CHESTERFIELD WFA

Newsletter and Magazine issue 57

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Welcome to Issue 57 - the September 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` ? Cancelled
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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NEXT WFA ZOOM MEETINGS (all Mondays) Follow these links for registering

7 SEPTEMBER BRITISH SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE IN THE TRENCHES BY JIM BEACH AND JOCK BRUCE HTTP://WWW.WESTERNFRONTASSOCIATION.COM/EVENTS/ONLINE-BRITISH-SIGNALS-INTELLIGENCE-IN-THE-TRENCHES-BY-JIM-BEACH-AND-JOCK-BRUCE/

14 SEPTEMBER THE FORTRESS: THE GREAT SIEGE OF PRZEMYSL HTTP://WWW.WESTERNFRONTASSOCIATION.COM/EVENTS/ONLINE-THE-FORTRESS-THE-GREAT-SIEGE-OF-PRZEMYSL/

21 SEPTEMBER THE SECRET HISTORY OF SOLDIERS: HOW CANADIANS SURVIVED THE GREAT WAR HTTP://WWW.WESTERNFRONTASSOCIATION.COM/EVENTS/ONLINE-THE-SECRET-HISTORY-OF-SOLDIERS-HOW-CANADIANS-SURVIVED-THE-GREAT-WAR-BY-DR-TIM-COOK/

28 SEPTEMBER PROSTHETICS AND POVERTY: DISABLED SERVICEMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES AFTER THE WAR HTTP://WWW.WESTERNFRONTASSOCIATION.COM/EVENTS/ONLINE-PROSTHETICS-AND-POVERTY-DISABLED-SERVICEMEN-AND-THEIR-FAMILIES-AFTER-THE-WAR/

5 OCTOBER TEA POTS TO TIN LIDS BY ANDREW RAWSON HTTP://WWW.WESTERNFRONTASSOCIATION.COM/EVENTS/ONLINE-TEA-POTS-TO-TIN-LIDS-BY-ANDREW-RAWSON/

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August 28th - Announcement

Tony Bolton has been appointed Chairman of The Western Front Association

From the Official WFA Website – "*Tony Bolton who has been a member of The Western Front Association for over thirty years and attended the Yorkshire Branch until 1997. Tony is Chairman of the Chesterfield Branch. He took the MA in British History and the First World War at the University of Birmingham in 2014.*

He is currently Compliance Trustee on the Executive Committee.

Tony has taken on the role of Chairman to build on the work of his predecessor Colin Wagstaff.

Colin, who has loyally and diligently served as Chairman for the past five years has decided to step down as Chairman on health grounds but has agreed to continue to serve on the Executive Committee to support the new Chairman and the continued development of The Western Front Association. Colin will provide his expertise in several areas including commemoration events, and a new role on the Executive Committee. "

Secretary`s Scribbles

Welcome to issue 57 of the WFA Chesterfield Branch Newsletter and Magazine.

Last Friday night I had just finished my evening meal – washed the dishes (as usual) and popped on to my laptop to check any e mails – there was one – from Mark Macartney – suggesting I check out the latest news on the WFA website. Before I got a chance to do so my phone rang – it was our Branch Chair, Tony Bolton, to tell me that he taken up the position as Chairman of the Western Front Association following Colin Wagstaff`s decision, on health grounds, to step down. Took me a minute or two to take it all in, and after congratulating Tony, we then had a good talk.

The last couple of years have not been good times for the WFA, firstly there was the furore over the sale of the Butte de Warlencourt. That being settled, with some comings and goings to/from the Executive Committee, we now have the disaster of the covid pandemic, which has wrought so much havoc globally. Hardly any aspect of life as we have known it has escaped, and for the WFA has seen the suspension of meetings and all other activities. In an attempt to try and keep things ticking over until things return to `normal`, branches, ourselves included and WFA Central have run `virtual` meetings on line thanks to the reach of the internet. These have proved very popular – see elsewhere for the line up for September.

`Traditionally`, leadership of the WFA has come from academia, but in Tony they now have a Chairman who has spent a lifetime in construction and engineering, retiring at the top of the company he worked for. In my opinion, and with absolutely no disrespect for his predecessors, I believe his appointment to be an inspired choice, to pick up the pieces once we can put this pandemic behind us, and take the WFA forward. I am sure that all of you will join with me in wishing Tony `Good Luck` and assuring him of our support as enters into what will be for him, challenging times.

The Branch has no `virtual` meeting scheduled for September, but the situation is constantly under review, although it is increasingly unlikely that we will be having a `live` meeting at Chesterfield Labour Club before 2020 is consigned to history.Once again we have a packed edition of the newsletter / magazine and I am grateful to Andy Rawson for his contribution. I am always looking for items of interest for inclusion.

Take Care

Grant Cullen – Branch Secretary 07824628638 grantcullen@hotmail.com

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

BRANDED GOODS NEWS

WFA 2021 Calendars

Because of the Covid 19 Situation and Government Regulations we realise that the sale of Calendars is a bit later this year and to this end as most Branches are as yet not holding meetings we will NOT be automatically sending out 10 calendars to Branches, The situation will be monitored regularly, so as it stands at the moment once the calendars are available the only purchase option will be to buy on line or phone Sarah at the Office, Please keep checking Website for up to date information, (these have as yet not been finalised so not gone into print yet)

WFA 40th Anniversary Coaster

To celebrate the WFA's 40th anniversary, we have produced a 'special edition' coaster. The coasters are 4" in diameter and made of handcrafted slate. They are individually polished, screen printed by hand and backed by a baize to avoid damage to surfaces. These are selling so well that we had to order a second batch. If you would like a new 'WFA' Anniversary Coaster, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office,

WFA Mousemats

We have recently produced a mousemat which is currently selling so well that we've had to order a second batch. If you would like a new 'WFA' mousemat, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office,

Info on all Branded goods (Including those mentioned above

Regarding the Covid-19 pandemic and notified members of the situation that we are doing our best to supply the service that we can within the Governments quidelines

Accepted Orders are:

Clothing; These are supplied direct from the Manufacturer (Check Website for Ordering Details)

Orders on the following items will be accepted as normal as these can be dispatched via Royal Mail Letter Box

Bookmarks

Baseball Caps

WFA Classic Ties

Lapel Badges

WFA Coasters (Special Edition)

Mousemats

DVD's (Individual -not sets)

The following items will be dispatched on a weekly basis (Dispatched from a RoyalMail Drop off Box)

WFA Mugs

Messenger Bags & Shoulder Bags,

The following items will not be available until further notice:

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

Oxford Shirt

Breathable Jacket

Rugby Shirt

Fleece

T-Shirt

Sweatshirt

Polo Shirt

WFA Mug

WFA Shoulder Bag

WFA Bookmark

WFA Cap

WFA Messenger Bag

WFA Classic Tie

WFA Lapel Badge

Special Edition WFA Coaster

WFA Mousemat

THE WESTERN FRONT ASSOCIATION

Registered Charity No 298365

BRANDED GOODS

www.westernfrontassociation.com

Email: office@westernfrontassociation.com

Tel 0207 118 1914

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

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

First Ever Tank Shell Re-Discovered

Hidden in plain sight, a nondescript yet highly symbolic artefact has been re-discovered at The Tank Museum.

A decades-old accession book showed the Museum's collection contained the first shell ever fired by a tank.

But collections staff had been unable to trace the exact whereabouts of the object among its extensive supporting collection until it was discovered – safely on display, where it has sat for almost 20 years.

The projectile, a training round which is identical in appearance to so many others, was fired from the prototype Mark I Tank during its first trial in 1916.

It had become part of the Museum's collection shortly after it was founded in the 1920s. At some point since then, it had become separated from the wooden plinth with a plaque detailing its significance, and put on display as a generic example of a 6 Pounder round.

The Second World War Hall redevelopment has led to large scale movements of the Museum's collection.

A Museum Archivist discovered the shell when disassembling the case it was in. Carefully examining the object, they were able to make out an accession number from a badly faded label – recognising it as that of the "missing" shell.

Back in 1916, two members of the Landships Committee, formed to develop the tank during the First World War, bet each other £500 that the tank would fall apart when the shell was fired.

But the vehicle held strong - and Mark I tanks went on to prove invaluable for the Allied war effort on the Western Front, making their debut in battle in September 1916.

This is a really important piece of history – and it's ironic that in the last 20 years, around 3 million visitors will have passed it and looked at it without realising how important it was.

The 6 Pounder shell fired by Mother.

Mother, the prototype Mark I, was the first Rhomboid tank and fired the first ever tank shell – it is pictured here at the firing trial at Burton Park, Lincolnshire, 20 January 1916.

Presented by Beth Griffiths

My current research relates to 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. This evening my talk will cover these topics on a general and not necessarily a Welsh centric level. As this subject is so expansive, I will only outline the areas which include the return journey from the Front, the treatment received before eventual demobilisation, retraining and the challenges of securing employment and lastly the new normal for the disabled ex-servicemen. At this point, I would like to acknowledge that I have used the work of Julie Anderson, Joanna Bourke, Ana Carden-Coyne, Deborah Cohen, Jessica Meyer and Kerry Neale whilst preparing this talk.

Common images of disabled veterans.

Source:

Source: Royalblind.org

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Many preconceptions exist of disabled soldiers but they are most often portrayed as men missing one or more limbs or those who had lost their sight. I have chosen this picture of cheery men in hospital blues because the men were expected to be stoic and uncomplaining. Those who maintained a stiff upper lip were better thought of than a soldier who broke down because of his injuries. Those soldiers who suffered non-visual physical injuries such as deafness, chest complaints and intestinal blast injuries are rarely portrayed. Men affected by facial disfigurement, while a visible injury, tended to retreat from public life so remained within the family home. By the end of the war, five million men from Britain had fought and seven percent of men between the ages of 15 and 49 had been killed.

Range of Injuries (discharged soldiers and sailors).

- 203/1000 arm and/or leg injuries
- 124/1000 chest cases
- 120/1000 facial disfigurement
- 110/1000 heart disease
- 62/1000 amputees
- 56/1000 nervous and insanity cases.
- 32/1000 vision impairment
- 26/1000 hearing loss
- 12/1000 paraplegics
- 745. (255/1000 not categorised but would include stomach and mid-body injuries).

Britain had 75,000 men 'permanently disabled' of whom 41,000 had lost one or more limbs and 272,000 suffered injuries which did not require amputation. These figures equate to 6.7% chance of being injured. As can be seen in the slide soldiers and sailors affected by amputations and blindness only constitute 94 in every 1,000 injured therefore less than 10%. This equates to a 0.063 chance of becoming an amputee or losing your sight.

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An analysis of injuries

- Over 41,000 men had their limbs amputated during the war - of these, 69% lost one leg, 28% lost one arm, and nearly 3% lost both arms or legs. Another 272,000 suffered injuries in the arms or legs which didn't require amputation. 60,500 wounded in the head or eyes, 89,000 sustained other serious damage to their bodies. In 1920, pensions were still being paid to 31,500 men as compensation for having an arm or leg amputated.
- During the war the amputees were fit men, many of whom were conscripts rather than professional soldiers and generally survived their ordeals. 70% were under 30 years of age and 10% were officers.

Source: Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male, Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*(London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1996) p.33-37

Injured soldiers began returning as early as September 1914 and by the end of February 1915 disabled men were returning at an average of 360 per month. In comparison, in 1917 alone, the Department of Labour estimated that approximately 74,530 workers had been permanently disabled in their work.[1]60,500 British soldiers were wounded in the head or eyes, and advances in medical technology meant that the mutilated returned to their communities - often in pain - as constant reminders of the war.[2] Prior to the war amputees were normally those with congenital defects or workers who had suffered accidents.

The First World War opened the public's eyes to the effects of maiming and wounding on a large scale and produced a whole new class of victims. Instead of the poor and unhealthy suffering disability, it was the fittest men of the country who were monstrously disabled. The victims of war had a significant impact on the general public. Disabled ex-servicemen could not be hidden from the public, or segregated in their special schools as disabled children were. After 1918, disabled soldiers were to be seen everywhere in society.[3]

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[1] Joanna Bourke *Dismembering the Male* p.33

[2]Ana Carden-Coyne,*Reconstructing the Body. Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War.*(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.103

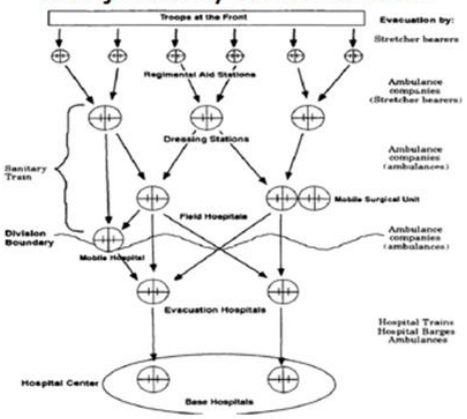
[3] Julie Anderson (`The Soul of a Nation: A Social History of Disabled People, Physical Therapy, Rehabilitation and Sport in Britain 1918-1970'. Submitted for the award of PhD De Montfort University May 2001 p.31; Beth Linker, *War's Waste Rehabilitation in World War I America* (London:The University of Chicago Press, 2011) p.98

Arthur Pearson, who founded St. Dunstan's, specifically attempted to dismantle this public perception of disabled soldiers who had lost their sight.

St. Dunstan's - Learning to be blind.

Pearson believed that blinded soldiers should learn how to be blind and that they should portray independence. St. Dunstan's men were supported throughout their lives and helped to secure employment upon completion of their training. The post cards shown were sold to raise funds for St, Dunstan's. It was important that the men be shown to be coping on their own. If the child in the picture had be an adult it would have inferred a dependence on the blind soldiers part. Today St. Dunstan's is known as Blind Veterans UK and is still very active.

The journey homewards.



The journey home.

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Regimental aid post - Regimental Medical Officers would give initial life-saving treatment then move them onto the Advanced Dressing Station.Regimental medical officers were only expected to stabilise and forward men onwards.

At the advanced dressing station minor surgical operations would be carried out. Still, it was mainly a resting place until the wounded could be transported to a main dressing station or casualty clearing station. The CCS effectively functioned as a surgical hospital with surgeons, anaesthetists and nursing sisters. From here, amputees and the severely wounded were transported by Ambulance train to an Army or Red Cross stationary hospital. From here if bound for Britain, the wounded soldiers would then travel by hospital ship and be sent first to a General Hospital at London or Netley near Southampton.[4] Hospitals soon opened elsewhere. In December 1914, the number of beds available for military patients was just over 40,000. This number increased to over 364,000 by the end of the war.[5] Soldiers would be hospitalised where there was room or at, what we would refer to today as, centres of excellence.

Crowds welcomed injured soldiers returning from the Front.

Queues of people waiting welcome soldiers in ambulances arrive at Charing Cross Hospital. September 1914
Source: Imperial War Museum

Queues of people waiting to see an ambulance train at Liverpool station, February 1916.
Source:Science Museum Group Collection

From the earliest days of the war, crowds would gather to see the injured soldiers returning by train and boat. The soldiers would be cheered by the well-wishers and given cigarettes and chocolate.[6]

[4] Without the Faces of Men Kerry Neale. PhD Thesis University of New South Wales pp. 41-42
[5] Without the Faces of Men Kerry Neale. p.57
[6] R. Van Emden & S. Humphries,*All Quiet on the Home Front. An Oral History of Life in Britain during the First World War* (London: Headline,2003) p.121

Hospital train

Hospital trains began to be used by September 1914 and thus enabled treatment to ministered in more hygienic surroundings. Using trains also meant that injured soldiers could be returned to Britain for treatment quicker. Each ambulance train could carry 500 passengers and was run by up to 56 staff. There would also be three medical officers, who checked each soldier onto the train and decided their treatment, and two or three nurses, who gave patients skilled medical care. In addition to medical staff, each train had chefs working in the kitchen car to keep everybody fed. The remaining forty seven were orderlies, who fetched water, changed dressings, fed the passengers, and cleaned the train. As the war progressed, treatment became more specialised. For orthopaedics, the Thomas splint, which prevented many soldiers from the residual effects of badly set bones, was in use by 1915. Also the medical practices at the Front became more successful the level of wound mortality reduced from 28 per cent in 1915 to 8 per cent by war's end.[7]

[7] Without the Faces of Men Kerry Neale. PhD Thesis University of New South Wales pp. 34-35

Henry Tonks watercolour documenting facial injuries of the First World War.

Source: Facial injuries early 1900 and plastic surgery by Jean Harrington.

As mentioned in the introduction, soldiers affect by facial disfigurement, although, in many cases, physically fit tended to remove themselves from public view. As this is an area which has not been, until recently, studied extensively from a historical perspective, I will use the treatment and rehabilitation of a facially disfigured soldier as an example. The centre of excellence for facial injuries was the Queen's Hospital, Sidcup, Kent.

