



The Spire Sentinel



**The Newsletter & Magazine of The
Chesterfield Branch of The Western Front
Association**



ISSUE 63 - March 2021

Our aims are 'Remembrance and Sharing the History of the
Great War'.

Issue 63 - list of contents

- 2 - 3 Contents Page + Branch Virtual Meeting details + WFA Webinars**
- 4 Secretary`s Scribbles**
- 5 - 6 Garrison Library**
- 7 - 12 Branded Goods**
- 12 - 13 Book Reviews by Rob Nash**
- 14 - 28 Virtual meeting 27th January with Stuart Hadaway**
- 29 Project Alias - The Results**
- 20 - 68 The Illusory Threat - Part 7**

Our next joint `on line` meeting, jointly with Lincoln Branch will be held on Wednesday, March 24th at 7.00pm.

Our own Branch chair, Tony Bolton will be giving this talk. Tony has been a member of the WFA since 1984. After retiring from a senior position in the construction industry he completed his Master's Degree at Birmingham in 2014 with Distinction. A founder member of the Chesterfield Branch he became its Chairman following his MA. He joined the WFA national Executive Committee in 2018 becoming Chair last year. His interests lie in the political direction of the war, the inter-relation of the different theatres of the war and in the campaign in Mesopotamia.

The registration link is hereunder.....

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

The title of Tony`s talk is *From 'Business as Usual' to 'Just getting it done' the evolution of British war strategy*

News of the WFA webinars in March 2021 -

Monday 8 March sees Andrew Tatham talking about 'A Group Photograph' As well as being the story of the 8th Battalion, Royal Berkshire Regiment, and their involvement in the Battles of Loos and the Somme, this talk tells a story full of family history investigations and human interest.

To register for this click here > [A Group Photograph](#)

Thursday 11 March is an 'international' event when we will be joined by Prof Ian van der Waag from South Africa, who will talk about the South African mobilization and the first invasion of German South West Africa.

The German South-West Africa campaign and the battle at Sandfontein - which marked the first foreign deployment of the Union Defence Forces (UDF), as well as its first active participation in a war - are almost forgotten. Yet, this was an important campaign and a significant first-battle experience. To register for this click here > [South African mobilization](#)

On Monday 15 March we welcome back Andrea Hetherington who will talk to us about 'Deserters on the Home Front'.

Andrea Hetherington tells the stories of deserters who disappeared from camps and barracks within Great Britain at an alarming rate, exploring their motivations and survival strategies and looking at the punishments incurred both by the soldiers themselves and by those who sheltered them from arrest. To register for this click here > [Deserters on the Home Front](#)

Monday 22 March is almost exactly the anniversary of the German Spring Offensive. To mark this anniversary, Dr Bill Mitchinson will talk about Kaiserschlacht and the 2nd line territorials.

When the German onslaught of *Operation Michael* broke on 21 March, four of the 2nd Line Territorial Force formations held divisional sectors in the forward areas. By the evening, three of the four were still in possession of much of their Battle Zones; the fourth had withdrawn in accordance with its prepared Defence Scheme. Two 2nd Line divisions recorded the highest numbers of casualties of any of the 19 formations involved in infantry action that day....To register for this click here > [Broken Reeds: Kaiserschlacht and the 2nd line territorials](#)

On Thursday 25 March Clive Harris is back for a return visit and will talk about the Development and Influence of Propaganda by the British.

This presentation looks at the introduction, development and refinement of British Propaganda during the Great War. From the manipulation of the domestic press, through to the ingenious influencing of neutral countries. To register for this click here > [Development and Influence of Propaganda](#)

The last webinar of the month is on Monday 29 March when we have a detailed presentation which will be delivered in two halves. This will be by Lt Col Simon Shepard and entitled 'Artillery conquers, infantry occupies'.

This presentation seeks to assess the performance of the British Expeditionary Forces artillery during the preparation for, and conduct of, the Third Battle of Ypres in 1917.

To register for this click here > [Artillery conquers, infantry occupies](#)

Due to demand, we recommend early registration!

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



Secretary's Scribbles

Dear Members and Friends,

Welcome to the March issue of the Branch newsletter. A bit of an anniversary, but not one for celebrating, the first Tuesday in March 2020 was the last date when we had a `live` meeting at our regular venue - the Covid pandemic has put paid to all the rest in the intervening period, sadly.

Whilst there are signs the current lockdown will be easing by April we are nowhere nearer being able to hold `live` meetings, so it is back to the `virtual` meetings which have proved to be very successful last with the next one scheduled for Wednesday 24th at 7pm. The speaker will be our own Branch Chair, Tony Bolton, his topic, and how to join in are elsewhere in this newsletter / magazine.

Moving forward we have another `virtual` meeting lined up for May....Michael McLaren will speak about **'The First Attack at Bellewaarde Ridge, June 15th 1915'** on May 19th. Those who receive the Stand To ! magazine will have seen a review of Malcolm`s book on this subject (starts page 56).

Until such times as we can meet openly again, we will endeavour to arrange `virtual` meetings, in conjunction with our friends at Lincoln WFA, probably every alternate month. Thanks too, to Dudley Giles for his continuing technical support making these meetings possible.

Thanks again to Rob Nash for his input to this newsletter / magazine with another couple of book reviews. As always, I welcome contributions for inclusion in future editions.

In addition to our `own` meetings there is a full programme of webinars arranged by the WFA.

The full list, including the links for joining each talk is shown on pages 2 and 3 of this newsletter

I hope to `see` as many of you as possible in the `room` on the 24th March...kick off at 7pm..

Take care

Grant Cullen.....Branch Secretary.....07824628638

Garrison Library

The Journal of the Royal United Services Institution. Gold Medal (Military) Prize Essay for 1918 “ *How can moral qualities best be developed during the preparation of the officer and the man for the duties each will carry out in war* ”

War in History. *Sir John Fisher and the Policy of Strategic Deterrent 1904-1908*

War in History. *The Impact of War: Matching Expectation with Reality in the Royal Navy in the first Months of the Great War*

Journal of Strategic Studies. *The Morale Maze: the German Army in Late 1918*

War in History. *The Chemical Dimension of the Gallipoli Campaign: Introducing Chemical Warfare to the Middle East.*

NWC Review Summer 2007. *Expectation, Adaption and Resignation...British Battlefleet Planning, August 1914-April 1916*

Air Power Review. *Haig and Trenchard: Achieving Air Superiority on the Western Front*

WW1 Listserve *Falsehood in Wartime: by Arthur Ponsonby MP (1929)*

Christopher Phillips *Civilian Specialists at War: Britain's Transport Experts and the First World War*

Elizabeth Greenhalgh: *Ferdinand Foch and the French Contribution to the Somme 1916*

William Stewart: *When the Learning Curve Falls - the Ordeal of the 44th Battalion, Canadian 4th Division, 25th October 1916*

Meleagh Hampton: *Hubert Gough, the Anzacs on the Somme. A Descent into Pointlessness*

Brett Holman: *Constructing the Enemy Within; Rumours of Secret Gun Platforms and Zepellin Bases in Britain, August to October 1914*

Gary Sheffield: *A Once in a Lifetime Opportunity - Personal Reflections on the Centenary of World War One in 2014*

Jim Beach: *Doctrine Writing at British GHQ 1917-1918*

Andrew Whitmarsh: *British Strategic Bombing 1917-1918. The Independent Air Force and its Predecessors*

Christopher Phillips: *Civilian Specialists in War - Britain's Transport Experts in WW1*

British Journal of Military Research *Volume 1 - October 2014*

Michael St. Maur Sheil *Does the Performance of the RFC at Cambrai in 1917 illustrate demands for aerial observation lead to the development of air power.*

Jonathan Krause *Early Trench Tactics of the French*

Paul Mulvey *The Western Front and Gallipoli 1915*

Unattributed *Gallipoli Landings from the Perspective of the Lancashire Fusiliers*

Unattributed *Gallipoli - The Last Battle of the Victorian Era ?*

James Kitchen *Going to War - Europe and the Wider World 1914-1915*

Institute of Historical Research, Andrekas Varnava *Imperialism first - War second ?. The British deliberations on where to attack the Ottoman Empire Nov 14 to April 15*

International History Review: *Sir Basil Zaharoff and Sir Vincent Caillard as Instruments of British Policy towards Greece and the Ottoman Empire during the Asquith and Lloyd George Administrations, 1915-8*

Scientia Militaria. Ian van der Waag. *The politics of south Africa`s `Second Little Bit` and the War on the Western front 1914-18*

Peter Doyle, Peter Barton, and Johan Vandewalle. *ARCHAEOLOGY OF A GREAT WAR DUGOUT: BEECHAM FARM, PASSCHENDAELE, BELGIUM*

RUSI Journal ; Jonathon Krause; *Ferdinand Foch and the Scientific Battle*

Peter Doyle *Geology and the war on the Western Front, 1914-1918*

Simon Birch *The abortive British attack on the Gommecourt salient, in support of the IV Army assault on the Somme, 1 July 1916. An operational case study at divisional level.*

Dominiek Dendooven In Flanders Fields Museum, Ypres, Belgium *Indians in the Ypres Salient 1914-1918*

E Tufan *The Late Ottomans' path to alliance with Germany in 1914, Revisited*

Dr Anne Samson, Independent Historian, co-ordinator of Great War in East Africa *With Lettow and Smuts through Africa: World War 1*

Copies of any of the above papers can be obtained via e mail.....contact grantcullen@hotmail.com Let me know what ones you want and I will send them to you. Thanks

BRANDED GOODS NEWS



Updated Information on all Branded goods by Mark Macartney

During the Covid-19 pandemic members need to be aware that the Branded Goods Department is doing their absolute utmost to supply the service that they can while staying within the Governments guidelines, so may we ask you to bear with them as there may be sometimes a slight delay on getting items to you: New items are always being considered, so please check the Branded Goods part of the shop for all items available, <http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/?p=2>

And the Branded Clothing, <http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/branded-clothing/>

New Item - WFA Fridge Magnet

Just off the production line, the WFA Fridge Magnet. This is not the normal run of the mill plastic: they are round 59mm in diameter with the WFA Logo covering the full front, the front being metal plate, high strength neodymium magnetic backplate, and plastic mylar front cover, Order from the Eshop now, or ring Sarah in the Office, (£5 including Postage in UK) http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-fridge-magnet/?fbclid=IwAR1y9ACd9OI7WQb3U8a1o42EGL9ncYeisa6CNT1jE-LFXuCj_Nk3vGxg9vc



Calendars

Once again it features images of the First World War battlefields taken by a number of photographers who have kindly donated their work. The scenes depict points of interest in France and Belgium (and, incidentally, Italy) some of which are well known but others 'off the beaten track'. This year's calendar has a 'Somme' theme.

As well as providing superb images of a dozen views of the First World War battlefields, the calendar provides detailed commentary to each image helping to set the scene in context.

This is a high-quality product which, every year, receives excellent feedback. The sales of the calendar also assist the WFA to continue its work.

The Western Front Association's 2021 calendar is available via the WFA e-shop (£10 including

Postage in UK) >>> <https://bit.ly/35w53RW>

Below: April, May and June's images being: Le cimetière allemand de Mongoutte (Alsace); The view from the Hawthorn Crater towards Beaumont Hamel British Cemetery (Somme) and Etaples Military Cemetery.

(Photos shown here are by Gwyneth Roberts, Andrew Holmes and Lucy Betteridge-Dyson - we are grateful to these and the others who have kindly donated their work).



WFA 40th Anniversary Coaster

To celebrate the WFA's 40th anniversary, The WFA 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 Mark Macartney (The Branded Goods Trustee) has said that he has had to re-order numerous times so. If you would like a



new 'WFA' 40th Anniversary Coaster, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£8.50 including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/special-edition-wfa-coaster/>

Mark also tells us that once they are gone, they are gone, so don't hesitate in ordering now, as with them being specific for the 40th Anniversary 11th November 2020, the Anniversary year is actually 11th November 2020 -11th November 2021.

WFA Mousemats

The mousemat which is currently selling so well that Mark tells us that he has re-ordered 3 times in batches of 100,. If you would like a 'WFA' mouse-mat, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£6 including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-mousemat/>



Bookmarks (New Production-slightly larger than original (now 55x177mm) Glossy 2 Sided little Bookmark (dims 55x175mm) One side has WFA Contact details with Battlefield in background, the other has the John McCrae Flanders Fields poem with poppies in background. UV High Gloss long lasting coating for exquisite shine.. This rich UV High Gloss Coating has the highest quality and provides protection against stains and damage, If you would like a 'WFA' Bookmark, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£2including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-bookmark/>



Baseball Caps (New Lightweight version) The Official WFA Cap 5 Panel cotton cap, adjustable with velcro rip-strip, washable and with a stiff peak. Size: 1 size (adjustable to fit up to 59cms) Colour: Navy Blue Logo is printed using top quality heat seal vinyl, If you would like a 'WFA' Cap, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£8 including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-cap/>



WFA Classic Ties The Official WFA Tie, 100 % Polyester, Colour Dark Blue Tie Length 142cm

Tie width 9cm (at widest part) Good Quality Linin. If you would like a 'WFA' Tie, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£11 including Postage in UK)

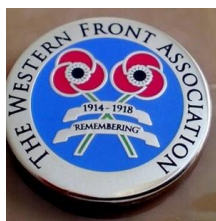
<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-classic-tie/>



Lapel Badges The Official WFA Lapel Badge, Die struck + imitation hard enamel Size: 25mm Dia.

Thickness: 1.5mm Plating: Silver Nickel. Attachment: Butterfly clutch pin, If you would like a 'WFA' LapelBadge , please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£2.50 including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-lapel-badge/>



WFA Mugs The Official WFA Coffee Mug - Everything just tastes better in one of these - Put your feet up sit back and enjoy your favourite beverage in the Official WFA Coffee Mug, the lovely white full size mug features the bold official WFA logo design, If you would like a 'WFA' Mug, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£10 including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-mug/>



Messenger Bag: Classic Canvas Messenger Bag, 100% Cotton. Full cotton lining

Antique brass effect fittings, Zippered organiser section (under front flap)

Internal slip pocket, Padded base, Rip-Strip closure, Adjustable shoulder strap

Dimensions: 37x29x11 cm, Capacity: 13 litres, If you would like a 'WFA' Messenger Bag, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£27 including Postage in UK) <http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-messenger-bag/>



Shoulder Bags, WFA Shoulder Bag. 600D Polyester. Retro styling. Internal valuables pocket Zippered front pocket. Internal baseboard, Adjustable shoulder strap

Dimensions: 40 x 28 x 18 cm, Capacity: 18 litres, Colour; French Navy with white trims. If you would like a 'WFA' Messenger Bag, please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£25 including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/wfa-shoulder-bag/>



Unknown Warrior Stand To! Special

Extra Copies of this Stand To Special is available (while stocks last) The Unknown Warrior Special magazine 1920-2020 contains some high quality images and articles and tells the story of the Unknown Warrior (BURIED AMONG KINGS) If you would like an Unknown Warrior Stand To! Special please order through Website or ring Sarah at Head Office, (£10 including Postage in UK)

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/wfa-branded-items/unknown-warrior-stand-to-special/>

BRANDED CLOTHING

Branded Clothing is supplied direct from the manufacturer, information on how to order can be found on the Website

<http://www.westernfrontassociation.com/shop/branded-clothing/>

Prices (including postage)

Oxford Shirt (£25) Kustom Kit Short Sleeve Corporate Oxford Shirt. Easy iron Button down collar, 85% cotton, 15% polyester

Breathable Jacket (£42) Russell Hydro Plus 2000 Jacket. Nylon taslon With PU Coating

Rugby Shirt (£26) Front Row Classic Rugby Shirt. 100% Cotton

Fleece (£25) Regatta Thor 111 Fleece Jacket. 100% polyester anti pill

T-Shirt (£15) Russell Classic Heavyweight Combed Cotton T-Shirt. 100% combed ring spun cotton

Sweat Shirt (£18) Russell Jerzees Raglan Sweatshirt. 50% polyester/ 50% combed ring spun cotton Polo Shirt (£17) Russell Classic Cotton Pique Polo Shirt. 100% ring spun cotton

Book Reviews.....by Rob Nash

DIRECTING THE TUNNELLER'S WAR – The Tunnelling Memoirs of Captain HR Dixon MC RE

Edited by: Phillip Robinson & Nigel Cave

As a retired Sapper I was eagerly anticipating the release of this book, hoping the book would cover the development and provide details of Tunnelling Operations on the Western Front. Sadly, I was disappointed.

The draft for the book was written by Capt H Ridley Dixon MC RE in the 1930's. The editors found the draft in the Royal Engineers archives and developed it into this book. The first two chapters cover the authors arrival in France and some explanation of his time with 225 Tunnelling Company RE and their tunnelling operations. The next 10 chapters I found rather dull, covering such as the jolly japes in the officer's mess,

and the who's, who of the General Staff at GHQ (with lots of photos of various generals). Often where any details of tunnelling operations and detonation of mines is covered by the author, the editors have added notes to correct many of his facts and figures.

The only part of the book I found of interest were the last couple of chapters covering the employment of the Tunnelling Companies from 1917 onwards, with some interesting details of the bridging and booby trap/mine clearance that they were heavily involved in, particularly in the later months of the war.

Thankfully the book is only 206 pages (including 8 appendices).

Pen & Sword: Hardback £19.99.

BATTLE BENEATH THE TRENCHES - The Cornish Miners of 251 Tunnelling Company RE, Robert K Johns

The Author based his initial research on his grandfather (John Albert James Johns) who was a Cornish Miner in 1914, and like a lot of men at the time volunteered to serve in his local regiment the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry (DCLI), but with 168 of other Cornish miners from the DCLI he was transferred to the RE's to form 251 Tunnelling Company RE. The book develops into a really interesting insight into a tunnelling company's work and the lives of the officers and men from the company's formation in September 1915 to being disbanded 1919.

The book details the work of the Tunnellers and how over a relative short period of time the techniques and strategy evolved, including counter mining operations, the different techniques used in the varying geological substrata, the logistics required to obtain and move vast quantities of stores and the disposal of immense quantities of spoil.

Other aspects of the company's work include the use of 3-inch pipes filled with explosives (example 196' long, filled with 600lbs ammonal), pushed mechanically at a depth of 7' from the front line out through no man's land to enemy lines to form when exploded a safe trench access 7' deep by 15' wide. In the last months of the war and post 11 November 1918 they like other tunnelling companies were employed in clearing enemy mines, booby traps and other explosive devices.

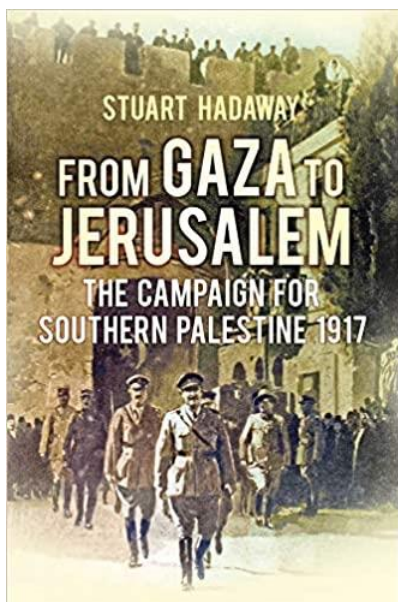
The book is very well written covering the tactical deployment of mines within the overall army planning, how those plans were physically carried out, including some interesting actions along the way, such as defending galleries from German troops braking through from their tunnels and men from the company taking part in trench raids to gather intelligence on enemy tunnels.

Pen & Sword Hardback £25.00

Post Note: A army reserve unit currently based in the Boythorpe Drill Hall (Wallis Bks), Chesterfield is a Troop of 250 Field Squadron (EOD) (V). Like 251 Tunnelling Company they were formed in 1915 as a Tunnelling Company. They are now part of 101(L) Engineer Regiment (EOD). The squadron's primary roll is high risk search (explosive devices). What do they say: "What goes around....."

Virtual Meeting - 27th January 2021 - with Lincoln WFA

Stuart Hadaway's life-long interest in military history led to a career in military museums, developing a strong interest in the First World War in the Middle East while working for the Worcestershire Yeomanry in 2001-3. He joined the Air Historical Branch (RAF) in 2009, as Senior Researcher to the official historians of the RAF. Although he now mainly deals with aviation history, but has maintained his interests, leading to writing several books on the subject, and starting the Facebook group 'Egyptian Expeditionary Force in WW1'.



The 'book of the talk' is 'From Gaza to Jerusalem: The southern Palestine campaign, 1917', published in 2015 by The History Press. There is also: 'Pyramids and Fleshpots: The Egyptian, Senussi, and Eastern Mediterranean campaigns 1914-6', published in 2014 by The History Press, and 'Tracing Your Great War Ancestors: The Egypt and Palestine Campaigns', published by Pen & Sword in 2017.

At the start of 1917, the Egyptian Expeditionary Force (EEF) crossed the border from Egypt into Palestine. There the EEF stalled, failing twice to take the key Ottoman fortress of Gaza. Over the summer, the arrival of Edmund Allenby and reinforcements led to dramatic changes within the EEF. Allenby had been sent by David Lloyd George to capture Jerusalem 'as a Christmas present to the Allied nations'. This he did in

stunning fashion in a lightning campaign which saw the Ottoman forces pushed back over 60 miles in just 6 weeks, with Jerusalem falling on 9 December 1917.

Almost 80 signed up for this talk, using for the first time the `Zoom` platform. This was the first time Stuart had made a `virtual` presentation and he and our `virtual meeting` guru Dudley Giles had a full dress rehearsal several days before the meeting. Again, thank you Dudley for facilitating this meeting and giving generously of your time. On the night there were over 50 folks in the `room` ...not just `locals` from Lincoln and Chesterfield but attendees from Holland and Belgium, as well others from across the UK. Our thanks to all for `attending`

Tony Bolton, Chair of Chesterfield Branch (and WFA National Chair) opened the proceedings but it was Jonathan D`Hooghe, Chair of Lincoln, who `did the honours` by introducing Stuart.

