of who and what lay to the east of the North Sea. Of course they were not 'Germans' in the sense understood in 1914. In his chapter, 'When will Germany Strike? Who Knows?1890–1914'
Ramsden poses the question whether the German invasion books that caught the public's imagination in the run up to the First World War changed public policy?
Here it is hard to separate the cultural context from specific military and diplomatic inputs, not least because diplomats and the military read the same books and newspapers as the public. Policy-makers were happy enough to use scares to strengthen their arguments: Esher assured Fisher in 1907 that 'an invasion scare is the mill of God which grinds you a Navy of Dreadnoughts'.
This chapter also sets out the wider events of the day through the books, newspapers campaigns and theatre productions in which anti-German feeling was framed.
Ramsden's chapter on the Great War, *'When the English Learned to Hate: 1914- 18'* charts how all links with Germany were severed: from dachshunds being stoned in the street, anti-German riots, German measles being renamed Belgian flu and the King's surname changing to Windsor. Internment and repatriation of German aliens are mentioned in passing, but not considered in any great detail. However Ramsden does acknowledge the destruction of the German community in Britain during the War:
In Edwardian times there had been German communities from Brighton to Dundee, though concentrated in London, where there was a German hospital, a German chapel, and a strong presence at University College; there were also substantial German commercial communities in Manchester and in the textile areas of Yorkshire. This was now all swept away.
In two chapters Ramsden sets the scene for the hysteria and treatment of German enemy aliens in the run up to and during the First World War. There are illuminating stories and well-researched examples in his work, although the book lacks detailed analysis and interpretation of questions that all these gems raised.
All historians who have written on this subject area during the First World War agree that there were three periods of intense activity relating to the treatment of enemy aliens in Britain. The peaks of Germanophobia occurred in October 1914, May 1915 and July 1918 and it was at these times that the Government reacted with measures against enemy aliens in Britain. Most also agree that reaction to and treatment of enemy aliens had its roots in the popular spy and invasion literature of the Victorian and Edwardian eras and was a consequence of the Aliens Act 1905. Winder comments on the passing of the Aliens Act:
It was a fateful day: for the first time, Britain was a club with sharp restrictions on membership. Of course, there had never been a shortage of animosity against foreigners, but here it was translated into, and dignified by, official policy. The legislation might more aptly have been termed the Anti-Aliens Act.
The Aliens Act was a response to demands for restrictions on the large influx of Eastern European Jewish immigrants. However the act also laid the foundations on which the treatment of enemy aliens during war would be based.
What is more difficult to find agreement on is why this issue is often overlooked in general histories on the First World War. Internment is not mentioned in the Official Histories of the Great War, even though the internment camps were under the control of the War Office and were a drain on the military's resources. While troops were on the streets of Deptford, Southend and Liverpool in May 1915 trying to restore law and order from anti-German mobs and guarding internment camps, they were not available to reinforce the Western Front. Van Emden and Humphries suggest that maybe we have been unable to deal with an 'ugly chapter in British history'. Panayi goes further, suggesting the reason why this theme has never received sufficient attention is because 'the popular view of Germans in the last hundred

years is of persecutors rather than persecuted.'

Kushner and Cesarani suggest this neglect 'reflects the more general marginalization of immigrant and minority studies within the writing of British history.

The most likely reason for the lack of an in-depth study of the treatment of enemy aliens is the sheer scale of the First World War and the number of issues wanting attention.
he world had to come to terms with killing on a massive scale, with 3,258,610 men being killed on the Western Front alone. Compared with the treatment of 53,000 enemy aliens in Britain, the military narrative was always going to be studied first as the world looked for answers. It was always going to take time to fully understand the implications of the first total world war and to close what Bond terms 'the gulf between serious historical studies and popular misconceptions'. The Western Front debate, between revisionists and critics, continues to rage, overshadowing the many fine areas of research on the First World War. Studies such as Strachan's *To Arms* are turning the tide and opening the debate up from a narrow focus to a world view of the First World War.