Work at the Queen's Hospital focussed mainly on gun-shot and shrapnel wounds (approximately 80 per cent of all cases treated at the Queen's), with most patients arriving from the Western Front rather than other theatres of the war. Burns cases were usually treated in a general hospital.[8]

When the soldier arrived his injuries were assessed to ascertain if any further damage to the face or jaw had been caused by delays in a soldier arriving at the Queen's Hospital. Delays could be the result of patients poor health, transport problems or, in some instances, reluctance on the part of General Hospitals to hand cases over to the Queen's. After 1917 almost all British and Dominion facial wound cases went through the Queen's Hospital at some stage.[9]

Second, the injuries were examined to determine the extent of loss and to consider the surgical possibilities for repair, usually with much consultation between facial and dental surgeons.

The examination of a case could take upwards of a week, which included having photographs, x-rays and sketches taken. Harold Gillies, chief surgeon, believed that time used in assessment was regained a hundredfold, and he could spend three or four hours studying the one procedure before beginning any operation.

[8] Kerry Neale p.90
[9] Kerry Neale p.89

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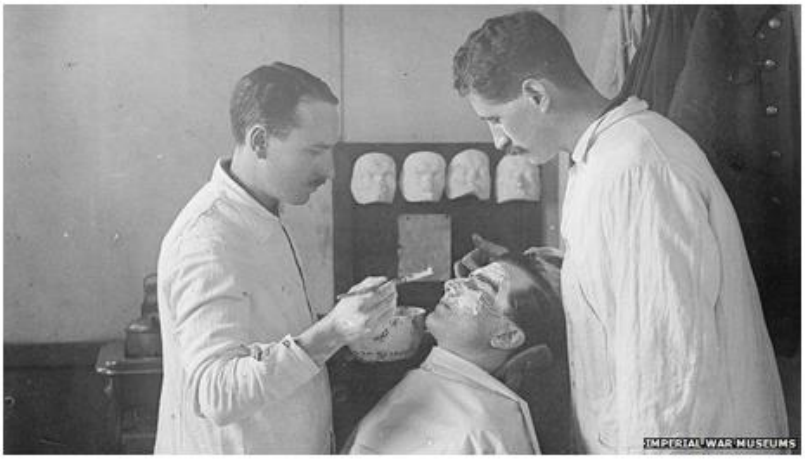
Facial tissue would be replaced in its normal position by means of stitches, buttons, strapping, head-gear apparatus and splints, as well as the removal of any foreign objects (loose and septic teeth especially).

Photographs and sketches were taken to provide evidence for the effectiveness of reconstructive techniques. These photographs could be used later in the assessment of the degree of disfigurement sustained by a soldier when it came to calculating pensions.

Treatment was often a slow, painstaking process. The average length of stay at the Queen s Hospital was twelve months. As treatment occurred in stages, there were often weeks (sometimes months) between operations in which the patient had to heal from the previous procedure before the next could be carried out.

The process began by making a cast.



Working from pre-war photographs of the soldiers sculptors crafted silver-plated electroplate masks to compensate for what the surgeons were unable to repair. Oil would be smeared onto the patients face before a plaster cast was taken to prevent the plaster from sticking to his skin or any facial hair he might have. From the cast a plasticine bust would be made by the sculptor. The mask of thin metal would be made from this bust.

A plaster cast of one soldier with facial wounds.

Picture: Andrew Bamji, from a copy of the cast provided by the Royal Australian College of Surgeons.

Eyebrows and eyelashes were created, often, when the mask was being worn.

With meticulous attention to detail, the silvered mask would be painted with oil paints matched as closely as possible to the patient s skin tone and eye colour. The masks could be held in place with false spectacles to hold it behind the ears. It could take up to a month to complete one mask.

The use of prosthetics in concealing facial disfigurement, however, was not without limitation. Frozen in time - lifeless and scary.While conceding their inadequacies and limitations, in some cases masks did aid in social integration.

Back to work.
Limb attachments for workers

When soldiers were fitted with prosthetics, the upper limb attachments were designed for workers. Although they were not the most advanced technologies, these prosthetic adaptations envisioned the disabled ex-serviceman returning to work with a new kind of masculine enterprise and productivity.Limb makers could not meet the demand, and by June 1918, British hospitals had 4,321 amputees who were waiting for prosthetic arms and legs.[10]

The number of soldiers discharged up to December 31 1916, was about 270,275. Some were totally incapacitated, and others would find work without assistance. The state did accept responsibility to care for the wounded men. While, the duties of the government were defined as the restoration of the men's health where practicable, the provision of training facilities if he desires to learn a new trade and the finding of employment for him when he needs such assistance.

Back to work

[10] Beth Linker, *War's Waste Rehabilitation in World War I America* (London:The University of Chicago Press, 2011) p.98

Training then unemployment

- On January 26th 1921, I was up before a medical board. My arm had been useless for years. The board declared me thirty per cent disabled and gave me a disability pension which was taken away in 1922. They gave me 8s a week for two years and then a final pay off. I couldn't go back to being a bespoke shoemaker so I was sent to a government factory to train to be a tailor. This was useless because I couldn't hold the cloth. I had two years to stay there and learnt all about how a garment was made so that I might become a foreman. After the course we were sent out to find jobs. As I didn't have experience I could not get a job and was told that 'there a plenty of experienced tailors out of work who shouldn't be working in factories. What you've learned isn't much use to you'.

Source: Max Arthur, *The Road Home. The Aftermath of the Great War by the Men and Women Who Survived it* (London: Phoenix, 2010) pp. 176

Retraining

Those disabled veterans already employed post-war economy were reluctant to abandon steady work for an uncertain course of rehabilitation. In July 1919, it was reported that of the 80,000 places the Training Department required, it had only 15,000 at its disposal. By November 1919 only 13,000 men were being trained with 20,000 on the waiting list. It was believed that an additional 40,000 more men were eligible and would come forward if the departmental advertised vacancies.[11]

In 1919 the army introduced the Special Army Education Certificate. It was accepted by the Board of Education for admission to teacher training colleges, by universities as exemption from matriculation examinations and by a variety of professional and learned bodies.[12]

Overall, 82,000 men (most of whom were not severely disabled) we retrained and it is doubtful that more than half of those found work in their trades. In 1921 the Ministry of Labour closed the waiting list for training with an estimated 100,000 disabled ex-servicemen unemployed.[13]

In July 1925 state funding for classes to retrain ex-servicemen was retracted.[14]

Employment

[11] Deborah Cohen, *The War Came Home. Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914 - 1939* (London: University of California Press, 2001)p.27

[12] Source: Hansard, 18th March 1919 H.C. Deb.Fifth Ser., col.1893

[13] Deborah Cohen The Will to Work in David Gerber p.229

[14] Purdy, Martin and Peniston-Bird, Corinna (2017) *Westfield War Memorial Village : disability, paternalism and philanthropy, 1915-2015.* PhD thesis, Lancaster University. p.29

The National Scheme for Disabled Ex-Service Men.

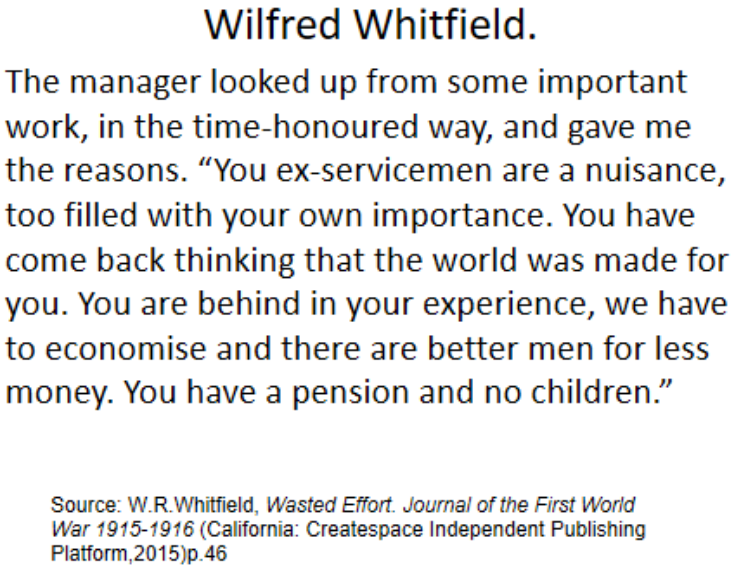
The government did not make it compulsory for companies to employ disabled veterans; however, through the King's National Roll, they were encouraged to do so. Details of the King's Roll - launched in September 1919, within the first week 1452 companies had signed up in the first week. By February 1920, 102,011 disabled ex-servicemen were employed under the scheme, and 10,867 employers were using the badge. By 1922, only 39% of firms wished to renew their membership. However, the scheme remained in existence until 1944. Once employed, disabled soldiers continued to be counted even after their pension had been withdrawn.

Severely disabled not given a chance of employment.This criticism went hand in hand with broader anger among ex-servicemen, both disabled and non-disabled, about their unemployment.

The employment situation for the more severely disabled continued to be problematic. The National Union of Ex-Servicemen formed in 1919 with the disabled ex-servicemen's unemployment at the heart of its agenda. It grew to almost 100,000 members in its first year[15] In 1921, the Disabled Society, which had amalgamated with the British Legion, had asked the Legion to provide funds to establish a Poppy Factory. The Legion provided £2,000 and from then on severely disabled men found employment making poppies. It was not until 1921 with the support of the British Legion that the disabled servicemen were fully represented.[16]

[15]Mike Mantin (2016) Coalmining and the National Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen after the First World War, Social History, 41:2, 155-170, DOI: 10.1080/03071022.2016.1144311 pp.157-159

[16] Julie Anderson (`The Soul of a Nation: A Social History of Disabled People, Physical Therapy, Rehabilitation and Sport in Britain 1918-1970'. Submitted for the award of PhD De Montfort University May 2001 pp.38-39



Source: W.R.Whitfield, *Wasted Effort. Journal of the First World War 1915-1916* (California: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform,2015)p.46

Trades unions and trade boards were opposed to an open door policy for disabled veterans as they feared wage rates would be forced down. Employers saw pensions as a second income.When the slump in the 1920s came, the disabled veterans were the first to be laid off because they were not as efficient, because they were receiving a pension and were seen to be better off than the non-disabled worker. As the quote of disabled veteran Wilfred White on the slide illustrates:[17]

Also laid off at the same time as Wilfred was a weigh man who had also lost an arm and the one legged ex soldier. They all had three months wages in lieu of notice. Wilfred had forgotten he was an ex-serviceman and his mind went to the newspaper articles about, 'lazy, dole-drawing ex servicemen with pensions too.'[18]

Not all cases were without hope

In April 1917 Clarrie Jarman, an injured veteran, was transferred to Roehampton to be fitted with an artificial leg. By January, 1918 Clarrie was back on two legs. The artificial one was made of willow and weighed about 9lbs. In February 1918 Clarrie was discharged from the Army and spent six months at Regent Street Polytechnic on an engineering course.

The loss of his leg never interfered with the rest of his life. He spent some years in engineering then worked as a schools inspector for thirty-six years. He swam in the rivers and ponds around Woking and was a wicket-keeper in the cricket team.

[17] W.R.Whitfield, *Wasted Effort. Journal of the First World War 1915-1916.* (California: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform,2015)p.46

[18] W.R.Whitfield, *Wasted Effort. Journal of the First World War 1915-1916.* (California: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform,2015)p.47

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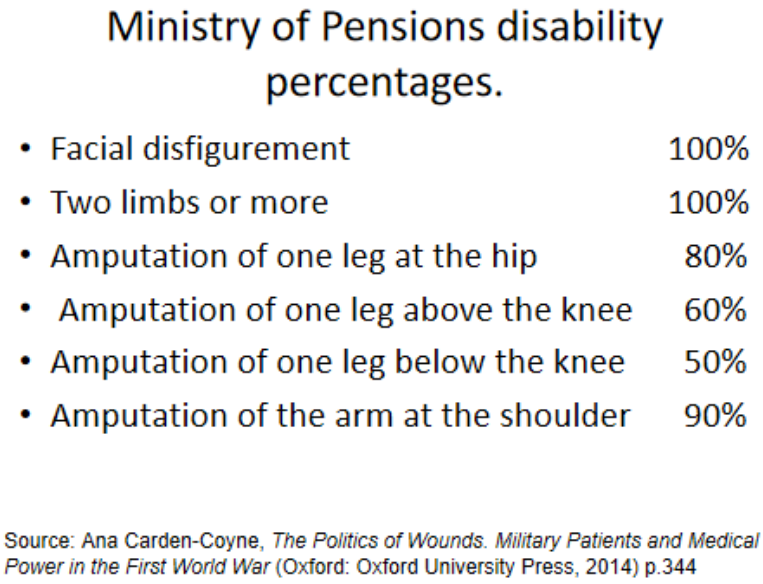
By the mid-1930s, while rates of disability had more than doubled since the armistice, fewer than one in ten of those claimants could be deemed capable of any work at all..[19]

At home



Source: Ana Carden-Coyne, *The Politics of Wounds. Military Patients and Medical Power in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) p.344

In the early stages of the First World War, disabled ex-servicemen had to fall back on the charitable assistance provided by organisations like the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society. In 1915, the Naval and Military War Pensions Act made public funds available.

[19] Whiteside, Noel, 'Counting the cost: sickness and disability among working people in an era of industrial recession, 1920-39', *Economic History Review.*, 2nd ser. XL, 2 (1987), 243

Life at home.

There was little ongoing financial support for injured during the war. Disability pension in 1916 was 17s 6d per week and average food bill was 23s 9d.

Ministry of Pensions set up in 1917.

Disabilities were judged by a medical board on a percentage basis rather than ability to work. By 1918, 400,000 men were receiving pensions.

Women made to give up their jobs.

1920 total disablement pension equalled 40s per week whilst women cotton weavers earned 72s 6d, unskilled builders 84s 4d, coal mining labourers 99s 3d and coal getters 135s 6d.

The total disability pension in 1916 was 17s 6d per week, and the average food bill was 23s 9d. The shortfall, when possible, was met by wives working, the National Relief Fund or a combination of both. At this time, volunteer committees administered the National Relief Fund.

In 1917, the Ministry of Pensions was founded, and the level of disability or disfigurement determined the pension awards. Pension boards calculated awards on a system which judged disability in terms of percentages rather than their ability to work.

They granted me a part-pension for twelve months, after which I had to appear before a board. The pension carried on a further six months, but eventually, I appeared before another committee, and they allocated me a final payment - and that was the end of financial support.

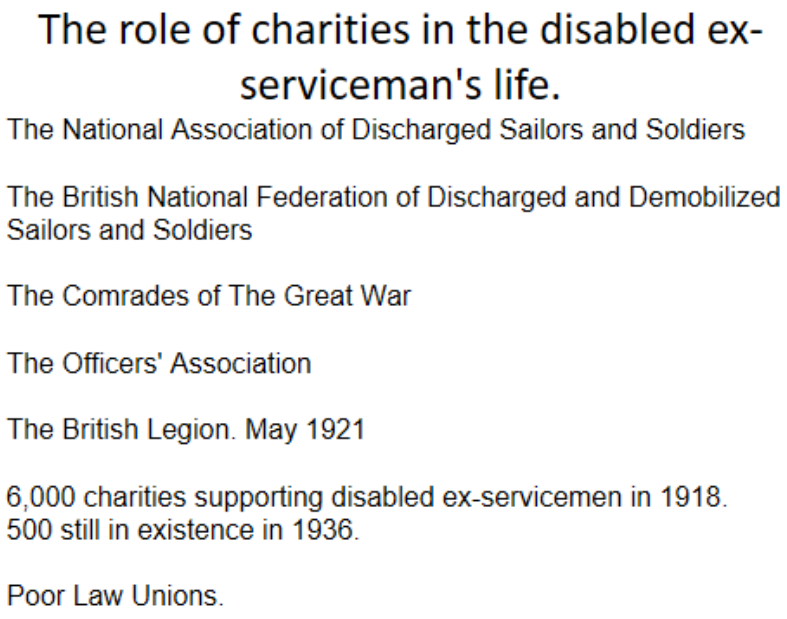
I was convinced that the whole objective of the medical boards was to get you off their backs, with regards to money, as soon as they could.

By 1918, 400,000 ex-servicemen were receiving pensions. Disabled veterans would be assessed by a pensions medical board every six months. Pain and respiratory

conditions were not acknowledged nor compensated and this omission led to problems when chronic pain stopped men working. It was those at home who had to bear this burden with the soldier. Pension awards tended to decline after each medical board, even if men claimed that their symptoms remained the same. This process meant that if a man was awarded a pension, he could not rely on the government accepting full responsibility for his disability, and he certainly could not expect long term financial support. The process was designed to discourage malingering; however, it led to genuine cases suffering continued stress and anxiety, which such an examination entailed.

Pensions were not a statutory right until the 1921 Great War Pensions Act which enable disabled soldiers to claim 25s per week plus 2s 6d per child. Women who had to leave work did not receive much assistance, even if they had to support their family.