Stuart`s talk would cover the period from when the British forces would leave the border with Egypt, advance north, engage the Turkish forces in three battles around Gaza and finally capture Jerusalem in December 1917.

Starting with the background as to why there was a British army on the border between Egypt and Palestine and why this campaign matters although very much a side show and not really relevant to the defeat of the main German army on the Western Front, but what happens here is crucial to the British war effort, and this is because of the vital waterway - the Suez Canal.



From the 1880s Britain had effectively taken over the running of Egypt although Egypt remained technically, part of the Ottoman Empire. British control assured the safeguarding of the Suez Canal an essential passageway for the passage of materials for Britain's industry from Asia, Australia and New Zealand. It time of war it became even more vital. All through the war Britain is struggling to keep up the demands of industrialised warfare and being able to have its shipping transit the Suez Canal saved weeks off the passage around Southern Africa. Kaiser Wilhelm II called the Suez Canal, the 'jugular

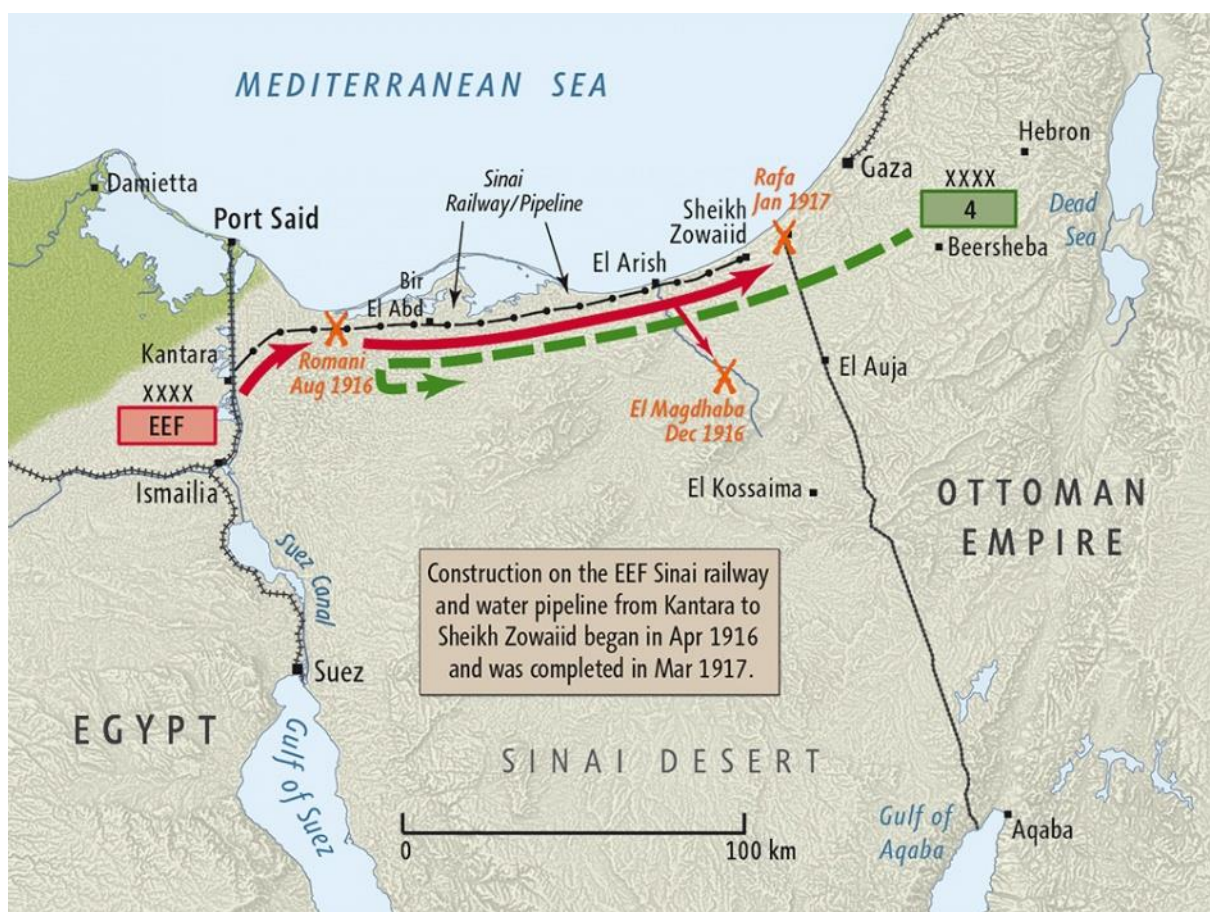
vein` of the British Empire. With the entry of the Ottomans into the war on the side of the Central Powers it was with reluctance that Britain declared war on the Ottomans as the Ottoman sultan was also the Caliph or global leader of Islam and Britain was aware of the effect this could have on their Islamic subjects, in , for example India.

War did come to the region in November 1914 when the British withdrew all their garrisons from the Sinai desert to the Suez Canal as all their experienced had been sent to Europe, being replaced by barely trained troops from Australia and New Zealand. The British dug a defensive line, predominantly on the western bank. In early 1915 the Ottomans attempt to cut the Suez Canal by sending a force across the Sinai Desert from Beersheba and in the first week of February 1915 attack all the way along the Suez Canal, an attack which is repulsed by the defenders. Suez and the Sinai remain quite quiet for the rest of 1915 as the British and Ottoman forces slug it out on the north of the Mediterranean at Gallipoli, with Egypt becoming a major point of support for British and Empire forces fighting there. With the withdrawal from Gallipoli being completed by January 1916, the British reform and refit its Mediterranean Expeditionary Force in Egypt, this force being rebranded as the `Imperial Strategic Reserve` with 11 Divisions, in theory, being ready to be sent anywhere. In the event 6 are sent to the Western Front and one to Mesopotamia



Those remaining divisions, 4 infantry and one cavalry remain under the command of Sir Archibald Murray and this rump of the MEF becomes the EEF - the Egyptian Expeditionary Force. Now having a group of experienced troops they decide to push out into Sinai in a forward defence of the Canal, The Ottomans have a similar idea and in April 1916 make a small scale attempt to attack the Canal, running into the British 5th mounted brigade which takes heavy casualties, but holds up the Ottomans until reinforcements arrive to repel the invaders. The British start to dig in and start to build water pipelines out into the desert so

they can support large numbers of troops. In August the Ottomans attack again at Romani but are again beaten off and between then and the end of the year, the British start to push across Sinai towards the border with Palestine, constructing a railway and the pipeline as they go to keep them supplied.

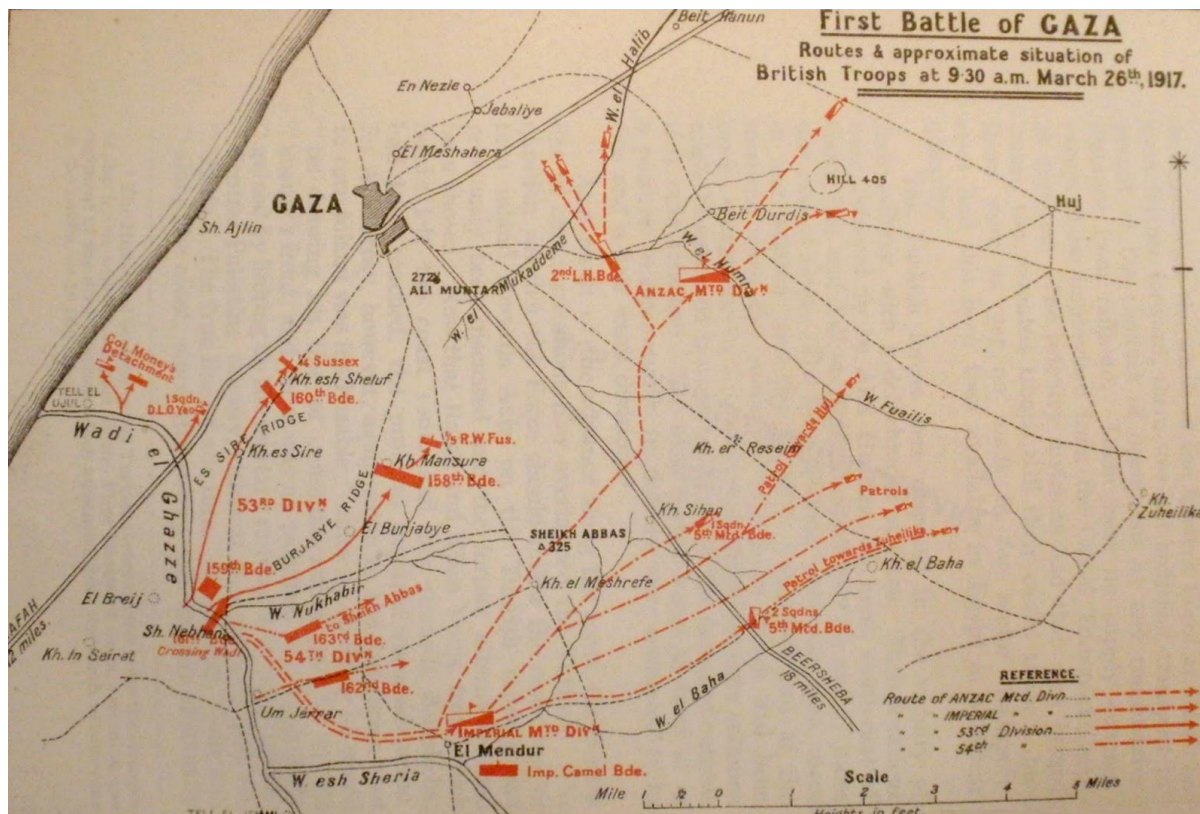


The Ottomans are not too bothered about this slow retreat, there is nothing in this region of strategic value but they leave numerous small rearguards to act as delaying forces, who retreat under pressure. This gives the British commanders the entirely the wrong conception about Ottoman troops i.e. if pressed, Ottoman troops won't stand and fight. i.e. racial stereotyping, common at that time. You would have thought that the experience of Gallipoli would have taught them a few lessons about the quality of the Ottoman soldiers

By the end of 1916, the EEF, which by now consists of three Infantry Divisions and two cavalry divisions, end up on the border with Palestine, around Rafa where they stay, not wanting to start another `side show` like Gallipoli or Mesopotamia. Then in early 1917 the forces in Mesopotamia take Baghdad and this sets the War Office thinking

that if they push in southern Palestine they could possibly take Jerusalem and Damascus which would be body blows to the Ottoman Empire maybe even taking the Ottomans out of the war. Accordingly, the War Office instructs Murray to advance into southern Palestine and on into Gaza. From biblical times any army wanting to advance up that coast has to take Gaza first.

Murray orders his forces on the ground to attack Gaza.

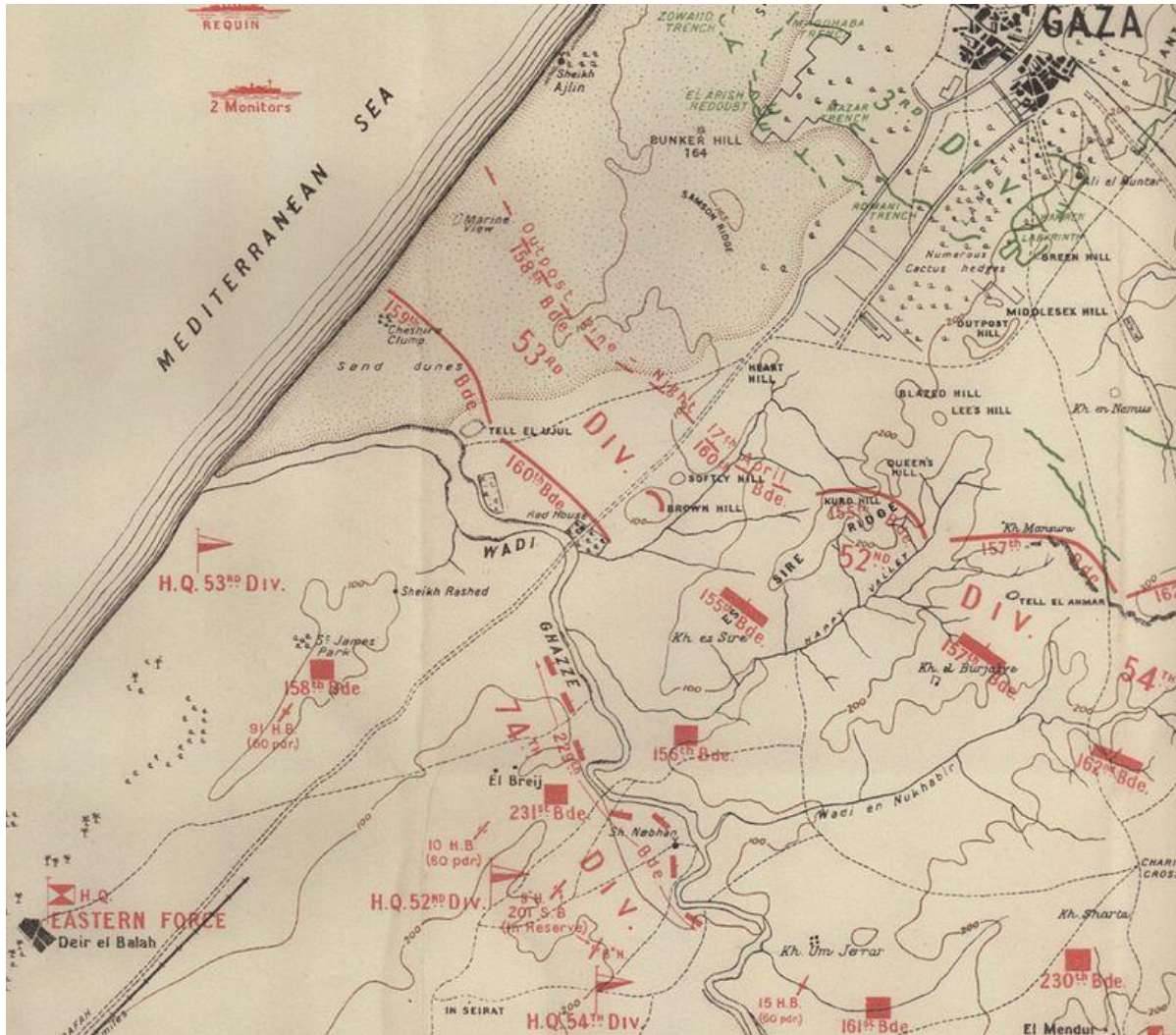


The attack is made on 26th March 1917, it is ill conceived, to say the least, there is no reconnaissance, ostensibly because they don't want to tip off the Ottomans that they are coming. The Ottoman forces are on the higher ground at Ali Muntar and Green Hill, well dug in and that is where the thrust of the British attack is made. The Ottomans also know that these hills are the key to the defence of Gaza and prepare accordingly. Lt-Col Money is therefore pitching his main force against the enemy's main force which is well dug in on high ground. Militarily this is a bad idea.

Meanwhile Major General Harry Chauvell is sent around the flanks of Gaza and they are meant to form a cordon to the east and north, ostensibly to catch the Gaza garrison when they pull back. What actually happens is that thin 'shell' of cavalry around Gaza spend most of their day fighting off Ottoman relief columns but some are ordered to attack from the north and indeed some Australians actually penetrate into Gaza but by nightfall are ordered to withdraw. These orders arrive just as the 53rd Welsh Division finally take their objectives on the crest of Ali Muntar. Bizarrely, no one questions these orders and the British start marching south again. Finally they are instructed to go back and finally arrive on Ali Muntar as dawn breaks and in time to face the Ottoman counter attack. The British troops are tired, low on ammunition and water, and are forced to retire to the Wadi El Ghazze. The whole thing had been a complete fiasco, no planning or reconnaissance, poor communications and had suffered about 4000 casualties, with nothing to show for it.

Stuart went on to describe the terrain - very flat with cactus hedging, ideally for the Ottomans creating good defensive positions

Murray reports back to London and gives the impression that it has been a `victory` and is promptly ordered to have another crack at Gaza!



Second Battle of Gaza - April 17th - 20th 1917

Murray gets some more support this time with additional troops from Sinai and Egypt, including eight tanks, obsolescent Mark I and II types. On paper, at least, this is a much stronger attacking force but again there is little time for preparation and a lack of training in cooperation between infantry and tanks, the latter being used as solitary units along the whole line. Training manual SD123 regarding effective use of troops in platoons had finally reached Egypt in January -/February 1917. Some units decided to adopt these new tactics, others, consciously, decided not to, given the shortage of time to train up their troops. It is decided withhold a cadre of officers and men in reserve, but cohesion of units suffer, with key officers being held back.

The Ottomans have been using this time to prepare, being well dug in around Gaza and along the Frankin road to the south east, towards Beersheba, where they have created a series of redoubts to prevent any flanking moves by the British. After advancing on April 17th and 18th, the battle actually commenced on the 19th and again it was a fiasco, with the tanks being quickly knocked out.



The plan was to attack all along the line but at no place did they have enough force to punch through the Ottoman line. Gas was used, first time away from the Western Front, but was so ineffectual that it was only after the war that the Ottoman officers realised that it had been used at all. Again, the British had to withdraw having lost 6500 men killed, wounded or missing. The battlefield is relatively unchanged today, still flat with the cactus hedges, although there are more trees than in 1917.

The British fall back to the Wadi Ghazzi and dig in. Now there is a common train of thought that in the summer of 1917 the EEF lose their fighting spirit and sit on this line until the arrival of Allenby in late summer. There was however, some trench raiding and further south in the Beersheba area there was some `cat and mouse` games between British and Ottoman cavalry and in May 1917 there was a massive British cavalry raid south of Beersheba which destroyed the Ottoman railway line from Beersheba into the Sinai. What this raid did prove was that with careful planning, supply of water etc, large scale cavalry moves could be made into the desert.



Despite this, the War Office had become disillusioned with Murray and decided to replace him with Edmund Allenby who had been a senior commander in France. In fact Allenby was second choice, Jan Smuts, the South African was offered the position but he turned it down, fearing that the front would not be given the required support in late 1917, early 1918. Stuart said that in his opinion, this was a good move as Smuts was put to the task of writing the reports which led to the creation of the Royal Air Force.

David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, then called Allenby and told him he was being sent to Palestine and instructed him to capture Jerusalem as a Christmas present for the Allied nations.

You then get what is sometimes referred to as the `Allenby Effect` ...he rejuvenates the EEF....receiving the 10th Irish and the 60th London Divisions from Salonika, 74th and 75th Divisions from Egypt plus newer and better aircraft., initially 3 Bristol fighters are sent out but they are vastly superior to anything the Ottomans have and turn the tide of the air war. Additional artillery resources are sent out with the railway and water pipeline in Sinai being doubled. The infantry are reorganised, the divisions are put into XXI and XXII Corps and the cavalry regrouped into the Desert Mounted Corps. There is extensive re-training into SS143, the new battlefield training standards recently adopted by the BEF. Stuart said that if you read Murray`s correspondence with the War Office over the previous months you would see that he had been asking for all of these things but it was Allenby who would reap the benefits of this. Allenby reorganises training, including the instructors whom he sends to the front lines to observe the actual conditions the men will have to fight in. He has a purge of GHQ getting rid of a lot of staff officers whom he feels aren`t up to the job, and moves the HQ across the Sinai from Egypt, much closer to the Front. This is a popular move with the average `Tommy` who loves to see the `red tabs` being booted out of their comfortable billets in the rear and sent to the Front. Allenby just has a much more positive `go to` spirit, and he spends a lot of time touring the front lines, visiting units and talking to the men. This goes down well with the troops and is great for morale. Murray is a great organiser and administrator, but Allenby is a much better fighting general.

But while these changes are going on on the British side there is quite a lot taking place on the Ottoman side. The Ottomans are building up what they call the Yildirim Battle Group which will eventually take up 18 divisions. Given that the entire Ottoman Field Army is just 45 divisions, gives an idea what a massive undertaking this is for them. They start putting this battle group together further north in Syria and request German and Austrian support who respond by sending specialist troops, guns and better aircraft.



They also send Field Marshall Erich von Falkenhayn , the former Prussian Minister of War to take command of it. Initially formed in Syria, the original plan is that this battle group be used to re-take Baghdad which would have profound effects across the Ottoman Empire and the wider Islamic world.