The grip of the First World War as a purely military phenomenon loosened with such books as Marwick's *The Deluge*, and Bond's *War and Society in Europe 1870- 1970*. This has been further widened as the world approached the centenary of the Great War. Books by the likes of Charman, Gregory, Paxman and White are no longer just military narratives, and focus on the impact war had on society. All make acknowledgments to the treatment of enemy aliens on the Home Front in Britain. As historians began to study British society in the Great War, from the 1960s onward it was only a matter of time before the issue of enemy aliens would become a research area in its own right.
Other works worth mentioning are Haste's study of the development of propaganda during the First World War and Andrew's works on the development of the Intelligence Services in the twentieth century. Both Haste and Andrew touch the fringes of the subject area. Haste's landmark book *Keep the Home Fires Burning* is one of the first books to explore attitudes to enemy aliens in Britain in more than a few pages. A study of propaganda during the Great War, Haste devotes two chapters to the subject. One chapter focuses on how the concept of the evil Hun was developed through the use of propaganda techniques highlighting the abhorrent behaviour of the German soldier to encourage 'a hate-inspired lust for revenge.

The second chapter then highlights how the image of evil Hun transferred across the Channel from the fighting front to be connected to the German immigrant community in Britain who were collectively identified as enemies within. One reservation concerns the development of propaganda during the First World War, which was not as black and white as Haste suggests. The need to influence the home front in total war certainly necessitated propaganda on a grand scale, but this was not achieved through any great plan or design on the part of government or military. Nor was that so-called propaganda sophisticated or efficient. Early propaganda relied upon the support of competing voluntary bodies and government departments and this continued until the government established a Ministry of Information in 1917. Trial and error was the order of the day and there was a steep learning curve in the science of propaganda. The treatment and control of enemy aliens in war time exemplifies this steep curve.
Some of Haste's arguments such as the suggestion that the German atrocities in Belgium examined in the Bryce Report (May 1915) were merely created for propaganda purposes do not stand the test of time. Horne and Kramer's comprehensive study of German atrocities shows that events in Belgium as the German army marched through can no longer be solely explained as allied propaganda purely created to keep the home front fully supporting the war against Germany. This is especially true as the atrocities occurred so early in the war. Brutality was a fact of total warfare and the threat of violent atrocities in a possible invasion brought fear to the home front.
As Belgian refugees fled to Britain in the autumn of 1914 and their stories were told and spread around the British Isles, so the fear of all things German increased. This is one factor that can be identified as a cause of the first wave of heightened Germanphobia experienced in October 1914. Even if the historical debate around German atrocities, has moved on, Haste's chapters on *'The Evil Hun'* and *'Aliens and Spies'* provide a good introduction to the subject area.
Andrew's studies of the intelligence services in Britain helps move the debate on. He argues that it is impossible to understand defence policy without considering the subject of intelligence. He goes so far as to say 'the historian of national and international politics can never afford to ignore it.