Charities



In 1916, Tom Lister founded the British National Federation of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers. He found rented accommodation for ex-servicemen and promised willing landlords that he would maintain the properties. Douglas Haig was also interested in the welfare of ex-servicemen and helped bring together four main charitable groups and with Tom Lister founded the British Legion on 15th May 1921. Also, the Haig Fund was established to raise financial support for ex-servicemen, chiefly by the sale of poppies which had the fund's name in the centre until they merged with the British Legion.[20]

[20] Yorke

The work of the charities for ex-servicemen were very class conscious. The National Federation of Discharged and Disabled Soldiers and Sailors (NFDDSS) limited its work

to the rank and file and to officers who had risen from the ranks.[21] Volunteer committees administered the National Relief Fund, and they met criticism for only giving emergency help to those who met their moral standards.[22]

In 1918, nearly every prominent initiative for the long term treatment or rehabilitation of disabled ex-servicemen was in private hands, including the country's largest artificial limb-fitting centre at Roehampton and St. Dunstan's Hostel.[23]

Due to the government not accepting full responsibility for the disabled servicemen individual philanthropists welcomed the challenges of providing support for ex-servicemen, and, once the spectre of another generation of decorated beggars threatened they found the public eager to support their efforts.[24]

From the mid-1920s when there were high levels of unemployment the disabled servicemen found themselves competing with fit healthy married men for Poor Relief.[25]

The Poor Law Unions began to resent the implication that they still owed something to disabled ex-servicemen.[26]

[21] Purdy and Peniston-Bird, *Westfield War Memorial Village. p.*135

[22] Martin Purdy and Corinna Peniston-Bird, *Westfield War Memorial Village : disability, paternalism and philanthropy, 1915-2015.* PhD thesis, Lancaster University. (2017) p.17

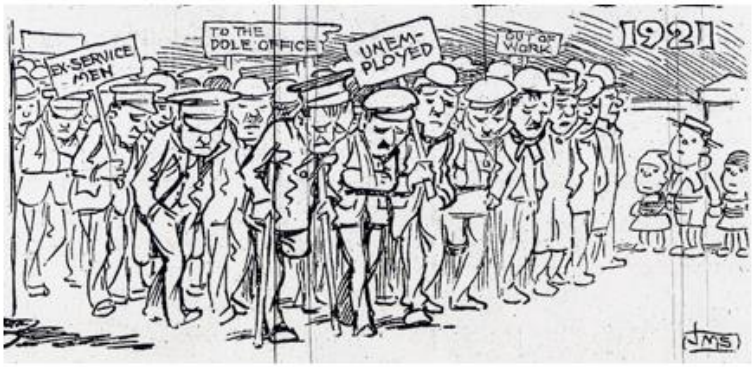
[23] D. Cohen, *The War Came Home. Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914 - 1939* (London: University of California Press, 2001)p.29

[24]D. Cohen, *The War Came Home. Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914 - 1939* (London: University of California Press, 2001) p.30

[25] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male, Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War.*(London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1996) p.72

[26] Meyer, Jessica, *Men of War. Masculinity and the First World War, 2*nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011) p.118

Unemployment and discontent, 1921



Source: *The Western Mail*, Cardiff. 11th November, 1921

During the war, it had become evident that the treatment and rehabilitation of all the veteran disabled would be difficult. In March 1918, there had been a demonstration of discharged soldiers and sailors at the Albert Hall, and later in the same month, there was a mass rally of wounded ex-soldiers. In the 1920s some unemployed ex-soldiers would demonstrate at Armistice events. By this stage, the penniless ex-soldier had become a familiar and visible figure.

Injured ex-servicemen who returned during the war had to deal with a myriad of different bodies. Unemployment - Board of Trade; war pensions - Ministry of Pensions; National Insurance Commission - previous National Insurance contributions; Local Government Board - housing and the Poor Law and welfare; Board of Education for the health of his wife and children [27]

The new 'normal'.

Amputee ex-servicemen would have to ensure that they cared for their stumps.

Ongoing examinations and assessments by medical pension boards.

Further operations to ease ongoing problems.

The support of the family and the extended community was vital.

[27] Powell, Adam, *Soldiering On. British Tommies after the First World War* (Cheltenham, The History Press, 2019) p.182

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Back to Normal

Healthcare

Ongoing stump care was a necessity because should care be neglected; a sore could result which may get infected and could cause the man's death. 'A healthy body and a healthy stump, these are certainly the two most important things for the man who has got to earn his living on an artificial limb.'

Cost of repair v replacement of limb.

How often a lower limb amputee would need to change his leg would vary. Generally, this would occur every five to six years. If you wanted a repair, and it was considered that repair would cost over a certain percentage of the total cost, they would scrap the old leg. They made fitted legs to a standard shape - but not all men fitted the standard. These ill-fitting legs caused abscesses and men had to go to the hospital to have them removed - providing the cheap legs was a false economy. One amputee stated 'I was discharged in 1918 and now it's 1936. I have never needed any treatment in all that time - until my leg was fitted on the cheap.'[28]

The `favoured' status of the blind demonstrated that there was a clear hierarchy of disabled groups. Charity and state favoured some groups whilst others were marginalised and forgotten. It was felt by some associations, like the Council for the Care of Cripples, that there was too much emphasis on the victims of the war, and that the civilian disabled were not getting the type of treatment to which they were entitled.

Changes in public opinion.

Early newspaper reports of disabled soldiers being treated leniently when appearing before the magistrates on charges of drunkeness and petty crimes.

Opinions changed leading to disabled soldiers and ex-servicemen generally being perceived as men expecting more because they had served their country.

Exhaustion of sympathy - desire to get back to normality.

By 1925 the international conferences for the rights and benefits for disabled ex-servicemen were looking towards the future and not the disabled ex-servicemen.

[28] M. Arthur, *The Road Home. The Aftermath of the Great War by the Men and Women Who Survived it.* (London: Phoenix, 2010) pp. 144-145

Despite the drive for normalcy, disability did not always confer the status of war hero. The war-maimed competed for limited economic and emotional resources with disabled citizens; in the end, there were no winners in this struggle. By the late 1920s, the respect initially afforded to the fragmented bodies of war-mutilated men had ended.[29]

When injured men were initially returning home especially following the battle of the Somme,there was a lot of sympathy given to the men. They were admired for their sacrifices but y the end of summer 1917 this sympathy had turned to horror and disgust. Maybe the losses of the Battles of the Somme and Third Ypres had caused the balancing of sacrifice with sympathy a hopeless task. This sentiment was further exacerbated as after the war years of sympathy were discharged within a few months before people turned their attention to more realistic goals. The ex-serviceman experienced a similar form of forgetfulness as the disabled child; that is, when young and novel he is lavished with gifts, but when he is old and no longer astonishing, he went unnoticed.[30]

Added pressure.

E.J. Griffiths a member of West Riding County Council alleged that 8,000 ex-servicemen had committed suicide in 1928 and 1929, one-third of whom were affected by poison gas.[31]

Many disabled veterans were keen sportsmen before they were injured. One amputee said, 'The loss of a leg on the Western Front in 1918 was a considerable loss to me whose chief recreation was swimming and walking'. Sport could reassert the sense of masculinity many disabled veterans felt.[32]I was nineteen years old and I had just received an injury which finished me throughout my life from quite a few things. At my age, to have that injury was quite a shock. It meant I would have to adapt my life in many ways.[33]Not all men stopped playing sport because of their injuries. This fact became evident when looking at the Aberavon rugby team. Jimmy One Arm -He lost the other on the last day of the Great War in 1918. It didn't stop the scrum-half from neighbouring Cwmavon renewing his career after the Armistice as well as doubling up at fly-half and in the back row whenever the situation demanded. Charlie 'Warhorse' Jones also lost an arm in the same war and carried on as though nothing untoward had happened, as did One Arm Wilkins, a fly-half said to have mastered the art of using the stump as a potent weapon.

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[29] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male, Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War.*(London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1996) p.31

[30] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male, Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War.*(London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1996) p.70

[31] D. Cohen, *The War Came Home. Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914 - 1939* (London: University of California Press, 2001) p.57

[32] Adam Powell, *Soldiering On. British Tommies after the First World War* (Cheltenham, The History Press, 2019) p.107

[33] Van Emden & Humphries,*All Quiet on the Home Front.* p.130

Tom Broach. 28332 Hampshire Regiment

Posted to France soon after Christmas, 1917

It was after the relief of Cambrai that Tom was injured in his side by an exploding shell.

All the clearing stations were full so the ambulance had to keep going onwards. He was eventually seen by a doctor and operated on under anaesthetic and kept in hospital for ten days.

Sent to Boulogne where he waited two weeks for a hospital ship. Next stop was Dudley Road Hospital in Birmingham.

Discharged from service on 6th January, 1919 by the Aldershot medical board.

Original invalidity pension of 8s 8d per week but upon appeal was raised to 13s per week. It has been reviewed many times since but still receive it every week.

After the war I went back to the dairy business. I was lucky to have a job because thousands of soldiers came back from the war and they were left penniless by the government. They sold matches in the street, washed dishes or starved. There was no dole in those days.

Source: T. Quinn, *Tales of Old Soldiers: Nine Veterans of the First World War Remember Life and Death in the Trenches.* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993) pp. 117-129

I will now concluded with one slide which chronicles the experience of one disabled veteran. Whereas themes emerged in the experiences of the majority of disabled soldiers each veteran's circumstances made his experience personal to him and I will leave you with a letter from an ex-serviceman, who suffering with a 'no visual' disability was trying to be an effective unit f production. Maybe this is a glimpse of the animosity felt towards men with military pensions.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.
DISCHARGED SOLDIER'S PENSION.

Sir,

I have fought in the Dardanelles, Egypt, Sinai, Suez Canal, Palestine, and the Egyptian Western frontier, and I have sustained a twenty per cent disablement. Suffering from malaria, I appealed to the medical referee and was granted a month on full pension. Starting to work the night before my pension fell due at the end of the month, caused the Mountain Ash Pensions Committee to promptly cut my pension down to twenty per cent. I have now to live for a fortnight on six and sevenpence a week, until I receive my pay.

I suggest that the Mountain Ash War Pensions Committee form a system of Spies or an intelligence Department. These may be able to devise some other means of depriving disabled soldiers of their pensions. Think of the money it would save the country, because after all starving demobbed and disabled soldiers are only details now that the war is won.

Yours,

CHARLES MATTHEWS.

53 Woodfield Terrace, Penrhiwceiber.

Source: The Aberdare Leader. 9th August, 1919.

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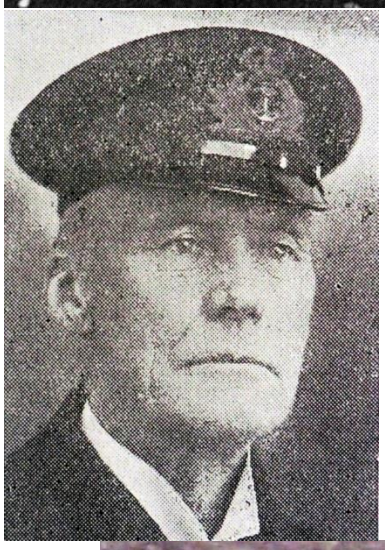
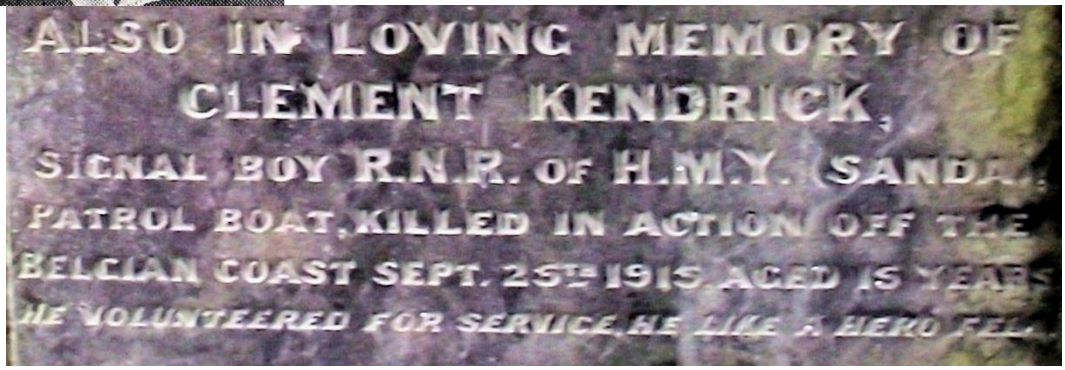
Old and Young Sailors *by Andy Rawson*

A chance find of a mention of Signal Boy Clement Kendrick, 103SB, on a gravestone in a local cemetery has led to this story of two sailors, one old and one young, who both gave their lives for their country.

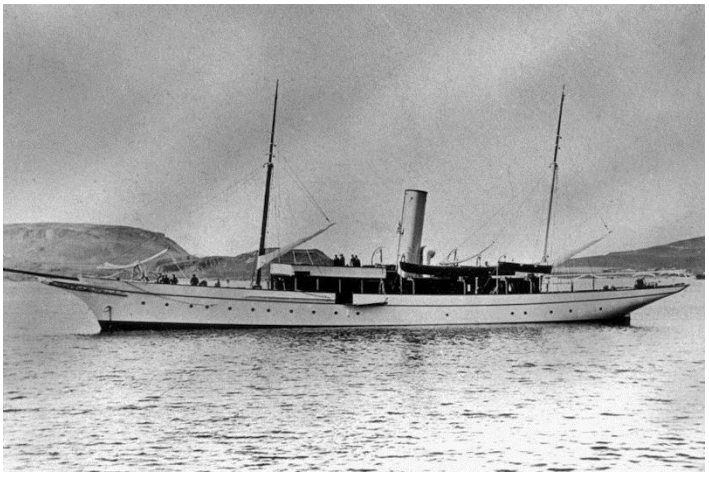


Young Clement fancied a life on the high seas from an early age. His name appeared in the Sheffield newspapers in 1912, when the eleven-year-old disappeared from home for several days. On his return, it transpired he had paid his train fare to the port of Heysham, on the Lancashire coast. A ferry then took him to Belfast, where he stayed for a few hours before returning to his home city. On his return, his father reported that 'I haven't thrashed him, I have packed him off to bed. He needs it after such an escapade. We are tired out, too.' Kendrick remained in love with the sea and joined the Royal Navy at the tender age of fifteen, even there was a good chance he could see action. After a short period of training he found himself on *Her Majesty's Yacht, Sanda*, heading for the Belgian coast on 25 September 1915. His vessel was armed with 6-inch guns and it was part of a thirty strong fleet, destined to bombard the German held port of Zeebrugge, as a diversion to the attack at Loos, which began on the same day.

The German shore batteries retaliated, as fires broke out across the port, and one 8-inch shell hit the Sanda's deckhouse, killing and wounding several sailors. A few were rescued from the sinking yacht but Kendrick lost his life and his body was never found. His name is remembered on the Portsmouth Naval Memorial.



Another fatality was the yacht captain, Lieutenant Commander Henry Gartside-Tipping, who at sixty-seven years old, was said to be the oldest serving naval officer at sea. He first went to sea in 1868, eventually retiring after sixteen years service. Despite a thirty-year break, he had volunteered for service on the outbreak of war and commanded the armed yacht *HMY Aries* before transferring to the *Sanda*.
That is not the end of this sad story, for Gartside-Tipping's wife, Mary had also done 'her bit' for the war effort by serving in the munition worker's canteen in Woolwich. She joined the Women's Emergency Corps at the beginning of 1917 and headed for the war zone in France, to do similar work. There she was murdered by a French soldier who, the papers stated, was suffering from a disordered mind. Mary was given a military funeral and buried in Vauxbin French National Cemetery, near Soissons; she was also posthumously awarded the Croix de Guerre. Both Henry and Mary are also remembered on the Southport War memorial in France.
So, the morale of the story is do check-up any war related names you find in your local cemetery, because you never know what stories you might find.



Cruiser `Aurora` *by Grant Cullen*

Back in 1980 – can`t believe it`s exactly 40 years ago – two friends and I spent 3 weeks in the good `ole USSR…first week in Moscow, second week at Yalta on the Crimea, third week in Leningrad which of course has since reverted to its original name Saint Petersburg.

St. Petersburg was, and still is, home to a unique Russian Warship - a pre-dreadnought cruiser that survived the mauling the Russians got at the naval battle of Tsushima in 1905 and subsequently two world wars and all the other upheavals and revolutions.

Here is some of my pictures – digitised from 35mm colour slide film and the story of the ship itself.

Aurora (Russian: Авро́ра, tr. *Avrora*, IPA: [ɐˈvrorə]) is a 1900 Russian protected cruiser, currently preserved as a museum ship in Saint Petersburg. *Aurora* was one of three *Pallada*-class cruisers, built in Saint Petersburg for service in the Pacific. All three ships of this class served during the Russo-Japanese War. *Aurora* survived the Battle of Tsushima and was interned under US protection in the Philippines, and eventually returned to the Baltic Fleet.

The second ship, *Pallada*, was sunk by the Japanese at Port Arthur in 1904. The third ship, *Diana*, was interned in Saigon after the Battle of the Yellow Sea. One of the first incidents of the October Revolution in Russia took place on the cruiser *Aurora*, which reportedly fired the first shot, signalling the beginning of the attack on the Winter Palace. This act is commemorated by a plaque affixed to the forecastle gun.