They realise that after Baghdad there are few places they can then go but if they send them to southern Palestine they could crush the EEF, push it back across the Sinai and cut the Suez Canal. So by the summer of 1917, the Yildirim Group is moved to southern Palestine where the Ottoman forces reorganise to face the EEF

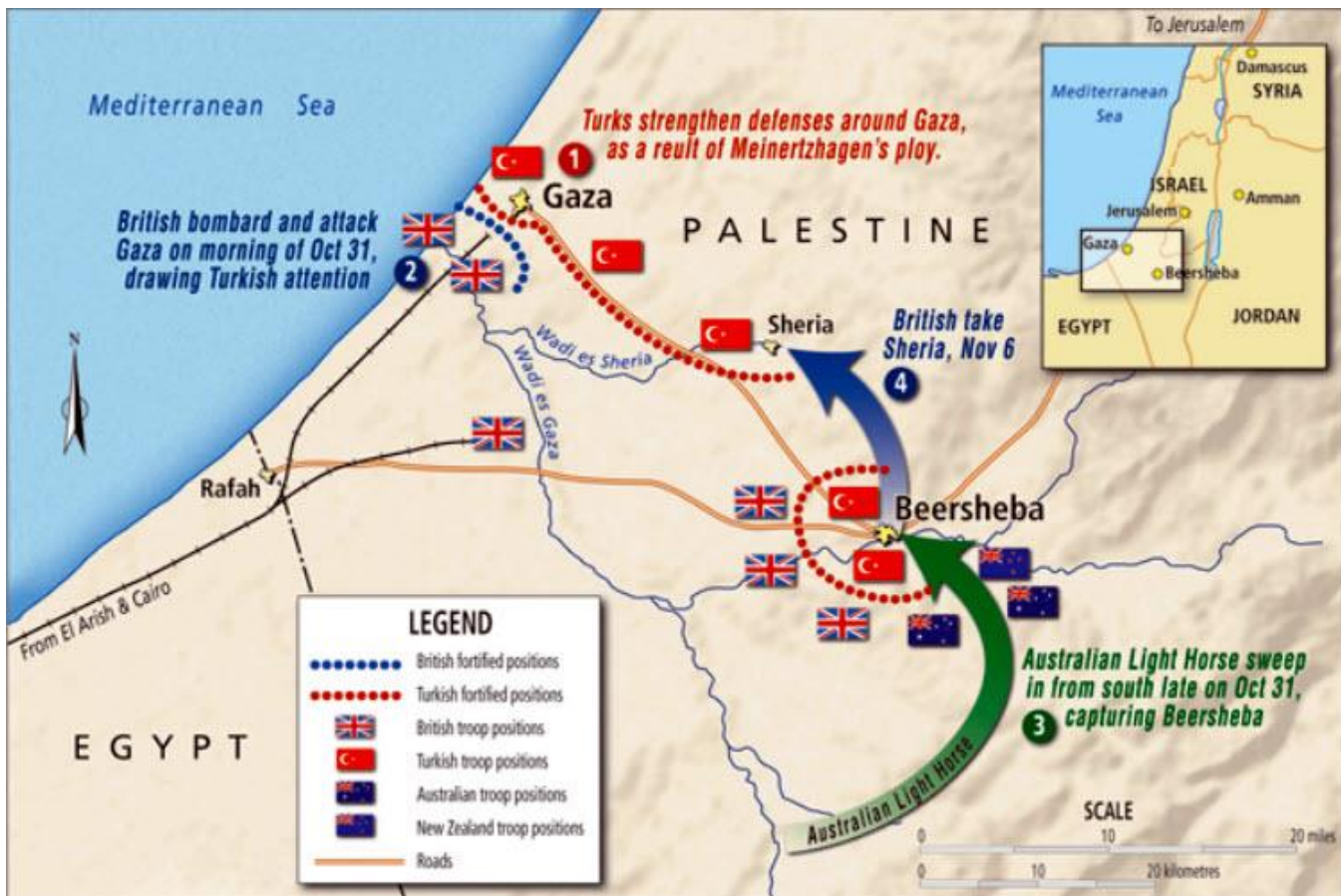
and also the Arab Revolt on the other side of the Jordan Valley. 7th Army take over the end of the Gaza - Beersheba line. These changes inevitable causes confusion and this plays nicely into the British hands.

So, by the end of October, the opposing forces look like this....10 th Irish / XX Corps recently arrived not quite up to speed with respect to artillery and at this point Allenby can put in the field, 200000 men, including 60000 infantry and 12000 cavalry. The Yildirim battle group on the other hand, whilst they can field more divisions - the Ottomans always have trouble keeping their divisions up to strength -can only muster 30000 infantry and 1400 cavalry. They are much lighter on artillery than the EEF, as well.



So, with his forces in place, Allenby sets his plan and starts it, a plan originally developed by Philip Chetwode (left) originally commander of the Desert Mounted Corps, but now in charge of XX corps. Dawney, who had been Chetwode`s Chief of Staff is now Deputy Chief of Staff to the EEF. Chetwode and Dawney had come up with this plan, straight after the second battle of Gaza, to advance on Gaza, whilst sweeping around on the desert flank against the weaker Ottoman line further inland.

Allenby takes this plan and works on it and rather than swinging through, the plan to sweep inland, hitting Beersheba first, taking it where there is an adequate supply of water, which would keep the army operating during the advance into Palestine, carrying on due north, envelop Gaza, cutting off the Ottoman forces and force them to surrender, hopefully capturing them in one fell swoop. It was crucial that Beersheba be taken on that first day - they needed that water to keep the operations moving.

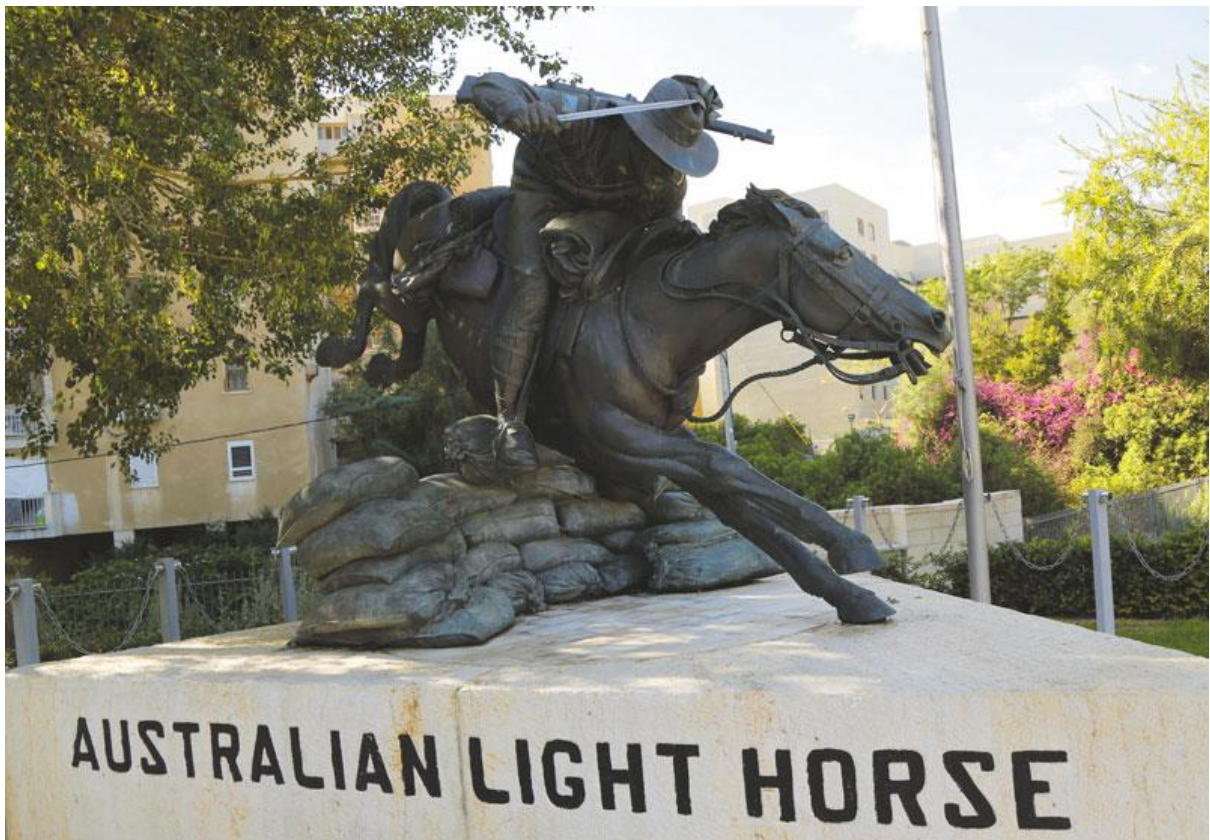


To convince the Ottomans that the main thrust was to be on Gaza, on 27th October a bombardment of Gaza begins, including Royal Navy ships positioned offshore. At the same time the EEF move large forces out into the desert south of Beersheba unbeknown to the Ottomans. On October 31st they launch the attack on the well spread out Ottoman defences and it takes the infantry of XX Corps most of the day to push the defenders back. The Desert Mounted Corps comes swinging round from the east and push in the defences to the east and south east of the town. The Ottomans are in retreat but the danger is they will blow up the wells behind them. Chetwode of XX Corps realises this and sends in the cavalry against the last of the rearguards. The 4th and 12th Australian Light horse are sent in, charging the trenches outside Beersheba, roll over the top of them, carry on into the town, rout the remaining defenders and secure the wells, right at the end of the day.



Charge of the Australian Light horse

There is a magnificent memorial to this action in the city of Beersheba



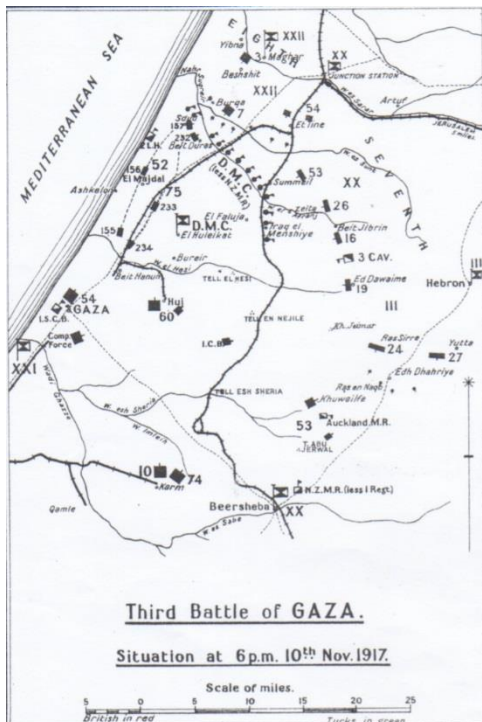


There is also a memorial to the Ottoman defenders of the town, the only one to be found today in modern day Israel. The British have taken Beersheba, they have the wells intact, they have the water which proves to be less plentiful than they anticipated, so they start consolidating in the town and spreading out around Beersheba to secure outlying wells.

Whilst Beersheba is being consolidated, the attack proper begins on Gaza on 2nd November and for the first two days the EEF hammer away with artillery and make small advances into Gaza itself, but they cannot break through the defences and by 4th November they decide to pause to regroup before starting again on the 7th, only to find that the Ottomans had evacuated Gaza, the previous night. This is because on the 6th, the breakout from

Beersheba had begun. The 56th Welsh Division had started advancing north east up the road towards Hebron, with other divisions starting rolling up the road to Gaza. On the 7th the infantry take the town of Sheria, an Ottoman command hub. The Ottomans then retreat north to try and avoid this envelopment and in this they are partially successful helped by some impressive rearguard actions which slows the British down, but the main factor is water, as the troops are running too far ahead of the supply, cavalry obviously needing prodigious amounts to keep the horses going.

The Ottomans retreat north and the EEF follows them, with XXI Corps leapfrogging ahead of X Corps which is running out of steam after their efforts around Beersheba.



On 10th November the EEF arrive at Junction station, south west of Jerusalem, so called because it was the junction of several railway lines.

Here we see Allenby as a General at his best - he lets his corps Commanders get on with it.

He sits back taking the bigger view, watching the flanks, keeping an eye on logistics and sets his broad objectives. On 12th November the Ottomans launch a large counter attack, with around 20000 effectives but they are blocked by the Australian Mounted division.

Two days later XX Corps take Junction Station with successful cavalry charges, the Lincoln Yeomanry protecting their flanks.

With the fall of Junction Station, Allenby now has a decision to make, he can either advance north to Jaffa, which strategically is important as it is a port and logistically the lines of supply and communication stretched all the way across Sinai to Kantara on the Suez Canal. If he can ship supplies directly into Jaffa, this eases the logistics problem, so strategically this is the real prize, or he can turn east into the Judean

hills and attack Jerusalem, which is the prize he has been designated by Lloyd George. He can, of course, do both and that is what he decides to. 54 Corps and the East Anglian Division drive north and take Jaffa on November 16th while XXI Corps push into the Judean hills. By this time temperatures are falling and the winter rains begin. The troops, having been operating in the desert, are now having to cope with this change in conditions and what with exposure etc, sickness rates start to climb but the EEF despite these overcome and defeat the Ottomans at a battle of Nebi Samwil, just north west of Jerusalem.



Nebi Samwil in 1917



The battle was the first attempt by the forces of the British Empire to capture Jerusalem. The village of Nebi Samwil (now spelled Nabi Samwil), also known as the "Tomb of Samuel", was part of the Ottoman defences in front of Jerusalem and its capture was considered vital to the eventual capture of the city. The British attacking force consisted of three divisions, two infantry and one mounted.

The village was captured by the 234th Brigade, part of the 75th Division, on 21 November 1917. However they still had to defend it against Ottoman counter-attacks almost every day. Unsupported by their heavy weapons the British infantry could not break through the main Ottoman defensive line and the attack failed to reach its

objective Jerusalem. Allenby brings up XX corps and relieves XXI Corps. The Ottomans take advantage of this inevitable confusion and they counter-attack on November 27th, infiltrating the British lines in a number of places and it takes several days of very hard fighting before the situation is stabilised. By 8th December the situation is clear and Allenby is now in a position to work out how to take Jerusalem without actually having to fight in the Holy City itself. He finds that attacking is not necessary as the German Commander in the city, Franz von Pappen, despite having orders to defend it, decides that he too cannot have fighting in the city on his conscience either, declares it an open city. And withdraws his troops. The Mayor of Jerusalem, Huseyin Bey, seeks out British troops to surrender to, on December 9th. He meets two privates from the London Regiment and offers them the keys to the city



The site is marked today by this splendid memorial .



Two days later, Allenby makes his grand entrance in to city of Jerusalem



The 53rd Welsh Division, last seen heading up towards Hebron, sweep round, taking Bethlehem and on December 10th, take the Mount of Olives, which overlooks the city.

The next two or three weeks sees the EEF creating `elbow room` around Jaffa and Jerusalem, in a series of small scale operations to push the Ottomans out of artillery range and secure these objectives. However, intelligence reconnaissance indicated that the Ottomans were planning counter-attack and Allenby planned accordingly.

The British were prepared for battle when an Ottoman Army counterattack was launched at 01:30 on 27 December, which fell on the infantry from the 179th (2/4th London) Brigade, 60th (2/2nd London) Division, on the Nablus road. The Ottoman force's initial objectives were a line of villages, including Nebi Samweil 1 mile (1.6 km) in front of their starting positions. They were focused towards Tell el Ful, a hill east of the Nablus road about 3 miles (4.8 km) north of Jerusalem defended by the 60th (2/2nd London) Division. This Ottoman attack on Tell el Ful initially drove the British outposts back and captured several important places. The engagement continued for two days and was ultimately unsuccessful.

Also during the morning of 27 December the British infantry from the 10th (Irish) and the 74th (Yeomanry) Divisions advanced about 4000 yds (4000 m) on a front of 6 miles (9.7 km). And the next day Chetwode, commander of XX Corps, ordered infantry in the 10th (Irish) Division to attack towards Ramallah.

The 60th (2/2nd London) Division took El Jib, Er Ram, and Rafat while the 53rd (Welsh) Division covered their left. The 74th (Yeomanry) Division captured Beitunia and the 10th (Irish) Division pushed to the east of Ain Arik. With Ottoman and German machine guns hard to locate amongst the boulders, the fighting was severe and stubborn. On 29 November the 60th (2/2nd London) and 74th (Yeomanry) Divisions were joined by the 53rd (Welsh) Division. A general British infantry advance on a 12-mile (19 km) front moved their front line 6 miles (9.7 km) on the right and 3 miles (4.8 km) on the left. They pushed the whole line along the Nablus road to beyond Ramallah and Bireh by 30 December. Final objectives were gained and the line along the whole front secured.

The Ottoman Army lost over 1,000 casualties and 750 prisoners; the British infantry captured 24 machine guns and three automatic rifles. Overall the EEF had advanced 50 miles, for the cost of 20000 casualties, mostly from disease, exposure and exhaustion, whilst Ottoman losses were estimated at 28000, although for them, more costly, was the loss of irreplaceable weaponry, ammunition and other stores.

By any account, this campaign must rank as one of the most successful campaigns by the British Army in WW1 .

Steve then put up a series of pictures of memorials to the campaign in and around Jerusalem

Anyone wanting further information on the Egyptian Expeditionary Force could do worse than look in on the EEF Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/Egyptian-Expeditionary-Force-in-WW1-931995000200945>

Project Alias - the results

We have all seen them - headstones of men which record they 'served as' someone else. There are likely to be lots of reasons for men serving whilst using a pseudonym. Previously, the men who were killed whilst using a name other than their own was thought to number in the region of 3,500 - this being derived from the database of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.



But following a major piece of work called 'Project ALIAS' involving well over 100 WFA members, we have managed to compile a much bigger list of men (from the British Army, Navy and RFC/RAF) who served - and died - whilst using a pseudonym.

The scale and complexities of this piece of work was immense, and has taken thousands of man hours to complete. But the results are worth it, and shows how members of the association - when working together - can achieve a remarkable result.

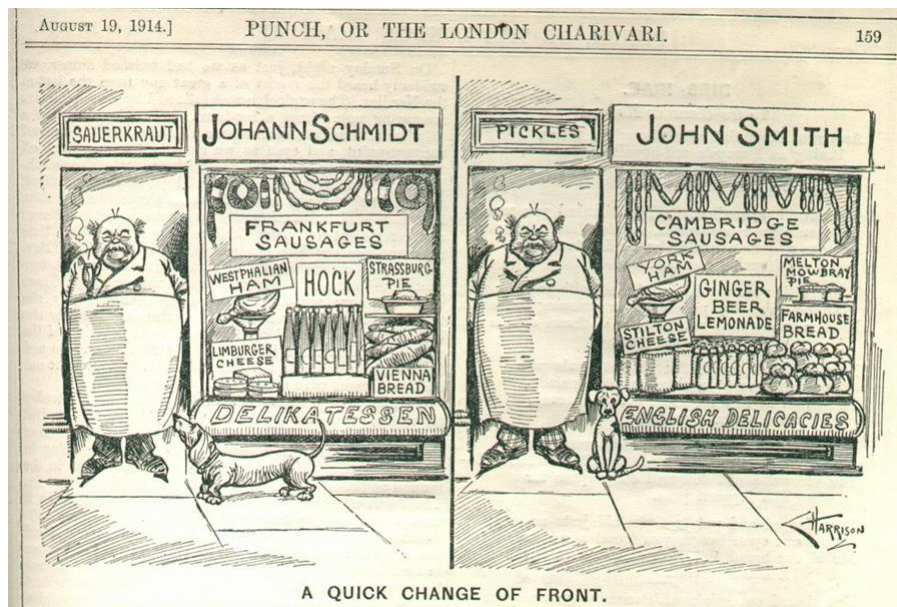
The Illusory Threat

Enemy Aliens in Britain during the Great War part 7

The enemy alien issue and public opinion: from 'A Quick Change Of Front' to 'At Last, By George!' 1914-1918.

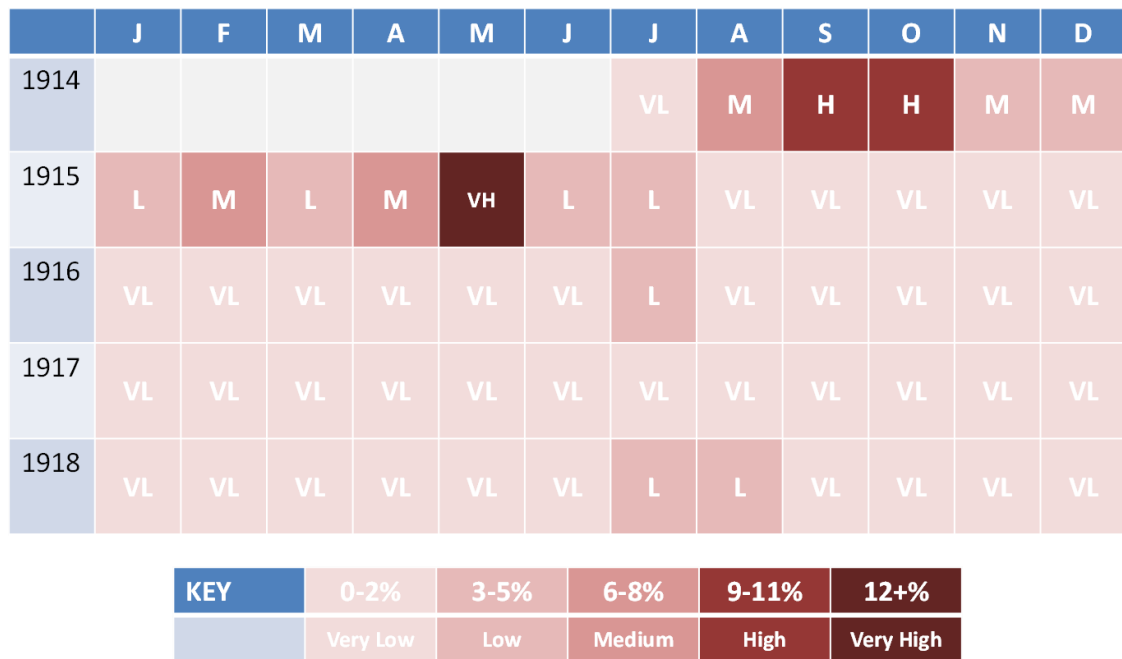
On 19 August 1914, *Punch* magazine published a cartoon that summarises the impact of war on the German community in Britain. 'A Quick Change Of Front' demonstrates how almost overnight the familiar German influences on the high streets of Britain disappeared.

Figure 10. A Quick Change of Front.



The Dachshund dog in the cartoon to its contemporary audience was a symbol of Germany. The symbolism was so strong that in the early stages of the war there are anecdotes of Dachshund owners finding their dogs stoned by passers-by whilst out walking. At the same time the 'German shepherd' breed of dog was renamed 'Alsatian wolf dog' by the British Kennel Club to avoid any controversy and links to Germany. *Punch* magazine was a British humour and satirical weekly institution that was published between 1841 and 2002. Its political and social cartoons and articles capture life in detail on the Home Front during the Great War. For the magazine's humour to be consumed and resonate with its readers, the comic articles and cartoons had to reflect and mirror the issues of the day. Accordingly, *Punch* can be used as a barometer of public opinion and of the issues of the day during the Great War. Taking the weekly issues from 1914 through to the Armistice in 1918 it is possible to document when the issue of alien enemies and internment became the hot topics of the day.