It is important here to understand that enemy alien legislation during the First World War is essentially a defensive policy. Often defence policy is only discussed in relation to external threats, but here it is valid to talk about internal defence and internal security. In 1914 Germany practiced universal male conscription and, this had been in place within Prussia since 1814. This meant that out of 53,000 Germans residing in Britain 40,000 were legally liable for German military service. These German citizen soldiers therefore posed a risk to the internal security of Britain on the outbreak of war and it was the Security Service's role to assess the threat level.
The dimension that Andrew brings to the debate, the role that intelligence services played in informing government and public opinion, is acknowledged both by Bird and Panayi in so much as they make reference to the number of German spies arrested at the beginning of the Great War. However the role MO5g, later to be MI5, and the Secret Service Bureau played in gathering intelligence on enemy aliens and how this was used by the government and the press is not examined in any detail. The threat of German spies at work in Britain is dismissed as imaginary by Panayi.
Andrew provides a narrative history of the development of the intelligence service through the twentieth century. He barely touches upon the plight of the enemy aliens in Britain during the Great War, but does highlight the connection between the development of the intelligence services and the growth in spy mania and invasion stories that swept the country in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. It would be from the same sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence (CID), set up in reaction to these invasion and spy scares, that early enemy alien legislation and government secret service structures would spring.
It must be remembered that intelligence does not need to be right to be influential. It also follows that good intelligence is not always used to an advantage in a given situation or event. Andrew points to Douglas Haig as an example of someone who would disregard intelligence that went against his inner convictions. This may have been the case with the perceived threat of enemy aliens in public opinion, where any intelligence report that contradicted the impression of thousands of German waiters and hairdressers in Britain as trained reservists waiting to join a planned invasion would be disregarded in favour of the spy literature and Northcliffe newspapers' stories that the country had consumed for many years. This is Kahneman's theory of confirmation bias in action: 'You look for a plausible scenario that conforms to the constraints of reality'. What Kahneman also highlights is that: 'people tend to assess the relative importance of issues by the ease with which they are retrieved from memory – and this is largely determined by the extent of coverage in the media.

Andrew also claims that during the battle of the Somme, 'Charteris's intelligence reports throughout the five-month battle were designed to maintain Haig's morale. This again begs the question, that if this type of abuse was taking place on the Western Front, what was happening at the heart of government concerning the threat posed by enemy aliens? Two issues highlighted by Andrew also add to the debate around the use of intelligence, its abuse and the role of self-interest.
The 2004 BBC Reith Lectures entitled 'The Climate of Fear', given by the Nigerian lecturer, writer and activist Wole Soyinka, and a BBC2 three-part documentary 'The Power of Nightmares' shown in the autumn of 2004, both focused on how fear and terror are created as an illusion to maintain power. Politicians once offered dreams of a better future; now they offer to protect us from nightmares. Fear becomes the political resource to be mined to boost politicians' own authority.
Once a society is in the grip of fear, there is a shift in politics from where decisions are based on reality, to decisions and legislation based on what might be in the future. This is the theory of the 'Precautionary Principle': having the foresight to protect against possible harm. The problem with this is that it becomes a vicious circle and the person with the most vivid imagination becomes the most powerful: any political debate becomes distorted as decisions are made without evidence and because the 'what if' dominates proceedings.

Bill Durodie, Director of the International Centre for Security Analysis at King's College London, expands on the precautionary principle: In essence, the precautionary principle says that not having the evidence that something might be a problem is not a reason for not taking action as if it were a problem. That's a very famous triple-negative phrase that effectively says that action without evidence is justified. It requires imagining what the worst might be and applying that imagination upon the worst evidence that currently exists.
By integrating the 'precautionary principle' and the 'paradigm of prevention', that have thus far only been used to interpret current-day security threats, into the debate surrounding enemy aliens in the Great War, we can move it forward. It helps us, by giving us a theory to benchmark with and understand

the decision making process at a time when a weak government needed the population's continued support for war if a total victory was to be achieved against Germany.
The theories of using fear to gain and maintain power will also help us explain why the Northcliffe press and the MPs on the radical right might have used the enemy alien issue to further their own careers through fear during the Great War. Madeleine Bunting comments on its present day importance:
The peddling of fear is a lucrative business; security is the biggest global growth industry. Fear shifts newspapers and glues viewers to their TV screens. The media become profoundly complicit in promoting the interests of those who use fear, from terrorist to security analyst.