Soon after completion, on October 10, 1903, *Aurora* departed Kronstadt as part of Admiral Virenius's "reinforcing squadron" for Port Arthur. While in the Red Sea, still enroute to Port Arthur, the squadron was recalled back to the Baltic Sea, under protest by Admiral Makarov, who specifically requested Admiral Virenius to continue his mission to Port Arthur. Only the 7 destroyers of the reinforcing squadron were allowed to continue to the Far East.

After her detachment from the reinforcing squadron and her arrival back to home port she underwent new refitting. After refitting, *Aurora* was ordered back to Port Arthur as part of the Russian Baltic Fleet *Aurora* sailed as part of Admiral Oskar Enkvist's Cruiser Squadron whose flagship would be the Protected Cruiser Oleg, an element of

Admiral Zinovy Rozhestvensky's *Baltic Fleet*. On the way to the Far East, *Aurora* received 5 hits, sustaining light damage from confused friendly fire, which killed the ship's chaplain and a sailor, in the Dogger Bank incident.

On 27 and 28 May 1905 *Aurora* took part in the Battle of Tsushima, along with the rest of the Russian squadron. During the battle her captain, Captain 1st rank Eugene R. Yegoryev, and 14 crewmen were killed. The executive officer, Captain of 2nd rank Arkadiy Konstantinovich Nebolsine, took command although wounded. After that *Aurora*, covering other much slower Russian vessels, became the flagship of Rear-Admiral Enkvist, and with two other Russian cruisers broke through to neutral Manila, where she was interned by United States authorities from 6 June 1905 until the end of the war. In 1906 *Aurora* returned to the Baltic and became a cadet training ship. From 1906 until 1912 the cruiser visited a number of other countries; in November 1911 she was in Bangkok as part of the celebrations in honour of the coronation of the new King of Siam.

October Revolution mutiny

Aurora is pictured on the Order of the October Revolution

During World War I *Aurora* operated in the Baltic Sea performing patrols and shore bombardment tasks. In 1915, her armament was changed to fourteen 152 mm (6 in) guns. At the end of 1916, she was moved to Petrograd (the renamed Saint Petersburg) for a major repair. The city was brimming with revolutionary ferment and part of her crew joined the 1917 February Revolution. The ship's commanding officer, Captain Mikhail Nikolsky, was killed when he tried to suppress the revolt. A revolutionary committee was created on the ship, with Aleksandr Belyshev elected as captain. Most of the crew joined the Bolsheviks, who were preparing for a Communist revolution. At 9.40pm on 25 October 1917 (Old Style; 7 November New Style) a blank shot from her forecastle gun signaled the start of the assault on the Winter Palace, which was to be the beginning of the October Revolution. In summer 1918, she was relocated to Kronstadt and placed into reserve.

Second World War

In 1922 *Aurora* returned to service as a training ship. Assigned to the Baltic Fleet, from 1923, she repeatedly visited the Baltic Sea countries, including Norway in 1924, 1925, 1928 and 1930, Germany in 1929 and Sweden in 1925 and 1928. On 2 November 1927, *Aurora* was awarded the Order of the Red Banner for her revolutionary merits.

During the Second World War, the guns were taken from the ship and used in the land defence of Leningrad. The ship herself was docked in Oranienbaum port,[11] and was repeatedly shelled and bombed. On 30 September 1941 she was damaged and sunk in the harbour. In 1944 despite the vessel's state, *Aurora* became the first campus and training vessel of the Nakhimov Naval School. After extensive repairs from 1945 to 1947, *Aurora* was permanently anchored on the Neva in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg again) as a monument to the Great October Socialist Revolution. In 1957 she became a museum-ship. On 22 February 1968 she was awarded the Order of the October Revolution, whose badge portrays *Aurora* herself.

To the present

As a museum ship, the cruiser *Aurora* became one of the many tourist attractions of Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg), and continued to be a symbol of the October Socialist Revolution and a prominent attribute of Russian history. In addition to the museum space, a part of the ship continued to house a naval crew whose duties included caring for the ship, providing security and participating in government and military ceremonies. The crew was considered to be on active duty and was subject to military training and laws. Having long served as a museum ship, from 1984 to 1987 the cruiser was once again placed in her construction yard, the Admiralty Shipyard, for capital restoration. During the overhaul, due to deterioration, the ship's hull below the waterline was replaced with a new welded hull according to the original drawings. The cut off lower hull section was towed into the Gulf of Finland, to the unfinished base at Ruchi, and sunk near the shore. The restoration revealed that some of the ship parts, including the armour plates, were originally made in Britain.*Aurora* is the oldest commissioned ship of the Russian Navy, still flying the naval ensign under which she was commissioned, but now under the care of the Central Naval Museum. She is still manned by an active service crew commanded by a Captain of the 1st Rank. In January 2013 Russian Defence Minister Sergey Shoygu announced plans to recommission *Aurora* and make her the flagship of the Russian Navy due to her historical and cultural importance.[12] On 21 September 2014 the ship was towed to the Admiralty Shipyard in Kronstadt to be overhauled, to return in 2016. On 16 July 2016 she returned to her home harbour in Saint Petersburg.

The Great War in the media – Daily Mail - 27th July

The bravery medals of a hero submarine commander who made one of World War One's most daring escapes are being sold by his family for £18,000.
Captain Sir Archibald Cochrane sank numerous enemy vessels before he was captured during the Gallipoli campaign in 1915.
He was part of a group of officers who broke out of a Turkish PoW camp in August 1918, cutting through the bars of a hospital window before descending to the ground on a rope ladder.

The bravery medals of a hero submariner who made one of World War One's most daring escapes are being sold by his family for £18,000. Captain Sir Archibald Cochrane sank numerous enemy vessels before he was captured during the Gallipoli campaign in 1915.

Capt Cochrane's medal group consists of the Distinguished Service Order with Second Award Bar; 1914-15 Star; British War and Victory Medals; 1939-45 Star; Atlantic Star; War Medal 1939-45; Coronation 1937; United States of Merit. The medals have been put up for £18,000

What followed was an extraordinary six-week, 450 mile trek across mountainous terrain in extreme heat, dodging Turkish patrols and evading fire from local bandits.

After reaching the coast the men commandeered a motor boat and crossed the Mediterranean Sea to Cyprus where they were greeted as heroes.

Their exploits were later revealed in a book, Four-Fifty Miles to Freedom.

When they returned to Britain they had an audience with King George V. A letter the monarch personally gave Captain Cochrane in which he praised the 'gallant officer' is being sold along his medals.

The decorations, including a Distinguished Service Order with Bar - are being sold with London auctioneers Spink & Son.

The family hopes they can go to a new home where they will be 'properly looked after and respected'.

Capt Cochrane's grandson said: 'My grandfather died long before I was born but I was always aware of his heroism, his stories and his service to his country.

'He was a remarkable man and his history is fascinating but it can also weigh heavily.

'It took a while to decide whether it was the right thing to sell his medals.

'In the end it will be a relief if they can go somewhere where they will be properly looked after and respected for the history and service they represent.'

Capt Cochrane, from Fife, Scotland, led patrols in the English Channel and off the River Ems in north west Germany, before commanding the submarine E7 which was deployed to the Dardanelles in May 1915.

Sir Archibald Cochrane was put in command of the submarine E7 (pictured) which was deployed to the Dardanelles in May 1915

In one attack, E7 destroyed three enemy vessels within minutes and on another occasion it took out a 4,000 tonne steamer from 1,500 yards in a torpedo attack, throwing it 300ft into the air.
They also blocked a railway line by bombarding it from the sea then shelled a troop train, blowing up three ammunition cars attached to it
They picked off enemy shipping with regularity until the E7 was captured in the Sea of Marmora on September 4, 1915, after getting trapped in the anti-submarine nets.
Capt Cochrane was sent to Kara Hissar, in the wild country of Asia Minor, about 130 miles from the nearest coast.
He made his first escape attempt with two other prisoners in March 1916.
After 18 days on the run they were betrayed by a goat herder they asked for help and upon capture, they spent six months in solitary confinement.
Capt Cochrane's successful bid for freedom was launched on the night of August 7, 1918.
He was part of a group of 26 officers who broke out of Yogzad camp deep in the Anatolian Mountains, 4,500ft above sea level in some of Turkey's most rugged terrain.
After breaking out they worked their way through gardens, across crumbling stone walls and along dry river beds, before scrambling up a mountain side.

The escapees travelled at night and slept during the heat of the day, with progress slow and fraught with danger as the Turkish authorities watched all the roads and pathways leading to the coast.
Their perilous route took them into the Taurus Mountains where they evaded a group of bandits who fired upon them.
After reaching the coast they pretended to be German archaeologists as they went on several boat hunts.

The successful Turkish POW escape party Sir Archibald Cochrane pictured back row, fourth left - He was part of a group of officers who broke out of a Turkish POW camp in August 1918

Capt Cochrane and an accomplice swam to one 28ft boat but were unable to lift the anchor so the escape attempt was aborted.

A few days later their luck changed when they clambered on board an unmanned boat. They got the engine going and navigated their way to Cyprus, reaching land in the early hours of the next morning. The exhausted escapees were greeted by a crowd of cheering Cypriots.

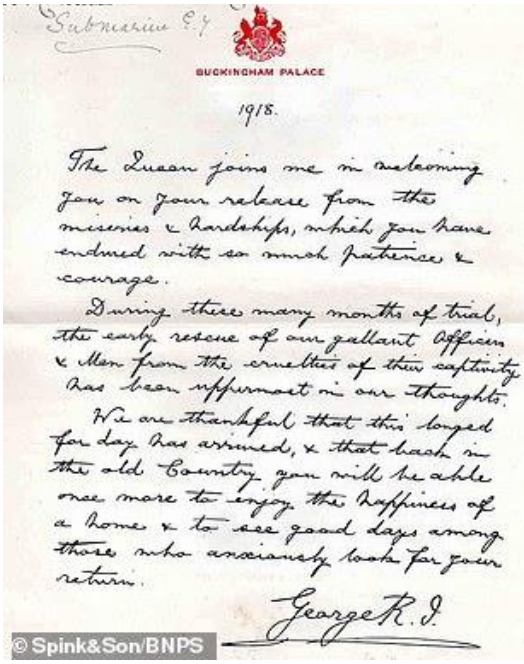
Capt Cochrane travelled home via Egypt, Italy and France, arriving back in Britain on October 16.
He received his Distinguished Service Order for doing 'great damage to enemy shipping' in the Sea of Marmora, with the Bar awarded for his escape.

He subsequently moved into politics, becoming a Unionist MP for East Fife in 1924.

He lost his seat at the 1929 General Election but returned to parliament after winning a by-election in 1932.

In 1936, he was appointed Governor of Burma, standing down in 1941 so he could return to service in World War Two. Capt Cochrane commanded the HMS Queen of Bermuda, retiring at the end of the conflict.

He died in East Lothian in 1958 aged 73.


Submarine E.7

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

1918.

The Queen joins me in welcoming you on your release from the miseries & hardships, which you have endured with so much patience & courage.

During these many months of trial, the early rescue of our gallant Officers & Men from the cruelties of their captivity has been uppermost in our thoughts.

We are thankful that this longed for day has arrived, & that back in the old Country you will be able once more to enjoy the happiness of a home & to see good days among those who anxiously look for your return.

George R.I.

© Spink&Son/BNPS

Captain Cochrane's family hope the artefacts which include his binoculars in a fitted leather case and his letter from King George V, go to a home that will see them looked after

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Marcus Budgen, head of the medals department at Spink & Son, said: 'The awards of Captain Cochrane represent one of the most important and ingenuous events of the Royal Navy during the Great War.
'A pioneer submariner who snuck into the Sea of Marmora, sinking plenty of enemy vessels and becoming the first vessel in history to fire ashore from a submarine - he was awarded the Distinguished Service Order and taken prisoner when he became entangled in nets.
'Seriously unlucky to miss out on a Victoria Cross, Cochrane earned another Distinguished Service Order leading the famous and spectacular break from the ghastly Yozgad Camp.
'We expect plenty of interest from collectors and institutions far and wide for this remarkable group of medals.'

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Military Ambulance Trains

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

Part Six

Cot trains and emergency trains of the standard type ran intact , setting down or picking up where necessary, without being divided. In the event of a number of patients in a train from Dover to Temple Meads being sent to a destination off the direct route, they would travel in extra coaches which, accommodating both cot and sitting cases would be detached at - say – reading, medical staff taking charge of this portion so divided and going with it to its destination.

Arrangements at Dover

The first boat conveying wounded to Dover arrived October 12th 1914, others followed on succeeding days. Those whom they landed were members of the Naval Brigade and, also, Belgian soldiers who had suffered in the German advance on Antwerp and had been taken to Ostend, *en route* to England. So numerous were the arrivals that Dover Town Station was closed to the public early on the morning of October 14th in order to accommodate the ambulance trains then being rushed to Dover for the conveyance of the wounded to Chatham, Gosport, Harrogate and elsewhere.

At this time the new Marine Station at Dover had not been sufficiently completed to permit the use of it for ambulance trains, and such completion was not then asked for by the authorities owing to the view being taken that any indiscriminate landing of wounded, of whatever nationality, and whether from hospitals ships or refugees, at what had become an essentially military port, was inexpedient. In these circumstances the earlier of the boats which did bring wounded to Dover had to be dealt with at the Admiralty Pier Extension , although here, also, adequate facilities for the carrying on of this work under the best conditions were lacking.

Between October 12th and October 18th the number of wounded received at Dover was about 1500, 1000 British and 500 Belgians. Dover was, in fact, soon to be `full up` and unable owing to her limited facilities and accommodation, to deal with any more wounded, for the time being. Further boats, accordingly, were sent on to Folkestone.

Another expedient was that of sending further boatloads of wounded to Southampton. Towards the end of 1914, however, the pressure of combined military and ambulance traffic at that port became very great and in late December, orders were given that, with a view to affording some degree of relief to Southampton, the marine Station at Dover was to be so far completed *within one week* that the wounded could be brought ashore at one of the new main berths and carried thence to the ambulance trains standing in the station, immediately alongside.

Considering that the platform had not then been filled in, tht the station was still without a roof and that much work in other directions also required to be done before traffic could be commenced, the order thus given seemed to be one scarcely possible of achievement. But the Engineering Department of the South Eastern and Chatham Railway made a determined effort. All attainable labour in and around Dover, was secured; gangs of men succeeded one another without remission, night

and day throughout Christmas and New Year, and on January 2nd 1915, the first of a long succession of ambulance trains was dispatched from the marine Station at Dover, which became, in fact, the principal landing point for wounded sent home from the Western Front

Such were the facilities offered by this new station that it was possible to load at the different platforms no fewer than six ambulance trains with wounded from two ships. The distance from the nearer boat to the rear of the nearest ambulance train was only about twenty yards, and even for this short distance the wounded , passing from one to the other, were completely under cover. The wide gangway was a covered one, resembling a short tunnel and, on reaching the quay, the wounded passed, first under a covered corridor, provided with wind screens on each side, and then into the station itself. Stretcher cases were met at the end of the gangway by RAMC men with two wheeled trolleys on whivh the stretchers were placed for conveyance to the ambulance trains; those special cases were first taken to a wooden enclosure on the nearest platform where they were eamined by medical officers in attendance. Throughout the whole period of the war, every ambulance train despatched from Dover Marine Station was also attended by one or both of two ladies, Mrs Bird and Mrs Ellery who, from the Red Cross Store distributed cigarettes, chocolates, pillows and other `comforts`; and this they did, between them, even when, as happened on some occasions, there was a continuous stream of wounded men from 8 o` clock a.m. one day until 3 a.m. the following day.

The average time taken at Dover to load up an ambulance train was 45 minutes, and the average time required to disembark an average boat-load of patients (say 200 cot cases and 300 walking wounded) and transfer them to the two trains which were the average requirement per boat was about two hours. As many, however, as 1500 cases have been landed from two boats – a large one and a small one. All the arrivals at that port from the beginning of 1915 were from either Calais or Boulogne.

The following table gives particulars of the numbers of sick and wounded (officers and men) conveyed by ambulance trains from Dover marine Station in the period from January 2nd 1915, when the regular service began to February 28th 1919.

Year	No. Of Wounded	No. of boats	No. of trains
1915	124101	490	878
1916	246225	782	1742
1917	433840	1362	2592
1918	404301	1330	2307
1919	52039	112	262
Total	1260506	4076	7781

It will be seen that the number of loaded trains despatched from Dover was 7781, but inasmuch as these would all require to return to Dover *conveying personnel only* , the total number of ambulance specials actualy run was 15562. The table further shows that heaviest year at Dover was 1917, when 433840 officers and men, brought there in 1362 ships were dispatched from the Marine Station in 2592 trains.

This further table gives the months during which the number of patients disembarked at Dover and conveyed thence by train exceeded 35000.

Year	Month	No. of wounded	No. of boats	No. of trains
1916	July	49080	128	327
	September	36468	106	243
1917	April	54815	132	296
	May	47248	135	284
	June	37780	118	220
	August	54436	175	336
	September	38154	126	219
	October	54377	116	307
	November	45039	161	273
	December	35305	119	221
1918	March	43035	128	223
	April	66343	229	372
	August	38588	113	223
	September	44850	137	258
	October	60725	193	335

The heaviest month of all is thus shown to be April 1918 when 66343 officers and men landed from 229 ships and were sent away by 372 trains.