Figure 11. Punch enemy alien and internment content heat map 1914-1918.²



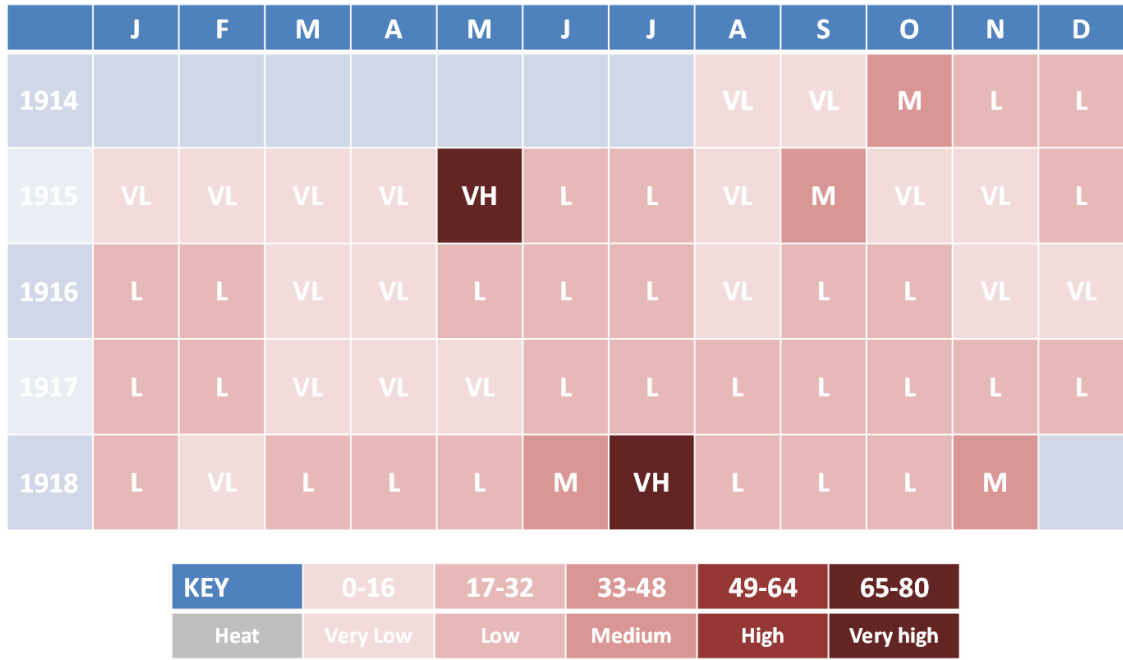
By counting the number of enemy alien and internment articles and cartoons against the total number in each issue, a heat map (above) can be created. The *Punch* enemy alien and internment heat map highlights the months with the most related content during the Great War. These heat spots include the opening few months of the war in the autumn of 1914 and the spring of 1915. There are also two lesser spikes worth considering, in summers of 1916 and 1918.

The same heat map methodology can be used to understand when the topic of enemy aliens and internment was reported and made the headlines in a national newspaper. The *Daily Mirror* had been founded in 1903 by Alfred Hamsworth and sold as a paper for women readers. During the Great War its circulation grew to over a million readers due in part to the high use of war photography on its front pages.

The October 1914 heat spike is contained within a two week time frame from 18 October to the end of the month. In the May 1915 heat spike, the number articles mentioning enemy aliens and internment starts rising from the sinking of the *Lusitania* on 7 May and peaks to a high on 15 May. By the end of the month the number of related articles has plateaued down to one to two a week. In the 1918 July heat spike there is a constant stream of enemy alien and internment articles during the first three weeks of the month. This then tails off after the results of the Finsbury by-election around 16 July.

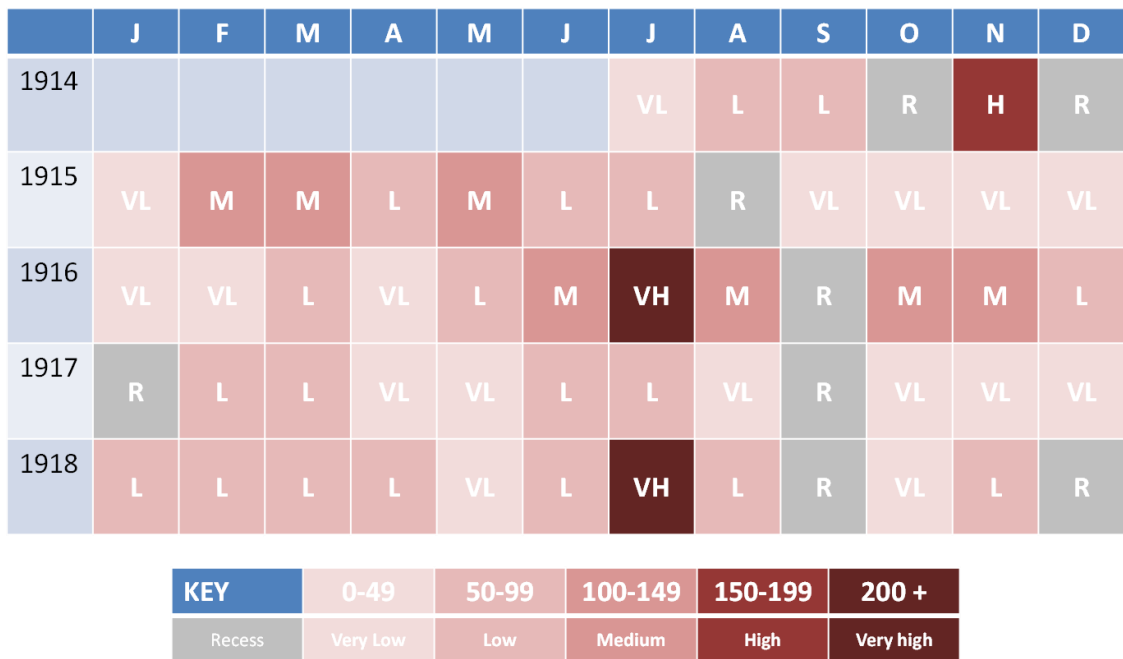
Figure 12. The *Daily Mirror* enemy alien and internment article heat map, 1914-

1918.



Finally, the same methodology can be used to understand when the topic of enemy alien and internment was debated in the Houses of Parliament. Using the records of Hansard Parliamentary Debates, the official report of proceedings of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, it is possible to map the frequency of debates that included enemy alien or internment during the Great War.

Figure 13. Parliamentary enemy alien and internment debate content heat map, 1914-1918.



The Parliamentary heat map has heat spots corresponding with the ones already highlighted in the *Punch* and *The Daily Mirror* maps; for the autumn of 1914, spring of 1915 and the summers of 1916 and 1918. It is therefore possible to conclude there is a correlation between the three, but with the Parliamentary debates slightly lagging

behind *Punch* and *The Daily Mirror* having a longer tail. *Punch* magazine content, *Daily Mirror* articles and the debates in Parliament focused on enemy alien and internment can be seen as reactive indicators to press and public pressure. This chapter will focus upon exploring these heat spots to determine just how much the press and public pressure influenced government policy and direction in relation to the enemy alien and internment question and link it back to the work of MI5. It charts the journey from *Punch*'s 'A Quick Change Of Front' in August 1914 to the *Glasgow Post*'s cartoon in June 1918 'At Last, By George'.

Figure 14. 'At Last, By George!'



In June, 1918, Prime Minister Lloyd George took steps to take personal control of the enemy alien question and promised to overhaul the Government's methods of internment and naturalisation. This continued into Lloyd George's 'Coupon election' campaign of December 1918 which Hugh Purcell described as, 'the euphoria of victory degenerated into the virulence of revenge.'⁷ Lloyd George's campaign fanned the flames for the crowds and the press to call for enemy aliens to be got rid of and for full repatriation of all Germans still in Britain after the Armistice. On the outbreak of war in August 1914, the British press favourably reported the implementation of the Aliens Restriction Act and legislation to control any German spies in Britain. The headline of the *Western Daily Press* proclaimed to its readers: "No Need For Any Panic" as it set out the Government's war time plans on Thursday 6 August. It went on to report on the twenty-one spies arrested over the previous twenty-four hours, and that the Aliens Bill was: 'causing as little inconvenience as possible to alien friends, while at the same time securing effective control over

dangerous alien enemies. Most provincial newspapers reported on how local police authorities were implementing the Alien Restriction Act, the numbers of enemy aliens being registered and details on the items aliens could no longer keep in their possession. The *Manchester Courier* went so far as to describe the restriction act as: 'instructions of a drastic character with regard to the registration of foreigners from Germany and Austria. Any enemy aliens flouting the restrictions found their arrests, court appearances and court fines reported in regional newspapers alongside any spy suspects that had been rounded up and arrested. Typical articles reported enemy alien violations of the Alien Restriction Act, including failure to register at a local police station, travelling further than five miles from the stated residence or being found in possession of banned items such as a camera or a car. However, even with the confident reporting of the Alien Restriction Act introduction, spy scares and rumours were still rife within the pages of Britain's local newspapers. An example of a scare story comes from the town of Cupar, Fife, Scotland where the local paper reported rumours of male German spies walking through the town disguised as nuns. There are some examples in August of newspapers reporting alien activity in a positive light. On Wednesday 12 August the *Aberdeen Daily Journal's* London correspondent told its readers of the story of enthusiastic aliens joining an army corps nicknamed the 'King's Foreign Legion' to fight against Germany.

Though aliens are being registered in case they may prove to be enemies of this country, the resident foreigners as a rule are faithful citizens. They have made a splendid response to the call to form a corps to assist the country of their adoption against Germany... Men of all countries-Italians, French, Danes, and Russians- have joined. The roll now numbers 800, and it is hoped in a day or two to raise it to 1000. By the third week of August 1914, newspapers were reporting that the arrestment of foreign suspects, by the police, had been completed in London and most large towns. It would appear that the spy danger in Britain had been reduced and that the police and government were in control of the situation. This links back to the pre-war work of the Secret Service Bureau to compile suspect arrest lists to be enacted on the outbreak of war and the black lists system.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Courier*, in a letter of Sunday 23 August, turned his attention to the enemy aliens at large within the British Isles. With the spy threat under control, the letter explained that Germans and Austrians still in the country posed little danger.

The great majority of the Germans and Austrians now living in this country are really innocent of hostile intent, and would prefer to live here in peace than go back home to be pressed into military service when circumstances demanded their impressment. Quite a number are men who have ignored the call to the colours, and are, therefore, liable to be shot as deserters should they return to their own country.

The article then went on to discuss enemy alien policy options and question the loyalty of such groups in Britain.

It is always a moot question whether a belligerent has anything to gain by the expulsion of alien enemies under such circumstances, but at the moment the prevailing official view here is that no great danger will rise from allowing the Germans and Austrians residents to remain in this country under strict surveillance. It must be remembered that some, at least, of these strangers within our gates are strongly British in their sympathies, and the police are quite satisfied that in many cases, if these aliens had to choose between returning to their own country to fight and enlisting in our own army, they would choose the latter course.

In the opening weeks of the war, the press were largely behind and in support of the measures enacted against the enemy alien population by the police and government. Amongst the many column inches of spy scares and rumours the press were able to reassure the public that Germans and Austrians still in Britain posed no great danger

to the security of the country. Even with these reassurances, during August there were isolated incidents of hooliganism against German properties in the East End of London. However, this is unsurprising as London's east end had probably the largest enemy alien population in the country.

At the end of August came the first serious anti-German disturbance at a place called Keighley on 29 and 30 August 1914. The rioters in this West Yorkshire town focused their attention on German shopkeepers' properties over the two nights. They raided shop stocks, smashed windows and tried to set a property alight. The Keighley riots do not appear to be a reaction to the recently enacted enemy alien legislation or a 'call to intern them all'. Panayi attributes the start of the riot to a moulders' and engineers' strike that had been simmering in the town for several months. 'We can blame the effects on the first excitement of war, a provocative act by those who came under attack, and, in the case of Keighley, the local economic situation.

Starting in August and spreading into September 1914, pockets of the home front began to call for the boycotting of all things German. *Punch* had already alluded to it in its cartoon 'A Quick Change Of Front', but the mass boycott not only included German manufactured goods and toys, and German music, it also incorporated German aliens working in Britain. Georgia Lee's diary entry for Friday 14 August 1914 noted that Theodore Kroell, general manager at the London Ritz hotel, had been sacked:

The manager of the Ritz Hotel has been forced to resign under dramatic circumstances this morning, amid the lamentations of the visitors. They said they had never had such a pleasant manager to deal with: un si charmant homme, bon comme du pain, as an incredulous French lady explained to Mrs Dana.

Kroell, described by *The New York Time* as: 'one of the most practical hotel men in Europe', had been general manager at the Ritz since 1909. Sacked because of his Germanic origins, Kroell was later interned on the Isle of Man in November 1915. The *Manchester Courier* noted on Tuesday 25 August 1914 that the London trend for hotels sacking any employees that were non-naturalised Germans or Austrians from their workforces had reached the city of Manchester.

Hotel proprietors have, however, been compelled to discharge the Germans and Austrians, regardless of internal inconvenience, as the British public on the whole refuse to patronise places which offer employment to the enemy.

Members of the public had begun to demand to see the passports of hotel staff with unusual accents to check for any German or Austrian employees. As the public boycott hit, the hotel industry found it difficult to recruit skilled English waiters to replace enemy alien staff they had been forced into sacking. The Manager of the Grand Hotel in Manchester told the *Manchester Courier* reporter:

We do not want to keep non-naturalised Germans, and we're dismissing them all as soon as possible. The difficulty is finding people to replace them. The average

Englishman regards the work of the waiter as a last hope, and in consequence there are comparatively very few really good ones. I have already tried several, but they are of no use for the class of work required here. *Punch* magazine's light-hearted take on the alien waiter question noted: 'the pernicious practice which had grown up before the War of ordering German waiters with one's dinner must be abandoned before the hotel managers remove them permanently from their menus'.

The shortage of skilled labour did not stop at German and Austrian waiters. A cartoon by W.K. Haselden in the *Daily Mirror* on the 29 September 1914, studied the effects of having no German barbers in London under the headline '*Now That All The German Barbers Have Gone*'. Haselden suggests that the gilded youth of the nation would end up with long hair and beards, and that the country would end up having to resort to the pudding bowl method of cutting hair. The only way to avoid such a disaster,

according to the Daily Mirror's cartoon, is to join the army and obtain a free haircut from the many English barbers that have joined up. As for those naturalised German barbers that remained in Britain and offering their skills, they would be later accused of benefiting at the expense of British barbers who had taken up military service. A letter to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* at the end of September called for the formation of a non-German league. The reader suggested that the public could pledge themselves to boycott all German manufactured goods through a subscription league and put pressure on any traders and retailers still stocking German-made products. The boycott of all things German within the British Isles continued to increase in scale into October. Its impact on the German and Austrian population still in Britain was to largely make them destitute. With enemy alien males unemployable and their families largely shunned, they had few options for support. It drove some to apply to enter the internment camps as a better alternative to the prospect of the local workhouse. Here the illusion of enemy aliens moved from a security threat to an economic one for the government.

At a conference between the Foreign Office, Home Office, War Office and the Commissioner of Police, on 24 August, 1914 the economic impact of unemployed enemy aliens was discussed. The conference concluded: 'This destitution might eventually lead to acts of violence which in the interests of the country must be obviated by supplying them [enemy aliens] with food and keeping them under control. However, further research into the collection and supervision of destitute enemy aliens and whether to supply them with food or money to purchase some broke down. The sticking point: 'who should be responsible for carrying out these arrangements and for the expense entailed thereby.

Sylvia Pankhurst, a suffragette and opposed to the war, spent her time campaigning for the rights of women and the poor whilst their husbands were either away fighting or interned. It was during one of her tours of the East End of London that she noticed the plight of the Anglo-German families: 'It was a shock to learn that the children of British wives of Germans, whose husbands were interned, were refused school meals because of their fathers' nationality, though themselves legally British subjects, compelled to attend school, and liable to conscription when old enough.

This was compounded in October 1914 by the stream of Belgian refugees coming to Britain. It is estimated up to 260,000 Belgians fled to Britain in the first few months of the war as the German army advanced across much of Belgium. With the refugees came tales and stories of German atrocities carried out on the civilian population of Belgium. These stories raised the tension between the British Home Front and any enemy aliens still at large. Georgina Lee notes in her diary for Thursday 15 October 1914 that there were already 150,000 Belgians in Britain. She goes on to describe a meeting with three Belgian sisters from Antwerp who recounted their experiences of a Zeppelin bombing raid on Antwerp. Antwerp had fallen to the German army on the 9 October having been under siege since the 28 September 1914.

The tension between the Home Front and enemy aliens was raised even further by the fear and rumour that there was a possibility of German spies hiding amongst the Belgian refugee population in Britain. On Tuesday 20 October Georgina Lee records in her diary,

The stream of Belgian refugees is still continuing. German spies are seizing the opportunity to get into the country. Forty spies were captured landing among the Belgians. So the Government have prohibited the housing of any refugees on the East Coast, whence they could transmit signals to the enemy.

The British Government sought to calm any anxiety and spy scare fears that the Home Front might have been experiencing with a statement from the Press Bureau on the 9 October 1914. Reported in most local and national newspapers around the country, the statement drew attention to the work of a "special intelligence department". It

also drew attention to the numbers of enemy aliens being tracked and those already interned. The *Manchester Courier's* by-line on the 9 October declared, '9,000 Enemy Aliens Under Arrest'; the *Liverpool Echo's* announced, 'Lavish Expenditure on Secret Service'; and the *Birmingham Daily Post* revealed 'What The Government Have Done. Effect of Their Measures Since The War'.

It is interesting that the Government, at this point, decided it was necessary to issue a statement from the Press Bureau on the numbers of enemy aliens under arrest and that it chose to draw attention to what was essentially a secret government organisation. The article refers to the Secret Service Bureau as a 'Special Intelligence Department' that had been established by the War Office and Admiralty and was working in close co-operation with the Home Office and the police. The work of the Special Intelligence Department is described in the years before the war as, 'supported by all the means which could be placed at its disposal by the Home Secretary, was able in the three years, from 1911 to 1914, to discover the ramifications of the German Secret Service in England.

The article confirmed that, in the five years running up to the outbreak of war, Germany had been trying to establish an espionage system within the British Isles. However, it is then quick to point out the German spies had achieved little thanks to the knowledge and work of the Secret Service Bureau.

In spite of enormous efforts and lavish expenditure of money by the enemy, little valuable information passed into their hands. The agents, of whose identity knowledge was obtained by the Special Intelligence Department, were watched and shadowed, without in general taking any hostile action or allowing them to know that their movements were watched. When, however, any actual step was taken to convey plans or documents of importance from this country to Germany, the spy was arrested, and in such case evidence sufficient to secure his conviction was usually found in his possession.

The statement then turns its attention to the declaration of war and the arrest of twenty known German spies. It explains why none of the spies arrested on behalf of the special intelligence department had yet been brought to trial. This timing of the official announcement and acknowledging the work of the Secret Service Bureau is explained by the fact that evidence to be produced in cases against arrested spies would be shortly made public in their trials. Any disclosure of these cases before this point would have exposed the work of the intelligence department and could have hampered other ongoing investigations. The Press Bureau then reassures readers that these spies, along with nearly two hundred other suspects that had been under observation before the war, were now all interned.

However, even with the successes, the Press Bureau highlighted the need for vigilance and that the measures carried out by the Home Office and War Office would need to continue:

Although the action taken on August 4th is believed to have broken up the spy organisation which had been established before the war, it is still necessary to take the most rigorous measures to prevent the establishment of any fresh organisation and to deal with individual spies who might previously have been working in this country outside of the organisation, or who might be sent here under the guise of neutrals after the declaration of war.

These measures included cable and postal censorship, and the stringent powers given in the Alien Restrictions Act and Defence of the Realm Act that made espionage a military offence.

The Press Bureau in its statement finally reminded the general public of the etiquette when reporting any cases of suspected espionage. It was an action trying to stem rumour and alarm that individuals had caused by publishing their unsubstantiated stories in the press rather than going to the authorities.

In carrying out their duties military and police authorities would expect that persons having information of cases of suspected espionage would communicate the grounds of the suspicion to local military or local police, who are in direct communication with the Special Intelligence Department, instead of causing unnecessary public alarm, and possibly giving warning to the spies, by public speeches or letters to the Press.

The conclusion of the Press Bureau statement reinforces the Government's policy towards German and Austrian enemy aliens: From the beginning any Germans or Austrians who were deemed by the police to be likely to be dangerous were apprehended, handed over to the military authorities, and detained as prisoners of war, and as soon as the military authorities desired it general action was taken to arrest and hand over to military custody Germans of military age, subject to exceptions, which have properly been made on the grounds of policy.

About nine thousand Germans and Austrians of military age have been so arrested, and are still held as prisoners of war in detention camps, and among them are included those who are regarded by the police as likely, in any possible event, to take part in any outbreak of disorder or incendiarism.

Another point of interest in the statement, is in its origins from the Press Bureau. The Press Bureau had been established jointly by War Office and Admiralty in August 1914 under Frederick Smith, later Lord Birkenhead, as a mouth piece for the British Armed forces. One of the remits of the Press Bureau was to counteract rumours and falsehood through the distribution of official news relating to military and naval matters. It also advised newspapers on the kinds of information connected with war that could be published. This meant not publishing any military or naval facts and information that could be of advantage to the enemy. For any war correspondents within military zones this resulted in their articles being censored by the Press Bureau before they could be published. For the Home Front newspaper correspondents this resulted in them not being able to report military or naval movements, talk about fortifications, defences or ships around the British Isles. They also had to seek approval of the Admiralty or War Office to report on the impact of raids on the United Kingdom, such as Zeppelin raids and the German naval attacks on the East Coast in December 1914. The logic here was that detailed reporting of locations hit by, and the damage caused by, German Zeppelin raids would be of advantage to the enemy. As the Secret Service Bureau was a Military Intelligence department within the War Office, it makes sense that any official communication on its work and recent success should come through the Press Bureau. It also makes sense to try and suppress espionage rumours in the press as it was difficult to know how much of the information could be of use to real German agents operating within Great Britain and their contacts back in Germany.