The problem for the historian looking back is that much of the intelligence that the decisions of the day were based upon has been lost in government archive weeding processes, unlucky storage locations, or secret service bureau re-organisations. The policy for selection of documents for preservation from the security service was set out in March 2001 and revised in November 2005. Selection and acquisition of Security Service records to the National Archives is based upon 'the espionage threat to the UK and to the British Empire from Germany between 1909 and 1918'. This includes: records of major investigations, records of subversive figures and spies, records of individuals who achieved positions of public eminence or were involved in important historical events, records of cause célèbres in a security context, files which contain papers of historical interest, service policy, organisation and procedures, and milestones in the Service's history.

The records relating to the prisoners in the internment camps set up during the Great War to house male enemy aliens, likely to be Home Office material, were stored in the Covent Garden area of London during the Second World War. Unfortunately these card indexes which listed internees and their camp details were destroyed by fire as a result of bombing during the Blitz.
Again a number of records and files relating to the Secret Service Bureau and MI5 were also lost during the Second World War. What Peter Wright called 'the nerve center of M.I.5', the Security Service's Registry, was moved out of central London to Wormwood Scrubs to protect it from bombing raids. In September 1940 the prison suffered during enemy bombing and many of the Registry's files were destroyed or damaged by fire. More files were destroyed following Bureau re-structure and reorganisation at the ends of both the First and Second World Wars.
The frustration for the historian is highlighted by Peter Wright's search for information regarding his father's involvement in Secret Service Bureau (MI6) operations in Norway during 1915. As an MI5 employee Peter Wright had direct access to the Security Service's Registry and searched the Great War papers. The result was fruitless and he comments, 'But I could find nothing; the M.I.6 weeders had routinely destroyed all the records years before.

The first release of Security Service files to the National Archives was in 1997. Eighty pieces concentrated on the birth of the Secret Service Bureau in 1909, its early years up to the outbreak of war in 1914, and how the bureau developed to meet the needs of the war between 1914 and 1918. These range from the six-monthly progress reports written by Sir Vernon Kell, Kell's diary entries, account books from the Great War, the memoirs of William Melville, staff lists and early meeting minutes and papers on how the secret service should be organised.
Much of the rest of the files released were summary reports of the different branches of MI5 which were compiled after the Great War. These include Branch A (Investigation of Espionage), Branch B (Prevention of Espionage), Branch C (Records & Port control), MI5D (Colonies & Overseas Dominions), MI5E (Control of Ports & Frontiers), MI5F (Prevention of Espionage), MI5G (Investigation of Espionage) and MI5H (central registry of information).
Considering that during the First World War the bureau kept a central registry of 250,000 card files and the details of 27,000 individuals, what has been released to the general public is pitifully small.
Still today there are blanked out documents and sections of material which are deemed too secret to release one hundred years later.
A ray of light has been the introduction of the Freedom of Information Act which came into force in January 2005. This has been slowly increasing the amount of material not just on the Security Service, but also other departments' papers and interactions with the Security Service, available to the historian.
The historian has access to the blueprints, structures, and legislation that were created by the Secret Service Bureau in response to the intelligence information and data coming into government during the early years of the twentieth century. From these can be constructed the development of a temporary

structure in 1909 with a staff of just three, a bureau of fourteen by April 1914, re-organisation as MI5 in 1916 to, by 1918, the permanent structure in government with over eight hundred staff. Intelligence relating to spies, spying and alien activity in the United Kingdom in just this short period of time had created its own self-fulfilling bureaucracy.

By pulling together the links between Bird's examination of legislation, Panayi's social studies of the German community, Haste's propaganda influences and Andrew's Security Service intelligence focus, this thesis will gain a fuller picture of the government's decision making process in war time. It will develop understanding of the phenomenon, explaining not just how badly enemy aliens in Britain were treated, but why decisions to intern or repatriate them were made in the first place and on what grounds. Finally we will understand what led government and public opinion to believe enemy aliens to be such a threat to internal security and how intelligence information informed the debate. For a subject area that has tended to focus over the last thirty years purely on highlighting the hostility and hardships that the German immigrant community suffered in war time in Britain the intelligence perspective will move historical understanding forward.

To Be Continued