For the heating of ambulance trains waiting in Dover marine Station to be loaded up and still forming the temporary home of medical officers and ten N.C.O.`s and men (though not of the two nursing sisters who were specially provided for each trip), there was an arrangement by which steam was passed along them from a boiler-house between the hours of 6am and 11pm. This method of heating could not, however be applied to more than 8 ambulance trains at a time and there were occasions , when, of the twenty ambulance trains allocated to Dover, as many as 18 might, owing to delay in the arrival of the ambulance boats (weather, for example), be waiting there. Under conditions such as these the steam heating of the trains in excess of the said eight provided by attaching a locomotive in steam first to one, then to the others in succession, and as necessary. There was also and overhead system of supplying trains with water whilst standing in the stations. In addition to the ambulance trains proper, about forty coaches, some for cot and some for sitting cases, were held in reserve at Dover for attaching to the regular ambulance trains in the event of more accommodation being required.

To be continued…..

Part Two

The birth of the Secret Service Bureau and the unofficial register of aliens

Before being able to understand the threat of enemy aliens in Britain during the Great War it is necessary to understand pre-war thinking and decision-making. The actions and decisions of the key players who assessed the environment at the time and scanned the horizon for new threats facilitated the British Government's adoption of the premise that enemy aliens were a potential security threat to the home front in the event of a war with Germany. Two key, pre-war, developments stand out that demonstrate this premise: the birth of the Secret Service Bureau and the activity surrounding the compilation of the unofficial register of aliens. The establishment of the Bureau and the unofficial register of aliens became the foundations on which activity to mitigate the security threat from Germans in Britain at the outbreak of war in 1914 was built. Historical debate around this area has conventionally attributed the

decisions taken to pursue an 'enemy alien' policy to wide spread public pressure created and fuelled by the spy mania and invasion scares between 1906 and 1909. However by focusing on the parties involved, their motivations and self-interests in setting enemy alien policy direction during the pre-war period this conventional assumption can be challenged as simplistic. These individuals tried to objectively understand the illusion of spies and saboteurs in Britain and then decided whether the security threat was one of fact and fiction.

This chapter will explore: the intelligence sources available to the government of the day which led them to deal with the enemy alien threat, and set the birth of the secret service in a wider context than one of a reaction purely to public pressure. It will also investigate the motives the interested parties had in the establishment of the Bureau and keeping the issue of enemy aliens at the centre of government thinking through the promotion of the unofficial register of aliens. Finally, the chapter will consider the growth in bureaucracy created by the register of aliens and the influential reach of the Bureau in this area. The register and the work of the Bureau were the focus for inter-departmental government working on alien policy that would become the accepted model during the Great War.

Seligmann shows that the British government was warned in 1907 of a possible German invasion of Britain, and that German spies were at work in Britain surveying the possible terrain of operations. The sources feeding the British government were not just any old scaremongers, but credible individuals such as the UK's military attaché in Berlin, Colonel Frederic Trench, and Britain's naval attaché Captain Philip Dumas. This shows that events such as the birth of the Secret Service Bureau in 1909 were not simply a response to public and newspaper pressure caused by spy mania.

From 1907 onwards both military and naval attachés based in Berlin were predicting a crisis point of German aggression towards Britain, varying from 1913 to 1915 in their dispatches. This was based on their personal experiences in Germany, which led them to believe that Germany was becoming a menace and they were witnessing increasing Anglophobia. These dispatches were widely circulated around British government departments and used as part of CID investigations into the probability of German invasion in 1908. Seligmann highlights the importance of intelligence in government decision making:

As was recently demonstrated by the Second Gulf War against Iraq, intelligence concerning an enemy's capabilities can be very influential in determining policy, even if, as was the case in Iraq, this information turns out to be wrong. Was the same true in pre-First World War Britain when it came to managing relations with Germany? If, as seems likely, the answer is that intelligence was as important as it is now, then the question of whether the British government was in the dark or misinformed about Germany's true abilities or whether they possessed a reasonable understanding about their ultimate opponent is significant. It allows the historian to ask whether the British government framed a policy out of ignorance and suspicion or whether they forged a rational and informed response on the basis of credible and reliable data.

This assumption can equally be applied to the birth of the Secret Service Bureau and its growth in the five years up until the outbreak of war. Even before 1907 concerns were being raised within British government departments over the German spy menace. In 1904 a memorandum had been drawn up and circulated by the Foreign Office on the 'Secret Service arrangements in the event of war with Germany'. By 1906 this had become a comprehensive document detailing, with MO2C's help, places where British observers should be stationed 'in the event of war or threat of war with Germany. These included ports, inland towns and the capitals of Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. What is interesting about this Foreign Office document is

that it considers both the threat of German invasion of Britain and the threat of a land war with Britain, allied with France, against Germany.
In the invasion scenario, gathering information from the main ports of Kiel, Cuxhaven and Wilhelmshaven are the primary objectives: 'The Army's object in watching German ports will of course be to get the earliest notice of any preparations for embarking troops.
In the continental land war scenario, intelligence gathering switched to inland towns with observing stations in Germany, Belgium, and Holland feeding through to the collecting station in Liège and the forwarding station in Brussels. 'Designed to watch the points in German territory where concentrations of German troops would probably take place preparatory to an advance on France through Belgium.
The document highlights that the government in 1906 had not made up its mind as to the likely course Germany would take in the event of war. A 'bolt-from-the-blue' invasion by Germany appears not to have been ruled out in favour of a continental land advance on France through Belgium. What is also clear is the Foreign Office's belief in a structure of German counter-espionage agents at work on the continent. The presence of German counter-espionage agents must however be reckoned on, who would spare no trouble or expense to hamper the collector in his work should they discover him. But this is an objection which would apply equally to any town in Denmark or Sweden.

The Foreign Office Secret memorandum was being circulated in 1906, the year which also witnessed the publication of William Le Queux's novel *The Invasion of 1910*. With the help of the *Daily Mail*'s serialisation of the book between 20 March and 4 July 1906, actors, dressed up in German soldiers' uniforms, were seen parading through towns in the south east of England as a publicity stunt. This marks the beginning of spy mania's grip on the nation.
The instructions for sending information from the seaport town of Groningen in the Foreign Office's Secret memorandum even reads like a passage from Erskine Childers' 1903 invasion novel *The Riddle of the Sands*:
In war time, however, it is probable that observers will have to send most information by small boat using the maze of channels between the main-land and the E. and W. Frisian Islands; the selection of skilful and daring boatmen to act as carriers will be one of the first duties of the Collector at Groningen.
In fact Childers' novel is attributed by Hawes: 'to inspire the founding of the Secret Intelligence Service. Whilst such a direct link to the birth of the Intelligence Service is difficult to prove, the fictitious invasion plans did at least raise calls for the Naval Intelligence Department to assess its feasibility.
William Meville, who worked for MO3 as general agent W. Morgan investigating suspicious German aliens in 1904, was shocked as to the absolute uselessness of the police in understanding the German spying threat in Britain and possible suspects. Cook comments that Melville's: 'failure to encounter much suspicion in the populace at large was probably partly because the German of popular imagination, the stiff-necked, pompous, conceited, humourless Prussian, was not yet the butt of popular dislike that he later became. Melville was another source submitting reports to the Home Office to try and raise awareness of the possible threats from German spies with the police, coastguards and postal authorities.
Against this background the Secret Service Bureau was born in 1909. Long before the public at large were gripped by spy fever and the fear of German invasion, British government departments had already begun to investigate the illusory nature of possible threats. The evidence from the likes of Berlin attachés, secret department memoranda, and MO3 defensive counter-espionage agents, all informed the government that enemy aliens were a threat to the stability of the country. Clearly,

rather than responding to public and newspaper pressure, the British government were in the pre-war period considering respected intelligence from the field and using it to influence decision making and policy.
In 1907 the CID, chaired by (the soon to be Prime Minister) Herbert Asquith, together with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff (CIGS), First Sea Lord and senior Cabinet colleagues, began examining Britain's state of military preparedness against German invasion. In fact the call for the investigation into the possibilities of German invasion was initiated by the Prime Minster, Henry Campbell-Bannerman through the CID. This was not the first time the CID had met to consider the likelihood of German invasion as the question had been raised and investigated by Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour in 1902.
Balfour created the CID, when Prime Minister, to research and co-ordinate defence policy and military strategy across government. It replaced the Cabinet Defence Committee which had been established in 1895 after the failings of the Cabinet Defence Committee became apparent during the South African War of 1899-1902. The importance of this new committee can be seen in that the Prime Minister himself chaired it, having replaced the Duke of Devonshire. Other members of the committee were appointed by the Prime Minister to assist him and usually included representatives of the army and navy, Cabinet ministers and key civil servants. Sir George Sydenham Clarke was the CID's first secretary between 1904 and 1907. Asquith saw it as the Committee's role to bring about joined-up thinking between the Admiralty and War Office on all matters of defence.
It had long been a capital defect in our naval and military systems that there was no real co-ordination between them, no provision for joint, continuous, and systematic survey of all the problems of Imperial and domestic defence. It was under Mr. Balfour's Premiership that the gap was filled by the constitution of the Committee of Imperial Defence. By 1904, the CID had dismissed the possibility of invasion and a complete account of their finding was given to the House of Commons in May 1905. Even with Balfour's reassurances, and a change in government from Conservative to Liberal under Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the invasion debate continued through 1906. As shown earlier, the Foreign Office in 1906 had not fully ruled out the possibility of invasion from Germany, which slightly contradicts the CID's conclusions. The CID under Asquith's steer met sixteen times between November 1907 and October 1908 to examine the possibilities of sudden German invasion. It resulted in the Committee dismissing invasion theories and surprise attacks as impossible: 'That so long as our naval supremacy is assured against any reasonably probable combination of Powers, invasion is impracticable. As Gooch stresses, by putting the invasion cries to bed the Admiralty and War Office could start discussing combined strategies for real scenarios.
Throughout the Victorian period the invasion crises had frequently been stimulated by alarmist statements from those in positions of authority and in the public eye, while the lack of co-ordination between the two services had compounded their effect by creating a void where realistic discussions of strategic capacities and political possibilities ought to have been taking place.
However this co-operation or coherence of the War Office and Admiralty on future strategic possibilities was not forthcoming.
The conclusions reached by the CID in dismissing 'bolt-from-the-blue' invasion threats played to the army's strengths. By 1908 the War Office had started to make the assumption that a war with Germany would be fought on the European mainland by British expeditionary forces alongside the French armies. Owen suggests that this assumption had been cemented back in 1906 when detailed secret communications between the French military attaché and Major-General Grierson, Director of Military Operations (DMO) began. He points out that these secret discussions had been

authorised by the Foreign Secretary Edward Grey and Secretary of State for War Richard Haldane. Owen also notes that these detailed conversations were only revealed to the Cabinet and Prime Minister Asquith in 1911, by which time 'continental rigidity' had set in. Whatever the date for British General Staff continental rigidity as Strachan explains: 'its decision to do so had not become the basis of national policy by 1914.

Any concessions to invasion theories or new strategies on naval blockades and economic warfare would accordingly mean the General Staff of the Army would have to change their plans, possibly re-structure the army and agree to less of a role in any conflict in favour of that of the navy. 'Should the possibility of a German invasion of the British Isles be once conceded, it was inevitable that the army would be redesigned to meet this threat, which meant being remodelled as a home defence force.

Ryan goes further to suggest that the German menace was provoked and initiated by Lieutenant-Colonel Charles å Court Repington, purely to encourage the establishment of conscription in Britain. 'A calculated attempt to resurrect the invasion bogey as a means of stampeding the British government and public into ultimate adoption of conscription.

The spy scares and invasion threats that occupied the public imagination and the CID between 1906 and 1909 did give some credibility to the army's conscription premise. Christopher Andrew suggests that these were also a 'useful recruiting aid' for the Territorial Force which Haldane had established as part of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill (1907). When in 1909 a play called *An Englishman's Home,* that told the story of England's invasion, graced the London stage and resulted in a boost of recruiting to this Territorial Force, rather than try to allay the population's fears of possible German invasion, the War Office set up a recruiting booth at the theatre to exploit it. 'Defending such 'modern methods of recruiting' in the Commons, Haldane said they had produced 30,000 recruits in the first seven weeks of 1909. Here, Haldane's self-interest, to increase recruitment to the Territorial Force he had helped to set up, comes first over the necessity to inform the public to the reality of rumoured threat.

However, as far as Asquith was concerned the illusion of a sudden invasion had been laid to rest by the CID's conclusions in 1908.

We had, indeed, an interest in the strategic aspects of an unprovoked German invasion of France, almost as direct as and far more likely to become actual than a sudden German invasion of our own shores in time of peace; a chimerical danger with which the great authority of Lord Roberts alarmed the public imagination, and which, in deference to him, received careful and protracted investigation in 1907-8 by the Committee of Imperial Defence under my chairmanship. The report of the Committee demonstrated that such an enterprise was out of the range of practical warfare.

David Lloyd George (Prime Minister 1916-1922), later endorsed Asquith's and the CID's prognosis.

In fact I always regarded it [German invasion] as a bogy invented by those who wanted to re-establish permanent conscription. I agreed with the decision of the

Asquith Government that the Germans could not possibly accomplish more than a rush and a raid without artillery support.
But even with Asquith's assurances, Andrew points out, 'The subcommittee's conclusion predictably failed to carry conviction with most of those whose arguments it had demolished.
Even though the CID dismissed invasion threats, a paper by Major James Edmonds, Head of special section, Director of Military Operations at the War Office, in December 1908 shows that the Committee must have at least been aware of German spy activity in Great Britain and the need to counter-act it. His paper emphasised that the German Nachrichten Intelligence Service had been known to have a French and Russian section, since until 1900 this section had co-operated with the British over Russian and French activity under a pro-English officer Major Dame. Major Dame had been removed and replaced by Major Brose described as 'an Anglophobe' in 1900. Edmonds continued:
We now know definitely that a third Bureau, to deal with England, has been added to the Nachrichten (Secret Service) of the German General Staff. The Service is worked from Brussels, and we have recently had cause to believe partly from New York. The bureau was not in existence in 1899.
Edmonds advocated the setting up of a system 'in England, to mark down spies and agents in peace and to remain in German lines, and spy on troops if they land. However his vision for a Secret Service organization went further than just reconnaissance. It included proposed legislative reform with the amendment of the Official Secret Act and the revival of the Registration of Aliens Act which had last been enforced in 1789 and 1804.
The original registration of Aliens Act, on which Edmonds place great importance, had begun as a response to revolution in France. Passed by the British Government in 1793, the 'Alien Act' was intended to regulate and keep track of the influx of nearly 8,000 political refugees, both French and other nationalities, from Europe who
were escaping the revolution. The Act was later revived in 1804 and 1814 during time of European continental troubles.
The 1905 Aliens Act replaced an 1836 Act which had been put on the statute books 'as a safeguard'. It was a response to demands for restriction on the large influx of Eastern European Jewish immigrants which was at its height from the mid 1870's to the early twentieth century. The primary objective of the act was halting this flow of pauper aliens. Undesirable immigrants entering the United Kingdom were defined thus:
If he cannot show that he has in his possession or is in a position to obtain the means of decently supporting himself and his dependents (if any); or
If he is a lunatic or an idiot, or owing to any disease or infirmity appears likely to become a charge upon the rates or otherwise a detriment to the public; or
If he has been sentenced in a foreign country with which there is an extradition treaty for a crime; not being an offence of a political character, which is, as respects that country, an extradition crime within the meaning of the Extradition Act, 1870; or
If an expulsion order under this Act has been made in his case.
The Act gave the Secretary of State for the Home Office power to make expulsion orders where he saw fit for undesirable Aliens to leave the country.
If it is certified to him [the Secretary of State] by any court (including a court of summary jurisdiction) that the alien has been convicted by that court that has the power to impose imprisonment without the option of a fine.
If it is certified to him by a court of summary jurisdiction after proceedings taken for the purpose within twelve months after the alien has last entered the United Kingdom.
The Aliens Act 1905 led to the appointment of immigration officers, medical inspectors and immigration Boards at ports around the United Kingdom, and a noticeable decline in the numbers of Eastern Europeans immigrants coming to Britain. But as Kershen points out: 'Yet if the volume of immigrants declined, anti-alienism did not.
Edmonds realised that under the current legal situation: 'There is no objection under international law to the expulsion of undesirable aliens but apparently we have no municipal law to effect it, the Aliens Act only deals with special classes. He understood that for the Secret Service Bureau to have some teeth alien legislation would require overhauling. Edmonds also saw a major part of the new Secret Service Bureau's role was to champion law reforms. What was important for Edmonds was to

convince decision makers that Anti-alien legislation in times of national security threats was not a new way of thinking.
With sixty recent reported cases of German espionage along the south-east coast and in London reaching Edmonds in 1908, he continued to petition the government to act in tracing the whereabouts of foreigners in Britain.
Unless a Secret Service system is prepared, we shall enter on a war fatally handicapped. There is no doubt whatever that the same careful preparations which were made in France before 1870 are now being made in Eastern districts of England.
The resulting proposal for an interdepartmental conference from Edmonds led to the setting up of a sub-committee, reporting to the CID, under Richard Haldane, Secretary of State for War, in March 1909 to consider: 'the nature and extent of foreign espionage that is at present taking place within this country and the danger to which it may expose us'. A remit to consider the illusory threat of a network German spies and saboteurs on British soil. In 1909 the twelve member sub-committee met three times between March and July. Apart from the chairman's obvious bias, the makeup of the committee appears balanced between the War Office, Admiralty and neutral bystanders.
It was to this sub-committee [*Sub-Committee members: Reginald McKenna (First Lord of the Admiralty), Herbert Gladstone (Home Secretary), Sydney Buxton (Postmaster-General), Viscount Esher (permanent member of the CID), Sir Charles Hardinge (Permanent Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office), Sir George Murray (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury), Rear-Admiral Alexander Bethell (Director of Naval Intelligence), Major- General John Ewart (Director of Military Operations), Brigadier-General Archibald Murray (Director of Military Training), Sir Edward Henry (Commissioner of Police), Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Ottley (Secretary).]* that Edmonds gave his evidence of German espionage in Britain. Presenting evidence to the committee alongside Edmonds was Captain Temple, staff officer to Rear-Admiral Alexander Bethell in the Naval Intelligence Department (NID). Morris suggests that Edmonds and Temple 'worked closely and amicably' so any divisions between War Office and Admiralty over war strategies were not shown. The sub-committee concluded that: 'an extensive system of German espionage exists in this country, and we have no organisation for keeping in touch with that espionage and for accurately determining its extent and objectives'.
Andrew labels Edmonds' evidence to the sub-committee as 'flimsy' and some of it 'bogus' and concludes that later even Edmonds 'acknowledged that the plans were an obvious forgery'. However, with Haldane in the chair, directing the sub-committee's findings, its conclusions led directly to the setting up of a Secret Service Bureau (SSB) which was given approximately two years to prove or disprove the theory of an organised German spy network operating within the British Isles.