The statement had some impact as even William Mansfield, then privy councillor and Lord Chamberlain of the Household, noted it in his diary:

An interesting order from Home Office in "Times" (10th) showing how the authorities have investigated and kept touch with spies. That from their point of view nothing has been missed (in London), that the organization has been located and broken up, and that nowhere secrecy is any longer necessary or indeed possible. The threads are in the proper hands and being picked up.

Mr William Le Queux, writing in February 1915, first quotes from the press release, and then calls it a 'somewhat ludicrous communique' and that, 'such an attempt as this to lull us into a false sense of security was little short of criminal.

Even with the Press Bureau's advice to the public, letters continued to appear in newspapers voicing readers' concerns, spreading rumours and articulating ways to deal with enemy aliens. On Saturday 17 October 1914, the *Manchester Courier* published a letter under the byline, 'The Enemy in Our Midst'. The letter to the

editor, from a Mr Price-Heywood of Norfolk Street, Manchester, tried to link enemy aliens with recent events:

I write to urge the necessity of a more rigorous treatment of the alien enemies amongst us. Every few days we read of an attack upon a sentry, and an attempt to destroy a railway bridge, or a similar outrage. Mr Churchill has stated that not a single alien has been convicted of an outrage. He did not say that no alien had attempted an outrage. It is unlikely that the man who tried to wreck an express on the Tay Bridge, or the one who shot two sentries at Plymouth this week, are English. Without being an alarmist, and fully recognising the difficulties attending a German invasion, it is probable that in the event of such an invasion, or even of a smaller raid, Germans would be found ready to help in every town and district in England. Antwerp fell through treachery; the same fate might, not inconceivably, befall our country.

The security fear level within the British Isles had been raised by the German advance across Belgium. With the fall of Antwerp, German advances along the Channel coast towards Calais and the Belgian Government having retreated from Ostend to consolidate in Le Havre, table talk in Britain turned to possible invasion. Invasion talk was not just the subject of letters to newspapers it went right to the top. The Committee of Imperial Defence under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister Asquith, met on the morning of 7 October to discuss the possibilities of German invasion. Again on Tuesday 13 October,

‘Kitchener, Winston Churchill, Lloyd George and other ministers’ met to discuss new developments taking place in Belgium.

Mr Price-Heywood then gave advice to the Government on enemy alien policy going forward:

I propose (1) that no more alien enemies be naturalised during the war; (2) that all alien enemies (male and female) in Great Britain be interned in military camps during the war. The Government should provide for their families and see that they are properly cared for, charging the costs in the war indemnity. Such a proposal may seem harsh, but it is the only safe way. The present system of registration is quite inadequate. There is ample time for mischief between the prescribed times of notification. Only suspicious cases are shadowed by the police. Successful spies are more likely to be found amongst those who arouse no suspicion.

Later on the same day that this letter was published in Manchester, Saturday 17 October, the capital witnessed its first anti-German riots. These riots broke out during the evening in and around Deptford. Rioting continued over the weekend and into Monday, with most of the disturbances happening in the late evening around shops and businesses belonging to enemy aliens. The disturbances also spread out from Deptford across South London with smaller violent events taking place in, Brixton, Catford, Lee Green, Camberwell and on the Old Kent Road. In each case, the shops and a public house belonging to Germans were targeted. It was reported that the disturbance in Deptford attracted a crowd of 5,000 and that the police on the scene had to call for military backup to help regain control of the situation. At around midnight, 350 men of the Army Service Corps, armed with rifles, were used to surround the attacked properties to keep the crowds back.

On Monday 19 October, newspapers reported the detail of the riots in Deptford. The *Birmingham Daily Mail*'s byline highlighted, ‘Angry Mob Wrecks a Dozen Shops; Amazing Scenes in South London’, the *Derby Daily Telegraph* labelled the events, ‘A Reign of Terror’, and the *Daily Mirror* noted the un-lady like scene, ‘Stone-Throwing Women’. In Hull, the *Daily Mail* asked, ‘Who can wonder at this while British trade is being stopped in Germany and every Britisher imprisoned, whilst the country is being

flooded with the victims of German atrocities in Belgium? If Mr McKenna will not intern "all enemies" for our own protection he will have to intern for their own.

Both Panayi and White attribute the cause of the riot to the arrival of 800 Belgian refugees in the east end of London who were to be housed in Deptford on the afternoon of 17 October. Other coincidental attributing factors, would have been that 17 October was a Saturday, so rioters did not have to be up early the next day for work, and that Defence of the Realm Act orders restricting night lighting (essentially a black out for London) made it easier for participants to hide in the shadows. A final attributing factor could have been the announcement of the sinking of the British Cruiser, HMS *Hawke*, in newspapers on 17 October. HMS *Hawke* had been sunk by a German submarine torpedo in the North Sea on 15 October and as, the *Daily Mirror* reminded its readers, 'we have lost our seventh cruiser since the beginning of the war. The press noted that over 350 officers and men were still reported as missing. Conclusions reached by the *Daily Mirror* after the sinking of HMS *Hawke* reflected a stronger tone and sentiment than that found in the Press Bureau statement from 9 October to members of the general public who spread rumour and fear.

During the last week there has been renewed activity on the part of the All is Lost League. Hence the crop of alarmist stories of Zeppelin raids, of how easy it is to invade these shores, and of the utter impossibility of any Briton ever doing anything. These alarmists are a greater source of danger than spies, and every member of the All is Lost League deserves to get the Iron Cross.

However, the *Daily Mirror's* prose did nothing to stop the alarmists in and around Deptford on that Saturday night in October 1914.

Coinciding with the Deptford riots and the letter by Mr Price-Heywood in the *Manchester Courier* on 17 October was a meeting of the Sub-Committee dealing with the treatment of aliens in war time. It was at this meeting that the Sub-Committee recommended the wholesale internment of German and Austrian males of military age and the deportation of any others. The riots, the published letter and governmental gathering happening on the same day are a mere coincidence. For a start the Sub-Committee meeting would have taken place during the day, whereas the riots started in the evening, around 10 o'clock. Then the preparation to stage the Sub-Committee and civil servants preparing papers and recommendation for the meeting would have been in place days before. As already highlighted in chapter four, the Cabinet approved the Sub-Committee's recommendations three days later, on 20 October, and the orders to arrest all male enemy aliens of military age were issued to police forces around the country.

Jerry White concludes:

That spark igniting Deptford and other parts of South London in October 1914 led within days to a fresh wave of internments of enemy aliens, more a public order measure than to protect national security; 'The action of the Home Office should tend to allay public anxiety', as one local newspaper put it.

However, this assumption fails to see that the Government had already been discussing the recommencement of the wholesale internment of enemy aliens since the fall of Antwerp. With the possibility of German raids from across the Channel to the British Isles as its army headed towards Calais, the internment policy activity was directly linked to protecting national security.

A cartoon published in the *Daily Mirror* on Tuesday 20 October 1914 warned its readers to be on the lookout for British subjects with obvious German characteristics. These stereotypes include waiters, musicians, barbers and tailors that should not be trusted by the public.

Figure 15. 'People Not To Be Too Freely Believed.'



The cartoonist thinks that one is justified in being a little suspicious should one meet any good "British subjects" like these he illustrates here. There are lots of them about still.-(By Mr. W. K. Haselden.)

By 21 October most of the 'people not to be too freely believed' were being rounded up by the police. In Coventry, *The Midland Daily Telegraph* reported that the police had arrested all the enemy aliens of military age in the city and that they were to be interned at the Newbury Camp. It noted that: 'the same drastic measures are, it is reported, being taken throughout the country to-day. A day later, the *Manchester Courier* announced that the Government had listened to newspaper pressure and were at last taking account of public opinion.

The Government have at last grasped the nettle. They have decided to round up all Germans of military age now at large in this country, and to place them under proper control, and this process has already begun. This is a step which public opinion, and the "Manchester Courier," with other newspapers, have been steadily demanding for weeks past. The alien enemy in our midst will now, it is to be hoped, cease to be a constant anxiety to the authorities, and a menace to the safety of the Empire and to the success of British arms.

It is interesting to note that some newspapers at this point in time drew a distinct line between enemy aliens and naturalised Germans or Austrians.

Naturalised Germans will remain unaffected. They are British citizens covered by the broader mantle of British law. They cannot be touched by administrative order. Nor is it the British way to violate contracts and treat them as meaningless scraps of paper.

It was not the British way to violate contracts when it came to naturalised German or Austrian citizens. However, the golden thread of criminal law, 'the presumption of innocence until proven guilty' for the rest of the Germanic community was happily waived at the first opportunity by the newspapers. The topic appeared to be a hot one in October and November 1914, so much so that it had Arthur Conan Doyle defending his views on naturalised Germans in the *Daily Mail*. In a letter published on the 28th October 1914 Conan Doyle responded to earlier remarks in the paper and clarified his position on German aliens:

I have said nothing about German aliens. In fact, I reluctantly acquiesce in their internment, for though I believe them to be in the main inoffensive people, it is just that they should suffer for the methods of their country as exemplified by Stiefer, Graves, and others.

The case I mentioned were of those of Germans long naturalised with British wives. If these are to be treated exactly as the aliens are, then a British naturalisation paper has become as faithless a document as a German treaty.

A London newspaper quoted the other day with apparent approval the case of a citizen whose windows were broken because he harboured two distressed Germans. The same paper referred to the people who had subscribed to a fund for helping destitute German governesses, music masters, and others as "comforting the King's enemies." This is not patriotism. It is pure caddishness, and hurtful to our national reputation.

Conan Doyle's voice was not a lone voice. Within the correspondence sections of local newspapers around the country more letters appeared at the injustice of the mass internment of innocent German and Austrian enemy aliens. On 30 October 1914, the *Birmingham Daily Post* published a letter from a Mr Harbourne,

The sentiment expressed by Mr Sturge in his letter today must surely voice the opinion of very many people who believe that "justice" and "Fair play" are English tributes. There can be only one way to my mind to treat traitors to their country, and that is by shooting them. If instead of interning hundreds of good and loyal citizens, and causing untold misery to wives and children, whose only crime is to bear an alien name, examples were made of those who are found to be treacherous enemies, there would be little need for the present drastic and un-english proceedings. There must surely be other means of detecting our enemy than by what is practically a wholesale sacrifice of women and little children, who will be thrown on the mercy of the world. Mr George Bainton from Coventry was motivated enough to write to the editor of his local newspaper, the *Midland Daily Telegraph*. Bainton wrote on behalf of his son, at that point a British alien internee in Germany, who had asked his father to publicize the plight of British citizens detained in Germany. Up until this point British citizens in Germany had been dealt with 'every consideration and courtesy' by the police, but were being 'now threatened with severity of treatment, as the Germanic response to unworthy persecution of their people here.

Our present method of stopping the plague of espionage can result in little good. It leaves crowds of men and women at large, and free to do their worst if that be their design, and thrusts into these hateful compounds innocent people, the bulk of whom have never had a thought of wrong to the country of their adoption.

Justice demands that only those who have given rise to suspicion by suspicious actions should be interned and kept from further harm. In British law persons hitherto have

been accounted innocent until they have been proved guilty; and this wholesale plunging of men into confinement, apart from all questions of innocence, is a wrong terribly provocative of reprisals.

The British wife of a German jute clerk wrote to the editor of the *Dundee Courier* to defend her husband against claims and rumour published about him in the newspaper. Referring to your article in today's "Courier," entitled "alien danger in Dundee," I beg to point out to grave misstatements of facts that you made when referring to Mr Hermann Boettcher as an alien enemy - "trained in arms," and holding a position as an "officer in the German Landsturm."

Both these statements are actually false. Mr Boettcher is a man who has never handled a firearm in his life, has never at any time served in the German or any other army, and had he gone to Germany to join the ranks he would have been no better than the rawest recruit in the British Army today.

Mr Boettecher had been arrested on Wednesday 21 October 1914 and this had been reported by the paper. *The Courier* reported, 'Action taken yesterday by the authorities in Dundee indicates that they are not out of sympathy with the steadily growing opinion in the public mind that everything possible should be done to guard against the alien danger in our midst. As well as the allegations his wife refuted the paper questioned why a 'highly intelligent' German of 'keen business perception' had been allowed to remain within a fortified area even though he been granted an exemption from internment by a Home Office Order. Mrs Boettecher's letter to *The Courier* then goes on to talk about the difficulties internment brings to her and her husband.

As regards Mr Boettcher's removal to Redford Camp, neither he nor I, his wife, have any complaints to make. It is certainly hard to be separated, but we have been ready, ever since war broke out, to accept the facts and to bear as bravely as we can all the conditions and restrictions which the law might lay upon us, knowing well that such precautions are necessary and right in these critical times, but, my husband being away and unable to defend himself, I cannot read with calmness such statements regarding him without repudiating them, when I know them to be utterly untrue. I hope the British love of fair play will appeal to you in this matter, and that, as you have made a public announcement of the supposed facts, you will now see your way to make a public denial of the same.

The letter had been published under a headline 'Keeping an eye on the Germans' and was preceded by further reports of the wholesale arrest of aliens in the local area and throughout the country. However, rather than issue a denial, *The Courier* concluded the column with a plea, 'Readers are invited to report to us any suspicious circumstances which occur in their district, and which in their opinion ought to be investigated by the authorities.

By 24 October 1914, the *Manchester Courier* reported to readership, 'Halt In The Alien Enemy Round-Up. The article went on to link the halt in arrests to a limit in accommodation in which to house all male enemy aliens. Talking to a Whitehall official on the subject of the wholesale roundup, the source told the *Courier*: 'As a matter of fact, the order has been in force for many weeks, and not a day has passed without arrests being made of registered Germans and Austrians liable for military duty. On some days the number has been small; but others such as this week it has been large.

Asked why this week had witnessed such an outburst of police activity, he explained that it is because the authorities were now in a better position to enforce the order actively. Had arrests been carried out on a large scale hitherto there would have been no place in which to accommodate all the prisoners. The War Office had now provided more detention camps. "Even now," he added, "We have been asked to go slowly in London because there will be pressure on the accommodation from all parts of the

country. At the present moment lack of accommodation is still a hindrance. Many of these whom we have been obliged to arrest have married English women and their entire interests are bound up in this country. They have been here for years, and they are not likely to try to injure us; but for the safety of the nation it is impossible to discriminate."

It is computed that there are 39,000 alien enemies of both sexes in the metropolitan area. As the majority have practically nothing beyond their weekly earnings - even professional men are scarcely better off - a lot of distress among the families whose breadwinners have been removed must be expected. In each case the police are making inquiries as to the family's means of sustenance, and it will be reported to the proper organisations for extending relief.

The issue of enemy aliens and internment remained top-of-mind at the end of October and into November even with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. After discussions with the War Office on the formation of a Welsh-speaking army Division, Lloyd George let off steam in a letter, dated 28 October 1914, to Winston Churchill on the narrow mindedness of Lord Kitchener.

I am in despair over the stupidity of the War Office. You might imagine we were alien enemies who ought to be interned at Frimley until we had mastered the intricacies of the English language sufficiently to be able to converse on equal terms with an East End recruit.

On the same day Churchill received this correspondence from Lloyd George there was a, not unexpected, letter from Prince Louis of Battenberg. Prince Louis, a German Prince with family connections to the British royal family (he married a grand-daughter of Queen Victoria), had become a naturalised British subject in 1868 having lived in Britain since the age of fourteen. With a distinguished career in the British Navy, Battenberg was appointed First Sea Lord in 1912. The letter from Prince Louis read: I have lately been driven to the painful conclusion that at this juncture my birth and parentage have the effect of impairing in some respects my usefulness on the board of Admiralty. In the circumstances I feel it is to be my duty, as a loyal subject of His Majesty, to resign the office of First Sea Lord, hoping thereby to facilitate the task of Administration of the great service, to which I have devoted my life, and to ease the burden laid upon HM Ministers.

Correspondence between Battenberg and Churchill continued throughout Wednesday before Winston formally acknowledged Prince Louis' resignation on the Thursday. Both Battenberg's resignation letter and Churchill's official response were published in the press on Friday 30th October 1914. Churchill's responded:

This is no ordinary war, but a struggle between nations for life or death. It raises passions between races of the most terrible kind. It effaces the old landmarks and frontiers of our civilization. I cannot further oppose the wish, you have during the last few weeks expressed to me, to be released from the burden of responsibility which you have borne thus far with so much honour and success.

I must express publicly my deep indebtedness to you, and the pain I feel at the severance of our three years' official association. In all the circumstances you are right in your decision. The spirit in which you have acted is the same in which Prince Maurice of Battenberg has given his life to our cause and in which your gallant son is now serving in the Fleet.

Prince Louis of Battenberg, as a result of the public's enemy alien outcry, was one of the first high profile resignations. Asquith, in his letters to Venetia Stanley, first writes on 24 October that the King was agitated about Prince Louis' position at the Admiralty. Asquith inferred that the King and Queen had been receiving letters from the public abusing them for keeping their German cousin at the Admiralty. By 28 October, in another letter to Venetia, Asquith's opinion was that Battenberg must go.

However at the news of Battenberg's resignation not all newspapers celebrated his removal. The *Birmingham Daily Mail* reflected:

It is not battering to our national pride to have to confess that Prince Louis of Battenberg has been made a victim of the degraded storm of so-called patriotism which has brought pain and serious hardship to so many innocent persons since the war began. The "patriotism" which takes the form of denunciation of all aliens or supposed aliens, and the spreading of totally unfounded rumours, associating persons who have hitherto acted as law-abiding and respectable citizens with all manners of treason-able acts, is a menace rather than a service to the country. It is resulting in the adoption in certain quarters of measures against aliens which are calculated to lead to reprisals against our own countrymen in Germany, the alienation of close sympathies on the part of many who have made England their home and adopted the habits and sentiments of British subjects, are the loss of services which have been invaluable.

It would appear on the one hand it was fine for newspapers to publish stories of rumour and scaremongering against innocent enemy aliens at large within Britain; however to then take the moral high ground and chastise the public, who they had whipped up, when public opinion followed the newspapers example and demanded the wholesale internment of enemy aliens. Prince Louis' resignation was down to his Hessian birth and the ridiculous rumours that newspapers were willing to print. This was not based on any official intelligence at all, that Prince Louis was an actual security threat.

At the State opening of Parliament on Wednesday 11 November 1914, after the King's speech, Asquith was asked to clarify the Government's position on enemy aliens.

Bonar Law stood up in the House of Commons:

We wish to know that they are not being influenced—doing comparatively little one day and more the next—by clamouring newspapers. We want to feel sure that they have really carefully thought out this subject, and that they should tell the House the principle upon which they are acting, and, more than that, having decided upon the principle, that they are satisfied that it is being effectively carried out.

In response, Asquith explained firstly the reaction to the treatment of enemy aliens in the wider context of policy since the outbreak of war.

As soon as possible after the outbreak of war, the Government seized and placed beyond the reach of mischief all those persons who were suspected of being emissaries and spies of the enemies of the country. That operation was successfully accomplished before the war was a fortnight old. Of course, the ramifications of espionage are infinite, and it was a great mistake to suppose that if we put under lock and key every German in this country that would necessarily have got rid of the danger. At the best, it would be but a partial measure.

Asquith then went onto explain that the recent wholesale arrests of male enemy aliens of military age was not a process to permanently imprison them for the duration of the war. It was a sifting exercise, in which aliens that did not pose a direct threat to national security, and could be vouched for, would be given exemption from internment. Any enemy aliens with exemption from internment would still be subject the Alien Restriction Act.

The second principle on which they proceeded was that, as a precautionary measure, it was desirable to intern alien residents on our shores for the purpose of passing them through a process of sifting and winnowing, in order that they might determine which of them might be safely let loose. That was the process which was now being carried out. It was a very difficult and delicate one, in which mistakes must necessarily from time to time be made. It had certainly not been carried out, so far as the Government was concerned, with any harshness or cruelty. The great consideration, he quite agreed, was the safety of the country, (cheers) that was the first dominant and

governing consideration, and by which they would continue to be actuated. This is an interesting line for Asquith as just two days before his speech in Parliament in a Cabinet meeting he presided over a squabble on the issue of enemy alien internment. Squaring up at the Cabinet meeting on 9 November 1914, were Horatio Kitchener for the War Office and Reginald McKenna for the Home Office. Charles Hobhouse noted that Kitchener at the meeting blamed McKenna for the non-arrest of all male enemy aliens, but at the same time he had not wanted aliens taking up valuable prison space that War Office resources would have to guard. 'The fact is the McK. went on arresting aliens till the Adjutant-General asked him to stop saying he had no place to concentrate them in, or any means of guarding them. For the whole-sale internment and exemption process which the Secret Service Bureau had recommended to work the rate of aliens had to remain steady. This was so each enemy alien arrested could be investigated, and processed, and those with personal guarantors given exemption from internment and released. Those then being released freed up places in the limited number of internment camps around the country. The sheer numbers being arrested after the governmental decision in October 1914 to arrest all male enemy aliens at large simply overloaded the system and left War Office resources unable to cope. However to the outside world it looked like the Home Office were at fault and hence the difference of opinion in Cabinet. Asquith's speech to Parliament is also of interest as he referred to recent action against enemy aliens as a precautionary measure sustaining the idea of: 'the precautionary principle'. In the longer term this line of policy development that the Secret Service Bureau advocated reinforced the public's vivid imagination that the enemy aliens were a real threat, rather than being the precautionary measure it was. It can then become a vicious circle and the persons or newspapers with the most vivid imagination become the most powerful. Political debate can become distorted and emotional as decisions are made on a 'what if' basis without real evidence. This seems to be what gripped Britain during the first heat spike surrounding the issue of enemy aliens.

Even when civilians turned to the cinema or theatre for pure escapism the issue of enemy aliens could be found weaved into film and stage production plots. On a visit to 'The Tower Picture Palace', Hull, or 'The Palace', Sunderland in October 1914 or the 'Goldsmith Street Picture Palace', Nottingham in November 1914 a patron could watch a film called, 'Chained to the Enemy'. The film, directed by F. Martin Thornton, is the story of an Anglo-German marriage and the war. Blanche Forsythe stars as Evelyn Von Alton, the British wife of a German Officer who is brutality treated by her husband and who tries to get back to England upon the declaration of war. The climax of the film finds Evelyn, then a nurse at a hospital base on the battlefield around Mons, forced to tend the wounds of both her German husband and her war correspondent lover who fights for his life. The advertisement for the film in The Hull Daily Mail trails it as 'acknowledged to be one of the finest films ever produced' and Nottingham Evening Post recommends it for vividly screened 'battle scenes and movements of troops. For the home front audience it was a reminder that British subjects were trapped in Germany as enemy aliens and that they were at the mercy of their captors.

Opening on the 10 December 1914 at the Royalty Theatre, London, '*The man who stayed at home*', used German stereotypes to inform its audience of the danger of enemy aliens at large within Britain. The play in three acts by Lechmere Worrall and Harold Terry, ran up 584 performances before it transferred to the Apollo Theatre, London, on 20 March 1916. In July 1915 the play was made into a short film by the Hepworth production company. The action takes place in the 'Wave Crest' boarding house on the East Coast during one particular day in September 1914. Christopher Brent is an undercover detective investigating the activities of enemy aliens staying at

the boarding house. These enemy aliens include: Fraulein Schroeder, a non-naturalised sketching German governess, who had lived in Britain over twenty years; Fritz, an unemployed waiter, of Teutonic appearance who speaks with a distinct German accent, keeps homing pigeons and claims to be a naturalised Dutch citizen; and Carl Sanderson, a servant of the Admiralty, and his mother Mrs Sanderson, both Germans who are able to hide their foreign origins and sympathies to their mother country.

Whilst Brent foils this Teutonic group's plans to communicate with a German submarine off the East Coast, by shooting down their homing pigeon carrying maps of English harbour defences and disabling a Marconi wireless hidden up the chimney, the rest of the naïve English characters focus their attentions on Christopher Brent's credentials. Brent is written off as a coward and a shirker in act one and presented with a white feather by Daphne Kidlington for not enlisting. Daphne tells Christopher, 'I've only done what I feel to be my duty. However, while the likes of Daphne and John Preston, the local Justice of the Peace, concentrate their attention questioning Brent's loyalty, they fail to see the suspicious activity being carried out by enemy aliens right under their noses. In the play's finale Brent exposes Schroeder, Fritz and the Sandersons as paid spies of the German Government as Carl tries to set fire to the hotel with a bomb. The spies are arrested and an awaiting German submarine in the harbour sunk thanks to Brent's actions. The J.P.'s daughter Molly concludes: 'And that's the man we all sneered at because he stayed at home'.

The second intense period of enemy alien activity within Britain took place in the spring of 1915. However, between December 1914 and March 1915 questions were frequently raised in Parliament as to the numbers and locations of enemy aliens still at large within the British Isles, so the issue was never fully out of public consciousness. During a January 1915 debate in the House of Lords on enemy aliens in prohibited areas it was disclosed that 15,000 male Germans, Austrians and Hungarians had been interned out of a total population of 27,000.

In February 1915, a small delegation of members of Parliament was formed to visit and observe the internment camps. The group included Sir Henry Dalziel (M.P. for Kirkcaldy), Donald Macmaster (M.P. for Chertsey), George Roberts (M.P. for Norwich), Gerhom Stewart (M.P. for the Wirral), William Wilson (M.P. for Westhoughton) and Edward Strauss (M.P. for West Southwark). They were given permission for their visits by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War. Apart from Edward Strauss, who although born in London had German-Jewish roots and his constituency would have contained a high population of enemy aliens, the rest of the group did not represent areas with concentrations of enemy aliens. On a visit to the Donington Hall camp, Derbyshire, in March 1915 by the group of M.P.s, Gerhom Stewart reports that the German officers are: 'to be living under luxurious conditions'.

The topic of enemy aliens continued to fill newspaper columns. The *Birmingham Post* called into question the Government's administering of the alien registration act and lack of a co-ordinated treatment of suspect enemy aliens at large:

Beyond doubt, a bad impression has been made by the apparent hesitancy, vacillation, and weak uncertainty of recent policy in regard to alien enemies. The conflicting Orders which have been issued from time to time, like the varying degrees of energy exhibited in carrying them into effect, may perhaps be explained; but a great deal more explanation will be required than has yet been vouchsafed. For Mr McKenna's strongest play hardly amounts to more than a statement that the various departments concerned are more or less at odds with one another; and if that be the case it is an extremely unsatisfactory state of things. As far as it can be seen, our protection against the malevolent activities of alien enemies, naturalised or

unnaturalised, on the east coast and elsewhere, are sadly imperfect. The naval and military authorities lack the machinery for dealing with them; the local police lack both the knowledge and the incentive to vigorous action which the Government might be expected to give them at a time like this; and McKenna, by his own account of the matter, lacks the power to stimulate them.

The *Manchester Courier* asked: 'why the Government are so lenient in regards to these people passes human comprehension, and though several members have expressed themselves pretty freely on the subject, no alteration in the administration of the act has yet been promised. That Germans are permitted to walk about freely in our midst is a painful fact.

Mr William Le Queux also took up the issue in his publication, '*German spies in England*' published in February 1915. In his introduction Le Queux acknowledges the existence of the Secret Service Bureau, labelling it, 'the Confidential Department established in Whitehall' and assures his readers that his energy devoted to tracking spies is documented in many reports he has sent to the Intelligence Department. However, his praise stops at the British Secret Service Department, and he then turns his attention to McKenna and the Home Office for hiding the true state of German espionage and their preparation to raid Britain's shores from the British public. He believes the public have been lulled into a false sense of security and that blame lies with McKenna.

The spies of Germany are to be found everywhere, yet the Home Office and the police have shown themselves quite incapable of dealing effectively with them. The War Office, under the excellent administration of Lord Kitchener, has surely been busy enough with military matters, and has had no time to deal with the enemy in our midst. Neither has the Admiralty. Therefore the blame must rest upon the Home Office who, instead of dealing with the question with a firm and drastic hand, actually issued a communique declaring that the spy peril no longer existed!

Le Queux concludes by commenting on the 27,000 aliens at large in Britain and gives his views on how to end the spy peril. His solution is to focus on the naturalised German population in Britain, and treat any who gained their naturalisation certificate in the seven years before 1915 as other aliens, and intern them.

The "naturalised" are still "German at heart". Naturalisation is usually adopted either for spying or for business purposes, and to suppose that the mere fact makes a German into anything else is to argue a pitiful ignorance of human nature, and particularly of the German nature.

All those who have not been naturalised, Le Queux states, should be deported.

Finally, Le Queux appeals to his readers to use their powers to form a vigorous public opinion to root out the spy in our midst and drive the Government to action on enemy aliens:

The lack of organisation for dealing with these aliens is the most deplorable feature of the administration. There are three separate authorities. The navy, military and police all act according to their own interpretations of the Defence of the Realm Act, and when one or other takes drastic steps for the removal of alien enemies, somebody who stands in the background reverses the process. A truly amazing state of affairs. Criticism and distrust of McKenna and the Home Office over the enemy alien issue continued into the spring of 1915. This criticism was part of something wider and possibly as a reaction to the realisation that the war had not ended by Christmas 1914. The Government and public opinion had to shift their assumptions from the outbreak of war and think about winning the war over the longer term. This meant turning and focusing the economy and the Home Front population on munitions production, moving the country from a pre-war to a true war economy. This period of change, to a war economy, would lead to the establishment of the Ministry of

Munitions, the move to a coalition government and a change in emphasis for enemy alien and internment policy. Lloyd George summed this period up in March 1915 during a debate in the House of Commons, 'Instead of business as usual, we want victory as usual'.

As the country shifted from business as usual to total war, Lord Northcliffe, owner of the *Daily Mail*, instigated a campaign for change and the replacement of Kitchener at the War Office. Beckett notes:

Northcliffe had wanted to force Kitchener from office, but the ramping up of press agitation in the 'shell scandal' followed rather than precipitated a major change in the government direction of the war. That change itself made Britain the first of those states at war to attempt any systematic reorganisation of industry geared to winning the war.

With this in mind, it is interesting to think about whether the press focus on the enemy alien issues was also a by-product of Northcliffe's campaign to see governmental change.

Throughout March, Baroness Editha Glanusk wrote letters to the editors of regional newspapers to appeal to the countrywomen of Great Britain. She asked them to sign a petition she was sending to the House of Commons. The petition was to draw the attention of the Government to the great numbers of enemy aliens who were at large in the country and the danger of espionage. In April, after finishing her petition, Editha Glanusk was again writing letters to regional newspapers. Under the principles of 'Britain for the British' she asked that all women should join an, all British, movement called the 'Anti-German League'. She asked that supporters: 'refuse to employ or sanction the employment of any German or alien enemy' and that the first act of the league would be to fund a club house for British waiters.

The spark that truly lit the enemy alien issue bonfire on the home front in May 1915 was the sinking of the British passenger liner, *Lusitania* on Friday 7 May. The *Lusitania* was hit by a German U-boat torpedo off Kinsale Point, Ireland. The liner had been on her way back from New York to Liverpool. The ship sunk with the loss of 1,198 passengers and crew. Georgina Lee notes in her diary the reaction to the *Lusitania*'s sinking,

The effect of the sinking of the ship has been to arouse a fierce anti-German feeling throughout the country against all the naturalised English Germans and Austrians. They were turned out bodily from the Stock Exchange yesterday by fellow members. Strong measures, such as wholesale internment, are clamoured for by the whole country. There are 20,000 people of German origin at large in London alone, and they constitute a real danger.

The *Manchester Courier* summed up the country's mood in the wake of the *Lusitania*'s sinking:

There is an uneasy feeling in the country about enemy aliens at large, and about their sympathisers who are naturalised. Hundreds of Germans by birth have anglicised their names, there are some half-German English, and many German Jews, all of whom are quietly pro-German and able to work harm to this country. There is a general feeling that in many ways information is getting through to Germany that she should not have, and there are certain movements and propaganda being engineered quietly here by a powerful and numerous body of German sympathisers who are lying low, but doing injury to the country that fattens them.

The mood was first expressed as rhetoric as individuals called for reprisals against Germans. Lord Charles Beresford, speaking 24 hours later at a recruiting rally on Southsea Common, suggested using rich German aliens as hostages for the proper

treatment of our men. Mr Groves, of Nottingham, went further to suggest the use of enemy aliens as human shields aboard British ships.

Why should not a number of them be carried as hostages, isolated and under guard on every British passenger and merchant vessel which sails. This, I think, would prove an adequate protection, as even pirates would have some consideration for their own kith and kin. Furthermore, the life would certainly prove more healthy than the doleful existence which we provided them with at present in the stately homes of England and at the concentration camps.

The anti-German feeling first turned into action in Liverpool, where local residents attacked pork butchers and other properties believed to belong to German immigrants on 8 and 9 May. The wrecking and looting of shops and businesses continued throughout the weekend. As the *Lusitania's* port of registry and the place where the *Lusitania* had been due to dock, Liverpool had a connection and so its population erupted first. It was also unfortunate that the news broke on a Friday, which gave local mobs much of the weekend to riot before being back at work. The unrest reached such a magnitude that the licensed premises across the city were forced to close at six o'clock in the evening, the local fire brigade dealt with ten fires at wrecked properties and the Chief Constable of Liverpool put in an official request for military aid to help take back control of the city from the anti-German mobs.

The anti-German backlash then spread up the ship canal to Manchester and Salford on 10 May. Any premises with a vaguely German or Austrian connection in Openshaw, Gorton, Oldham, Ashton, Rusholme and the Oxford Road areas of Manchester found their windows smashed and their properties looted. One set of premises in Manchester had painted over the wooden shutters in big white letters, 'We are Russians' in a vain attempt to save the building from the anti-German crowds.

In London, the backlash started in a civilised manner from within the City on 9 May. Members of Lloyd's of London and the Stock Exchange marched in demonstration at the sinking of the *Lusitania* through the City to Parliament. They also gave notice to 130 German members of the London Stock Exchange. The anti-German feeling then boiled over in the East End of London and turned into rioting. Mobs in Smithfield, Aldgate, Bethnal Green, Poplar, Bow and Stepney targeted German properties for wrecking and looting. German bakers in London appeared to be a particular target, with 137 being looted and taken out of action by 14 May. Sylvia Pankhurst believed that the latest round of anti-German riots in the East End of London were more than just a fierce clamour for reprisals, and more opportunistic:

The meanest elements among the jingoes worked up the first of the anti-German riots. These were deliberately organised, in no sense of spontaneous popular outburst; but the prospects of looting without fear of punishment made its appeal to certain sections of the poor and ignorant. Many a home was wrecked; many a peaceable working family lost its all. Stones were flung, children injured.

The rioting then spread out from the East End of London, up through 'Little Germany' in Fitzrovia, near to Tottenham Court Road and out to Camden, Kentish Town, St John's Wood and Notting Hill Gate districts. Georgina Lee recorded the mood: There have been riots in various parts of London today against the Germans. At St John's Wood, a housemaid came in very excited and saying she couldn't get through the crowd near the house. A German was being molested, and his house attacked. He had six carrier pigeons there. The police had to protect him. Many such scenes occur everywhere and thank goodness the people are fighting this danger themselves, instead of waiting for the Government to take slow measures.

In Manchester, riots continued as the anti-German feeling spread across the Pennines to the cities of Bradford, Leeds, Hull, Sheffield and Newcastle. The situation was so

serious across the country that the topic of enemy aliens and internment was discussed in the Cabinet meeting on Monday 10 May. Charles Hobhouse noted in his diary:

We had some talk about aliens, some being for interning all, but W.R. and W.S.C. were for observing the scrap of paper which naturalised aliens have acquired. K. remarked that no injurious actions have been traced to any alien at large, while P.M. declared that nothing would induce him to repudiate any grant of the full privileges of citizenship to all naturalised persons.

Interestingly, Lord Kitchener, as War Secretary (who had under his wing at the War Office the Secret Service Bureau) had been right to point out during discussions the fact that no acts of sedition had been tracked back to enemy aliens at large in Britain. In the House of Common, three days later, on Thursday 13 May 1915, the Prime Minister defined the Government's enemy alien policy:

In accordance with the undertaking I gave the House yesterday I ask the Indulgence of the House, in order to fulfil that undertaking, to state the plan which the Government propose to adopt with regard to the treatment of alien enemies in this country. Persons of hostile origins residing in this country will be divided into two classes - those who have been naturalised and have therefore become British subjects, and those who have not. Dealing first with the non-naturalised aliens, there are at this moment 19,000 interned and there are some 40,000 (24,000 men and 16,000 women) at large. We propose that in existing circumstances, prima facie, all adult males of this class should, for their own safety, and that of the community, be segregated and interned, or, if over military age, repatriated. This will not require fresh legislation. We recognise that there will be cases which call for exceptional treatment. The women and children in suitable cases will be repatriated, but there will, no doubt, be many instances in which justice and humanity will require that they should be allowed to remain.

It is proposed to set up an advisory body of a judicial character, somewhat similar to that presided over by the Hon. and learned Member for Exeter (Mr. Duke), by which applications for exemption from the general rule of interment can be considered. The Home Secretary will be responsible for ascertaining who are the persons to whom the policy now announced applies. As soon as the naval and military authorities have provided the necessary accommodation, those who do not secure exemption from the advisory body will be interned.

In the case of the naturalised aliens, who are in law British subjects (numbering about 8000), we think the prima facie presumption should be the other way; but exceptional cases, established to the satisfaction of the advisory body will be specially dealt with. There must be a power of interning in case of proved necessity of danger.

Mr Bonar Law, leader of the Conservative party, then stood and welcomed the Government's proposed actions:

I desire to say that I heartily welcome the statement which the right hon. gentleman has just made. It is quite evident that the country is thoroughly aroused on this question and is liable to get out of hand...

After hearing the course which the Government proposed to adopt, and which the right hon. gentleman has outlined today, I said to him - and I think it right to say it publicly - that I could think of no better plan than that which is now proposed to the House of Commons.

The Government's proposals, laid out by the Prime Minister, did not change the direction of enemy alien policy. What the proposal did do was add structure, permanence and transparency to the internment process. Whereas before the announcement the exemption from internment had been a hap-hazard affair, at the discretion of the local police and based on two recommendations on behalf of the

alien individual from pillars of the community, the introduction of an advisory panel added rigour to the process. Called the TNA: KV1 /65 Control of aliens in the United Kingdom, volume II, 1914 to 1915 [Amongst the newspapers cuttings in a KV file is a printed copy of the parliamentary debate on alien enemies]. Advisory Committee for England and Wales, it was chaired by Mr Justice Sanley and included four members of Parliament and another high court judge. Adding an external facing bureaucratic layer to the process did not change the requirement for an exemption from internment, or deportation, but the committee gave comfort to the public.

Even repatriation was not a new government policy and had been in place since October 1914, when agreement had been reached with the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary. In six months, 795 German and 542 Austro-Hungarian males had already been repatriated from Britain. Asquith's speech and the tightening of enemy alien policy was an example of the Government's move from 'Business as usual to victory as usual' as it moved the country to a full time war economy.

However, from an intelligence point of view the mere act of the Prime Minister standing up in the House of Commons confirmed and enhanced the public's fear levels toward enemy aliens. It confirmed to people on the home front their impression of reality that all enemy aliens were a threat to Britain's security. For Asquith it was a case of 'damned if you do and damned if you do not do anything.' No amount of correct intelligence on the actual threat of enemy aliens was going to sit well with or mirror the belief system of a hysterical public.

By Friday 14 May, the anti-German riots and mob rule began to die down. It was then that the public and newspapers reflected on the events of the previous days and the Government's action in handling the enemy alien issue. The *Dundee Courier* appealed to its readers that the riots had served their purpose and should stop.

The Government has been wakened up to the necessity of placing every German now in Britain in a place of safety. Already the scheme for internment of alien enemies is well under way. Many hundreds of non-military age will be repatriated within the next few weeks.

It is not British to take vengeance at the expense of a helpless minority. Our real vengeance must be sought abroad - in France and Flanders. Assuming the Government is in earnest, the rioting should now cease.

The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* reminded its readers:

At the moment, a good deal of what might be useful energy is being spent over the aliens. We cannot punish the crimes of Germany by breaking the windows of German residents here. It is probably the best thing to intern all enemy aliens, but that is about as much as we can do.

The article then went onto say something actually based in fact as to why not all enemy aliens needed internment, which the Secret Service Bureau had learned through five years of investigations and intelligence reporting.

After all, we shall not find the German spies among those who are plainly and unmistakably German. Espionage is not done by Teuton gentlemen who come to you and say "Voz you got any meilitary information I might send to der Kaiser?" It is a trifle more subtle than that.

A 'National Reservist' wrote to the *Liverpool Echo* pointing out who would have to pay for all this wanton destruction that had taken place.

Have the people of England gone mad? Surely they must know that all the damage they do to German households and shops will have to be paid for, and by English ratepayers, and having created violence and wholesale destruction to property with the consequent panic amongst peaceful citizens, which will certainly be a cause of satisfaction to the Kaiser and his crew. The continuance of these rights must, of necessity, harass the military authorities, who may be compelled to draft troops into

the affected districts, thereby lessening Britain's chance of a successful issue of this terrible war, or at least, prolonging its termination.

We based ourselves on a Christian nation, and I should not let vengeance fall upon innocent persons, whose only crime is that they are German born. From the commencement of the war, all and every alien should have been interned, thereby preventing all this inhuman outbreak.

Editha Glanusk was again writing letters to newspapers on 14 May to publicise the influence of her petition in the campaign to have all enemy aliens interned. 'A million signatures and more were received, and as we have now presented our petition to the House of Commons and achieved our object, we, the women of Great Britain and Ireland, can feel we have at least done our share and backed up those who are fighting on our behalf. However two months later, in July, a report from the select committee on public petitions stated, 'that some of the signatures to the women's petition praying for the removal from the coast and internment of enemy aliens, and purporting to be signed by 467,472 persons, are in the same handwriting.

Britain was not the only country to experience anti-German riots in May 1915. In Johannesburg, South Africa, on 13 May anti-German rioting saw fifty-one buildings wrecked and their contents burned or smashed. In Russia, Moscow experienced an anti-German pogrom between 27 and 29 May. Here rioters plundered and burned more than 200 homes and 400 businesses. There were also anti-German disturbances in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America.

An immediate effect of the riots was food shortages in the British towns and cities that had borne the brunt of the property damage. As bakers and butchers were in the public's imagination as the main occupations for German and Austrian enemy aliens, these businesses became the main focus for attacks. In Sheffield, the *Yorkshire*

Telegraph and Star pointed out that rioters would pay dearly for their actions, with the price of black puddings set to rise. Meanwhile, in the East End of London long queues formed outside any bakers' shops left as the area became the centre of a bread and flour famine. It also meant the end of a much loved supper dish in the East End: pease pudding and hot saveloys. This had been a German speciality, so was now off the menu for patriotic East Enders. The *Birmingham Gazette* suggested that the queues gave the rioters a chance to reflect on their actions: 'you cannot combine the fun of smashing the bakehouse overnight with eating the morning roll.