It is interesting here to stop and consider the use of intelligence and information in the decision making process. Intelligence does not necessarily have to be correct for a person or government to act on it, but it must at least massage their existing preconceptions of a given situation. This is the theory of confirmation bias by which wrong intelligence which reinforces preconceptions is more likely to be acted on than correct intelligence that turns a firmly held view on its head. Chabris and Simons attribute this to humans jumping to conclusions and that: 'the illusory perception of causes from correlations is closely tied to the appeal of the stories The use of intelligence information is never black and white and rarely is there enough of it to view the whole picture when making a decision. One piece of intelligence can be interpreted many different ways by many government departments who all may share the same common interest. The Director General of the Security Service between 2002 and 2007, Dame Eliza Manningham-Buller, highlighted the problems of using intelligence in 2006, which has not really changed since the beginning of the Bureau inception back in 1909:

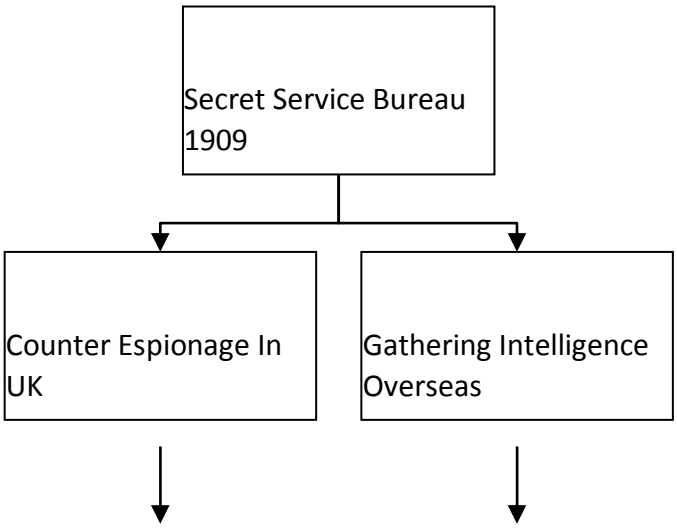
Moreover, intelligence is usually bitty and needs piecing together, assessing, judging. It takes objectivity, integrity and a skeptical eye to make good use of intelligence: even the best of it never tells the whole story. On the basis of such incomplete information, my Service and the police make decisions on when and how to take action, to protect public safety. The CID's decision to set up a Secret Service Bureau was a half-way house to appease the 'invasionist' camp and gain some co-ordination of intelligence and intelligence organisations between the War Office, the Admiralty and

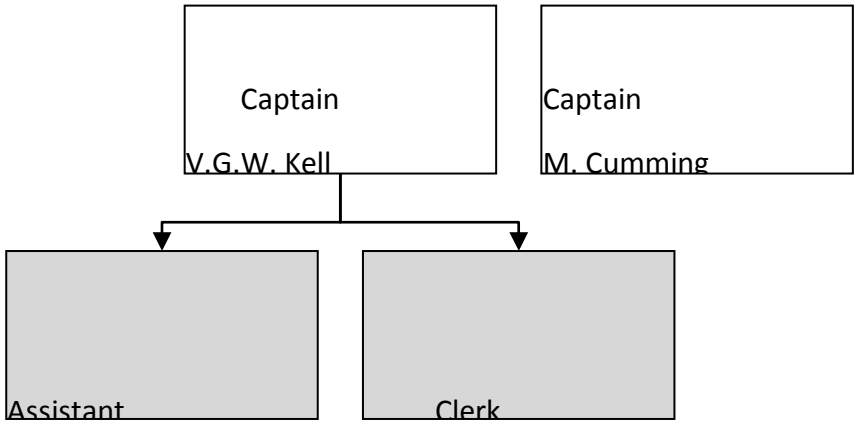
other government departments.
The War Office appears to have been least receptive to those submissions that contested its notions about a German invasion of Britain and most receptive to those that confirmed its ideas, such as those detailing the magnitude of German espionage in the United Kingdom. Likewise, the Foreign Office lent the greatest credence to dispatches supportive of its general outlook and was most dismissive of those that challenged its existing preconceptions.

What the CID's decision also supported was wider government inter-departmental working as both the Home Office and the Foreign Office had to be involved if the Secret Service Bureau was to be a success. The Home Office provided the link to regional police forces who gave information as to the extent of espionage around Britain, while the Foreign Office funded the Bureau. Resources and intelligence were to be provided equally by the War Office and Admiralty.
In 1908 the Foreign Office's view of the new Bureau's objectives followed the same lines as Edmond's: that there was an urgent need not only to expose any German spy network in the United Kingdom but also to boost legislation against aliens in the event of war.
It should, on behalf of the Naval Intelligence Division and the General Staff, take charge of the investigation of all cases of suspected espionage, the surveillance of suspected foreign agents, the compilation of a record and a register of suspected aliens, the recruiting, payment and management of all agents at home and abroad, the interviewing of persons who offer information, and conduct all correspondence on the above subjects, and in war control all aliens within the United Kingdom.However it is in the reporting structure of the new Bureau that the Foreign Office differed from that suggested by Edmonds:
The Bureau should be under the orders of the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, but worked in the interests of the Naval Intelligence Division and General Staff, whose representatives should keep close touch with the head of the Bureau, have access at all times to its records and indicate its policy. It should keep the Naval Intelligence Division and General Staff and Officers designated by them, notably Commanders-in-Chief and Commanders of Coast Defences, informed of its operations.
The Foreign Office saw control resting with a civil arm of governments, however Edmonds wanted the War Office and Admiralty in the driving seat. Edmonds' thinking for a proposed interdepartmental conference looked to focus upon: 'How far can the civil departments of the State assist the Admiralty and the War Office in tracing and ascertaining the residences and vocations of foreigners in the coast districts and vicinity of London?
The setting up of the Secret Service Bureau in 1909 was not a direct response to spy mania that was sweeping the British Isles at the time. The spy literature from the likes of Erskine Childers and William Le Queux and the newspaper reports of Zeppelins spotted over the North Sea from the Northcliffe press, may have raised the issue into national consciousness. It also caused tricky questions in Parliament when in May 1909 Sir John Barlow M.P. asked whether the government knew about the 66,000 German trained soldiers working as waiters, butchers, hairdressers and language teachers in England, a reserve army in waiting. The evidence suggests, however, that the government had to wait for popular public opinion to catch up with their own thinking before they could introduce laws that would limit alien immigrants' freedoms.
By its very nature, being 'secret', the Secret Service Bureau represented a reaction to the intelligence it received from its trusted sources in various government departments. This was not an act to reassure the public about the German spy problem, as they had no knowledge of the bureau or why it had been set up. It had been a reaction to intelligence and the need to prove or disprove once and for all the idea that there was a structured German spy and sabotage operation working within the British Isles, with the intent of building up information for a possible invasion or raids.
Once the sub-committee had made its recommendations, a meeting was held on Thursday 26 August 1909 between the interested parties to consider the arrangements in establishing a Secret Service Bureau. The meeting took place in the office of Sir Edward Henry, the Commissioner of the Police of the Metropolis London. In attendance were Major-General Ewart Colonel Edmonds, and Lieutenant Colonel Macdonogh from the War Office, and Captain Temple representing the Naval Intelligence Department. At the meeting it was agreed that the Bureau should be started as soon as suitable

offices (already located at 64 Victoria Street, S.W. London) could be obtained.
A brief paper from the Foreign Office regarding a Secret Service Bureau suggested that: 'The head of the bureau should be a retired naval or military officer who should if possible have served in the Naval Intelligence Division or Operations Division of the General Staff and must be a good linguist. Pay £500 per annum in addition to retired pay.
The meeting proposed to appoint Captain V.G. Kell to the Bureau as the War Office representative and Commander Mansfield G Smith Cumming to the Bureau as the Admiralty representative. Kell is described at the meeting as 'an exceptionally good linguist and is qualified in French, German, Russian and Chinese' and Cumming as a man 'who possesses special qualifications for the appointment'. On 19 September Vernon George Waldegrave Kell wrote a letter agreeing to the Secret Service Bureau appointment. 'I agree to the conditions you have mentioned viz: salary of £500 in addition to my full pension; and on the understanding that I am to hold the appointment for a minimum period of two years from the date of taking it over.
Kell with the South Staffordshire Regiment, 36 at the time of the appointment, had proposed to retire. Born in Great Yarmouth whilst his mother had been on holiday there in 1873, Kell had been educated at Sandhurst and afterwards had joined the British Army. As an army interpreter he spent two years in Moscow from 1898 and then two years in Shanghai. By 1902 his skills as a linguist had been recognised with a position as a German intelligence analyst with the War Office where he stayed until 1906. Andrew describes Kell as: 'the most accomplished linguist ever to head a British intelligence agency'.
What is interesting about Kell's letter is the reference to the minimum period. It shows that maybe not everybody saw the establishment of the Secret Service Bureau as a permanent fixture. Again this goes back to the invasion theories and who would stand to lose from admitting there was such a threat. The Secret Service Bureau was therefore a half-way house, with a limited time span to prove or disprove the idea that German spies were operating within the British Isles.
The Secret Service Bureau opened in October 1909. The Bureau was to be shared between Kell, who was responsible for the Home Section dealing with counter espionage in the UK, and Cumming, who was in charge of the Foreign Section that gathered overseas intelligence and liaised with espionage agents in the field.

Figure 1. Structure of the Secret Service Bureau in October 1909





Since the Secret Service Bureau was on a two-year trial run, between 1909 and 1914 Kell's Bureau filed progress reports every six months. These reports give the reader an idea of the Bureau's work and the key areas of interest that it concentrated its resources on. Of course as the intention of the progress reports must have been to justify the existence of the Bureau, enhancing its profile and increasing its finances, they do tend to be extremely positive. An example of this can be gained from the first six-monthly progress report circulated in March 1910. The conclusions of the report are:
The bureau had justified its institution.
The experience gained has proved that it is essential to the effective working of the Counter-espionage section of the Bureau, that all information coming within its province should be sent to and exclusively dealt with by the bureau.

Along with these reports there are minutes of regular meetings held at the Foreign Office to discuss any matters connected with the Secret Service Bureau, Kell's diary extracts and the Secret Service expenditure estimates. All these sources build up a picture of the activity that the Secret Service Bureau carried out between its birth and the declaration of war in 1914. The concentration of resources in those early days appeared to focus upon investigations into reports of spying within the British Isles and the establishment of a nationwide 'unofficial' register of aliens in Britain.
What is clear is that for the Secret Service Bureau to function efficiently it required the cooperation of the Foreign Office, Home Office and War Office, and when the Bureau took its first steps all the interested parties were there to support it.
It is understood that all classes of government officials especially the police, post office and customs will be invited to assist in the reporting of suspected foreign agents. Without this the Bureau would be dependent on casual reports of individuals and could accomplish nothing really useful.
Policies introduced through Parliament such as the Official Secrets Act (1911) and the Aliens Restriction Order (1914) may have been seen outwardly as being championed by the Home Office, but at their beating hearts these policies' developments had been driven by the Secret Service Bureau. In fact by the outbreak of war the Secret Service Bureau was the glue between the different government departments and a central agency leading the way on all issues concerning enemy aliens and the internal security of the British Isles.
Most of the first six-monthly report talks about two investigations: the Rusper case and the Frant case. It also mentions the need for the co-operation of the Chief- Constables of Britain if the Bureau was to work effectively, and the necessity for legislative changes to the Official Secrets Act to help in cases involving the safety of the Empire. Kell assessment of the situation in March 1910 was:
At present no power to complete one's evidence by preliminary search on suspicions, although search-warrants are freely granted in trivial cases of larceny;
i.e. Under the Army Act 1881, sect 156. Subsect.5. a magistrate may grant a search-warrant upon reasonable cause for suspicion that anyone has in his possession the property of a comrade (e.g. a blanket!), and yet in cases involving the safety of the Empire, there is no such power which the Chief

Constables could avail themselves of.

Edmonds' ideal of the Bureau 'tracing and ascertaining the residences and vocations of foreigners in the coast districts and vicinity of London was given a boost and much needed support with the setting up of the Aliens sub-committee under the CID in March 1910. Chaired by Winston Churchill, then Home Secretary with the brief to study the question of the 'treatment of aliens in time of war', the sub-committee approved the Secret Service Bureau's setting up of an unofficial register of enemy aliens in Britain compiled from information supplied by regional police forces. The sub-committee also set the process rolling for the Aliens Restriction Act which would become an important piece of legislation passed by Parliament at the beginning of war in August 1914. As Panayi states: 'Clearly, the restrictions of the period 1914-18 had quite a firm basis in the various measures introduced in the Edwardian period. This is an important point as the unofficial register of aliens is not driven by public or press pressure to an illusory threat.
The sub-committee's approval of the secret alien register led to an increase in activity for the Secret Service Bureau and those whom it connected with to complete the register. By October 1910, just six months later, the details of over five hundred aliens had been registered and over two hundred cases of alleged espionage had been investigated.

The second of Kell's Bureau's six-monthly reports for April to October 1910 shows just how the Bureau was becoming the nerve centre in the co-ordination of reported spying cases and tracking of enemy alien activity.

Early in the coming year I hope to have returns in from the Chief Constables, giving details of every alien residing in the Counties of N. Riding, E. Riding, Lincoln, Norfolk, E. Suffolk, Essex, Kent, E Sussex, W. Sussex, Cornwall, Isle of Wight; also Surrey, Wilts and Bucks.

However, by the second six-monthly briefing the reporting lines between Captain Kell and Captain Cummings had been divided, a measure that would eventually lead to the formation of separate Bureaus under MI5 and MI6 that are still recognisable today. Cumming was entrusted with the work of espionage abroad and Kell was made responsible for counter-espionage within Britain. Cook believes that there had been an unwillingness to share information on the army's side and this led to the navy and Cumming being side-lined. This tit for tat behaviour between the two services continued into 1910 when the Admiralty prohibited coastguards from helping Kell draw up his register of aliens. Given the importance by the aliens sub-committee to the task of building an unofficial register of aliens, Kell's Bureau started to receive the help and support it needed from various government departments.
The diary highlights Kell's connections with people in high places that had been cemented in just one year since the Bureau's inception. In August 1910 his diary recorded receiving information about a Major Kremnitz, who was suspected of being one of the heads of the German espionage in Britain. The information had made it to Kell's desk from Colonel Frederic Trench, former Military Attachė in Berlin, via an intermediary. On 29 August 1910 Kell wrote, 'I spoke to the D.M.O. about this and asked him to give me a letter of introduction to Col. Trench, which he did. I wrote to Trench saying I would go and see him next week if convenient His diary for 1910-1911 did not record whether Kell met up with Trench face to face.
Kell's Diary for the end of October 1910 gives an insight into his work to design an alien registration form that Chief Constables around the British Isles could use to inform the Bureau of suspicious foreigners.

25 October 1910
I had an interview with Sir Edward Troup at 1p.m. and discussed the advisability of issuing printed "Alien Returns" to the Chief Constables. He suggested a note be put on the form saying that all information was to be collected confidentially and no question of inquisitorial nature asked. He asked me to get a proof printed and he would submit it for approval to the Home Secretary.

27 October 1910
I saw Mr C Harrison and asked him to print me a specimen Alien Form. He promised to get it done at the Secret Printing-Office at the Foreign Office.

31 October 1910
I handed a specimen proof of the "Alien Return" to Sir E. Troup's Secretary, to be laid before the Home Secretary for approval.

3 November 1910
The Home Secretary approved of the "Aliens Returns". I ordered 1,500 copies to be printed by Mr C. Harrison.

Sir Charles Edward Troup was, in 1910, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Home Office. He had risen through the Home Office ranks after starting as a junior clerk in 1880, and had a background in criminal and legal work. As Assistant Under-Secretary between 1902 and 1908 he had been responsible for police and criminal work. He had also worked for a time in the Home Office's Parliamentary branch that specialised in parliamentary bills affecting the Home Office.
Troup's advice to Kell at their meeting on the 25 October 1910 is interesting and given his background in Home Office parliamentary bills rather telling. He was probably well aware that the register of aliens had no parliamentary approval and so always had to be 'collected confidentially and no questions of inquisitorial nature asked' yet Home Official personnel were fully supporting its creation.
The Home Secretary who approved the 'Aliens Returns' forms for the Bureau was Winston Churchill. Looking back on 1911 Churchill actually mentions the contact he had with the Secret Service Bureau.
I inquired further about sabotage and espionage and counter espionage. I came in touch with other officers working very quietly and very earnestly, but in a small
way and with very small means. I was told about German spies and agents in the various British ports.
Already in the two years since the birth of the Bureau Kell had made a powerful impression with key decision makers in government. Cook puts this down to Kell having the right background:
If he [Kell] needed a signature or a decision be could wriggle swiftly upstream through the bureaucracy to the highest level because he had been to the right schools, came of the right class. (It has been suggested that he may have known Churchill at Sandhurst.)
The memoirs of William Melville corroborate the Sandhurst connection, although the language used by Churchill suggests another reason: the compelling intelligence reports that Kell's Bureau produced.
Churchill went further to help the Bureau during his time as Home Secretary.
Hitherto the Home Secretary had to sign a warrant when it was necessary to examine any particular letter passing through the Royal Mails. I now signed general warrants authorizing the examination of all the correspondence of particular people upon a list, to which additions were continually made. This soon disclosed a regular and extensive system of German-paid British agents. It was only in a very small part of the field of preparation that the Home Secretary had any official duty of interference, but once I got drawn in, it dominated all other interests in my mind.

In Asquith's cabinet reshuffle on 24 October 1911, Churchill exchanged the Home Office for the Admiralty with McKenna. However the move did not stop Churchill from continuing to promote the work of Kell and his Bureau. A letter from Churchill to Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office on 22 November 1911 shows him sharing the reports from the Secret Service Bureau with other members the new Cabinet.
Capt Kell of the War Office secret service has given me the enclosed bundle of reports, which resulted from the action taken by him in conjunction with the Chief Constable during my tenure of the Home Office. Although there is a lot of 'stuff' mixed up with them, they are well worth looking through because they show that we are the subject of a minute and scientific study by German military and naval authorities, and that no other nation in the world pays us such attention.
Will you show them to Lloyd George when he dines with you tomorrow night?
I should add that Kell is thoroughly trustworthy and competent, & that of course the names and

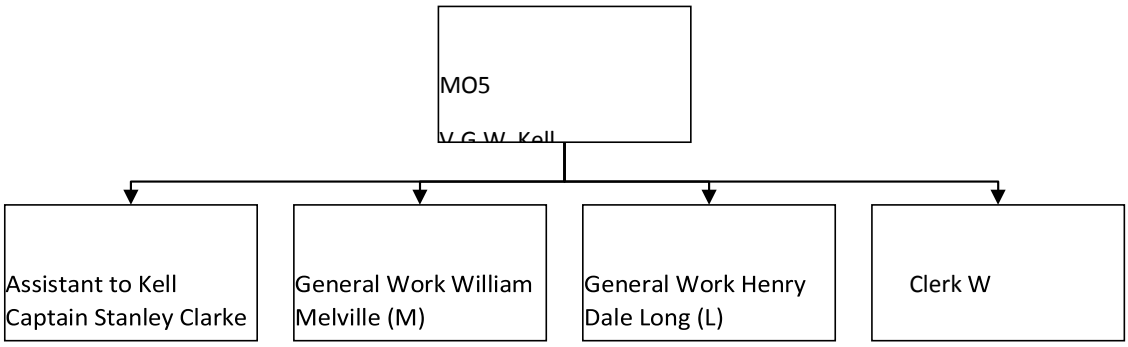
addresses of almost all the persons referred to are known.
[Kell entered the Royal Military College in 1892 joining the South Staffordshire Regiment two years later and Churchill entered Sandhurst as an infantry cadet in September 1893 and graduated in 1895 as a cavalry officer in the Queens Own Hussars.] The information is of course secret. A good deal more is accumulating through the warrant that I issued as Home Secretary for the inspection of correspondence.
The letter demonstrates the value that Kell's intelligence reports were to other governmental departments and his exemplary reputation with Cabinet members. Chance meetings at Sandhurst were unlikely over intelligence reports, to dominate the mind of Churchill. Unfortunately, on this occasion the reports from the Secret Service Bureau never made it to the desk of Lloyd George as Grey read them after his dinner appointment with Lloyd George. Grey returned the bundle of reports to Churchill.
At a meeting on 20 April 1911, between Kell and the Chief Constables of east and south coast counties held at the Home Office, Sir Edward Troup even joined the private meeting to show his support for what Kell and the Bureau were trying to achieve in the building of the unofficial register of aliens. My position was greatly strengthened by the fact that Sir Edward Troup was present, for a short time, during the meeting. He said that "although the meeting was entirely a private one – and had not been convened by the Home Office – he had the authority of the Home Secretary to say that the work was being carried out with the approval of Mr Churchill and that he appreciated the assistance which the Chief Constables had given to Captain Kell."
When Kell's Bureau was not involved in compiling the unofficial register of aliens it was following up and investigating reports of suspicious behaviour sent to it by other government departments and police sources. Examples of the type of reports have found their way into the Foreign Office archives. The file labelled 'Secret' contains miscellaneous papers and letters on foreign espionage in England. A letter, dated 9 January 1910, had been passed on to Captain Haldane in MO5 at the War Office from the Staff College in Camberley Surrey. The letter detailed the friendship between a Miss Rogers of Eastbourne and a Lieutenant Jacgens aged 20 who belonged to a Hanoverian Light cavalry regiment. Jacgens, who owned a 'pale blue and white uniform with steel helmet', had told Miss Rogers that he had received official telegrams and a private letter from Germany. These stated that war was likely to be declared by Germany in February 1910 and that German forces would land somewhere between Eastbourne and Bognor Regis, with a first major battle fought somewhere in the New Forest. His reason for telling Miss Rogers was so that she could leave Eastbourne and get out of danger. The letter written by Mr C Beaumont goes on to explain:
The reason why he [Lieutenant Jacgens] was upset about the news was because he thinks that his country will not be successful as the attempt would be premature, but he fears that the Pan-Germans are very truculent and they under estimate the strength of England, moreover there is much dissatisfaction in Germany with the heavy taxation and the Pan-Germans hope the war would be successful and enable them to obtain huge war indemnity. Another reason why they are likely to make a dash early in February is that they expect things to be upside down owing to the election, and moreover, the Admiralty will be in an unsettled state from changes occurring there.
Other examples of the type of investigations carried out by the Bureau are contained within Kell's diary. The diary also showed how hands-on Kell was with investigations:
18 November 1910
Major Thwaites wrote saying that six Germans had been dining at Terriani's Restaurant (No.88, Brompton Road), opposite Harrod's for the last 10 days. They appeared to be very secretive and it was suggested that they were engaged on S.S. Stanley Clarke and myself dined tonight at that Restaurant, also "M", but no Germans turned up. I will keep a watch on the place.

24 November 1910
I called on Mrs Holms (Major Thwaites' sister) who had given the information about the six Germans dinning at Terriani's Restaurant. She learnt from the waiter there that these Germans had gone to Paris for a few days and he would let her know when they were expected back, as she said to him "she did not wish to run the risk of being insulted by them again!"

Kell was obsessive about his work and would think nothing of using his holidays to tour the east coast viewing possible invasion or sabotage locations and looking for suspicious foreigners. In January 1911 Major Grant was given a bicycle, a map and a list of railway bridges, tunnels and viaducts in the London area and was given the task of cycling round to these locations and noting down any foreigners that may have settled near them. Kell and Major Grant were not unique within the War Office for cycling reconnaissance holidays. Henry Wilson, then Director of Military Operations (DMO) gained notoriety for his passion for cycling holidays along the Franco-German frontier.
All intelligence, whether letters from the public, police reports or information from other government departments entering the Bureau would require analysis, cataloguing, prioritising and following up with investigations for those deemed to represent the highest security risks. Not much has changed in one hundred years of counter-espionage work, as Stella Rimington, the Director General of MI5 between 1992 and 1996, highlights:
Counter-espionage work is not a glamorous business, however it has been presented by the spy-story writers. It is hard work. It is all about painstaking and rigorous analysis, the detailed following up snippets of information and perseverance in the face of disappointment. A bit of luck helps of course.

Hundreds of letters and reports made their way to the Secret Service Bureau, of which only a mere fraction could be investigated due to stretched resources. Kell details two obstacles in his progress report for October 1910:
Lack of funds, and consequently an insufficient staff. Inefficiency of the present legislation.
War Office supplementary estimates of Secret Service expenditure for the quarter ending 31 st March 1911 show that Kell's team included an assistant, two officers and a clerk. This amounted to a quarterly salaries bill of £506. On top of this were travelling and office expenses, which meant that the total bill for counter espionage work in the United Kingdom in the first quarter of 1911 came to £607.

Figure 2. Structure of MO5 (counter-espionage UK) in January 1911



As work continued to complete the unofficial register of aliens in Britain, by May 1911 all Chief Constables of England and Wales had been personally approached by the Bureau. The Alien Returns form that Kell had started to distribute back in November 1910 had already paid dividends as information had been received from Chief Constables all-round the country including: Durham, Essex, N Riding, Kent, Lincolnshire, E Sussex, Norfolk, W Sussex, E Suffolk, Hampshire, Dorset, Isle of Wight, Shropshire and Buckingham. This translated into the details of 4,500 aliens being entered on the register and the typing of 3,755 cards for the Bureau's card index.
At a meeting with Sir Edward Troup on 19 January 1911, Kell discussed the idea of gaining legal status for the register of aliens and the introduction of compulsory registration.
I told Sir Edward that although these [Alien] returns were of the greatest assistance to us, our real difficulty still remained unsolved, viz: that it was impossible to get the names of Aliens in the large cities and boroughs; and that only some sort of compulsory legislation would enable us to deal effectively with that side of the question. He said that so far Mr Churchill was not in favour of any compulsory registration.

The Home Office's view at the time probably reflected that of the country at large. The period of public spy mania had peaked in the summer of 1909 and in 1911 there would not have been large-scale government support for compulsory registration, even if intelligence coming from the Bureau thought it necessary. Such legislation may have in fact re-ignited panic in the newspapers and public. The country was not yet ready for such drastic measures. What the diary entry highlights is that although Kell had the ear of the Home Office (at that time the Alien Sub-Committee were starting to think about the legal process of alien restriction) not all his recommendations were acted upon.
In a meeting at the Foreign Office on 7 May 1913, Kell was asked by Sir Arthur Nicolson how work was progressing. Kell revealed how recently collected population data was being used by the Bureau to complete the register: 'The registration of aliens in large cities presented many difficulties, but that much help was being obtained from a close examination of the census returns of 1911. The Census had been carried out between 2 and 3 April 1911 and revealed the population of the United Kingdom to be 45,216,665. Where individuals had been born outside the United Kingdom, the census asked whether they were residents or visitors to the country. Data in the census assisted the Bureau to build up a picture of enemy alien and naturalised British population clusters around Britain and made the task of compiling the unofficial register of aliens less resource intensive.
Table 1. Numbers of enemy aliens resident in England and Wales, Census 1911.

All ages	Enemy aliens			Naturalised British		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Austrians/ Hungarians	9,365	4,857	14,222	918	477	1,395
Germans	32,421	18,742	51,163	4,530	1,912	6,442
Turks	1,632	758	2,390	253	101	354
Total enemy aliens	43,418	24,357	67,775	5,701	2,490	8,191
Grand total	75,966					

Table 2. Number of male enemy aliens of military age resident in England and Wales, Census 1911.

	Austrians/ Hungarians	Germans	Turks	Total
Males aged 15-45	7,679	25,158	1,399	34,236

The Census statistics add an interesting perspective. The population in England and Wales in 1911 was 36,075,269 and the figure, in the table from the Secret Service Bureau files for German alien enemies in the country are given as 51,163. Therefore the percentage at large in England and Wales of German alien enemies made up just 0.14% of the total population. The number of German men in the country of army service age was 25,158 which is a far cry from the numbers quoted by Sir John Barlow in Parliament, back in 1909, for a German reserve army in waiting.
Panayi's work in this area has shown that almost half the German population in England and Wales was located in London. The next largest German alien communities were around London in the south east and in the big towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Most of the areas the Bureau received returns from Chief Constables up to and including 1911 were not from the major centres of German communities.
Review meetings on the progress of the Secret Service Bureau were held at the Foreign Office twice a year. These meetings were where Kell's six-monthly progress reports were discussed, and sometimes

Kell and Cumming were summoned to give short statements. The meetings normally included Foreign Office, Military and Naval representation. What becomes clear from the series of meetings between 1911 and 1913 is that; War Office representatives championed Kell's corner; the Admiralty representative championed Cumming's corner; and the Foreign Office held the Bureau's purse strings. At the end of the first meeting it is noted that financial decisions for a budget of £500 would have to be made by Sir Edward Grey the Foreign Secretary. At the first meeting held on the 23rd May 1911 were Sir Arthur Nicolson (Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office) and Ronald Charles Lindsay (Private Secretary to Sir Edward Grey) represented the Foreign Office, Rear Admiral Alexander Bethell (Director of Naval Intelligence) and William Graham Greene (Secretary of the Admiralty) represented the Admiralty and Brigadier General H H Wilson (Director of Military Operations) and Lieut-Colonel Macdonogh (Head of MO5 at the War Office) represented the War Office.

Sir Arthur Nicolson at the Foreign Office was also known to be a hard-line anti-German, therefore the success of the Bureau in proving German activity promoted his standing in government circles. The minutes of the meetings show that this was the forum for Kell to plead for more resources to staff the Bureau and more money to pay his staff. It was also a place to showcase work in progress and achievements made in person, if he was summoned to the meetings.

By November 1911 the report to the Foreign Office review meeting highlighted that the activities of the Bureau had stepped up a gear. Since the last meeting, the Official Secrets Act had been amended in law which had 'greatly facilitated' the work of counter- espionage. In the previous six months over 60 cases had been investigated.

The Bureau was moving away from merely compiling the unofficial register of aliens and random investigations. Returns were still flooding in with information received from Chief Constables in twenty-nine counties and thirteen more counties in hand. However, now a list of suspects had been drawn up from the register of aliens who were to be kept under general observation and updates on these suspects were to be given every three months. Kell had managed to gain the co-operation of seventeen Chief Constables of coast counties and issued the list of suspects so they could report back with any updates.

Fresh from his cycling tour, Major Grant's information of aliens living near London railway structures had been incorporated into a map showing all vulnerable points in England and Wales. This showed the numbers of Germans and Austrians residing within the vicinity of these vulnerable points.

The register had been enlarged to include information on aliens employed in government establishments under the Admiralty. Regular reports were received on arrivals, departures and change of address of aliens in eight coastal counties. Work was underway to investigate not just individuals, but also the communities and German institutions they belonged to. This included eighteen German clubs in London; German miners in Kent; a German worked colliery near Port Talbot; and German Zinc-workers in West Hartlepool.

The data from all the various investigations and alien returns from Chief Constables was now being analysed and used to inform the wider government community, as evidenced by the introduction of suspect lists and mapping techniques. Members at the Foreign Office Review meeting were impressed by the Bureau's progress:

Sir Arthur Nicolson, Rear Admiral Bethell and Brigadier-General Wilson concurring, expressed his satisfaction at the excellent work that was being done by both branches of the Bureau.