The anti-German riots across the country and the call to 'intern them all' were also a part of something bigger that led to the formation of a Coalition Government on 25 May 1915. The Bryce report, based on the investigation of the 'Committee on alleged German outrages' and chaired by James Bryce, was published on 12 May. Formed to focus on the alleged German army atrocities carried out in Belgium and France, the committee's conclusions fanned the anti-German feeling. The Committee concluded that the German Army in its conduct had organised massacres of civil populations, murdered innocent civilians, had wantonly looted and destroyed property, and had used civilians as human shields in its advances. Two days later, on 14 May, the shell crisis rocked Asquith's Government in the form of an article in *The Times* newspaper. The article by the military correspondent, Charles á Court Repington, linked the failure of the British Army at the Battles of Aubers Ridge on the Western Front to a lack of shells being produced. Then, on 15 May, Jacky Fisher resigned as First Sea Lord over the Gallipoli campaign. All these events, including the stricter enforcement of enemy alien policy, moved the government's and the home front's commitment to a total war footing. As Gerard DeGroot comments: 'There was nothing wrong with Britain's commitment to the war, what was lacking was an organised approach,' and events in May 1915 brought structure.

One casualty from the formation of the Coalition Government was Lord Haldane, who had been Lord Chancellor within Asquith's cabinet since June 1912. He had been seen as pro-German and had made a number of visits to Germany in the years leading up to the war. A victim of a xenophobic press campaign, Haldane noted the results: 'On one day, in response to an appeal in the *Daily Express*, there arrived at the House of Lords no less than 2600 letters of protest against my supposed disloyalty to the interests of the nation. Even after his departure from government, in May 1915, some members of the public continued the vendetta against Haldane. 'But before the War ended in our victory I had, of course, a disagreeable time. I was threatened with assault in the street, and I was on occasions in some danger of being shot at.

By October 1915 the Secret Service Bureau reported that eighty-four percent of the male enemy alien population had been interned. The Bureau had estimated the numbers of male enemy aliens of military age at large in the United Kingdom from the census returns of 1911 and included an additional ten percent to allow for the period 1911 to 1914. There was also an allowance of four years as regards present military age. They believed the population of enemy alien males to be 39,900. German males made up the bulk of this number at 26,761, followed by Austro-Hungarian males at 8,078 and finally Turkish males at 1,434. In October 1915, the Government used this estimated grand total to account for the male enemy aliens of military age still at large.

Table 14. United Kingdom enemy alien account. Male enemy aliens of military age only, October 1914.

Accounted for to 31 st October 1915		
Disposal		Total
Interned		32,458
At large in London	3,748	5,805
At large in Provinces & Wales	1,677	
At large in Scotland	276	
At large in Ireland	104	
Departure from the UK, and balance		1,637
Estimated Grand Total		39,900

From this table, the Secret Service Bureau estimated, as of 31 October, that 15.2% of the male enemy alien population were at large. The 'at large' label can appear misleading as these alien enemies were not truly 'at large'. They were still required to abide by the Aliens Restriction Act even if they had been granted an exemption from internment or deportation. Those enemy aliens 'at large' in London were additionally bound to a curfew between the hours of nine p.m. and five a.m. at their registered place of residence. This had been put into place by the Metropolitan Police Commissioner following the May anti-German riots, and the curfew started from 18 May 1915.

The Secret Service Bureau also reported on the number of naturalised British males, which had been revised down since Asquith's speech to the House of Commons in May.

Table 15. Naturalised British males of hostile origin.

Naturalised British males of hostile origin	
England and Wales	5,701

Scotland	437
Elsewhere	100
Total	6,238

Of the 6,238 naturalised British males of hostile origin some 28 individuals had been interned by the end of October 1915.

After the introduction of a coalition government, the rest of 1915 and the first months of 1916 were relatively quiet in relation to the issue of enemy aliens and internment. The issue continued to bubble away in the background through articles published in Horatio Bottomley's ultra-patriotic *John Bull* magazine, as well as the formation of the Anti-German Union in July 1915. Among the Anti-German Union stated aims were: To advocate permanently strengthening existing laws and orders in counsel for the registration of aliens, and to promote legislation for preventing Germans from changing their names for trade or other purposes.

To advocate legislation for preventing persons of German birth from obtaining government or public contracts if the goods can be supplied by British firms.

To advocate reform of the naturalisation laws in order to prevent naturalised Germans from being members of the privy council or either Houses of Parliament, or from holding any office in any of the public services; to prevent the holding of civic or other honours or titles by persons of German birth; and to urge that in future British consuls shall be British subjects.

Enemy aliens were also kept in the home front's imagination through popular spy literature. Sir Robert Baden-Powell's *My Adventures as a Spy*, published in the autumn of 1915, would have appealed to the amateur, armchair spy hunters of Britain.

As a rule, there are residential spies, who have lived for months or years as small tradesmen, etc, in the towns and villages now included in the theatre of war. On the arrival of the German invaders they have chalked on their doors, "Not to be destroyed. Good people here," and have done it for some of their neighbours also in order to divert suspicion. In their capacity of naturalised inhabitants they are in a position, of course, to gain valuable tactical information for the commanders of the troops. And their different ways communicating it are more than ingenious.

John Buchan's *The Thirty Nine Steps* first appeared as a serial in Blackwood's Magazine during August and September 1915 before being published in book form in October 1915. The plot of the book finds hero Richard Hannay, a man on the run, travelling the length of Britain tracking down and evading a German spy ring called the 'Black Stone', who had planned to assassinate the Greek Premier whilst he was on a visit to London.

The press and public's enemy alien spy obsession once again became a national talking point in June 1916. Newspaper headlines linked the death of Lord Kitchener to German spies at large in Britain. The Dundee's *Evening Telegraph and Post* front page asked: 'Empire Mourns Tragic Death of Lord Kitchener. Was There a Spy at Work?' and the *Liverpool Echo* speculated: 'The Spy Theory. "K" a Victim? Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, then Secretary of State for War, had been aboard the *HMS Hampshire*, which sank in the North Sea on its way to Russia. On Monday 5 June, *HMS Hampshire*, a Devonshire class armoured cruiser, left Scapa Flow for Russia. Battling a force nine gale, the cruiser struck a German mine off mainland Orkney and sank. 12 crewmen made it ashore. The rest of the 643 sailors and 7 passengers drowned, including Lord Kitchener. Lord Kitchener had been embarking on a diplomatic mission to Russia and

those close to Kitchener assumed that his plans had been leaked to a German spy. His death led to another intense outburst of public feeling which again focused upon enemy aliens still at large in the British Isles. The rallying cry; 'intern them all' was again heard across the country. A letter to the *Aberdeen Evening Express* on Thursday 8 June demanded the renewal of internment for every German:

That a serious menace exists in the number of German spies, naturalised or otherwise, still at large in our midst is abundantly evident to everyone. With the possible exception of the Government, and the great calamity which has befallen the nation in the tragic end of Lord Kitchener - the work undoubtedly of spies - makes further delay in this matter suicidal.

The calls for internment boiled over into anti-German disturbances in the Clerkenwell and Islington areas of London. These were isolated incidents with the focus of the angry crowds being premises thought to be occupied by Germans and Austrians. The British Empire Union, which had changed its name from 'Anti-German Union', demonstrated in Hyde Park, London, with an attendance estimated at just over a thousand people. The crowd voted for a resolution that advocated: 'all persons of enemy origin should be rigorously excluded from military areas and from government employment: and that all Germans, naturalised and unnaturalised, should be interned forthwith, including those who have been released from interment. Councils around the country also passed resolutions and petitions calling for the Government to detain or repatriate all aliens. Spies and the 'Unseen Hand' seemed to be to blame for most of the country's ills in the summer of 1916 and *Punch magazine* reflected this mood in a humorous article: I like the Unseen Hand. It makes excellent copy. It sounds like a Sherlock Holmes story. And you are not under the disagreeable necessity of proving your facts. You cannot place the hand-cuffs on an Unseen Hand. Just let us work the Unseen Hand together.

Who is it that protects Government officials possessing wives with German uncles? The Unseen Hand.

Who keeps the egregious Asquith in power? (or, alternatively, who intrigues against our patriotic PREMIER?) An Unseen Hand.

Who write those articles in *The Daily News* and *The Daily Mail*? Unseen Hand.

Who raised the price of butter, bread, meat, drink, furs, revenues - everything save pew rent? I am justified in attributing this to the Unseen Hand.

Who let's the alien enemy in our midst go uninterned? Why, an Unseen Hand slams the prison gate in their very faces.

Who plays scales on a Hun piano with two fingers in the next house at this very moment? An Unseen (and accursed) Hand.

Who is it that bribed me to write this article? I am not quite sure, but I trust there is an Unseen (and benevolent) Hand in the background.

Who is it that works to give the British public the jumps? I fear I am of a suspicious nature, but there may be an Unseen Hand writing rumours about an Unseen Hand.

In July 1916 the press attention moved onto the treatment of enemy aliens detained in internment camps. There had been authorised visits to the civilian camps for internment, not only for officials of the United States embassy, but also for a party of British Journalists. Between March and July 1916, Mr Boylston A Beal, of the Staff of the German Division of the American Embassy, visited twenty-three internment camps around Britain. These reports of his visits were published in September 1916. The British journalists toured two camps, at Leigh in Lancashire and Donington Hall near Derby. Their articles reported back that the stories of German prisoners living the life of luxury were untrue. There had even been rumours of the Prime Minister's wife Margot playing tennis at Donnington Hall camp with German prisoners and sending them food parcels containing government secret plans. Newspaper articles on the journalists' visit to Donington Hall made reference to those infamous parcels and the

camp Commandant set the record straight. 'The printed statements as to parcels having been sent in by a prominent personage were, he said, quite untrue - no such parcels were ever received.

Coinciding with the concern over the fair treatment of enemy aliens in Britain during 1916 and 1917 were a number of books that focused upon the plight of British aliens in Germany. By the summer of 1916 the German and Austrian enemy aliens in internment camps, who had been locked up in some cases for two years, held no intelligence material valuable to a hostile government, even if there had been any spies among them. The enemy aliens had become valuable, as the war went on, as hostages for the fair treatment of British prisoners in Germany. The movement from spy novels to hostage literature highlights this subtle change. In the summer of 1916 the author Cecily Sidgwick, under the pseudonym of Mrs Alfred Sidgwick, published *Salt and Savour*. The author was herself born and brought up in London by German parents and so her books often contrasted German and British attitudes. *Salt and Savour* was no exception. A novel telling the story of an Englishwoman, Brenda Müller, born to German parents in London, her father came from Heidelberg and her mother from Berlin. Although of pure German blood as pointed out by her cousin and future husband Captain Lothar Erdmann, Brenda thinks of herself as English. The story starts in London with Captain Erdmann visiting the Müllers during 1910. Captain Erdmann takes trips to Aldershot, Chatham and Portsmouth during his stay at the Müllers. To the reader in 1916 the thought of a German Army Captain visiting significant centres of the British military and navy is a red flag and marks him as a potential spy.

Of course Brenda fails to realise this, and within two years marries the Captain and moves to Berlin. She finds living in Berlin and getting used to German customs difficult, missing the English sense of fair play in particular. While she struggles with the different cultural attitudes, she finds herself isolated and in a loveless marriage. Her cold German husband treats her cruelly and courts another woman. Holidaying in the Black Forest with some members of her 'English family' in August 1914, the local population are aggressive towards them for being British. Brenda then learns that war is imminent, and while the English members of her party flee towards Strasbourg for a route back to England, she returns to Berlin. On the train back to Berlin she notices the frosty reception given to anybody suspected of being English by her fellow passengers. She witnesses a fellow Englishman shot and murdered in cold blood whilst standing in a train carriage corridor just for being an English 'pig-dog'.

When Brenda gets back to Berlin she asks her husband to let her leave and go back to England. Captain Erdmann has had his mobilization papers and is packing up the family home. He demands she stays in Berlin, telling her that as the wife of a German officer she should remain in Germany. She is then made to live with her in-laws as Captain Erdmann goes off to his regiment and joins the advance across Belgium. Her German family treat her with suspicion and keep her isolated. By September 1914 her German family find Brenda a liability and would rather she was interned. Rather than going to a German internment camp she is sent to be with her husband who is stationed in Brussels. Unhappy, and abused by Germans in Brussels, Brenda's husband tells her, 'If you are not satisfied with what I arrange you can try an internment camp. I'm in no mood for an argument. You are a visible danger to me. You are a hindrance to my career.

While in Brussels, Brenda learns about the German atrocities in Louvain from English newspapers and passing refugees. When she confronts her husband, he decides that Brenda can go back to England on the condition that he travels with her. Crossing from Ostend to Dover, Captain Erdmann uses an American passport and then disappears, leaving Brenda to make the journey to London alone. Erdmann is later arrested, taken to the Tower of London, court-martialled and shot for being a German spy.

Back with her parents in their St John's Wood home Brenda recounts the aggressive atmosphere and what she had experienced in Germany and Belgium. She told them of insults she had received from common folk in the streets, of August's lecture when an audience of the better class had threatened her; of sitting next to a woman in a restaurant who spat into her cup of coffee, and of the ghoulish joy shown everywhere in the abuse of wounded prisoners and in the slaughter of civilians by land and sea.

Brenda then asks her father whether he would anglicise the family name in the future. "Certainly not," said Mr. Müller. He had two sons and a son-in-law in the forces; and if before the war he could have hesitated between the country of his fathers and the country of his children he had no hesitations now. England had many devoted sons with foreign names. The list of men giving life and limb for her showed it.

Punch magazine's review of the book concludes:

Of course the value of *Salt and Savour* (Methuen) depends on how real Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick's opportunities have been of studying the Teuton in his native lair. I must say that the picture- very far from pleasant- seems to fit the original, though no doubt one has to make some allowance for war-prejudice. But the behaviour of Captain Erdmann, who married Brenda, an Englishman of German extraction (an unhappy class these bitter days), and of Professor Zorn the disgruntled Anglophobe, offers, even in their pre-war life, such a wonderful forecast of the arrogance, the fatuous boastfulness, and the hysteria that we have seen in the official conduct and utterance of Germany during this War, and particularly in these days when we are so gloriously getting our own, that the presumption is all in favour of Mrs Sidgwick.

In the spring of 1917, the letters of a British alien internee in Ruhleben camp to his mother were published, together with other reports on the conditions, and some illustrations of the camp. Ruhleben Internment camp, on the outskirts of Berlin, had been a racecourse before the war. The stable lofts and horse boxes were converted to house over 5,000 British alien internees. Ruhleben camp and its conditions had been brought to the attention of the House of Lords in July 1916, when Lord Devonport asked what His Majesty's Government were doing to mitigate the treatment of British civilian prisoners there.

The book starts with a letter from Sir Timothy Eden that had been published in *The Times*. Dated 22 November 1916, the letter states the case for a wholesale exchange of civilian prisoners. Sir Timothy Calvert Eden was the older brother of Anthony Eden, who would later become British Prime Minister from 1955-1957. On the outbreak of war, he had been arrested in Germany as an alien and interned at the Ruhleben camp. Nearly two years later, in March 1916 he was released from Ruhleben in an exchange of prisoners with the British. Eden's letter called for an exchange of all German enemy aliens interned in Britain.

There is only one way of obtaining the release of the British civilians. We must give Germany all of her civilians in exchange. That is to say that we must give 26,000 and receive 4,000. The disadvantages of such a step are obvious. But, granted that Germany will gain 20,000 more fighting men, what is this number compared to the millions that are now engaged in the war? The effect that 20,000 men can produce on a battlefield of nations must be so small as to be imperceptible. Such a number would be a mere drop in the ocean. Again, when these German prisoners arrive in their homes, and compare the state of affairs in their country to life in England, will they not produce a bad impression and even discontent and mistrust? And what will happen to these Germans if they are kept here till the war is over? They will quietly settle down once more to their businesses. Is this to be desired? Finally, if this

exchange be effected, Germany will have 26,000 men to feed well, instead of 4,000 indifferently, and we, on the other hand, will be saved much expense.

Sir Edward Grey had been in communication with the German Government over the subject of further civilian prisoner exchanges at the end of June 1916. The proposal had been that all British civilians at Ruhleben be exchanged for a similar number of German civilians. There had been no formal response from the German Government by early July 1916. The basis of an equitable exchange of civilian prisoners was always going to be a stumbling point between the British and German Governments. How were 26,000 interned German aliens going to be exchanged with 5,000 interned British aliens without one side or the other losing face with its Home Front? A definite answer came at a meeting of the British War Cabinet on 28 March 1917. The War Cabinet's decision stated: 'A general exchange of interned civilians was impracticable and not in the interest of the State. With the case of a wholesale exchange of civilian prisoners at the forefront of the reader's mind, the rest of Sladen's book paints a picture of the daily life, food and accommodation of the Ruhleben camp. The letters from a prisoner, who had been nicknamed 'Richard Roe' to protect his identity, ran from January 1915 to August 1916. They were supplemented with official reports on the conditions, and details of the University that the prisoners set up and sports and entertainment in the camp.

It is from these insights that *Punch Magazine* judged the book to be: 'a record that all Englishmen can study with quickened sympathy and a great pride in the courage and resource of our race under conditions needlessly brutal at their worst, and never better than just endurable.

The book had to be careful in how it reported the conditions of the camp so as not to contravene D-notice 158 of the Defence of the Realm Act issued on 20 February 1915: Avoid publishing any parts of statements by returning British prisoners of war which include adverse criticism of their treatment by the Germans, even if true, because of possible effect on remaining prisoners of war in their hands; 'their lot would be almost certainly be made more uncomfortable'.

This is why the book focuses more the spirit of the British civilian prisoners to make do and improvise rather than directly comment on their treatment by their German captors.

An interesting anomaly within the Ruhleben internment camp is the inclusion of German men who had become naturalised British, even if they were pro-German. Disliked by the rest of the inmates of the camp, this group was not given separate barrack accommodation. This is attributed to the German Government following international law: 'For some reason or other, in this one matter, the Germans felt bound to observe International Law and not compel naturalized Englishmen to serve in the German Army unless they volunteered to do so, and rather than do so, the "Perfect Gentlemen" had cheerfully gone to prison.

The issue of Germans and German influence in Britain touched every class. The royal family were no exception. Back in May 1915, the King had struck the German and Austrian Royal Garter Knights off the Order and their Garter banners were removed from St George's chapel in Windsor. By 1917, the royal family names of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Teck and Battenberg had become labels of shame and embarrassment to George V and his relatives. After advice from Lloyd George, George V adopted the family name of 'Windsor' by royal proclamation on 17 July 1917.

Henceforth the Royal House and Family shall be styled and known as the House of Windsor. All German titles and dignities held by his Majesty and the descendants of his grand-mother, Queen Victoria, are to be relinquished and discontinued. All descendants in the male line of Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms,

other than female descendants who may marry, or may have married, shall bear the said name of Windsor.

Other branches of the royal family followed suit, with the Tecks becoming Cambridge and the Battenbergs changing to Mountbatten.

The final period of intense enemy aliens and internment activity was in the summer of 1918. It was sparked by a promise made by Prime Minister Lloyd George during the Clapham by-election in June 1918. The Clapham by-election took place on 21 June and, in the run-up to polling day, the main campaign issue was the internment of all enemy aliens and denaturalisation of any aliens holding British citizenship.

On the evening of Thursday 20 June, just a day before the Clapham by-election, *The Daily Mirror's* Westminster lobby correspondent reported that the Prime Minister was proposing drastic steps regarding unnaturalised enemies. Sources close to the lobby correspondent had mentioned that Lloyd George had been in close consultation with his colleagues and that at the earliest moment his government would implement the following:

To secure that no naturalised aliens of enemy birth shall be employed in any government office, munitions factory or position of trust where they would handle confidential papers unless they are above all shadow of reproach; and

That all unnaturalised enemy aliens shall be interned forthwith.

The Daily Mirror correspondent also commented that: 'the prime minister is fully aware of the strong feeling which has been aroused on the alien menace lately, and in the steps about to be taken he has unanimous backing of his cabinet colleagues.

Rumours had been circulating in regional newspapers that Lloyd George was personally looking into the enemy aliens issue since Wednesday 19 June.

By Sunday 23 June *The Post* devoted the whole of its back page to the rumours surrounding the Prime Minister's intervention, asking: 'Will He Comb Out The Hun? The paper asks a very interesting question: 'What, then, has happened to at last compel the Prime Minister to take the matter up directly? It is explained away as a build-up of many incidents and scandals with the latest surrounding the wife of Leverton Harris, Conservative Member of Parliament, and Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Ministry of Blockade. Elizabeth, Leverton's wife, was implicated in a government scandal and accused of visiting and carrying letters and parcels for an interned Austrian diplomat Baron Leopold von Plessen. What made the matter worse was that she had been given special permission by the Home Office to visit von Plessen in the Lofthouse Park internment camp, near Wakefield. What better way to deflect attention than the Prime Minister stepping in personally to take charge and order a review. As *The Post* pointed out to its readers:

In short, the scandal of the don't touch the enemy alien attitude has been rapidly becoming outrageously offensive to the great self-respecting and patriotic British public, and the Prime Minister has wisely judged the time ripe for investigation. Let him make a beginning at the Home Office.

While Lloyd George consulted his colleagues, agitation on the issue of enemy aliens and internment continued into July. On 2 July, newspapers reported that Mr Pemberton Billing had been suspended and forcibly carried from the House of Commons for trying to raise a point of order on the question of aliens, and that the Home Secretary, Sir George Cave, was being recalled to London to deal with the enemy alien issue. Cave had been in Holland conducting prisoner of war exchange negotiations with a German delegation. Viscount Sandhurst's diary entry for 30 June to 5 July 1918:

The question of uninterned Germans is the big question of the moment and is just now very acute. Billing was kicked out of the House of Commons, i.e. taken out by force by four attendants, he wishing to move adjournment; but it was no doubt, though unrehearsed, an effective bit of stage arrangement and will answer his purpose. He got into Parliament on aeroplanes; he will get in again on uninterned Germans unless I am much mistaken. He was turned inside out before an inquiry on aeroplanes, and he would be the same re Germans, but in this country anything, true or untrue, if sensational enough serves. Meanwhile Bonar Law has staved off the Home Secretary. Cave was back in the House of Common on 3 July defending the record of the Advisory Committee of the Home Office on internment and applications for exemptions. Lloyd George's consultation turned into action as he appointed a committee of six of the most vocal Members of Parliament on the issue of aliens to advise him. The six were; Mr Charles Bowerman (Labour member for Deptford), Sir John Butcher (a barrister and Conservative member for York), Sir Richard Cooper (Conservative member for Walsall), Sir Henry Dalziel (a background in journalism, newspaper proprietor and Liberal member for Kirkcaldy Burghs), Mr William Joynson-Hicks (Conservative member for Brentford), and Mr Kenndy Jones (a journalist by trade and Conservative member for Hornsey).

Sir Henry Dalziel took on the role of committee chairman and Sir Richard Cooper its secretary. Interestingly, two of the six members of Lloyd George's advisory committee had newspaper connections and three represented constituencies which had centres of enemy alien populations within them. Their report was submitted to *The Times* on 8 July 1918 and published in the newspaper on the following day. The report in the newspapers from Sir Henry Dalziel's committee addresses the Prime Minister directly: 'In accordance with your desire conveyed to us on Monday evening last we beg to submit, in a series of recommendations, our considered views on the position of aliens in this country and on the scope and character of the action that should be taken by his Majesty's Government in dealing with the problem. At the heart of the committee's report are fifteen recommendations:

The internment forthwith of every male enemy alien over 18, unless there is definite national or medical reasons for exemption;

That alien women of enemy origin, except those whose husbands are exempt from interment, shall, as far as practicable be repatriated;

Review by the advisory committee and the cancellation (unless there are national reasons to the contrary) of all certificates of naturalisation granted to the enemy aliens since January 1st, 1914 (the date of the coming into force of the German Imperial and state nationality law);

Cancellation of naturalisation certificates granted to enemy aliens prior to January 1st, 1914, where an advisory committee is satisfied that continuance of the certificate is contrary to the public good;

Review of neutrals' naturalisation certificates granted since August 1st, 1914;

The closest examination into the contact and association of enemies who have become naturalised neutrals or allies, and are resident, or occasionally resident, in this country;

Exchange forthwith of all persons, male or female, of enemy origin employed in any government office or department;

Removal, except on medical grounds, of all persons of enemy origin or association from all prohibited areas;

Discontinuance of the issue of passes to persons of enemy origin or association to visit prohibited areas;

All changes of name since August 1st, 1914, by persons of enemy origin to be made inoperative until six months after peace;

Winding up all enemy businesses to be completed within three months;

Winding up orders of all branches or agencies of enemy banks to be made forthwith;
Revision of internment camp regulations, especially in regard to rationing, transport, leave, and visitors;

An internment camp inspection committee of members of parliament empowered to make recommendations regarding Administration;

Stricter supervision over movements on shore of neutrals employed on ships calling at British ports, and boarding of vessels by unauthorised persons prohibited.

In its report Dalziel's committee also noted that a contributing factor to the current situation regarding aliens was the lack of co-ordination between the eight government departments involved in developing and carrying out enemy alien policy.

Sir George Cave's initial reaction to the report is contained in a memorandum written on the day same day it was published in *The Times*:

I agree with the statement of the report that much public anxiety exists on this matter, but I think that it is largely founded on a misunderstanding of the facts. The report itself shows that even members of the House of Commons who take a special interest in the alien question are imperfectly acquainted with what is now being done, and I think it probable that the public anxiety would be removed by a frank statement of the precautions which have been taken and of the results obtained.

In the War Cabinet meeting on Wednesday 10 July the Dalziel committee report was a point of tension. An upset Austin Chamberlain pointed out to Lloyd George that the Cabinet had not been consulted before the report was made public:

A question of public policy of grave importance had been referred, without consultation with the Cabinet, to a committee of Members of Parliament who he thought not very well suited for the purpose owing to the strong views they already expressed, and their report to the Prime Minister had been published in the papers before it was seen by any member of the Cabinet.

The Prime Minister admitted to the Cabinet that the report had been published even before he had seen it and this was improper. Lloyd George then went on to suggest he had not appointed this committee, but had merely asked Captain Guest to find out whether these individuals would be willing: 'to state definitely what suggestions they would themselves make. He also admitted that no official evidence had been sought or used from the Government departments concerned with enemy alien policy.

However, even with the faults and the non-consultation, the Prime Minister believed: 'It was necessary, in his opinion, to take some steps to reassure the reasonable element in the community that the Government were taking no improper risks.

The report of the Dalziel committee was discussed in a five hour debate at the House of Commons on 11 July. Sir George Cave stood and defended the Government's record on the issue of enemy aliens since the outbreak of war and the thoroughness of the exemption from internment process. Cave also pointed out the fact that: 'Except in the first few-weeks of the War the spies have been found not amongst subjects of enemy States, but among the subjects of other nationalities. I do not think anybody can say that the system which I have described has resulted in injury to the interests of this country.

By dealing in facts, Cave tried to take the emotion out of the 'intern them all' debate which Dalziel's committee recommended and to ground proceedings in some reality.

As the Prime Minister had pointed out to his War Cabinet before the debate, these recommendations were not influenced by government intelligence or statistics, but were opinions based on fear. Cave continued:

Still, as I said at the beginning, you must look at this matter in the light of events as they occur. You must take into account public feeling, although you must not be pressed by public feeling, however strong, into doing what is unfair or unjust. It is with that view that we have undertaken to reconsider the whole system and to

consider whether it cannot be in one way or another tightened up with a view to the security of this country.

Sir George Cave then turned his attention to the work of the Advisory Committees set up back in May 1915. He emphasised their good work and the process already in place. His focus stressed that all applications for exemptions were based on the presumption of internment. That all exemption requests from individuals were made to justify why the Advisory Committees should not follow the rule of internment. Cave thus proved that the 'intern them all', for enemy aliens over eighteen, recommendation from Dalziel's committee was already in place except for reasons of national interest or medical situations.

What the Government would do with the recommendations is strengthen the existing Advisory Committees' (one in England and one in Scotland) processes and procedures.

The existing Advisory Committees, I think, have often obtained commendation in this House and elsewhere, and probably they would be the best committees to entrust with this work. It would, however, be quite wise, and we propose to strengthen them by certain additional members, including at least one military member, who will be able to take the military point of view on the matter. It may be that they will find it convenient not to hold all their sittings in London or Edinburgh, but to go themselves, or by some of their number, into the provinces and deal with some of the cases on the spot. I think it would be right that they should be asked to state their reasons for any exemptions that they recommend, and that it would also be right, where exemptions are granted, that the statement of reasons should be open to the public. If that course be followed, I think the public may have the fullest confidence that every alien enemy will be interned except where there is a strong reason for exemption, a reason which the public will know. I am quite sure that the adoption of that proposal which we make to-day will give general satisfaction to all those who are concerned in the action to be taken in this matter.

Cave's proposal of having at least one military advisor, likely to be from MI5, join the existing Advisory Committees would give them extra breadth and expertise. This advisor would be able to consult on issues of enemy aliens in prohibited areas and give the associated risks to public safety. The proposal also adds authority to the committees' decisions and grounds them in military intelligence and facts. By opening up the exemption decision material to public scrutiny, the process became a transparent one, making it less likely for newspapers to play the fear card.

Before taking questions from the floor, Cave explained that the issue of naturalisation certificates would be covered under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens bill that was in the Parliamentary system and debated a day later on 12 July 1918. Among the many questions to Cave on his proposals were lengthy retorts from two authors of the recommendations, Dalziel and Joynson-Hicks. Then, three hours into the debate, Lloyd George stood up and spoke to the House of Commons:

The Government have given very careful consideration to this matter. I may say that I myself, during the last few weeks, in spite of other urgent matters, have given consideration to it, because I regarded it as a matter of great concern affecting the prosecution of the War. I agree with my hon. friends who have taken part in this debate, and with the hon. gentleman who spoke immediately after the debate opened (Sir H. Dalziel), that what really matters now is that these propositions should be carried out vigorously, rigorously, but with absolute fairness.

The language used by the Prime Minister is important as it backs up the direction outlined by the Home Secretary. The way forward is for rigour and transparency in the approach to how enemy alien policies are implemented. It advocates revision to, rather than revolution in, government policy.

The first is the character of the Committees set up for the purpose of carrying out this policy. It will depend far more upon them than the Government Departments. I was very pleased to hear from all parts of the House an expression of confidence in the Advisory Committees, and there is no doubt that they are a first-rate body of men and very able. They have done their duty patriotically, and a very difficult duty it has been to discharge. The task has been enormous, and especially I think, in view of the reasons which certainly influenced me in coming to a decision in favour of an immediate revision and change

Again, as Cave had done earlier, Lloyd George made a point of focusing the House on the facts and the independence of the process. He advocates it as a process the home front and newspapers should put their trust in and he goes against the blanket 'intern them all' approach being recommended by the Dalziel committee.

In this case there is no doubt at all that the facts are of such a kind as to make us feel a little anxious about the fact that aliens are in positions where they can do harm. If, upon examination, absolutely impartial men come to the conclusion that there is no ground for suspicion, then aliens ought not to be interfered with. There is no doubt that men of alien blood are rendering very great service to the country.

An interesting admission from Lloyd George during his speech was the contents of his post bag during periods of the war when things had not been going to plan for British forces.

There has never been a case of a British set-back when I have not had anonymous letters crowing over it—letters bearing British postmarks, and obviously written by Germans; indeed, they say that they are Germans. Where are they? I feel that that sort of business has got to be stopped.

Not that implementing more rigour to government policy and review of exemptions would stop crowing letters from Germans getting to the Prime Minister.

Newspaper accounts of the debate and the government's proposals to strengthen enemy alien policy were muted. *The Daily Chronicle* observed the lack of any really substantial change:

When all is said and done, the foam and the froth of the debate, both unofficial and ministerial appear unlikely to make much difference to anybody. The agitation has been devoid of any real justification. The execution of the "stunt" program in its crude form would entail many cruelties, much loss to the country, and a total lack of advantage to it.

This view was echoed in *The Daily News*:

The Prime Minister's speech ignores the character and implications of public feeling on their alien question, and maintains it is clear that this feeling is directed ultimately against the Government and not against the alien. The Government's answer, put shortly (says the journal), is that all aliens shall be interned except those who are not to be interned. It is not a very brave answer, but at least it frees the country for the time being from the dangers with which a panic cry threatened .

With many newspapers reporting a lacklustre performance, the timing of the Prime Minister's personal intervention into the enemy alien issue has to be called in to question. There had been an undercurrent of 'intern them all' since the Government had decisively acted in May 1915. Not a month went by where there was not some low-level noise from a local council petitioning on the issue or the British Empire Union wanting the Prime Minister to receive a deputation to talk on the subject. What changed in June and July 1918, for Lloyd George to personally take charge?

In the alien debate in the House of Commons on 11 July, Colonel Wedgewood, Liberal MP for Newcastle-Under-Lyme, was in no doubt that Lloyd George was responsible for the public outcry: 'I think a mistake was made by the Prime Minister himself, and that the Prime Minister has encouraged this agitation in a way that is most unfortunate.

War Cabinet discussions on 8 July 1918 show that the intelligence had not changed regarding the threat posed by enemy aliens at large in Britain. Winston Churchill believed:

In order to quiet the public feeling which had been aroused, he was in favour of a searching review being carried out, but he was strongly opposed to any injustice being perpetrated in response to a clamour in the press. No one had proved that the country was in serious danger, and he was convinced that our Secret Service was more efficient than that of the Germans. His experience when Home Secretary and First Lord of the Admiralty had shown that the dangerous agents were not enemy aliens, but members of other nationalities. In the Civil Service there were men of enemy origin occupying high positions, who throughout the war had been working most loyally, and who were held in the highest regard by their colleagues. It would be most unfair to deal harshly with such men.

Churchill endorsed and had faith in the intelligence that MI5 was providing. It is clear he was not for implementing panic measures in response to press and home front pressure.

He was aware that the present agitation was widespread, and that particular cases would be ruthlessly forced on any tribunal set up but he was equally certain that any panic measures resorted to now would be much regretted by the Government later on. He hoped that it would be stated clearly in the House of Commons that the Government did not admit that they had been in any way censurable in their administration of the laws against enemy aliens.

At the meeting of the War Cabinet on Wednesday 10 July 1918, Major-General Sir George MacDonogh, Director of Military Intelligence, joined for the discussions on the alien question and the treatment of enemy aliens. Again the message is clear: He thought the enemy aliens who were now at large were a military danger, but not a very great military danger. Spies were more largely drawn from neutral than from enemy countries. Further, persons naturalised before 1914 were at least as dangerous as those who had been naturalised since, because the recent cases had been very carefully investigated, whereas there was not the same rigid scrutiny before the war. It would appear that the Government's assessment of the threat level of enemy aliens had not changed in the summer of 1918. MacDonogh's judgement on naturalised persons since 1914 echoed Cave's and Lloyd George's speeches to the House of Commons on 11 July 1918. Therefore, if the enemy alien security risk had not changed and had in fact moved to focus on aliens from neutral countries, why was Lloyd George personally championing the issue?

The home front was war weary, and news from the Western Front had not been positive since the launch of the German offensive 'Kaiserschlacht' in March 1918. In April, Haig had issued his famous 'backs to the wall' Order of the Day dispatch. Every position must be held to the last man: there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause each one of us must fight to the end.

In a time of British army set-backs on the Western Front, was Lloyd George's personal intervention in the issue of the treatment of enemy aliens was a diversionary tactic to keep the Home Front fully supportive of the war? It certainly gave people on the home front something concrete and visible to focus their fears and anger upon. With food shortages and meat rationing also impacting the home front, Lloyd George's action could be seen to be creating a distraction. The patterns for the press and public being most vocal on the issue was when Britain felt most threatened, and so, the Prime Minister appears to have jumped onto the bandwagon first to turn the situation to the Government's advantage. Such a pro-active stance placed the Government in a better light, especially given gloomy news from the Western Front. Finally the by-elections in Clapham on 21 June and Finsbury on 16 July 1918 must have had some bearing on

Lloyd George thinking. Both constituencies had 'patriotic' independent candidates standing on the ticket of internment of all enemy aliens, denaturalisation and boycotting all German goods.

It is important here to note that Lloyd George had chosen to make a public commitment to this issue in the summer of 1918. Rather than public pressure, he had personally brought enemy aliens back to the forefront of home front civilians' imagination. Two days after the House of Commons debate on the Government's proposals there was a national demonstration in London's Trafalgar Square. The crowds that gathered on 13 July called for: 'The removal of all aliens of enemy blood, from all Government and public office and calls upon His Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to put into effect this resolution. Letters of support from the Marquess of Lincolnshire, the Lord Mayor of London, Mr Rudyard Kipling, Mr Harry Lauder and the Bishop of Birmingham were read out to the throng.

By the end of July 1918, the aliens advisory committee, under Mr Justice Sankey, came to Westminster Hall to agree the procedures to be adopted for the review of internment exemptions and certificates. However, at the same time German advances on the Western Front had again ground to a halt. Lloyd George noted in his diary on 30 July: 'News from the front very good. Believe the German offensive this year is broken. With the British Army on the advance following the Battle of Amiens, the fear surrounding enemy aliens faded from the Home Front's consciousness. However, the topic was still a subject for film and theatre during the last six months of the war.

The Leopard's Spots, a film made for the Ministry of Information in the summer of 1918, gives a curious insight into how German enemy aliens might fare after the war. The short film opens in a war torn Belgian town with two German soldiers attacking a mother. They grab her baby and throw it to the ground and the film then cuts to a caption: 'Once a German, always a German'. The film was often referred to by its first caption, rather than its official title. The film then cuts to a few years hence and the two soldiers are now travelling salesmen in a typical English village. Captions read: 'And when all this is over. The men who will penetrate our peaceful English villages with German goods to sell...' and '...Will be the same Beasts. Then as they are now. The leopard cannot change his spots.' In the final scene, the German salesmen are found offering their pots and pans to a local shopkeeper. The shopkeeper's wife notices that the merchandise is made in Germany, chastises the sales men and calls the local policemen. The Germans make a hasty retreat and the last caption of the film asks the audience: 'how shall we treat them then?'

Enemy aliens were the subject of another London stage play, *The Prime Minister*, which opened at the Royalty Theatre, Dean Street, London on 30 March 1918. Sir Hall Caine, a Manx author and article writer for *The Daily Telegraph*, first saw his play performed in Atlantic City, United States in 1915. Under the title of *Margaret Schiller*, the four act drama transferred to the New Amsterdam Theatre, Broadway, New York in January 1916 where it ran for 72 performances.

Miss Ethel Irving played the part of Margaret Schiller, the daughter of naturalised German parents, who passes herself off as a Swiss Governess to the Prime Minister's daughter Peggy. The first act is set in Doctor Gottfried Schiller's London apartment during the first few days of war. The set was dressed so that audiences could instantly identify that this room was owned by a German enemy alien. On the wall of the room are hung pictures of German and Austrian composers, Beethoven, Handel, Mozart and Wagner, and next to the fireplace a portrait of the Kaiser. Doctor Schiller and his family are visited by three police inspectors checking on their alien status. The audience learn that Doctor Schiller was a naturalized German originally from Westphalia who had lived with his family in London for thirty years. During the act Doctor Schiller arrives home early from his job as a professor at the Royal College of

Music and announces he has been dismissed. 'They were sorry - very sorry - but since the sinking of that troopship public feeling had become so strong against persons of enemy origin that it was impossible to keep on an alien professor any longer. Later, his son Fritz, working for the continental telegraphic agency is also dismissed on account of his German roots. Their local German social club, 'The Goethe Club', is raided by the police and shut down. During a conversation on the possibility of impending internment, the family hatch a plot to get to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Temple. Margaret switches with a family friend to become Freda Michel, the Swiss Governess of the Prime Minister's daughter.

In the second act, set in Sir Robert Temple's house, the Prime Minister is seen being taken through Metropolitan Police reports on enemy alien activity and the registration of aliens by the Chief Commissioner. The Prime Minister learns of 'subterranean propaganda' that had been created through the Goethe Club under the presidency of Doctor Gottfried Schiller and that the Home Office view the whole of the Schiller family as dangerous. Margaret is recognised by the Chief Commissioner and he alerts the Prime Minister to the alien in their midst. Sir Robert then confronts Margaret with this information and she eventually admits who she is. She is allowed to stay in the Prime Minister's service, on an oath to cut herself off from her family and friends. The third act, set two months later, finds the Schillers of Soho Square plotting to kill the Prime Minister. Margaret is contacted and persuaded by her relatives to assist them in the murder of Sir Robert. The final act climaxes in Margaret's refusal to help her family, and she sacrifices herself by taking the bullet her younger brother Otto shoots in darkness intending to kill the Prime Minister.

A review of the play by the Gloucester Citizen notes:

There is a defence of the fealty of the naturalised parents' children, thousands of whom have given youth, blood, life for their British land of birth, which was received with the approval by the audience. There are many patriotic passages in the play, and an exposure of German traitors in our midst, who are depicted as plotting and talking hate.

On the production's opening day, the *Daily Mirror* published an interview with Sir Hall Caine, who confirmed that Lloyd George would not be attending the first performance in London. Lloyd George had written to Caine wishing it every success, but stated that the military situation made it impossible for the Prime Minister to attend. The military situation referred to is the German spring offensive launched on 21 March 1918 and the battle for Amiens, which it fell heavily on the British Army to defend. Cast members Miss Ethel Irving, Mr Wilfred Fletcher, who played the mad young German Otto Schiller, and Mr C M Hallard, playing the Prime Minister, are featured in *Daily Mirror* photographs on Saturday 6 April 1918. The newspaper reported that Mr Hall Caine's play had been drawing large crowds to the Royalty Theatre. In November 1918, *The Prime Minister* transferred to the Winter Gardens, New Brighton, near Liverpool. It is interesting that the subject matter was still drawing audiences even after the armistices. It is also interesting because the police and Home Office officials are portrayed as in control and on top of the enemy alien situation. They are seen to be acting on intelligence and know which enemy aliens are of danger to the Prime Minister.

The signing of the Armistice did not see an end to enemy alien issue in the public consciousness. A letter to *The Yorkshire Post* from a Mr Fowler of Bradford, on 28 November 1918 shows that the enemy alien issue remained high on the election agenda.

May I suggest that the candidates in the forthcoming election should be asked the following questions re aliens:-

Are you in favour of continuing the policy of the late government, whereby pork butchers and waiters were interned, while the wealthy were left at liberty?

Are you in favour of allowing firms of enemy alien origin to continue trading under British names which they have adopted since the war in order to mislead possible customers as to their real names and their nationality?

Are you in favour of deporting the whole lot back to their own countries irrespective of wealth, position, or naturalisation?

Lloyd George, during the 'Coupon election' of December 1918, used the enemy alien issue and anti-German feeling as a platform to win votes, but this was quickly seized upon by the public and turned into a call for vengeance. Roy Hattersley's comments on Lloyd George's election conduct: 'His sin was not so much making the speeches - which were never worse than exaggerations of what was right and possible - but his failure either to forbid or disown the expression of opinions which he knew represented the desire for punishment and revenge. Robert Winder sees the 'Coupon election' as the start of something more sinister, 'Indeed, if the birth of a new party politics - more populist, less elitist, quicker to pander to the instincts of the man in the pub - was partly responsible for the chilling of the British attitude to foreigners, then the rise of the popular press was an equally strong force.

Throughout the war the issue of enemy aliens and the threat they posed was always emotive for the home front and press in Britain. This would boil over into calls for the Government to do more and on occasion direct action in the form of rioting during periods of setbacks on the Western Front for the British Army. During these periods the Government would review and strengthen enemy alien policy, but not just because it was merely bowing to press and public pressure. It was also being informed and directed by intelligence coming from the Secret Service Bureau, later MI5.

To be Concluded

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>

The Illusory Threat
Enemy Aliens in Britain during the Great War

Farrar, Martin John

Awarding institution:
King's College London



The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.