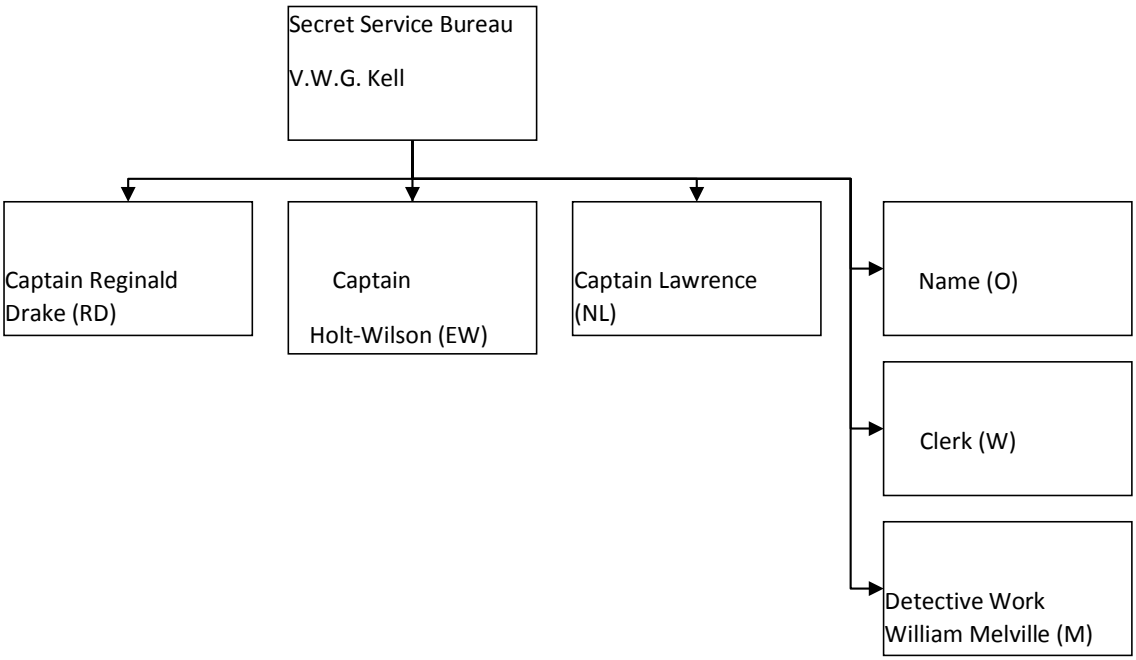
A reason for the increased activity and output from the Bureau during the second half of 1911 may have been a reaction to greater German and French activity in North Africa.

The second Moroccan crisis took place during the summer months of 1911 when the French sent an expedition to occupy Fez. Germany believed she had economic interests in the area and sought compensations in the Congo in exchange for a French protectorate in Morocco. On 1 July 1911, the German Imperial navy sent the gunboat *Panther* to Agadir to protect German interests. This alarmed both France and Britain and sent fear through the rest of Europe. Churchill, writing in 1923 with the view of hindsight, pointed out: 'Great Britain, having consulted the atlas, began to wonder what bearing a German naval base on the Atlantic coast of Africa would have upon her maritime security. The Agadir crisis ended with the Treaty of Fez in November 1911. Asquith's

summing up of events showed just how unstable European peace had been during the crisis: ‘War had been escaped over this business: no one could say, or can say now, how narrowly.
A letter from Churchill to Lloyd George highlighted how intelligence from the Secret Service Bureau informed ministers of the wider implications of the Agadir crisis.
Capt Kell of the WO secret service has reported to us this afternoon that the price of flour has risen today by 6/- on large German purchases in ‘floating bottoms’ otherwise destined for this country. He reported two days ago that one small firm

of the name of Schultz purchased as much as 30,000 bags and refused to resell at a higher price. I send you this for what it is worth.[10]
It is difficult to work out whether Churchill was being alarmist or gung ho in his letter, but he is name checking his sources of the intelligence to add gravitas. A second letter from Churchill the next day shows how quickly intelligence changes and is constantly reinterpreted as new information arrives.
The enclosed (from a British officer of German origin) is interesting. The flour news was all wrong. There has been a rise but it is not significant specially of anything except bad harvest in Europe & elsewhere.
The German naval reservists in England have received special summonses to be ready to return the moment mobilisation is ordered.
The legacy of the Agadir Crisis was to give the intelligence reports of the Secret Service Bureau a wider circulation across government departments and the introduction of ‘the observation alien suspect list’ to be used in the event of war.
The next documented review meeting at the Foreign Office took place a year later in November 1912 and this may suggest that the Bureau’s probationary period had come to an end. In September 1912 the Bureau had moved to the third floor of Watergate House, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, and had been joined by Captain Eric Holt- Wilson and Captain Reginald Drake. Drake led the investigations of suspected espionage and Wilson and Lawrence sorted and filed the information being created by the unofficial register of aliens.

Figure 3. Structure of Secret Service Bureau in January 1913.[1]



Even with two new assistants Kell needed more resources to keep abreast of all the information coming into the Bureau.
Lieut-Colonel Macdonogh, in the absence of Genl Wilson, gave a short summary of the work done by K's bureau. He stated that the work was increasing rapidly and that it would be necessary, if it were to be dealt with, that an additional officer should be appointed. Sir Arthur Nicolson then assented that a third assistant to K should be appointed with a 5 year guarantee of employment, subject to discharge for misconduct or inefficiency at a salary of £400 per annum, on the understanding that the approved estimates for 1912-13 should not be exceeded.
This struggle for extra resources and budget would be a recurring theme of the review meetings held at the Foreign Office between 1911 and 1913.
Since the amendments to the Official Secrets Act in August 1911, four men of German nationality had been brought to trial and convicted under the Act. The numbers of investigated cases of espionage had risen to 240 in the previous 11 months. Kell had also extended the unofficial register of Aliens into Scotland. Reports were now coming into the Bureau from 36 Chief Constables' counties; not just alien returns but also information on any foreign communities and factories in their areas. Even the list of suspects had evolved into something more powerful to be used on the outbreak of war.
A list of persons whom should be; (a) Arrested and detained; (b) Searched; and
carefully watched has been prepared and is kept up to date, ready for instant despatch to Chief Constables in the event of a national emergency.
The last documented review meeting held at the Foreign Office took place in May 1913. At the meeting Sir Arthur Nicolson asked Kell how work was progressing: 'K [Kell] replied that there were now over 22,000 foreigners on his register and that he had received great assistance from Chief Constables. In fact the register of aliens had grown to 21,397, and this included the details of some 5,241 Germans and Austrians. The number of those registered had doubled since the end of January 1913, when the register contained 10,320 names, of which 3,574 were Germans and Austrians. Complete returns had been received for all resident aliens in Ireland, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Exeter. The 1911 census data revealed that there were approximately 51,000 German aliens living in Britain and yet the alien returns system had only captured the details of some 5,000 people. By October 1913 the draft legislation, worked on in cooperation by the Bureau and the Alien Sub-committee of the CID, was ready to be rolled out in the event of war. On the outbreak of war the draft Alien Restriction Bill would be made law and this would compel the missing German and Austrian aliens to register with their local police stations:
The Counties for which Alien Statistics have not been prepared are, in general, inland ones, and as regards large cities and Boroughs no attempt is at present made to get statistics from, or to maintain complete registers of aliens for those which lie outside the Prohibited Areas, as defined in the Draft Order in Council of the 'Alien Restriction Bill, War'.

The recognition for all the work Kell and his Bureau had done in compiling and reporting on the register of aliens came in March 1914 (up to this point Kell was in touch with the Chief Constables of 72 counties and 44 boroughs, with returns compiled from 54 counties and 41 boroughs). At a meeting of the CID in Whitehall Gardens, Kell and his assistant Captain Holt-Wilson were invited to give a demonstration on the work and records of the Secret Service Bureau. The meeting included the Prime Minister, Herbert Henry Asquith, and representation from the War Office, Admiralty, Home Office and Colonial Office. Captain Holt-Wilson noted this event in his journal for 3 March 1914 by simply listing those present and stating: 'Introduced and showed system'. Expectant committee members were shown the component parts of the unofficial register of aliens. These included: the alien cards that made up the vast index; specimen dossiers; specimen blue and white suspect lists; place and subject index cards and the specimen Alien Register for the county of Dorset. They were also shown documents and investigation records relating to the case of Adolf Fredrick Schroeder, who had been found in possession of classified documents. His trial took place just a month later in April 1914.
Now, only four years since the birth of the Secret Service Bureau, Kell had the ear of the Prime Minister. Intelligence gathered by his Bureau through the unofficial register of aliens in the British

Isles had reached the desk of Herbert Asquith. Reviewing the origins of war, in 1923, Asquith even mentioned the birth of the Secret Service as a part of a new stage in the task of preparing for war. Meanwhile, all sorts of complementary and subsidiary investigations had taken place. A counter-espionage bureau had been set up in the War Office. The questions of press censorship, postal censorship, and the treatment of aliens, started in 1909, dragged on in seemingly interminable discussions which were completed between 1912 and 1914.
The after effects of the Curragh mutiny in Ireland at the end of March 1914 also brought Asquith closer to the Secret Service Bureau. With the resignation of John Seely as Secretary of State for War, Asquith himself took over the War Office. As part of these new ministerial responsibilities, Asquith would have received reports directly from Secret Service Bureau.

The last progress report from the Secret Service Bureau before the outbreak of war was compiled in April 1914. Of the 28,820 aliens listed on the register approximately 11,100 were of German or Austrian descent. Interestingly the report also specifies the numbers now working at the Bureau, who were keeping the alien register updated and were ready to roll out compulsory registration in the event of war. Under Kell were three assistant directors, one chief detective, two detectives, and one chief clerk, two clerks / typists and four temporary staff consisting of indexers, telephonists, and shorthand typists. The War Office estimates of Secret Service expenditure for the period April 1913 to March 1914 was £4,560.
Completing the unofficial register of aliens had certainly created its own bureaucracy, turning a team of three into an office of fourteen and had seen the costs of the Bureau double in just four years.
Table 3. Resident aliens and numbers on the special war list in 1913 and 1914.

Resident Aliens	Number registered	Under special report	Already on special war list
October 1913	25,161	270	208
April 1914	28,820	244	211

Included in the April 1914 report are the numbers on a special war list. This special war list was continually updated and by the outbreak of war had been divided into four categories with two hundred and forty-seven enemy alien individuals named. List one contained the names of eleven persons already arrested as foreign agents and in the process of being prosecuted. List two held the details of twenty-five people arrested upon the outbreak of war and reported to the War Office. List three gave the details of fifty- six enemy aliens likely to be a danger to national security and had been named to the police to find and search. On the final list, list four, were one hundred and fifty-five persons who had been named to the police and selected for special observation.

By the 5 August 1914, within 24 hours of the declaration of war, the unofficial register of aliens was enshrined by Parliament in the Aliens Restriction Act and suspected spies on the special war list had been searched or arrested.
The archives and files released to the National Archives are all from Kell's section of the Bureau and consequently only give the War Office view of events during those early days. However these early records of the Secret Service Bureau are quite telling about how the War Office and Admiralty relationship quickly disintegrated into non co- operation.
What has survived is a letter from Rear-Admiral Alexander Bethell to Mansfield Cumming, dated 10 August, 1909. The original letter now hangs in the director general's office at the Intelligence service, MI6. Bethell had been given the job of finding a suitable naval man to head the foreign section of the Secret Service Bureau.
My dear Mansfield Cumming. Boom Defence must be getting a bit stale with you and the recent experiments with Ferret rather discounts yours at Southampton. You may therefore perhaps like a new billet. If so I have something good I can offer you and if you would like to come and see me on

Thursday about noon I will tell you what it is.
However, at the meeting which took place to consider the general arrangements in establishing the Bureau and the appointment of Cumming and Kell, the role Rear-Admiral Bethell played is curiously absent. Captain Temple is sent in his place to represent the Naval Intelligence Department. This could be interpreted as a snub on the part of the Admiralty or merely a diary clash. However, its consequence was to make the meeting War Office heavy, with three representatives against the Admiralty's lone champion.
By October 1909, Cumming had realised he was the junior partner in the Secret Service Bureau and was not in the full confidence of the War Office. He disclosed his fears in a letter to Bethell on 20 October.
There is no getting over the fact that up to the present I have been put on one side in favour of my colleague, and that if this attitude is maintained I shall have to take a very second place in a department and shall become in all practical respects subordinate to him as regards my relations with my superior officers. This is quite contrary to what I understood when the appointment was mentioned to me and I do not think it would prove a good plan, nor tend to the success of the work.

On 9 November 1909, a CID initiative to bring the War Office and Admiralty closer together strategically failed. The duties and responsibilities for the Bureau were divided into two parts: espionage and counter-espionage in the UK went to Kell and the War Office, while espionage and counter-espionage abroad went to Cumming and the Admiralty.
It is interesting that the birth of the Secret Service Bureau and its early adopters' motivations are bound up in the much larger continental military strategy debate that persisted between 1904 and 1914. As Philpott notes, there was a British military token commitment to stand along-side France, but an absence of any political commitment to the French. With this in mind, could the establishment of the Bureau have been a vehicle for Francophiles to raise illusory dangers of German activity within Britain to gain the political commitment to a continental strategy? The majority of individuals behind the Bureau's inception, and who continued to champion it, had heavy Francophile leaning. Sir Arthur Nicolson, permanent under-secretary to Edward Grey at the Foreign Office was known to be anti-German. The Directors of Military Operations, Grierson 1904- 1906 and Wilson from 1910 were loud Francophiles. Henry Wilson and Arthur Nicolson as Jeffery points out also moved in the same social circles, lived near each other and shared the same continental outlook.
Wilson's influence filtered down to Kell. They had biennial meetings and occasionally dined together. Kell's six-monthly reports also filtered up to the DMO's desk. The Secret Service Bureau provided Wilson with intelligence that he could use in political lobbying. Intelligence gave Wilson credibility as Jeffery explains: One reason why Wilson (who was still only a Brigadier-general) received such flattering attention from senior politicians during the summer of 1911 was the apparent quality of the information he possessed. Politicians are often attracted by the ostensibly intriguing world of intelligence. Throughout his career Churchill, for one, found secret sources to be seductive, and we can see at one stage of the Agadir crisis how readily he responded to 'hot' intelligence provided by Henry Wilson. Intelligence in the right hands was a powerful calling card and for the War Office the outputs of the Secret Service Bureau helped to circulate its continental strategic thinking to wider government circles. This is what happened with the creation of the unofficial register of aliens.
The unofficial register of aliens coincided with the increasing realisation that, with France as an entente partner, war was likely to be a continental affair. Its detail, with all its sub-lists, became a blueprint to emasculate the perceived enemy threat within the United Kingdom at the outbreak of war. Accordingly, this would free the War Office to pack up its expeditionary force and head for the continent, leaving the Navy and police to undertake the home defence of Britain in the absence of compulsory conscription.
The creation of the unofficial register of aliens by the Bureau also assumed that all enemy aliens were a potential threat to domestic security in the event of war. This appears to be a pre-conceived perception from before the Bureau was established. Edmonds' reasons for changing alien legislation also harped back to precedents set in previous times of national instability rather than any concrete evidence at the time. The Bureau continued this War Office held belief. The validity of the intelligence produced by the Secret Service Bureau on the threat posed by enemy aliens at large in

Britain before 1914 did not really matter. What mattered was that the perceived solution that the Bureau created allowed the War Office to carry out its war plans unimpeded. To do this the War Office needed to be at the centre of intelligence, painting and imposing its view of the world with other governmental departments. As this chapter has shown, the outputs of the Bureau created a network of influence for the War Office that reached far and wide: from Grey at the Foreign Office and Churchill at the Home Office right up to the Prime Minister in Downing Street.

Whoever was controlling the intelligence sources held the key to promoting their strategy above and beyond any rival. Unfortunately the War Office did not count on a passive Prime Minister, who deferred decisions, even when the intelligence was in front of him. The many CID invasion sub-committee hearings under Asquith are testament to this.

It would appear that the 1907-1908 study [Invasion and home defence] had little effect on Asquith as in 1911 he was still worried about stripping the country of troops (the logical conclusion of both investigations); he allowed the whole matter to be reopened at the two War Councils on 5 and 6 August 1914, and during the war he permitted Kitchener to keep up to 80,000 soldiers in Britain in case of invasion.

If the War Office's aim was to use the illusion of spying, sabotage and the enemy alien threats to either bring about conscription or reduce its role in home defence on the outbreak of war, it ultimately failed. For on the 6 August 1914, Asquith records in his *Memoires*: 'we had our usual Cabinet this morning and decided with much less demur than I expected to sanction the dispatch of the Expeditionary Force of four divisions. Two divisions were withheld from going to France. Michael and Eleanor Brock, editors of Asquith's letters to Venetia Stanley, suggest that Asquith's decision to withhold two divisions had more to do with preventing any wider civil disorder within Britain than the threat of invasion from Germany. However, if the War Office's aim for the outputs of the Bureau had been to gain a political endorsement for continental strategy, then in the end the commitment was given in 1914.

To Be Continued

AN IRISH AIRMAN FORESEES HIS DEATH

I know that I shall meet my fate
Somewhere among the clouds above;
Those that I fight I do not hate,
Those that I guard I do not love;
My country is Kiltartan Cross,
My countrymen Kiltartan´s poor,
No likely end could bring them loss
Or leave them happier than before.
Nor law, nor duty bade me fight,
Nor public men, nor cheering crowds,
A lonely impulse of delight
Drove to this tumult in the clouds;
I balanced all, brought all to mind,
The years to come seemed waste of breath,
A waste of breath the years behind
In balance with this life, this death.

W. B. Yeats (1865-1939)